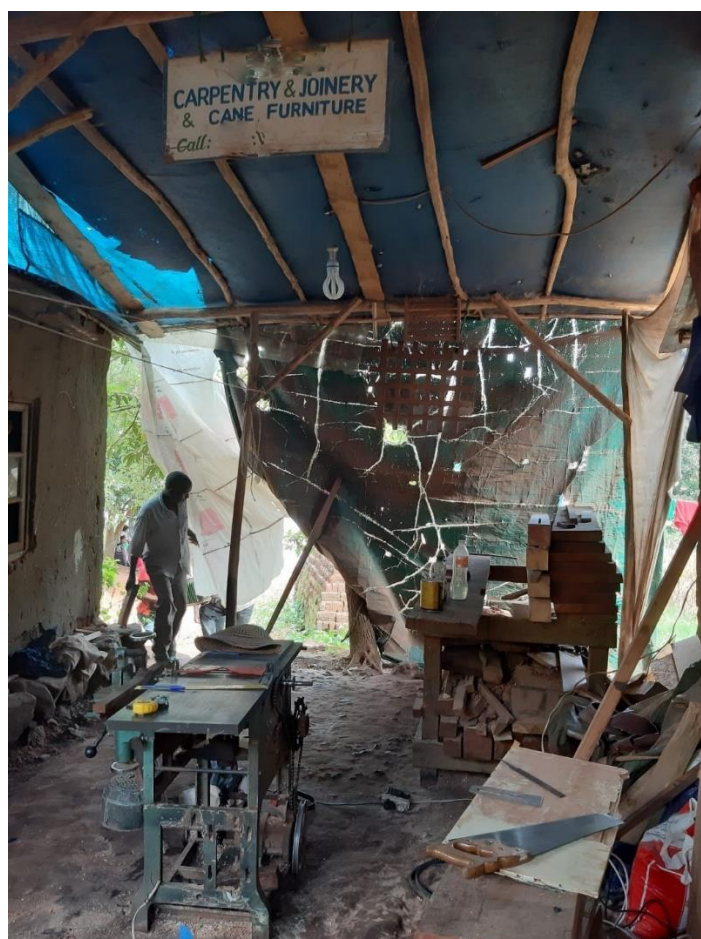


Youth and their basic needs: a house divided cannot stand?

The influence of kinship relations on the basic need provision of youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust.



*Workplace of a graduate of The Samaritan Trust
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Table of content

Chapter 1: Introduction	2
Introduction of The Samaritan Trust and its vocational skills program.....	3
<i>Vocational skills programs</i>	4
Research question and the structure of the thesis	7
Methodology.....	8
Chapter 2: The socio-economic situation for youth in Malawi and vocational skills programs	11
The concept of youth	11
Socio-economic dynamics	12
Waithood	15
Vocational skills.....	17
Conclusion	20
Chapter 3: Access to basic needs	21
Meeting basic needs?.....	21
<i>Safe drinking water and food</i>	22
<i>Other material basic needs</i>	24
<i>Personal development</i>	26
Who claims to take responsibility for basic needs provision?	28
Conclusion	30
Chapter 4: the influence of kinship ties	31
Kinship relations in academic literature.....	32
<i>Defining kinship</i>	32
<i>Relevance of focusing on kinship</i>	33
The influence of kinship ties after graduation	34
<i>Relying on kinship ties</i>	35
<i>The church and friendships</i>	36
<i>No kinship to rely on</i>	38
Conclusion	39
Chapter 5: Discussion and conclusion	40
Discussion.....	40
Conclusion	41
Bibliography	43

Chapter 1: Introduction

At the beginning of 2019, I went to Malawi for a 7-weeks internship at The Samaritan Trust and to conduct 5 weeks of fieldwork for my research. The internship has enabled me to increase my understanding of the organization and extend my network within the organization before starting the research. During the research, I have talked to several youth who had graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust, to answer my research question; *How do kinship relations influence the basic needs provision of youth who have recently graduated from one of the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust?*

This first chapter introduces The Samaritan Trust as an organization and addresses vocational skills programs, both in general and specific of The Samaritan Trust. Then the structure of this thesis is introduced, followed up by the methodology.

Introduction of The Samaritan Trust and its vocational skills program

The Samaritan Trust is a registered Non - Governmental Organization. Their vision is to create a chance and choice for street children and youth at risk, which is obtained by providing safe shelter and opportunity for self – sustainable development. The Samaritan Trust was founded in 1993, by a local Malawian called Jervase Chakumodzi. Currently, the property of the organization contains 4 hostels for the children to sleep, classrooms, workshops, sports field and multi-purpose hall. The Samaritan Trust aims to provide street children and youth with basic necessities such as safe shelter and food. Enrolment in school or a vocational skills program is another important part of the organization. Depending on their academic aptitude, some children or youth are enrolled in primary or secondary school. Most of the youth at The Samaritan Trust are a bit older; they are enrolled in one of the several vocational skills programs. ¹

The youth that attend these programs from The Samaritan Trust, are not solely former street youth; the programs include youth that are at risk. The organization recruits local youth in different manners. A vast amount of youth at risk comes from the Nancholi Youth Organization (NAYO). This organization has multiple youth clubs in the surroundings of Blantyre. In these youth clubs, local youth support each other and learn from each other. NAYO knows the youth well and selects youth to attend a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust. These youth need to pay to attend the program, unless it is not possible for

¹ Partly adjusted, from the non-published EU report, written by M., the director of The Samaritan Trust

their families to pay, then arrangements are made with The Samaritan Trust. This is in contrast with youth who come to The Samaritan Trust from the streets; this is still the biggest group of youth that The Samaritan Trust caters to, and they obtain among others shelter, food, clothing and free education from The Samaritan Trust.

The implicit understanding is that vocational skills programs provide youth with chances for jobs, and thus to build their own life and become independent in their provision of basic needs. However, in the case of The Samaritan Trust, it can be questioned if partaking in vocational skills programs and becoming independent are linked directly in this manner. Due to the socio-economic situation in Malawi, it is difficult to become independent for youth; many are caught up by waithood. That is why The Samaritan Trust places importance on kinship ties; such ties can be a necessity for youth in waithood. Independence for basic needs provision might take time to achieve.

Vocational skills programs

The Samaritan Trust offers several vocational skills programs, in which youth can learn a certain skill. These programs focus on gaining a lot of practical experience. Across the whole continent of Africa, there are many different institutions that offer vocational skills training. These trainings can both take place in a formal and informal way, which means that the provision can differ a lot per provider (Filmer and Fox, 2014). In chapter 2, I will elaborate on the opportunities and challenges of vocational skills programs in general and those of The Samaritan Trust in specific.

The Samaritan Trust aims to empower youth by providing the possibility to learn a vocational skill. These youths have often left school at some point. Now, they are educated for certain work as a means of poverty reduction. The Samaritan Trust offers different programs, which also differ over time. For 2019, the vocational skills programs that are being given are bricklaying, tailoring, plumbing and electrical installation. For other years: among others carpentry and joinery; painting and decoration were offered by The Samaritan Trust. This was not organized this year because of money shortages. The decision for what program a person follows is made together with the person and The Samaritan Trust. The Samaritan Trust assesses what is reasonable. As it is the goal of The Samaritan Trust to reintegrate youth with their family, it is important that the vocational program fits with the local circumstances. For example, concerning the availability of electricity.

Often tools are needed to be able to find work. After graduation, people are given toolboxes to share with each other. These toolboxes are placed in central places, where up to 10 people work with the same toolbox. In this way, they can work together; The Samaritan Trust does not have to provide a toolbox for every single person. Some graduates might be provided with a recommendation letter or a small starting job.

