THE IMPACT OF THE RAYMOND ACKERMAN ACADEMY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT (RAA) IN CREATING IMPROVED AND SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS AMONGST ACADEMY GRADUATES.

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DECLARATION

I, Elli Cherissa Yiannakaris, declare that the contents of this dissertation represent my own unaided work, and that the dissertation has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the University of Cape Town.

Signed: Signed by candidate Date: 19 January 2019

ABSTRACT

In response to a youth unemployment crisis, the South African government has placed a strong emphasis on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education (EE) as a strategy for job creation. Using the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development (RAA) as a case study, this dissertation seeks to investigate the impact of EE for youth considered vulnerable to unemployment. It specifically examines whether EE has been a mechanism to support black, urban township youth, based on the Cape Flats, to overcome their structural circumstances to put them on a path towards improved livelihoods. Then if so, how. Its key research questions are, *What has been the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods?* Then, *if the RAA has impacted the personal development and economic livelihoods of participants in the programme, how has it done so?*

The study, which drew predominantly on qualitative research combined with quantitative surveys and methods, showed that participating in the RAA entrepreneurship programme impacted participants both personally and economically. Participants found a combination of programme factors valuable, including the person-centred approach, the combination of the business and personal development curriculum, the role of staff, and access to networks and opportunities. The RAA seemed to build confidence, developed an entrepreneurial mindset and served as a launch pad towards improved economic livelihoods, albeit not exclusively through starting a business. The study was unable to ascertain whether outcomes were entirely attributed to the EE programme run by the RAA. Analysis of the counterfactual group showed that these youth were able to move forward without participating in the RAA, but not to the degree of participants in the programme. The counterfactual data also gave valuable insight into how for some participants emotional stress and financial responsibility contributed to their withdrawal from the programme, and that without additional support may prevent some young people from getting ahead.

The study builds on the EE literature that proposes that design of EE should be holistic, multi-dimensional, and experiential; and should carefully consider a broad spectrum of elements from course content, to staff, to the context and environment in which it is presented. It indicated that EE that teaches "through" entrepreneurship versus "for" entrepreneurship does appear to impact young people's ability to engage in the economy (mostly through employment) and can increase their earning potential. The study supports the argument that EE can launch youth towards improved economic livelihoods; and can therefore serve as an impactful strategy for alleviating youth unemployment.

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DEDICATION

Over the last 10 years I have had the privilege of meeting the incredible young people who chose to apply to the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development Cape Town. I read each of their application forms and interviewed each applicant. They shared heartfelt stories of growing up, their challenges, adversity, optimism and hope. They would cry in interviews because being young in South Africa is hard. They gave up opportunities, faced adversity, got pregnant, dropped out of school, went to bed hungry, went to bed homeless – all stories they did not choose. But through it all they stayed hopeful for a better life. I would sit in interviews floored and humbled by the journey that these young people have travelled. No young person should have to experience that. We have failed them. Poverty is not normal. Adversity is not fair. But they did not give up. They took a step, filled in an application form, showed up for selection and sat and waited for an interview because this may be the change. This may be the chance they got to make something of their lives, their businesses; for themselves, their families, their communities.

More people should be exposed to the realities of being a young South African because one will be humbled, inspired and see the incredible potential our youth have. They are the future.

That I got to play a small part in their journey is an honour. This has been the most meaningful and significant work of my career. The RAA gave me purpose.

This project is dedicated to all the RAA students who shared their stories with me and who inspired me by their hope, resilience and determination. Thank you for who you are and what you taught me. I persevered because you did.

I also dedicate this project to Mr Raymond Ackerman who gave me the opportunity to make a difference in the world, and who is the epitome of humility, leadership and wisdom.

NOTE TO READER

The names of all of the young people who participated in this study have been changed in the report to protect their identities.

GLOSSARY

EE	Entrepreneurship education
GEDI	The Global Entrepreneurship and Development Institute
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
ILO	International Labour Organization
IYDS	Integrated Youth Development Strategy
Launch pad	An effective starting point for a career, enterprise or campaign. Something that serves to launch or initiate.
NDP	South African National Development Plan
NEET	Not in Employment, Education or Training
NVivo	Qualitative data-analysis computer-software package
RAA	Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development
RAF	Raymond Ackerman Foundation
SACG	South African Child Gauge
SALDRU	South African Labour and Development Unit at the University of Cape Town
UCT	University of Cape Town
UCT GSB	University of Cape Town Graduate School of Business
UN	United Nations
YEPI	Youth Economic Participation Initiative

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Chapter One: Introduction

"The programme helped me discover the person that I am;
it has taken me from *italic* to **bold**."

This is a richly descriptive statement from a student who participated in the Raymond Ackerman Academy (RAA), an entrepreneurship education programme. As a young black South African man from an urban township on the Cape Flats, he represents many South African youth, vulnerable to the risks of poverty and unemployment.

This dissertation is an attempt to understand his statement, and many others like it.

During my time as Director of the RAA, I read over eight hundred application forms submitted by young vulnerable South Africans in the hopes of being accepted onto the RAA's entrepreneurial development programme. Their application forms included essays where they described their life histories and motivations for wanting to study at the Academy. I was moved by countless stories of hardship and adversity, and of youth searching for opportunity. But these were also stories of hope, determination and optimism, stories of young people hoping that the RAA was going to be a part of their journey to a better future.

I began to wonder how I could share their stories so people could understand the realities and resilience of South African youth. But as we continually engaged Alumni after the programme I also began to question, given their hopes and expectations, did the programme provide the outcomes they were looking for? Did it help to put them on a path to bettering their circumstances? And if it did, how? What about their participation in the programme had they found valuable? I felt we had been given the privilege and responsibility of being entrusted with their futures and I wanted to explore if and how we honoured that.

These questions led to this study.

While we had always asked participants to evaluate the programme at the end of each cohort, and regularly updated our alumni database to track their activity, nobody had taken a deep look at the programme itself or the circumstances of the youth participants prior to applying. This study provided the opportunity to do so.

I interviewed 32 young people who had applied to the RAA, 27 of whom participated in the programme and 5 whose applications were not successful. Their stories have helped me to

build an understanding of the common backgrounds and individual characteristics of vulnerable youth on the Cape Flats. Then within that context, I wanted to know whether entrepreneurship education, through the RAA, had been a mechanism to help them overcome their structural circumstances to put them on a path towards improved livelihoods. Then if so, how.

While this study is located in the Cape Flats in Cape Town, it aligns to debates about youth unemployment taking place nationally. The South African government has placed a strong emphasis on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education as a strategy for alleviating youth unemployment. This study therefore seeks to investigate the impact of entrepreneurship education for vulnerable youth, using the RAA as a case study.

1.1 Setting the scene: Youth in South Africa

I start by setting the scene for youth in South Africa. Some of this scene setting will inevitably add to the all too common narrative that the situation for youth is desperate. My hope is that this research will show that there is a lot to be positive about.

The South African National Youth Policy recognises young people as a major human resource and as key agents for social change, economic expansion and innovation (National Planning Commission, 2015). The policy regards their "imagination, ideals, energy and vision" as essential for the "continuous development of society and economic development" (p. 2).

Similarly, Zoltan Acs in the report on the Entrepreneurial Ecosystem of South Africa (2017) positions a young population as a large advantage for a country. If youth are educated. In the following strong statement he links youth potential, education and contribution to economic growth.

> "Young people are more energetic, more ambitious, and should be better-educated than the older population. However, a young population also poses challenges for a country. Human development and education are crucial for a young population if they are to achieve their dreams and if a country is to benefit from their vitality. In other words a young population needs to be educated and be able to find employment to contribute to economic growth." (p. 28)

A similar statement from the South African National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) also recognises the potential of youth and the importance of education in preventing a growing youth population from becoming an economic risk (National Planning Commission, 2012).

> "The current generation of young people can greatly expand the continent's productive workforce, but without education, skills and programmes to promote job creation and entrepreneurship, it also poses a major risk." (p. 85)

With a youth population of approximately 20.3 million (36 percent of the total population) (Statistics South Africa, 2017b), South Africa has a powerful resource with enormous potential to make a meaningful contribution to the economy. This value, however, can only be realised provided these youth are educated and supported to become active members of society as proposed by Acs (2017) and the NDP.

Unfortunately South African youth face joblessness, poverty and inequality. Youth unemployment is a critical challenge for the country as many struggle to participate meaningfully in the mainstream economy. Ramphele (2002) articulates this critical challenge and its link to a hopeful and optimistic generation,

> “Unemployment remains the biggest thief of hope amongst young people.” (p. 12)

The following statistics, released in October 2018 (Statistics South Africa, 2018b), illustrates this urgent issue:

- The unemployment rate among youth aged 15–34 was 38.9 percent,
- Approximately one in every three young people in the labour force did not have a job in the third quarter of 2018, and,
- Youth account for 63.2 percent of the total number of unemployed persons

In addition, “60 percent of unemployed youth aged below 35 years have never worked” (National Planning Commission, 2015, p. 12). All these figures depict the hard hitting reality of youth unemployment.

In terms of race, African and Coloured youth are more vulnerable to unemployment than other population groups. Approximately “40% of African youth and 32% of Coloured youth are unemployed, compared to 23% of Indian and 11% of White youth” (Graham & De Lannoy, 2016, p. 2).

Consideration must also be given to underemployed[1] youth and those who are Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET). This expanded definition of unemployment includes youth who are not developing their skills base through education and training, as well as youth who want to work but are discouraged with the labour market and have given up looking for employment. Inactive youth who do not want to work are also included in this classification. The South African NEET rate of 50 percent (Statistics South Africa, 2018b), for youth between 18 and 34, further emphasises the chronic unemployment challenge.

South Africa's National Youth Policy largely attributes the country's high rate of youth unemployment to the skills shortage in this age group. The report states that in 2011, "only 31 percent of young people completed their matric (Grade 12) education" (National Planning Commission, 2015, p. 12). Those with an education level of less than matric represented 60 percent of unemployed youth (Statistics South Africa, 2016). These statistics, combined with South Africa's scarce-job environment, indicate why joining the world of work is particularly difficult for young people.

The South African Child Gauge[2] (2017) also identified an incomplete education as a driver of youth unemployment. It claims that,

> "Where young people do not have the appropriate skills or work-related capabilities to be employable or to set up successful enterprises of their own, […] they struggle to make the transition from education to work." (p. 124)

Completing matric and post-secondary education can therefore be expected to have a positive effect on young people's chances of employment and their earning potential. An important concern in the South African context, however, is that many youth are not actually able to access opportunities to do so for financial reasons and other circumstances (Delany, Jehoma, & Lake, 2016; Mlatsheni, 2014).

Extremely high youth unemployment rates in South Africa are not only an economic problem, but a social and political one. Singer *et al* (2014) argue that long-term, high youth unemployment is generating a chain of interlinked demographic, economic and political

[1] Where skills, education and availability are not fully utilised in employment
[2] An annual publication of the Children's Institute, University of Cape Town. It aims to report on and monitor the situation of children in South Africa, in particularly the realisation of their rights. http://www.ci.uct.ac.za/ci/child-gauge/introduction

changes. Where youth are unable to engage meaningfully with society, this can lead to socio-economic effects such as continued poverty and inequality, intergenerational poverty, risk behaviour, reliance on crime, depression, extreme joblessness and a poor performing economy. This also has implications for social cohesion and safety of communities, as well as increased potential for political instability. Finally there is strain on the fiscus; unemployed youth become reliant on the government for social protection and welfare services (Hall, 2017; Jamieson et al., 2017; National Planning Commission, 2015; Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 2013). Lack of opportunity and prospects for young South Africans also have far-reaching negative implications on their development and life chances, including the increased risk of future unemployment, a phenomenon referred to as "scarring" (Scarpetta, Sonnet, & Manfredi, 2010).

An increase in employment opportunities for youth is therefore needed to prevent the profound personal and social effects of unemployment (Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt, 2011; Singer et al., 2014). A better educated and more highly skilled workforce, and improvement in the pace of transition from school to work, is therefore a pressing long-term priority for the South African economy (Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, 2013).

1.1.1 The policy landscape for alleviating youth unemployment

The Child Gauge (Hall, 2017) makes a bold statement that South Africa has made no progress towards the Sustainable Development Goal to substantially reduce the proportion of youth Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) by 2020. Nevertheless, government has put in place numerous policies and strategies geared towards bringing youth into the mainstream economy and enhancing their social inclusion and cohesion. The majority of these policies, as will be outlined in the Literature Review, include entrepreneurship as a youth development strategy to address chronic unemployment.

Emphasising government's entrepreneurship focus, in his opening statement for the Child Gauge (2015), Buti Manamela[3] urged for renewed ways to combat youth unemployment.

> "In addressing the high levels of youth unemployment, we need innovative youth entrepreneurs […]. We need fresh ideas that must propel young people to find a niche in the economy and transform it. Our youth development policy is centred on

[3] The then Deputy Minister in the Presidency: Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation and Youth Development and Administration.

> building youth agency with young people at the centre of their own development." (p.10)

This entrepreneurship focus continues to feature on the government's agenda, as South African President Cyril Ramaphosa (2018) reiterated in his State of the Nation address. Ramaphosa stressed that youth unemployment is South Africa's most grave and pressing challenge, and that the plight of young South Africans should be moved to the centre of the economic agenda. He emphasised the need to create opportunities to expose young people to the world of work through mechanisms such as entrepreneurship and building an ecosystem that assists, nourishes and promotes entrepreneurs.

In support of government strategies to promote entrepreneurship, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) report highlighted the urgency for South Africa to focus on reforms that move away from the concept of "seeking employment to one of creating employment for oneself and others" (Herrington, Kew, & Kew, 2014, p. 19). Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt (2011) also agree that an entrepreneurship focus is well-founded "as most new jobs for youth in Africa are generated through entrepreneurship, albeit in the informal sector." (p. 119)

Entrepreneurship development, as a "hand-up" approach where youth are enabled to take responsibility for their own economic participation, is a strategy mentioned in five national strategy documents:

- The National Development Plan 2030 (NDP)
- The Youth Enterprise Development Strategy 2013 – 2023
- The Youth Employment Accord
- The National Youth Policy 2015 – 2020 (NYP 2020)
- The NYDA Integrated Youth Development Strategy (IYDS) 2020

These South African policies outline a clear, common vision to use entrepreneurship to drive youth job creation.

Research has shown that, in order to stimulate entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship education (henceforth EE) plays an important role in promoting an entrepreneurial culture and enabling the youth population to be active members of society. However, in the current South African entrepreneurial environment, stimulating entrepreneurship is a difficult task, as I explain in the study's Literature Review.

Research on the impact of EE is also limited. The International Labour Organization (International Labour Office, 2015), The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (Krueger, 2015), United Nations (United Nations, 2013), The Campbell Collaboration (Kluve et al., 2017) and The World Bank (Valerio, Parton, & Robb, 2014) have called for more research to be done in this field, specifically for an evaluation of the effectiveness and holistic impact of entrepreneurship programmes.

1.1.2 Outcomes from the Siyakha Youth Assets study

A local study that did provide insight into the impact of youth employability programmes, including those with an entrepreneurship focus, was the Siyakha Youth Assets study[4]. This context specific, longitudinal evaluation focused on South African youth programmes that aim to enhance the employability of young people. The research sample was predominantly, unemployed, African youth from poor backgrounds, broadly reflecting those most affected by youth unemployment (Graham et al., 2016). Siyakha collected participant data via a survey questionnaire in one pre-test and three post-tests. This research design was aimed at testing the immediate and longer-term outcomes of the programmes and the role they played in youth pathways to work (Graham et al., 2016). The study involved eight partner sites, including the Raymond Ackerman Academy[5] (RAA).

The Siyakha[6] findings showed that, in general, youth employability programmes served as pathways into the labour market because they supported skills development. They also played an important role in enhancing the limited social networks of this youth group and reducing the costs of work-seeking (Graham et al., 2016).

Interestingly, bearing in mind South Africa's policy focus on youth entrepreneurship, the evidence suggested that although participants rated themselves positively in terms of entrepreneurial efficacy, they typically did not engage in self-employment activities following most of these programmes. Those that did were doing so "in survivalist businesses, as a means of income while they were waiting to find formal employment" (Graham et al., 2016,

[4] Undertaken by the Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, and the School of Social Work, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.
[5] Using a sample of 61 respondents from both the Cape Town and Johannesburg campuses.
[6] The full Siyakha report can be found at https://www.uj.ac.za/faculties/humanities/csda/Documents/Siyakha%20Report%20_%20Oct%202016%20Web.pdf

p. 59). This seems to indicate that the preference remained for formal employment (Graham et al., 2016).

In contrast, the participants in the RAA had more favourable attitudes to entrepreneurship than the general youth population. They were shown to be highly geared towards entrepreneurship as an alternative pathway to the labour market. Additional results showed that they demonstrated a higher perceived sense of employability than when they had started the programme.

Possibly the psychosocial outcomes of RAA participants, both at pre-and post-test, were relatively high, because the RAA was likely to "attract young people who are goal-driven and who self-select into the programme" (Patel et al., 2018, p. 19). Although psychosocial improvements were therefore not statistically significant, they showed that participants retained high levels of self-esteem and displayed high levels of self-efficacy, future orientation and optimism about the future. There were however no improvements in their social networks (friends and acquaintances). Overall, the data suggested that participants saw RAA as a "stepping stone either to a job with career prospects or to a business of their own" (Patel et al., 2018, p. 32).

Overall, the Siyakha study found that youth employability interventions, such as the RAA, played a critical role for youth employability (Graham et al., 2016), as the authors point out in the comment below.

> "They substitute for the lack of social capital that young people experience, providing a critical bridge between the young person and potential employers. They provide an entry point to finding information about how to navigate the labour market. […] They also connect young people to other youth on the same journey towards work – a resource that may keep them motivated to continue looking for work or starting a business of their own." (Patel et al., 2018, p. 3)

This evidence therefore suggests that EE does have a positive impact on youth employability. It did not, however, explain *how* programmes such as the RAA achieved these outcomes and the specific ways in which the programme was valuable for participants. The results also did not identify the specific nature of the impact of the programmes on participants' personal development and economic livelihoods (for example, the effect on their monthly income before and after participating in the programme).

As a largely quantitative study that used survey data, Siyakha was not able to qualitatively describe the youth participants before they came to the entrepreneurship programmes nor the detailed contexts in which these youth "grow up and live - contexts that cannot be reduced to poverty measures and type of household, contexts that are themselves complex and multi-faceted" (Graham, 2012, p. 2). This information would provide a better understanding of why, and how the outcomes of EE for vulnerable youth are significant. Here lies the rationale for this research.

1.2 Rationale for the study

Extensive literature exists on the characteristics of successful entrepreneurs (Brandstätter, 2011; Nair & Pandey, 2006), predisposing factors that contribute to becoming an entrepreneur (Leutner, Ahmetoglu, Akhtar, & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2014; Luca, Cazan, & Tomulescu, 2012; Walter & Heinrichs, 2015), and whether entrepreneurs are born or made (Garavan & O'Cinneide, 1994; Klein & Bullock, 2006; Kuratko, 2005). Studies have also been conducted on the link between entrepreneurship training and business success (Friedrich, Glaub, Gramberg, & Frese, 2006; Kluve et al., 2017). There is, however, a research gap in the impact of EE on youth livelihoods, a view supported by several international organizations, as mentioned in 1.1.1 above.

The rationale behind this study was further informed by the importance of entrepreneurship as a national youth development strategy and the Siyakha findings with regards to EE and how RAA participants in particular no longer saw entrepreneurship as a waiting station until formal employment came along. I was interested to explore whether EE actually provides vulnerable youth the bridge they are looking for to help them transition to the labour market. And if so, how.

The interest of this study also arose from the international literature and research on the design of EE. Specifically, this research focuses on the shifts taking place in what are considered the expected outcomes of EE, as well as best practice in the field. Most research in the EE discipline suggests a need for a more personal and contextually based approach to EE, as is explained in the study's Literature Review. The evidence also calls for understanding of the "how"; i.e., the design and implementation features of EE (Kluve et al., 2017).

Using the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development (RAA) in Cape Town as a case study, I therefore attempt to provide a more nuanced view and richer, more

contextually-based insights of the impact of EE. The aim is to provide a better understanding of what it takes to direct vulnerable youth on a pathway to improved personal and economic livelihoods.

1.3 Aims and research questions

In trying to understand the impact of EE for vulnerable youth, this research study has two main objectives:

- To assess if, and how, the RAA provided value for its youth participants in order to investigate what can be learnt from programmes like this.
- To understand what happens to the young people who go through EE programmes like the RAA, and the intermediating factors before and after such a programme.

To create this fuller, more informed, view of the impact of EE on the youth in the study, this research seeks to explore two key aspects. These are the applicants' individual characteristics, contextual influences, and background, and the specific impact of EE on their personal development and economic livelihoods. The main research questions are:

Research Question 1: *What has been the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods?*

Sub-questions:

- What contextual factors and backgrounds were common amongst RAA applicants before applying to the RAA?
- What individual characteristics were common amongst RAA applicants before applying to the RAA?
- Did the RAA impact graduates on a personal level?
- Did the RAA help to develop an entrepreneurial mindset as an outcome of participating in the programme?
- Did the RAA influence graduate economic activity and earnings post the programme?

Research Question 2: *If the RAA has impacted the personal development and economic livelihoods of participants in the programme, how has it done so?*

Sub-questions:

- What RAA course content did participants consider most valuable?
- What other aspects of the course did participants consider valuable?
- What was the RAA's impact on graduates' personal aspects?

1.4 Significance of the study

This study contributes to South African research on vulnerable youth, youth unemployment alleviation, youth entrepreneurship education, youth employability programmes and youth agency.

A key statement in support of more research in the field of entrepreneurship in the context of post-secondary education was made by Dr Whitfield Green, Chief Director: Teaching and Learning, Department Higher Education and Training at the 2018 Entrepreneurship Development in Higher Education Conference. He emphasised that post-school education and training education (PSET) institutions and their graduates represent a valuable resource. Entrepreneurship has, however, not been a strong focus area for PSET institutions. He called for the development of a theoretical and practical knowledge base to inform entrepreneurship in PSET, and for the investigation of a number of focus areas, including student entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship curricula and programmes.

This points to the need for policy makers, funders and educators to have a better understanding of how post-secondary EE can direct South African youth on a path towards an improved personal, professional, and economic livelihood. This is the potential contribution that this study can make.

The study also speaks to South African interests in youth development, youth agency and resilience, as noted in the South African Child Gauge (SACG):

> "The majority of poor, African youth also have very high aspirations. Many describe their desire for 'a better life' with stable jobs and higher income and many perceive education and higher education as the main pathway to achieving their dreams. It is therefore essential to understand how young people from impoverished backgrounds manage to build on their aspirations and change their trajectories in order to develop interventions and policies that support youth in creating meaningful lives for them and their families." (De Lannoy et al., 2015, p. 27)

According to the SACG, these areas of interest are not well understood in terms of their role in breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. By providing a better understanding of these youth, and investigating where EE had a positive impact on participants, the study will:

- Advance an understanding of how individual characteristics and background influence the pathway of this group of South African youth.
- Share which aspects of EE appear to have the most impact in terms of shifting pathways.
- Share learnings with policy makers and other educational institutions on programme design and how entrepreneurship programmes such as the RAA can support youth development and unemployment alleviation.

1.5 Limitations

Limitations of this research are addressed further in the study. These include my use of a small group of participants in the qualitative component of the research and therefore, potentially, some questions about transferability of results to other contexts. It is therefore unknown how the outcomes of RAA's EE would compare amongst different South African youth groups.

The research data was obtained from youth who applied to the RAA programme. As no control group was used, and the counterfactual group comprised a small group of 10 participants, the study therefore cannot assign outcomes exclusively to the RAA intervention.

The research was also done retrospectively using post-test methods therefore the participants' perspectives are based on their beliefs at the time of the study only.

1.6 Dissertation overview

Having set the scene for youth in South Africa and outlined the rationale and aims of this study, I move onto mapping the context in which the study is situated. I then locate my research in the relevant literature, focusing primarily on scholarship relating to entrepreneurship as an economic growth strategy, and EE. Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology. It explains the reasons for selecting the case study as the evaluation method, presents the data collection and analysis tools that were used and discusses the ethical and reflexivity considerations. Chapter 5 presents an overview of the RAA.

Chapters 6 and 7 situate the young people who participated in this study by investigating the contextual factors and backgrounds, as well as individual characteristics that were common amongst participants. This is done in order to understand how these factors shaped their identity and economic livelihoods prior to applying to the RAA. Chapters 8 and 9 present the findings regarding the nature of the impact of the programme on RAA participants'. Chapter 9 includes an analysis of the counterfactual group who were not selected for the RAA. A key theme that emerges from these chapters is that the participants saw the RAA as an opportunity to better their circumstances and that they benefited both personally and economically from their participation.

The concluding chapter discusses the key findings and contributions, as well as limitations of the study. It also seeks to provide recommendations that emerge from the findings, and some considerations for future research.

Chapter Two: Mapping the Context

This study brings together literature on youth livelihoods and EE. In the context of chronic youth unemployment, the problem it assesses is whether EE provides youth with the necessary skills and development they need to participate in the economy. It specifically aims to answer the research questions:

What has been the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods? If the RAA has impacted the personal development and economic livelihoods of participants in the programme, how has it done so?

The literature review presents scholarship relating to the key themes of the study.

Whilst this is a study of a youth EE, the research extended beyond an evaluation of the RAA programme and the extent to which it was able to "teach entrepreneurship". The study explores youth agency and the influence of socio-economic context. The RAA engaged with vulnerable young people who joined the programme with their own capabilities and assets. They were not a "blank slate" at the time when RAA began to work with them and one must acknowledge the contribution that these youth make to their own life trajectories. Therefore, to understand the impact of an EE intervention such as the RAA in the wider sense, and the value of the research outcomes, I drew on different sets of literatures in the disciplines of entrepreneurship, EE, economics, sociology, and psychology to:

- Provide a definition of vulnerable youth in South Africa and the causes for this vulnerability;
- Introduce the social, economic and entrepreneurial environment in which vulnerable South African youth live;
- Provide an introduction to the concept of agency and explore the role of socio-economic context in shaping youth agency, attitudes, beliefs, choices and opportunities;
- Provide an understanding of the economic, policy and entrepreneurial environment in which the RAA operates;
- Analyse if, and how, EE serves as platform for personal development, economic opportunity and the development of entrepreneurial mindsets;
- Present the scholarship on best practice in this field.

2.1 Mapping the context of young people in South Africa: The story of vulnerable youth

To fully comprehend the outcomes for young people after participating in a programme such as the RAA it was important to get a sense of their socio-economic circumstances before applying. This was also important because youth interventions are sometimes criticized for not having a detailed understanding of the livelihood contexts and capabilities of their target group. As Graham (2012) fittingly said in her PHD thesis on vulnerable South African youth,

> "We sometimes gloss over the lived experience of so many young people who are struggling to make something of their lives despite their circumstances." (p. 2)

The youth group in this study, as the literature will outline, represent those most susceptible to unemployment. I therefore sought to understand the factors that will likely keep them vulnerable, if these do not shift. I do this in order to explore the possible influence that entrepreneurial education plays in supporting these shifts.

I am also interested in exploring what was it about the applicants to the RAA that possibly set them apart from other youth susceptible to socio-economic challenges? There are millions of vulnerable and unemployed youth in South Africa so why do some youth get ahead and others do not?

This diversity of outcomes among youth who grow up within constrained environments and difficult circumstances is "possibly an indication of the role that individual agency plays in the navigation of their education and employment paths" (Ince, 2018, p. 10). The youth in this study made a choice to apply to the RAA programme, indicating individual agency. I further investigate the evidence of agency in the Findings chapters, and how it was operationalised, by analysing the common individual characteristics and motivations amongst the research group. Within this section I briefly define the concept of agency. While they may be active agents engaged in shaping their future, I also acknowledge that they may also be products of their environments and therefore review how agency is shaped by community.

I then review some of the literature regarding agency and pathways. I do this to explore whether agency is enough to move a person forward, or whether additional support is needed to harness and direct it. As a person may have agency but a) it possibly only gets one "so far" if there are structural or socio-economic impediments that limit a person from

harnessing it, or b) One may not know if you are following the right path to get you where you want to go.

This would provide context for analysing whether the RAA was able to harness the participant's inherent agency through personal development and direct these youth on a pathway for improved economic livelihoods. If this turned out to be the case, this would provide further evidence as to whether programmes such as the RAA are effective for this youth group.

2.1.1 Vulnerable youth defined: Black South African township youth

This research study is concerned with the impact of entrepreneurial education on a sample of black youth[7] from the Cape Flats townships in the Western Cape. I focus on these young people because black South African township youth comprise a group especially vulnerable to the risks of poverty and unemployment. They are considered at risk for three main reasons: 1) race in South Africa is a strong predictor of poverty, 2) black youth fall behind in terms of higher educational attainment, and 3) they are most likely to be unemployed.

A vulnerable group is one having considerable risk of falling into poverty[8] (National Planning Commission, Statistics South Africa, & The World Bank, 2018, p. 35). Black youth are considered vulnerable because statistics show that they are most likely to come from a home background that is economically deprived, or they are at risk of slipping into poverty. A 2018 report on poverty and inequality in South Africa showed that 47 percent of households headed by black South Africans were poor (National Planning Commission et al., 2018, p. 13). Furthermore, black youth who grow up in impoverished townships in South Africa are likely to live at "the level of absolute poverty" (Ramphele, 2002, p. 21).

Amongst this youth group, income poverty and inequality are the result of several factors, including inequality in education qualifications and skills (Statistics South Africa, 2017a). Education and poverty are linked, as a lack of skills or employability make it more difficult to find employment (Mlatsheni, 2014). This further exacerbates the youth unemployment trap. Low post-secondary attendance is a particular concern as those youth with higher education

[7] Youth in this study are defined as those falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years (National Planning Commission, 2015).

[8] The national upper bound poverty line is R992 per person per month in 2015 prices (National Planning Commission et al., 2018)

qualifications generally benefit from greater opportunities. The black South African population lags behind in terms of higher educational attainment compared to other population groups. Only 9.1 percent have some post-secondary qualification, a statistic significantly below the national average of 12.1 percent (Statistics South Africa, 2017a, p. 15).

African youth are also more vulnerable to unemployment than other population groups. While we know that youth unemployment is much higher than that in any older age groups (National Planning Commission et al., 2018), very large racial differences in unemployment are also evident. Approximately 40 percent of African youth and 32 percent of Coloured youth are unemployed, compared to 23 percent of Indian and 11 percent of White youth (StatsSA 2015 cited in Graham & De Lannoy, 2016). The reasons for these three predictors of vulnerability are largely due to the legacy of apartheid.

2.1.2 The impact of apartheid on South African youth

South Africa transitioned from an apartheid government to a democracy in the early 1990s (Whitehead, Kriel, & Richter, 2005). While the demise of apartheid brought dignity to many, it has not brought real opportunity, especially for the poor (Bray, Gooskens, Khan, Moses, & Seekings, 2010). Significant inequalities still exist as a result of the legacy and policies of apartheid, and South African youth, in particular, carry the burden of many of these inequalities (Whitehead et al., 2005).

Under apartheid, non-White individuals were excluded from quality education and deprived of opportunities to learn certain skills. The impact of apartheid for black youth has been detrimental in terms of education, employment, poverty, and health outcomes, and continues to diminish their ability to engage meaningfully in social and economic activities (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013; Mahadea, 2012).

The low levels of economic participation of young people are also attributed in part to the apartheid and post-apartheid urban planning. Where geographic barriers persist, black South Africans, especially youth, continue to be restricted to areas far away from job opportunities making it difficult to seek and access work (Graham & De Lannoy, 2016; Luiz & Mariotti, 2011; Mlatsheni, 2014).

Due to these historic geographic barriers and legal restrictions on education and labour, the pathways of today's youth were also influenced in powerful ways by the life chances their

parents were deprived of under apartheid (Newman & De Lannoy, 2014). This denial of life chances included being restricted from engaging in formal entrepreneurial activity. Apartheid therefore negatively impacted the entrepreneurial intentions of black South Africans.

This apartheid past dramatically reduced the culture of formal entrepreneurship in South Africa, resulting in a thin entrepreneurial base amongst ethnic groups (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013; Mahadea, 2012). Young Africans were therefore unlikely to have grown up in households with business people who would have shaped their understanding of career options, market opportunities and provided access to networks and basic business know-how (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013).

The legacy of apartheid consequently contributed to a generation of "job seekers", minimising entrepreneurship as a valid career choice and creating barriers for black youth interested in pursuing their own business ventures (Chigunta, Schnurr, James-Wilson, & Torres, 2005, p. 17). One must however acknowledge the prevalence of informal trade that existed (and continues to exist) in urban and rural black townships. Whilst this may not be recognised as fostering an entrepreneurial culture, it does speak a skill set to which black youth would have been exposed.

I have described thus far why the youth in this study are considered vulnerable and how this vulnerability is largely as a result of the history of apartheid. The inequality set in place by the apartheid system "shaped the options for those who grew up in democratic South Africa" (Newman & De Lannoy, 2014, p. 39). Of all the effects of the apartheid-imposed racial laws, the post-apartheid geographic barriers that persist today largely influence the "options" available to vulnerable youth. Their everyday lives and future opportunities are profoundly shaped by the township in which they live. In these marginalised suburbs they are likely to experience complex family dynamics, restricted income levels and limited social networks (Bray et al., 2010). The area in which the RAA participants lived was therefore a key consideration when determining the criteria for the research sample. Home location was likely to determine their vulnerability to unemployment and give perspective on the outcomes of their participation in the RAA programme.

2.2 The Cape Flats

To further build a contextual appreciation of the histories and structures that impacted the research participants, I briefly describe the Cape Flats townships. This is done to identify

some of the circumstances that youth cope with while navigating pathways to economic opportunity and employment.

In post-apartheid South Africa “neighbourhood (still) matters” (Bray et al., 2010, p. 323). South Africa’s history of forced removals and relocations is responsible for setting up townships that are still affected by the adversities of poverty, unemployment, insecurity, restrictions of social networks and notions of race (Bray et al., 2010; Ince, 2018). The suburb or township in which youth live therefore profoundly shapes their everyday lives and their future opportunities, as Bray et al (2010) assert,

> “For young people today, the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood spaces created during, or as a result of, apartheid have a profound impact on mobility, personal safety, social identity, choices in peer relationships, certain dimensions of family life, educational and economic opportunities and, ultimately, personhood.” (p. 324)

The Cape Flats is one such geographic location. Made up of socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it is an expansive, low-lying area located on the southern plains of Cape Town, approximately 15km from the City centre. In the 1950s the area was designated as non-White by the apartheid government and is therefore described by some as "apartheid's dumping ground" (Clark, 2016, para. 2). It was made up of racially segregated communities, far removed from the hub of economic development.

The Cape Flats demographic includes the suburbs of Khayelitsha, Delft, Mitchell’s Plain, Mfuleni, Nyanga, Philippi and New Crossroads. These are all areas in which the participants in the study lived at the time of applying to the RAA.

To provide a snapshot of the living conditions of youth from the Cape Flats, I present demographic, educational and economic statistics on four of the main townships in the area (contrasted with Constantia, an affluent Cape Town suburb). These areas represents a microcosm of life for black South African urban township youth because the geographical and social conditions may be used to describe other historically marginalised areas in the province. The information was gathered using 2011 South African census data from Youth Explorer, a data visualisation tool that provides a range of information on young people in South Africa aged 15 -24 years old.

Table 1: Cape Flats demographic and economic data for youth aged 15 – 24

Suburb	Ward	Total Youth aged 15-24	Total Black African youth	Percentage of youth who live in income-poor households[9]	Percentage of youth who live in households without an employed adult
Khayelitsha	92	7 025	98%	44%	22.90%
Guguletu	41	3 672	98%	55%	29.10%
Nyanga	37	4 648	99%	71.70%	37.90%
Philippi	80	9 568	82%	59.10%	30%
Constantia	62	3 765	25%	5.9%	10.2%

Source: (*Youth explorer*, 2018)

This data paints a concerning picture of nearly 60 percent of youth living in income-poor households, and almost a third exposed to household unemployment. This is why the youth group in this study are susceptible to extreme socio-economic challenges. Low levels of post-secondary education, seen in Table 2 below, further exacerbate this situation.

Table 2: Cape Flats education and economic data for youth aged 15 - 24

Suburb	Ward	Youth aged 20-24 by highest educational level: Total % who completed Matric/Matric equivalent or higher	Youth aged 20-24 by highest educational level: Total % who completed Matric	Youth aged 20-24 by highest educational level: Total % who completed Tertiary studies	Total % of unemployed youth	Percentage of youth not in employment, education or training
Khayelitsha	92	61.40%	54%	8%	60.50%	31.80%
Guguletu	41	55.40%	48%	7%	67.30%	39.00%
Nyanga	37	38.80%	36%	3%	67.60%	42.30%
Philippi	80	33.10%	30%	3%	56.80%	41.70%
Constantia	62	88.30%	55%	33%	14.8%	9.7%

Source: (*Youth explorer*, 2018)

Table 2 shows that, on average, less than 50 percent of youth in the four main Cape Flats townships complete high school and only 5 percent complete tertiary studies.

Geographic barriers are not the only factors which put youth at risk of staying vulnerable. In post-apartheid South Africa, efforts continue to reverse the deep destructive impact of racial

inequality. While these reforms have provided some previously marginalised groups with new economic opportunities, others, including the youth in this study, are still almost entirely unable to “get out of the starting blocks” to compete. Additionally, factors at the community, household and individual level are keeping young people vulnerable to being locked out of the labour market (Patel et al., 2018).

2.3 An analysis of the determinants of youth vulnerability: Why they will keep being vulnerable

This section describes some of the contributing factors that continue to make it difficult for young black South Africans from urban townships to progress. These include the effects of poor or absent parenting, lack of social capital, lack of positive role models and influence of community. I also include the lack of entrepreneurial influences, as a lack of exposure to entrepreneurship can further limit the options available to youth already vulnerable to the risks of poverty and unemployment.

2.3.1 Effects of poor parenting

A further consequence of the segregation caused by apartheid was the dismantling of the traditional family unit in marginalised communities. Today, poorer neighbourhoods are characterised by single parent households (mostly headed by women), absent or abusive parents or exploitative relationships within larger family networks (Bray et al., 2010). As a result, many children and adolescents in these areas have suffered trauma and damage to their emotional well-being. They struggle to achieve, or even relinquish, their aspirations and ambitions in the face of this parental neglect (Bray et al., 2010).

Family units are also an important source of “bonding” social capital. Family and household members typically provide emotional support and encouragement as well as advice and support about employment, self-improvement and education (Patel et al., 2018). Where this is limited or absent it can be detrimental to the options and pathways of these youth.

“Bridging” social capital, such as friends and acquaintances, is another factor affecting opportunities for vulnerable youth. A lack of productive social capital increases vulnerability to unemployment for young people, as broader social networks can facilitate their entry into the labour market (Mlatsheni, 2014).

2.3.2 Lack of social capital

Social capital, which refers to the economic benefits of social relationships, is a key factor contributing to individual and community development (Coleman cited in Wiger, Chapman, Baxter, & DeJaeghere (2015)). It has the potential to contribute to livelihood improvement because social relationships can provide people with information, supportive resources, and cultural capital[10], all of which enable them to get ahead.

For vulnerable black South African township youth in particular, low levels of social capital are a barrier to their employability prospects. De Lannoy & Graham (2016) suggest that unlike their middle-class peers, poorer young people lack "productive social capital" especially where they live in households with unemployed or low-skilled adults. Other local studies have also found that most young respondents indicated having very few or no people they could turn to for support and advice about access to the labour market (Ince, 2018; Patel et al., 2018). They appeared to run a "deficit of social and human capital" (Ince, 2018, p. 232) and were lacking in the more widespread "bridging" social capital used to "get ahead" (Patel et al., 2018, p. 24). Their socially isolated networks therefore restrict their exposure to job prospects, or limit these youth to low-skilled employment opportunities (Bhorat, Cassim, Kanbur, Stanwix, & Yua, 2016; Ince, 2018).

As the labour market becomes increasingly competitive it also becomes increasingly reliant on the social networks and social capital from which these youth are excluded (Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt, 2011). Increased social capital is therefore essential for enabling upward youth transitions. Vulnerable youth are likely to continue to struggle to broaden their social capital, therefore support is needed to help them grow and develop their networks. Local-level youth employability and entrepreneurship programmes could play a role in providing access to information about jobs as well as people that might be able to facilitate their progress and success (Graham & De Lannoy, 2016; Kuratko, 2005).

Additionally, social networks play a key role in a person's decision to explore their entrepreneurial potential (Bailey & Ngwenyama, 2013). Existing social ties or creating new ones can encourage the pursuit of entrepreneurial endeavours and behaviour. As well as increase the possibility of success because individuals obtain resources from their network, including, information, advice, social support and legitimacy, resources that ultimately make

[10] Bourdieu's (1986) concept of non-economic resources, such as knowledge, behaviours, and skills, that facilitate social mobility.

them perform better (Hindle, 2010; Sequeira, Mueller, & McGee, Jeffrey, 2007). Where entrepreneurship could be a way of overcoming unemployment for vulnerable youth, one can assume that the combination of limited social networks and poor entrepreneurial history in their communities negatively impacts the entrepreneurial intentions of these youth.

Social networks are also meant to provide positive role models for how to navigate job markets. These role models also help build self-esteem and knowledge, but as was described above, access to such social capital is difficult in marginalised neighbourhoods. The lack of positive role models is another factor that potentially keeps vulnerable youth vulnerable.

2.3.3 Lack of positive role models

Post-apartheid youth are likely to aspire to possibilities denied to their parents. These aspirations are often inspired, and supported by positive role models in communities.

Dictionary definitions of a “role model” describe them as individuals who demonstrate the kind of attitudes, behaviours and actions others look up to and who are revered by someone else. Someone who other individuals aspire to be like. The challenge for black South African township youth however is that they have “few positive black role models in their midst” (Ramphele, 2002, p. 132).

A study of township youth by Sharlene Swartz, cited in Ince (2018), similarly suggests that in the context of deprivation and poverty, youth struggle to find positive and caring adult role models who help to build self-esteem, cultural capital and “internal and external resilience skills that their peers in more affluent communities take for granted” (p.72). When there are few positive influences to demonstrate what is possible, and to support youth aspirations, this may lead youth to believe, *why aspire for something different if I haven’t seen anyone else achieve it?* Which has the potential to further prejudice their economic development and perpetuate the vicious cycle of intergenerational poverty.

The “flight” of positive role models is another challenge identified by Ramphele (2002). Successful township residents who work to rise above the poverty trap are likely to escape the township as soon as they can. The youth that are “left behind” must therefore find their own path with increasingly fewer resources at their disposal.

2.3.3.1 Lack of positive entrepreneurial role models

Volkman et al (2009) suggest that role models play an important part in the motivation of youth to undertake entrepreneurial activities. Karimi, Chizari, Biemans, & Mulder (2010) support this view and add that without educational interventions, frequent exposure to entrepreneur role models is the most common means by which a young person evolves into an entrepreneur. Positive evidence of the influence and importance of entrepreneurial role models for black youth was illustrated in an empirical study of South African university students by Luiz & Mariotti (2011). Black African respondents in the study indicated they were more likely to start their own business than other race groups would because they aspired towards new African role models that have "emerged in the post- apartheid era of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programmes" (Luiz & Mariotti, 2011, p. 57). This demonstrates how exposure to role models can influence intentions.

Parents and peers also serve as positive entrepreneurial role models. Empirical studies by Falck, Heblich, & Luedemann (2009) and Dohse & Walter (2012) provided evidence that socialization with parents and peers inspired entrepreneurial intentions. However, opportunities for young potential entrepreneurs to "get their education at the dinner table" (Kourilsky & Esfandiari, 1997, p. 213), is much more likely to be available in advantaged communities. For typical lower socio-economic youth such opportunities are extremely scarce (Kourilsky & Esfandiari, 1997). This means that without other influences and interventions these youth are not likely to be exposed to entrepreneurs and do not view themselves potentially as such.

Given the influence that social networks and role models have on youth vulnerability and entrepreneurial intention, I am interested to explore the possible constraints that the youth in this study experienced in this regard. I am further interested in how EE may have enabled participants to transform the limitations of their social networks and lack of role models and bring about different beliefs about themselves, their aspirations and their career prospects.

2.3.4 The influence of community

Another possible contributing factor to youth vulnerability is the influence of community. In addition to the geographic barriers created by their neighbourhoods in terms of access to job opportunities, socio-economic statistics (as referenced in section 2.2) and the culture of a community has the potential to influence youth identity, choices, aspirations and perspectives. Negative influence or cultural association has the potential to keep youth

vulnerable because they may come to believe they are unfit for educational and labour market achievement (Ince, 2018). Neighbourhood culture can therefore influence youth perspectives on what is possible because, as Riel & Martin (2017) elaborate, our mental models are likely to be informed by life experiences and information that fits within our existing understanding of the world. If that understanding is negatively informed by our environment and we see the world in a certain way, "it takes serious effort and willing intent to see it in another way" (p. 27).

This suggests that youth in marginalised neighbourhoods who face constant adversity may tend to keep making the same choices based on cultural beliefs and assumptions. These youth will likely follow the same paths as those around them, which could keep them at risk of low-skilled work or unemployment. The opposite holds true that environments that positively influence beliefs can encourage a world view of possibility. This points to another area for consideration described as "oppositional identities": whether the youth in the study displayed behaviour in opposition to what was expected.

Individuals belong to social categories and are therefore likely to behave according to the behavioural prescriptions of these groups. To behave differently is evidence of the construct of an oppositional identity. Bisin et al (2011) define this as individual behaviour that rejects the dominant culture (in both positive and negative ways). Similarly, De Lannoy (2008) explains this as a process of constructing an identity in oppositional terms, against what may be popularly held expectations of what a minority group would believe or aspire to, given their circumstances.

Oppositional identity may be the result of culture, social networks, role models, socialization inside the family and peer effects (Bisin et al., 2011). De Lannoy's research (2008) shows that where there is evidence of oppositional identities, minority youth maintain high aspirations, positive values and optimism for a better future, and in contrast to what society may have predicted. I discuss the evidence of oppositional identities in Chapter 10. Oppositional identity also relates to the concept of youth agency. I further explore the concept of agency and the role of community on youth agency in section 2.4.

2.3.4.1 Entrepreneurial influence of community

Urban (2006) introduces the concept of "entrepreneurial memory" relating culture, community and entrepreneurship. The concept is based on the argument that "entrepreneurship leads to more entrepreneurship" (p.3). Thus entrepreneurial memory is important in that it is a catalyst for more entrepreneurial behaviour and intention because this behaviour is seen as an acceptable norm.

Where there is no culture of entrepreneurship in a community, Fink (2013) suggests that making the choice to be an entrepreneur can sometimes be incomprehensible to friends and family. Furthermore, where there are limited family and social resources available, attempts at entrepreneurship and the potential risks can be seen to threaten the well-being of the family. A job, therefore, generally trumps an entrepreneurial business. In South Africa specifically, where entrepreneurship is not well-supported in low-income communities (as described in 2.1.2 and 2.3.3.1), the stigma of failure also constrains people from venturing into entrepreneurship.

The attitude of a community can therefore stifle entrepreneurial aspirations and discount it as an option for economic participation. This is important for the study. The apparent lack of entrepreneurial memory in low-income South African communities, and the resulting lack of entrepreneurship intention and support, suggests that programmes that aim to develop entrepreneurial mindsets have this contextual challenge to overcome. This begs the question: is it worth focusing on entrepreneurial development as a strategy to address youth unemployment? What is the motivation for youth to apply to an entrepreneurial development programme if entrepreneurship is unfamiliar and not encouraged by family and community? And if they do participate in such a programme, can it then have a significant positive impact for the youth for whom it is targeted? These are questions I aim to explore in the study.

2.4 Youth agency

In spite of the hardships that they experience, South African youth remain optimistic about their futures (Graham et al., 2016; Malan & Breitenbach, 2001; Patel et al., 2018). This same sentiment was expressed by Mamphela in her book about young people in South Africa (2002):

> "Theirs is a life experience bearing all the scars of the legacy of the past. […] the daily grind of poverty that undermines the dignity of ordinary citizens […]

> Underperforming schools that provide little hope for a better future for them compared to their uneducated parents. […] And yet these are also stories of hope – that eternal burning flame in the souls of so many who refuse to give up." (p.11)

These views seem to suggest that South African youth maintain hope and high aspirations, in contrast to what society may have predicted. To understand how, amidst the complexity of the past and the challenges of daily life, youth remain hopeful and actively engage in ways to achieve better futures, I elaborate on the concept of youth agency. Then in the findings, I explore if and how this was operationalised by the youth in the study. By investigating youth agency, beliefs and attitudes before and after their participation in the RAA programme I also assess the impact of EE in supporting youth aspirations.

> "The image of a passive young person waiting for something to happen, for someone else to do something before they get on with their lives, is an incomplete one."

In making this comment, Chigunta et al (2005, p. 37) urge us to recognise that the youth of today are not passive actors. They actively work towards creating their futures and demonstrate personal agency in doing so. An example of this can be seen in the youth in this study. By definition of being vulnerable, they appear to have had the odds stacked against them, yet they made a choice to apply the RAA programme. In the action of applying, there was already inherent agency.

Definitions of agency appear to differ by academic discipline. At its simplest, agency refers to conscious, goal-directed activity (White & Wyn, 1998). It is the capacity of an individual to act in the world and is often associated with terms including: motivation, will, purposiveness, intentionality, choice, initiative, freedom, and creativity (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). The actionable understanding of agency comes from psychology and political science which often focus on individual choices, behaviours, and actions. In these disciplines agency is defined as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. In social science literature, agency is operationalised as decision-making and as Kabeer (1999) emphasises, also encompasses the "meaning, motivation, and purpose individuals bring to their activity" (p. 438).

Agency as a response to social context is the view in the field of sociology. Sociologists propose that social structure (for example, family, religion, law, economy, and class) has a major influence on individuals and the decisions they make. Structure can limit agency, as well as provide opportunity to action it. Modern sociologists like Bourdieu are also concerned

with the ways that agency is restricted by the myriad circumstances that he identifies as different forms of capital e.g. economic capital or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This links to the discussion on the impact of a lack of social capital in section 2.3.2 above.

One of the most prominent modern sociologists, Giddens, cited in De Lannoy (2008) provided the definition I assumed for the study,

> *"Any action which the agent knows or believes can be expected to manifest a particular quality or outcome." (De Lannoy, 2008, p. 39)*

I use this definition because Giddens posits that even in situations of deprivation, individuals retain the ability to exert agency over their situation and to explore options for different life paths. They believe in their ability to act. I was therefore interested to see how agency manifested for the youth in the study. Furthermore, I wished to see the extent to which that agency was a response to their social context and influences, and how far it actually got them given their vulnerable situations and constraints. As one can argue that having agency but not the ability in a socio-economic world to take meaningful action is another factor likely to keep vulnerable youth vulnerable. I therefore sought to investigate whether socio-economic circumstances may have limited the opportunity for youth in the study to act on agency, and whether EE then served as an opportunity to channel and enhance their inherent agency.

2.4.1 Factors shaping agency

Section 2.3.4 provided some insight into the role of community and how the cultural, geographic and economic contexts can influence the livelihood options available to youth. Community culture can also shape youth agency.

Literature on whether one's environment determines agency maintains that the prevailing social, cultural, economic, and historical context of youth's lives all influence agency (De Lannoy, 2008; White & Wyn, 1998). Empirical research by Ince (2018) on South African youth also showed that individual agency is a response to "cultural beliefs and competing cultural norms" (p. 3). Ramphele reaffirms that the ways in which family, community and school shape the lives of youth has "profound implications for the future" (2002, p. 17). This seems to indicate that the decisions youth make and the action they take for their futures are not made in isolation.

However, for vulnerable youth, their social, cultural and economic contexts can include severe structural constraints which, despite a great will, may make it unlikely for them to attain livelihood milestones such as employment or completing education (Graham, 2012). This point of view opens up the possibility that youth can have agency but this can remain unharnessed in an environment that does not provide opportunity to act on it. Without an enabling social context, agency only gets them to a point. Graham (2012) corroborates,

> "Although young people in South Africa are vibrant and inspiring, their circumstances allow little room for these assets to be recognised and built upon." (p.235)

The Siyakha study (Graham et al., 2016) also pointed to the interlocking nature of poverty and how talented young people remain trapped in poverty despite evidence of agency.

To understand the implications of agency without opportunity, I shift my attention to the thought that having agency may not be enough to put a young person on the "right path". One of the challenges in a severely restrained environment is that youth can have agency but that it comes at a cost (De Lannoy, 2008). There is seldom a sense of security and certainty that their agency will take them on the right path. They may believe that they have agency and a sense of decision-making, but no idea whether they are "following the right stars" to be where they want to be because of the limited opportunities to which they have access. Therefore, where traditional socio-economic paths are eroded, many young people are without a clear sense of direction (Malan & Breitenbach, 2001).

De Lannoy (2008) builds on this view through the work of Giddens, who maintained that individuals with higher levels of agency and resilience are likely to experience doubt and anxiety as to whether the strategy or lifestyle they have chosen to achieve their goals is the best possible option available. This view highlighted another consideration as to why vulnerable youth may stay at risk of unemployment; they may not know of, or have access to, opportunities that can harness their agency and direct them on the "right path" to achieving their goals. As White & Wyn (1998) indicate, the major concern surrounding youth agency and social structure is the range of meaningful choices available to young people. While youth might be aware of their potential, they may see few pathways that offer a way to move forward and develop. In this case, they need "bridges or ladders that can eventually link them with more stable adult-life opportunities" (Chigunta et al., 2005, p. 41). Ramphele (2002) also makes a compelling statement in this regard,

> “South Africa cannot afford to let young people steer by the stars. They need to be provided with reliable compasses to enable them to develop self-confidence and face the future with hope.” (p. 162)

For this study, these comments emphasised the importance of exploring not only the evidence of agency amongst the youth in the sample group but also the constraints on their personal agency. And whether EE served to build on their agency by providing a catalyst for a better sense of purpose and direction, and for stable adult-life opportunities, and if so in what ways. This research was also an opportunity to explore the evidence of relational agency (A. Edwards, 2005) and whether other participants in the EE programme played a role in enhancing an individual’s ability to take action and engage with the world.

The story of vulnerable South African youth and contextual co-ordinates set by this chapter outline the likely factors these young people navigate in their attempts to transition to improved economic livelihoods. The legacy of apartheid and related geographic barriers, social factors, such as a lack of role models, limited social networks, absent parenting, the influence of community and lack of exposure to entrepreneurship, all impact their ability to move forward and develop. Where the youth remain optimistic and exhibit personal agency, restricting social dynamics can lead to uncertainty about the right pathways. These factors are likely to keep them vulnerable in that, without access to opportunities, their agency only gets them to a point. Ramphele (2002) reaffirms that the challenge of social transformation in South Africa lies in “bridging the chasm between legitimate black aspirations for a better future and the empowerment process that needs to be undertaken to enable poor people to participate meaningfully in forging a better future” (p.132).

This dissertation therefore sets out to understand the ways in which the youth in the study engaged with factors such as parenting, social networks, and cultural adversity, and the influence these social structures had on their personal agency needed to achieve their goals. The principal concern of my research enquiry is then to establish if EE played a role for these youth in terms of empowering them to navigate these social structures to participate meaningfully in “forging a better future”.

Chapter Three: A Review of Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurship Education Literature

As the RAA does not aim solely to "produce entrepreneurs", this study does not draw on the entrepreneurship literature that focuses on the determinants of entrepreneurial intention, nor on the characteristics of successful entrepreneurs. Instead it looks at "if and how" EE can support vulnerable youth to develop personally and improve their economic livelihoods.

Although the academic field of entrepreneurship is somewhat new compared to other disciplines, a lot has been written on the subject. Many of the top journals[11] and the most prolific researchers in the field, as were rated in an analysis of author contributions to entrepreneurship research by Markin, Swab, & Marshall (2017), focus on the "business" aspects of entrepreneurship. These topics include entrepreneurial finance and governance, family business, decision making, failure, innovation, economic development, government policy, global competitiveness, entrepreneurial firms and entrepreneurship for economic growth.

Compared to the academic field of entrepreneurship, EE is an even newer area of study. Neck and Corbett (2018) go so far as to suggest that it is not subject to the same level of scholarship as is entrepreneurship. As mentioned in the introduction, international agencies such as the International Labour Organization, United Nations and World Bank have called for more research to be done in this field. This study aims to contribute to this knowledge by examining whether EE has broader outcomes than simply producing entrepreneurs with business plans, specifically for vulnerable youth.

Before providing an analysis of scholarship on EE, I start the review by situating the South African policy and entrepreneurial environment in which the RAA operates.

3.1 A review of South African youth development policy

The introduction to this dissertation explained that youth development through entrepreneurship is a strategy mentioned in several South African policies. The section that follows outlines South African youth development policy so that the reader can understand

[11] Including the Journal of Business Venturing, Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice, International Small Business Journal, Small Business Economics and Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal

how programmes such as the RAA align to government aims and therefore why the outcomes of the programme are of interest in terms of youth development and economic livelihoods. This is particularly significant for African youth who are considered more vulnerable to unemployment

The table below highlights this focus, and the associated recommendations. The NDP is the overarching strategy under which the other youth-focused policies and strategies have been developed. They support the NDP aims and suggest interventions to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality amongst youth. IYDS, in particular specifies the key activities through which the priorities contained in the NYP 2020 will be implemented.

This dissertation does not critique or assess the implementation and impact of these policies and strategies. They are included to highlight the national push for youth entrepreneurship and therefore the relevance of programmes such as the RAA.

Table 3: Summary of South Africa's youth development policies

POLICY	**THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN 2030 (NDP)**
Year	2012
Description	The NDP is a detailed blueprint for how South Africa can eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by the year 2030. It proposes that fertile conditions for entrepreneurship and career mobility will contribute significantly to uniting South Africa's people and supports entrepreneurship as a youth development strategy.
Recommendations include	Introducing community-based programmes to offer young people life-skills and entrepreneurship training.
Source	(National Planning Commission, 2012)
POLICY	**THE DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY YOUTH ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2013 - 2023**
Year	2013
Description	A strategy instrument intended to foster youth economic participation by deliberately enhancing youth entrepreneurship and accelerating the growth of youth-owned and managed enterprises. It aims to increase the number of self-employed youth from approximately 6 percent to 20 percent by 2023, as well as increase entrepreneurial culture, business managerial capacities, technical skills and talents among young people.
Recommendations include	Introducing young people to a curriculum on entrepreneurship at an earlier stage, particularly at the basic level of education. A programme to raise awareness of entrepreneurship as the first option for economic participation endeavours.
Source	(Department of Trade and Industry, 2013)

POLICY	THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACCORD
Year	2013
Description	A joint commitment by Organised Labour, Business, Community, Youth Organizations and Government to prioritise youth employment and skills development. The parties agreed to implement a coordinated youth employment strategy from 2013 aimed at bringing significantly larger numbers of young people into employment by six commitment areas including promoting youth cooperatives and youth entrepreneurship.
Recommendations include	Public agencies such as the Small Enterprise Finance Agency (Sefa), Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) and the Jobs Fund are encouraged to develop and strengthen dedicated programmes of support for youth enterprises and youth co-ops.
Source	(Congress of South African Trade Unions, 2013)
POLICY	**THE NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY 2015 – 2020 (NYP 2020)**
Year	2015
Description	Developed with a focus on redressing the wrongs of the past and addressing the specific challenges and immediate needs of the country's youth. It seeks to create an environment that enables South African youth to reach their potential by identifying mechanisms and interventions that will act as catalysts to help clear critical blockages and enable the optimal development of young people. The NYP 2020 aims to have youth development programmes in place that build the capacity of young people where they are enabled to have agency and take charge of their futures by building their assets and realising their potential. The NYP asserts that economic participation through entrepreneurship and participation in the labour market is an area that still needs serious attention as various interventions to improve the opportunities and skills of young people lack impact.
Recommendations include	Include business skills development in Technical and Vocational Education and Training colleges, university curriculums and training programmes offered by public agencies.
Source	(National Planning Commission, 2015)
POLICY	**THE NYDA INTEGRATED YOUTH DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2020 (IYDS)**
Year	2017
Description	An implementation plan of the National Youth Policy (2020). IYDS advocates education, skills development and entrepreneurship as the cornerstones of youth development. It specifically seeks to improve the employability of young people through the promotion of self-employment. The strategy is intended to give responsibility to young people to take charge of their own development. A detailed programme of action from the strategy will enable youth to see themselves as key contributors to the success of the countries development trajectory as set out in the National Development Plan (2030).

Recommendations include	The purpose of the IYDS is to enhance the participation of young people through targeted programmes initiated by government, business and civil society, as well as support for programmes that encourage youth innovation, entrepreneurship development, skills development, including income-generating and wealth-creating activities.
Source	(National Youth Development Agency, 2017)

These South African policies outline a clear, common vision to use entrepreneurship to drive job creation. They suggest that accelerating entrepreneurship among youth will have a positive impact "not only on the social plane of bringing equity in the economy, but also by raising the levels of the overall economic indicators of South Africa" (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013, p. 4).

But why is entrepreneurship tabled as a national strategy to address youth unemployment? Can it impact economic growth and provide the conditions for increased employment?

3.2 Why entrepreneurship?

Entrepreneurship is a global phenomenon that is seen as a key area for addressing poverty and inequality and unlocking growth potential. A statement by The World Economic Forum articulates its perceived importance:

> "The future, to an even greater degree than the past, will be driven by innovation and entrepreneurship. […] Innovation and entrepreneurship provide a way forward for solving the global challenges of the 21st century, building sustainable development, creating jobs, generating renewed economic growth and advancing human welfare." (Volkman et al., 2009, p. 13).

With the global emphasis on entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs are increasingly becoming role models in society, and entrepreneurship as a career choice has risen in popularity. The term has become part of everyday language and is often associated with economic growth and, in socio-economic terms, the well-being of societies (Achampong, Harber, Falk, & Lee-Wolf, 2017; Kew, Herrington, Litovsky, & Gale, 2013).

Definitions of entrepreneurship vary. One of the earlier and more widely used definitions is "the pursuit of opportunity beyond the resources you currently control" (Stevenson, 2000, p. 1). According to Acs (2006), entrepreneurship has at least two meanings, owning and managing a business or entrepreneurial behaviour in the sense of seizing an economic

opportunity. This study aligns with the definition proposed by Chigunta, Schnurr, James-Wilson, & Torres (2005) who broadly define entrepreneurship as:

> "A way of thinking, reasoning and acting that is opportunity oriented. It is much more than starting a new business. It is the process whereby individuals become aware of the self-employment career option, develop ideas, take and manage risks, learn the process and take the initiative in developing and owning a business." (p. v)

3.2.1 Why entrepreneurship as an economic growth strategy?

While it is widely acknowledged that entrepreneurship is important to the economy and employment (McGuigan, 2016), researchers including Kew, Namatovu, Aderinto, & Chigunta (2015); Stel, Carree, & Thurik (2005) and Luiz & Mariotti (2011) suggest that entrepreneurship also plays a significant role in the economic growth of countries because entrepreneurs:

- Create new businesses;
- Drive and shape innovation;
- Speed up structural changes in the economy;
- Introduce new competition – thereby contributing to productivity.

Acs (2006) explains that at its simplest, "entrepreneurs create new businesses, and new businesses in turn create jobs, intensify competition, and may even increase productivity through technological change. High measured levels of entrepreneurship will thus translate directly into high levels of economic growth" (p. 97). Acs, however, differentiates between necessity and opportunity entrepreneurship. He found that necessity entrepreneurship has no effect on economic development, while opportunity entrepreneurship has a positive and significant effect. Similarly, Wennekers (2010) argues that innovative and/or ambitious entrepreneurship, rather than solo self-employment, is of particular interest for competitiveness, economic growth and job creation.

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) (Kew et al., 2015) also confirmed that entrepreneurial activity is positively correlated with economic growth, but that this relationship differs along phases of economic development. Other researchers challenge the direct correlation between economic growth and entrepreneurship. For example, Geldhof, Weiner, Agans, Mueller, & Lerner (2014, p. 81) argue that entrepreneurship is seen as a

business engine for the economy; yet the number of individuals engaged in entrepreneurial behaviours remains surprisingly low at 9 percent of people worldwide.

These arguments suggest that, especially for a developing country such as South Africa, entrepreneurship is not necessarily a “magic bullet”. However, the general sentiment in policy, academic and business discourse is that entrepreneurship can drive job creation and contribute to quality economic growth that is sustainable, people-centred, inclusive and reduces poverty (Herrington et al., 2014; Singer et al., 2014). As such, entrepreneurial activity should be an important “cornerstone” of economic strategy (Luiz & Mariotti, 2011, p. 48).

The hypothesis is, therefore, that if entrepreneurship contributes to economic growth and employment, then more youth should be encouraged and trained to become entrepreneurs.

3.2.2 Why entrepreneurship as a youth development strategy?

Policy makers and scholars have shown increasing interest in youth entrepreneurship as an important means of improving youth livelihoods and economic independence, especially in developing countries (Chigunta et al., 2005; Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt, 2011; Schoof, 2006).

Given chronic youth unemployment, entrepreneurship is considered an alternative employment option that can lead to sustainable livelihoods[12] that “counter the increasing number of unemployed, underemployed youths and youth in vulnerable employment” (Singer et al., 2014, p. 44). Youth entrepreneurship can serve as a pathway from adolescence to adulthood that allows youth into the labour market at a pivotal time in their lives, when economic participation is important.

> “Youth is a crucial time of life when young people start realising their aspirations, assuming their economic independence and finding their place in society. Employment is critical to the realisation of these ideals.” (Kew et al., 2015, p. 19)

[12] Defined by Singh and Titi (1995) as people's capacities to generate and maintain their means of living, enhance their well-being and that of future generations. Cited in Malan & Breitenbach (2001)

Chigunta et al (2005) also refer to this as a stage of dynamic and multi-faceted development (particularly for youth up to the age of 24). The authors make the argument that this phase of life has significant implications for the development of capabilities related to entrepreneurship, self-employment and enterprise development. They point out that policy and programme interventions can impact youth perspectives and actions in a significant manner but warn that "equally, a lack of attention will increase the potential for the cycle of poverty to be extended to future generations" (p.45). Therefore, at this key stage in a young person's life, exposure to entrepreneurship training has the potential to make a positive developmental impact.

In a key study Kew et al (2013, p. 12) summarise the positive advantages to stimulating youth entrepreneurship, as identified by organizations and initiatives such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations (UN), World Bank and Youth Business International. These are listed below:

- Youth entrepreneurship is an option to create employment for the youth;
- Young entrepreneurs are more likely to hire fellow youths;
- Young entrepreneurs are particularly responsive to new economic opportunities and trends;
- Young people with entrepreneurial skills are better employees;
- Young people are more innovative and often create new forms of independent work;
- Young people who are self-employed have higher "life satisfaction";
- Entrepreneurship offers unemployed or discouraged youth an opportunity to build sustainable livelihoods and a chance to integrate themselves into society.

Their summary also included an important consideration for this research study in terms of personal development as an outcome of EE. The authors propose that EE can help youth to develop non-cognitive skills, such as opportunity recognition, innovation, critical thinking, resilience, and leadership. Skills such as these will benefit all youth "whether or not they intend to become or continue as entrepreneurs" and can be applied to other challenges in life (p.12).

Another key consideration in Kew et al's (2013, p. 12) summary is the suggestion that young people with entrepreneurial skills are better employees. It indicates a positive correlation between entrepreneurship skills and employability, as many of the competencies developed through entrepreneurship training are also useful in gaining employment in the modern

economy (Boyle, 2012; Brewe, 2013; Meyer, 2017). This links to the study's interest in improved economic livelihoods as an outcome of EE.

These wide-ranging positive benefits of stimulating youth entrepreneurship align to the research done by Chigunta et al (2005). The authors highlighted that entrepreneurship helps youth develop skills and experiences that can be applied to many other challenges in life. Youth can also be pioneers in promoting a culture of entrepreneurship. In addition, their research described youth entrepreneurship as promoting social and cultural identity by giving young people, especially marginalised youth, a sense of "meaning" and "belonging". That is an important concept for this study, given its focus on entrepreneurship for vulnerable youth.

All these advantages point to the holistic benefits of entrepreneurship for youth, beyond being only a solution for unemployment. Recognition of these broad benefits is important because entrepreneurship is sometimes criticized for being an unrealistic and simplistic solution to promote youth participation in the economy.

Fink (2013) outlines a common rhetoric that creates a simplistic argument for introducing youth entrepreneurship:

- Young people have difficulty finding jobs due to the recession or economic circumstances;
- They are unlikely to get regular employment soon;
- Starting businesses is a good economic development strategy;
- Therefore, train youth to run businesses.

Without consideration for the socio-economic context in which youth live, this strategy is idealistic. One cannot expect that everyone can[13], or wants to become an entrepreneur. Additionally, before entrepreneurship can be taught, there should be a willingness to engage in such a path (Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt, 2011). Other factors also need to be taken into account; for example, entrepreneurial opportunities, resources, entrepreneurial role models, and personality traits (Manyande, 2006).

Consideration should also been given to the quick-fix versus the long term realities of encouraging youth to become entrepreneurs (Burchell, Coutts, Hall, & Pye, 2015). South

[13] The literature on whether entrepreneurship can be taught is covered in section 3.4.2

African research suggests that limited opportunities in the labour market result in young people starting their own businesses but that long-term "sustainability is a major constraining factor" (Mlatsheni & Leibbrandt, 2011, p. 120). Similarly, Chigunta (2017) emphasises the complex issues and challenges that youth face in starting and running viable businesses. These can make it difficult for them to create sustainable livelihoods.

Another important concern was raised by Wiger et al. (2015). They argue (specifically in the case of marginalised youth) that, while it is a logical response to the employment crisis to design and promote entrepreneurship programmes to "give those with limited employment opportunities the practical skills and entrepreneurial know-how to start and run their own businesses" (p. 3), this assumption is problematic. One cannot expect that these youth, who face significant disadvantages, should bear the main responsibility to find or create their own employment. This is largely because, as Wiger et al. (2015) argue,

> "The extent to which entrepreneurship initiatives can help marginalised youth to help themselves depends, to a considerable extent, on the social, financial, economic, and cultural constraints that these youth face." (p. 3)

DeJaeghere (2017) supports this view that entrepreneurship initiatives encounter the social and economic realities affecting young people's livelihoods in specific contexts. The author also points out that evidence from various studies indicated that although entrepreneurship programmes are a means to poverty alleviation rather than a means to foster entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, "there is limited evidence of the long-term effects of entrepreneurship programmes on getting the poor out of poverty and having sustainable livelihoods" (p. 47). The ILO (Burchell et al., 2015) also deduced that labour market programmes for self-employment are likely to fail to create jobs, other than low-paid jobs with limited sustainability. These, they claim, will not support the promotion of social mobility, inclusive social development, or poverty reduction.

These arguments demonstrate that entrepreneurship for youth is, again, not a simple, one–size-fits-all solution. It is significantly contextually dependent. Despite these concerns, however, entrepreneurship, as was indicated by Kew et al (2013) above, is generally considered in the literature as a good opportunity and intervention for youth, rather than simply a means of escaping unemployment. It may be applied to business formation but it can also empower youth in other life circumstances, including coping with poverty and adapting to adversity (Malan & Breitenbach, 2001).

In a developing country such as South Africa youth entrepreneurship can therefore help alleviate socio-economic challenges by:

- Helping youth build non-cognitive skills, self-supporting and coping skills;
- Promoting self-employment as a viable career option.

However, what are the realities of trying to encourage more entrepreneurial youth participation and develop entrepreneurial skills in the South African context?

3.3 Entrepreneurial activity in South Africa

This section describes the entrepreneurial environment and activity in South Africa, in which entrepreneurship training programmes such as the RAA operate. This is done in order to locate my case study within this context and to show that the analysis of my small sample group has general relevance to the South African and international discussions.

The literature reviewed indicated that entrepreneurship can drive economic growth. It supports the South African government's position that entrepreneurship development is a good strategy for addressing youth unemployment. The potential impact of this is, however, influenced by the current context in which such strategies are applied.

To paint a picture of entrepreneurship in South Africa, data from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) and the Global Entrepreneurship and Development Institute (GEDI) was used. GEM provides country-specific research that aims to provide a deep understanding of the local environment for entrepreneurship. It measures the Total Early-stage Entrepreneurial Activity (TEA) as the percentage of the adult population between the ages of 18 and 64 years who are in the process of starting a business or as owner-manager of a new business which is less than 42 months old. According to GEM, South Africa has persistently low levels of entrepreneurial activity relative to other countries participating in the study (Herrington, Kew, & Mwanga, 2017). In 2016/2017 South Africa had one of the lowest TEA rates among the efficiency-driven economies[14]. It ranked 28th out of 32 efficiency-driven economies and 46th out of all 65 countries participating in GEM.

[14] Efficiency-driven economies are increasingly competitive, with more-efficient production processes and increased product quality – World Economic Forum classification found at https://www.gemconsortium.org/wiki/1367.

Entrepreneurial intentions in South Africa have also dropped from a rate of 12.2 in 2003 to 10.1 in 2016, and are particularly low when compared with the Africa region average (41.6) and other similar economies (26) (Herrington et al., 2017, p. 21).

GEM points out that the persistent trend of low entrepreneurial intention is a concern given the chronically high levels of unemployment and underemployment in South Africa (Herrington et al., 2017).

3.3.1 GEM statistics by age and race

The percentage of 18 – 34 year olds in South Africa involved in early-stage entrepreneurial activity remains extremely low. At 6 percent of the total youth population, the table below shows that it is considerably lower than the average for Africa.

Table 4: TEA by age group in South Africa, 2001 – 2016

YEAR	2001	2005	2009	2013	2014	2015	2016	Africa region 2016 (average)
18 - 24 years	3.4	3.1	4.7	7.8	4.8	6.3	6.7[15]	16.3
25 - 34 years	5.3	6.1	7.4	14.1	9	10.9	6.3	20.8

Source (Herrington et al., 2017, p. 30)

South Africa ranked 58th out of 65 economies in terms of entrepreneurial participation by the 25 – 34 year age cohort (Herrington et al., 2017, p. 30). The decrease in participation in entrepreneurial activities by this group (a decrease of over 4 percent, compared to 2015) was particularly concerning because, generally, this is the age category in which entrepreneurial activity tends to peak (Herrington et al., 2017). These statistics were also concerning as they contradicted the belief that this youth group increasingly viewed entrepreneurship and self-employment as a viable career choice (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013).

Kew et al (2015) paint an even more dismal picture of youth entrepreneurship in South Africa.

[15] Read as 6.7% of 18-24 year olds in 2016 were engaged in early-stage entrepreneurial activity

> "With a quarter of the youth businesses in South Africa (25.4 percent) not as yet active, and a further 45.8 percent having a limited impact, youth entrepreneurship in South Africa, however, does not seem to be having a significant impact on the livelihood of the youth." (p. 37)

Of interest for this study was that black Africans made up the bulk of South Africa's early-stage entrepreneurs. In 2016, 76 percent of TEA activity was by black Africans (three-quarters of the entrepreneurial population) (Herrington et al., 2017, p. 33). A positive finding was that the increase in black African entrepreneurial participation was driven by an increase in opportunity-motivated entrepreneurship rather than entrepreneurship as a last resort for earning an income for survival. This was noteworthy as previous GEM reports highlighted the high rates of survivalist entrepreneurship in South Africa, a trend which does not significantly lead to job creation.

3.3.2 Constraints on entrepreneurship in South Africa

GEM experts cited three important factors constraining entrepreneurial activity in South Africa (Herrington et al., 2017, p. 10):

- Access to finance
- Government policy
- Education and training

Amongst youth specifically, the lack of entrepreneurial culture, education, business experience and access to collateral were seen as contributing factors for low entrepreneurial activity (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013; Herrington et al., 2014, 2017).
In terms of education, South Africa's poor skills level is a significant contributing factor to the country's below-average entrepreneurial capacity. Experts go so far as to say that historically education in South Africa has failed entrepreneurs (Herrington et al., 2017).

Education is seen to be directly correlated to entrepreneurial intentions and growth as it influences entrepreneurs' confidence in whether they have the skills and knowledge to start and sustain a business (Herrington et al., 2017; Singer et al., 2014). If education is poor then an interest in, and the confidence to pursue, entrepreneurship will be poor.

The situation depicted by GEM is not one that would seem to support and grow a culture of youth entrepreneurship in South Africa. Other research, however, depicts the South African

entrepreneurial ecosystem in a more positive light. For example, the GEDI report (Acs, 2017) suggested that South Africa is an entrepreneurial leader in sub-Saharan Africa, with the foundation for a strong entrepreneurial ecosystem. GEDI has developed a measure of entrepreneurship that focuses on the quality of entrepreneurship in a country rather than quantity of entrepreneurs (as is measured in GEM). Specifically, GEDI measures the degree to which an entrepreneurial ecosystem and high growth enterprises exist. GEDI's Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI)[16] uses various indicators, including:

- Entrepreneurial attitudes: how the population of a country feels about entrepreneurship
- Entrepreneurial abilities: the abilities and skills needed to start and run a successful business
- Entrepreneurial aspirations: the type of business that entrepreneurs want to build

In these three indicators South Africa performed above the global trend line in the GEI index, specifically because of its strength in entrepreneurial aspirations. The country ranked 2nd of 30 countries measured in the sub-Saharan region (Acs, 2017, p. 16). South Africa also provided better conditions for entrepreneurship than 20 countries that have higher per capita GDP, including Russian, Mexico and Brazil.

GEDI, however, supports the GEM view that education in South Africa is poor and that the structure of the education system does not allow for creativity and innovation. This impacts on the level of innovative entrepreneurship activity. It also suggested that the education system favours employment over entrepreneurship. The report concluded that South Africa's biggest bottleneck is start-up skills (the knowledge and skills required to start a business). It therefore suggested that priority should be given to strengthening the South African ecosystem in helping more entrepreneurs get the skills and education they need.

Both the GEM and GEDI research emphasise that education is necessary to stimulate an entrepreneurial culture and enable the youth population to become active members of society. International evidence has also shown that, specifically in low- and middle-income countries, entrepreneurship training interventions can lead to meaningful impact (Kluve et al., 2017)**.** However, as the GEM statistics illustrated, in the current South African entrepreneurial environment, stimulating entrepreneurship is a difficult task. All this provides

[16] The GEI sources data from various international agencies including the World Economic Forum

context and justification for the interest in the impact of education programmes such as the RAA, and the challenging environment in which they operate.

3.4 Entrepreneurship education

Section 3.2.1 outlined how entrepreneurship is considered a key driver for economic growth and addressing poverty and inequality. This has increased the focus on entrepreneurship as a youth development strategy to address youth unemployment in South Africa; if entrepreneurship contributes to economic growth and employment, then more youth should be encouraged and trained to become entrepreneurs.

The literature also indicated that entrepreneurship is generally considered a positive opportunity for youth, rather than simply a means of escaping unemployment. Youth entrepreneurship can help alleviate socio-economic challenges by:

- Promoting business formation and self-employment as a viable career option;
- Helping youth build interpersonal skills, and non-cognitive skills such as perseverance and motivation;
- Empowering youth in other life circumstances, including coping with poverty and adapting to adversity.

Assuming there is a willingness by youth to engage in entrepreneurial activity, effective education and training was identified by GEM and GEDI as critical for entrepreneurial development. The implementation of entrepreneurship programmes was also recommended in the national plans and strategies summarized in section 3.1.

To provide the literary background on EE, against which to frame my analysis of the RAA's EE programme, the sections to follow will define EE and present the views in literature regarding whether entrepreneurship can be taught. I then outline the suggested outcomes of impactful EE and discuss the key practices and programmatic components considered important for effective EE.

3.4.1 What is entrepreneurship education?

EE has been identified both locally and internationally as an important mechanism for stimulating entrepreneurial intention and activity, as well as for positive societal change and developing the skills necessary for navigating uncertain futures. The Global Education

Initiative of the World Economic Forum advocated EE as “one of the key drivers of sustained social development and economic recovery” (Volkman et al., 2009, p. 6). They suggested that it is the first and most important step for embedding an innovative culture and preparing entrepreneurial individuals and organizations.

Moberg (2014) and Henry, Hill, & Leitch (2005a) propose that in any economic climate, entrepreneurial development could have far reaching benefits for society. The authors assert that, specifically in difficult economic climates, there is a greater need for people to have entrepreneurial skills and abilities to enable them to deal with life’s challenges, and an uncertain future. They suggest that through the study of entrepreneurship, individuals will be able to become more self-reliant. Similarly, Neck & Greene (2011) advocate that “entrepreneurship education has become more relevant today than ever before” because it develops the ability to create and execute new opportunities in “uncertain and even currently unknowable environments” (p.55). In short, EE is considered vital for the development of an entrepreneurial culture and the human capital necessary for societies of the future (Peterka, Koprivnjak, & Mezulic, 2015; Volkman et al., 2009).

All these arguments indicate that EE has a responsibility broader than producing entrepreneurs who will start a businesses. It performs a role that extends to several aspects of individual development, as crisply proposed by Peterka et al (2015):

> “The need for entrepreneurial behaviour and activity in all aspects of life is becoming more pronounced.” (p. 74)

Current definitions of EE incorporate this broader role. A World Bank report (Valerio et al., 2014) offers the following definition:

> “Entrepreneurship education represents academic education or formal training interventions that share the broad objective of providing individuals with the entrepreneurial mindset[17] and skills to support participations and performance in a range of entrepreneurial activities.“ (p. 21)

In support of the World Bank description, the definitions outlined in the table below point to a shift in the conventional view of teaching entrepreneurship: from business formation to a

[17] See section 3.4.4 for definitions of an entrepreneurial mindset

transformative “educational technique that involves both entrepreneurial mindset and skills, that is reframing the link between education and participation in the economy and society” (DeJaeghere, 2017, p. 8). In other words, EE is being increasingly considered as a platform for transforming youth mindsets and preparing them to be pro-active and valued contributors in the economy and society.

Table 5: Definitions of entrepreneurship education

DEFINITION *(Read: Entrepreneurship Education…)*	**REFERENCE**
Is any pedagogical programme or process of education for entrepreneurial attitudes and skills, which involves developing certain personal qualities. It is therefore not exclusively focused on the immediate creation of new businesses.	(Fayolle, Gailly, & Lassas-Clerc, 2006, p. 702)
Provides youth with entrepreneurial skills and attitudes, which are necessary to cope with the general shift from traditional “job-for-life” careers towards ”portfolio careers” (contract employment, freelancing, periods of self-employment etc.). Thus it improves young people's general employability.	(Schoof, 2006, p. xiii)
Is about developing attitudes, behaviours and capacities at the individual level. Inherently, it is about leadership. It is also about skills and attitudes that can take many forms during an individual’s career, creating a range of long-term benefits to society and the economy.	(Volkman et al., 2009, p. 17)
Encompasses holistic personal growth and transformation that provides students with knowledge, skills and attitudinal learning outcomes. This empowers students with a philosophy of entrepreneurial thinking, passion, and action-orientation that they can apply in their lives, their jobs, their communities, and/or their own new ventures.	(Gedeon, 2014, p. 39)
Is linked to the development of creativity and innovation, as well as the development of other entrepreneurial skills, attributes and behaviours, which can be applied in different contexts and situations, not only business.	(Peterka et al., 2015, p. 75)
Focuses on creation of entrepreneurial culture. It helps potential entrepreneurs to identify and pursue opportunities. It is not limited to boosting start-ups, innovative ventures and new jobs. Entrepreneurship is a competency for all, helping young people to become creative and self-confident in whatever they undertake.	(Gautam, 2015, p. 24)
Developing the mindset, skill set, and practice necessary for starting new ventures, yet the outcomes of such education are far reaching, supporting the life skills necessary to live productive lives even if one does not start a business.	(Neck & Corbett, 2018, p. 10)

These definitions all suggest that while entrepreneurship is to do with business, innovation and creating new value for consumers, it is also a process of creation and transformation for

the individuals themselves. Bygrave, in Henry et al (2005b), refers to entrepreneurship as “a process of becoming, rather than a state of being” (p. 99), suggesting that EE is not a once-off intervention, teaching hard business skills only, but is rather a process of growing the person.

These definitions also suggest that entrepreneurial development has positive advantages and implications for all. However, as noted in section 3.4, it is up to the individual and their willingness to engage in this form of skills training. While some individuals are naturally talented, others will need to work hard to develop entrepreneurial skills and abilities.

For the purposes of this research, based on the definitions presented above, EE is considered to be *a specific skills initiative that has a person-centred approach to developing an entrepreneurial mindset and skills. This learning focus can lead to self-employment (in either the formal or informal economy), employment or further education*.

The literature proposes that a curriculum cannot create an entrepreneur; rather it can only demonstrate the process or method involved in thinking entrepreneurially. “The individual will always be responsible for their own success” (Henry et al., 2005b, p. 164). EE can therefore influence entrepreneurial intention and a participant’s understanding of entrepreneurship, but it cannot make someone entrepreneurial if they do not aspire to be so.

DeJaeghere (2017) says that EE is being increasingly offered to vulnerable youth to assist in alleviating unemployment and to promote social mobility largely in response to the argument that entrepreneurial attitudes and skills can be learned.

This raises the question: can entrepreneurship actually be taught?

3.4.2 Can entrepreneurship be taught?

World renowned management consultant, educator, and author Peter Drucker is often quoted as saying, “The entrepreneurial mystique? It’s not magic, it’s not mysterious, and it has nothing to do with the genes. It’s a discipline. And, like any discipline, it can be learned.” This is not merely a quoted view. Gorman et al (1997) in their 10 year literature review of EE (1985 to 1994) confirm that empirical studies support the argument that “entrepreneurship can be taught, or at least encouraged, by entrepreneurship education” (Gorman et al., 1997, p. 12).

The problem this research is addressing is whether entrepreneurial education can positively impact the economic and personal livelihoods of vulnerable youth. The relevant questions for this study therefore are:

- What should be the outcomes of effective entrepreneurial education?
- What should be taught and how should it be taught?

3.4.3 Outcomes of effective entrepreneurship education

Although the importance of EE is almost universally accepted, there are numerous challenges in measuring its impact and finding specific and shared indicators in terms of what makes EE successful (Hoppe, 2016; Mwasalwiba, 2010; Peterka et al., 2015). Outlining the literature's view on the expected outcomes of effective EE provides a comparative framework for the RAA outcomes identified by this research.

The South African national policies summarised in section 3.1 propose entrepreneurship as a catalyst for creating jobs through the creation of small businesses. In this context, the most expected outcome of EE is "regular" entrepreneurship, which is to develop entrepreneurs who start businesses and then create employment. Creating human capital for economic growth is considered the neoliberal[18] and most prominent approach to EE (DeJaeghere, 2017).

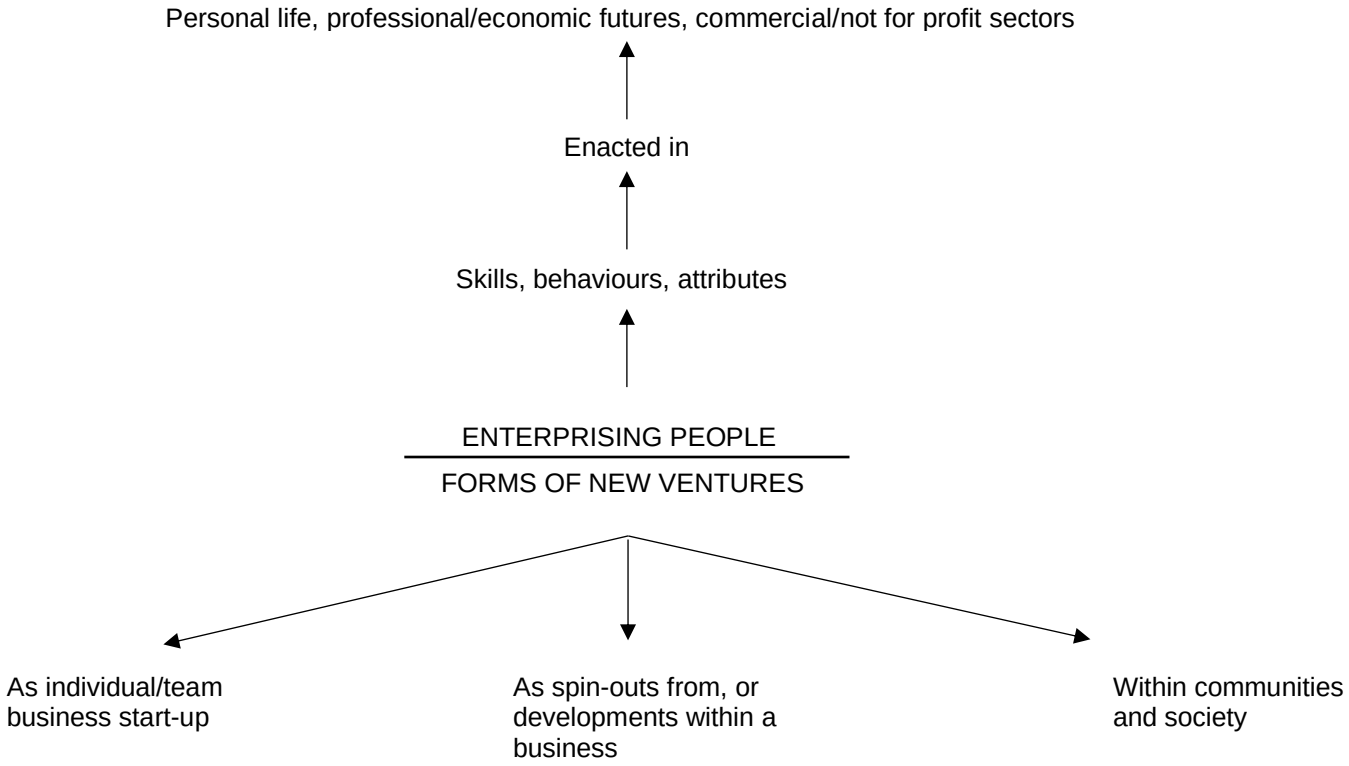
EE has outcomes oriented towards developing skills and ways of thinking and identifying different ways of realising opportunities that support economic livelihoods. Outcomes are therefore both economic and social, and are focused on developing entrepreneurial mindsets as opposed to "regular" entrepreneurs only. As Edwards & Muir (2012) also concluded, outcomes should recognise the learning development of the whole person and not only of economic measures, such as the number of businesses and number of new jobs created. This view is widely supported by international agencies and the authors and studies mentioned below.

Hartshorn & Hannon (2005) illustrate this in a model that combines the outcomes of "human development" and creating enterprising people with "creating human capital"; i.e. the

[18] Where people and institutions in an economy work or are shaped to work according to free market principles rather than state intervention.

formation of new start-up businesses, spin-offs from existing businesses, and ventures supporting communities and societies.