As the socio-economic climate that the youth move into is difficult, which will be elaborated upon in the next chapter, The Samaritan Trust has the expectation that youth

are not immediately self-sufficient after their graduation. M., the director of The Samaritan Trust, states that after graduation the difficult part starts. The idea is that the training provides youth with chances, a starting point. The Samaritan Trust has a complex image of this; becoming independent and finding a job takes time and a lot of effort, according to M. She acknowledges the remaining dependency of youth on kinship ties; part of the program of The Samaritan Trust is to reintegrate youth with their kin. Dependency on kin after graduating is thus not seen as failure, but as a necessity for most to become independent in their own basic needs provision in the long run. Concerning this point, the youth might have different expectations.

The Samaritan Trust does address some modest structural changes besides its vocational skills program. An example of this work is advocating a different approach of street youth in the Blantyre City Council, together with other organizations that shelter children and youth.

Summarizing, The Samaritan Trust empowers its graduates with skills and certificates. But the philosophy from The Samaritan Trust is that the youth are not the organizations' responsibility anymore after graduation. The organization provides a starting point, but the youth go further on their own strength, supported by their own kinship ties. Only if a person does not have any other ties to rely on, The Samaritan Trust takes on more responsibility to help that person, even after graduation.

Allais (2012) analyzed the relationship between vocational education and skills development and social policy in South Africa. She argues that the focus on a market of skills is based on a neoliberal approach; it says that when you work hard and master a skill, you can make it. This does not consider certain power relations and high unemployment rates and other barriers that people may face.

Furthermore, Allais (2012) emphasizes the importance of social policy. However, this kind of schooling or training is just not available to everyone in Malawi; there is no social policy that guarantees this for everyone. The Samaritan Trust is an NGO and is dependent on multiple donors for its funding. It provides free access to street youth, whilst youths from the community whose family can pay, must pay for the training. And even if more people had access to education or training, this does not imply the availability of work for everyone. Vally and Motala (2017) criticize the assumption that in a free market economy, an equilibrium will be reached where everyone is able to work. As will be addressed thoroughly in Chapter 2, the socio-economic situation in Malawi is rather challenging, especially for youths.

Kingombe (2011) wrote a paper that included lessons from experience with vocational training. He emphasized the importance of a national policy for technical and vocational education and training (TVET). Non-formal vocational training was previously seen as a second-class option. However, it is now seen more as offering the opportunity to become an entrepreneur; often in the informal side of the economy. The Samaritan Trust includes some classes in entrepreneurship to the youth following vocational skills training.

In addition, Kingombe (2011) emphasizes the importance of evaluations; the data from TVET in Africa lacks, making it difficult to make comparisons.

Tikly (2019) criticizes the linear relationship that is often attributed to skills development and economic development. He states that this does not take the complex reality into account. Savage (2017) also addresses this assumption that if you build up human capital, the economic productivity of that person will increase. He criticizes the neoliberal assumption that, given the 'right' education or training, every individual can optimize their economic benefit in a competitive market. This assumption does not do justice to the complex reality, among others the context of that individual.

This academic debate invites for a broader look; what is vital for youth to provide in their basic needs? For many youths, kinship ties appeared to be of major importance. That is why this research looks at the importance of kinship ties and the dependency of youth on their kin for their basic needs provision.

Research question and the structure of the thesis

The central research question that this research addresses is: *How do kinship relations influence the basic needs provision of youth who have recently graduated from one of the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust?* The concepts that are addressed in this question, will be elaborated upon and analyzed in the chapters of this thesis.

A lot is written on limited possibilities for youth in Africa and the notion of 'waithood' (Honwana, 2012a; Honwana, 2014; Vigh, 2006; Christiansen, Utas and Vigh, 2006). The group that has been taught vocational skills at The Samaritan Trust has limited opportunities as well; this group includes former street youth and youth that are at risk. In a country with high rates of youth unemployment, it can be challenging to become independent; especially with limited schooling (Government of Malawi, 2017a). Chapter 2 will elaborate on the general socio-economic situation in Malawi. This chapter addresses the question: What does the general socio-economic situation in Malawi look like for youth who have graduated from a vocational skills program?

In the research proposal, a focus on livelihood strategies was proposed. However, this focus has changed to a focus on basic needs instead of livelihood strategies. The concept of livelihood strategies, as described by Chambers and Conway (1991) appears to focus more on how people strategize to use what they have, for example, a network or capabilities. A basic needs approach focuses more on the fulfillment of certain essential services for a minimum standard of living (Allen and Anzalone, 1981). This research will focus on basic needs, as it is challenging in Malawi, especially for a young person, to ensure their own basic needs (Government of Malawi, 2017a). Chapter 3 will be guided by the following question to address these challenges; Up to what extent are the basic needs of recently graduated youth met?

Furthermore, social ties are important, as literature has shown that youth who are transitioning to adulthood often do depend on their social network (Vigh, 2006; Honwana, 2012a). Hendriks (2015a) has addressed that people who migrated to Blantyre from rural areas remain depended on their social network. This research pays attention to the importance of kinship relations. Chapter 4 aims to answer the following question; how are kinship relations of youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program from The Samaritan Trust shaped?

In chapter 5, the research question will be answered, based on the different concepts and findings as addressed in the other chapters.

Methodology

Within this section, the different methods of data collection that have been used with this research will be described, as well as the target group. The people that I have talked to for this research were all 18 years of age or older. This research is not dependent on external sponsors, besides the scholarship I have obtained from the university. This indicates a certain degree of independence in this research. The different methods of data collection include academic literature, interviews, participating observation, informal talks, visiting people's workplaces, and producing socio-grams. The different methods that I have used for my research, ensure that my data collection is triangulated (Boeije, Hart and Hox, 2009). Within these different methods, the research focuses on youth of 18 years of age and older, because of limited experience as a researcher, sensitiveness of the topic and time constraints.

Naturally, I have used informed consent for my research. There was always somebody working for The Samaritan Trust accompanying me with all first contact with research participants. When we sat down to talk, I started by introducing the research and asked permission to use this information for my research. Sometimes I also asked if it would be okay to record it. I told people I would anonymize the information they put in, which I have done. The person accompanying me from The Samaritan Trust translated my introduction and question(s), to make sure that the research respondents knew what they agreed to and thus achieve informed consent. I choose to apply oral consent, to keep a low barrier of people talking to me.

As I do not speak Chichewa, I faced some difficulties concerning accessing youth; I was dependent on the help of others for translation. Besides translation, I was dependent on The Samaritan Trust to provide contact details of youth that I could talk to. I did not know any people who graduated from The Samaritan Trust beforehand. I had difficulty accessing people via the current youth who stay at The Samaritan Trust, as my position while doing my internship at The Samaritan Trust, was more as part of the staff members. I found it difficult to manage my position, as some of the youth who were attending vocational skills programs were older than I am. Because I came to The Samaritan Trust as part of my internship and keeping in mind certain attachment problems that orphanages have, I tried to manage my position by keeping a certain distance with the youth who were then residing at The Samaritan Trust. Lastly, I consider it a part of my personality that I can be shy and introvert in a new situation.

Due to constraints of time and resources, combined with difficulties with gaining access to the target group, I have talked to a limited group of people. This infers that the generalizability of my results is limited; it does not reach further than a part of the group that has graduated from the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust in 2017 and 2018.

As this research has an anthropological focus, it concentrates more on in-depth information and understanding of a limited group of participants. Limited time and resources did not permit me to talk thoroughly to all youths that graduated from The Samaritan Trust in 2017 or 2018. The selection of which youth to talk to has been made by people working or volunteering for The Samaritan Trust, based on the willingness and availability of the youths and location. Thus, the selection has not been random. Although the amount of people I have talked to is not a large enough number to make the gained information generalizable, this non-random selection method could skew the data I have obtained even more. This research also has a geographical focus on the area around Blantyre. One could question whether the outcomes could be as relevant in different geographical locations, where the youth who have graduated from The Samaritan Trust may end up.