Figure 1: Outcomes matrix of entrepreneurship education



Source (Hartshorn & Hannon, 2005, p. 620)

A four-year study of effective EE by the Youth Economic Participation Initiative (YEPI)[19] also supports this multidimensional view. The research demonstrated that outcomes were (and therefore should be) livelihood-focused and extend beyond business formation, including (Achampong et al., 2017):

- Improved confidence;
- Demystification of entrepreneurship as a viable career option and raised entrepreneurial confidence;

[19] YEPI was a multi-year demonstration grant initiative from 2013 – 2017, funded by the MasterCard Foundation. It included university-based entrepreneurship programmes chosen for their innovative course design, activities geared at boosting graduate employability, and their ability to create new jobs. It examined factors and practices that lead to successful entrepreneurship programmes at each site. Although the programmes were university- based, some targeted vulnerable youth groups.

- Improved creative thinking, critical thought and problem-solving skills that assisted in unlocking entrepreneurial capacity and discovering new opportunities for personal effectiveness;
- Increased ability in leadership skills, including goal identification, priority setting, resilience to setbacks, and risk assessment;
- Improved communication skills;
- Increased access to professional networks.

The YEPI study illustrates that EE has become part of the global youth-development agenda. This is largely because its outcomes benefit youth whether or not they intend to become or continue as entrepreneurs (Kew et al., 2013), and because they make youth more employable, as noted in section 3.2.2. Global interest has resulted in an increasing number of entrepreneurship programmes. Yet EE is sometimes criticized for the shortage of research on its impact (which seldom looks at deep cognitive mindset change), and the absence of a generally accepted framework for evaluating the outcomes of the training (Krueger, 2015; Mwasalwiba, 2010; Neck & Corbett, 2018; Neck & Greene, 2011; O'Connor, 2013).

Henry et al (2005) claim that diversity exists in the type of courses that have been developed, their target audiences and the way in which they are taught, "making it difficult to make comparisons and determine the effectiveness of entrepreneurship education due to the variability that exists" (p. 162). DeJaeghere (2017) similarly asserts that the goals and practices of EE are becoming highly diverse, and their achievement is uncertain. Furthermore, where there is empirical evidence from existing impact evaluations, this variability in programmes has led to heterogeneous findings (Bell, 2015; Burchell et al., 2015; Honorati & Cho, 2012; Kluve et al., 2017; Walter & Block, 2016).

The target audience is a key consideration in assessing what specific purpose EE is meant to serve. Broadly speaking, the literature suggests that the outcome of EE generally follows the educating "for", "through" and "about" approaches (Mwasalwiba, 2010; O'Connor, 2013). EE can be designed "for entrepreneurship", to prepare an individual to start, own and manage a business or "through entrepreneurship", using entrepreneurship principles to provide generic life and work skills. EE design can also be "about entrepreneurship" introducing students to the world of commerce and industry (O'Connor, 2013, p. 549).

This differentiation implies that educating individuals to act entrepreneurially requires a different approach to educating individuals for a profession as an entrepreneur (Moberg,

2014). The target audience and context are therefore important considerations when assessing outcomes of EE, as the differing needs of individuals in diverse circumstances should be taken into account (Athayde, 2012).

For EE programmes targeted at vulnerable youth specifically, evaluations of the outcomes of entrepreneurial skills training have found generally positive effects on earnings and psycho-social well-being (Honorati & Cho, 2012; Kluve et al., 2017). This points to a focus on improved well-being as an outcome of EE for this youth group. In this regard, DeJaeghere (2017) examined a capabilities approach to EE for vulnerable youth that fosters human development. This approach prioritises what individuals' value for their well-being, in addition to creating jobs and economic wealth. The capabilities approach is an interesting framework for assessing outcomes of the RAA programme. However, this is possibly an entire research study on its own. I summarise some insights worth noting in light of the RAA's target audience of youth from poorer socio-economic communities.

In general, the capability approach to education fosters an individual's ability to aspire and create a future that has meaning and is sustainable. It considers the social and economic context that hinders or supports well-being (Powell, 2012). Participants are seen as more than unemployed youth preparing to meet and address critical skills shortages. This approach has the potential to develop capabilities that are valuable in "the full range of social spaces that youth inhabit" (Soudien, 2013, p. 55).

Empirical research by Powell (2012) on the application of a capability approach in vocational education referred to outcomes including increased respect, self-confidence, personal pride, and dreams of new futures, as well as a new sense of being. Participants were enabled to envision a future for themselves that extended beyond the experience of their families. Powell's research also showed that this approach, in expanding their capability to aspire, was one of the interventions that students valued most.

The capability model suggests that if the aim of EE for youth is ultimately to create a future that has meaning and is sustainable, outcomes should include improved well-being and aspirations for a better future. This aligns with the outcomes implied by the definitions of EE presented in section 3.4.1. EE should facilitate transformation for the individual by building self-confidence and developing entrepreneurial skills and attitudes that can be applied in different situations.

Based on my assessment of the literature, the outcome of EE, as a specific skills initiative that combines technical and business skills with attitudes and values, should be the development of:

- An entrepreneurial mindset;
- Non-cognitive skills[20] that improve young people's general employability;
- Knowledge of entrepreneurial and business skills;
- Improved opportunities for economic participation;
- Improved well-being and understanding of how to achieve aspirations for the future.

3.4.4 Definitions of entrepreneurial mindset

Krueger (2015) makes the point that for entrepreneurship educators to say they are building the "entrepreneurial mindset" as an outcome of entrepreneurship programmes is insufficient if there is no rigour about what that term means. The commonly accepted definitions of an entrepreneurial mindset and non-cognitive skills are therefore clarified below in order to assess whether these were outcomes of the RAA programme.

Naumann (2017) comments that no commonly shared concept of entrepreneurial mindset currently exists, but definitions in literature are generally similar. An entrepreneurial mindset is considered as adaptable thinking and decision-making in complex, uncertain and dynamic environments. It applies enterprising qualities such as initiative, resiliency, innovation, creativity and risk taking (DeJaeghere, 2017; Naumann, 2017). It relates to how a person thinks, or the lens through which they see the world, and how this influences their propensity for entrepreneurial activities and outcomes.

Both Krueger (2015) and a study by the Allan Gray Orbis Foundation (2017) identified several recurring themes typifying an entrepreneurial mindset, including:

- Taking initiative and personal responsibility for actions;
- Optimism;
- Goal-directed behaviours;
- Recognising opportunities;
- Resilience to adversity and perseverance in the face of challenges;

[20] Includes motivation, perseverance, self-control, opportunity recognition, critical thinking, decision making, teamwork, leadership, self-efficacy and self-esteem

- Taking risks that lead to learning, growth and value;
- A belief in one's ability to influence;
- Tolerance for and engagement in a complex and uncertain world;
- Creative and innovative approaches to problem solving;
- Belief and confidence in one's own capacity and competency to be entrepreneurial;
- Desire, motivation and intention to practice entrepreneurship and behave entrepreneurially.

In summary, despite limited research on the effectiveness of entrepreneurship programmes, EE is generally expected to foster an entrepreneurial mindset and non-cognitive skills, and to act as a catalyst for increased employment or entrepreneurial activity. Kluve et al (2017) assert that for youth employment interventions the "how" seems to be more important than the "what". Their research illustrated how the design and implementation features of an intervention seemed to influence results more strongly than did the type of intervention. This emphasises the need for careful programmatic design that observes best practices.

3.4.5 Entrepreneurship education best practice

Youth development skills initiatives that aim to address unemployment, should, irrespective of their subject focus, perform a role that develops and supports youth holistically. Contextual understanding is also important. As Cho and Honorati (2012) note, different combinations of youth intervention components matter differently across types of beneficiaries and contexts. This suggests that interventions need to be customised to achieve the desired outcomes.

Holistic development and customisation for context are therefore important considerations for the design of youth EE programmes. How, or the degree to which, this is implemented is largely dependent on whether a programme has adopted the educating "for", "through" and "about" approaches to EE.

A major critique of entrepreneurship programmes comes from Neck & Greene (2011) who argue that EE is "based on a world of yesterday—a world where precedent was the foundation for future" (p. 55). The authors argue that programmes are ineffective where they do not recognise the "ever-changing world" and employ teaching methods that do not take into account dramatic changes in content and context.

Traditional approaches to EE are also criticized and considered dated, due to their focus on teaching the theory of small business management only, or how to write a business plan, usually in a stand-and-deliver lecture manner (Garavan & O′Cinneide, 1994; Hoppe, 2016; Neck & Greene, 2011; Testa & Frascheri, 2015). In addition, traditional educational methods place too little emphasis on the development of entrepreneurial traits, competencies and attributes, or the mental preparation of aspiring entrepreneurs (Garavan & O′Cinneide, 1994; Karimi et al., 2010).

Hollister & Catalano (2016) propose adopting new practices and ways of teaching entrepreneurship that support active student involvement in learning, and a student-centred classroom. Correspondingly, Volkman et al (2009) call for educational practices that differ from traditional ways, and argue that EE must itself be entrepreneurial and multifaceted, in order to help young people develop their innate entrepreneurial skills.

The new emphasis needs to be an action-based approach with an emphasis on experiential learning, creative problem-solving, project-based learning and peer evaluation (Bell, 2015; Jones & Iredale, 2010; Mwasalwiba, 2010). Fundamentally, a creative approach is central to how entrepreneurship could (and should) be taught (Hoppe, 2016); as well as a holistic, practical and person-centred pedagogy for developing entrepreneurial skills and attitudes. Succinctly put,

> “Entrepreneurship should be taught in a personal, practical and experiential way.” (Testa & Frascheri, 2015, p. 14)

A report by the World Economic Forum investigating EE tools and good practices (Volkman et al., 2009) aligns with many of the key factors identified above. It neatly summarises what and how to teach entrepreneurship, combining the outcomes of effective EE, discussed in section 3.4.3, and the practices that should be employed (in no particular order).

Table 6: Key areas to maximise learning of participants in entrepreneurship education

WHAT SHOULD BE TAUGHT	• Enhancing entrepreneurial behaviours and mindsets • Building self-confidence, self-efficacy and leadership • Creativity, innovation and ability to think out of the box to solve problems • Managing complexity and unpredictability • Basic business and financial skills • Opportunity identification • How to build, finance and grow new ventures • Developing negotiation skills • Building relationships, networks and social capital
HOW IT SHOULD BE TAUGHT	• Interactive, learning centred pedagogies • Learning by doing / hands-on approach • Multi-disciplinary programmes and projects • Experiential learning (learn through trial and error) • Projects, internships with start-ups • Mentoring and coaching • Interactions with entrepreneurs • Extensive use of visuals, digital tools and multimedia

Source (Volkman et al., 2009, p. 11)

In line with the authors' views discussed thus far, the report suggests that in order to implement EE effectively, learning should be interactive, practical and experiential so as to enhance entrepreneurial mindsets and behaviours. Furthermore, models that build self-confidence and self-efficacy should be encouraged.

The international YEPI study presented similar universal determinants in terms of best practice, summarised in the table below. These were developed through an examination of promising approaches in the implementation of quality youth entrepreneurship initiatives in higher education.

Table 7: YEPI summary of key practices for high impact entrepreneurship education

Strong curricula and formal coursework that focus on three content areas: - Entrepreneurship - Business skills - Life skills Integration of both entrepreneurial development ("soft skills", entrepreneurial mindset, and personal development) and enterprise development (business knowledge and skills)
Disruptive pedagogies that emphasise experiential and engaged learning (where students learn by doing)
A person-centred approach where participants discover new capabilities, develop a deeper purpose and increase hope and possibility.

Networking to build social and physical networks, and expand participants' social capital. This includes the creation of pathways for participants to connect with individuals, organizations, and businesses they typically would not have contact with.
Responsive to local contexts: Curricular offerings crafted to match local needs, conditions and economic opportunities
Mentoring and incubation
Talented staff and facilitators
Convening spaces for participants

Source (Achampong et al., 2017; Carrier, Furco, & Roholt, 2015; Hollister & Catalano, 2016)

The YEPI study emphasised the importance of staff, context and a convening space, as well as the concept of transformational EE, which "simultaneously emphasises individual values and develops skills in business development and in building healthy communities" (Hollister & Catalano, 2016, p. 7). This relates back to the idea that entrepreneurship is a "process of becoming" (Henry et al., 2005b).

Empirical research by Kluve et al (2016) also provided convincing evidence that programmes that, firstly, profile and understand participants' contexts and then monitor and follow them in the programme, are more likely to succeed and have greater effect. Here, staff would play an important role in profiling and monitoring beneficiaries.

The review of existing literature for this dissertation indicates that the factors criticized as not supporting effective EE design were, in many cases, in direct contrast to the factors considered conducive for impactful programmes. The table below provides a summary comparison based on Achampong et al., 2017; Carrier et al., 2015; Garavan & O'Cinneide, 1994; Hollister & Catalano, 2016; Karimi et al., 2010; Neck & Greene, 2011; Testa & Frascheri, 2015; Volkman et al., 2009.

Table 8: Comparison of successful vs non-successful factors of effective entrepreneurship education

SUCCESSFUL FACTORS	NON-SUCCESSFUL FACTORS
Curricula combining theory, action-based learning and practice, and soft skills development	Curricula based on teaching the theory of business and how to write business plans or curricula based on soft-skills only Stand-and-deliver teaching approach
A person centred/personal development approach, promoting confidence and self-efficacy	Programmes that do not include confidence building and promoting individual well-being
Education that takes context into account.	Curriculum and delivery that are disconnected from the context of the people, particularly those

	engaged in entrepreneurship in the local community Anecdotal programmes not based on hard evidence of local need and design Programmes that do not take into account social, financial, economic, and cultural barriers, negative connotations about the term entrepreneur, and local economic dynamics
A focus on developing an entrepreneurial mindset	Programmes that measure against how many businesses were started as a result of the programme
Programme design, facilitation and support by teams who demonstrate entrepreneurial characteristics	Programmes that do not use well-trained trainers and relevant materials

Although the general sentiment in the current literature is that there is no “one-size-fits-all” solution or a particular course or curriculum for impactful EE, the table above highlights five key approaches for effective programme design.

While traditional emphasis on business theory is still relevant, when teaching entrepreneurship, the review of best practice emphasises that education which teaches independence and promotes holistic personal development, self-efficacy, and the opportunity to act entrepreneurially is important, whether the approach is teaching for, about, or through entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship educators should therefore see personal development and the development of self-efficacy as an integral part of the pedagogical approach to youth entrepreneurship development. EE is an opportunity for the development of both business and personal skills which can influence personal development and economic livelihoods. This argument provides the theory against which to investigate if, and to compare how, the RAA is designed in line with EE best practice, and if it the programme outcomes align to those that indicate effective EE.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter provides a description of the research approach and methods I used to gather and analyse the data for my dissertation. It includes a section on reflexivity and describes the practices I undertook to uphold rigour and integrity in the research design and analysis.

4.1 Research approach

Leedy & Ormrod (2015) posit that research problems often have quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Therefore to fully address these problems both qualitative and quantitative techniques should be used. While quantitative research is largely outcomes focused, qualitative research is more interested in "how" and is therefore "holistic in its concern with process and context" because it takes into account perspective of the social actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Toma, 2011).

As this study aims to provide a holistic view of the impact of EE, I assumed the view that quantitative units alone cannot explain all aspects of this study; they may not take into account possible insights, nuances or exceptions. I therefore used a Mixed Methods research approach, applying qualitative and quantitative methods (Denscombe, 2007).

The choice of a Mixed Methods approach enabled me to explore both the measurable, more objective, impacts (e.g. economic activity, income, student evaluations of the programme) and the role or impact of qualitative, more subjective, factors (such as agency, resilience and hope) that are often more difficult to capture in survey work. Using this approach therefore allowed me to integrate conclusions from the data into a "cohesive whole" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015, p. 329). Furthermore, as the Mixed Methods approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of the research topic, it helps to reduce researcher bias because the data is triangulated and viewed from different positions. Qualitative insights can be supported with quantitative findings and analysis, and vice versa, and quantitative aspects can compensate for weaknesses in qualitative data and vice versa (Denscombe, 2007; Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). This complementarity meant I could make a more convincing case for particular conclusions if both quantitative and qualitative data led to those conclusions.

I collected and used the following quantitative data to undertake this study:

- RAA application forms and evaluation forms of RAA cohorts
- Data collected via online surveys completed by RAA Alumni

- Data collected via online surveys completed by the research participants

As this study is based in the discipline of programme evaluation, I used a "generic qualitative inquiry" framework (Patton, 2015, p. 99) to identify the useful insights and practical consequences regarding whether EE is impactful for youth. To do this I collected and used the following qualitative data:

- Data from the essays that were submitted as part of the RAA application forms
- Interviews with selected RAA applicants

4.2 Research method

The study's primary research question, *what has been the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods?,* implies that this is a programme evaluation. While it is an evaluation in principle, the research approach to an evaluation varies according to the purpose of the project. This may be to make judgements of merit or worth, to improve programmes or to generate knowledge (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Patton, 2015). The purpose of this study is to improve our understanding of the impact of EE programmes and, in particular, to assess whether young people change their attitudes and behaviours because of such interventions. It is not a formative evaluation looking to improve a programme or judge worth (Patton, 2015). Mine is a therefore a knowledge-orientated evaluation (Babbie & Mouton, 2012).

I use the case study evaluation model to provide a detailed description and rich story about the RAA programme, my unit of analysis (Patton, 2015). Stufflebeam (2001, p. 35) regards the case study method as "highly appropriate in programme evaluation" because it allows for programmes to be examined as they naturally occur, and it addresses accuracy issues by triangulating multiple data collection methods, perspectives, and information sources (Patton, 2015; Stufflebeam, 2001). Using the RAA as a case study made sense as a research method for this dissertation because it allowed me to do an in-depth investigation using a range of qualitative and quantitative methods. Case studies are "questions and methods orientated" in their evaluation approach (Stufflebeam, 2001). This meant I was able to create a detailed and nuanced story about the programme and its participants.
For the case study evaluation method, I was required to define and describe the programme's beneficiaries, examine their needs and then the extent to which the programme effectively addressed these needs (Stufflebeam, 2001, p. 34). I do this using the Mixed Methods research approach.

Evaluation literature also advocates that for findings to be plausible when using the case study method, especially where there are positive effects, the research should show that:

- There has been a positive change over time;
- That such change is in fact due to the intervention and not extraneous factors.

(Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 348).

While I did not know with certainty if there were positive effects at the outset, I applied these guidelines while designing the elements of my research, particularly in designing the combination of data sources to collect, and the types of questions to include in the interview questionnaire and online surveys completed by participants.

For a case study to show positive impact over time usually involves pre and post-test design. The personal decision to do this master's dissertation at a particular time in the RAA programming meant that I was doing research "after the fact" using a post-test design only (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). I was therefore aware that the case study approach and post-test design would only be able to indicate whether participants *believed* they changed or were impacted through their involvement in the intervention. The quantitative elements of the research design served to compensate for some of the limitations of the post-test method.

The case study method also meant I was able to engage an inductive approach to my analysis, allowing my understanding of the case to "emerge from direct observations of programme activities and interview with participants" (Patton, 2015, p. 64). I was able to review participant observations and experiences and then build up second order constructs. Rather than beginning with a theory or hypothesis, or presupposing in advance what the important dimensions would be, I developed a theory to make sense of the data and observations that I collected (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Patton, 2015). To do this I specifically:

- Developed an in-depth understanding of the participants' socio-economic context before the programme;
- Investigated evidence of characteristics such as agency, resilience, confidence and hope both before and after the programme;
- Gathered data on the participants' experience of the RAA and their assessment of specific components on the programme;
- Investigated participants' perceptions of what aspects of the programme impacted their pathway, post-graduation;
- Gathered data on economic activity and personal income before and after the RAA programme.

4.3 Data collection methods

I used qualitative research to unpack and identify participant attitudes, beliefs and opinions then quantitative data to triangulate these findings by tracking information gathered from both Alumni and the research participants from before and after the RAA programme. The design of data collection started with a literature review to identify what was currently known about the research topics. It was then followed by several stages, outlined below.

4.3.1 Interviews with applicants

I conducted semi-structured interviews with each of the participants to elicit their opinions, perspectives, feelings and experiences (Denscombe, 2007) concerning the RAA, and to understand their backgrounds prior to applying to the programme. The interviews took place in 2016 and 2017. The interview participant list was designed to include youth who had already participated in the RAA programme (from various cohorts) or who had previously applied to the RAA.

The interviews were divided into the following categories:

- Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with graduates from the RAA
- Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with participants who did not complete the RAA programme
- Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with participants who were not selected for the RAA programme

I had known the interviewees when they were students on the programme, or had briefly met those who applied, but were not selected, in the selection interviews. In an attempt to reduce the influence of this prior engagement with them, I used an interview guideline with the same set of questions for each interview. While I could have opted for the use of a research assistant to conduct the interviews, I chose not to, as I believed that my EE experience and knowledge of the field placed me in a better-informed position to probe certain answers. First-hand observation of participants' body language and reactions would also allow for a deeper understanding of each participants personal story and RAA experience. I was aware that this may have introduced some bias in the answers of respondents, I therefore tried to mitigate this risk with the triangulation of various methods.

The interview guideline was designed to understand the applicants' backgrounds prior to applying to the RAA; their experience of the RAA course; the skills and attitudes developed on the programme, and their activity post-the-RAA. The information allowed for a deeper understanding of the participants' relationships with significant others such as parents and role models; their experience of school; the influence of their broader communities; their insights regarding success and career goals, and the impact of the RAA programme. It included the following kinds of questions (Appendix 1 contains the full interview question guideline):

- Why did you apply to the RAA?
- Could you please tell me a little bit more about who you grew up with?
- What was life like when you were a child?
- Describe a key moment in your life and how it affected your choices and why.
- Would you say that RAA has changed anything about you as an individual?

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with the participants at the Raymond Ackerman Academy offices based at the UCT Graduate School of Business in central Cape Town. In one case an interview was conducted at a participant's place of employment. All interviews were recorded and transcribed by an external transcriber. Field notes were taken for use as complementary material during the analysis. After each interview participants completed an online survey, this was done with me no longer present.

After each interview, I sent a copy of the audio recordings via an online file transfer platform to a transcriber. The transcriptions of the interviews were then emailed back in Word document format[21]. I then methodically reviewed the transcripts and began to manually analyse the data.

4.3.2 RAA application forms

RAA application forms, submitted by each of the participants, were reviewed and assessed for the study. I included the application forms because applicants to the RAA programme completed several written essays as part of their application. The essays describe their background, where they see themselves in 10 years' time, and why they chose to apply for a study at the RAA. This information was included in the qualitative analysis, specifically to

[21] The transcripts are archived and can be made available on request.

assess predisposing factors such as agency and resilience and to triangulate this with information obtained from the interviews. The application forms also included demographic information, such as age and household income, which was used to provide an overview of the research participants.

4.3.3 Evaluation forms

Course evaluation forms from RAA cohorts 2010 – 2016 were assessed to identify the specific course content that consistently rated highly amongst RAA students, and whether these correlated to the information from the individual interviews.

4.3.4 Online surveys

I developed two different online surveys for the research study (both are reproduced in Appendix 2). One was completed by RAA Alumni, and the other by all the participants in the research interviews. Denscombe (2007) suggests that this data collection method assists in collecting "purposeful and structured" information from targeted informants. The questionnaire for the research participants' specifically included:

- Demographic and financial status questions
- A rating of the various RAA workshops and modules
- The individual's assessment of various competencies before and after the programme

This quantitative information allowed me to assess and compare the information with the data obtained from the RAA course evaluations, application forms, and interviews.

A second survey was sent to the RAA Alumni group which included questions on activity and income before and after participating in the RAA programme.

The surveys were created using SelectSurvey.Net, a tool supported by the UCT Graduate School of Business. This online platform was used to send a survey link via a personalised email or social media channel such as WhatsApp. The research participants completed the survey immediately after their qualitative interview (this was done to ensure the survey was completed by each research participant). Once submitted, SelectSurvey.Net automatically organised the results into an overview report, individual reports, and an Excel spreadsheet

with a summary of the data. See Appendix 2 for the online survey templates and Appendix 3 for the summary report of the responses.

4.3.5 RAA alumni database

To help quantify the impact of the programme I used the RAA Alumni database to assess the general trends in post-programme activity of RAA graduates. The database documents the current activity of all contactable alumni. It categorises who has gone on to further study, work or start their own business, or who remain unemployed.

4.4 Selecting the participants

In choosing the sample for this study I applied the perspective of Babbie & Mouton (2012) that it is sometimes appropriate to select a sample on the basis of one's own knowledge of the population and the nature of your research aims. In short, "based on your judgement and the purpose of the study" (Babbie & Mouton, 2012, p. 166). Given that I was attempting to understand the impact of EE for vulnerable South African youth, I selected a small subset that would enable me to draw appropriate inferences about this larger population (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015).

I engaged in purposive sampling, choosing particular participants considered largely representative of a youth group most at risk of unemployment (described in Chapter 2) and who could provide detailed perspectives on the issues under study (Patton, 2015). This would allow for possible transferability of the conclusions to the larger population and other contexts (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014; Toma, 2011).

As there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2015), I selected what I deemed would be a large enough group to make meaningful comparisons. The sample consisted of 32 participants who had applied to the RAA, 27 of whom participated in the programme, and 5 whose applications were not successful. They were all black youth, males and females, between the ages of 18 and 30, from low-income areas on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. I tried to make this small sample as relevant and homogenous as possible to be able to draw relevant conclusions about the RAA's impact (approximately half of the RAA's participants are Black youth from the Cape Flats, where the other half would be made up of Coloured and other race groups). Participants for the interviews were selected according to the following additional criteria:

- 11 RAA graduates who owned their own business at the time of the study
- 11 RAA graduates who were working at the time of the study

The RAA Alumni database was used to identify Alumni who met the criteria above. Alumni in this group were then considered for the study if RAA had their updated contact details and if they were in Cape Town (and would therefore be available for an in-person interview).

I then briefed the RAA administrator to contact Alumni on this short list, from several different RAA cohorts. The RAA administrator contacted candidates from this list and confirmed the participants who were available and willing to participate. The short list of potential interviewees was larger than the sample needed, the RAA administrator therefore only contacted enough candidates to fill the interview slots. Some interviewees cancelled before the interviews and she then contacted other potential candidates on the list.

I did not implement a system for random selection (for example, one participant from every RAA cohort who met the criteria), therefore in identifying the possible short-list some discretion or selection bias may have crept in from both myself and the administrator. I tried to mitigate this risk by including Alumni from several cohorts and by triangulating with quantitative survey data of all Alumni.

I decided to focus the study on the subsamples above and did not include RAA graduates who were unemployed as this group made up 5 percent of the graduates at the time of the study (see Figure 2 in Chapter 5). I realise that this may have upwardly biased my study, however it was a pragmatic decision taken at the time.

I was aware that the sample should include a counterfactual group who did not fit the regular pattern (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Leedy & Ormrod, 2015) to provide information about variability that may have existed, and in order to avoid bias. I therefore included a sample group who did not receive any of, or the full training of the RAA, in order to improve my understanding of the themes. I also wanted to be able to compare the findings on RAA graduates with a small group that could make up a “control group” comprising of a similar “type” of young person. This group included:

- 5 applicants who were selected for the programme but withdrew from the course before its completion (1 participant withdrew at approximately 2,5 months and the other 4 participants withdrew between 3,5 and 4,5 months)
- 5 applicants who applied but were not selected

The use of purposive sampling and the inclusion of a counterfactual group, albeit small, allowed me to investigate the impact of EE on a sample of youth representative of a larger youth group at risk of unemployment.

4.5 Data analysis

I used the Miles and Huberman approach as a guide to analysing the qualitative research data. This approach allows for conclusions to emerge from the data as well as from "previously gained and developed (theoretical) knowledge" (De Lannoy, 2008, p. 52). Conclusions are drawn following a process of "data reduction" and "data display" (Miles et al., 2014).

In the analysis stage I followed what the authors propose are the classic set of analytic moves after having collected the data (Miles et al., 2014): To select and condense the data I assigned first level codes to facilitate the process of identifying themes and patterns in the data. I then isolated these patterns, compared the data and sought out additional information to support or qualify the emerging clusters. Once the data had been condensed from lengthy text transcripts, I was able to review the information in a compact "display", for further analysis and to draw conclusions. I explain the full coding strategy in 4.6 below.
In addition to providing a method for analysis, the Miles and Huberman approach also provided practical standards to help me assess the quality of my conclusions. This was important given my role at the RAA. In conversation with my supervisors, the decision was taken to choose this approach because it also accepts that analysis may be influenced by the researcher's knowledge of the field. In this regard, Miles and Huberman suggest that markers of a good qualitative researcher-as-instrument include:

> "familiarity with the phenomenon and setting under study, strong conceptual interests, a multidisciplinary approach, and good investigative skills" (Toma, 2011, p. 15).

The Miles and Huberman approach was therefore considered the best fit as it allowed me to acknowledge my "inherent subjectivity in the researcher-as-instrument for collecting and analysing data" (Toma, 2011, p. 5), as well as my role as "insider". In qualitative analysis the researcher works to become an "insider" to fully grasp and understand the research (Toma, 2011). As I was already an "insider" at the RAA, I recognised that my experience and

intuition would play a role in gaining meaning and developing concepts and theories (Toma, 2011).

Given this acceptance of "inherent subjectivity", I was also aware that it was critical to address potential biases at the initial stages of data analysis to ensure my interpretation of the findings were trustworthy and right (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Miles et al., 2014). I therefore took guidance from the practical standards suggested by Miles et al. (2014), most importantly objectivity and credibility:

- Objectivity: In qualitative analysis it is essential for the researcher to be as explicit and as self-aware as possible about personal assumptions, values and biases, and how they may have come into play during the study (Miles et al., 2014). I explain how I engaged objectivity in the reflexivity section in 4.7 below.
- Credibility: In order to ensure the findings in a study make sense and are credible to participants and readers, Miles et al (2014) suggest that the data is comprehensive and context-rich, that triangulation is used to converge conclusions, the account is accurate and plausible, and negative or counterfactual evidence is sought. I endeavoured to fulfil all these practices in my data collection and analysis.

4.6 Coding strategy

As described in section 4.5 above, I analysed the data using a process whereby I identified themes and patterns through the reduction of the qualitative data. To do this I developed a coding framework that was initially based on the set of research questions and the interview guide, and then further developed after an initial review of the data.

In their method, Miles et al (2014) see codes as labels that give "symbolic" meaning to the descriptive information compiled in a study. They suggest the use of first cycle codes that work with the large pool of data, and second cycle or pattern codes that work with the resulting first cycle codes themselves (Miles et al., 2014, p. 73).

During the first level coding stage I developed a starting coding list whereby I allocated codes according the different stages that participants engaged with the RAA. This also included a first level code for information pertaining to the participants' backgrounds and individual characteristics.

- Section 1: Who are these applicants?

- Section 2: Applying to the RAA
- Section 3: On programme
- Section 4: Post programme

By using these time frames I was able to separate the participants' contextual circumstances prior to the RAA from their experience of the programme. Reviewing participant responses at the different stages also allowed me to identify if shifts occurred. During this phase of the coding process I removed or added codes as new themes emerged from the data.

At the pattern coding stage of the analysis I reviewed the first level codes in order to group them into more meaningful patterns. This examination of the data allowed me to see similarities and differences across the interviews, from which I could further define the codes. For example, the first level coding of the participants' backgrounds revealed similarities and differences in their experience of entrepreneurship while growing up. Patterns emerged around their exposure and participation in entrepreneurship or trade, the type of trade and their perceptions of entrepreneurship. The codes I assigned are illustrated in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Example of coding levels

CODE LEVEL	CODE DESCRIPTION
First cycle	Who are these applicants?
Pattern	Background: Exposure to trade, business or entrepreneurial influence
Pattern sub codes	Participation in trade business
	Type of trade business
	Understanding of entrepreneur

(See Appendix 4 for the full coding framework and Appendix 5 for an example of how the transcripts were coded.)

After all the collected data had been coded and analysed, I developed a set of conclusions relating to:

- The individual characteristics and contextual influences most common amongst participants;
- If, and how, the RAA programme impacted the personal and economic livelihoods of the youth in the study.

4.6.1 Description of NVivo

> "Qualitative analysis is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion, it is not neat." (Denscombe, 2007, p. 302)

I am neat, and logical! I therefore used the qualitative data analysis computer software, NVivo, to help organise and "contain" the coding process. As a research software tool, Nvivo is particularly useful for organizing data by themes, this is done by creating nodes, which are similar to folders. The software does not prescribe a particular research methodology and does not analyse the data (*Guide for NVivo 11 Pro*, 2017). It is *how* the researcher uses the software that will impact the quality of the research, not the software itself (Paulus, Woods, Atkins, & Macklin, 2017).

Nvivo helped me make sense of the quantity of data and to sort, organise, code, retrieve, analyse and visualise the data. I used Nvivo to sort and examine the transcripts of my interviews. It allowed for enhanced flexibility and convenience (Bazeley, 2002) and made it easier to visualise patterns and emerging themes. I was able to run queries where I could see all the data relating to a particular code. For example, NVivo compiled all participant comments relating to the code "RAA added value" in one document for review and comparison. This allowed me to then investigate and analyse specific themes.

4.7 Reflexivity

I was particularly cognisant of, and acknowledge the influence that my position as the Director of the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development may have played in this research. Reflexivity was therefore an essential part of this research process.

Reflexivity emphasises the importance of deep introspection, cultural awareness and ownership of one's perspective. It requires reflecting on what we know, and how we know it; and inquiring into our thinking patterns as we apply this thinking to making sense of the research patterns being observed (Patton, 2015). Experience informs thinking and must be acknowledged as part of reflexivity, as the Good Research Guide (Denscombe, 2007) suggests,

> "There is a growing acceptance among those involved in qualitative data analysis that some details about the researcher warrant inclusion as part of the analysis, thus

> allowing the writer to explore the ways in which he or she feels personal experiences and values might influence matters." (p. 301)

Denscombe goes on to explain that qualitative researchers could take the position that the researcher's identity, values and beliefs play a role in the production and analysis of qualitative data. Therefore, researchers should be clear about the way their research agenda has been shaped by personal experiences and social backgrounds.

Having been in the role since December 2008, my professional experience would have undoubtedly shaped my perspective on EE and youth. It also meant I would have come into this research project with several years of built-up knowledge in the field. I therefore had to be astutely self-aware of what I thought I knew and how this might influence how I interpreted the findings, specifically those relating to the programmatic elements. It was equally important that I consider with what voice I shared my perspectives, as the "searching voice of the sleuth, the voice of the storyteller, the intimacy of insiders voice, the searching voice of uncertainty, the excited voice of discovery" (Patton, 2015, p. 74).

I introduced this dissertation by explaining that the inspiration behind the research was the stories of hope, determination and optimism detailed in the application essays. This research study was an opportunity for me to find out whether our programme actually made a difference in the lives of our participants. Whilst I had reviewed reports of alumni activity and quantitative outcomes, the in-depth research would allow me to identify elements about the programme and the participants that I may not have had sight of beforehand.

This was a journey of discovery that would help me really understand the backgrounds of our students and what participating in the RAA really meant for them. I was very close to the research, but a stranger at the same time.

I tried to keep this voice of discovery throughout the project.

I did however realise that I was doing an evaluation as an "insider" and had to constantly account for the impact of that fact on the research.
Outsiders to a group influence insiders, and vice versa (Miles et al., 2014, p. 298). In this study I had to be aware that an as "insider" I could also influence the group of insiders.
My status as head of the programme meant that I was already known to the interviewees. Even with an "outsider" researcher, "participants may craft their responses to protect their self-interests to appear more amenable" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 298). I was therefore

conscious that, especially at the start of the interviews, as they navigated my “new” role as researcher, my status as Director may have created social behaviour that may not have occurred ordinarily with an “outsider”. The interviewees were likely to be comfortable with conducting an interview with a known party and may have been more forthcoming in sharing information. In contrast, I acknowledge that participants may have been reserved in disclosing any negative sentiment towards the RAA. Both of these scenarios may have led to my own biased observations and inferences (Miles et al., 2014).

To try and reduce the bias and distortion of the data that may have stemmed from being an “insider”, I applied the following guidelines as suggested by Miles et al (2014, p. 298):

- I practiced “mixed methods triangulation” (Patton, 2015, p. 663), using several data collection methods to not overly depend on one set of data;
- I kept research questions in mind so as not wander too far from interview guidelines;
- I considered data that opposed conclusions and used outliers to verify and confirm conclusions.

In addition, to try to ensure that participants did not provide answers that they might assume I (as Director) would have been looking for, at the start of each interview I explained my role as researcher and the aims of the study. I emphasised that the interview was a safe, objective space in which honesty was critical for a robust evaluation and development of recommendations for EE and the RAA programme.

I also had to critically reflect on what personal or methodological biases might have affected both the collection and interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). While sometimes my own experience could be used as indirect triangulation, in other cases, it could lead me to foreclosing the analysis. I therefore had to be conscious of the extent to which I could make claims.

The reality is that I cannot identify where all my biases lay. If we fully understood our biases they would not be biases. In all likelihood I applied lenses to the research that I was not even aware of. I therefore kept asking the question, “What would convince a sceptical examiner?” to ensure I constantly interrogated whether I was applying the necessary rigour and integrity in the research design and analysis.

4.8 Ethics clearance

Ethics clearance was obtained by the UCT Ethical Clearance Committee (See Appendix 6). To comply with ethical considerations, all informants were asked to sign a consent form to demonstrate their willingness to participate in the study (See Appendix 7). The form:

- Clarified the purpose of the study;
- Explained that participation was voluntary;
- Obtained consent for the audio-taping of the interviews;
- Stipulated that participants' identities would remain confidential;
- Assured informants that they could decide to end the interview or to withdraw from the broader study at any stage;
- Explained that participants would receive a R50 supermarket voucher to reimburse them for transport costs to the interviews and to acknowledge their contribution to the research.

All interviews were conducted in an informal, conversational approach. At all times, special care was taken not to ask too sensitive or threatening questions. To maintain the confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants, pseudonyms are used throughout this dissertation.

4.8.1 Ethical issues relating to participants and the researcher

The key people concerned with this study were the participants and the researcher. As the researcher I worked ethically by taking the following issues into account:

- The study did not involve participants unable to give informed consent;
- Participants did not take part in the study without their knowledge and consent;
- Information was not obtained by using adverse means or potentially harmful procedures of any kind;
- No financial bribes were offered to participants (participants were not informed that they would receive a R50 voucher when they were invited to participate in the study);
- Relevant methodologies were used when conducting the study;
- The results of the report were truthfully revealed and without any known bias;
- The research did not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- I endeavoured to complete all aspects of the research with reasonable care and with quality and integrity.

4.8.2 Ethical issues relating to the sponsoring organisation

Part-funding for this study was obtained from the Talloires Network Youth Economic Participation Initiative (YEPI). RAA was a partner project in this initiative and my role as Director of the RAA extended to being a YEPI programme manager. I received funding from YEPI in support of my professional development. The research was conducted for academic purposes and for RAA programmatic evaluation. I confirm that the study was in no way manipulated by the sponsor nor was the research conducted for the sponsor.

Chapter Five: Overview of the Raymond Ackerman Academy

The chapter presents a brief description of the Raymond Ackerman Academy (RAA) in order to provide an understanding of the objectives and aims of the RAA's EE programme as well as the youth it targets. This provides the background against which to assess and then compare the RAA design and outcomes with the literature on EE best practice and effective outcomes. A summary of post-programme graduate activity is also included, which gives context for the research sample selection. Detailed programme information on the RAA's application process, pedagogy, curriculum and a quantitative breakdown of all the cohorts can be seen in Appendix 8.

The RAA is an initiative that encourages and supports youth entrepreneurship by offering a programme of business, personal, and professional development. It is aimed at youth whose socio-economic backgrounds provide limited opportunities for accessing tertiary education, finding employment or starting a business. The RAA programme offers under-resourced South African youth a university-based, accredited course in entrepreneurship, and the opportunity for business incubation after completing the course.

The RAA is a post-high school, tertiary-level academy. It has two campuses. One is at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business (UCT GSB). The other is at the Soweto Campus of the University of Johannesburg in Gauteng. Although the aims of both RAA campuses are the same, delivery and materials may differ. Both RAA campuses offer:

- A 6-month full-time programme in entrepreneurial development to youth between the ages of 18 and 30
- A one-year business incubator for academy graduates who are starting or running their own businesses

The RAA was opened in 2005 as a partnership between the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the Raymond Ackerman Foundation (RAF). The RAF partnered with UCT to design, develop and offer an entrepreneurial development programme that would:

- Provide a skills-development opportunity for youth who have not had the chance to pursue tertiary education;
- Promote youth entrepreneurship with training that will help them develop an entrepreneurial mindset;
- Enable these youth to start their own enterprise or pursue formal employment.

The RAA bases its model for entrepreneurial development on the two pedagogical approaches of “person-centred” and “entrepreneurial support”. The programme design uses experiential learning and self-reflection to enhance student learning.

5.1 Application criteria and programme costs

The RAA initiative was one of the first South African partnerships to provide a university-based, accredited education in entrepreneurship for students who were not undergraduates. Applicants are eligible to apply if they comply with the following criteria:

- Age: 18 – 30
- South African citizen or in possession of a valid South African residence permit
- Grade 12 Certificate. Applicants without a Grade 12 certificate must have work or volunteer experience.
- No previous tertiary qualifications/degrees/national diplomas
- Not registered to study part-time at another institution
- Applicants should demonstrate an interest in entrepreneurship and business. However it is not a prerequisite to have their own business.

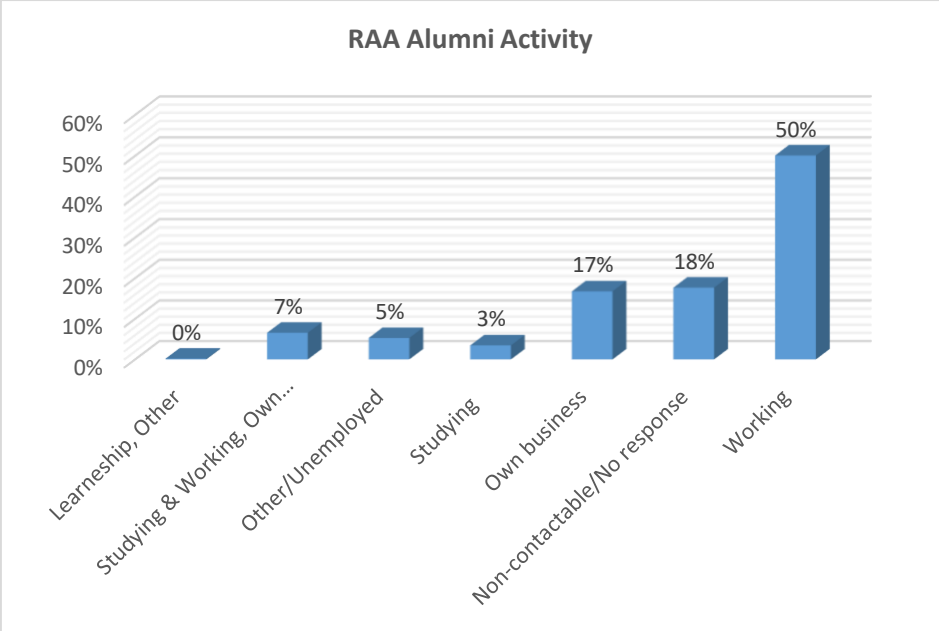
The RAA is privately funded and course fees are subsidised by the RAF. Students are required to pay a course fee of R 2 500.00[22], approximately 10 percent of the per-head programme cost.

5.2 Programme outcomes

The RAA measures impact in terms of post-graduation economic participation; whether graduates are employed, studying, or running their own business. The 2017 Alumni activity database (obtained from the RAA) showed that of the 549 RAA participants who completed the programme between 2005 and 2016, over 82 percent of Alumni were contactable. Approximately 77 percent of those contactable were either employed or had gone on to further study or had started their own business (see Figure 2 for a breakdown of activity). The majority of graduates had gone on to find employment and 92 graduates (17 percent of the contactable Alumni) reported having their own business.

[22] RAA programme fee at the time of the study.

Figure 2: Breakdown of RAA graduate current activity



The highest proportion of graduates were either working or self-employed. Given this outcome in the context of a high youth unemployment statistics in South Africa, my research sample included participants from these two subsets in order to understand if the RAA influenced these outcomes.

To illustrate the RAA's work and to investigate specific impacts on the young participants, I have drawn together themes from RAA data sources and qualitative interviews. In the chapters that follow I intend to identify and describe:

- Common themes across the individuals that apply to the programme;
- Participants' experience of the RAA intervention;
- If and how the RAA impacted each participant's post-course personal and economic journey.

Chapter Six: What Contextual Factors and Backgrounds were Common amongst RAA Applicants?

Chapters 6 and 7 introduce the participants and give context to the RAA programme outcomes, in order to provide an understanding of the impact that the RAA has had on their future means of earning a living. The analysis presented in these chapters support my argument that participants' backgrounds and individual characteristics took them to a certain point in their lives where they found it difficult to move forward on their own. At this stage, programmes such as the RAA serve to enable these youth.

This chapter outlines the findings regarding the socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds of the youth in this study in order to answer the research question: *What contextual factors and backgrounds were common amongst RAA applicants before applying to the RAA?*

To provide that background, data from the qualitative interviews and application forms was analysed to develop a thorough understanding of the situation of these youth prior to applying to the RAA. Demographic details as well as factors such as the role of parents, role models, schooling and community influence are presented. This is done to provide a statistical description of participants and to illustrate their economic situation at the time of applying. Additionally, this data helps assess the possible effect that their upbringing and social context had on participants' perception of career choices, entrepreneurial intentions and access to opportunities.

I included the counterfactual group in this section of the data analysis in order to assess whether any variability existed in their backgrounds when compared to those who had completed the RAA programme. Including this group also allowed me to draw relevant conclusions about the backgrounds of these youth as a whole and why they applied to programmes such as the RAA. The data regarding the situation of young people prior to applying revealed some nuances but no significant differences between the group who participated in the RAA programme and those who did not receive any of, or the full training

of the RAA. The findings in this chapter therefore represented the entire research group including the counterfactual group[23]. During the analysis, several themes emerged, namely:

- The role of parents or caregiver(s);
- Experience of hardship while growing up;
- The presence or absence of role models;
- The influence of community;
- Exposure to small-scale trading or selling.

These themes were important because they provided insight into how both positive and negative life experiences, influences and upbringings took participants to a point where they found it difficult to progress on their own. Exploration of these themes showed how programmes such as the RAA were therefore seen to open up opportunities at a particular time in the participants' lives.

6.1 Demographic overview of the research group

The data detailing the background of the youth in the study is included in order to give context to the outcomes of participation in the RAA programme. The demographic data below provides an overview of the profiles of young people included in the research and how they aligned to the vulnerable youth group described in the "Mapping the Context" (Chapter 2).

The average age of the participants at application was 24 years thus falling within the age group defined as "youth" in South Africa. They lived in areas situated on the Cape Flats, including Delft, Guguletu, Kenilworth, Khayelitsha, Langa, Mfuleni, Nyanga East, Maitland, Mitchells Plain, Old Crossroads, Phillipi and Samora Machel. These areas represent socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods as described in Chapter 2.

Half of the research sample earned less than R 1000 per month, the national upper bound poverty line (National Planning Commission et al., 2018). This indicated that the group included participants at risk of falling into poverty. A third of the respondents were also

[23] The counterfactual group in this research study comprised 5 applicants selected to the RAA who withdrew from the course before completion, and 5 applicants who applied but were not selected.

unemployed at the time of applying. A full sample breakdown is supplied in Tables 10 and 11 below.

Table 10: Personal monthly income at time of application to RAA

	RESPONSE TOTAL	RESPONSE PERCENT
R 0 - R 500	15	47%
R 500 - R 1000	1	3%
R 1000 - R 2500	7	22%
R 2500 - R 4000	5	16%
R 4000 - R 7500	3	9%
R 7000 and above	1	3%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		**32**

Table 11: Activity at time of application to RAA

	RESPONSE TOTAL	RESPONSE PERCENT
Working (full-time)	4	13%
Working (part-time)	3	9%
Own business (full-time)	7	22%
Own business (part-time)	3	9%
Working & own business	2	6%
Unemployed	10	31%
Volunteering	1	3%
Studying	2	6%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		**32**

In terms of household information, participants lived in households with between 2 and 5 members. The monthly household income was between R 2500 and R 5000. The majority of participants were raised by parents who were not educated beyond matric (aligning to the description of the long term effects of apartheid discussed in Chapter 2). Parents or caregivers were mostly employed in positions such as domestic workers, truck drivers, construction workers, teachers, shop assistants and cooks or kitchen staff.

The data showed that of the 32 interviewees, only 8 identified as being raised by both parents. The majority were raised by a single mother or grandmother (in some cases mother and grandmother together) or by extended family members such as aunts and uncles. This was not an unexpected discovery as South African statistics showed that for Black children

aged between 7 and 17 the largest percentage grew up in a single parent household (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Table 12 presents the proportion of participants growing up without both parents in the household:

Table 12: Presence of parents in the household

Only mother household member	**39,4%**
Only father household member	**3,3%**
Both parents household members	**29,0%**
Both parents not household members but alive	**20,4%**
Parents not alive	**7,9%**

The qualitative data was analysed with a view to better understanding a range of factors that influenced the position that young people found themselves in at the time of applying to the RAA. The analysis showed that parents or caregiver(s)[24] played significant roles in participants' upbringing with regards to aspirations for the participants' future lives, school choice and entrepreneurial intention. There were also instances in which the narratives revealed parents' negative effects on the lives of the participants. The following section discusses each of these in more detail.

6.2 The role of parents

Chapter 7 will discuss how the majority of participants had hopes, dreams and aspirations for a better future. What became apparent in this part of the analysis was how these aspirations were triggered by their wish to pursue something different to that which their parents had known and something different from what which they had known growing up.

I included questions in the interview guide that helped my understanding of the people who had impacted on the lives of participants, and their life trajectory, before applying to the RAA. The majority of the participants (20 of the 32 interviewees), specifically identified a parent as the person who had a profound effect on them. They described drawing motivation from both positive and negative experiences with their parents.

Firstly, as a positive influence on their upbringing and choices, they spoke of having a supportive upbringing where they saw their parent as a role model and inspiration. Parents

[24] Henceforth referred to as parents (which includes single parents)

played a key role not only in shaping their attitudes to education and choice of career, but also in terms of motivating them to dream of and work towards something better.

A negative influence could also have motivated their choices for a better future. Parents who imposed hardship on them played a significant role in the directions their lives took and drove their need to work towards something better as a means of escaping their experiences of growing up.

Further analysis of the data indicated four common ways in which parents played a significant role for the participants in the study. I will elaborate on each of these four ways by providing a few of short case studies for each.

6.2.1 Influence on participants' future aspirations

Parents played a role in inspiring participants (both explicitly and implicitly) to want to better their circumstances. Several participants recalled how their parents had had a profound impact on them in terms of their aspirations for a better life. In many cases this impact was more prevalent where participants had been raised by single mothers.

Limited means and humble upbringings were common amongst many of the participants (see section 6.3 on hardship), including ENT3 (who at the time of the study was running his own business). This participant was raised by a single mother after his father passed away. He speaks of the experience of "having nothing" after she was retrenched from her job as a cook at the local Technicon.

> "We had nothing, nothing. My father was not there and four boys grew under one woman. For me I could not comprehend to watch my mother suffering, as much as I was young I had to go and look for a job, push a trolley, come with R20 or R30 to support and to actually contribute. So I grew up like that being incubated by her while at the same time I would want to go out there to improve the situation, in as much as I did not have much resources and capabilities to do that because I was so young."

ENT3 explained how his mother became an entrepreneur in order to survive after being retrenched but was "getting nothing" for her efforts. He recalled how that experience influenced him to do something to improve their financial circumstances. He pursued several activities, including selling clothes.

> "For me it was watching my mother working so hard for nothing, working so hard but for nothing, do you understand what I am saying? That for me made me to step up and say you know what, I will do something. […] So for me I was like ok let me take over […] and then those where things that actually contributed to my entrepreneurial life."

ENT3's background and circumstances drove his decision to pursue business, but only allowed him to reach a certain point. In his motivation for applying to the RAA he recalled looking for an opportunity that would take him to the next level.

> "I was looking for any assistance to actually provoke my business skills because I knew I was a sales man but I knew I should not only be a sales man but someone who is managing the business, someone who is on top of the business, someone who makes sure that the business is alive […] I was just looking for a place that would accommodate hustlers, you know people looking for a direction, people who have tested and tried things but want to be taken to another level of hustle if I may call it that way, so ya for me [RAA] was that particular institution to accommodate someone from the street, straight to the university."

ENT3's background of deprivation was the barrier he was trying to get past by applying to the RAA.

Like ENT3, the aspirations of another participant, INCOMP4, were impacted by his mother's situation. INCOMP4 grew up in Nyanga and was raised by a single mother. He described her as having a significant influence on his life:

> "She was the breadwinner and she was everything to me."

She was not educated and worked on a farm earning R 150 per week. To supplement this income she sold meat.

> "I could see that as long as she was selling meat, she was making a lot of money […] and so I knew that for me to take [myself] out of the situation I need to have my own business."

He therefore saw having his own business as a means out of poverty.

When his mother passed away when he was 21, he then became responsible for supporting his younger sister. Despite the belief that having his own business would be a way out of poverty, INCOMP4 worked as a cashier before applying to the RAA. He said his mother's situation had inspired him to want to start his own business but he did not know how to. He applied to the RAA because he believed that not having knowledge of business, or not having the opportunity to keep up with business trends, meant that he would fail. Like ENT3, INCOMP4's influences and background took him to a certain point on the path to entrepreneurship, where he aspired for a better future and was looking for an opportunity to take him to the next step.

In contrast, WORK3, who went on to work after RAA, was also raised by her mother after her father passed away but speaks of growing up in a home where she was well cared for and how that positive experience inspired her choices.

> "When we were growing up, I use to go to school and come back and my mom has cooked for us and she would wash our socks, other kids did not get that, they would have to wash their own stuff when they are coming back from school and for me that was a luxury to have your mom taking very good care of you especially in our culture, she groomed us to what we are today."

Her mother had her own informal business selling meat. When WORK3's father passed away, her mother started working as a domestic worker so that she could provide for the family. WORK3 said that her mother had a profound effect on her because she was a very strong woman and taught her to work hard and to know what you want in life. She also referred to being inspired to make certain choices in order to follow a different path to the one her mother was able to, as she explained below.

> "I had hope and dreams and I wanted to fulfil my mom's dream. She got married when she was 18 to someone that she didn't even know. So you see she did not go to school after because she got pregnant […] so I wanted to show her that because she is working very hard and even though she didn't fulfil her dreams of going to school and graduating I wanted to give hope to her that we can do it for you."

WORK3 said her mother "wanted more from me, she expected a lot from me", but she was unable to further her studies due to a lack of finances.

This story demonstrated how the participant's mother inspired her to follow a different path to her own. Furthering her studies was seen as bettering her circumstances, but the lack of financial resources in the house limited her chances of doing so. Similar to ENT3, applying to the RAA was a means of trying to overcome the barrier of financial scarcity. She was not able to do so on her own until given a chance through the RAA. When she got the call to say she had been accepted into the RAA she recalled,

> "I was over the moon, I couldn't believe it, it changed me."

The stories of ENT3, INCOMP4 and WORK3 illustrate how their mothers played a significant role in shaping their attitudes towards wanting to better their circumstances. They used their parents' lack of opportunities in the past to motivate them to work towards something better in the present. Their journey to something better was, however, dependent on having access to opportunities that would further their education and develop their business skills. At the time this was beyond what their circumstances could provide.

6.2.2 Direct influence on entrepreneurial intention

ENT3 and INCOMP4's case studies specifically illustrate how their mothers' situations indirectly influenced their entrepreneurial intentions. They aspired for better and saw their own businesses as a means to achieve this. For another participant in the study, his entrepreneurial intentions were directly and positively influenced by his father. This is noteworthy because he represents one of the only participants whose parent had his own established business. The lack of entrepreneurial culture in the Cape Flats communities was described in Chapter 2.

The literature review referred to family tradition as one of the influential variables affecting an entrepreneur's intention to start up a business (Dohse & Walter, 2012; Falck et al., 2009). In line with this view, ENT1 explained how his choice to run his own carpentry business was directly influenced by his father.

ENT1 grew up in Nyanga with both parents. His father had his own (unregistered) business making kitchen cupboards and built-in wardrobes. Through ENT1's father, the family was well known and respected in Nyanga, Gugulethu and Khayelitsha. ENT1 learnt his skills by helping his father on weekends. He described how his father influenced his decision to start his own business,

> "Since primary [school] there was that one question that you would always be asked in every class, what do you want to be when you grow up? And every time my answer was I want to be like my father and run my own business because my father told me when I was young that I should never work for another person, don't make another person rich with something that you can do yourself."

ENT1 started his career working for an interiors company to support his child as he did not have other financial back up. He recalled a key moment in his life when his father, moments before passing away, told him that he needed to make use of all the things he had taught him.

> "That is when I heard my father's words when he said I must not work for someone else and work for myself."

For ENT1 this was the turning point that inspired him to start his own business. He acknowledged, however, that after starting the business he needed support to progress. This is illustrated in his motivation to apply to the RAA:

> "I thought that I could run my own business not knowing that there is some stuff that I still need to learn in running the business. […] At the time I didn't have any other [study] options; Sizwe [his business partner] advised me to come to the RAA to learn more about entrepreneurship, so that I can gain more knowledge about running my own business."

Similar to ENT3 and INCOMP4, he applied to the RAA for the opportunity to develop his business skills because he had few other options to do so. However, he saw having his own business as a chance to use the skills he learnt from his father for his own benefit, and to continue his father's legacy in the community.

A second aspect of ENT1's story that is noteworthy when compared to INCOMP4's is that although they both had financial and family responsibilities, ENT1 was able to complete the RAA programme because he had the support of his family. INCOMP4 did not have support and was not able to complete the course. His background appeared to both inspire and to hinder his chances of improving his situation. I will describe this in more detail in Chapter 9 which expands on the group of counterfactuals.

The point that the cases of ENT1, ENT3 and INCOMP4 highlight is that their parents had all played a role in inspiring them to want to start their own business, but for very different reasons. For some it was to continue their parents business legacy, for others to escape a legacy of poverty.

6.2.3 Influence on the type of school participants' attended

Another tangible way in which parents played a role was in the choice of schools that participants attended. Parents considered the type of school, location and the language of instruction as important factors.

Although the participants in this study lived in an urban township or rural area while growing up, those who specified the schools they went to (14 of the 26 participants) chose or were encouraged by their parents to attend schools out of the township. For these participants, this was considered a privilege or advantage.

> "I felt very privileged. Knowing me, from the township and then you go to school in town it was like a big thing for me and I could speak English more clearly." ENT10

In several cases, parents provided the means for their children to attend these schools, which they believed would provide their children with better opportunities in the future.

> "My granny did the best that she can, she sent me to multi-racial schools." WORK4

One example of the strong influence that parents had on the choice of school was WORK1. He grew up in Gugulethu in what he referred to as "a very crime-ridden area called KYD which is the abbreviation for kakyard[25]." Both of his parents were university graduates. His father was a financial advisor and spent a lot of time travelling therefore, WORK1 was raised by his mother and grandmother. WORK1 attended Schotsche Kloof Primary in the Bo-Kaap; Bellville Primary; the International German School in Cape Town; a Christian boarding school in Kuilsriver; and finished matric at St Peters College in Johannesburg. He was taught in English and German.

[25] It's not clear from online research if this is an official term but it has been used online and in press articles.

> "I was still young and confused and I remember asking, why am I going to a German school and then my dad told me, it's to open up opportunities. […] I actually appreciate my parents for that because they always made sure that I got good education."

Although WORK1 was accepted to UCT after matric, his parents' divorce affected finances and he was not able to attend the university. He secured a job to support himself and to contribute to his mother's household. While working at a call centre he decided he would start his own business. He realised, however, that he needed to further his studies to gain credibility and was looking for an opportunity to do so. His aspirations to attend UCT, and to study at a university institution that would help cover the cost of study, motivated his choice to apply to the RAA.

In the case of WORK1, his parents had played a significant role in ensuring he received a good education, but were then also the reason he was unable to go to university. His background had enabled him to reach a certain point, at which stage he needed support to progress.

Similarly, ENT11, who now runs his own business, was directed by his parents to attend Good Hope Seminary Primary School and Sea Point High School. They are multi-racial, English medium schools located in more affluent areas close to the Cape Town City Centre.

ENT11 was born in Nyanga, then lived in Gugulethu, and later Khayelitsha. He spoke of a decent life before age 11, and then his family's financial circumstances changed after his parents' divorce following his sister's death in a car accident.

> "… they divorced and then I think life then took a turn, I remember then at 13 I was like nah this is not it, you're really suffering, I can't even get money to go to school, I attended school in Sea Point, I can't even get train tickets to get to school."

His mother, a domestic worker at the time, made the decision for him to attend Sea Point High School despite their difficult financial circumstances.

> "I think my mother loved the school, maybe she was a helper in that area, so she wanted me to go there - I wanted to go to school in the township, but she wouldn't allow me to. I've never gone to a Xhosa school [in the township]. It was the most obvious thing to do to go to a school in an environment in which I'm used to […] and

> it was bad because all my friends went to school in the township so they could get home early and now it meant that I had to wake up at 4.30am and they woke up at 7am to get to school, 10 minutes to school. And I had to take buses and trains, so I wanted the township school and my mom said no township for you."

The decision to attend Sea Point High School impacted on ENT11 in several ways. Unlike WORK1 whose education was financially subsidised (he received scholarships to attend two of the schools he attended), ENT11 worked to support his family and earn the money needed to attend Sea Point High School.

> "… we used to rent a shack, and stay there all of us and then I had to adjust to this life and then I decided I'm just going to go and work at a taxi rank, I'll be a taxi conductor. Because I had to provide, I couldn't go to school sometimes and mom here can't afford both of us and I had access to that network of other friends who were working as gaatjies[26], so I'm like, dude you can work the whole day and get 30 bucks – so go home, contribute, buy my tickets, just take that pressure away from my mom."

Given their financial circumstances and the close proximity to the township schools, his mother's decision for him to attend a school outside of the township may seem surprising. However, it demonstrated a vested interest in ensuring her son received what she perceived to be a good education, and the significant role she played in his schooling career. The decision was, however, not clear to ENT11 at the time. He explained why he was grateful for it in the end and the possible effect that going to these schools had on the trajectory of his life.

> "I'm grateful that I did not go to a school in the township. I don't think I would have turned out to be who I am now. The pressure there, social ills in the township […] a lot of guys that I grew up with, some were arrested, some died, I'm glad that even though I was a hustler in my own way what I was doing compared to what they were doing was kind of low level […] I would do dumb stupid things as a kid which was innocent naughtiness – they carried a gun in school, so I'm grateful that I'm not part of that – it kind of kept me a bit innocent […] and because I was so desperate and was suffering at home, I don't know what else I could have done if I had access to

[26] An assistant to taxi drivers who calls for passengers and takes in the money on a minibus taxi

> time and to the insight they had in the township […] here I couldn't go because here I would meet in class a Mark who knows nothing about guns, you know – you know where in the township it's different, it's a different reality, so I'm grateful for that."

This highlights another significant aspect present in both WORK1's and ENT11's narratives: their parents' choice to school them outside of the township also protected them from the perceived negative influences of the area where they grew up. As WORK1 recalls,

> "I didn't have a bad childhood, it was mostly me just being protected from the badness of the area and so I was mostly indoors, came back from school, be at home."

Furthermore, their parents' influence on the choice of school also meant that both were exposed to a life beyond the township, which in turn influenced their perception of the choices they had and their aspirations. These circumstances also seemed to nurture their resourcefulness, ability to support themselves, and possibly their entrepreneurial intentions. This is demonstrated by ENT11,

> "…ever since I was young I've always had to fend for myself – I still fend for myself and I think from a very young age I made peace with the fact that no-one owes me anything, I've promised myself that I will always look after myself and my family, I own the world, so I'm taking that responsibility to make sure that from a very young age I will find a way."

ENT11 worked at a telecommunications company before starting his own business. He described his motivation for applying to the RAA:

> "I had an entertainment company, we used to hire sound. We started out informally in the township. I had a bit of knowledge and I felt I knew it all and I knew deep down that I didn't know it all, hence I found that I wanted [to] improve and learn as much as I could, hence I had to apply."

ENT11 was looking for the opportunity to learn more, and develop the knowledge he had already acquired.

The case studies above indicate the positive impact that direct or indirect parental influence can have on young people's aspirations, actions and pathways. As a result of their parents'

influence, WORK1 and ENT11 went to good schools, aspired for better circumstances, and recognised entrepreneurship as a viable career option or pathway out of poverty. This however was, in itself, not sufficient. The context of deprivation that they had been born into still meant that they needed entrance to high quality training that also provided some financial support.

In addition, the attitude to education of the parents of WORK1 and ENT11, ENT1's father's motivation that he open his own business and the manner in which WORK3 was raised, suggested that the way their parents acted was possibly different to the dispositions held by other parents in their communities [see section 6.5: The effect of community]. These parents understood that in order for their children to have a better life - such as a better education, or having their own business – as parents they needed to do something different from what some indicated was the norm in the community.

6.2.4 The negative influence of parents

For some participants, however, their parents played an important role in the decisions they made because of the *negative* influence their parents had on their lives. The findings in the data below describe this impact and how these participants sought opportunities to escape their realities and change their circumstances. The findings also describe how some were able to leverage opportunities to do so while others could not.

INCOMP5's story links to the influence of parents in the choice of schooling, entrepreneurial intentions and aspirations for better circumstances. In her case however, the influence was negative and she made choices to escape the abuse and hardship she experienced at the hands of her parents.

INCOMP5 grew up in the Eastern Cape and in Cape Town. When asked who raised her, she responded,

> "Ja – I don't know, I lived with my granny in the Eastern Cape and then my dad and girlfriend and then my mom and my brother – I don't know."

She explained what it was like, at age 8, living with her father and his girlfriend.

> "Living with them was not easy at all, yoh it wasn't easy, that girlfriend would ask me to do this and that and all of things, wash dishes, cook, clean the yard, I was like kind

> of a maid and my dad was like, he wasn't helping – I wasn't even allowed to go out and play with other kids."

Given this situation, INCOMP5 made a conscious choice to go to a school that was far away from home.

> "Then I went to [school in] Gugulethu which was far. I chose it myself. I didn't want to come home early. […] I wanted to come home late, I knew that they won't be giving me a transport fee, so I was like I'll [walk and] come home late."

INCOMP5's motivation to go to a school far away from her home contrasts with those participants whose parents chose schools far from their areas in order to expose their children to a better education. She also spoke of her ambitions to further her studies because this meant she could leave the house.

> "When I was growing up I was like I want to finish my Matric, I want to get out of this house and I was like passing each and every year and I want to like live there at the University, I want to be on my own to do whatever I want, I just don't want to be here."

After falling pregnant at high school, she drew on the same motivation to pass matric and leave home.

> "I'm my own person, beat me up, but I'll wake up and dust myself up and put on my hat and still keep on going – I'll pass my Matric, I will leave this house, baby or not, I won't be stuck here."

Unlike the participants who saw their parents' influence as positive, INCOMP5 made choices that would allow her to be far away from her parents where she could live a life better than the one they had inflicted on her. Demonstrating agency in a context of very harsh structural constraints.

Section 6.2.1 outlined how parents directly influenced some participants to start their own businesses. These participants saw having their own business as a positive aspiration. While INCOMP5's mother had a direct impact on her decision to start her own small tailoring business, this was so she would ultimately be able to move away from her family and not

have anyone controlling her. Her mother had not been supportive to her while growing up but did spark her attempt at having her own business.

> "I wasn't perfect but I would cut your trouser and do it and charge R10, my mom said, you are good at this, I said not really, then I was like okay I'm doing my own business. I bought myself a machine, I started sewing things for myself, […] then I started doing it for others. I think at the end of that year I bought myself a wardrobe and a bed, the following year I bought myself a hokkie. I put it in front of the house […] now I was like I must move out – I pushed myself in my business. I don't want to depend on anyone and the fact that if you are employed, you must always say yes boss, […] I was like yoh I don't want anyone controlling me, telling me what to do, I just want to do it and I always said, I can do it – I will do it – I am still telling myself that, I'll do it."

She applied to the RAA as she felt it would help her in her business but dropped out before completing. I will discuss her case in more detail in the discussion of the counterfactual group in Chapter 9.

Another participant whose choices were a result of the negative effect of his upbringing, specifically the absence of his father, was WORK9. This participant grew up in Khayelitsha with both his parents until they divorced when he was 11. His father "worked for a good company" but was an alcoholic. WORK9 lived with his mother after the divorce and explained how the situation affected him.

> "That's where I started to lose principles because my father is the only one insistent [on] principle and give you that hiding if you don't listen – [but] he was not around. Things were tough because my mum had the responsibility of taking care of us. A bunch of us [were] sharing the same tragedy you know, so we felt like we are the family, we started following these bad activities and not because we wanted money to help our families but just to get a space where we can feel more welcome and accepted. You are not being judged and they don't care about you are coming from a single father or a single mother."

His father's absence directly lead to his decision to search for a sense of family and of belonging by engaging in "bad activities" which resulted in him dropping out of school. A few years later, WORK9 came across the RAA and explained his motivation for applying:

> "I never did an entrepreneurship course before but I even said to my friends, it was not a course it was just a life belt for me."

WORK9's situation depicted how the absence of a parent, in combination with deprivation and being in an environment where many young people seek to belong in other ways, led to choices from which he ultimately needed to be rescued. Being part of a programme such as the RAA served as that "life belt". At the time of the interview WORK9 was working as an entrepreneur facilitator for young offenders in prison.

The two examples above, where parents had a negative effect on their lives, gave further insight into why some youth seek opportunities that they hope will change circumstances for them.

6.3 Participants' experience of adversity

Chapter 5 provided an overview of the RAA's target participant profile, described as youth between the ages of 18 and 30 who have been unable to access tertiary education due to financial, academic or socio-economic challenges. The researcher interpreted this as youth who have experienced some form of adversity, which limited their access to opportunities. An important area of analysis was therefore the evidence of adversity, how this presented in the participants' background, and how it affected their choices and life trajectories.

Adversity emerged as a common theme amongst participants in the study, a factor that seemed to be present for RAA participants as a whole. As one participant noted,

> "One thing that struck me was that we were all there through just one thing that bound us all together, adversity. We've all been through adversity..." WORK4

To give further context to the outcomes and impact of the RAA for these youth I unpack this adversity and its effects in more detail in the cases below. I chose these cases because they best illustrate aspects of the analysis that arose from the various interviews.

During the interviews, 25 of the 32 participants spoke of difficult life experiences, including death, divorce, poverty, bullying, teenage pregnancy and exposure to gangsterism. Death and divorce were mentioned specifically by 16 participants. They referred to these as key moments in their lives that impacted their emotional well-being and future options.

In terms of their financial situations growing up, 18 of the participants described growing up in conditions of poverty. As one respondent explained,

> "I grew up where the food would be dished in a big bowl, boys and girls would be given spoons, eating in one bowl, so you grew up in tough conditions, in poverty."

Participants spoke of situations of financial stress where their parents struggled to provide for them and where they had to find work at a young age to support themselves and contribute to their families.

Two students who experienced extreme adversity were WORK8 and INCOMP5 (see INCOMP5's case study in section 6.2.4). WORK8 grew up in Umtata, a small town in the Eastern Cape. He was raised by a single mother who was physically and verbally abusive to him. He recounted moving from one shack to another while growing up because his mother could not pay rent. WORK8 also experienced hardship at school. He explained how he always felt that he was less of a person compared to everyone else because of his financial situation. WORK8 did not receive his matric results as he had not paid his school fees. He was unaware that he needed to write supplementary exams in order to pass, a situation which impacted on his options for further studies.

At age 19 WORK8 rented a shack, started living on his own, and began contributing to the family finances.

> "I think as soon as I got a job, I assumed the responsibility of being a father of the house, there was no other way around it. I had to assume that responsibility, I had to take care of my brothers."

Similar to other participants in the study whose backgrounds drove their aspirations for a better life, WORK8 demonstrated a tangible desire to do something to change his circumstances.

> "I wanted to do better than that, like I felt this can't be it, this can't be life, there has to be more to life than this, I think that was a motivation that I wanted to prove that there is a way that you can do this thing man."

A key moment in WORK8's life that enabled change was attending the LoveLife[27] programme in Umtata, and receiving the personal attention and emphasis on possibility that that programme offered.

> "It's the only space where I could be taught about the word positive and how to think positively, how to do positive things and so on because at home no one mentions positive, at school no one mentions positive but when you get there then it's all about positivity, you are youth you can make it, you are young, I'm young, energetic and full of life, you are active – that's the faith that groomed me whereas outside of that facility, there is drugs, and then there is my home. There is my mum chasing me out of home, telling me to go there on those streets and smoke drugs but then you go to [LoveLife] and they tell you, look this is all not worth it, you can do a lot more with your life, you are still very young, you can do this and that also shaped my life."

In addition to being inspired to think positively and realise his potential, he also acknowledged how decisions he made about his future were a result of participating in the programme,

> "I got into business through NGO's, that's the impact it had on my life because I felt now I know a lot of things about debate, about motivation, about life-skills, I know there is another path that one can take besides sitting on the corner smoking and so on, I can now tell someone else about it and then also the network that I gained through [LoveLife] I'm still using up to this day."

Another significant aspect of WORK8's story is the path he followed after graduating from the RAA. At the time of this research, WORK8 was working at a major South African bank as the top Collections Team Leader nationally, and was running four of his own businesses. When asked if he thought the RAA had an impact on his decision to work and run more than one business, he noted,

> "Yes, before I thought it was impossible."

[27] LoveLife is a youth focused HIV prevention initiative in South Africa. The not-for-profit organisation promotes AIDS-free living among South African youth aged between 12 and 19 by employing a holistic approach to youth development and behaviour change that motivates adolescents to take charge of their lives for brighter futures. https://lovelife.org.za/en/

His comment suggests that, as a result of his circumstances, having had access to an EE intervention such as the RAA encouraged him to think past what he thought was possible. It is also important to note that his background and "running from hunger" remained a significant driver for him to work and run several businesses.

> "I'm preparing myself for everything that is coming but I'm also preparing myself for losing it as well so that I never have to go back there again, that's why I created many different income streams so that when everything fails at least I can still afford to pay rent."

Given his background, if WORK8 had not had the opportunity to be in programmes that enabled him to see things differently, he might not have been able to pivot to a more hopeful and financially stable life.

> "I'm a product of spaces and facilities like the RAA."

The stories of hardship recounted by the participants in the study highlight the shared life experiences of a generation of South African youth that was expected to gain access to better opportunities and better lives, and the importance of having interventions that serve to steer them away from adversity. Stories like WORK8's also highlight how adversity remains a strong driver for youth to experience a life different to that which they knew growing up.

6.4 The influence of role models

This section presents the findings relating to the effect of role models in the lives of participants while growing up and the kind of influence they had on them.

The interviews did not include specific questions about role models. However, participants did refer to role models when describing people who had had a profound effect on them, or while talking about their community. Role models were commonly identified as either friends or members of their church, business people or other entrepreneurs in their area. They were seen as role models either because of the status they held in the community or because of the close relationships and positive influence they had on participants. In some interviews, participants specifically mentioned the *lack* of role models and the impact this had had on their lives.

One example where a community member was considered a role model was in the case of ENT10. He aspired to be like his lawyer neighbour.

> “There is a guy who lives in my street. A very nice house, you know, he's got a car, his wife's got a car and then you grow up, looking up to those kind of role models.”

ENT10 chose to study law after school because he saw law as a pathway to a similar, more middle class lifestyle. He later decided to change to business studies. ENT10 noted the profound impact that limited exposure to role models had on his aspirations and his view of what was possible,

> ”I grew up in a very small world of success, with few role models… we came [to RAA] small because we are exposed to smallness.”

The absence of role models was also mentioned by other participants in the counterfactual group, indicating that as a concept, role models were important to participants.

NOTACC5 in the counterfactual group noted,

> “In the township you have a few ladies you can look up to.”

WORK9’s story exhibits the significant influence that not having a positive role model can have on one’s choices.

When asked to identify someone who had a profound impact on his life, WORK9 responded,

> “There isn’t somebody who stands out, no, not much to be honest - not much.“

WORK9’s parents divorced when he was 11. He explained what it was like not to have a father or positive role models.

> “You look for family elsewhere and it can affect the rest of your life. I started to hang around with the bad company even though I knew I was skating on thin ice but it was cool hanging with a family.”

Although WORK9 passed grade 10 “exceptionally well”, he chose to drop out of school in Grade 10 because of negative influences.

> "When you are at school and look to someone who has made it driving this BMW, who made it through the streets – I thought okay let me just embark on this journey as well because that's where it is going to take me, so the lack of role models is a big one."

WORK9 eventually chose to apply to the RAA after reading a story about ENT10 in a local community newspaper that featured him as a role model in his Khayelitsha community. This is notable as Academy graduates are often referred to as the inspiration behind youth applying to the programme[28], which shows the potential influence of positive youth role models.

It would seem, from the cases such as ENT10 and WORK9 that role models can show another path to follow and how that path would lead to some kind of better life. Opportunities such as the RAA were seen as a path towards achieving similar successes, especially in a context of limited resources or academic backgrounds that did not always allow participants to pursue university education. The findings demonstrated that inclusive programmes such as the RAA are experienced as making up for the lack of role models and are considered a chance to access like-minded peers, role models, a family, and to provide a sense of belonging that would otherwise to be sought in less positive environments.

6.5 The effect of community

The participants in this study were all from low-income communities on the Cape Flats. As described in Chapter 2, this is an area in the Western Cape that comprises a stretch of townships established during the country's apartheid period. During the interviews I asked participants questions that prompted them to describe the neighbourhood they grew up in. I did this in order to explore the encouraging or demotivating influence of communities on their lives. This section briefly outlines these findings.

Participants expressed both love and concern when describing their neighbourhoods.

[28] This data is tracked by asking applicants to indicate where they heard about the RAA during their selection interviews.

ENT1 (who runs his own business) said he "loved the location[29]", but later in the interview, when asked about his future plans, he indicated that he wanted to move out, for various reasons that applied both to himself and his children:

> "I want to move out of the location because I do not get the support from the township as much as I would get it in a place like Claremont because people think that our services are too expensive. Personally I would like to move out not [because I want to] but because of the crime. Crime is the only problem now, I would have loved my kid to grow up there but it is not safely secured."

ENT9 also voiced this contrast.

> "Khayelitsha is good and I always say that I will never leave Khayelitsha soon [but] Khayelitsha also has a bad influence [when] growing up because there are a lot of children sitting on the corners. My dream is to actually leave those places, I do not want my daughter to grow up [there], but she can go and visit."

The love and concern ENT1 and ENT9 expressed for their communities created the impression that where they lived played an important role for them because it was a part of their history and identity. They had, however, reached a point where the area where they lived negatively impacted on their future prospects and ability to progress (both individually and as a family) because crime was a barrier, and there were very few opportunities. This serves to explain why children are "sitting on corners and young people are chasing the sun", a concept WORK3 described in her explanation of how she felt after being accepted at the RAA.

> **WORK3**: I used to sit around at home, chasing the sun, so when I got the call I was like ok my days of chasing the sun are gone.
>
> **Interviewer**: Chasing the sun, what does that mean?
>
> **WORK3**: When you wake up in the morning, you clean the house and you have nothing to do and then you go sit by the sun, like sun bathing, and then when there is shade here, you go to another place that has light. […] When I was busy chasing the

[29] Location is a reference to a township

> sun, I mixed myself with people who do not go to school and do not have dreams and then I was stuck. Then I got a break from RAA.

Her explanation offers an insight into why, if there is nothing else to do, people get involved with “the wrong people” and end up “stuck”. This provides another example of how communities characterised by poverty and a lack of opportunities can impact on future options and aspirations.

WORK3 specifically referred to her acceptance at the RAA as the point at which her prospects changed. She was then able to distance herself from the uninspiring environment she associated with the township.

In ENT5’s situation too, the RAA appeared to serve as an alternative that provided an opportunity and could possibly help her escape the harsh environment she found herself in.

> “I wouldn’t be here today if it was not for [the RAA]. I would be doing drugs or drinking because before I came to RAA I would go out with [a] friend and drink and things like that and I did not think about myself because we are poor at home and I cannot find a job, so I was just going to go and waste my life, but the RAA saved me.”

Another important example was that of ENT3. When asked to reflect on a key moment in his life that affected his choices, he described the influence of what he saw as the dominant lifestyle in his community.

> “It was when I was trying to fit in and trying to do what other people were doing because of the influence of the surroundings. We are living in a society that is against any positivity. So we get consumed in such environments, even the circumstances and situations are not favourable, they are against us. The system says I should be going out there to drink, smoke and just be like everyone and do bad things [...] Those mistakes were actually elevated by my community, I regret them.”

When asked to describe how his dreams and goals changed after attending the RAA, ENT3 (who runs his own business) attributed his experience at RAA as pivotal for his life.

> “The RAA for me was literally something that made me to do what I am doing now.”

Although some participants displayed a deep connection to their community and it became apparent that their communities shaped who they were, the story described by the majority of participants was that they experienced deprivation, crime, drinking, gangsterism and drugs because “that’s what everyone was doing” in the absence of real opportunities in their immediate environments. Some also experienced resistance to their aspirations for a better livelihood. This view was perhaps communicated most strongly by ENT7 who said,

> “Not a lot of people encouraged my dreams.”

The findings illustrated the common realities facing youth on the Cape Flats and the impact that the socio-economic characteristics of these communities can have on youth aspirations and prospects. In these circumstances, opportunities such as the RAA present a chance for youth, who do somehow understand that they need to do something to change their trajectories. RAA was one pathway to begin to act upon that aspiration, even where these aspirations may have been vague or dormant and in need of a “kick start”.

6.6. Participants’ perception of career options

The overview of the Cape Flats in Chapter 2, illustrated how less than 50 percent of youth in these areas complete high school and only 5 percent complete tertiary studies. The participants in the study provided insights into how the youth who do complete high school view their career options and opportunities to pursue post-secondary school studies. This has an impact on their access to the labour market.

This area of the analysis revealed three themes. Firstly participants were not exposed to a variety of careers, and considered their options limited. Secondly, a lack of funds was the main barrier to pursuing further studies and, thirdly, entrepreneurship was not promoted as a career choice at school or within the community. The lack of exposure to career options was strongly articulated by ENT2 during his interview,

> “The shit thing about living in the township, [is that] you only get one package, and that’s to be an accountant, a lawyer, a doctor, to be a nurse, you don’t learn that you can be a psychologist, you do not learn that you can be a marketer you do not learn those things, you go in there with a flippen empty mind.”

For those who did have career aspirations, the data suggested that they were unable to pursue those as limited funds hindered their access to higher education. In this study, 53

percent of participants cited limited funds as the reason they could not study after completing school. Many saw RAA as their only option because of the subsidised fees.

During her interview, WORK2 expressed her frustration at this situation,

> "There are so many streams that are out there and we don't know about them, nobody knows that you can become an entrepreneur. We do things that we are not even aware of that actually you could be profiting from - there are people who do hair but they don't know that this is a business - if I honed my skills and I went and learned more about this, I could be making a lot of money out of it, I could be doing my passion."

In terms of entrepreneurship as a career, only one participant referred to wanting to run his own business from a young age. It is possibly significant that his father ran his own business.

The youth in this study, irrespective of whether they went to township schools or schools out of the township therefore faced two main challenges once they completed school. They reached a point where they could not proceed further due to a lack of funds and/or they chose careers or fields of study because of a lack of awareness of other options such as entrepreneurship. This suggests a need for a more complete, more accessible career guidance at the high school level and opportunities that would allow these youth to explore various interests and disciplines (including entrepreneurship), that develop appropriate skills without the financial pressures of high fees.

6.7 Participants' exposure to trading and selling

The literature review referred to how the entrepreneurial memory of a community can act as a catalyst for more entrepreneurial behaviour and intention (Urban, 2006). It also showed, however, that the legacy of apartheid negatively impacted on entrepreneurial intentions amongst Black South African communities. The GEM statistics corroborated this, presenting South Africa's low rates of entrepreneurial activity.

Very few participants acknowledged being exposed to entrepreneurs during childhood, either in their family or community. However, 28 of the 32 participants recalled being exposed as children to some form of informal or small-scale, unregistered form of trading taking place in their home or immediate community. In most cases, these activities had been organised to

supplement the household income and support the families financially. Only two interviewees mentioned a parent running their own business. In one case, the parent was a full-time teacher and ran the business part-time. This indicated that, although there may not have been a strong culture of entrepreneurship or entrepreneurial memory in their community, a history of small-scale trading and selling existed.

Examples of trade that the participants were exposed to included spaza shops, shebeens, or informal hair salons at participants' home. Family members (mostly mothers and grandparents) also sold clothing, discounted meat, vegetables, chips, sweets, vetkoek [deep-fried dough], and binne-goed [animal intestines], or provided services such as sewing.

Only participant ENT1 recognised his family's trading and selling as entrepreneurship, or as influencing his own entrepreneurial intention. In two interviews in particular the participants firmly stated that no one in their family had been involved in business or entrepreneurship, yet later in the interviews they went on to share examples of informal business and trading in their homes:

> **WORK2**: No one in my family has ever done anything to do with business

Later in the interview we returned to this in the context of another question

> **Interviewer**: When did your first interest in business start?
>
> **WORK2:** It was [because of] my grandmother, she worked as a domestic and then she quit that because she wasn't making enough money and she wanted to be able to feed her children because her husband had passed away and so she sold things, she made me see business because you couldn't see her money without you helping [her] out.

Similarly this emerged in the interview with WORK7:

> **Interviewer**: Was anyone growing up actually in business?
>
> **WORK7**: Not at all

Later WORK7 went on to acknowledge the influence that selling sweets at school had had on her entrepreneurial intention,

> "We started struggling with my family because my sisters went to expensive schools and my mother had to start complementing whatever they were making in our household, so she started selling things like chocolates, sweets […] my sister and I just started doing it for fun […] it made me excited every time I saw that box or that bucket get emptier and emptier. Then I think that's where the whole entrepreneurial bug bit me."

These examples indicated a tacit exposure to business that was likely never recognised or nurtured into entrepreneurial intent. They illustrate the disconnect that existed between the participant's exposure to trading and selling and recognising this as entrepreneurial activity. The interviewees' memory of trade extended to their own involvement in selling while growing up, and the subsequent skills and interest in business they developed as a result. Of the participants, 24 recalled actively participating in some form of small-scale trading. They helped their families to sell basic goods such as ginger beer, meat, cabbages or sweets in their community and at school. Their reasons for participating varied from needing to contribute to the family finances to being kept off the streets of the unsafe areas where they lived. As WORK1 described,

> "The selling yes, I was kind of forced to [do it] when I came back from school there was nothing else to do, I wasn't allowed to play outside."

Another tangible outcome of the participants' trade memory was how their involvement in small-scale trading began to influence their interest and capability in business. WORK6 (who first started selling sweets at primary school) described:

> "Yes even in school […] over the weekend my aunt or my uncle would ask us to wash his pair of sneakers, for R1 or R2, then we would take the money and buy sweets. Those loose sweets, we would then take them and sell them at school during breaks. R5 worth of sweets would make you a 50 percent profit. […] When I got to high school I wanted this and I wanted that and my mother couldn't give me all I want. So that is when I started selling sweets [again]. I thought, I needed money so I should sell sweets, everyone needs sugar so let us make money from sugar."

ENT6 also reflected on helping her grandfather in his spaza shop and the connection this had to running her own business.

> "I use to go to the [spaza] shop and do the selling there, always when it was holiday I would go and sell there […] I did not know this is what I would end up doing."

Although participants developed basic business skills from their involvement in small-scale trading during childhood, most of them did not realise they could use such skills in entrepreneurial activities of their own. Data on the influence of RAA, described in Chapter 8, indicate that programmes such as RAA can successfully strengthen participants' abilities to realise entrepreneurial intention rather than use these skills only as a means of survival.

In addition to highlighting that exposure to trading was common to the youth in the study, the findings in this chapter have shown that common experiences included adversity and that role models played an important part in shaping aspirations. In addition, the participants' experience of the community as an enabling context was rather ambiguous. There was a general sense in each of the narratives that in order to be move out of those lives of adversity, an additional factor was needed. Participants had reached a point in their lives where they needed support to help them move beyond the impediments they experienced as a result of their backgrounds.

Understanding participants' background was one aspect of understanding them as individuals. To further investigate the impact of the RAA, the chapter that follows describes the participants' individual characteristics before applying to the RAA, and the influence these had on their pathways and choices.

Chapter Seven: What Individual Characteristics were Common amongst RAA Applicants?

Chapter 6 illustrated how the participants in the study were shaped by their socio-economic context. The findings showed that all experienced high levels of deprivation at some point while growing up. For most, these deprivations did not impact negatively on their wish to progress to a “better life”. However, their difficult personal conditions did have an impact on their ability to progress, on their own, to this desired life.

In this chapter I explore the common characteristics of the participants in the study. I investigated how participants described themselves before applying to RAA, using data from the online survey and from the in-depth interviews, as well as information obtained from the participants’ application essays. This provided an understanding of the type of young person who applies to a programme such as the RAA. I then use these common characteristics as a set of variables when assessing the programme’s impact and to give context to its impact. The findings show that these youths exhibited natural potential and hope. They displayed agency in looking for opportunities to nurture and leverage this potential in order to better their circumstances.

The analysis in this chapter represents the research group as a whole. It includes the counterfactuals, because the data analysis revealed some variances but no significant difference across the groups. Analysis of how participants described themselves after having participated in the RAA programme is presented in Chapter 8, and the analysis of the counterfactual group in Chapter 9.

7.1 Survey results of individual characteristics before applying to RAA

I used the online survey to investigate how the participants described themselves in terms of their best qualities, areas they were looking to develop, and how others described them. The survey also asked them how they rated themselves in terms of the following areas: Personal characteristics, entrepreneurial skills, professional skills, well-being and other. Table 13 below illustrates the responses of all the participants in the study.