Difficulties with accessing recently graduated youth include that youth needed to have a telephone, of which the number was known at The Samaritan Trust, in order to connect to them beforehand. Furthermore, the youth I have talked to, were mainly still depending on their kin; it is difficult for The Samaritan Trust to stay in contact with its graduates. Especially for youth who do not have kin to fall back on. If there is no physically fixed place and a phone number changes, it is rather challenging to stay in contact. This is different when The Samaritan Trust is familiar with the kin of the person; when their phone number or location remains the same, the graduated youth can likely still be accessed. Another prerequisite was that the person needed to be willing to talk to me. Some people stated that they did not want to talk to me when they were contacted by the people working or volunteering for The Samaritan Trust. Lastly, the youth also need to have the time to talk. This was especially relevant for those who were working or doing an attachment and were working full days. Despite the selection bias, I argue that this research is still valuable. It includes an in-depth analysis of qualitative data of a selection of the target group.

Concerning the interviews, I have addressed different youth who have graduated from the vocational skills programs from The Samaritan Trust. The focus was on youth who have graduated in 2017 or 2018, however, I have interviewed one person that graduated 10 years earlier. In total, I have interviewed 14 people, of which 8 had been living on the streets before coming to The Samaritan Trust, and 6 people were from the communities and still living with family. All these youth were 18 years of age or older, with the majority being in their twenties. I have also interviewed the executive director of The Samaritan Trust, about the organization. Furthermore, I have done participating observation at 3 youth clubs from NAYO, as NAYO selects some youths that can participate in the vocational skills programs and some youth that have graduated from a vocational skills program still go to the youth club meetings. I have done participating observations at different classes in 2 different vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust. This was insightful, as the teaching assistants had just graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust as well. I have also joined two girls in their daily life. Both graduated from The Samaritan Trust,

while living with their families and were still living there. I have visited two recently graduated boys at their workplace. I have done some informal visits to multiple people belonging to the target group, and I have retrieved 8 sociograms with explanations, from people I have interviewed, know from participating observations or had informal talks with. During these interviews, visiting youth clubs, and during informal visits, several people who work at The Samaritan Trust have joined me and have helped me with the translation and organization of this research. This has been of great help; I could not have done this research without them and I would like to thank them all a lot.

There were limitations concerning the gender dimension in my fieldwork. All the girls that I have talked to were not married yet and did not have small children that they needed to take care of. This does not seem to fit with the broader context of Malawi, where there is extensive population growth. Furthermore, only one of the girls I have interviewed had been living on the streets, the other girls were all staying with their family.

Beforehand, I planned to give research participants gifts to compensate them for their time and to thank them. However, this appeared to be difficult in practice at times; as I talked to many different people, and not often to the same persons, I was hesitant about what to do. At one point, I indicated to a person who helped me a lot that I wanted to buy some groceries for her. But she almost seemed offended by this. At another point, people indicated that they would like a contribution to start their own businesses. As I had limited resources, I choose in such cases to explain that I am a student and do not have the possibility to contribute to that. And from these limited resources, I also had to pay some money to the people working for The Samaritan Trust that helped me with translating. However, I did try to compensate the research participants in other ways. When a research participant had come to The Samaritan Trust with public transport, I compensated her for that. At another point, some people had walked rather far so that I could interview them. In this case, I bought some soda pops and snacks for them afterwards.

Concerning data storage, I have saved the files on my computer. I had a password on my laptop and made regular back-ups on 2 coded USB-sticks. Unfortunately, my laptop crashed, but I could borrow a laptop from M. When my own laptop was fixed again, I transferred the files back again to my laptop and made sure no data remained on the borrowed laptop. In the documentation of my data, I organized the files in different folders, to keep an overview. The raw data outcomes I have not shared with anyone, for the privacy of the research participants.

Within the different chapters, I try to substantiate my findings by data gained via different information gaining methods. More remarks on the scalability of this research as well as reflexivity on the impact of my identity will be addressed throughout this thesis.

Chapter 2: The socio-economic situation for youth in Malawi and vocational skills programs

There are several socio-economic dynamics in Malawi, such as population growth, youth unemployment, and rural-urban migration. In this chapter, I will elaborate on these general dynamics in Malawi and the impact these can have on youth who have graduated from vocational skills training at The Samaritan Trust. This is needed to answer the question that this chapter addresses; What does the general socio-economic situation in Malawi look like for youth who have graduated from a vocational skills program? This question will be answered based on (academic) literature, underwritten by data from my fieldwork.

This chapter will first briefly address the concept of youth. This is followed by several socio-economic dynamics in Malawi, that are of influence on recently graduated youth. The limited availability of socio-economic opportunities underwrites the relevance of the concept of 'waithood', which will be elaborated upon as well. Lastly, there will be an expansion on vocational skills programs both in general and of The Samaritan Trust.

The concept of youth

There is an extensive amount of literature available on the concept of youth in Africa. Honwana (2012a) describes the current situation of youth in Africa as one where youth are grappling to obtain a job and become independent; this is needed to build a life, own a house, get married, obtain social recognition. Youth can find themselves in a situation of waithood; they are no children who require care, but also not independent adults. They are waiting for their opportunity, their chance to become adults. Reaching adulthood and thus becoming independent is involuntarily delayed, while this phase of youth is prolonged. Honwana (2012a) even states that for some African youth, waithood could replace adulthood. However, at the same time, she addresses the transformative power of this state of waithood; the youth understand the need for social changes. Lastly, she addresses the influence of gender on the duration of youth; when girls marry and become mothers, they often become adults; wife and mother are perceived as adult roles.

Van Dijk et al. (2011) address how unclear African youth as a concept is; whether people are seen as children, youth or adults, depends on their socio-economic status. Somebody can be in their 30s or older, but still depend on others and therefore still not seen as an adult. At the same time, others can be 14 years of age or younger and seen as an adult, when they have to take care of a whole family. As there is no clear demarcation of youth, the concept is rather fuzzy; its definition can also shift per situation, which makes the concept only more complex. Honwana (2012a) underwrites the fuzziness of the concept of youth, with the importance of age and social position, but no fixed boundaries. For this

research, youth are approached as young people who are stuck in a phase of dependency and face difficulty to become fully independent and self-sufficient.

Socio-economic dynamics

There are several dynamics that are of influence on youth and the status of waithood in Malawi. This chapter will elaborate on the following dynamics: rural-urban migration, population growth and youth unemployment (Rohregger, 2006, Honwana, 2012b; Government of Malawi, 2017b).

Firstly, rural-urban migration is of influence on the socio-economic status of youth. In 2018, about 84% of the Malawian population lived in rural areas (National Statistical Office; 2018). However, Malawi is rapidly urbanizing, with an urban growth rate of 3.77% (Government of Malawi, 2017a). Honwana (2014) states that the declining job opportunities in rural areas have led to an increase in rural-urban migration in the search for jobs, but that employment chances are limited in urban areas as well. Hendriks (2015a, p. 32) states the following:

“Poverty in the rural parts of Malawi makes people flock to town in search of jobs, yet many of them end up in similar or even worse economic situations, (...)”.

Rural-urban migration; from Chikwawa to Blantyre

In my research, I have talked to youth who went from rural sides to the city of Blantyre to find work. This was for example the case with Henry, who was during my fieldwork working as a teaching assistant at The Samaritan Trust. I interviewed him and we talked at numerous other points in time. He told me he came to The Samaritan Trust in 2014 and graduated in from bricklaying in grade 2 in 2017. During his time at The Samaritan Trust, he also went back to high school. In March 2019, he was 25 years old. Henry told me he went to the big city to earn money, which could help his family, living in a rural area in the province of Chikwawa. His parents had stimulated him to go to the streets of Blantyre; his mother had given him money to board the minibus to Blantyre, as the family was living in a rural area. When he first went to Blantyre, he did not know any people there, and if The Samaritan Trust had not taken him in, he probably would have slept on the streets. On the second of April, we went together to Chikwawa, to meet up with 4 other guys he knew that did vocational skills at The Samaritan Trust. All of them were living with their families and indicated that they sometimes did not have enough food. They also appeared to have difficulty finding jobs; all of them did some piece work, but none of them had a stable job within their vocational skills training.