Table 13: Participant rating of individual characteristics and skills before applying to RAA

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS	Poor	Below Average	Average	Good	Excellent	Response Total	% Poor to Average	Counterfactual % Poor to Average
Self-confidence	3%	**47%**	34%	13%	3%	32	**84%**	**70%**
Positive outlook	10%	**40%**	40%	3%	7%	30	**90%**	**80%**
Vision and mission (understanding your purpose)	19%	**47%**	25%	6%	3%	32	**91%**	**70%**
ENTREPRENEURIAL SKILLS AND SITUATION								
Creativity & innovation	9%	**44%**	34%	6%	6%	32	**88%**	**80%**
Ability to take initiative	17%	24%	**34%**	14%	10%	29	**76%**	**50%**
Ability to present idea	19%	**42%**	23%	16%	0%	31	**84%**	**80%**
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	19%	**35%**	26%	13%	6%	31	**81%**	**60%**
Access to opportunities and networks	19%	**48%**	26%	6%	0%	31	**94%**	**80%**
Ability to support oneself financially	19%	**44%**	28%	9%	0%	32	**91%**	**80%**
PROFESSIONAL SKILLS								
Ability to manage time	31%	**38%**	22%	6%	3%	32	**91%**	**80%**
Ability to work with others	13%	**34%**	22%	19%	13%	32	**69%**	**60%**
Presentation skills	19%	**42%**	19%	13%	6%	31	**81%**	**70%**
Networking skills	13%	**53%**	22%	9%	3%	32	**88%**	**70%**
Ability to present oneself professionally	**32%**	26%	19%	13%	10%	31	**77%**	**60%**

*the counterfactual group represented the 10 respondents who did not complete and who were not selected to the RAA

The majority of participants rated themselves between “poor” to “average” for the characteristics listed[30] in the table (most factors were rated as “below average“).

The counterfactuals (10 respondents) have lower proportions of “poor to average”. One participant in this group, who was in the “not-selected category”, rated 14 of the 21 characteristics as “excellent” which increased the average “poor to average” score (for some characteristics such as self-confidence and positive outlook this was the only respondent in the full sample to rate these as excellent).

The literature review presented the opinion that South African youth are generally optimistic and hopeful about their futures (Graham et al., 2016; Malan & Breitenbach, 2001; Patel et al., 2018), and that agency is possibly the means by which they operationalise this hope. Their socio-economic circumstances, however, often result in limited opportunities to build on these assets. I therefore investigated the evidence of hope and positivity amongst the research participants, both before and after the RAA programme, and whether the opportunity to participate in an EE programme effected their outlook and ability to act on their agency.

Via the post-interview online survey[31], participants were asked to rate a series of individual factors. This included rating the degree to which they had a positive outlook on life, both before and after participating in/applying to the RAA. Approximately 90 percent of respondents rated positive outlook as average or lower, signifying that these youth were not optimistic about their futures.

Other questions that aimed to probe participants’ agency included the rating of self-confidence and understanding of purpose, and the ability to access opportunities and networks. These were also rated as average or below (most rated these as “below average”), indicating a general lack of confidence and lack of clarity about the direction the participants should follow. The previous chapter indicated that, before their RAA training, participants had reached a point where they aspired for better circumstances but did not feel enabled by their socio-economic environment to progress. Therefore, giving themselves a low-confidence rating for these factors, at the time of applying for the Academy was not an unexpected finding.

[30] The table included those characteristics considered most relevant to the analysis, see the full survey in Appendix 2.
[31] See Appendix 2 for full survey questionnaire

The self-assessed low rating of professional and entrepreneurial skills and of ability to support themselves financially is also logical as they were applying to an entrepreneurial development programme specifically in order to develop those skills. This was also corroborated by the qualitative data in Chapter 6 where several participants spoke of wanting to develop skills as their motivation for applying to RAA.

A valuable insight for the study was that, in contrast to the findings from quantitative data above, the qualitative interviews told a more descript story of hope, drive and determination. These findings suggest that the overall orientation in life among these young people is one of a belief in a better future and a motivation to look for ways to reach that, but that at the time of their application, they felt insecure about their ability to do so. They then saw the RAA as an opportunity to develop their confidence, purpose and skills.

7.2 Characteristics identified from participant interviews

Analysis of the qualitative data revealed characteristics that were common across all the participants, and that may have influenced their decision to apply to the RAA. Those most frequently identified were: ambition and drive; seeking purpose; perseverance; and acting on opportunity.

7.2.1 Ambition and drive

There was an overwhelming sense from the interviews that participants aspired for, and were prepared to work towards, something bigger and better one day. Quotes in Table 14 indicate that several of the participants' narratives were interchangeable, irrespective of their background or of the category they represented in the study.

Table 14: Summary of interview quotes referring to ambition and drive

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
WORK4	I think one thing that I'm destined for is greatness! I'm destined for greatness and my greatness has been proven. One thing I cannot do is I cannot change the past, but I can contribute to the future that I want.
INCOMP1	I knew that I would like be something one day.

NOTACC1	I grew up having big dreams you know because my name means stars. Wow, I thought on some day I'm going to shine. I can't live the same way that my parents used to live - it's like accepting poverty and suffering and so I do not accept that.
NOTACC5	I see myself somewhere in the future doing much better than I am doing right now.
WORK10	I told myself I want to be someone in life. My mom says that I've lived my life very fast, I need to slow down, people my age still need to go out and have fun and I'm telling her, mom when those guys stop having fun I want to be the one that is relaxed – I already have what they are working towards – I'm a dream chaser.
WORK9	I didn't have any dreams to be honest really but I knew that I needed to do something about my life.
WORK11	I don't want to be who I am right now I want more. I tried very hard to motivate myself to actually pursue my dreams and everything that I wanted to do, it was kind of hard because there was no opportunity to do so.
ENT7	I do not want to be like my family and have no money invested on my retirement and depending on my children to take care of me so I wanted to break away from that cycle, to try be better.
WORK7	I found work was as a cleaner, a tea lady but I told my manager like I'm not going to dress like a cleaner I'm going to dress like everyone here in the office. In my pencil skirt, stockings, court shoes and that's how I mopped the floors.

The significance of these statements is that they illustrate a shared drive for wanting something better and searching for a sense of purpose.

7.2.2 Purpose

Purpose was a theme present in both the survey and interview analysis. The survey indicated that participants did not feel they had a good understanding of their purpose, whereas the interviews illustrated a strong desire to have a purpose. This search for purpose was perhaps communicated most strongly by INCOMP2 who described what it felt like when he was accepted at the RAA.

> "You know when you are not doing anything, you just want to be doing something. You want to know that the world needs you somehow, you know that thank God I was born for a reason."

Other participants also shared the desire for a sense of purpose. This desire often went beyond purpose in their own lives and extended into that of others around them. This is summarised in the table below:

Table 15. Summary of interview quotes referring to purpose

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
NOTACC3	[I want people to see that] I am something, I am someone in my community. I want to make my mother proud. I want to study, I want to achieve something, after I finish this programme I want to go back home and make a difference in my mother's life and my life.
WORK11	There was nothing to actually drive yourself to and I think that's my motivation – I want to be able to be there for people and show them there is hope.
ENT11	Whatever I do it has to benefit the greater community, it needs to inspire, it needs to create opportunities. It needs to show those that are coming after me that it's possible.

The quotes also illustrate how the participants associated purpose with contributing back to their families or broader communities in some way. These themes also emerged from the programmatic findings discussed in Chapter 8 and related to the RAA's ability to help participants identify and articulate their vision and mission.

7.2.3 Perseverance

The qualitative data further indicated tremendous resilience and perseverance among these young people; they were determined to not give up on their goals and aspirations. The survey results indicated that they considered themselves lacking in confidence and in their ability to take initiative and advantage of opportunities before applying to the RAA. However, the narratives from the interviews suggested that, irrespective of their challenges, they were determined to move forward.

A profound illustration of this was in the interview with ENT5. She recounted that one of her challenges at the RAA was having to stay late to work with her group, but she did so despite the risks of travelling home at night.

> "Khayelitsha is very far and is dangerous but then I was just risking my life because I knew what I wanted."

Several other quotes listed in Table 16 illustrate this characteristic.

Table 16: Summary of interview quotes referring to determination

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
WORK1	At times they literally just told me, you know what if you don't quit this thing [RAA] and get yourself a proper job, you have to move out. I kept on telling myself – nooo, it's not going to happen [I won't quit].
NOTACC1	I'm a survivor because I know that whatever challenges are put before me [I can deal with it]. There is no problem bigger than who you are or how you are.
ENT3	I am a persevering person and if I start something I have to finish it.
NOTACC2	You might say it [not being accepted at RAA] was unfortunate but for me it was actually fortunate because I was prepared for disappointment as well – I had a backup plan – if I do not make it here, where to from here?
NOTACC3	The way people treated me is how I became the person that I am today, the way people were so cruel to me. The people who would say I would be nothing, they challenged me to become something better, something to be proud of.
NOTACC5	I know that it is not the end of the world for me [not being accepted at RAA]. Just getting this opportunity, it just opened me to other opportunities as well, it opened my mind to see that it is possible. If I can be able to get in [short-listed] to such places, it means I can also get into other places as well, I was sad but ended up being encouraged as well.
NOTACC4	I carried on with my dad's business and I knew that I would find another opportunity [when not accepted at RAA].
ENT7	Those tough situations, I think they are the ones that made me strong, and to change the situation and make it better by education, try by all means to strive for much better things.
ENT10	Every time something happened for me, I got back up again. I would seek more. Every time I had a problem, I'd say, no, I've been through worse. What I've learnt, when you want something, no matter what, if you want it, you have to go and get it.

The quotes indicate how the participants "survived", "got back up again", didn't quit and "had back-up plans". They described how they were not prepared to allow a set-back or challenge to keep them from going for what they wanted. It indicated their determination to continue in the pursuit of what was important to them. However, all the narratives also indicated that this group of young people possessed potential that perhaps would have gone untapped because of the constraints that made it challenging for them to move forward. It was therefore important to investigate whether participants showed agency in looking for and putting themselves forward for opportunities, despite their deprived context. The following section provides the findings of the qualitative data analysis in this regard.

7.2.4 Opportunity driven

The quotes presented in Table 17 below demonstrate how all of these youth searched for opportunities, assessed whether these would be of value to them and then took action to access the opportunity.

Table 17: Summary of interview quotes referring to being opportunity driven

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
WORK4	I think for me that's what drew me to the academy and applying. You know this is a stepping stone for me towards something greater. I mean this is [RAA] a lifetime opportunity. You did not pay to be here so you, I had to push, and push, and push.
INCOMP1	I thought let me just drop everything and take this opportunity.
NOTACC5	You know that thing of knowing that somewhere, somehow in your life you are destined to be a better person, that is why for me every moment I get I seize it, I take it because I have that thing in me that this will be my help, that will take me in the future, so that is why I take every opportunity hoping that I will be getting where I want to be.
WORK3	You have to go and look for the opportunities in order for you to make it in this country of ours.
INCOMP4	The spirit that I had at that time was yes this was the opportunity that I wanted and now that I've been given it, I grab it with both hands.
ENT11	I didn't know [exactly] what the course was about, […] I just saw entrepreneurship for 6 months – so like for me [it meant] – opportunity, opportunity, opportunity.

The analysis of participants' backgrounds indicated that participants had hopes and aspirations for a better future. The analysis of the participants' inherent characteristics showed a common determination to work towards achieving these aspirations, even though they perceived they had limited access to opportunities to do so. The quotes above demonstrate that they were therefore driven to make the most of the opportunities that were available to them.

7.3 Individual case studies

The survey and interview data gave an overall understanding of the individual traits of the participants. However, these interviews were conducted *after* the students had taken part in the RAA programme and the retrospective approach may have influenced participants'

accounts of who they believed they were before RAA. As Babbie and Mouton (2012) caution, post-test design is only able to indicate whether participants believed they changed or where impacted by an intervention. Therefore, the participants' essays, written as part of the RAA application forms, were analysed in order to verify the findings. The application forms and essays corroborated the themes described above.

Below are five short excerpts from five application forms, representing one participant from each of the analytical categories[32]. For this purpose, I chose participants whose essays served to describe the individual characteristics identified in the quantitative area of the study.

Part A is an excerpt from the answer to the essay question: *Write a short personal history of yourself giving an honest evaluation of your strengths and weaknesses.*

Part B is an excerpt from the answer to the essay question: *Why do you feel an education through this academy will help you achieve your goals?*

Key words have been highlighted to point out the themes of ambition, drive, purpose, perseverance and seeking opportunity.

7.3.1 Participant NOTACC5

Part A: "I am a **confident person with a positive attitude**, always esteeming others [who are] better than myself, by nature I am very friendly. **I am always pushing myself** to what I believe even when the situation is against me at times.

As I am growing I am learning the importance of embracing the times of challenges because at the end of it all a change will come out for better. **From every challenge there is always a lesson to learn** not only for myself but for the next person to be assured that it will surely pass it must come so that one can be elevated to the next step in life. […] I only overcome my fears by doing what I never thought I can do."

[32] Not selected to RAA, did not complete, or at the time of the interview: working, own business and working, own business

Part B: “I aspire to study at the RAA as I strongly believe that there is no other time than this to grab this exciting, life changing challenge as well as it will bring a positive impact to my life’s experiences and will equip me with knowledge and skills for now and future endeavours. I want to be there to learn, I want to be challenged to imagine the impossible and bring them to existence.

This programme will develop me, it will be a leading channel for me to where I want to be in the near future.”

7.3.2 Participant WORK6

Part A: “I am WORK6. I am an 18 year old woman. **I am a dedicated, disciplined** and punctual person. **Hard worker is my name**. I try by all means to do the best I can all the time.

The fact that I come from a disadvantaged family does not stand in my way to success. I just take it as one of my challenges.

My weakness is that I am a little shy, but when I have to be confident, I try by all means to do what is expected of me.

I learned and told myself that my weaknesses must not stand in my way to achieve my goals. Instead, I take them as challenges and there is only one thing I need to do: face my challenges and try to find a way forward.”

Part B: “I feel that education through this academy will help me to achieve my goal to own my own business.

This academy believes in people who believe in themselves, and people who are passionate about their business. This will help me achieve my goals because the academy will offer support and help build my confidence. **It will also help me stand on my own** and strengthen my leadership skills.”

7.3.3 Participant INCOMP3

Part A: “In both primary and high school I always strived to partake in extra mural activities. Participating in these activities such as the Scholar Patrol and Representative Council of

Learners **gave me a great sense of purpose**, the ability to work with others in a team and an escape for predicaments such as personal domestic challenges.

My one biggest weakness is that I am impatient. I lose hope very quickly, relying mostly on other people for motivation and if a planned deadline for a particular output is not met I get depressed. In realisation that my weakness (mostly) stems from not being realistic and not considering every aspect to an opportunity, due to being excited. I am working very hard to overcome this weakness."

Part B: "I envisage this programme to be intensive and eye-opening for me as a person who is looking to venture into business in the near future. **Opportunities like this programme are rare** as most institutions seek exorbitant fees that most of us cannot afford due to socio-economic factors. […] Learning is of the utmost importance to me so **I really do want to participate fully**.

I think entrepreneurship is incomplete without education (in many forms) and so **I believe the academy will help me towards realising my dream**."

7.3.4 Participant WORK8

Part A: "WORK8 was born in the Eastern Cape, South Africa in 1988. […] Between the years 2009 and 2013 **he worked his way up the ranks of corporate companies** in the customer service, collections and technical contract centres. At the end of 2013, **he left the corporate world to give his undivided attention to a company he had been running** (as an additional activity while working his way up the corporate ranks) since 2011 called L industries. It was only in 2014 that L industries opened its new division, e_K.com, **the business I want to push to greater heights, hence my application to this programme**.

Coming from a poor background, having been raised by a single unemployed mother, **I was surely destined for failure. I however applied my all to everything I did**, thus climbing the corporate ladder into becoming a quality assurance manager for Wonga.com at just 24 years old. I was therefore able to extend my mother's home and provide shelter to my siblings."

Part B: "I have after years of careful consideration decided that I want to be a full-time entrepreneur. After studying a few books by Mr. Ackerman and doing research on where to

begin my entrepreneurial journey **I have decided that this academy is a fundamental stepping stone in my journey**."

7.3.5 Participant ENT11

Part A: "**I am the most ambitious 22 year old**. I feel that **I can conquer all**. Some find my dreams very and extremely far-fetched. I go by the motto that 'impossible is nothing and that difficult is not impossible'. This go getting attitude has helped me a lot with the many challenges I have gone through in my life. **I seem to always rise above most challenges.**

I am very opinionated, innovative and a diligent person. Although I possess great qualities I can be very impatient and very much impulsive in my decision making. I have to really improve on these areas because they are very important in ensuring my road to success.

I think with more knowledge and great leadership role models **I am sure to achieve my goals because I have it in me to be the best that I can be**. I have learned to be more open minded in business and take criticism well especially when it is constructive. I have also learned to act on facts and not on assumptions when conducting business."

Part B: Not completed

The excerpts confirm that at this stage in their lives these applicants were demonstrating traits such as drive and determination and exercised their agency by applying to the RAA. The traits identified in these sample essays support the evidence of such traits from the qualitative interviews and provide insight into the kinds of characteristics that were common amongst this youth group, before they applied to the RAA.

The analysis of how the participants described themselves before RAA was important in order to understand the characteristics exhibited by a "typical" RAA applicant. The story these youth told was that they grew up in deprivation and that they wanted to "go somewhere better" and "become someone" but that their circumstances constrained their potential. The quantitative findings indicate that they did not rate themselves highly when it came to self-confidence and skills, yet the qualitative interviews show they displayed perserverance, drive, purpose, and agency. These qualities were was also evidenced in their applications to enter the RAA when this opportunity presented itself.

The chapter that follows examines the outcomes of having the opportunity to participate in the RAA programme. It includes further assessment of how participants described themselves post the programme, whether their description-of-self changed, and if the RAA programme served to nurture and enhance their natural potential.

Chapter Eight: Programme Findings

This chapter will detail the findings to the study's main research questions,

What has been the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods? If the RAA has impacted the personal development and economic livelihoods of participants in the programme, how has it done so?

The analysis first investigated which elements of the RAA the research participants had indicated were valuable to them. It then focused on trying to understand what happened to these youth *after* participating in the RAA and the intermediating factors that influenced these outcomes. The following questions were used to guide the overall analysis:

- What RAA course content did participants consider most valuable?
- What other aspects of the course did participants consider valuable?
- If the RAA made an impact on the youth who participated in the programme, how specifically:
    - Did the RAA impact graduates on a personal level[33]?
    - Did the RAA help to develop an entrepreneurial mindset as an outcome of participating in the programme?
    - Did the RAA influence graduate economic activity and earnings post the programme?

The analysis drew on data collected from:

- The 22 qualitative interviews conducted with participants who were accepted and completed the RAA programme.
- The five qualitative interviews conducted with participants who were accepted and participated in but did not complete the RAA programme. Although this is a counterfactual group, these participants were included in the programme findings analysis because they participated in the programme and could contribute to the data analysis of which aspects of the RAA were valuable to participants on the whole.
- The post-interview online survey completed by these two groups.

[33] Impact on a personal level refers to factors such as confidence, positive outlook and personal vision.
Economic activity refers to employment, further studies or own business.
Entrepreneurial mindset refers to displaying characteristics such as creative thinking and calculated risk-taking.

- The online survey sent to the RAA Alumni group (to which 214 responses were received).
- Course evaluations supplied by the RAA (completed by participants in the programme at the end of each 6-month cohort[34]).

The findings show the outcomes for RAA participants. In determining if, and how, the RAA was a likely factor in why some youth from these socio-economic backgrounds get ahead and why others do not, analysis of data collected from a counterfactual group of youth was conducted. The counterfactual analysis pertaining to this study is presented in Chapter 9.

The preceding chapters described socio-economic circumstances and individual characteristics of a "typical" RAA applicant before applying to the RAA. This data provides context to the findings and outcomes detailed in this chapter. So far indications are that for the majority of participants adversity was a common experience and that role models (or lack of) played an important part in shaping aspirations. In addition, their experience of the community as enabling was rather ambiguous. There was a general sense that participants had reached a point in their lives where they needed support to help them move beyond the impediments they experienced as a result of their backgrounds.

The majority of participants demonstrated that they had agency, ambition, drive and perseverance, although they did not rate themselves highly when it came to self-confidence and skills. They were looking for opportunities that would help them reach their aspired futures and support their potential and drive to "become someone", discover their purpose, and develop their confidence and skills.

It was therefore critical to the research to investigate whether partaking in the RAA made a measurable and positive impact in the lives of the participants, and whether it served as the kind of enabling opportunity they were looking for.

8.1 What RAA course content was most valuable for participants?

In order to understand how the RAA impacted on participants and which programmatic factors served to facilitate these outcomes, I sought firstly to determine what course content

[34] Course evaluations were supplied from 12 cohorts between the years 2010 and 2016

was most valuable to the participants in the study. The analysis was done using data drawn from:

- The online survey and qualitative interview data gathered from the research group who had participated in the RAA programme (including those who did not complete the programme);
- The RAA course evaluations completed by each student cohort.

The table below lists the post-interview online survey results of the workshops the research participants rated as most valuable.

Table 18: Summary of RAA workshops that were rated most valuable

	RESPONSE PERCENT
Innovation & idea testing	67%
Marketing	63%
Adventure camp	52%
Vision and mission	48%
Strategy	48%
Business numeracy	48%
Mr. Ackerman lecture	48%
Negotiation skills	44%
Leading & developing myself	44%
Communication skills	41%
Presentation skills	37%
Business etiquette	30%
Computer course	30%
Operations	26%
Managing myself and my time	26%
The art of possibility	22%
Entrepreneur guest speakers	22%
Doing Business in SA	22%
Human resources	18%
Business literacy	18%
Economics	15%
Sustainability	15%
Final idea presentations	15%

Career development and CV's	[redacted]	11%
Prejudice & discrimination	[redacted]	11%
The 5 love languages	[redacted]	11%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		**27**

The RAA course is divided into three main focus areas:

- Business-idea generation and testing
- Business skills
- Personal development

The survey results showed that innovation and idea testing was rated most often as one of the top five workshops, followed by marketing and the adventure camp[35]. These three workshops represent each of the RAA focus areas, indicating that content from each area was considered valuable for participants.

I also found these indications in the majority of RAA course evaluations, corroborating that the combination of business and personal skills content was important to participants. Three quotes from the RAA's course evaluation forms[36] illustrate this.

Table 19: Summary of course evaluation quotes referring to personal development and business content

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM RAA COURSE EVALUATIONS
Anonymous	Life orientation[37] and the innovation lectures made me realise what it is that I want in life and how I am going to get there.
Anonymous	The personal development was great. The business side as well, and how the two go hand in hand. As an entrepreneur I am my business and my business is me. RAA helped me to see that symbiosis.
Anonymous	The whole course content has helped me, wow! I don't even have enough ink in my pen to write down how all of it inter-linked to prepare me for my future business ventures and career path, and even in my present!

[35] A three-day outdoor camp where participants are taught leadership and entrepreneurial skills through activities in nature.
[36] Completed anonymously after each cohort.
[37] Life orientation and personal development were used interchangeably by RAA students.

The qualitative findings provided a further indication that the young people themselves value training in both the “hard” and “soft” skills.

Table 20: Summary of interview quotes referring to personal development and business content

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
ENT3	[RAA] made to be the great person that I am when it comes to the business engine and the personality as well because the personal development on its own, communication skills I have improved from what I was before, and you can hear me as well, the way I am speaking the way I am confident, the speed and the execution plans, I do not just plan, but I execute as well.
ENT9	The impact that they [RAA] played is how to manage your business, your personal development, how to behave, professionalism, time management. There were a lot of elements that I was using that I got from RAA.

These comments provide a first indication of the course’s positive impact on students on a personal level because as they were encouraged to look at themselves before they looked at developing their business skills. They were invited to think about how they would like to develop as a person and as an entrepreneur or entrepreneurially-minded employee.

The analysis then went on to investigate what specific elements *within* the overall course context were considered valuable. The next two sections focus on the business content and then the personal development content.

8.1.1 Most valuable business content

In the post-interview online survey the following business content was rated as the most valuable:

- Innovation and idea testing
- Marketing
- Strategy
- Negotiation skills
- Mr. Ackerman’s “Four Legs of the Table” lecture[38]
- Business numeracy

[38] The strategy used to build Mr Ackerman’s Pick n Pay business.

A review of the RAA course evaluations from 2010 to 2016 showed that this course content was also rated highly by the majority of RAA students. See Appendix 9.[39]

In the online survey, respondents were prompted to explain why they chose each of their "top five" workshops. Overall, the answers reflected that the value of these modules was not only in gaining new knowledge, but in the way they encouraged a different way of thinking. Two participants specifically mentioned the link between the innovation modules and learning to think creatively.

Table 21: Summary of survey quotes referring to RAA innovation module

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM SURVEY
ENT10	The innovation and testing inspired my mind to think creatively and out of the box.
WORK5	I have learned to think outside the box and make those ideas relevant today.

In his description of why the strategy module was valuable, ENT1 commented how the practical knowledge shifted his thinking.

> "I learned that I can't just wake up and decide on that moment that we are going to do that but must plan so that every client is well cared for."

The qualitative interviews and online survey gave further insights into why the innovation and testing, in particular, and practical learning-by-doing approach were valuable components of the programme for participants.

Table 22: Summary of interview quotes referring to RAA innovation module

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
ENT10	While I was in the programme, I already started testing the business – that's the [RAA] back-up support I was talking about - at school they would wait until you finish your degree, then you will look for a job to get money to start a business, but while I was at RAA I had already started the business. So I already had people wanting the idea.

[39] Summaries of the student ratings for each lecture were available in chart format from 2010 – 2015, a chart was not available for 2016, only ratings data

WORK8	The whole [innovation] like that was a game-changer for me because I then started questioning everything that I had been doing - okay I've got all these small businesses but what exactly is it that I'm solving with them, like what's the problem?

These quotes provide another indication that the value of these modules was in gaining new knowledge and in encouraging a different way of thinking. They allowed for practical application of the skills that were being learned.

The shift in thinking could also be seen in the value participants assigned to the personal development content, described below.

8.1.2 Most valuable personal development content

The online survey results showed that several personal development modules were ranked as the most valuable workshops for participants, namely:

- The Outward Bound adventure camp
- Vision and mission
- Leading and developing myself
- Communication skills

These modules were considered valuable because they provided young people with new knowledge and experiences that helped them to understand themselves and how to engage with others. The following quotes illustrate how participants experienced tangible shifts in their personal development throughout the course modules:

Table 23: Summary of interview quotes referring to personal development content

WORKSHOP	QUOTE FROM ONLINE SURVEY
Adventure Camp	It stretched me. There were things I never thought that I could do but I did them. WORK 7. The camp really changed me in terms of my personal development. I learnt some activities that made me understand the essence of team work. ENT10
Vision and Mission	I have defined a vision for myself and a clear mission statement that guides me in life to the goals I want to achieve. Which helps me in a great way. WORK1
Leadership	I delegate work. I know as a leader you don't have to lead in front and I have developed a lot as a person. INCOMP4

Communication Skills	I developed an awareness of listening to people and hearing them and also learned that expressing myself was okay. WORK11

The course evaluations provided by all RAA students corroborate the online survey results and again indicate the value of the personal development component. The majority of RAA students rated each of the personal development workshops as 5 (“excellent”) (see Table 24 below) and participants verified vision and mission, leadership and communication skills as the top rated workshops.

Table 24: Average rating of RAA personal development workshops

RAA PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT MODULE	Jan-10	Jul-10	Jan-11	Jul-11	Jan-12	Jul-12	Jan-13	Jul-13	Jan-14	Jul-14	Jul-15	Jul-16	Overall Average
Communication	4.8	4.86	4.85	4.85	4.95	4.90	4.88	4.80	4.72	4.68	4.73	4.95	**4.83**
Leading and developing myself	4.88	4.76	4.90	4.90	4.90	4.80	4.81	4.92	4.60	4.64	4.77	4.90	**4.82**
Vision and mission	4.8	4.90	4.90	4.85	4.90	4.80	4.77	4.77	4.68	4.64	4.82	4.95	**4.82**
Managing myself and my time	4.88	4.86	4.89	4.85	4.81	4.75	4.58	4.92	4.76	4.73	4.82	4.85	**4.81**
Presentation skills	4.88	4.76	4.80	4.70	4.71	4.45	4.58	4.88	4.72	4.73	4.77	4.86	**4.74**
Etiquette	*	4.76	4.80	4.80	*	4.20	4.73	4.84	4.58	4.50	4.62	4.60	**4.64**

*rating unavailable

Comments drawn from the course evaluations further indicate the centrality of the personal development component in the students' experience of the programme and the RAA's impact on young people's ability to move forward on their desired life trajectory. These comments included descriptions of the value of the one-on-one check-in sessions offered on the programme[40].

Table 25: Summary of interview quotes referring to check-ins

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM RAA COURSE EVALUATIONS
Anonymous	The course focused more on building you as a person so now I feel more confident in myself and my abilities which is ultimately the conviction I needed to get myself further in life.
Anonymous	All that is offered in the programme is enriching, especially personal development because it helps us to discover our inner ability.
Anonymous	The check-ins helped me 100 percent because I have learnt to look beyond the past.
Anonymous	I came here with a lot of doubt in myself. Speaking about what was troubling me helped clear all the negatives and opened up a broader mindset for me.

Responses to the question "Were check-ins a valuable part of the programme?" showed that individual check-ins were consistently considered an important part of the RAA personal development offering; 93 percent of the course evaluation respondents answered "yes". These results provide further evidence that it was not only personal development that was valuable for participants but the depth of the personal support they experienced.

WORK7 echoed this sentiment in her in-depth interview,

> "That's the one thing that the RAA got right from the beginning, coupling the Academy side with the availability of counselling services onsite […] if you are going to select people who have not had opportunity in the past and who come from communities that are challenging, they are bound to have problems and some of those problems will prevent them from learning properly."

[40] Students on the RAA programme meet regularly with the RAA student development facilitator for one-on-one sessions ('check-ins') where they are supported and encouraged to work on any aspects of their student or personal lives that may need development and attention. These sessions are based on the RAA's belief is that if students are empowered to understand their challenges and how to deal with them, they will be better equipped for future challenges. The check-ins form part of the personal development curriculum.

The online survey, interviews and course evaluation data showed that the most valuable components of the RAA programme were business and personal development. Descriptions of the importance of the personal development component in particular show that it was highly valued and that the content and delivery of those modules seemed to be able to mitigate a number of deficiencies that young people identified in their immediate context. The personal development component nurtured hope and confidence (which participants described as lacking before the RAA). The inclusion of both business and personal skills content was also seen to be important because learning was not limited to entrepreneurship, as WORK6 explained in her interview,

> "Not everyone that attended Raymond Ackerman Academy was meant to be an entrepreneur and run a big business. Everything that you learnt you can apply in your personal life or anywhere actually."

WORK6's comment also includes reference to a key theme that emerged from the analysis. Although the RAA is an entrepreneurial development programme, the majority of research participants acknowledged that the RAA's *holistic* approach to programme content and delivery was significant for them. This is discussed below.

8.2 What other aspects of the RAA programme were valuable for participants?

Several additional themes emerged during analysis that gave further insight into what the RAA offered participants. The themes spoke to a holistic approach that included multiple factors which participants indicated had had an impact on them both personally and economically. These were:

- A focus on growing the person
- Supportive staff
- Access to networks and opportunities
- Access to an inspiring environment and safe space
- Access to like-minded individuals

During the qualitative interviews, participants were asked to describe the RAA in one-word[41]. Participants used positive expressions such as "life changing", "refining and defining",

[41] See Appendix 11 for the full list of one-word descriptions.

“empowering”, “character building”, “personal development”, “extraordinary”. Probing why participants chose their particular word revealed that this sentiment was not related to the business or entrepreneurial aspects of the programme, but rather to the impact on these youth as individuals; the impact on their lives and personalities.

One participant used the term, “a complete project”, indicating the value of the all-round, holistic focus of the programme and that the impact for participants was made because of this holistic approach, as the following quotes substantiate.

Table 26: Summary of interview quotes referring to person-centred approach

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
ENT11	It really refines you, the potential that you have, [from] the rough diamond that you are to being the shiniest and the most valuable, it kind of puts things into perspective and defines you and what you can offer the world.
WORK9	RAA sounds like it is focusing on one aspect but when I say life transforming it is like a holistic programme and it covers all aspects of human being.
WORK8	If I could tell you a story about where I was and where I am now after the program, I’m a totally different person. It’s amazing how 6 months can teach you everything from managing personal relationships, greeting someone with a handshake all the way to management.

Discussed below is how the interview data revealed participants’ experience of this individual development focus, and what specific factors made up the perceived holistic approach.

8.2.1 The role of RAA staff

The interview data highlighted how programme staff a) made students feel important b) treated them like “human beings” and c) believed in them and encouraged them to work hard.

ENT5 for example spoke emotionally of how she was made to feel important,

> “[RAA staff] listened to us. […] I felt important because they did make time for me. I only felt important at the RAA.”

WORK10 and WORK4 explained how they felt they were treated as humans.

> “I will tell people out there that the RAA is one place that will change your life if you want it to – other places won’t do that, they don’t even know you, you are just a student number but in the RAA you have a name, a surname and a face.” WORK10

> “[They] see a person as a person as a human, not as a drug addict, you know what I mean? [They] don’t see the negative, [they] always look for gold. [They] see gold in people.” WORK4

ENT10 and WORK9 spoke of the staff’s support for both their entrepreneurial and character development,

> “As much as we were given the entrepreneurship principles, [they] were there to pull out that character you know.” WORK9

> “You didn't see yourself as bad, nobody crushed you. The staff was very supportive in terms of your ideas, your plans and what you want to do and also, personally.” ENT10

ENT11 and WORK11 shared their experience of having someone who believed in them and the impact that this had,

> “[They] believed that it was going to happen and when I started seeing it, I was so committed I could taste it and so obviously then I realised I could graduate.” ENT11

> “It didn’t seem like [they] were just doing it just for the sake of, it’s a job – I kind of felt like [they] were actually pushing us to be great for us for ourselves.” WORK11

The interview data also contained evidence of how some participants may have left the programme were it not for the staff’s support.

These descriptions of the role of staff may be a reflection of the RAA’s intention to grow the person first. The responses indicate that the personal attention and the environment that the RAA created was one where students felt supported, nurtured and empowered as they discovered themselves and ultimately the pathway they wished to pursue.

8.2.2 Access to opportunities and networks

Data from the interviews also showed how participants valued the access to networks and opportunities that the RAA afforded them, as well as the increase in social capital they experienced as a result of participating in the programme.

WORK8 described why the access to networks was important for him,

> "I think once you become an Alumni you now have this huge network that you can tap on at any time, now when I'm going for proposals, I'm no longer just WORK8 but I'm WORK8 who is a graduate of the RAA. […] I wasn't born with a silver spoon in my mouth, to now all of a sudden to have all these contacts is an amazing thing."

ENT10 specifically spoke of why the association with, and meeting, Mr Ackerman, was a valuable component of the programme,

> "You get to meet Mr. Ackerman, [and you think to yourself], but this guy he's a billionaire, how do you [do that], which planet does he live on? So for me, that was a shift. It opened up a bigger world for me. Wherever I go I use that name, it does not only work wonders for me but it leaves people with a question mark that what are you guys [the RAA] doing to bring out people like this."

Another graduate, ENT8, also spoke of the specific value of Mr. Ackerman and his "Four Legs of the Table" lecture [and why he chose it as one of his top 5 RAA workshops].

> "I chose Four Legs because it was explaining my upcoming journey and a platform to listen to the people who made it in life."

The value of learning from someone who "made it in life" was significant in relation to the participants' reference to the lack of role models in the communities where they grew up. The quotes indicate that the RAA may offer the kind of knowledge, support and contacts that role models would otherwise have been able to offer; in other words the kind of social and cultural capital that is usually absent from these young people's immediate environments. In addition, the reference to "explaining my upcoming journey" relates to these young people's need to know what steps to take to a better future and suggests that the programme offered clarity on exactly that, and then the networks to do so as further analysis illustrated.

The online survey data showed that the majority of participants rated their ability to access opportunities and networks before applying to RAA as “below average”. They reported having experienced a significant increase in this ability after the RAA. The average rating increased from 2.07 (below average) to 4.29 (good/excellent) where 50 percent of the respondents rated this as “excellent” after RAA (compared to none before), see Table 27.

Table 27: Comparison of “access to networks” responses before and after RAA

	Poor (1)	**Below Average (2)**	**Average (3)**	**Good (4)**	**Excellent (5)**	**Response Total**	**Response Average**
Access to opportunities and networks **before** RAA	23%	46%	31%	0%	0%	26	2.08
Access to opportunities and networks **after** RAA	0%	0%	19%	30%	52%	27	4.33

The noticeable shift seen in the data provides another indication that access to networks was a valuable component of the RAA offering.

I acknowledge that in post-test research design possible bias may creep in over time. Also, for these findings to be plausible when using a case study evaluation method, changes should be due to the intervention itself and not extraneous factors (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). The triangulation of interview and survey data, however, illustrates that these young people experienced a shift.

8.2.3 Access to an inspiring environment and like-minded people

Interview participants referred to the benefit of having access to the RAA space and being around like-minded people in that space. They also spoke of how the RAA’s person-centred approach, coupled with access to this physical space, facilitated a sense of belonging. WORK5 for example described that attending RAA felt like:

> “I’m going to a space where I belong.”

ENT11 echoed this sentiment when he explained why he was excited when he received the call confirming that he had been accepted,

> "We never get platforms to be with those like-minded individuals in one space."

The importance of belonging also emerged when WORK9 identified the areas where his life was more difficult after the programme,

> "What has become more difficult is that you don't have that family around you anymore."

The UCT GSB[42] environment also inspired participants to think beyond what they had known growing up, as illustrated by ENT10's comment below,

> "GSB on its own was a big part because I enjoyed the professionalism, the campus, you know, even the Waterfront[43]. After school we'd go out and just walk around and chill, buy ice cream at the Waterfront, or something. So the environment also played a big role. […] The experience at the GSB and Waterfront also opened up my mind. [It] always gave me that sense of there is a bigger world and now I dream of far more bigger things than what I imagined as a young boy or dreamer."

The data shows that being at the GSB, with its vicinity to the Waterfront, made ENT10 realise that "there is a bigger world". His statement also supported the findings in the context chapter that many young people continue to live fairly isolated lives in their communities: a function of poverty, apartheid planning and post-apartheid failures to undo that. The quote suggests that the RAA/GSB, in part through its location, functioned as an enabler in that it provided access to a world-class shopping and entertainment area with a certain lifestyle that would otherwise not be easy for these young people to gain exposure to.

The data in this section has shown that participants valued the holistic, person-centred approach of the RAA. In addition to offering entrepreneurship training, it provided supportive staff, access to networks, an inspiring space and the opportunity to connect with like-minded others. These findings, combined with those regarding the value of the personal

[42] The RAA is based at the UCT GSB's Breakwater Campus.

[43] The Waterfront is a mixed-use residential and commercial precinct located on the Cape Town Atlantic Seaboard. It is one of Cape Town's biggest tourist attractions.

development and business workshops, suggest that it was a combination of programmatic factors and not one aspect alone that was significant for participants.

The findings indicated that young people experienced a shift in availability of support, resources, learning and opportunities that were not very available to them before joining RAA. The data was, however, not evidence of the RAA having made a measurable shift. It did not actually *prove* that the RAA had made a difference in the personal development and economic livelihoods of graduates. Therefore, in order to show if, and how, the RAA impacted on graduate outcomes, I drew on both quantitative and qualitative data to investigate:

- Did the RAA impact on graduates on a personal level?
- Did the RAA help to develop an entrepreneurial mindset as an outcome of participating in the programme?
- Did the RAA influence graduate economic activity and earnings post the programme?

8.3 Did the RAA impact graduates on a personal level and if so, how?

To assess whether personal development was an outcome of the RAA, data from the qualitative interviews and online survey was analysed. The RAA course evaluations, completed by all graduates between 2010 and 2016, were also used to triangulate the survey and interview findings.

The individual findings in Chapter 7 detail how participants described themselves before and after the RAA. This was useful in establishing the type of young person that applied to the RAA and the personal characteristics they felt had been nurtured by participating in the programme. In this section of the analysis, the same data set was used to determine if the participants experienced personal growth as a result of being at the RAA.

It is important to note that the rating where participants assessed themselves prior to RAA was retrospective. The data therefore had its limitations because I was unable to attribute with certainty the change in outcome after participation in the programme (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). The data does, however, give an indication of the primary areas where participants experienced growth. Using the online survey, participants were requested to rate the

following personal development[44] factors, listed in the tables below, with their corresponding scores both before and after the RAA. Factors were rated as either poor, below average, average, good or excellent.

Table 28 below illustrate the ranking per factor before and after the programme and how most respondents rated that particular factor on a scale of 1 to 5.

[44] Factors such as ability to manage time, presenting oneself professionally and ability to take advantage of opportunities are, for the purposes of this research paper, considered aspects of personal development in that they can contribute to an individual's confidence, self-efficacy, self-management and leadership abilities.

Table 28: Respondents rating of individual factors before and after the RAA programme

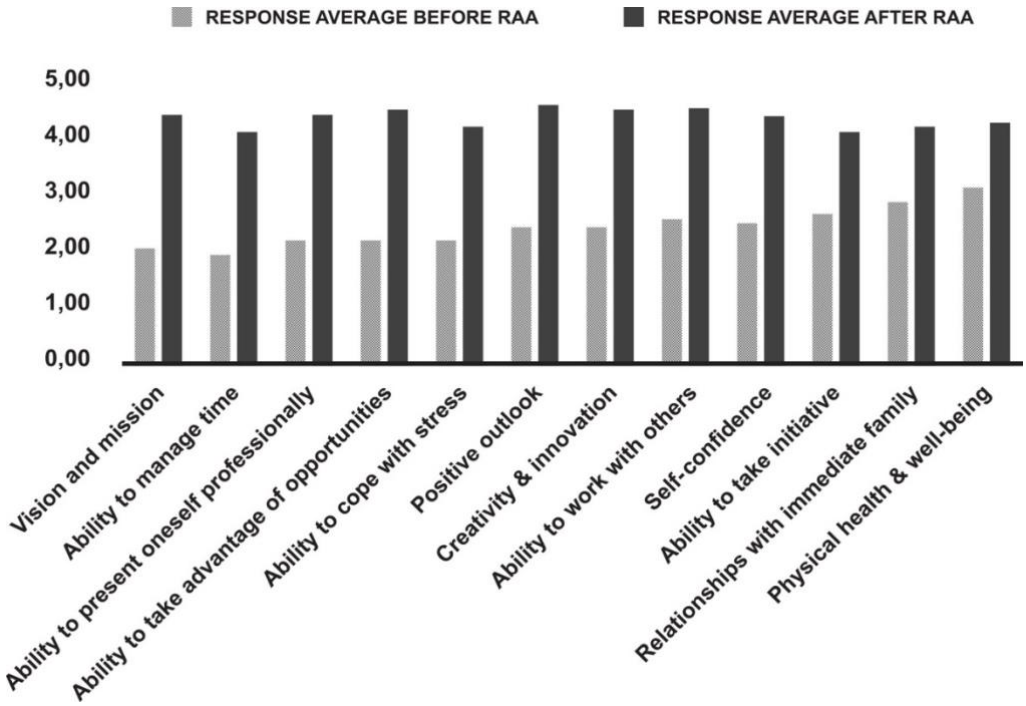
INDIVIDUAL FACTOR	Before RAA Poor (1)	After RAA	Below Average (2)		Average (3)		Good (4)		Excellent (5)		Response Average		Percentage Increase in Rating after RAA
Self-confidence	4%	**0%**	52%	**0%**	33%	**7%**	11%	**48%**	0%	**44%**	2.52	**4.37**	42%
Positive outlook	8%	**0%**	44%	**0%**	44%	**4%**	4%	**35%**	0%	**62%**	2.44	**4.58**	47%
Creativity and innovation	11%	**0%**	44%	**0%**	37%	**12%**	4%	**27%**	4%	**62%**	2.44	**4.5**	46%
Physical health and well-being	4%	**0%**	22%	**0%**	33%	**8%**	41%	**62%**	0%	**31%**	3.11	**4.23**	26%
Relationships with immediate family	11%	**0%**	22%	**4%**	44%	**19%**	15%	**33%**	7%	**44%**	2.85	**4.19**	32%
Vision and mission	19%	**0%**	56%	**0%**	26%	**0%**	0%	**59%**	0%	**41%**	2.07	**4.41**	53%
Ability to manage time	33%	**0%**	41%	**4%**	22%	**15%**	4%	**52%**	0%	**30%**	1.96	**4.07**	52%
Ability to work with others	15%	**0%**	37%	**0%**	26%	**7%**	19%	**33%**	4%	**59%**	2.59	**4.52**	43%
Ability to cope with stress	19%	**0%**	59%	**0%**	11%	**15%**	7%	**56%**	4%	**30%**	2.19	**4.15**	47%
Ability to take initiative	21%	**0%**	25%	**4%**	38%	**19%**	4%	**38%**	13%	**38%**	2.63	**4.12**	36%
Ability to present oneself professionally	35%	**0%**	31%	**0%**	19%	**12%**	12%	**35%**	4%	**54%**	2.19	**4.42**	50%
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	23%	**0%**	38%	**0%**	31%	**12%**	8%	**27%**	0%	**62%**	2.23	**4.5**	50%

The values show that all factors, except physical health/well-being and relationships with immediate family, were rated "below average", *before* taking part in the RAA. Managing time, and presenting oneself professionally scored the lowest (one would assume these are important skills in the world of work therefore possibly putting these youth at a disadvantage). Creativity and innovation, vision and mission and ability to take advantage of opportunities (key entrepreneurial characteristics as outlined in section 3.4.4 in the literature review), also scored particularly low before the programme. Respondents' assessment of their vision and mission[45] and ability to manage time were rated the lowest of all the factors.

The low scores suggested a lack of confidence in both their entrepreneurial ability and clarity of purpose.

Participants' ranking of these factors *after* RAA painted a different picture of their sense of self and indicated that development had occurred in the area of personal growth. The factors that received the highest overall ratings were marked as "excellent" by most of the respondents after the RAA programme, where most rated these factors as "average" or "below average" before RAA. Table 29 below illustrates this difference graphically.

Table 29: Rating of individual factors before and after RAA



[45] Explained as 'understanding of your sense of purpose' in the survey

This data visually corroborates that the participants experienced noticeable development in the areas outlined in the survey. It illustrates that most respondents indicated that the largest change after the programme was in their:

- Vision and mission and understanding of their sense of purpose
- Ability to manage time
- Ability to present oneself professionally
- Ability to take advantage of opportunities

This implies that these were the areas where the RAA programme facilitated the most growth.

The demonstrated shift in vision and purpose, where the rating increased from 2.17 (below average) to 4.38 (good/excellent) corroborates the individual findings that, prior to RAA, participants were searching for a sense of purpose. It would appear the RAA enabled participants to identify and work on how to pursue their vision.

Worth noting was that the personal development workshops listed below had been offered as part of the RAA curriculum:

- Vision and mission
- Managing myself and my time
- Presentation skills
- Business etiquette / professionalism
- Leading and developing myself
- Communication skills

Given the high value placed on the personal development workshops, summarised in section 8.1.2, and the change in these particular areas of personal growth as shown by the survey data, it is possible that these shifts were linked to the personal development modules.

The data was gathered retrospectively and the descriptive analysis presented above does not allow us to assume that the RAA alone was responsible for these shifts (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). Nevertheless, by applying a mixed method approach whereby I assumed that the qualitative and quantitative units alone could not explain all aspects of the study (Denscombe, 2007), the before and after comparison together with the insights from the interviews indicated a positive change, largely due to the programme.

A review of those indicators rated the highest before the RAA compared to those rated highest after the RAA can be seen below.

Table 30: Top ranked factors before and after RAA

TOP RANKED FACTORS BEFORE RAA	TOP RANKED FACTORS AFTER RAA
Physical health & well-being	Positive outlook
Relationships with immediate family	Ability to work with others
Ability to take initiative	Ability to take advantage of opportunities
Ability to work with others	Creativity & innovation
Self-confidence	Ability to present oneself professionally
Positive outlook	Vision and mission

This comparison suggested that, upon graduating, the participants perceived themselves as possessing the kinds of characteristics that theoretically would enable them to improve their chances of either finding a job or becoming entrepreneurs. That in turn would allow them to work towards their intentions of bettering their circumstances.

Positive outlook was a significant area of growth, which suggested participants were feeling optimistic about their futures. Together with self-confidence, these are key traits that could drive and support participants' future aspirations, and support the natural agency that participants demonstrated before applying to RAA. Having a positive outlook suggests a sense of hope and optimism that are crucial for youth, particularly those from the backgrounds described in this study. They are also critical entrepreneurial characteristics for enabling aspiring entrepreneurs to see opportunity.

Self-confidence and creativity are also key factors in soft skills and entrepreneurship. The positive shift in scores in these areas implied that participants have gained the confidence, creativity and drive to take action to improve their livelihoods (either through entrepreneurial opportunity or other economic activity).

The data showed improved professional skills, such as time management, presenting oneself professionally and being able to take advantage of opportunities. This speaks to an increased ability to engage in the world of work and would, according to the literature, improve their employability (as described in section 3.4.4).

The quantitative data indicated that the RAA has an impact on young people's personal development. The survey data showed that young people experienced shifts in the domains of positive outlook, creativity and vision. These findings corroborate those of the qualitative data and evaluation forms (outlined in 8.1) that indicated the same domains were a valuable component and outcome of the programme for participants.

8.4 Did the RAA help to develop an entrepreneurial mindset?

Data for this assessment was drawn from an online survey sent to the RAA Alumni group from the 2005 to 2017 cohorts, from which 214 responses were received. Data from the qualitative interviews was also used.

Given that the RAA is an entrepreneurial-development programme, I sought to assess how many of the participants attributed being able to think "entrepreneurially" to the RAA. Thinking entrepreneurially is taken to mean that the graduates had developed the ability to be creative, innovative, resourceful, to problem solve, be flexible, see opportunity, take initiative and take calculated risks.

As the literature suggested, having an entrepreneurial mindset is a critical skill in the 21st century and encompasses the attitudes, skills and behaviours that youth need to succeed both personally and professionally. If an outcome of the RAA was that the participants thought more entrepreneurially this could be seen as an asset that could help them improve their circumstances by seeing opportunity, thinking creatively and taking action despite their limited resources. The survey results showed that 98 percent of respondents agreed that the RAA helped them develop an entrepreneurial mindset.

Table 31: Would you say the RAA helped you develop an entrepreneurial mindset?

	RESPONSE PERCENT
Strongly Agree	90%
Somewhat Agree	8%
Neutral	1%
Disagree	0%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**214**

This result linked to the findings regarding the most valuable business content, and suggests that entrepreneurial skills such as creative thinking and an understanding of the

entrepreneurial journey were developed through the business workshops. It also linked to the data from the post-interview survey completed by the research group who were accepted to and participated in the full RAA programme or part thereof. These participants described themselves after completing the programme most often in terms of entrepreneurial characteristics. The table below illustrates the descriptions selected by at least 50 percent of the 27 respondents when asked how someone else would describe them after the RAA.

Table 32: Ranking of participant characteristics identified by others

CHARACTERISTIC	TOTAL RESPONSES	PERCENTAGE RESPONSE
Creative	21	78%
Confident	20	74%
Innovative	19	70%
Risk-taker	18	67%
Fun	17	63%
Hard-working	16	59%
Driven	15	56%
Independent	15	56%
Responsible	15	56%

In this group, the entrepreneurial characteristics of being confident, creative, innovative, and a risk-taker rated highly. This suggests that these participants had begun to see themselves more centered around their entrepreneurial characteristics and that these characteristics may have therefore been brought to the fore by the RAA.

Furthermore, analysis of the qualitative data indicates that for some participants the RAA played a key role in helping them discover their entrepreneurial talents and nurture their entrepreneurial ability. This, in turn, influenced the pathway they followed after graduating. For example, ENT10 and WORK8 both spoke of having inherent entrepreneurial characteristics that were brought out as a result of being students at the RAA,

> “I was born an entrepreneur but if I didn’t come across programmes like the RAA, it would never have developed, someone had to develop this entrepreneur in me.” WORK8

> “I had qualities of an entrepreneur and having those few qualities doesn't mean you are one, but it showed signs of you being one, but after the RAA, I actually

understood what it takes to be an entrepreneur […] so, I feel that I became an entrepreneur after the RAA. Prior, I just had qualities." ENT10

In short, the quantitative and qualitative data indicate that the participants perceived the RAA as having been instrumental in developing aspects of their entrepreneurial mindset and ability. Even if they considered themselves as having entrepreneurial characteristics before joining the programme, the comments above suggest that an intervention like the RAA was needed to nurture and strengthen those.

8.5 Did the RAA influence graduate economic activity and earnings post the programme?

The analysis presented above indicates that the RAA did have an impact on the personal development and entrepreneurial mindsets of graduates, and that this was facilitated by a combination of several supporting factors in the programme's approach and curriculum. This section turns to the analysis regarding the impact on the economic livelihoods of participants, and considers specifically what the influence of the RAA has been on current activity and on current income.

Data used for this analysis was obtained from the online survey that was sent out to the RAA Alumni group. Findings were then triangulated with analysis of the data provided by the participants in the qualitative interviews.

8.5.1 Did the RAA influence graduate activity post the programme?

The table below illustrates the activity of RAA Alumni at the time of applying to the programme and then again at the time of the survey in 2018.

The results illustrate that 41 percent of respondents were unemployed and 48 percent were working and/or had their own business when they applied to RAA. Data on their current activity indicates that a significant shift occurred *after* completion of the programme. Unemployment dropped to 6 percent and economic activity increased to 84 percent[46]. In addition, 81 percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the RAA had influenced or lead to their current activity (see Table 33 below).

[46] Results have been rounded up to the nearest percentage

Table 33: Activity at time of application to RAA and current activity

	RESPONSE PERCENT BEFORE RAA	RESPONSE PERCENT AFTER RAA
Working (full-time)	17%	41%
Working (part-time)	14%	9%
Own business (full-time)	6%	21%
Own business (part-time)	7%	3%
Working and own business	4%	10%
Unemployed	41%	6%
Volunteering	7%	1%
Studying	3%	6%
Other	1%	3%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS		**214**

Table 34: Did RAA influence or lead to your current activity?

	RESPONSE PERCENT
Strongly Agree	56%
Somewhat Agree	25%
Neutral	12%
Disagree	8%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	**209**
(skipped this question)	5

The significant decrease in unemployment from 41 percent to 6 percent may indicate a positive impact of the RAA. This before and after comparison can, however, not control for other factors that may have had an impact on this shift in employment status, as explained in the research methodology. Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of respondents agreed the RAA directly influenced their current activity does indicate the positive impact of the programme. Additional qualitative data presented above indicates that RAA serves as a bridge for graduates to access opportunities for economic participation.

8.5.2 Did the RAA influence graduate income post the programme?

Whilst increased economic participation was noticeable after attending the RAA, it was equally important to assess whether there was evidence of improved financial livelihoods from this economic activity.

To give context to the analysis of RAA graduate income, I first present income data from the 2016 Labour Market Dynamics Report (Statistics South Africa, 2018a):

- Median monthly earnings for Black Africans (all age groups) = R 3000
- Median monthly earnings youth aged 15 – 24yrs (all race groups) = R 2608
- Median monthly earnings for youth aged 25 – 34yrs (all race groups) = R 3200

The RAA survey results, presented in the table below, indicated that:

- Before applying to the RAA, 49 percent of participants were earning between R 0 and R 1 000 per month
- This figure reduced to 11 percent of participants earning that amount after the RAA
- At the time of the survey, 74 percent of respondents were earning R 5 000 and above (with 55 percent of respondents earning between R 5 000 and R 20 000 per month)
- The number of respondents earning R 20 000 and above went from 2 percent to 19 percent

82 percent of respondents directly attributed this increase in income to participating in the programme.

The data shows that on average RAA graduates were earning more than the South African average for their race and age group.

Table 35: Personal income at the time of application and current (per month)

		RESPONSE PERCENT BEFORE RAA	RESPONSE PERCENT AFTER RAA
R 0 - R 500		40%	9%
R 500 - R 1 000		9%	2%
R 1 000 - R 2 500		15%	6%
R 2 500 - R 5 000		22%	9%
R 5 000 - R 10 000		9%	25%
R 10 000 - R 20 000		2%	30%
R 20 000 - R 30 000		1%	11%
R 30 000 and above		1%	8%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS			**214**

Table 36: Did participating in the RAA programme directly influence your current income?

		RESPONSE TOTAL	RESPONSE PERCENT
Strongly Agree		112	53%
Somewhat Agree		61	29%
Neutral		23	11%
Disagree		14	7%
TOTAL RESPONDENTS			**210**
(skipped this question)			4

The data presented above confirms a positive shift in economic participation and monthly income for graduates post the RAA. Graduates perceived the RAA to have made a significant contribution towards these shifts.

8.6 Summary of programme findings

The evaluation of which components of the RAA programme were valuable for participants showed that it was a combination of programmatic factors that resulted in three specific shifts for participants. These were:

- Growth in confidence and development of a personal vision
- Development of professional and so-called “soft” skills such as time management
- Increased access to networks and opportunities

The Alumni survey data then showed that the RAA had three distinct outcomes for graduates. It:

- Developed an entrepreneurial mindset
- Increased their economic participation
- Increased their earning potential and monthly income

This study set out to investigate whether partaking in the RAA made a measurable and positive impact on various dimensions of the participants’ lives. The data presented in this chapter indicates that there was a measurable and positive shift in the personal and economic outcomes of graduates, and that graduates attribute these changes directly to the offerings of the RAA. The positive impact is perhaps best summed up by the quotes below.

Table 37: Summary of quotes summarising impact

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
WORK10	I wouldn’t be where I am, I wouldn’t be who I am now, I would be lost somewhere – I would be lost somewhere.
ENT3	I was given a key by the RAA, to go everywhere that I wanted to go.
ENT7	Here I am now with the help of the Raymond Ackerman Academy, they put a light, that little light that I had to become an entrepreneur.
WORK4	The space has really made me embrace who I am and be confident and grow. […] RAA gave me that opportunity. You didn’t buy me a house, you didn’t buy me a car, the material things, but you gave me life, you gave me, you gave me the [fishing] rod.

Finally, ENT10 spoke very specifically about how the RAA nurtured his drive and enhanced his potential to see more opportunity with an entrepreneurial lens.

> “80 percent of my life changed when I was at RAA. Because if I look at myself before and now, I would say, there is a huge difference. I don't know if I had been to another institution, things wouldn't have changed, but most of the things, or most of my life changed when I was at the RAA. I started getting more ambitious, more hungry, more dreams when I started to understand what was the opportunities that were there in business and how much potential I had to make it into the business world.”

ENT10 makes the very valid point that he may have still progressed had he been at another institution. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate whether he would have progressed to the same extent. The limitations of the study also make it difficult to know to what extent factors external to the RAA have impacted on the participants’ increased employment and income.

The participants’ outcomes, and the fact that they directly attributed their current activity, earnings and entrepreneurial mindset to the RAA do however support the argument that these youth benefitted from having had access to the RAA. Additionally, I argue that, through a combination of several supporting factors, the RAA enabled them “to launch”.

Chapter Nine: Analysis of the Counterfactual Group

The chapter that follows discusses the counterfactual group in this research study, comprising:

- 5 applicants selected to the RAA who withdrew from the course before completion (1 participant withdrew at approximately 2,5 months and the other 4 participants withdrew between 3,5 and 4,5 months)
- 5 applicants who applied but were not selected

The findings thus far have presented a story of a youth group that shared similar socio-economic, socio-cultural, and individual characteristics. They had applied to the RAA in the hopes that it would put them on the pathway to better circumstances. While some of these young people were selected into the programme and went on to find employment or start their own business, some youth who shared the same background, and who applied to the RAA experienced different pathways *after* that application. They were either not selected or did not complete the programme.

I include analysis of the available data for this counterfactual group in order to account for variability and to investigate cases that did not fit the regular pattern (Babbie & Mouton, 2012; Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). By comparing the findings on RAA graduates with a small group who did not receive any of, or the full RAA training, I aimed to improve my understanding of the themes and the extent to which impact could be attributed to the RAA. I acknowledge that the counterfactual group is small, which in itself poses limitations on the analysis. However, by consistently applying mixed methods, I tried to ensure I gained an in-depth understanding of what may have been different in these young people's lives. Data for the analysis was drawn from the qualitative interviews, application forms and an online survey.

Thus, in trying to understand what it takes to help support vulnerable youth to get ahead, it was important to investigate the pathways of these two counterfactual groups and to compare them with those who did complete the programme. This investigation is reported on in the section that follows. The findings regarding the group who did not complete is presented first, followed by the group who was not selected.

Chapter 7 presented the common individual characteristics of the research group before applying to the RAA. It showed that these youths exhibited natural potential and agency in

looking for opportunities to nurture and leverage this potential in order to better their circumstances. The data analysis revealed some nuances but no significant difference between those who completed the RAA and the counterfactual groups. There was also no clear evidence in the application forms of the group who participated in but did not complete the programme that suggested they would not be able to "complete". In investigating what could have caused their withdrawal from the programme, the qualitative data revealed two themes:

- For some, the emotional trauma suffered in their immediate environments was too difficult to move past;
- Financial responsibilities required some participants to withdraw to earn an income to support themselves and their families.

Up until the point of applying they had all shown evidence of agency, perseverance and being opportunity driven, and had come from similar backgrounds to the other youth in the study. The findings will also show that those who did not complete the RAA programme still found the content of what they had experienced as participants valuable. They still acquired skills during their time at the RAA and applied this knowledge to help improve their circumstances.

Analysis of the data collected from the counterfactual group who were not selected revealed two themes which will be described in this chapter:

- They were still hopeful, positive and resilient over time. They did not see not being selected as a major set-back.
- Compared to the individuals who were selected to participate in the RAA, they did not use entrepreneurial characteristics in describing themselves in the online survey.

9.1 What contextual factors impacted RAA applicants who did not complete RAA?

This section describes why these participants withdrew from the RAA, as well as the ways in which the RAA still had an impact for them.

9.1.1 Financial responsibility

The qualitative data analysis indicated that for those who did not complete the programme, their backgrounds negatively impacted on their ability to leverage opportunities such as the

ones offered by the RAA. Many of the youth in this research study had experienced death and divorce growing up. Four of the five interviewees in this counterfactual group had to assume financial responsibility for a parent and/or siblings as a result of death or divorce in their families. When discussing the factors that contributed to their non-completion of the programme, these four participants referred to the pressures of having to contribute to the household. This responsibility was a binding constraint that ultimately lead to them withdrawing from the RAA.

Financial constraints are not uncommon for applicants to the RAA. Therefore, the application form includes a question on how applicants propose to support themselves during the programme. Although this assessment is conducted upfront, it seems it cannot anticipate the full effect of these pressures. This was evident, for instance, in the case of INCOMP4, who provided the following answer to the question about financial support in his application form:

> "I'm running a small printing business so I always get orders. I will save from that money and pay for the programme and also support myself as well."

While, at the outset it would have seemed that he was prepared for the programme, he eventually withdrew for financial reasons.

> "The only thing [that made me] not to finish the course was because of the difficulties I was having at home and having to stay alone and support my sister and my kid, no one else was supporting me at that time, so yea I would come to class knowing that I want to be here but then when the reality starts to kick in to say, what is it that you are going to eat at home. […] yes the course made it easy for me, they were paying for my transport but when I get home, I won't have food and my kid is going to school, he will need something to eat – I won't have money to buy clothes for him and also for my sister that I am looking after."

The quotes below describe a similar pressure on the other participants who withdrew.

Table 38: Summary of quotes summarising pressure to withdraw

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
INCOMP3	There was nothing wrong with the course that made me want to say, okay I'm leaving now, it was mainly how I dealt with my issues and not actually reaching out to people […] the pressure from home, it started to really get to me and so when that happened, I started to go back into my shell again. **Interviewer:** Was the pressure from home to get a job? **Participant:** Ja to get a job
INCOMP2	I'm not sure where the trigger moment was, maybe it was a few things at home with my mom, at the time she hadn't been the business lady she is now – you know she was still a housewife, Pastor's wife and then there were things that were getting rocky between them too so I thought it would be nice to be useful right now. [I thought] you are strong enough and smart enough now to occupy the [jobs] that are available and that some of your buddies are taking, just to bring in some kind of sustenance and I think that was the demon that kind of weighed me out and sjoe, it just killed many things – I didn't focus because of that – too much pressure.

INCOMP1's situation was similar but he described additional factors that led to him "losing focus" and leaving the programme. He was orphaned and grew up with his brother who had dropped out of school to work and to take care of them both. INCOMP1 was an aspiring DJ and said that his brother was not supportive of his career or of his studies because he wanted him to do something that was going to bring food or money to the table. He described the pressure he felt in trying to pursue a career as a DJ.

> "It's something that you work for and it doesn't come easy and every day you know like waking up and having nothing to do and when your brother asks you to go to work and you say, you've got this vision you want to do this, it's very hard for him to understand."

INCOMP1 explained how, by applying the knowledge he was learning at the RAA, his career started to take off and he had to make the choice between pursuing those new opportunities or continuing to study,

> "I started to lose focus, like this is the thing I've always wanted you know for all these years […] I was focusing on the same thing that I was taught in class on how to send an email and apply it, and the people actual reply […] there was a bridge between the schoolwork that I was being taught in class and applying those in the real life and they became real and I didn't know how to bounce back and catch up with all the work that we were taught in class."

This narrative indicates that INCOMP1 was not confident that the opportunities he was being given would still be available once the programme had finished.

> "I was like, this opening is only going to come once, I don't know, so if I let go of it now, what's going to happen next because RAA is ending in December…"

INCOMP1's background gives context to the motivation for his decision to leave the programme. The pressure to contribute to the household, and finally being able to reap the rewards of a music career – in part, it seems, driven by what he was learning at the RAA - meant that these short-term opportunities were perhaps too important to give up.

The immediate financial pressures that these youth experienced and the realities of having to put food on the table outweighed (or made it difficult to see and believe in) the possible longer-term benefits of completing the RAA. This also indicates that these are aspects of young people's lives that the current design of the RAA programme is not sufficiently able to deal with. Other participants in the study experienced financial pressures in varying degrees while at the RAA and were able to complete the programme because of the support of families or the travel assistance provided by the Academy. However, for this counterfactual group external support was not available and the RAA support proved insufficient. This is a realistic reflection on the fact that even a short-term programme like RAA cannot circumvent the urgency of needing to earn an income or grab an opportunity as it comes along.

9.1.2 Emotional trauma

Chapter 6 described two examples of participants who experienced traumatic childhoods at the hand of their parents (WORK8 and INCOMP5). WORK8 was able to use programmes such as LoveLife and the RAA to move beyond these circumstances. For INCOMP5, however, even a programme such as the RAA could not help her overcome the long-term emotional effects of her upbringing.

As with the other participants in the study, INCOMP5 applied to the RAA because she was looking for opportunities to better, and in her case perhaps to escape, her circumstances,

> "This could be something that is going to take me from where I am currently at to give me the tools to go out there in the world and seek my own opportunities and make something of it – I just told myself that this could be a life changing opportunity for me."

She did not complete the course. When asked why she withdrew she responded,

> "My past, mostly my past – it affected me a lot. They were always there [RAA staff], a support system to listen, to support, everything was here, everyone was here and it was just me who was absent. My body was here but something was missing, at some point I didn't want to have to commit."

Her description suggested that although the majority of participants found the RAA empowering and enabling, the holistic approach was only able to support her to a certain point. Completing the programme was not possible for her because her heart was no longer in it[47]. INCOMP5's case highlighted an important consideration for the study. Even though the holistic approach includes in-depth personal development and support, it may be limited in dealing with and trying to mitigate a history of long-term emotional trauma and abuse.

The other participants in this counterfactual group did not indicate they experienced emotional trauma to the extent of INCOMP5. INCOMP2 did, however, reveal in his interview that although his primary reason for leaving RAA was to contribute back into the family, sometime later he had "an episode" and was admitted to hospital. He said people thought he was bipolar. INCOMP3 too spoke of feeling depressed "again" after the initiative he worked on after withdrawing from the RAA didn't work out.

These cases are really important to point out what youth development programmes need to understand better, and where even a holistic programme like RAA falls short. The extent of this trauma or emotional ill health, or of the financial responsibilities of young people is often ill-understood. Without this knowledge, programmes like RAA will remain unable to fully support these young people to move past the emotional strain that keeps them "stuck".

9.2 What aspects of the RAA were valuable for these participants?

Despite their decision to withdraw, data indicate that the RAA had still had impact for these participants in the following ways:

- It developed them personally
- It gave them access to an inspiring environment and like-minded people
- It impacted on their earning potential

[47] See INCOMP5's full case study in section 6.2.4

- It helped develop an entrepreneurial mindset

9.2.1. Personal development

Similarly to the participants who completed the course, the personal development component seemed particularly meaningful for those who withdrew from the RAA. This is evident in the quotes below.

Table 39: Summary of quotes summarising value of personal development

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
INCOMP1	It made me to grow as a person to becoming a brand that people can look up to and learn one thing or two.
INCOMP2	I feel that every young person should go through a course like this - it is absolutely vital. I mean the knowledge that I got here would not just develop a person from a business perspective but also in terms of character.
INCOMP5	Being here was helpful, in such a way that it brought something in my life – there was a bit of emptiness inside and lowliness and that pettiness because I always feel sorry for myself and whatever happens, if something bad happens to me I will say to you I do deserve it, I will say to myself – such a loser but now I know that I'm not – no-one is perfect even if I don't have millions or big cars – I'm just perfect the way I am (claps loudly).

The post-interview survey also indicated that the RAA impacted these participants on a personal level. The data corroborated the findings in Chapter 8 that participants' ratings of individual characteristics before and after the RAA, showed an improvement in confidence, positive outlook, vision, ability to take initiative and advantage of opportunities. For this group, the average ranking of these factors increased from 2.34 before the programme (average) to 4.18 after the programme (good). The largest increase in ranking was for positive outlook and ability to take advantage of opportunities.

9.2.2 Access to an inspiring environment and like-minded people

The findings showed how participants in the study referred to the benefit of having access to the RAA space and like-minded people. INCOMP1 described that the environment provided a quiet, thinking space, away from the noise of the communities where he was living. He also referred to the social capital the RAA afforded him.

> "It meant a lot, just being around the space, the people that are surrounding you, like waking up from the township there are gangsters, you don't even get a time to think because there is always people shouting, they say do this do that and so just being here, it just gave me a peace of mind and then also the respect that I got because people could see at my bag, at the back of my bag that Raymond Ackerman Academy, Graduate School of Business."

Being around like-minded people in the RAA space was also valuable for this group, even after withdrawing from the course, as illustrated in the quotes below.

Table 40: Summary of quotes summarising value of being around like-minded people

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
INCOMP4	I'm still in contact with almost every guy that I went with the programme even on WhatsApp […] we support each other – we still have that supporting system – that is one thing I must say that comes out of the RAA because we were a small group, so it made it easy for us to reach out to each other all the time.
INCOMP1	It's an amazing place RAA and as for me, you know after the programme I was still missing the people because I've created friends.

9.2.3 Impact on employment and on earning potential

Table 41 below compares these participants' personal income and activity before and after the RAA.

Table 41: Participants' income before and after RAA

PARTICIPANT	PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME AT THE TIME OF APPLICATION	PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME AT TIME OF INTERVIEW	ACTIVITY AT APPLICATION	ACTIVITY AT INTERVIEW
INCOMP1	R0 – R 500	R1,000 – R2,500	Unemployed	Own Business
INCOMP2	R0 – R 500	R7,000 and above	Unemployed	Working
INCOMP3	R0 – R 500	R7,000 and above	Unemployed	Working
INCOMP4	R0 – R 500	R4,000 – R7,500	Own Business	Own Business
INCOMP5	R2,500 - R4,000	R1,000 - R 2,500	Own business	No activity

Except for INCOMP5 who took a break from working once she withdrew from the RAA (to focus on her well-being), this group showed a positive shift in employment status and in income. The available data do not allow us to investigate *how much* the RAA had an impact

on these shifts. However INCOMP1 used an amusing anecdote to illustrate the financial impact the RAA had for him.

> **INCOMP1**: This is coming from someone who didn't even finish the programme but I could see the impact, […] I'm still applying the very same things that I was taught.
>
> **Interviewer:** Can you afford travel tickets now?[48]
> [I had bus tickets in mind.]
>
> **INCOMP1:** Travel tickets I can. I can and the return even.
> (Laughter)
> I can, I can – oooooh like travel tickets from here to home?
> That's 'fish and chips'[49]
> (Laughter)
> I thought maybe you were talking about flights.

INCOMP1 assumed I was asking about flight tickets. That is an indication of how his financial situation had improved and his point of reference for travel had shifted from bus transport to traveling by aeroplane.

INCOMP2 also indicated that his financial situation improved after withdrawing from the RAA.

> "Got a job, started working, it was nice – saved […] so now I had a bit of capital."

He spoke of the financial lessons he was able to apply from his time at the RAA.

> "I didn't have practical ways of controlling myself or manoeuvring in a system that gives you cash, how do you now use it when you've got it – don't use it carelessly – what is there to invest, what is a budget – I didn't have that kind of thinking before I got here [RAA] – at least when I had come through this phase it was like okay – you are the company, you've got to think about tomorrow for the company."

[48] Earlier in the interview INCOMP1 described how he struggled to afford bus and taxi fare
[49] Cheap, basic

He went on to invest some of his savings in his mother's small clothing business. His end goal is eventually to buy land and build something big on that land.

INCOMP4's financial situation also improved in part through the lessons he learnt at the RAA. These were also linked to his entrepreneurial development and are described below.

9.2.4 Development of an entrepreneurial mindset

In his interview, INCOMP4 referred to RAA as an opportunity that he had wanted to "grab with both hands". His socio-economic situation, however, did not allow him to take full advantage of the opportunity, but he expressed the view that even the limited exposure to the RAA had enabled him to start his own business. This suggested that with even brief exposure, the RAA was able to provide knowledge and motivation to start his own business.

> "Today I'm running two companies on my own through what I've learned here [RAA]."

Evidence that this group identified with having developed entrepreneurial characteristics also came through in the online survey. They rated being confident, creative and a risk-taker most often. Although only 2 considered themselves as innovative, as compared to the majority of those who completed the RAA. Another important consideration that surfaced while comparing this data with data for applicants who were not selected was that the majority did *not* describe themselves as innovative, risk-takers, independent, responsible, creative or optimistic. By contrast, applicants who *were* selected for the RAA programme ranked such entrepreneurial characteristics highly. Therefore, a possible outcome of leveraging the RAA opportunity was that it *enhanced* their existing agency and potential, to the point that they were more confidently taking responsibility for their own livelihoods by being creative, hard-working, risk-takers.

Table 42: Comparison of INCOMP AND NOTACC participants' ranking of characteristics identified by others

CHARACTERISTIC	PERCENTAGE RESPONSE INCOMP	PERCENTAGE RESPONSE NOTACC
Creative	80	60
Confident	80	80
Innovative	40	20
Risk-taker	80	40
Fun	60	20
Hard-working	80	80
Independent	60	0
Responsible	60	40
Hopeful	60	100
Optimistic	60	40
Curious	60	60
Resourceful	40	40
Persistent	20	80
Organised	0	60

The findings for the "incomplete" counterfactual group showed how the difficult personal conditions experienced by this group affected their ability to fully participate in the RAA. They highlighted that their personal contexts were too contesting for them to continue with RAA, possibly no matter what the RAA programme was like.

These stories offer valuable insights into how some youth engage with opportunities that they hope will change circumstances for them, but are unable to move past the negative impact of their backgrounds and take full advantage of these opportunities. Further analysis of the group who were not accepted to the RAA provided more insights into vulnerable South African youth.

9.3 Analysis of participants who were not selected

The average age of this group at application was 23 years. They lived in areas situated on the Cape Flats, including Guguletu, Langa and Samora Machel. This sub-sample had a household income of between R 2500 and R 5000 with 2 to 5 household members (as did the main group). Their personal income and activity breakdown can be seen in Table 43 below.

The assessment rubrics used in the selection interviews (see Appendix 10) provide an indication of the reasons for non-selection of the counterfactual group. Although this was a small sample group of five, these rubrics seem to indicate that a poor entrepreneurial spirit was a common factor for non-selection.

The findings from the qualitative interviews and online survey gave further insight into these youth and possible similarities and differences from the participants in the RAA. Similarly to the other youth in this study, these participants demonstrated perseverance and resilience, especially in their attitude to not being selected to the RAA. They saw that as disappointing but not a set-back, as shown in the quotes below.

Table 43: Summary of quotes relating to perseverance

PARTICIPANT	QUOTE FROM INTERVIEW
NOTACC1	I'm a survivor because I know that whatever challenges are put before me [I can deal with it]. There is no problem bigger than who you are or how you are.
NOTACC3	The way people treated me is how I became the person that I am today, the way people were so cruel to me. The people who would say I would be nothing, they challenged me to become something better, something to be proud of.
NOTACC4	I carried on with my dad's business and I knew that I would find another opportunity [when not accepted at RAA].
NOTACC5	I know that it is not the end of the world for me [not being accepted at RAA], just getting this opportunity, it just opened me to other opportunities as well, it opened my mind to see that it is possible. If I can be able to get in [short-listed] to such places, it means I can also get into other places as well, I was sad but ended up being encouraged as well.

This resilience is admirable, considering the difficult circumstances many applicants faced. As NOTACC1 expressed in his application form,

> "Academic and social challenges can really be a disadvantage in such a frustrating way."

An attitude of perseverance was also confirmed by the online survey where participants ranked how others would describe them (at the time of the interview). "Hopeful" was mentioned by all of the respondents, followed by "persistent". See Table 42 above.

In line with the sentiment of the group as a whole, none of these participants described themselves as pessimistic, unmotivated, or as giving up easily. This indicates that although

these young people were not beneficiaries of the RAA opportunity, they kept their sense of hope and persistence over time.

Although the data for these respondents indicate a positive shift in terms of income and activity, this was not to the same degree as witnessed among the participants in the programme. This is shown in Table 44 below.

Table 44: Results of online-survey participants' income and activity before and after RAA

PARTICIPANT	PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME AT APPLICATION	PERSONAL MONTHLY INCOME AT PRESENT	ACTIVITY AT APPLICATION	ACTIVITY AT INTERVIEW
NOTACC1	R1,000 - R 2,500	R0 - R 500	Working	Working
NOTACC2	R0 - R500	R1,000 - R2,500	Unemployed	Learnership
NOTACC3	R4,000 - R7,500	R4,000 - R7,500	Unemployed	Unemployed
NOTACC4	R0 – R 500	R2,500 – R4,000	Working part-time	Working part-time
NOTACC5	R0 - R 500	R500 - R1,000	Unemployed	Studying

This study has argued that participants' backgrounds and individual characteristics took them to a certain point in their lives where they found it difficult to move forward on their own. In order for the opposite of this to be true, I would need to have seen evidence that these young people could still progress to the same level without an intervention such as the RAA. Evaluation literature posits that positive effects of a programme are only plausible when such change is due to the intervention and not extraneous factors (Babbie & Mouton, 2012).

All participants in the study showed evidence of determination and hope over time. The counterfactual group, who were not selected, showed that they too were able to move forward (assumed partly due to this inherent agency and determination), but not to the same degree in terms of entrepreneurial development, income and current activity. This seems to indicate that the positive effects experienced by participants in the RAA were due to the intervention and not peripheral factors alone.

Chapter Ten: Discussion of Findings and Conclusion

In this final chapter I return to the research questions I laid out in the Introduction and seek to bring together the themes of the previous chapters. I discuss the main findings addressing the nature of the impact of the RAA Cape Town on graduates' personal development and economic livelihoods, and if the RAA had impacted the personal development and economic livelihoods of participants in the programme, how it did so. The major findings are then revisited in order to draw conclusions and to ascertain whether EE is an effective strategy for alleviating youth unemployment.

Key themes running through this dissertation have been the presence of agency and socio-economic limitations amongst vulnerable South African township-based youth, and the enabling opportunity presented by participating in an EE programme. I have argued that a combination of agency and socio-economic factors took participants in the study to a point in their lives where they found it difficult to move forward on their own. At this stage, they placed high hopes on their application to gain access to, and participation in the RAA and the opportunity they expected it would offer. The RAA then served as a launch pad for these youth both in terms of their personal and economic development.

To discuss the evidence that supports this argument, I begin with an overview of the contextual backdrop that was common to participants in the study. I then point to the individual characteristics that were inherent in the youth group prior to their application to the RAA and the evidence of agency. I move on to the findings arising out of Chapters 8 and 9, relating to their participation in the RAA, and I compare these with findings from the counterfactual group analysis. In doing so I summarise the following empirical insights: through personal development training, the RAA built participants' confidence and helped them to develop a personal vision, it developed professional skills and increased their access to networks and opportunities. The data indicate that the RAA had three distinct outcomes for graduates: it developed an entrepreneurial mindset, increased their economic participation and increased their earning potential. For those who were not selected to the RAA, this was not seen as a set-back and they were able to move forward, although it seemed not to the same degree as RAA participants (specifically in terms of entrepreneurial development, income and current activity). This indicated that, to some extent, the positive impact experienced by participants in the RAA was due to the intervention and not peripheral factors alone.

I conclude that by teaching “through” entrepreneurship and through a combination of programme factors the RAA served as a launch pad for the youth in this study, impacting on them both personally and economically. This supports the argument that EE is an impactful strategy for alleviating youth unemployment, if contextually relevant in approach and design and if done with a pragmatic approach to expected outcomes (Athayde, 2012; Moberg, 2014; O’Connor, 2013; Wiger et al., 2015).

10.1 What contextual factors and backgrounds were common amongst RAA applicants?

The chapter “Mapping the Context” outlined how a legacy of apartheid has shaped the options for township youth who grew up in post-apartheid South Africa. It created the geographic barriers that continue to be one factor in young people’s restricted access to the labour market and disrupted the traditional family unit, which led to absent parents. Apartheid also limited access to gainful social networks by restricting educational and employment opportunities for African and Coloured people; and it negatively impacted on entrepreneurial aspirations. These impacts still effect township youth. In addition, the lack of positive role models and the prevalence of limiting cultural beliefs in various communities influence youth attitudes to what is possible, adding to their vulnerability to low or non-employment.

Chapter 6 provided empirical evidence of these contextual effects and illustrated common experiences of the research participants, who can be considered representative of urban township youth from low-income areas on the Cape Flats. The qualitative data illustrated how, as the literature had proposed, socio-economic context had an influence on the trajectory and attitudes of these youth.

Participants’ constrained socio-economic context influenced their perceptions of career options and often restricted opportunities to further their studies. Difficult life experiences and adverse circumstances were also common themes amongst the majority of participants. However, adversity also served as a strong driver behind their aspirations. For many, these aspirations were for a life different to the lived experience of their parents and for a life different to that which they had known growing up. This was strongly evident for participants who experienced extreme emotional and financial hardship (as in the cases of WORK8 and INCOMP5). They did not seem to accept their circumstances as a predictor of their futures. This corroborates findings from earlier research that built on the notion of oppositional

identities (Bisin et al., 2011; De Lannoy, 2008) because these youth were behaving in a way contrary to what may have been expected.

Parents played a significant role in the lives of the participants, both directly and indirectly. In several cases, single mothers played an inspiring and motivational role for these young people.

Choice of schooling was one of four common ways in which parents impacted the lives of participants, specifically where parents' chose schools outside of the township to protect them from the perceived negative influences of the area where they grew up. This showed agency in a context of deprivation and corroborates with Giddens who theorised that even in situations of deprivation, individuals retain the ability to exert agency over their situation and to explore options for different life paths (De Lannoy, 2008).

For some, as the literature posited, parents served to inspire their entrepreneurial intentions (Dohse & Walter, 2012; Falck et al., 2009), although not always in ways that were as the literature proposed. Where the traditional view is that entrepreneurial parents can provide an "entrepreneurial education at the dinner table" (Kourilsky & Esfandiari, 1997, p. 213), a key realisation of this study was that, for some participants, parents stimulated entrepreneurial thinking through the role they played in the adverse circumstances these youth experienced growing up. Parents' "side" or informal "survivalist" businesses (which were often not recognised as entrepreneurship) meant that participants saw having their own business as a way out of poverty. Their parents stimulated entrepreneurial thinking though perhaps not formally so. Alternatively, seeing where their parents worked hard for "nothing", participants did not want to be in the same position and pursued business activities as a way to improve their financial circumstances. Entrepreneurial skills, although often unrecognised as such, were also potentially fostered by the small-scale trading that their parents exposed them to while growing up. Examples of these small-scale activities were selling small items such as sweets, cabbages and clothing to supplement household incomes.

Exposure to and involvement in small-scale trade was common amongst all the participants, possibly the case for most township-based youth. These youth, therefore, seem to be at an advantage when it comes to inherent selling and entrepreneurial skills. While the interviews illustrated that their small-scale trading was generally not recognised by them as an entrepreneurial skill, they had developed an ability that they could rely on as a fall back to support them financially when the need arose. If this skill, which I assume may be present among many more young people from a low socio-economic backgrounds, were harnessed

and focused through EE it might present the opportunity to produce more opportunity driven entrepreneurs among the country's youth. This finding forms a potential area for further research as there is currently a gap in our understanding of the influence of small-scale trading on township youths' business aptitude and entrepreneurial intentions.

Role models were another noteworthy aspect of the contextual findings. The literature pointed to the lack of (positive) role models for South African township youth (Ince, 2018; Ramphele, 2002) as well as the strong influence that such role models can have in terms of social capital, building self-esteem; influencing oppositional identities and for entrepreneurial intention (Bisin et al., 2011; Karimi et al., 2010; Luiz & Mariotti, 2011; Volkman et al., 2009). The findings of this study corroborate this and show that the youth in the study felt there were few positive role models for them growing up. Where they did have such role models, participating in a programme such as the RAA was seen as a chance to follow in their "lead".

Linked to role models was the influence of community. This study began with an overview of the backdrop in which urban township youth on the so-called Cape Flats in Cape Town live. This provided an understanding of the challenges these youth face in navigating their socio-economic environments. The youth in the study provided a deeper, multi-dimensional description of their communities. They had a strong connection and commitment to where they grew up but were ambiguous about their community as an enabler of the futures they aspired to. Like their community peers, some would sit around "chasing the sun" because of a lack of opportunity. They also described how they were either not inspired to dream, or not many people where they lived encouraged their dreams, which once more corroborates with the literature on the lack of positive role models for these youth (Ince, 2018; Ramphele, 2002). This again presented a crossroads in their paths to improved livelihoods. These young people understood that in order to achieve a better life they needed to do something different from what may have been considered the norm in their communities. However without access to opportunities such as education, the value of which was emphasised in the literature (Acs, 2017; Jamieson et al., 2017; Mlatsheni, 2014), the norms in their communities represented another factor making it difficult to progress on their own.

For the counterfactual group who participated in some of the RAA programme, the qualitative data suggested that the emotional trauma and financial pressure they experienced were perhaps more constraining than for the other participants. These participants referred to the pressures of having to contribute to their households, which ultimately lead to them withdrawing from the RAA. Emotional strain also appeared to keep some of these participants "stuck". Their backgrounds and the realities of their daily lives did

not allow them to benefit fully from the RAA. This indicates that for some youth, the format in which EE is offered at the RAA limits the ability to deal with certain barriers, and that a more nuanced, comprehensive approach may be needed to mitigate some of these pressures (Kluve et al., 2016). An opportunity therefore exists for additional research to identify what that kind of programme would entail.

The youth in this study shared common narratives in terms of the role of parents, their experience of adversity and the influence of role models and community while growing up. Their descriptions served to confirm the various factors, and their complex interplay, that potentially keep vulnerable youth vulnerable and the importance of access to opportunities that provide support and act as stepping stones for them. The findings also corroborate existing research by De Lannoy (2008); Graham et al. (2016); Ince (2018); Malan & Breitenbach (2001) and Ramphele (2002) by highlighting the tremendous agency and determination these South African youth displayed when trying to live up to their aspirations, with limited support, information and few role models to guide them.

An understanding of the contextual factors of all of the participants highlights what EE would need to take into consideration in order to help these youth move beyond the impediments they experienced as a result of their backgrounds and to enhance any positive motivation and influence some received from parents and role models.

10.2 What individual characteristics were common amongst RAA applicants?

The contextual findings showed how, for most participants (including the counterfactual group), their challenging personal conditions made it difficult to progress on their own. One can appreciate that under these conditions significant effort would likely be required to take action towards something different or to see things in a more positive way. Therefore, at the outset it was assumed that the youth in this study displayed “willing intent” (Riel & Martin, 2017) and inherent agency in applying to the RAA. This action was a conscious, goal-driven attempt which they hoped would manifest in a future different from what they had known growing up. In the words of WORK4, she saw applying to RAA as a “stepping stone to living my dreams”, while ENT2 described the RAA as “the flying magic carpet coming to pick you up.“

This again points to these youth having an oppositional identity and supports the research by De Lannoy (2008) in this field. Not only did they take steps to further their education in communities where completion of school and of post-secondary education is low (*Youth*

explorer, 2018), but they did so by applying to an entrepreneurship programme when levels of entrepreneurship remain low, because the restrictions of apartheid meant entrepreneurship was not commonly pursued in many black South African communities (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013; Mahadea, 2012). Furthermore, research suggested that exposure to entrepreneurial parents, peers and role models drives entrepreneurial intentions (Dohse & Walter, 2012; Falck et al., 2009; Karimi et al., 2010; Luiz & Mariotti, 2011; Volkman et al., 2009). Therefore the low entrepreneurial activity in South Africa (Herrington et al., 2017) and the qualitative evidence that very few of the research participants had "professional" entrepreneurs in their families or networks makes their application to an EE initiative more noteworthy because they were pursuing a path of study that was not common amongst their peers or families.

Despite evidence of agency, the quantitative data illustrated that these youth were not particularly positive about their futures. Their vision and understanding of their purpose was also low. Participants did, however, have a strong desire for purpose, confirming Ramphele's (2002) description of youth as "steering by the stars": they sought purpose but did not necessarily know the right path to follow to achieve it.

The qualitative findings showed that what the participants did display was ambition, drive and perseverance. They were also opportunity driven, but rated access to opportunities as very low. One gets the sense therefore that, for most, applying to a programme such as the RAA was possibly less about studying entrepreneurship and more about the launch that the programme would potentially provide for a better future. Access to opportunities is therefore key because, as was posited in the literature by Graham (2012), White (1998) and the Siyakha study (Graham et al., 2016), to have agency may not be enough to help vulnerable youth get ahead. The findings also suggest that participants specifically needed opportunities to help develop their confidence, creativity and give direction to their search for purpose. As the literature on best practice in EE discusses (Achampong et al., 2017; Volkman et al., 2009), developing self-efficacy is an important outcome of such interventions, and an EE intervention such as the RAA should provide access to opportunity and mechanisms to build on agency, ambition and determination.

For some participants in the counterfactual group, the data gave valuable insight into how emotional stress may prevent young people from getting ahead, despite their willingness to engage in opportunities that they hoped would change circumstances for them. While the overall analysis of the counterfactual group showed no distinct difference in individual characteristics from the rest of the participants, participant INCOMP5 did indicate

experiences of deep emotional trauma and her positive outlook was rated the lowest. Although she mentioned that this improved following her part-participation in the RAA, her case study seems to indicate that the current design of the RAA programme is unable to compensate for the deep levels of deprivation and emotional trauma before the start of the programme. In such cases, the findings indicate that it may be worth exploring what kind of external support could perhaps better support these young people. It also warrants further investigation into the value of psycho-social assessments as part of the selection to a programme. Without a detailed understanding of young people's socio-economic background and emotional well-being, interventions like RAA will remain unable to sufficiently to support these young people past the point where they are "stuck".