Lack of infrastructure; electricity

Finding jobs in a rural setting can be difficult. For example, with a lack of infrastructure, such as electricity. Agnes, who was living in a semi-rural area with her family, had experience with this. I visited her in her family's home on the 28th of March. Even though her family's house had access to electricity, she stated that the electricity was more often not working than that it was working. Consequently, Agnes could for the most part of the time not use the electrical tailoring machine, which she had gotten from beneficiaries. Because of this, she started a small business selling other things, instead of working within the vocational skills program that she had done; tailoring.

The second dynamic that influences youth and their socio-economic status, is the extensive growth of the Malawian population. According to the National Statistical Office (2018), Malawi has had an average population growth of 2.9% between 2008 and 2018. The Government of Malawi (2017b) states that the population has quadrupled from 1966 up to 2017. As the economy of Malawi is largely agricultural-based and consists of many subsistence farmers, the growing population creates pressure on the land. This is because more and more people depend on the same piece of land, while the productivity or yield of the field does not increase at the same pace as the number of people depending on the field. Rohregger (2006) states that the already existing pressure on the land and its division, which increases because of the fast population growth, creates difficulties for people to acquire work. The Government of Malawi (2017b) addresses the negative impact of climate change and extreme weather on agricultural production. This pressure on land was addressed during my fieldwork; when visiting Chikwawa on the second of April with Henry, the 4 guys we have talked to all stated that they were partly depending on farming, besides other piece work they did. One of them stated that he could only work on the land of others to obtain money, hinting at the land scarcity that Rohregger (2006) described. This extensive population growth reinforces the land scarcity, a high urbanization rate, and because of this extensive population growth, there is a vast amount of young people. This relatively young population that is searching for jobs leads to the next challenge; youth unemployment.

The last dynamic that is of influence on waithood is youth unemployment; this is especially worrisome as a major part of the population consists of youth; 51% of the Malawian population is aged below 18 years of age and roughly 70% of the population is aged below 30 (National Statistical Office; 2018). Honwana (2014) states that the declining job opportunities in rural areas have led to an increase in rural-urban migration in the search for jobs, but that employment chances are limited in urban areas as well. Because of limited job opportunities, waithood appears to become a more long-term state of being. Honwana (2014) even argues that it could slowly replace adulthood. Waithood will be addressed later in this chapter.

The majority of the people that I have talked to were not working a fulltime job. Some were having small businesses by themselves or doing small piece work. There were

only 4 recently graduated youth that I have talked to that did have a job, it was in half of the cases an unpaid or little paying internship or attachment.

Unpaid attachment, paid jobs and dependency

Kondwani for example has graduated from the carpentry and joinery program in 2017. During my fieldwork, he was working in a workplace as some sort of attachment, and I visited him on March 22nd. His boss stated that he had been doing good work, which was the reason why he was still here after a year. However, Kondwani did not get paid for his work. When asked how he managed, he stated that his boss provided him with a little bit of money, so he could pay rent and buy food.

The youth that had paid jobs, where those working for The Samaritan Trust as teaching assistants, for example, Henry as elaborated upon before. However, even the youth that were working, were in most cases still living with family and (partly) depending on them. Henry stated he was living with his older brother now, who had moved to Blantyre. From the talks, it also appeared that even with kinship support, and the equipment, it was still difficult to work on the domain of vocational skills.

This for example became clear with the case of Agnes; local well-wishers had paid for an electrical sewing machine for her. Even though she was living with her parents, had the support of local well-wishers, had had vocational skill training at The Samaritan Trust, and lived in a house that was connected to the electricity network, she was still facing difficulty to obtain something for herself.

On March 22nd, I have talked to a group of youth, 3 girls and 2 boys, who had all recently graduated from The Samaritan Trust. All of them appeared to be frustrated with the situation of dependency they were in; they were all still living with their parents and did not have paying jobs. From these multiple examples, it becomes obvious that most of the people I have talked to did not have a stable job or income. Because of this, they were often depending on their kinship for several needs.

The availability of cheap liquor was a problem as well. Steve, one of the vocational skills teachers of The Samaritan Trust, was joining me to meet up with some graduates on March 28th. We saw a lot of youth on the street when walking to different places to meet these graduates. Steve told me that these youth are often just drinking or smoking and not working. This combination of the frustration about limited job opportunities, dependency on others and the availability of cheap liquor, seems like a vicious circle, a phase where youth cannot escape from; waithood. In the next section, the concept of waithood will be addressed.

Waithood

As established before, extensive population growth, youth unemployment and rural-urban migration are of influence on the status of waithood. Waithood is, according to Honwana (2012a), the difficulty that some youth experience in their transition into adulthood; they are stuck in a phase of dependency on family and social network and cannot build a future for themselves. Honwana (2012b, p. 22-23) states the following about the transition into adulthood in Africa;

'In many societies, initiation rituals generally conferred on young men the right to be accepted among adults, receive land, leave the parental home, and marry; they offered young women the means to become good wives and mothers. For both men and women, marriage was a crucial step in a ritualized journey to adulthood.'

In this citation, Honwana addresses the gendered dimension of adulthood; for men, reaching adulthood means obtaining land and work and therewith some sort of financial independence, which is needed to get married. For women, adulthood means getting married and/or getting children.

Several girls that I have talked to were talking about founding small businesses themselves, studying or were frustrated with not having a job. On the 15th of February, I joined a youth club meeting, where girls stated that they were facing difficulty in their work; one girl stated that people thought they could work in technical settings. Another girl stated that a man had requested her to sleep with him for her to get her payment. Both these girls have followed a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust. It is important to note that, especially concerning this gender aspect, this research has only addressed a limited group of girls. This group may not be representative of all the girls that attend vocational skills programs at The Samaritan Trust. M. has stated that for The Samaritan Trust, girls on the street are a difficult group to target; there is also less room to provide girls with shelter than boys (The Samaritan Trust, S. A.)

The majority of the people I have interviewed or spoken to were boys. None of the boys that I have spoken to, were fully self-sufficient in their full basic need provision. Multiple youths were frustrated by their position. This frustration appeared to be the same for the boys and girls I have talked to; in several cases, the girls, who were often in their twenties, stated their worries about finding work, not about finding a husband.

Vigh (2006) states that resources are needed for the transfer into adulthood. I found this in my fieldwork as well; youth need resources to be able to become independent. One clear example could be the need for toolboxes; youth who graduate from vocational skills programs usually get a (shared) toolbox after graduation. This enables them to work in a team of recent graduates. However, the toolboxes of graduates of 2018 had not been

handed out yet during my fieldwork. Many of the youth addressed their concerns and needs about the toolbox to me; these toolboxes are needed to be able to get work.

Importance of toolboxes

On the 22nd of March, I visited among others Percy, who had graduated from plumbing in 2018. He described that it costs a lot of money to rent somebody's toolbox when you have gotten a job. It is so expensive, that even if he gets a job, he loses a lot of money because of the rent; the lack of a toolbox is making it more difficult for him to do piece work. To be able to work and become an adult, he needs to have a toolbox. And to get a toolbox, he needs resources, which he does not have; he is stuck, waiting to get out of this circle.

Christiansen et al (2006) address youth, despite the difficulties they face and the possible status of waithood, still as active actors. In my fieldwork however, I have talked to multiple people who were frustrated about their status of waithood; they seemed frustrated with not having work, and they stated that The Samaritan Trust had the responsibility to find them jobs. I found this conflicting with Christiansen, with youth as active actors, versus youth who expect that their former school provides them with jobs. There was some criticism on this; for example, from Davis, who was currently working as a teaching assistant for The Samaritan Trust. On the 22nd of March, Davis accompanied me to talk to some graduates. Davis had graduated himself in 2017 from The Samaritan Trust, in plumbing. He stated that he had put in a lot of effort to find a job, walking into town every day. He said he disagreed with people who thought their school should find them a job, and who kept waiting for the job to come to them.