10.3 What aspects of the RAA course were most valuable for participants?

The EE literature indicates that EE has a role that is broader than developing business skills. It should facilitate holistic personal growth as well as the development of an entrepreneurial mindset, for application in different contexts and situations (Gedeon, 2014; Peterka et al., 2015; Valerio et al., 2014). This study's findings both confirm and expand on this body of literature. The qualitative interviews, post-interview online survey and the RAA course evaluations unequivocally indicate that the combination of personal development ("soft skills") and business skills ("hard skills") were important to participants. The findings also provided evidence of additional aspects of EE that were valuable to the participants.

The review of the definitions of EE, effective outcomes and EE best practice provided in chapter 3 proposed that high impact EE and strong curricula are based on three content areas: entrepreneurship, business skills, and life skills. What emerged from this study's analysis of the RAA programme was that its curriculum was based on the same three focus areas and that the participants rated modules from each of these areas as the most valuable for them. These were innovation and idea testing (entrepreneurship); marketing (business skills); and adventure camp (life skills). These results indicate that the integration of both business and personal modules supported the participants' learning and development.

The "innovation and testing" and "adventure camp" modules are based on learn-by-doing and are experiential in delivery; the fact that participants rated these modules highly resonates with the literature that states that interactive, experiential, learn-by-doing pedagogies are characteristic of best practice programmes (Achampong et al., 2017; Testa & Frascheri, 2015; Volkman et al., 2009).

The data also showed that participants valued the “innovation and testing” because it served to expand their thinking on seeing opportunity and allowed them to practice acting entrepreneurially. This aligns with the literature that EE develops entrepreneurial mindsets and non-cognitive skills such as opportunity recognition, creative problem solving and innovation (Allan Gray Orbis Foundation, 2017; Krueger, 2015).

In addition to the adventure camp, which students said stretched and challenged them, the work around their vision and mission was very significant for them. This module helped them identify and define their goals. It appeared to motivate them to believe in their ability to achieve improved livelihoods and to visualise what those were. The rest of the RAA programme seemed then to provide the scaffolding and directions on how to achieve those goals.

The personal development aspect of the RAA course was unquestionably impactful for the RAA participants. The course evaluations, participant surveys and qualitative interviews highlighted that personal development was the foundation of participants’ experience at the RAA. They described the course using words such as “life changing” and “empowering” because they said it had impacted on them as individuals rather than being limited to entrepreneurship only. These findings support the view that personal development is fundamental to impactful EE and that traditional approaches that teach business skills only are outdated (Garavan & O′Cinneide, 1994; Hoppe, 2016; Neck & Greene, 2011). It also corroborates the argument that EE should be context specific and customised to the needs of the audience (DeJaeghere, 2017; Honorati & Cho, 2012). As argued in the literature, without consideration for the socio-economic context in which youth live, the strategy to simply train youth in business skills in order to run a business, is idealistic. Personal development (including participant monitoring as was done through one-on-one check-ins) is valuable in supporting their psychological, social and economic needs, and empowering youth in other life circumstances (Kluve et al., 2016; Malan & Breitenbach, 2001). This is particularly true for the youth in this study whose socio-economic backgrounds meant they were likely to have had minimal exposure to personal growth work before.

In addition to the programme content, several other aspects of the RAA were valuable for participants: the role of staff, an inspiring environment; and access to opportunities, networks and like-minded people.

The YEPI study (Achampong et al., 2017) highlighted talented staff and facilitators as integral to impactful EE. The study by Kluve et al (2016) also implied that staff play a role in

the impact and success of programmes by monitoring beneficiaries in the programme. The participants' account of their RAA experience supports this argument. They found value in the RAA's person-centred, holistic approach and programme staff were said to play a key role in this person-centred approach. They claimed that the personal attention and support they received from programme staff made them feel important and increased their belief in themselves. Staff were also described as having prevented some students from withdrawing from the RAA. This was very important in a context where, as the research overview on the young people's living environments showed, large groups of youth drop out at various stages of their learning trajectory and little is known about how best to support youth to stay the course.

EE that discounts the role of staff and focuses on student numbers rather than the "name, surname *and* a face" (WORK10) formula run the risk of being impersonal and not empathetic to context; and being responsive to context, as the literature suggests, is a key practice of impactful EE (Achampong et al., 2017; Athayde, 2012; Wiger et al., 2015). A further important insight here is that EE programmes should be delivered in such a way that they do not make beneficiaries feel "less than". This is particularly true where the beneficiaries of programmes are vulnerable youth. These findings seem to align to the theory of positive youth development, which indicates that positive supports are needed for young people to be successful, this is therefore a possible future topic for consideration.

Another significant theme in both the literature review and findings was the concept of social capital. The chapter describing the contributing factors to the vulnerability of South African youth detailed how both low "bonding" (family) and "bridging" (acquaintances) social capital (Graham et al., 2016) restricted entry to the labour market. The study's findings indicated that a significant shift took place for the participants in the study with the increase in their access to networks and opportunities as a result of participating in the RAA. Most participants rated this factor as "excellent" compared to "below average" before participating in the programme.

The indication is therefore that the RAA increased their social capital. Although it is difficult to quantify the extent to which the RAA actually increase the access to these networks, the findings suggest that it was the association with Mr Ackerman and being around like-minded peers that served to increase their bridging capital and that gave them increased credibility in labour market networks.

Related to the increase in social capital was the value participants placed on being around like-minded peers, and the psychosocial support that came from being in such a group. This points to the relational agency (A. Edwards, 2005) that was introduced to participants. Particularly how being with their peers and the "sense of belonging" they experienced played a role in enhancing participants' perceived ability to take action and engage with the world. This also seemed to link to the lack of positive role models that the literature (Ince, 2018; Ramphele, 2002) and qualitative interviews suggested is a common experience for vulnerable South African youth, and how their peers become, in a sense, their surrogate role models.

A third aspect of the programme that was valuable for participants was the "inspiring environment". Ince (2018) explained that for vulnerable youth community can influence aspirations and perspectives and lead them to believe they are unfit for achievement. The findings in the context chapter also indicated that the communities where participants lived were, by most, not considered enablers of the better future they aspired to. The environment where the RAA was situated seemed to give them a sense of a "bigger world to dream of bigger things" (ENT10). In the case of the RAA, the local environment would have been specific to where it was situated, but this talks to the value of exposure to worlds outside of the geographic barriers of low income communities, shaping mindsets of possibility and giving credibility to opportunities to pursue.

The analysis of the counterfactual group, who part-participated in but withdrew from the programme, supported the findings that the personal development aspect of the RAA, and the fact that RAA provided access to like-minded people and an inspiring environment, were valuable for participants.

As has been explained, the study findings both confirm and expand on the body of literature on EE programme best practice and how it should move away from traditional teaching methods that Neck & Greene (2011) argue are "based on a world of yesterday" (p. 55). They confirm that teaching business skills only is insufficient to inspire participants (or to produce entrepreneurs who open businesses immediately after participating in EE). It is a holistic intervention that combines entrepreneurship, business and personal development, taught in experiential ways, as proposed by authors including Bell (2015), Testa (2015) and Volkman (2009), that these youth found valuable. This also suggests that teaching "through", rather than "for" entrepreneurship (O'Connor, 2013) has positive effects for vulnerable youth. Furthermore, the findings illustrate that EE can support youth agency by facilitating the growth of social networks and providing the opportunity to be around like-minded people. In

addition, a staff complement which views the participants as human beings rather than numbers also enhances the participant experience and support.

The findings therefore corroborate with the literature (Achampong et al., 2017; Testa & Frascheri, 2015; Volkman et al., 2009) that suggests that EE is impactful when it has a person-centred approach that takes participants' context into account and that uses a combination of programme factors. Design of EE should therefore carefully consider a broad spectrum of elements from content, to staff to the environment in which it is presented.

10.4 Did the RAA impact graduates on a personal level? If so, how?

The analysis of the personal development experienced by the research participants drew on agency literature as well as on the literature relating to the suggested outcomes of EE. The EE scholarship spoke of "developing the individual" as an outcome of EE (DeJaeghere, 2017; Fayolle et al., 2006; Gedeon, 2014). The agency literature also spoke of the limiting influence that socio-economic contexts can have on agency (Graham, 2012) and how for vulnerable youth, opportunity is key to giving agency direction (Ramphele, 2002). Developing an understanding of the impact of the RAA on a personal level was therefore underpinned by assessing the influence that EE can have on youth agency.

Several key themes emerged regarding participants' personal development after their involvement in the RAA course. Both the quantitative and qualitative data indicated that positive outlook and confidence were areas of significant growth as well as participants' vision and ability to take advantage of opportunities and to take initiative.

These findings suggest that participants' inherent agency seemed to have been enabled through the RAA opportunity, equipping them to work towards their future aspirations. The personal development they experienced at the RAA played a role in creating a pathway to an improved livelihood because it seemed to give them a transformed perspective of the world around them and what they can offer, "I dream of far more bigger things than what I imagined as a young boy or dreamer" (ENT10), and changed the narrative of participants every day lived experience, "RAA taught me I have a great story. Own it. Live it. Be proud of it" (WORK4). It seemed, as was called for in the literature, to provide "reliable compasses to face the future with hope" (Ramphele, 2002).

The "did not complete" counterfactual group also described personal development as a valuable outcome of the programme and the survey data showed improvements in their

rating of individual characteristics before and after RAA, including confidence and positive outlook. This indicated that despite having to withdraw because of their financial responsibilities and negative emotional impact of their backgrounds, they did benefit personally.

The personal development that took place cannot be attributed to the RAA alone. As evaluation literature cautioned, the post-test design would only be able to indicate whether participants *believed* they changed or were impacted through their involvement in the intervention (Babbie & Mouton, 2012). The findings do however endorse the literature that proposed that EE programmes that integrate personal development and teach self-efficacy, and build self-confidence prepare young people for a better future (Achampong et al., 2017; DeJaeghere, 2017; Volkman et al., 2009).

The implications for the research problem are that personal development in EE is key. One cannot develop entrepreneurial thinkers in isolation from looking at who they are as people and developing their personal agency to act in the world with confidence and hope. These are soft concepts but a critical component of EE curriculum design.

10.5 Did the RAA help to develop an entrepreneurial mindset as an outcome of participating in the programme?

While it is accepted in scholarship that entrepreneurship can be taught (Gorman et al., 1997), it is also understood that EE cannot create an entrepreneur if the participant does not aspire to be one (Henry et al., 2005b). Particular socio-economic conditions may also present binding constraints that make it difficult to engage in entrepreneurship (Wiger et al., 2015). For South African youth in particular, the legacy of apartheid on entrepreneurial intentions requires a pragmatism about the outcome expectations of youth EE programmes (Department of Trade and Industry, 2013). Training youth in entrepreneurship may not result in them becoming entrepreneurs.

EE should, however, as most of the EE definitions included in the study indicate, play a role in developing entrepreneurial thinking. This involves a mindset or attitude that can be applied in situations of self-employment, employment or further education.

The statistics regarding RAA Alumni activity at the time of the study confirmed that 17 percent of participants had their own businesses, and over 50 percent were employed. This suggests EE was not “successful” in producing entrepreneurs, although 17 percent is higher

than South Africa's total entrepreneurial activity rate of 6.9 percent as reported in the GEM report (Herrington et al., 2017). Alumni activity data showed however that unemployment reduced from 41 percent to 6 percent. Thus, the RAA's EE did seem to make these youth more employable than before they applied to the programme. This data supports the argument that entrepreneurship training is useful in gaining employment in the modern economy (Boyle, 2012; Brewe, 2013; Kew et al., 2013; Meyer, 2017; Schoof, 2006).

Despite the low levels of youth starting their own businesses, a major finding of this research is that 98 percent of the respondents to the Alumni online survey believed that the RAA had helped them to develop an entrepreneurial mindset. In that sense, the RAA has had a significant impact on the Alumni.

This finding was supported by the qualitative part of the study, where participants rated entrepreneurial characteristics most often when describing themselves post the RAA. These characteristics included being creative, confident, innovative and risk-takers, all of which align with the definitions of entrepreneurial mindsets by Krueger (2015) and Commarmond (2017). Highlighting the role that the RAA played a role in inviting the participants' entrepreneurial ability to the front and that it might not have been visible until someone shone a light on it. As WORK8 said, "someone had to develop the entrepreneur in me".

Similarly, participants in the counterfactual group who did not receive the full RAA training described how even limited exposure to EE allowed them to develop entrepreneurially and to start their own business. This shift in entrepreneurial mindset was in contrast to those who were not selected for the RAA, who did not describe themselves in terms of these characteristics and who were not engaging in entrepreneurship at the time of the research. Although this was not a large counterfactual sample it does serve as a comparison group, and this finding supports the view in current literature that EE can develop entrepreneurial mindsets (Kew et al., 2013; Valerio et al., 2014).

The implications for the study are that EE is not a magic bullet for youth unemployment alleviation and that not all youth who go through EE programmes will start businesses. As the literature suggests (Fink, 2013; Wiger et al., 2015), this argument is simplistic. Expectations of EE should not therefore not be limited to producing traditional entrepreneurs. An education "through" EE is likely to help develop an entrepreneurial mindset which potentially makes youth more confident and resourceful and therefore more likely to be employable.

Policies and strategies that propose entrepreneurship for youth unemployment alleviation (through new venture creation) must acknowledge that this outcome is very context specific. The extent to which EE can help marginalised youth depends largely on the social, financial, economic and cultural constraints that these youth face (Wiger et al., 2015). For vulnerable youth, an EE programme which better prepares them to navigate their socio-economic environments and that has the potential to make them more credible in the labour market can be an effective youth employability intervention.

10.6 Did the RAA make an impact on graduate economic activity and earnings post the programme?

The literature raised concerns that job creation and improved income, as an outcome of participation in an EE programme, may be ambitious (DeJaeghere, 2017; Honorati & Cho, 2012). In contradiction, the research on youth employability initiatives by Kluve et al (2017) indicated that entrepreneurship promotion and skills training programmes that target the most disadvantaged youth seem to show promise for improving employment, earnings and business performance. The study of the RAA supported the findings of Kluve et al (2017). The Alumni database and survey data showed a significant decrease in unemployment and that respondents strongly agreed that the RAA influenced their current activity. The Alumni online survey findings also showed a large positive shift in personal income post RAA, where again, respondents strongly agreed that participation in the RAA programme directly influenced their current income. Given the vulnerability of this youth group to unemployment and poverty, these are meaningful results.

Most of the counterfactual group who were not accepted to the RAA, showed a positive shift in personal income too. However this growth was not as large as for the RAA participants. This seems to indicate that the positive shift in income and employment for RAA participants may not have been the result of the programme alone. The indication from the RAA Alumni responses in the online survey does however suggest that respondents believed the RAA strongly influenced this shift.

Volkman et al (2009) suggested that exposure to entrepreneurship and innovation will influence youth in becoming entrepreneurial. What the findings in this study show is that EE does not necessarily result in youth becoming more entrepreneurial in the traditional sense of “starting a business”. The findings do, however, resonate with many of the additional advantages of youth EE as outlined by documents such as *Generations Entrepreneur? The State of Global Youth Entrepreneurship* (Kew et al., 2013). EE does seem to impact on

young people's ability to engage in the economy (mostly through employment) and increases their earning potential. EE launches them towards improved economic livelihoods.

10.7 Summary of recommendations

- South African youth policy should continue to promote entrepreneurship as an impactful strategy for alleviating youth unemployment, policy makers must however acknowledge that outcomes of EE are very context specific. There should therefore be a pragmatic approach to expected outcomes. Expectations of EE programmes should not be limited to producing traditional entrepreneurs but should include a recognition of improved employability through developing an entrepreneurial mindset and making youth more credible in the labour market.

- A multi-faceted, hands-on, high-touch and longer-term approach should be viewed as the building blocks for programmes supporting youth development.

- EE is impactful when it has a person-centred approach that takes participants' context into account. Effective youth employability interventions also better prepare youth to navigate their socio-economic environments. EE, employability, and youth development programmes should therefore attempt to develop an understanding of the contextual factors of all of their participants and programmes should be contextually relevant in approach and design.

- Youth development programmes should consider using a combination of programme elements. Design of such programmes should therefore carefully consider a broad spectrum of factors from content, to staff, to the environment in which it is presented. Consideration should also be given for the financial and emotional support that may be required by participants.

- Personal development should be seen as a critical component of curriculum design for EE, employability, and youth development programmes.

10.8 Conclusion

The global interest in entrepreneurship as a strategy for economic growth and job creation often leads to the rather simplistic argument that youth should be educated to start

businesses. This study sought to understand whether EE is an effective strategy for alleviating youth unemployment, and in the case of the RAA participants, whether it provided them with the opportunity that they were looking for to better their circumstances.

The aims of the RAA programme are to provide a skills development opportunity to enable youth to start their own enterprise or to pursue formal employment. In the South African economic environment these aims are hard to achieve. I investigated whether the RAA had had an effect and, if so, how. The study showed that the nature of the RAA's impact on graduate outcomes was both personal and economic. Analysis of these young people's perspectives showed that EE helped to launch them into a more productive, sustainable livelihood. This was a meaningful outcome because, as most of the participants' stories related, without such a "launch pad" these youth appear to struggle to go forward on their own.

The discussion-of-findings section focused on separate themes and led to the conclusion that the outcomes were irreducible to one single factor. Rather, it is a combination of programme elements and the multi-dimensional and holistic approach to EE, as advocated in the EE literature, which led to the impact of the RAA. The findings indicated that teaching "through" entrepreneurship rather than "for" entrepreneurship appeared to result in these outcomes. At the outset, however, the hope the respondents had for the future and the agency they demonstrated by acting on that hope created the foundation upon which the programme could build.

My research illustrated that the RAA worked with and developed agency, and opened up opportunities for youth who have that agency inside of them. Young people came in with varying socio-economic constraints and the RAA supported them both in terms of their personal development and the skills needed to act, and think entrepreneurially. That combination then allowed them to venture back out in the world with measurable impact: an increase in economic activity and in their personal income. This is significant given the hostile labour market they stepped out into. It also indicates that socio-economic context does not have to be binding, providing the right kind of support and training is made available.

These changes may or may not be entirely attributed to the EE programme run by RAA. They nevertheless allow us to understand what happened amongst programme participants, which provides useful data for assessing the impact and viability of EE.

The research had its limitations. The small counterfactual sample meant that a robust comparison between those who participated in the RAA programme and those who didn't could not be conducted. Therefore, it is difficult to indicate the exact extent to which the RAA, and consequently EE, influenced youth outcomes. The focus on Black township youth from the Cape Flats also meant that the findings should not be generalised to all South African youth. The Cape Flats are however representative of many low-income, South African, urban communities and the findings may provide a basis from which to develop research and EE interventions for youth living in similar communities elsewhere in South Africa. The research also indicated the possible influence of a strong "trading or selling" subculture among township youth, which existing research has not explored in much detail. Ethnographic research could help unravel whether such culture really exists and what its influence is on entrepreneurial intention and capability.

The post-test design of the survey meant that a baseline was not established upfront and the data could not indicate an actual quantitative change, only whether participants *believed* they were impacted. Further research could therefore be done based on a pre-and post-test method over a longer period of time.

My status as a researcher and as a RAA representative meant I was presented with both challenges and opportunities in undertaking this study. I was very aware that being the RAA Director might influence the research. I therefore designed and practised a mixed method research approach which I hoped would minimise the impact of being an "insider", but that would still allow me to bring in some of my experience in the field. As a researcher, I was afforded the opportunity to discover things I might not have had sight of before, as a director.

Through this journey of discovery, and by emphasising the outcomes of youth EE differently, I trust that I have contributed to an understanding of the ways in which EE can impact young people beyond the traditional expectation of creating new businesses. I also hope I have stimulated interest in how to implement and design EE to support young people, so that their individual assets can be recognised and developed thus reducing their vulnerability to unemployment.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview question guideline

Interview Guideline - *For those who graduated & participants who were accepted but did not complete*

A. Warm-up Questions

1. Why did you apply to the RAA?

   At what point in your life did you decide to apply? What were they doing at that time?
2. How did you decide what you *wanted to study?*

   What were the other options?
3. What was it like to learn that you were accepted or declined from the programme?
4. Who did you talk to when you first learnt you were accepted declined?

   How did they respond?

B. RAA | Programmatic Questions

5. Do you remember your first week at the RAA? What was it like? What did you think/feel/experience? Why?
6. *We all go through ups and downs when we're studying. Sometimes it feels like we're on top of it all, the next moment we may feel like we have no idea what is going on. If you have to choose 3 moments in your time at RAA that were either very positive or rather difficult for you, what would those be?*
   - Shall we start with a moment that your remember as being really positive?
   - What about a time in the course that was really challenging, and why that was?
   - Is there a third moment on the programme you will never forget? What makes you say that?
7. If you could stand on the highest building in Cape Town and communicate one thing about the programme, what would it be? Why is that?
8. What would you say were the main factors that contributed to you graduating or not graduating from the programme?

   Probe after one factor: was there anything else?
9. What did you do after graduating from/leaving the RAA? Why?
10. Working:

How would you describe the job you have now? How do you feel about that job? Would you say it is better or worse than what you were doing before RAA? What makes you say that?
Own business:

Did you have a business before RAA? Can you tell me some more about that business? How were you running it at that time? And then you joined RAA - what kind of impact would you say RAA has had on your business? Why do you think that is?
If you didn't have a business pre-RAA why did you choose to start one? Can you describe the process of starting that business to me please?

C. Context

11. Could you please tell me a little bit more about who you grew up with? What was life like when you were a child?

    Prompts: Describe the neighbourhood you grew up in, the school you went to...

12. So, who would say raised you?

    Prompts: Tell me about them? What did they do? What was their education background? Describe the neighbourhood you grew up in.

13. Describe a person or situation from your youth that had a profound effect on you.

    Prompt: How did it/they affect you? Was there in anyone close to you who had their own business?

14. What kind of school did you go to? What were your favourite/least favourite subjects? When you were growing up what jobs did you imagine you might do one day and what made these available?

    Prompts: Did this have anything to do with your interest in business/entrepreneurship?

15. What made it possible for you to attend RAA?

    Prompts: access to transport, support from friends, access to food, other forms of income or employment

D. Individual

16. Describe a key moment in your life and how it affected your choices and why.

17. What dreams and goals for life did you have when you applied for RAA? How have they changed?

E. Closing questions

18. How would you define a successful life? What makes you say that?

19. Given what you've experienced so far, what advice would you give someone graduating from high school?

20. What do you want to do in the next five years? How does that relate to your sense of purpose?

21. It is really important for us to learn about what did and what did not work very well about the programme. We all know that it takes a long time to build a successful programme and something we get right and others we simply don't. And then of course there are so many factors that come to play in people's lives, it is hard to know what changes happen because of the programme and what is about other factors in people's lives. So, when you think back to your life before RAA, what would you say has shifted since joining RAA? What has become better? What has become worse or more difficult? Why do you think that is?

22. Would you say that RAA has changed anything about you, as an individual? What would you say has shifted, if anything? Why do you think that is?

23. What questions do you think I should have asked that I didn't?

24. Do you have any questions for me?

Interview Guideline - *For those who were not accepted*

A. Warm-up Questions

1. What were you doing at the time you applied?
2. Why did you apply to the RAA? How did you decide what you wanted to study?
3. What was it like to learn that you were not selected for the programme?
4. Who did you talk to when you first learnt you were not selected?

B. RAA | Programmatic Questions

4. What did you hope you would learn from being on RAA?
5. What did you do after being declined and why?
6. What are you doing now?
7. Working: Do you have a better job now if so why do you think you do

   Own business: Did you have a business before RAA, if yes is it doing better, why?
   If you didn't have a business pre-RAA why did you choose to start one?

C. Context

8. Who raised you?

Prompts: Tell me about them? What did they do? What was their education background? Describe the neighbourhood you grew up in.

9. Describe a person or situation from your youth that had a profound effect on you.

   Prompt: How did it/they affect you? Was there in anyone close to you who had their own business?

10. What kind of school did you go to? What were your favourite/least favourite subjects? When you were growing up what jobs did you imagine you might do one day and what made these available?

    Prompts: Did this have anything to do with your interest in business/entrepreneurship?

D. Individual

11. Describe a key moment in your life and how it affected your choices and why.

12. What dreams and goals for life did you have when you applied for RAA? How have they changed?

E. Closing questions

13. How do you define a successful life?

14. Given what you've experienced so far, what advice would you give someone graduating from high school.

15. What do you want to do in the next five years? How does that relate to your sense of purpose?

16. How would you describe your present situation? Is it better or worse than before applying to RAA? What would you say has changed or shifted?

17. What questions do you think I should have asked that I didn't?

18. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix 2: Alumni survey & Post-interview online survey

RAA Alumni Income Survey_2018

Page 1

1. RAA Class (e.g. January 2016)*
   -- Please Select -- ▼

2. Activity at time of application to RAA*
   -- Please Select -- ▼

3. Current Activity *
   -- Please Select -- ▼

4. Personal income at the time of application (per month)*
   Income can include salary from a job, income from your own business or stipend
   - R 0 - R 500
   - R 500 - R 1000
   - R 1000 - R 2500
   - R 2500 - R 5000
   - R 5000 - R 10 000
   - R 10 000 - R 20 000
   - R 20 000 - R 30 000
   - R 30 000 and above

5. Current Earnings / Personal income at present (per month)*
   Income can include salary from a job, income from your own business or stipend
   - R 0 - R 500
   - R 500 - R 1000
   - R 1000 - R 2500
   - R 2500 - R 5000
   - R 5000 - R 10 000
   - R 10 000 - R 20 000
   - R 20 000 - R 30 000
   - R 30 000 and above

6. Did participating in the RAA programme directly influence your current income?
   -- None -- ▼

7. Did participating in the RAA programme directly influence or lead to your current activity?
   -- None -- ▼

8. Would you say the RAA helped you develop an entrepreneurial mind-set?
   -- None -- ▼

2016 Masters Thesis Interview Survey

Page 1

Participant Details

1. Name*

Page 2

2. RAA Class (e.g. January 2016)*
   -- Please Select -- ▼
3. Address at time of application to RAA*
4. Type of accommodation
   -- None -- ▼
5. Current address*
6. Type of accomodation
   -- None -- ▼
7. Activity at time of application to RAA*
   -- Please Select -- ▼
8. Personal income at the time of application (per month)*
   - ○ R 0 - R 500
   - ○ R 500 - R 1000
   - ○ R 1000 - R 2500
   - ○ R 2500 - R 4000
   - ○ R 4000 - R 7500
   - ○ R 7000 and above

9. Personal income at present (per month)*
   - R 0 - R 500
   - R 500 - R 1000
   - R 1000 - R 2500
   - R 2500 - R 4000
   - R 4000 - R 7500
   - R 7000 and above

Page 3

10. Did you have a bank account before RAA?
    -- None --

11. Do you have a bank account now?
    -- None --

12. Level of savings (ability to save money on a monthly basis?) (1 is very poor, 5 is very good)

	1	2	3	4	5
Savings BEFORE RAA					
Savings AFTER RAA					

13. Level of debt (1 is very high levels of debt, 5 is very low levels of debt)

	1	2	3	4	5
Debt BEFORE RAA					
Debt AFTER RAA					

Page 4

14. What do you think are your three best qualities?

15. What three qualities are you trying to improve?

16. What characteristics would people use to describe you?
    Select at least 5.

- [ ] Persistent
- [ ] Gives up easily
- [ ] Hopeful
- [ ] Discouraged
- [ ] Optimistic
- [ ] Pessimistic
- [ ] Creative
- [ ] Non-creative
- [ ] Confident
- [ ] Unconfident
- [ ] Resouceful
- [ ] Non-resourceful
- [ ] Organised
- [ ] Unorganised
- [ ] Assertive
- [ ] Shy
- [ ] Fun
- [ ] Sad
- [ ] Manages time well
- [ ] Always late
- [ ] Curious
- [ ] Indifferent
- [ ] Patient
- [ ] Impatient
- [ ] Driven
- [ ] Unmotivated
- [ ] Comfortable with uncertainty
- [ ] Easily stressed by uncertainty
- [ ] Hard-working
- [ ] Lazy
- [ ] Disciplined
- [ ] Undisciplined
- [ ] Innovative
- [ ] Unoriginal
- [ ] Independent
- [ ] Relies on support from others
- [ ] Adaptable
- [ ] Inflexible
- [ ] Responsible
- [ ] Irresponsible
- [ ] Risk taker
- [ ] Conservative

Page 5

17. Which 5 of these RAA workshops were the most valuable to you?*

Select at least 5.

- [ ] Business numeracy
- [ ] Business literacy
- [ ] Computer course
- [ ] Marketing
- [ ] Innovation & testing
- [ ] Sustainability
- [ ] Operations
- [ ] HR
- [ ] Strategy
- [ ] Economics
- [ ] Doing Business in SA
- [ ] Negotiation skills
- [ ] Communication skills
- [ ] Business etiquette & professionalism
- [ ] Vision and mission
- [ ] Leading & developing myself
- [ ] Presentation skills
- [ ] Managing myself and my time
- [ ] Career development and CV's
- [ ] Prejudice & discrimination
- [ ] The 5 love languages
- [ ] The art of possibility
- [ ] The 4 legs of the table lecture with Mr Ackerman
- [ ] Adventure camp (Outward Bound)
- [ ] Entrepreneurial showcases (guest speakers)
- [ ] Final idea presentations

18. Please explain why you chose each of the 5 workshops in the previous question i.e how did each workshop matter to you?*

Workshop 1

Workshop 2

Workshop 3

Workshop 4

Workshop 5

Page 6

19. Please rate the following BEFORE you applied to the RAA
    1 = poor and 5 = excellent

	1	2	3	4	5
Self-confidence	○	○	○	○	○
Positive outlook	○	○	○	○	○
Creativity & innovation	○	○	○	○	○
Knowledge of the your environment (e.g. aware of local and global news and current affairs)	○	○	○	○	○
Physical health & well-being	○	○	○	○	○
Relationships with immediate family	○	○	○	○	○
Vision and mission (understanding your purpose)	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to manage time	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to work with others	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to cope with stress	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to support oneself financially	○	○	○	○	○
Presentation skills	○	○	○	○	○
Networking skills	○	○	○	○	○
Numeracy skills	○	○	○	○	○
Computer literacy	○	○	○	○	○
English speaking and writing skills	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to present idea	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to take initiative	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to present oneself professionally (e.g. business etiquette, dress code, body language, handshakes)	○	○	○	○	○
Access to opportunities and networks	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	○	○	○	○	○

20. Please rate the following AFTER you attended the RAA course
1 = poor and 5 = excellent

	1	2	3	4	5
Self-confidence	○	○	○	○	○
Positive outlook	○	○	○	○	○
Creativity & innovation	○	○	○	○	○
Knowledge of the your environment (e.g. aware of local and global news and current affairs)	○	○	○	○	○
Physical health & well-being	○	○	○	○	○
Relationships with	○	○	○	○	○

immediate family					
Vision and mission (understanding your purpose)	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to manage time	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to work with others	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to cope with stress	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to support oneself financially	○	○	○	○	○
Presentation skills	○	○	○	○	○
Networking skills	○	○	○	○	○
Numeracy skills	○	○	○	○	○
Computer literacy	○	○	○	○	○
English speaking and writing skills	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to present idea	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to take initiative	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to present oneself professionally (e.g. business etiquette, dress code, body language, handshakes)	○	○	○	○	○
Access to opportunities and networks	○	○	○	○	○
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix 3: Summary report of online survey responses

See next page.

2016 Masters Thesis Interview Survey

Respondents:	27 displayed, 27 total	Status:	Open
Launched Date:	03/13/2016	Closed Date:	03/31/2017

1. Name

View responses to this question [view]

Total Respondents 28

2. RAA Class (e.g. January 2016)

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
January 2008	1	4%	n/a	n/a
July 2008	0	0%	n/a	n/a
January 2009	1	4%	n/a	n/a
July 2009	1	4%	n/a	n/a
January 2010	2	7%	n/a	n/a
July 2010	1	4%	n/a	n/a
January 2011	2	7%	n/a	n/a
July 2011	3	11%	n/a	n/a
January 2012	2	7%	n/a	n/a
July 2012	2	7%	n/a	n/a
January 2013	0	0%	n/a	n/a
July 2013	1	4%	n/a	n/a
January 2014	4	14%	n/a	n/a
July 2014	2	7%	n/a	n/a
January 2015	3	11%	n/a	n/a
July 2015	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

3. Address at time of application to RAA

View responses to this question [view]

Total Respondents 28

4. Type of accommodation

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
House	22	79%	n/a	n/a
Apartment	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Hostel	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Informal dwelling	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Other	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

5. Current address

View responses to this question [view]

Total Respondents 28

6. Type of accomodation

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
House	19	68%	n/a	n/a
Apartment	6	21%	n/a	n/a
Hostel	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Informal dwelling	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Other	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

7. Activity at time of application to RAA

	Response	Response	Points	Avg

	Total	Percent		
Working (full time)	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Working (part time)	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Own business (full time)	7	25%	n/a	n/a
Own business (part time)	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Working and own business	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Unemployed	8	29%	n/a	n/a
Volunteering	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Studying	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

8. Personal income at the time of application (per month)

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
R 0 - R 500	12	43%	n/a	n/a
R 500 - R 1000	1	4%	n/a	n/a
R 1000 - R 2500	6	21%	n/a	n/a
R 2500 - R 4000	5	18%	n/a	n/a
R 4000 - R 7500	3	11%	n/a	n/a
R 7000 and above	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

9. Personal income at present (per month)*

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
R 0 - R 500	1	4%	n/a	n/a
R 500 - R 1000	0	0%	n/a	n/a
R 1000 - R 2500	6	21%	n/a	n/a
R 2500 - R 4000	2	7%	n/a	n/a
R 4000 - R 7500	4	14%	n/a	n/a
R 7000 and above	15	54%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

10. Did you have a bank account before RAA?

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
Yes	23	82%	n/a	n/a
No	5	18%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

11. Do you have a bank account now?

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
Yes	26	93%	n/a	n/a
No	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

12. Level of savings (ability to save money on a monthly basis?) (1 is very poor, 5 is very good)

	1	2	3	4	5	Response Total	Response Average
Savings BEFORE RAA	46.43% (13)	42.86% (12)	10.71% (3)	0% (0)	0% (0)	28	1.64
Savings AFTER RAA	3.85% (1)	3.85% (1)	11.54% (3)	53.85% (14)	26.92% (7)	26	3.96
					Total Respondents	28	

13. Level of debt (1 is very high levels of debt, 5 is very low levels of debt)

	1	2	3	4	5	Response Total	Response Average
Debt BEFORE RAA	42.86% (12)	10.71% (3)	10.71% (3)	17.86% (5)	17.86% (5)	28	2.57
Debt AFTER RAA	29.63% (8)	22.22% (6)	25.93% (7)	3.7% (1)	18.52% (5)	27	2.59
					Total Respondents	28	

14. What do you think are your three best qualities?

View responses to this question [view]

Total Respondents 28

15. What three qualities are you trying to improve?

View responses to this question view

Total Respondents 28

16. What characteristics would people use to describe you?

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
Persistent	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Gives up easily	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Hopeful	14	50%	n/a	n/a
Discouraged	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Optimistic	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Pessimistic	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Creative	22	79%	n/a	n/a
Non-creative	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Confident	20	71%	n/a	n/a
Unconfident	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Resouceful	11	39%	n/a	n/a
Non-resourceful	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Organised	7	25%	n/a	n/a
Unorganised	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Assertive	4	14%	n/a	n/a
Shy	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Fun	17	61%	n/a	n/a
Sad	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Manages time well	6	21%	n/a	n/a
Always late	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Curious	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Indifferent	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Patient	10	36%	n/a	n/a
Impatient	5	18%	n/a	n/a
Driven	15	54%	n/a	n/a
Unmotivated	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Comfortable with uncertainty	2	7%	n/a	n/a
Easily stressed by uncertainty	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Hard-working	16	57%	n/a	n/a
Lazy	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Disciplined	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Undisciplined	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Innovative	19	68%	n/a	n/a
Unoriginal	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Independent	15	54%	n/a	n/a
Relies on support from others	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Adaptable	12	43%	n/a	n/a
Inflexible	1	4%	n/a	n/a
Responsible	15	54%	n/a	n/a
Irresponsible	0	0%	n/a	n/a
Risk taker	18	64%	n/a	n/a
Conservative	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

17. Which 5 of these RAA workshops were the most valuable to you?

	Response Total	Response Percent	Points	Avg
Business numeracy	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Business literacy	5	18%	n/a	n/a
Computer course	8	29%	n/a	n/a
Marketing	17	61%	n/a	n/a
Innovation & testing	18	64%	n/a	n/a
Sustainability	5	18%	n/a	n/a
Operations	7	25%	n/a	n/a
HR	6	21%	n/a	n/a
Strategy	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Economics	4	14%	n/a	n/a

Doing Business in SA	6	21%	n/a	n/a
Negotiation skills	12	43%	n/a	n/a
Communication skills	11	39%	n/a	n/a
Business etiquette & professionalism	8	29%	n/a	n/a
Vision and mission	14	50%	n/a	n/a
Leading & developing myself	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Presentation skills	11	39%	n/a	n/a
Managing myself and my time	7	25%	n/a	n/a
Career development and CV's	3	11%	n/a	n/a
Prejudice & discrimination	3	11%	n/a	n/a
The 5 love languages	3	11%	n/a	n/a
The art of possibility	6	21%	n/a	n/a
The 4 legs of the table lecture with Mr Ackerman	13	46%	n/a	n/a
Adventure camp (Outward Bound)	14	50%	n/a	n/a
Entrepreneurial showcases (guest speakers)	6	21%	n/a	n/a
Final idea presentations	4	14%	n/a	n/a
Total Respondents	28			

18. Please explain why you chose each of the 5 workshops in the previous question i.e how did each workshop matter to you?

	Response Total	Response Percent
view Workshop 1	28	104%
view Workshop 2	28	104%
view Workshop 3	28	104%
view Workshop 4	28	104%
view Workshop 5	28	104%
Total Respondents		28

19. Please rate the following BEFORE you applied to the RAA

	1	2	3	4	5	Response Total	Response Average
Self-confidence	3.57% (1)	50% (14)	32.14% (9)	10.71% (3)	3.57% (1)	28	2.61
Positive outlook	7.69% (2)	42.31% (11)	42.31% (11)	3.85% (1)	3.85% (1)	26	2.54
Creativity & innovation	10.71% (3)	42.86% (12)	35.71% (10)	3.57% (1)	7.14% (2)	28	2.54
Knowledge of the your environment (e.g. aware of local and global news and current affairs)	17.86% (5)	53.57% (15)	25% (7)	0% (0)	3.57% (1)	28	2.18
Physical health & well-being	3.57% (1)	21.43% (6)	32.14% (9)	39.29% (11)	3.57% (1)	28	3.18
Relationships with immediate family	10.71% (3)	21.43% (6)	42.86% (12)	14.29% (4)	10.71% (3)	28	2.93
Vision and mission (understanding your purpose)	17.86% (5)	53.57% (15)	25% (7)	3.57% (1)	0% (0)	28	2.14
Ability to manage time	32.14% (9)	39.29% (11)	21.43% (6)	7.14% (2)	0% (0)	28	2.04
Ability to work with others	14.29% (4)	35.71% (10)	25% (7)	17.86% (5)	7.14% (2)	28	2.68
Ability to cope with stress	17.86% (5)	57.14% (16)	10.71% (3)	7.14% (2)	7.14% (2)	28	2.29

Ability to support oneself financially	21.43% (6)	46.43% (13)	25% (7)	7.14% (2)	0% (0)	28	2.18
Presentation skills	21.43% (6)	42.86% (12)	17.86% (5)	10.71% (3)	7.14% (2)	28	2.39
Networking skills	10.71% (3)	57.14% (16)	25% (7)	3.57% (1)	3.57% (1)	28	2.32
Numeracy skills	19.23% (5)	34.62% (9)	26.92% (7)	11.54% (3)	7.69% (2)	26	2.54
Computer literacy	11.54% (3)	30.77% (8)	34.62% (9)	7.69% (2)	15.38% (4)	26	2.85
English speaking and writing skills	0% (0)	33.33% (9)	33.33% (9)	18.52% (5)	14.81% (4)	27	3.15
Ability to present idea	18.52% (5)	44.44% (12)	18.52% (5)	18.52% (5)	0% (0)	27	2.37
Ability to take initiative	20% (5)	24% (6)	36% (9)	8% (2)	12% (3)	25	2.68
Ability to present oneself professionally (e.g. business etiquette, dress code, body language, handshakes)	33.33% (9)	29.63% (8)	18.52% (5)	14.81% (4)	3.7% (1)	27	2.26
Access to opportunities and networks	22.22% (6)	48.15% (13)	29.63% (8)	0% (0)	0% (0)	27	2.07
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	22.22% (6)	37.04% (10)	29.63% (8)	7.41% (2)	3.7% (1)	27	2.33
						Total Respondents	28

20. Please rate the following AFTER you attended the RAA course

	1	2	3	4	5	Response Total	Response Average
Self-confidence	0% (0)	0% (0)	7.14% (2)	46.43% (13)	46.43% (13)	28	4.39
Positive outlook	0% (0)	0% (0)	3.7% (1)	33.33% (9)	62.96% (17)	27	4.59
Creativity & innovation	0% (0)	0% (0)	14.81% (4)	25.93% (7)	59.26% (16)	27	4.44
Knowledge of the your environment (e.g. aware of local and global news and current affairs)	0% (0)	3.57% (1)	14.29% (4)	46.43% (13)	35.71% (10)	28	4.14
Physical health & well-being	0% (0)	0% (0)	7.41% (2)	59.26% (16)	33.33% (9)	27	4.26
Relationships with immediate family	0% (0)	3.57% (1)	17.86% (5)	35.71% (10)	42.86% (12)	28	4.18
Vision and mission (understanding your purpose)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	60.71% (17)	39.29% (11)	28	4.39
Ability to manage time	0% (0)	3.57% (1)	14.29% (4)	53.57% (15)	28.57% (8)	28	4.07
Ability to work with others	0% (0)	0% (0)	7.14% (2)	32.14% (9)	60.71% (17)	28	4.54
Ability to cope with stress	0% (0)	0% (0)	14.29% (4)	53.57% (15)	32.14% (9)	28	4.18
Ability to support oneself financially	0% (0)	0% (0)	22.22% (6)	44.44% (12)	33.33% (9)	27	4.11
Presentation skills	0% (0)	0% (0)	19.23% (5)	34.62% (9)	46.15% (12)	26	4.27
Networking skills	0% (0)	0% (0)	17.86% (5)	42.86% (12)	39.29% (11)	28	4.21
Numeracy skills	0% (0)	0% (0)	30.77% (8)	42.31% (11)	26.92% (7)	26	3.96
Computer literacy	0% (0)	3.57% (1)	10.71% (3)	46.43% (13)	39.29% (11)	28	4.21
English speaking and writing skills	0% (0)	0% (0)	7.41% (2)	55.56% (15)	37.04% (10)	27	4.3
Ability to present idea	0% (0)	0% (0)	14.29% (4)	35.71% (10)	50% (14)	28	4.36
Ability to take initiative	0% (0)	3.7% (1)	18.52% (5)	37.04% (10)	40.74% (11)	27	4.15

Ability to present oneself professionally (e.g. business etiquette, dress code, body language, handshakes)	0% (0)	3.7% (1)	11.11% (3)	33.33% (9)	51.85% (14)	27	4.33
Access to opportunities and networks	0% (0)	0% (0)	21.43% (6)	28.57% (8)	50% (14)	28	4.29
Ability to take advantage of opportunities	0% (0)	0% (0)	11.11% (3)	25.93% (7)	62.96% (17)	27	4.52
						Total Respondents	28

Appendix 4: Coding framework

Section 1: Who are these applicants?

A. Demographic Information:

- Age at time of applying
- Current Age
- Address at time of applying & type of dwelling
- Current Address & type of dwelling
- Gender
- Household income at time of application
- Household income current
- Number of people in household at time of applying

B. Childhood / Background:

- Individual characteristics as a child growing up
- Memories of childhood
    - Impact/Influence of important others
    - Family structure/siblings/members in household
    - Emotional drivers [disappointment, longing, belonging]
- Area/Neighbourhood where they grew up
    - Type of dwelling/amenities at house
    - Impact/Influence of community/absence presence of role models
    - Exposure to different environments while growing up
    - Reason for moving [if applicable]
- Financial situation growing up
    - Contributed to family finances
    - Became self-sufficient at a young age
- Person who raised them
    - Education of parent/guardian
    - Occupation of parent /guardian
        - Reason for occupation
    - Reason for being raised by non-parent [if applicable]

- Person/situation who had profound effect on them
    - Reason
- Key moment in life that affected choices
    - Reason
- Exposure to trade, business or entrepreneurial influence
    - Type of trade/business
    - Perception of trade, business or entrepreneurial influence/person
        - Reason
    - Participation in trade/business
        - Reason for participation
    - Understanding of ‘entrepreneur’
- SA Context / Impact of SA Context
- Education:

From application form:

- Year matriculated / Last Grade passed [could also work out average number of years after matriculating that applicants applied and correlate to those who got in and those who didn’t]
- Matric results – pass / fail / exemption

From interviews:

- Type of school
- Location of school
    - Transport/distance to get there
- Reason for attending that school
- Language of instruction
- Overall experience of school
- Favourite subjects
    - Reason
- Least favourite subjects
    - Reason
- Exposure to business subjects
    - Reason
- Perceptions of career options
- Access to information about career options

- Aspirations / Dreams / Goals growing up / after matric
    - Reason
- Aspirations for self-employment
- Cultural/community attitude to entrepreneurship/perceived lack of support for entrepreneurship
- Studies after matric [before applying to RAA]
    - Area of continued education
    - Motivation/Aspiration for continued education
    - Perceived pressure to study/importance to study
    - Number of years of study
- Possible barrier/s to continued education:
    - Language
    - Lack of finance
    - Education results
    - Distance
    - Financial commitments/responsibility
    - Support of important others
    - Access to information
    - Attitude
- Attitude to barriers/effect of barriers on the individual

C. Current situation

- Family, work, no. of kids etc.