As there is a high unemployment rate, there is competition for jobs in Malawi. In multiple cases, people needed to be doing unpaid internships or attachments for a longer period of time to be able to get a job. This happened on multiple levels of society; for example, to two well-educated people who were doing full-time volunteering work at The Samaritan Trust, before being able to get a paid job there. This also appeared to be the case at NAYO, where Jimmy stated he had done 2 years of unpaid volunteering work there before obtaining a paid job. This can also be seen at Kondwani, as introduced earlier in this chapter; he worked full-time as some sort of attachment but did not receive a salary. However, he did not really have another option. Taking the high youth unemployment rate and limited chances for youth into account, the next section will elaborate upon the contributing value of vocational skills programs.

Vocational skills

This section will look more in detail to the vocational skills programs, and their opportunities and challenges within the existing socio-economic situation. Vocational skills in Africa are broad; the term entails many different types of education and could reach from college level to informal attachments. Bhuwane (2006) states that vocational skills are increasingly integrated into African education at different levels and both in the formal and non-formal sectors. He also addresses the change in perception of vocational skills; it is no longer seen as a second option but seen as effective and an alternative to secondary and university education. And it is often combined with an apprenticeship. With the vocational skills program, youth learn a certain set of skills. In Malawi, youth can also study vocational skills at university level.

The vocational skills program from The Samaritan Trust could be seen as an application of the capabilities approach of Amartya Sen; the vocational skills program enables youth who have limited chances or are at risk, to increase their knowledge and skills. Because of their poverty, these youths are deprived of their freedom to achieve what they want to achieve. The vocational skills program provides an opportunity for these youth to achieve something they find important. This could otherwise be difficult to achieve, for example with the high expenses of schooling; it might be out of their reach to do other schooling. It provides the freedom to achieve schooling, and the implicit understanding is that this provides opportunities for life. However, as established before, this direct link can be questioned, which could indicate that the capabilities approach is only partly applicable to the situation of youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007).

At the Samaritan Trust, the certification is officially registered, although it is based on work in the informal economy. As between 2017 and 2018, the organization switched from the Trade Test to TEVET certification, there were some difficulties in this switch. The youth that should have graduated in 2018, were not allowed to take the final test; this would take place in June. This meant that the group from 2018 was not graduated yet during the time of my fieldwork. Many of the people that I have talked to, did not have a job after graduating from The Samaritan Trust. However, this might also be the highly-competitive job market in Malawi, where several people need to do unpaid attachments or volunteering work before obtaining a paid job.

Some developments within The Samaritan Trust have occurred over the past year. Firstly, The Samaritan Trust aims for youth to stay a shorter period at the institution than they did before. M., the executive director, has stated in an interview that this shift was initiated because of multiple reasons, among others the increasing global outcry against institutional care. The global outcry against institutional care contains the growing critique on institutions that keep children for a relatively long period, in a setting that is not like a family but as an institution. This has a negative impact on children or youth in several ways. Van IJzendoorn et al. (2011)

state that this is because, in such an institutional environment, children are often at least deprived of family life or a long-term stable relationship with caregivers. According to M., when the youth stayed longer at The Samaritan Trust, they felt more like The Samaritan Trust had a responsibility towards them than their own families. And they got used to the relatively good circumstances at the organization compared to their families. M. stated however that it is important that where possible, families do carry the responsibility for the youth, not The Samaritan Trust.

The reduction of funding poses another reason to shorten the time youth spend at The Samaritan Trust. The Samaritan Trust has been struggling with an increasingly tough donor climate. This has made it more difficult to support large groups of youth for a longer period, especially when some of the youth have other people they could rely on. The increasing difficulty to obtain donors has been addressed in academic literature (Arhin, Kumi and Adams, 2018; Elbers and Arts, 2011).

A second organizational development is a shift in the target group of The Samaritan Trust; before, there was a focus solely on street children. This has changed over time to a focus that includes vulnerable youths from the communities, as a more preventive measure. Within the organization, no division is made between the youth from the communities and those from the street. Besides the broadening of the focus to include vulnerable youth from the communities, another shift on the target group has taken place; The Samaritan Trust has in the last years focused more on youth than on (younger) children. According to M., there are other organizations that focus more on (younger) children. She also addresses that older youth are more aware of their limited chances and accept the chances that The Samaritan Trust provides. The younger children can get quite some donations on the street and often ran away from The Samaritan Trust. It is important to realize that youth is a fuzzy concept. It is not defined by somebody's age, but it depends on socio-economic status (Van Dijk et al., 2011).

The vocational skills program of The Samaritan Trust does face certain challenges. I have identified the following challenges; reintegration, limited effective demand, and gender challenges. These challenges will be elaborated upon in the upcoming paragraphs.

Concerning reintegration: The Samaritan Trust aims to reintegrate the youth back into their communities. Some youth come from rural areas and then opportunities might be limited; for example, the person from the youth clubs addressed that some people studied electrical installation at The Samaritan Trust, but they were living in an area that had no electricity. Now, this is watched more carefully, to prevent such situations.

An additional challenge that can limit the effectiveness of vocational skills programs, is limited effective demand within the sectors that youth are educated in for vocational skills. Some examples are, besides the example I just indicated from electricity, the lack of running water in a large part of the country. This limits plumbers, as work for them might be limited to certain geographical locations. Another challenge could be the effective demand,

in the way that not everybody may have the money to buy much furniture. It could be challenging to obtain enough demand for a product, as Malawi is a poor country, and the purchasing power of the demand might be limited.

Atchoarena and Delluc (2002) address that girls are often underrepresented in vocational education. This was the case at The Samaritan Trust; the majority of the youth at The Samaritan Trust were boys. However, where Atchoarena and Delluc (2002) state that girls often limited themselves to sectors or job that are typically occupied by women, this does not seem to be the case at The Samaritan Trust; girls also took part in bricklaying, electrical installation, plumbing, which are perceived as masculine jobs. However, it was stated that after graduation, some girls experienced intimidation on the work floor. In one of the youth club meetings, it was addressed that venturing sexual activities is one way in which people can obtain jobs.

Vocational skills program; success in the long term?

The vocational skills program can perhaps be seen as an opportunity for the long term. One of the last interviews I did, on April 5th, was with Umi, who graduated from The Samaritan Trust over 10 years ago. He told me that after graduating, even though he was a formal street kid, he went to live with his aunt. He was living there, not doing much for some years. At some point, he was further trained in the skills he required by the vocational skills program, by a man living in the neighborhood. Now Umi is in his middle-twenties, has his own workplace and his own house, where he lives with his girlfriend/wife and their small baby. For him, the vocational skills program appeared to be a starting point, on which he could build on later. However, this is only one case. Hendriks (2015b) stated that many of the youth that graduated from The Samaritan Trust that she knew were renting houses, living in the slum areas of Blantyre. This could indicate that the case of Umi is more of an exception than a commonality.

Conclusion

This chapter gives a general outline of the socio-economic situation in Malawi for youth. There are certain socio-economic dynamics of influence on youth and their chances to become adults; rural-urban migration, population growth, and youth unemployment. Quite some youth in Malawi are trapped in waithood; Malawi, in general, is a difficult socio-economic setting to work in or to start working in as a youth. The vocational skills program can provide an opportunity for youth who have graduated from The Samaritan Trust. There are several challenges though; reintegration in rural communities can bring along different circumstances. Limited effective demand can be challenging as well, and this can influence both rural and urban parts of the country. Lastly, gender challenges play an important role as well; even though The Samaritan Trust provides girls with the opportunity to learn vocational skills that are traditionally more seen as male, these girls do have to manage themselves in a workplace. The girls have a vulnerable position there and a number of girls were faced with sexual demands by managers.

Concluding, the general socio-economic situation in Malawi for youth is rather challenging, especially so for girls. A limited amount of youth has jobs. The youth that had jobs after graduating were proactive in their search for jobs and approached different organizations and companies. Many of the youth do face difficulty in their basic need provision and find themselves in a phase of dependency. In chapter 3, I will address the challenges youth phase in accessing basic needs, and in chapter 4, I will focus more on this dependency, which is often based on kin of these recently graduated youth.