Include information from application essay questions:

- Write a short personal history of yourself
- What has been your biggest challenge in life and how did you overcome it?

Section 2: Applying to the RAA

A. General:

From application form and interviews:

- Activity post school & prior to applying *[if different to at time of applying]*

    - Reason for choosing post school activities [e.g. volunteering]
- Activity at time of applying
    - Reason for situation before time of application
    - Attitude to/Experience of activity at time of applying
    - Own Business
        - Motivation for starting own business
        - Impact/influence/support of others
        - Registered / not registered

From interviews:

- Year applied
- Source of introduction to / information about the RAA
- Original reaction to RAA call for applications
    - Reason for hesitation [e.g. RAA criteria]
    - Reason for interest
- Motivation for applying [link to application form essay 'Why would you like to study at the RAA']
    - Influence of RAA Graduates
    - Influence of significant others
- Emotional drivers when applying / completing application form [e.g. convincing-self]
- Reaction to requirements of application/interview process
- Perceptions of 'selection based' application process
    - competitive process
- Perception of other opportunities at time of applying
- Perceptions/understanding of entrepreneurship/business
- Perception of RAA
- Experience of selection process/workshop [*talks to how we made them feel*]
- Support of important others
    - Reason for support/lack of support
- Aspirations/dreams/goals before applying [link to application form essay 'Where do you see yourself in 10 years' time]
    - Reasons for dreams/goals when applying
- SA Context | Impact of SA Context
- Reaction when accepted
    - Effect of positive outcome of application

    - Person they called when accepted
    - Reason for person they called
    - Reaction of important other
        - Driver of reaction of important others
        - Effect of UCT
- Opportunity cost of being at the RAA?? What did they give up?

Non-accepted candidates:

- Reaction when not accepted
    - Effect of negative outcome of application
    - Perceived reason for not being accepted
    - Person they called when not accepted
    - Reason for person they called
    - Reaction of important other
        - Driver of reaction of important others
- Activity after not being accepted
    - Reason for activity after not being accepted
- Current Activity (if different)
- Uncertainty about future career - goals

- RAA follow up [those who were not accepted on first application]

B. Perceptions of Individual Characteristics & Skills at Time of Applying:

- Belief they were an entrepreneur
- Professional reputation/accomplishments

From Application Form and Online Survey
Self-assessment of:

- Fluency in English
- Computer skills
- Ability to work with others
- Individual characteristics before applying to RAA
- Personal skills/beliefs/attitudes
- Professional skills

Section 3: On Programme

- RAA Cohort
- Activity/Memory of first week
- Sentiment at start of programme
    - Reason for sentiment
- Description RAA Students
- Positive moments in programme
    - Reason for positive moment
- Challenging moments in programme
    - Reason for challenging moment
- One word to capture programme
    - Reaction to one word only
    - Reason for one word
- SA Context | Impact of SA Context
- Programme philosophy/approach
- Programme/Curriculum design
    - Class size
    - Curriculum area for improvement
- Impact of RAA staff / manner in which staff engaged with students *[treat them like humans] / how RAA made them feel]*
- Factor/s contributing to graduating
    - Individual characteristics
    - Family support
    - Support of significant others
    - Family financial support
    - RAA financial support
    - Role of RAA staff
    - Role of RAA peers

    [For those that did not complete]

- Factor/s contributing to not graduating
    - Family support
    - Family financial support
    - RAA financial support

        - Role of RAA staff

[All]

- Skills, beliefs and attitudes fostered during the programme
- Effect of RAA curriculum [impact of knowledge gained]
    - Effect of personal development curriculum
    - Effect of business curriculum
- Impact of RAA on others (family etc.) / shared knowledge/attitudes
- RAA continued support
- RAA added value [Launchpad, exposure to Mr Ackerman, exposure to opportunity, belonging, knowledge, network, social capital, cultural capital]

From Survey

- 5 most valuable workshops
    - Reasons for top 5 workshop

Section 4: Post Programme

- Situation after programme
    - Reason for studying
    - Experience of studies
        - Reason
    - Reason for working
    - Experience of work
        - Reason
    - Reason for own business
    - Experience of business
        - Reason
    - Community involvement
- Financial situation after RAA

- Attitude to self
- Attitude to success
- Advice for others
- Belief they are an entrepreneur/evidence of entrepreneurial mindset
- RAA continued support

- Application of RAA business curriculum
- Application of RAA personal development curriculum

- Areas where life better after RAA course/after applying [for those who were not accepted]
    - Reason:
        - Professional impact of RAA course
        - Personal development impact of RAA course
        - Other

- Areas where life challenging or worse after RAA course/ after applying [for those who were not accepted]
    - Reason

- Aspirations/dreams/goals/purpose after RAA / current
    - Reason
- RAA shifted [networks, way of thinking]
- RAA added value [Launchpad, belonging, knowledge, network, social capital, cultural capital]

- Evidence of success/evidence of an improved pathway

C. Perceptions of Individual Characteristics & Skills after RAA:

From Online Survey

Self-assessment of:

- Individual characteristics after RAA
- Personal skills/beliefs/attitudes
- Professional skills

From Interviews

- Questions they would have asked/questions after interview

Appendix 5: Example of coded transcript

What is that, 5 years ago now?

Shew it is that long – yoh Elli that is long but it feels like yesterday – it feels like yesterday - shew

Let's actually start then by thinking back to when you applied to the RAA, do you remember why you applied?

I do very clearly, I remember the conversation I had with Narri on the phone even before I handed in my application and I was already running my own business and I've been running it for about 2 to 3 years and pretty much it was run on the experience, not as a business person but as a radio personality and so everything that I had done was based on what I knew about radio but not on anything that I knew about business

What was the business?

An Audio Production company that specializes in syndicated programming on community radio, so I also had a recording studio which I still do have, so this is what the business was about and all I knew was radio and sound but not the business until a friend of mine actually rocked up with an ad in television and he said, you know we should go for this and he didn't go for it for a reason but when I looked at the date I thought I was already late and so I called Narri and I said please, I'm begging you if I'm a day late and you can accommodate for 24 hours late but she was like, no relax you are not late, the application, I think that date was appended but I was very stressed when I found out that you needed 3 essays but I felt, you know what if the program itself, the application process is so thorough there is obviously something better on the end when you get in, that was my first impression, like you can't get me to write 3 essays and you are going to take me through mediocrity over the 6 months, then I was more determined to actually make sure that my application is on point, put everything together and then I sent it through and I had seen, I had actually bumped into Julian before at the traffic department, he had his bag and I was like so Raymond Ackerman Academy and he actually gave me, he actually sold me the Academy right there and then and when I saw him the second time, he was like that's where you should be

What was the appeal about the program?

The appeal about it was firstly the age, the people that went through the RAA in terms of age and also for me it was coming from the Township, the opportunity that it presented because it specifically highlighted that it looked at people who had not had the greatest of opportunities in life, so I was like that is actually speaking to me and the fact that it trained people on business but it wasn't a hit and run, it was more full-time, that is one of the things that I liked even though I panicked because I already had a kid, I panicked I was like, what is he going to eat and we'll see when we cross that bridge when we get there – I though it is not the usual let's go in for a workshop for 2hrs per week and let's go in for a workshop for like a week or like a week's training and then after that the people forget about you – I just liked the fact that, you know already the ad itself had broken down what is done at the RAA and Julian had already given me the whole speech, so I was like – okay let me go for this – that really got my attention about it

Had you thought about other options to go and study, were there some other things that you considered?

There were but after having gone through the ad they weren't so appealing any more, I mean I considered studying psychology, I considered studying accounting, I considered studying communications but after going through the actual course itself, I thought I've just been given a crash course in psychology and communications on everything, so it basically came out tops

Do you remember getting the phone call to say you had been selected?

Yes I did

2

Commented [EY2]: –Activity at time of applying
–Motivation for applying

Commented [EY3]: –Activity at time of applying

–Own Business

–Belief they are an entrepreneur/evidence of entrepreneurial mindset

Commented [EY4]: Interesting comment…
–Original reaction to RAA call for applications
–Emotional drivers when applying

Commented [EY5]: –Reaction to requirements of application/interview process
–Perceptions of 'selection based' application process
–Perception of RAA

Commented [EY6]: –Motivation for applying
–Influence of RAA Graduates

Commented [EY7]: Motivation for applying
Perception of RAA
Programme philosophy/approach

Commented [EY8]: –Opportunity cost of being at the RAA??
What did they give up?
Emotional drivers when applying
▪*Individual characteristics or actions that talk to the kind of person*

Commented [EY9]: –Perception of other opportunities at time of applying
–Perception of RAA
–Programme/Curriculum design

Appendix 6: UCT ethics clearance form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF COMMERCE

Igniting Knowledge and Opportunity

Please note that you will be required to upload a scanned copy of this form in order to submit your online ethics application. Please ensure that all the required signatories have signed the form in their respective blocks.

By submiting this form I certify that I have read the the Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research policy found on http://www.commerce.uct.ac.za/Pages/ComFac-Downloads

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

Signed by:

	Full name and signature	Date
Principal Researcher/Student:		4·5·2016

This application is approved by:

Supervisor		4.5.2016
HOD (or delegated nominee – for all Honours Projects):		
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee (only for postgraduate research at Master and PhD level)	Prof U Rivett, Chair Ethics Committee Faculty of Commerce, UCT	

The approval of this application is based on the researcher ensuring that all requirements regarding the permission to interview participants at the Raymond Ackerman Foundation have been fulfilled prior to any surveys being conducted.

Com Ethics_V4

Appendix 7: Participant consent form

RAYMOND ACKERMAN
ACADEMY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Research Study Title: *The impact of entrepreneurship education in creating improved and sustainable livelihoods amongst young South Africans*

Study Purpose

You are being invited to participate in a research study being conducted by a Masters student in the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The purpose of this study is to establish what programmatic, contextual and individual factors contributed to RAA graduate outcomes. This study is open to participants and applicants to the Raymond Ackerman Academy of Entrepreneurial Development in Cape Town.

Study Procedures

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in an **individual one-on-one interview and to complete an online survey**. The interview session should take no longer than two hours.

Confidentiality

All information obtained from you will be kept **strictly confidential**. All personal details will remain anonymous, unless with prior consent, in any form of recordings, electronic copies, hardcopies, publications, reports, presentations or written documents.

Possible Benefits

A Pick n Pay gift voucher to the value of R 50.00 will be provided at the end of your interview. There are no other direct benefits to you in participating in this study.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is **completely voluntary**. You may **choose not to participate** in this study, and your decision regarding participation in this study will not have any consequences for you. You may refuse to answer any question. If you do decide to participate, you are free to change your mind and discontinue participation at any time without any consequences.

Questions

Any study related questions, problems or emergencies should be directed to the following researchers:

Primary Researcher (UCT):

Elli Yiannakaris

email: elli.yiannakaris@gsb.uct.ac.za

Research Supervisor (UCT):

Dr Ariane De Lannoy

email: ariane.delannoy@uct.ac.za

Questions about your rights as a study participant, comments or complaints about the study may be presented to the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

CONSENT FORM: ***Please complete and sign the consent form if you wish to participate in this study***

Research Study Title: *The impact of entrepreneurship education in creating improved and sustainable livelihoods amongst young South Africans*

Name of Researcher: Elli Yiannakaris

Participant Name:

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without having to provide a reason.
3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, publications or presentations by the researcher.
4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, publications or presentations unless with prior consent.
5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Signature of participant: _____ Date: _____

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 8: RAA programme overview

8.1 Application process

Applicants to the RAA complete an application form which includes demographic information as well as short essay questions (a short personal history, future goals and motivation for applying). Short-listed candidates are invited to a selection workshop and an interview, after which thirty students are chosen by the selection committee.

The RAA selection process assesses each student holistically to understand applicants':

- Activities after Grade 12
- Level of interest in, and openness to, personal development
- Future goals and ambitions
- Ability to work with others
- Numeracy and literacy competence
- Evidence of an entrepreneurial spirit

8.2 RAA programme participation 2009 – 2016

The total number of students who have completed the RAA programme at the University of Cape Town from January 2005 to December 2016 is 549. The figures below reflect participant numbers from 2009 (from when data was available).

Breakdown of total participant participation from 2009 to 2016

Number of cohorts	**15**
Total number of students who started the programme	**421**
Total number of students who completed the programme	**381**
Ave % of participants per class who completed the RAA course	**93%**
Average age of participants	**23 years**
Average class size	**28**
Ave % of female participants per class	**46%**
Ave % of participants per class who completed high school	**89%**

Breakdown of participant numbers per cohort from 2009 to 2016

#	Cohort	Class Size	No of Participants who Completed the RAA Programme	Ave % of Participants per Class who Completed	Female Participants	Male Participants	% Female Participants in each Class	Ave Age	No of Participants who did not complete High School
1	Jan-09	30	25	83	16	14	53	22	5
2	Jul-09	35	34	97	14	21	40	23	1
3	Jan-10	27	23	96	14	13	52	23	4
4	Jul-10	26	24	96	19	7	73	21	2
5	Jan-11	21	20	100	11	10	52	23	4
6	Jul-11	30	23	93	13	17	43	23	4
7	Jan-12	25	22	88	14	11	56	22	1
8	Jul-12	28	25	89	8	17	29	23	2
9	Jan-13	30	28	93	16	14	53	24	1
10	Jul-13	28	27	96	10	18	36	22	4
11	Jan-14	30	27	97	12	18	40	23	7
12	Jul-14	27	26	96	11	16	41	23	5
13	Jan-15	25	25	100	11	14	44	24	0
14	Jul-15	29	29	100	14	15	48	23	2
15	Jul-16	30	23	77	11	19	36	23	3

8.3 RAA programme pedagogy and curriculum

8.3.1 The person-centred approach

RAA classes are kept small so that each student receives individual attention. This allows the Academy to monitor personal and academic progress. Aspects of the course that represent the 'person-centred approach' include:

- 'Vision and Mission' workshops to understand what a vision is, why it is important to identify a personal mission and values and to create a vision board.
- 'Leading and Developing Myself' workshops to develop an understanding of 'who I am and where I come from', self-leadership and responsibility, and participants' personal qualities and strengths.
- Individual 'Check-ins': Students meet regularly with the RAA student development facilitator for one-on-one sessions for support and encouragement in working on any aspects of their lives that may need attention and development. The belief is that if students are empowered to understand their challenges and how to deal with them, they will then be better equipped for future challenges.

8.3.2 The entrepreneurial support system

The RAA aims to inspire students to look for entrepreneurial opportunities and to build an entrepreneurial ecosystem. Finding like-minded others is, however, reportedly difficult in many of their communities and peer circles. The second pedagogical approach is therefore to help each student build an entrepreneurial support structure through:

- Dedicated classroom facilities
- Group work
- Free time between timetable activities to converse with cohort peers and develop supportive relationships
- Exposure to Alumni and other entrepreneur guest speakers

8.3.3 Curriculum

The course includes practical training in both 'hard' measurable skills and 'soft' personal skills. The Academy believes that teaching fundamental business skills should be coupled with teaching soft skills that focus on the individual and professional. The curriculum

therefore includes various personal development workshops aimed at building confidence, professionalism and interpersonal skills.

The business skills component of the course includes subjects such as strategy and marketing. The blocks on entrepreneurship, ideation, innovation, and personal and professional development are designed to work together to develop students' entrepreneurial aptitude and attitude.

As the RAA Cape Town is an accredited UCT short course, students are assessed in order to receive certification that they have successfully completed the programme. Students who have not successfully completed all the assessments but have attended the full RAA programme receive a certificate of attendance.

8.4. Outline of the course structure and duration, example timetable, course resources and assessments

Duration of RAA programme: The course is structured into 21 weekly blocks. Different modules are taught each week and subject themes alternate between business subjects and the personal and professional development. Specific subjects such as business numeracy are offered twice weekly and certain workshops are offered across several sessions over the duration of the course, for example, business etiquette.

Course resources: No text books are prescribed. Books on entrepreneurship and business are available in the UCT Graduate School of Business library for the students to loan. Students are given course notes and presentations and are expected to prepare a portfolio where they collate these notes and other resources which they collect over the duration of the programme. This becomes their 'RAA text book' for future use.

Format of Instruction: Students are taught in both lecture and group workshop formats in English.

Assessment: As the RAA Cape Town is an accredited UCT short course students are assessed in order to receive certification that they have successfully completed the programme. This is done through weekly tests, weekly reports and exams.

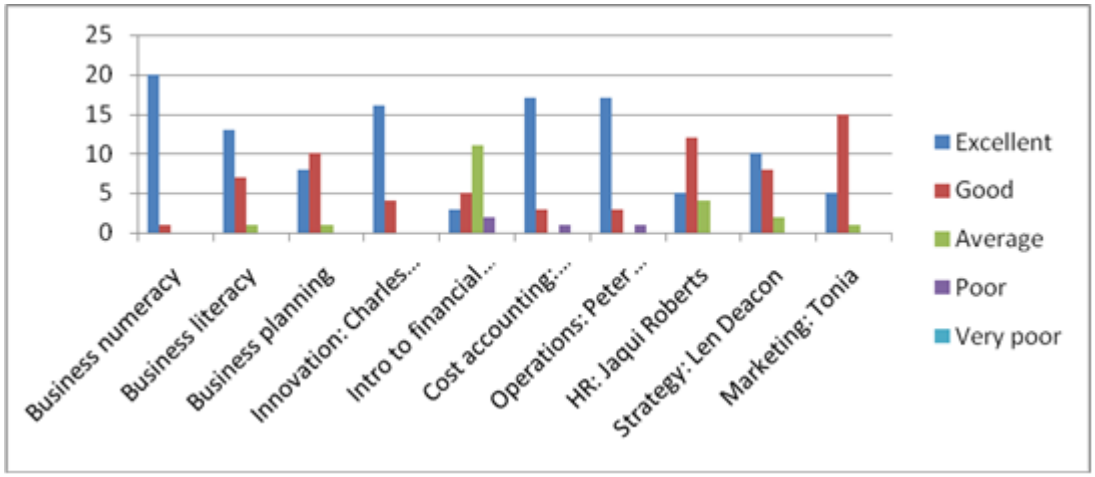
Timetable: A typical week at the RAA would look as follows:

	Date	Lecture 1	Lecture 2	Lecture 3	Lecture 4
		09h00-10h30	11h00 - 12h30	13h00-14h30	15h00-16h30
Block7	Monday	Business Numeracy	Intro to Marketing		
	Tuesday	Weekly Test	Intro to Marketing		
	Wednesday	Work Experience 1			
	Thursday	Mr Ackerman - Four Legs of the Table Lecture	Business Literacy 1		
	Friday	Entrepreneurship Workshop			

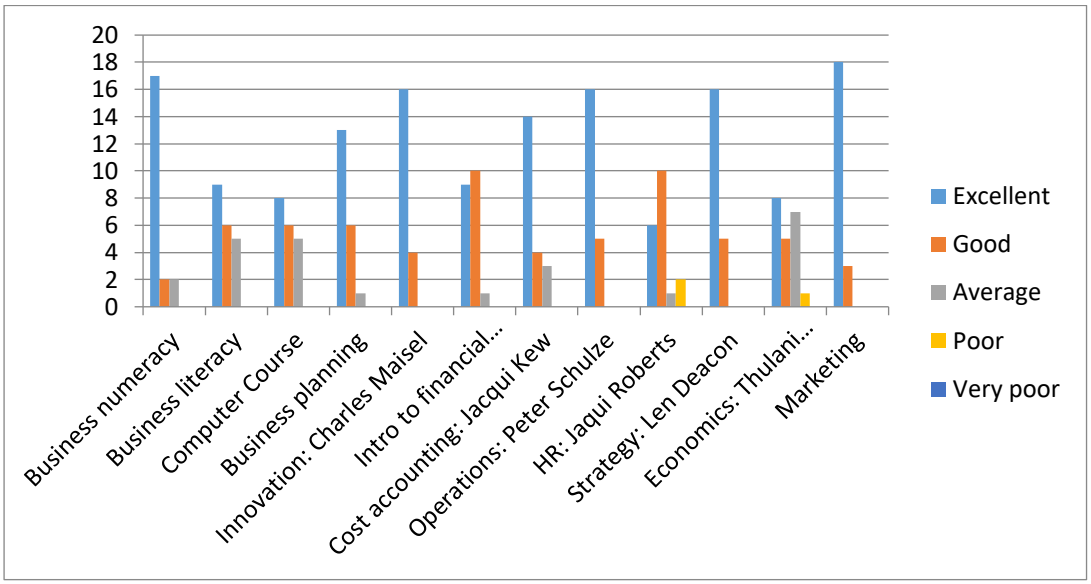
	Date	Lecture 1	Lecture 2	Lecture 3	Lecture 4
		09h00-10h30	11h00 - 12h30	13h00-14h30	15h00-16h30
Block 8	Monday	Business Numeracy	Effective Communications		
	Tuesday	Weekly Test	Effective Communications		
	Wednesday	Work Experience 2			
	Thursday	Financial Literacy	'Design Thinking' Ideation Session		
	Friday	Accounting Concepts 1	Entrepreneur Showcase - Guest Speaker		

Appendix 9: Course evaluations of business modules 2010 - 2015

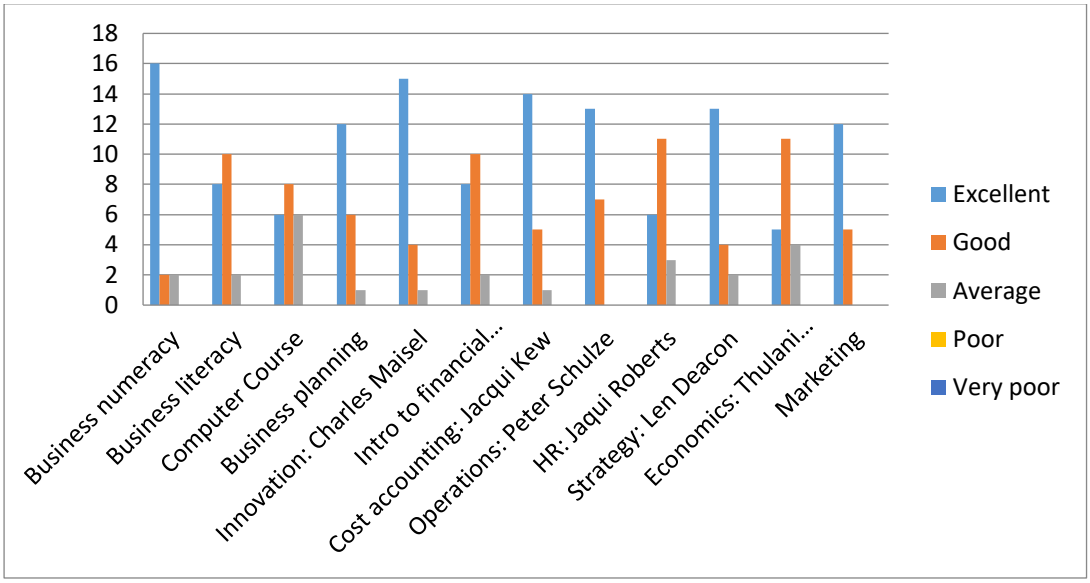
July 2010



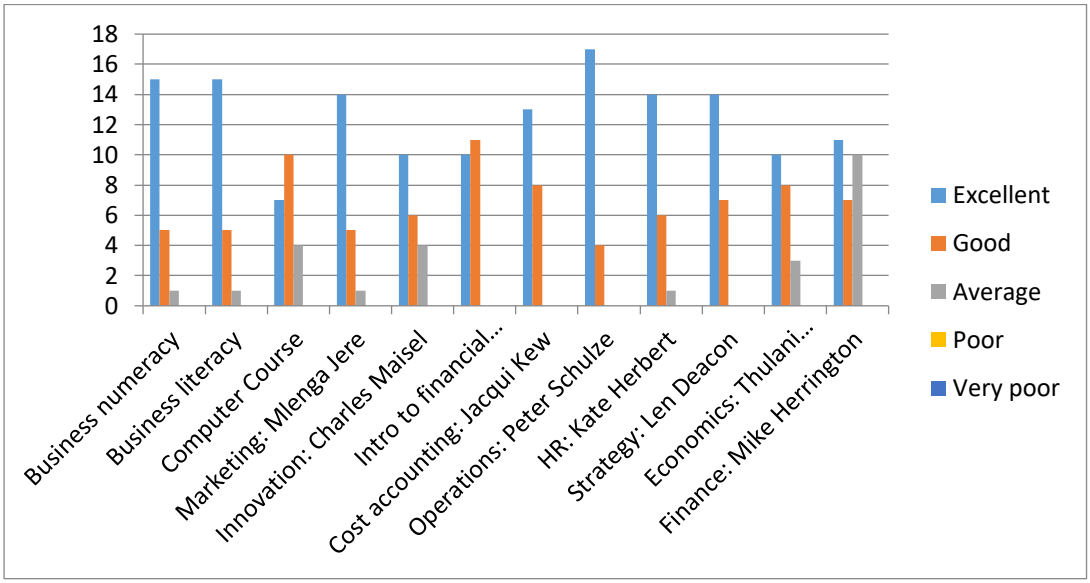
January 2011



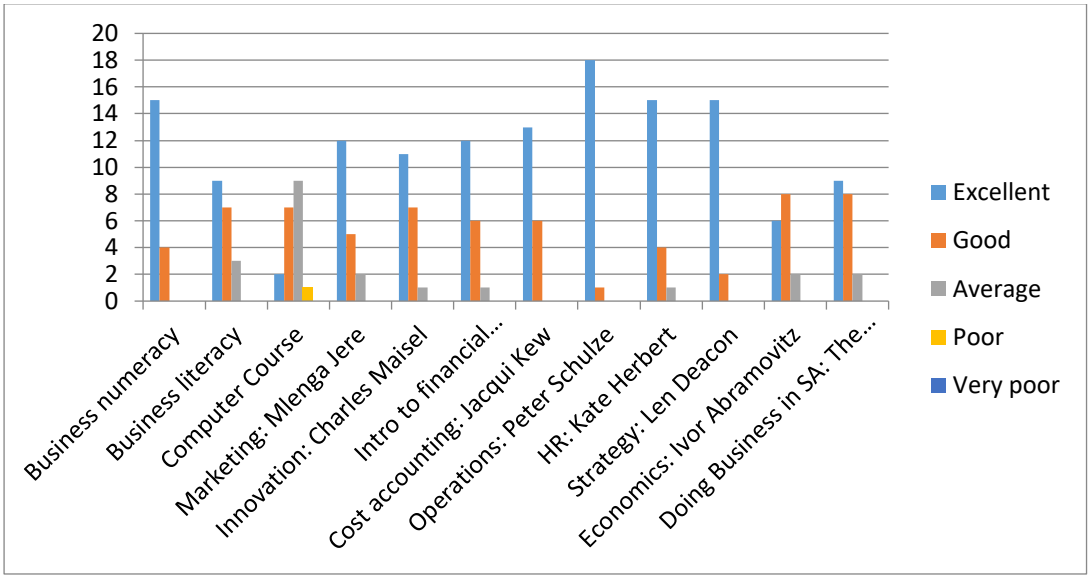
July 2011



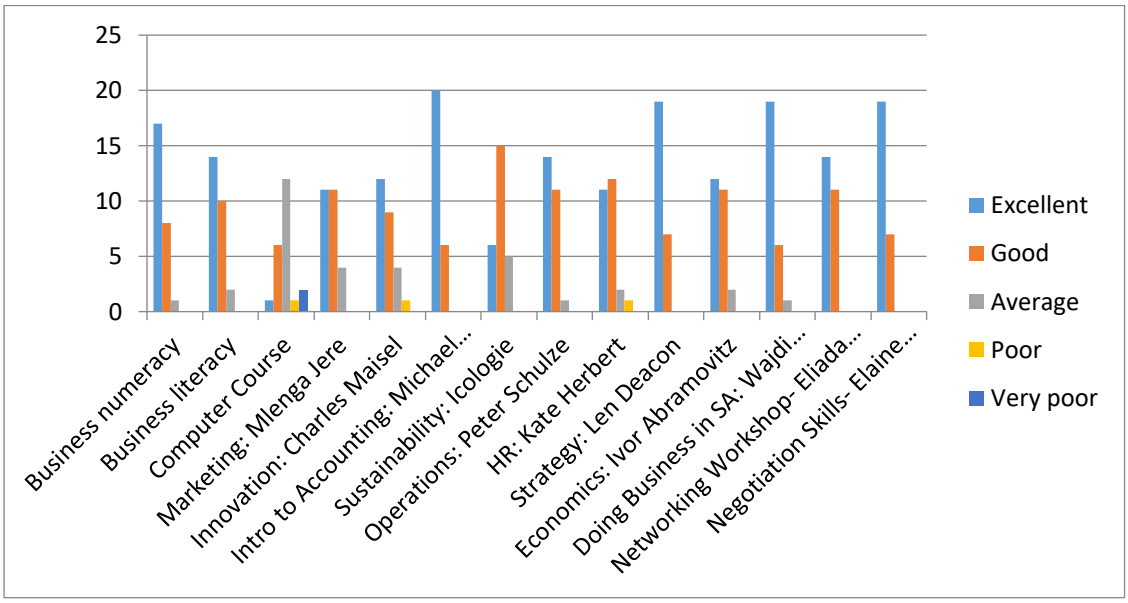
January 2012



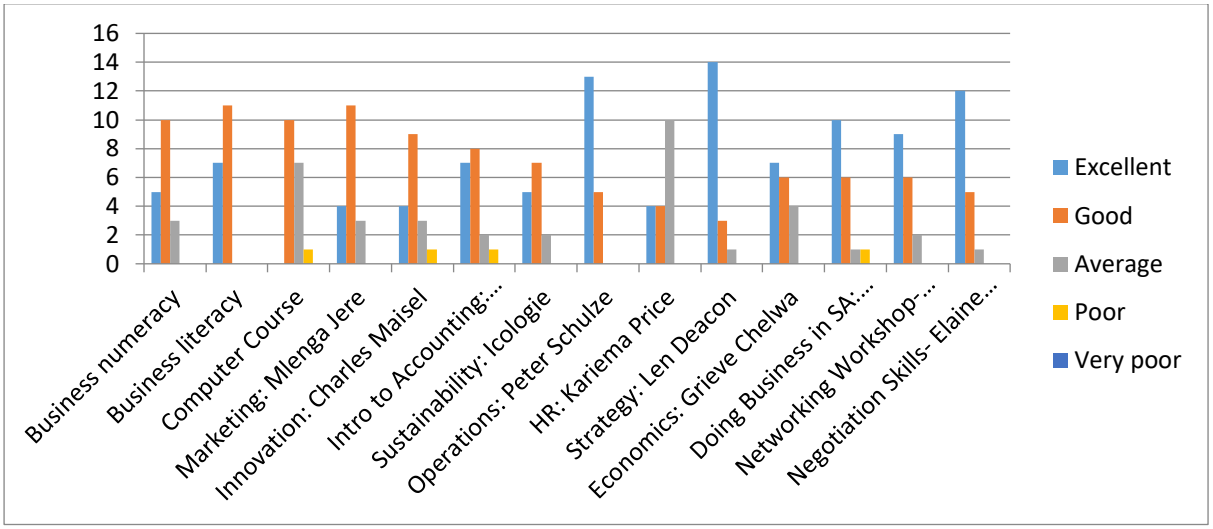
July 2012



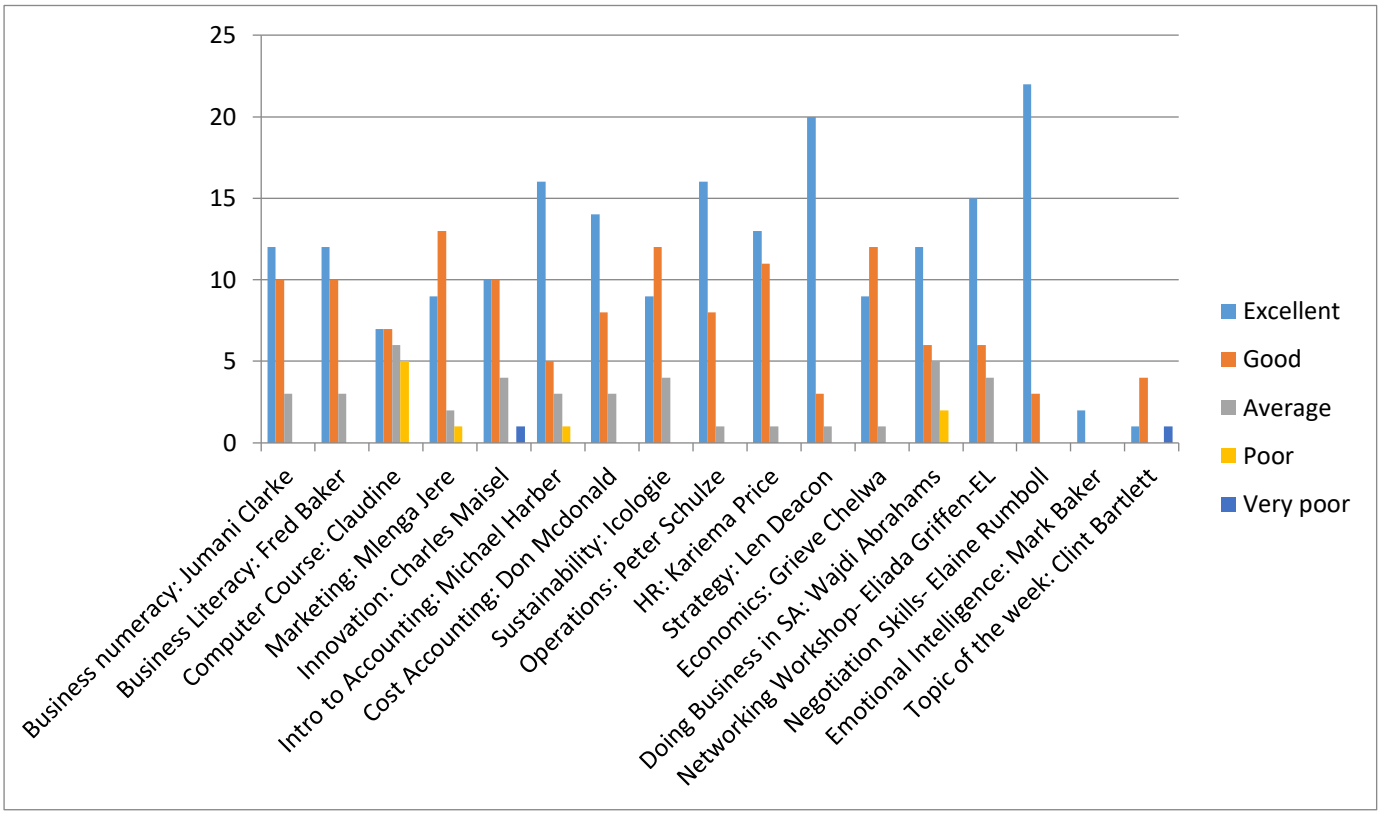
January 2013



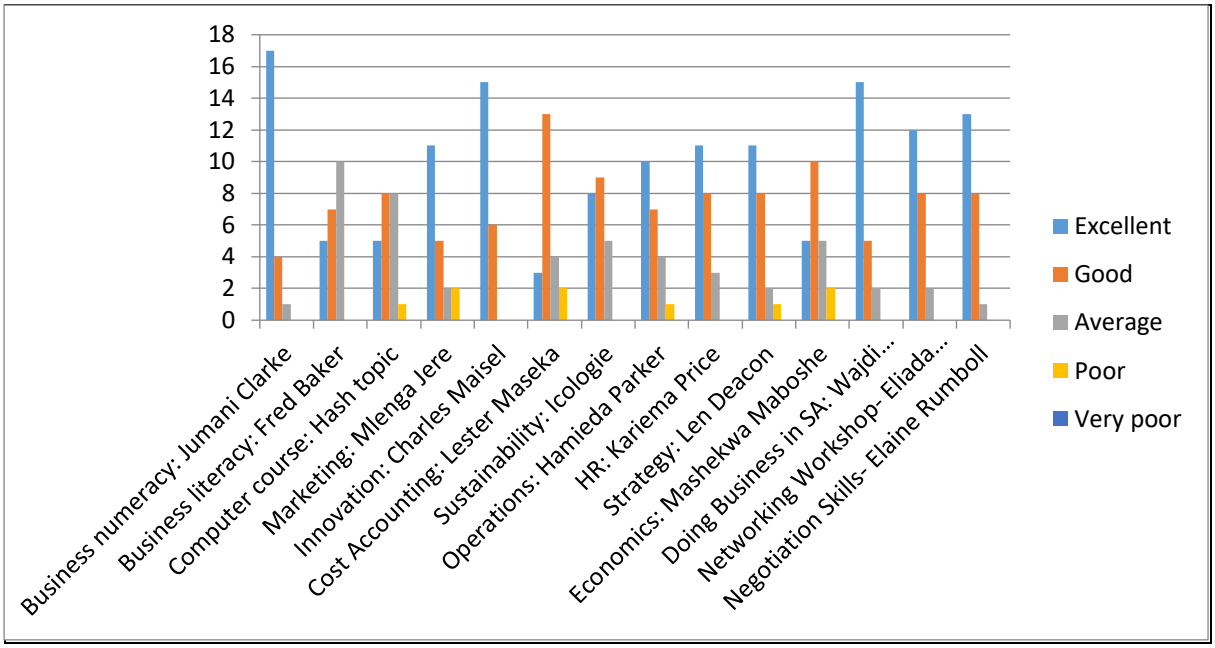
July 2013



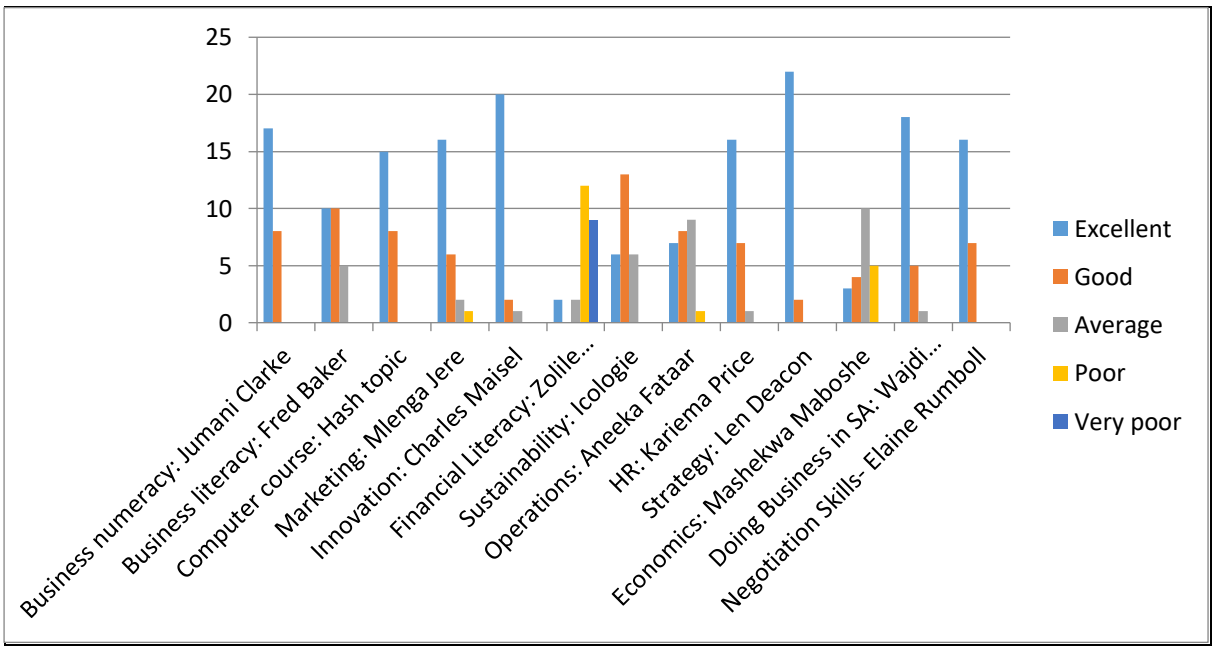
January 2014



July 2014



January 2015



Appendix 10: Interview rubrics for non-selected participants

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Assessment – Selection for January 2015

Interviewer Name: NOTACC2

Candidate Name: _____

Factors for Assessment:	VERY POOR	POOR TO FAIR	AVERAGE TO GOOD	VERY GOOD TO EXCELLENT
Business idea: is it clear & understandable or selling skills		✓		
Entrepreneurial spirit		✓		
Real interest in the programme and upskilling themselves / desire to learn		✓		
Attitude (appropriate behaviour and should not display a sense of entitlement)	✓			
Degree of professionalism e.g. how they answered questions, presented themselves, respectful manner	✓			
Level of interest stimulated by interview	✓			
Final Decision (Yes/No)				(N)

General comments from assessor: (If applicable)

- a device to help you express your mood when you walk into a store.
- knows how to design clothes / used to ask people how much they would pay + lowered it.
- took very long to answer questions
- develop his skills. → what did he do wrong on his that failed.
- develop as a person

would take R20000 studies over.

broke up. because competing for customers.

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Assessment – Selection for July 2014

Interviewer Name: NOTACC3

Candidate Name: _____

Factors for Assessment:	VERY POOR	POOR TO FAIR	AVERAGE TO GOOD	VERY GOOD TO EXCELLENT
Business idea: is it clear & understandable or selling skills	✓			
Entrepreneurial spirit	✓			
Real interest in the programme and upskilling themselves / desire to learn			✓	
Attitude (appropriate behaviour and should not display a sense of entitlement)			✓	
Degree of professionalism e.g. how they answered questions, presented themselves, respectful manner			✓	
Level of interest stimulated by interview		✓		
Final Decision (Yes/No)				(N)

General comments from assessor: (If applicable)

- open a tuckshop or hair salon.
- RAA to learn more about business has business @ home
- count the stock
- not an entrepreneur → wants to be a CEO

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Assessment – Selection for July 2014

Interviewer Name: NOTACC4

Candidate Name: _____

Factors for Assessment:	**VERY POOR**	**POOR TO FAIR**	**AVERAGE TO GOOD**	**VERY GOOD TO EXCELLENT**
Business idea: is it clear & understandable or selling skills	✓			
Entrepreneurial spirit	✓			
Real interest in the programme and upskilling themselves / desire to learn		✓		
Attitude (appropriate behaviour and should not display a sense of entitlement)		✓		
Degree of professionalism e.g. how they answered questions, presented themselves, respectful manner		✓		
Level of interest stimulated by interview		✓		
Final Decision (Yes/No)				N

General comments from assessor: (If applicable)

- aftercare
- learn more about business
- interacting with people.

passionate + determined.

sweet but no.

RAYMOND ACKERMAN
ACADEMY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT

Assessment – Selection for July 2014

Interviewer Name: NOTACC 5

Candidate Name: _____

Factors for Assessment:	**VERY POOR**	**POOR TO FAIR**	**AVERAGE TO GOOD**	**VERY GOOD TO EXCELLENT**
Business idea: is it clear & understandable or selling skills		X		
Entrepreneurial spirit		X		
Real interest in the programme and upskilling themselves / desire to learn			X	
Attitude (appropriate behaviour and should not display a sense of entitlement)			X	
Degree of professionalism e.g. how they answered questions, presented themselves, respectful manner			X	
Level of interest stimulated by interview		X		
Final Decision (Yes/No)				N

General comments from assessor: (If applicable)

- loves writing (talks a lot) tshirt "I can do it"
  → positive messages "I'm excellent"
- we have to choose me to give back to community.

entrep. "collides"

so she can run organis, clothing, writing

wants to do social work 2015

-wants to be made a better person + give back

Note: NOTACC1 interview rubric not available

Appendix 11: Participant interview responses - One word to describe the RAA programme

INCOMP1:	Awesome or should I say raawesome
INCOMP2:	I feel that every young person should go through a course like this
INCOMP3:	It was epic man, it was epic ENT1: Awesome
INCOMP4:	It's a program that I think each and every young aspiring entrepreneur must go and attend or apply for
INCOMP5:	Anything is possible if you put your heart in it
WORK1:	Character building
WORK2:	The best thing that happened to me
WORK3:	Extra ordinary
WORK4:	A life changing experience
WORK5:	It's a complete project
WORK6:	Awesome is the first one and great, fantastic I won't forget that, exciting, hectic, I'm on 5 now already? Epic, sometimes, I do not know, I can't go on just awesome, one big awesome, not a small one, one big awesome.
WORK7:	The balance
WORK8:	It changed my life
WORK9:	Life transforming programme
WORK10:	A life changing opportunity
ENT2:	Your foundation
ENT3:	An extra ordinary, life changing
ENT4:	Empowering
ENT5:	Thank you RAA for making me who I am today, I wouldn't be here today if it was not for you.
ENT6:	I am very very grateful for RAA
ENT7:	It builds you up as a person
ENT9:	It really changed my life, like drastically it changed my life
ENT8:	Powerful, it's a religion slash culture. RAA is basically a potjiekos
ENT10:	Personal development
ENT11:	Refining or defining