Chapter 3: Access to basic needs

In the previous chapters, it was addressed that recently graduated youth face certain challenges, concerning the socio-economic situation for youth in Malawi and in specific for youth who have graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust. This chapter explores the following question; how are the basic needs of recently graduated youth met? This question will be addressed in the following manner; first, a definition of basic needs will be given. This is followed by an overview of up to which extent basic needs are met. And lastly, the different actors that ought to take up responsibility for youth in a broader, societal sphere will be addressed.

There are different definitions of basic needs. This research proposes the following definition, as already introduced in my research proposal. This definition of basic needs is by Allen and Anzalone (1981, p. 212) and has a focus on what is essential for a minimum standard of living:

“It seeks to create conditions whereby those people not now enjoying it can achieve a minimum standard of living- defined in terms of an individual's consumption of food, shelter, and clothing, and in terms of access to essential social services, including safe drinking water, sanitation, health care, public transport, and educational and cultural opportunities.”.

Meeting basic needs?

This chapter aims to address the different parts that basic needs consist of, as addressed by Allen and Anzalone. Because their definition contains many different aspects, I have grouped them into three categories, partly based on their coherency. These categories are:

- 1) Safe drinking water and food
- 2) Other material basic needs; this includes clothing, shelter and transport, sanitation and healthcare.
- 3) Personal development, which addresses education and cultural opportunities.

Safe drinking water and food

Access to safe drinking water and food is the first part of basic needs that this section will focus on. In their article, Adams and Smiley (2018) address the inequalities in water access in Malawi. According to the Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) of the UN, there was a difference in access to water when needed in rural and urban zones in Malawi; for 43% of the urban population, water was available when needed, when rural areas had this in 70% of the cases. Adams and Smiley (2018) try to explain this by the difference in how the water supply is arranged; they state that in rural areas, water boreholes are commonly used. These water boreholes face fewer constrictions in the availability of water than the communal water kiosks in the urban areas. The availability of water via this communal water kiosks is under pressure because of the low water pressure, due to electricity blackouts and leaking pipes. I have come across this in my fieldwork; at The Samaritan Trust itself, the water supplied by the Blantyre Water Board is both expensive and unreliable. When this water was not accessible, the students from The Samaritan Trust had to fetch water at the water borehole from The Samaritan Trust. This did, however, mean no running showers for example.

The availability importance of these water boreholes, even near to Blantyre City, appeared multiple times throughout my fieldwork. For example, while doing participant observation with Olivia and an interview with Mary.

Safe water

I visited Olivia at her house on March 20th. At some point, we were sitting down at the river near her house. A few times, we saw people passing the river, either via the stepping stones or just walking through. At some point, a woman passes the river, to collect water from a constant streaming water point. Olivia explains that there is water from the roots of a big tree that is at the river. The woman is collecting water there, together with two young girls. There is also a small (almost baby) boy. He is staying on the other side of the river and they try to keep him there. When the woman and the girls have gathered the water, they put the tubes on their heads. Olivia helps the woman to lift the heavy tube up. Olivia says that she fetches water at the borehole, which is nearby, as that water is better, safer.

Access to a water borehole

After doing an interview with Mary on March 20th, the three of us; Mary, Violet; a volunteer social worker for The Samaritan Trust, and I, went to the water borehole. It was close to the house. I asked if everybody could get water from here, Mary told me this was not the case; only the people who live around it. The borehole had a bucket in it, and once the bucket was full of water, it needed to be pulled up by a rope. Somebody was filling up multiple big buckets and it took some time to get the water. Multiple people were waiting for their turn to fetch water.

These different examples show safe drinking water is not available to everybody, as described by Adams and Smiley (2018). In my fieldwork, I have not come across examples of recently graduated youth who have this lack of access to safe drinking water. However, this could be because of a lack of knowledge what is safe drinking water and what is not, on both the side of the research participants, as well as on my side.

Although I have not come across people who stated a direct lack of drinking water, some people directly indicated that they had a lack of food at irregular points of time. Ntata (2010) addresses the food shortages for some people in Malawi, as caused by poverty levels and bad weather. In his article, he focuses on rural areas. What is interesting, however, is that Jimmy, who works for NAYO, stated that in rural areas, people are more likely to help each other out, for example when people are hungry. That some youth who have graduated from The Samaritan Trust still experience hunger in the rural areas, was confirmed on April 2nd, when I have visited among others Sekani in Chikwawa.

Lack of food

Sekani is 18 years old and lives in a rural village in Chikwawa, together with his parents, and 3 (half) siblings. He has done painting and decoration at The Samaritan Trust, and now he does some piece work in painting, some farm work and sometimes he works at a barbershop. His father works as a tinsmith and his mother has a business in selling fruit. Still, Sekani states that his family does face a lack of food at some points in time. Then he tries to take on some extra piece work, by going to the big farmers; these will help him to get some money for the piece work. When Sekani gets the money, he brings it home and buys food.

However, not everybody has a lack of food. For example, when I talked to Sandra on March 13th, she stated that she was staying at home, but that her aunt would leave her money every day to buy groceries to make lunch and dinner. There is another issue with food; the food that is typically eaten by Malawians, nsima (a corn-based product that is eaten with side dish(es)), may not provide a balanced diet, although it does make people feel full. I have not had research respondents addressing the lack of nutritious values in food.

Other material basic needs

In this paragraph, other material basic needs will be addressed, including clothing, housing, public transport, sanitation and health care.

I had the idea that the clothes the youth I have spoken to were wearing, were fitting in the local context when I visited them at their homes. I don't know what the impact of me visiting these youth was on their outfit choices. As the youth knew in advance that I was coming, it could be that they consciously choose which clothes to wear. It could be that some consciously choose to wear nicer clothes. I was also choosing what clothes to wear; the clothes that I had taken with me, were covering up, like long skirts, and not so fancy. I purposely took these clothes with me, to look approachable.

Importance of clothes and a gender perspective

Agnes, who had an electrical tailoring machine, told me that people were coming to her, among others to get small cracks in their clothes fixed. This could indicate a certain importance that is given to state clothes are in and the importance of maintenance.

Furthermore, Sandra says that in the village, when a girl or woman wears a short skirt or pants, people also think she is a prostitute. She stated that this is weird, especially with the pant, because they do cover everything up. And they also have those pants in the villages. With this quote, Sandra emphasized the gendered aspect of clothing, as well as a difference between rural and urban areas.

All the people I have talked to indicated that they stayed at a house; they had a roof over their heads. There did appear to be a difference between those who were a part of the household, versus those where youths were the head of the household. I have mainly visited situations where the houses were from the parents or kin.

Youth as head of the household

One house I visited, had the young person I talked to as head of the household; Olivia. Olivia was living with her siblings in the house of her late parents. When I came to the house, the shape the house was in seemed rather deteriorated to me, in comparison to the houses I had seen before where youths were not head of the households.

Melina, who I talked to on the 19th of March, is another example who was not living with kin. She has graduated from The Samaritan Trust in 2018. The vocational skills program she attended, was bricklaying. Currently, she is studying an advanced level of bricklaying at Chilobwe technical college. She has been living at The Samaritan for 5 years and attended both secondary school as well as a vocational skills training in

bricklaying. After passing the exams, she wanted to do an advanced level of bricklaying and applied for it. The government helped her with her school fees, and with the piece work in bricklaying she does, she can pay for house rent, food and some school supplies. She did struggle to come up with the rent, so she found a friend to share the rent with, a friend she knows from school.

Most people I talked to however, were living with kin and depended on their kin for housing. In these cases, I had the feeling that the focus on insecurity was mainly focused on a job, towards going forward in their lives. And not for example about how to meet the rent or whether they still can live somewhere. The next chapter will address kinship relations and the dependency relations that many graduated youths have.

Often at rural sites, there is less access to medical care, public transport and sanitation. Public transport just does not reach everywhere. Certain parts of the country are connected by roads that are difficult to access, and some do not even have roads. When visiting some people, for example in Chikwawa, it was needed to take a motorcycle taxi, as the normal minibusses did not reach. Besides, public transport is not cheap, so not everybody might be able to afford it. For example, on the 28th of March, Steve and I visited George at his workplace. He was doing an apprenticeship in Blantyre with a contractor that was building a house. George walked 2,5 hours every day to get to the building place and 2,5 hours back. There is public transport to get close to this place, as we took multiple minibusses to get there. However, George was not in the financial position to pay for the minibus to get there.

Concerning sanitation, I have no direct information about the availability of sanitation for those who recently graduated from The Samaritan Trust. In a more informal conversation on the 15th of February, Jacob, who is a volunteer worker for The Samaritan Trust, stated that rural development is in need of sanitation and electricity. Holm et al. (2018) state that even in urban areas in Malawi, open defecation is declining, but that it remains difficult to manage the sanitation services regarding the growing populations.

There has been limited study of the accessibility of health care in Malawi. Fisher, Lazarus and Asgary (2017) focus on access in Northern Malawi, which might differ from Blantyre and its surroundings in the southern part of Malawi. They do address the nationwide access as well. Officially, health care is free for Malawians in Malawi. This free health care exists of three levels; community-based programs, government-owned district hospitals and thirdly, central district hospitals. Besides this free health care, there are private hospitals as well. These private hospitals are not free of charge but are perceived to be better than the government hospitals. Within the article, Fisher, Lazarus and Asgary (2017) identify the following reasons as barriers to access healthcare; distance and transport, costs and lastly, limited health personnel and supplies. In his book 'Kosmopoliet en krottenwijk', Bodelier (2015) describes a situation where a woman, living in Blantyre city, faced difficulty accessing

healthcare. The woman was living in Ndirande, one of the slum areas of Blantyre. She is going into labor at the market site of the slum, and her mother and her are not able to pay the public transport fee to go to the free hospital.

Fisher, Lazarus and Asgary (2017) state that ambulances do not directly do pickups from villages. This means that patients have to come to a health care center and from there can take an ambulance, while there might be a poor quality of roads. In my own fieldwork, as stated before, some people were living in places that were difficult to reach. For some, this was not possible with public transport, which was for example the case with the villages in Chikwawa. Furthermore, Melina, one of the respondents, had contacted me via text message that had gone to a private hospital and got medication there. She sent the prices of this medication to me. As I had interviewed her before, and because I knew she was struggling financially and had no kin to rely on, I had the feeling that telling me the prices could be for asking a contribution of me. Fisher, Lazarus and Asgary (2017) do identify the importance of the informal sector, with for example traditional healers. Sandra, one of the respondents, stated that family members have died because of the curse of a witch. This statement could indicate that for this person, traditional healers could be valuable, as at a regular hospital, they probably won't have solutions for curses.

Combining the topics of public transport, sanitation and health care, it is evident that the location of a house or shelter is of significance. Now that all the material aspects of basic needs are discussed, the next paragraph will focus on personal development.

Personal development

The aspects that are grouped together in personal development, are education and cultural activities. Concerning education, The Samaritan Trust provides an opportunity for education to youth who otherwise might not have access to this education. As most people who attend the vocational skills training might not have finished high school, it could have been difficult for them to attend other education. However, the vocational skills programs that The Samaritan Trust offers, as elaborated upon in chapter 1, focus on the informal sector. After visiting a youth club on the 15th of February, Jimmy, who coordinates the youth clubs, has stated however that in Malawi, it is difficult to go to another level once you have graduated. You need to have certain linkages to pursue higher educational degrees, and nepotism is a problem. He also addressed that some youth have too many responsibilities.

During my fieldwork however, I have talked to multiple people that had graduated from The Samaritan Trust and were now pursuing higher educational degrees. This was, for example, the case with John, whom I interviewed on April 5th; after graduating from The Samaritan Trust, he is now studying at Blantyre Teachers College. At The Samaritan Trust, he took 3 levels of Trade tests, which is one more than average, and at the time of my fieldwork, he was being educated to become an instructor in plumbing. The Samaritan Trust is paying for his education now. Other examples of people who are currently studying are Henry, Olivia, and Melina. The Samaritan Trust does not pay for the education of these

three youth however; Henry works, the friend of the late father of Olivia pays for her schooling, and Melina got a loan from the government. The options for higher educational degrees are limited for youth who have graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust however; most youth do not continue their studies.

Cultural opportunities include activities that relate to the customs and art of a particular society (Collins Dictionary, 2019). Concerning the cultural activities that youth have access to; I argue this might differ per person. The church appeared to provide such opportunities; during my participating observation with Olivia, it really appeared that she did not do a lot of things in the morning. In the afternoons, she stated that she was often practicing with her singing group from church. Several people indicated that they were going to church. Some churches even organize occasional church youth camps, where youth can meet other people from the same church.

Another social activity that provides cultural opportunities, is the soccer games that are organized. I have been to one soccer game on the 15th of March at The Samaritan Trust, and then, a lot of people gathered there to cheer for the players, also people are selling food and drinks, others were dancing. The soccer game was really made into an event and it was free to access for everyone.

The youth clubs are another cultural opportunity for recently graduated youth; youth can do poems, plays, comedy, music and dancing here. These youth clubs are mainly for youth from the communities; I have not come across former street youth who were a part of such a youth club.

Yet another cultural opportunity I have noticed is that everybody that I have talked to had a phone, some even smartphones and they used them to keep in touch with other people. I found this striking, as I did not expect everybody to have a phone or even a smartphone. Perhaps, this could be a bias of my research; it was needed to contact people first before going there. This means that people needed to have a phone to be able to be part of the research.

On the other hand, some people appear to be so busy with working, that they did not have the time to do much besides their work or uphold several friendships, as was for example the case with Kondwani. At the same time, in the areas where some of the youth were living, there were other youth who were prone to alcohol or drugs.

Concluding, I argue that the amount of cultural activities depends on where people live, what contacts they have, and sometimes money as well: for example, with a soccer game, it might be needed to take public transport to come there.

Who claims to take responsibility for basic needs provision?

This section addresses different actors and how they address the responsibility claim towards this group of recently graduated youth. The actors that will be addressed are the government, the police, and The Samaritan Trust.

First of all, there are some current developments in who carries responsibility for street youth and children, which some youth were before coming to The Samaritan Trust. The recently published document of the Office of the Ombudsman (2019) addresses this debate around the responsibility for street children. The Office of the Ombudsman of the Republic of Malawi, who has certain legal powers, addresses in this report who should bear responsibility for street youth. It addresses that several actors, such as the ministry, the district social welfare offices, city and district councils, fail in addressing the legal responsibility they have to help children in the streets. It is stated that city and district councils should lead the other involved stakeholders, such as the police and NGOs. Furthermore, the role of the police in child protection is emphasized. During my internship, however, it appeared that the police were discussing an approach with NGOs, among others with The Samaritan Trust. The NGOs emphasized that it is important to not criminalize street children. Recently after those talks, the Blantyre police arrested multiple street children, which was in disagreements with what was discussed in the meetings with NGOs on the 27th of February. Thus, there are many limitations to the responsibility that actors take concerning the care for street children.

Besides the responsibility for street children, which some of the youth were before they came to The Samaritan Trust, it is also interesting to look at actors who take responsibility for the youth after their graduation from a vocational skills program. The OECD Development Centre (2018) has done an extensive review of the youth well-being policies in Malawi. They state that Malawi has a policy framework to address the challenges that youth face. There are several actors within the government that focus on youth; for example, the Ministry of Labour, Youth, Sport and Manpower Development (MoLYSMD), the National Youth Policy, but also the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III. However, this policy framework has several challenges; for example, the lack of resources, both human and financial, that MoLYSMD faces. This lack of resources influences the ability to co-ordinate policy, taking many different stakeholders into account. The government is focusing on TEVET and vocational skills programs, but on the one hand it is difficult for students to get into such programs, and on the other hand, the quality and relevance seems to be lacking (OECD Development Centre, 2018). In the following quote, the OECD Development Centre (2018, p. 14) addresses the difficulties of vocational training, besides the lack of decent job opportunities for youth in rural sites;

“The majority of vocational training is provided informally by master craftsmen or by private institutions without sufficient supervision and control from the government. Insufficient linkages to industries, lack of up-to-date teaching resources and equipment, and poorly trained teachers hinder the quality of TEVET. Moreover, the distribution of formal TEVET

courses is concentrated in a few trades such as construction, administrative studies and vehicle repair.”

The Samaritan Trust takes up the responsibility to provide these youth with vocational skills and a diploma from it. M. states that after their graduation, The Samaritan Trust aims to do 3 more follow up visits. Due to limited resources, both financially and human, this might be reduced to 2 or 1 follow up visits. The aim of The Samaritan Trust is that the youth who have graduated now rely on their own network. When youth cannot rely on their network and not (yet) provide for themselves, The Samaritan Trust can step in. And for youth who can pursue higher educational degrees, but not the resources or network, The Samaritan Trust can help as well. This is, for example, the case with John, studying at Blantyre Teachers College. Concerning who takes the responsibility, many of the youth appear to be depending on their kin, and with its limited resources, The Samaritan Trust argues that kin should take this responsibility in the situation as it is. This will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter 4.

The government has some policies that should empower youth. However, with youth between 15-29 accounting for 25% of the population, and more than 46% of the population being below the age of 15, this provides major challenges. With high youth unemployment and youth and others in a phase of dependency make up the biggest part of the population, how can the money be raised to effectively invest in such programs? According to the OECD Development Centre (2018), it can be challenging to address the difficulties of such a big part of the population. And especially in the challenging socio-economic situation that Malawi is in, as described in chapter 2. Therefore, as stated before, The Samaritan Trust involves counseling in its program; dependency on kinship is relevant after graduation to obtain an independent basic need provision in the long run. Claims of other actors to take up responsibility are rather limited.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the basic needs of recently graduated youth and up to what extent they are met. It is evident that even after graduation, these youth face challenging circumstances to fulfill their basic needs. Fulfillment of all their own basic needs is rather difficult if not impossible; these youth need others they can depend or rely on. The government of Malawi has some policy to strive to improve chances for youth. However, this is rather challenging, given the demographic profile of Malawi. When youth have no other possibilities to rely on others, The Samaritan Trust steps in. If possible, The Samaritan Trust encourages youth to depend on their kin. Youths that rely on The Samaritan Trust or have no kin to rely on, do face more hardship and less fulfillment of their basic needs. Even though the limited chances for youth are a national problem, the responsibility after youth have graduated from a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust mainly falls back on their kin and The Samaritan Trust. In chapter 4, I will elaborate on the influence that kinship has on youth after their graduation. This includes addressing the impact of not having kin to fall back on.

Chapter 4: the influence of kinship ties

Influence of kinship; beyond biological family

Melina, who I have introduced before, is another example who was not living with kin. She does piece work to earn the rent, while also doing a study program. She asked a friend from school to come and live with her, to share the rent. The girl asked her parents and after visiting the place, they allowed her to live there. Now the parents help them out sometimes.

Even Melina, who emphasized in the interview that she was depending on her own skill and had no direct family of kinship to rely on, could partly fall back on the family ties of her roommate. Because of this construction, this support did leave Melina with some uncertainty; as the other girl goes to her parents when there are school breaks, she leaves Melina alone at the house, with no help to fall back upon. One note, however, to this interview; emphasizing financial insecurity could be part of a strategy as well. Melina has asked me for financial help at a later point in time, after the interview, which I have not given her, as I am myself also still dependent on the financial resources of my kin. I do acknowledge that Melina was in a financially difficult situation. This is based on other interviews I have done, houses I have visited and informal talks; youth who could rely on their parents for a roof over their heads, and who were free during the week, were still in a difficult situation. Considering that Melina had a study during weekdays, and had to provide her own roof and food, based on piece work she could do in weekends and holidays, I reckon that this is financially difficult.

This example shows that even for Melina, who was not in touch with her family anymore, some type of family or kinship ties are still relevant for the provision of her basic needs. In this case, it is the family of a friend she is living with, not even her direct or biological family, that is providing help. This chapter addresses the following question; how are kinship relations of youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program from The Samaritan Trust shaped? The concept of kinship is chosen over the concept of family, as a narrowly defined family does not include the complex reality, as was, for example, the case with Melina. The first part of this chapter focuses on kinship relations in academic literature, how this is conceptualized and how the academic literature reflects and differs from the kinship relations that youth in my fieldwork have shown. The second part focuses on the influence of the graduating of vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust on kinship relations.

Kinship relations in academic literature

Defining kinship

Cambridge Dictionary (2019) gives the following two definitions of kinship: “The relationship between members of the same family” and “A feeling of being close or similar to other people or things”. The second definition that is given, indicates this broader understanding of kinship, that goes beyond direct biological family relations. Carsten (2000) underwrites the broadness of this concept: she states that kinship and its interpretation depends upon the local context that it is used in. She addresses that kinship has both biological and cultural elements. In the article by Qirko (2011), he addresses the criticism of the focus on the biological aspect of kinship as influenced by Western notions. However, Qirko does state biologic aspects remain important as well. Additionally, Qirko (2011) differentiates fictive kinship and kinship. He states the following about fictive kinship (Qirko, 2011, p. 1);

“It refers to individuals unrelated by birth or marriage who label and treat one another as kin. In other words, fictive kinship involves the “extension of kinship obligations and relationships to individuals specifically not otherwise included in the kinship universe” (Wagner, 1995).”

One major difficulty of working with fictive kinship is that fictive kinship is defined by how individuals define their relationships. This implies that there is no clear-cut definition of what can be defined as a fictive kinship relation. Qirko (2011, p. 3) addresses the difficulty of operationalizability of this concept;

“Thus, fictive kinship is, rather than a clearly operationalizable concept, a “catch-all” for describing, often misleadingly, relationships that do not follow a typical kinship pattern (...).”

Carsten (1995) proposes to accept the different definitions that people give to kinship and compare the different meanings given to kinship or relatedness in different cultures. She states that Schneider concludes that sociocultural aspects add meaning besides the biological facts of kinship. Carsten herself also underlines the difficult distinction between biological and social. In this research however, I have had very limited issues with such a distinction.

Another important aspect of kinship is how these kinship ties are passed down; whether this happens via matrilineal or patrilineal structure. Within a matrilineal structure, the kinship ties and property are passed down via the females, the daughters in the family. For patrilineal lineages, this is the other way around; thus, via the males in the family (Behrman, 2017). Behrman (2017) states that in the Southern part of Malawi, the matrilineal lineage is

particularly strong. He addresses that an estimated 75% of the Malawian population belongs to matrilineal lineaging. Within matrilineal structures, there are certain basic structures according to Fox (1983). One focuses on the ties and roles of mothers, daughters and sisters. In the second structure, the role of the brother of the mother is rather important. The third structure is a combination of the second structure with an important brother of the mother, and the importance of the brother of sisters as well. Depending on different aspects within the matrilineal system, women might have certain advantages, for example being able to possess their own land rights and/or the output of their own labor. In this research, the influence of patrilineal or matrilineal structures has not been as visible. It could be that this was partly due to the lesser strength of matri- or patrilinear systems in kinship structures in the urban areas. In this chapter however, it becomes evident that kinship ties remain essential, even in the more urban areas.

For this research, kinship will be approached as a broad concept, with both biological and cultural elements. The difficulty in the operationalizability of kinship, I aim to resolve for this research by focusing on how the youth themselves define and conceptualize the relationships they have; how kinship is defined exactly, depends on how the research participants. This broad definition can also include fictive kinship, as defined by Qirko. During my fieldwork, the importance of family ties appeared to be of great importance. In some cases, fictive kinship plays a part, however, this appears to be a more insecure support system. I will elaborate on this throughout this chapter.

Relevance of focusing on kinship

In the face of waithood and the socio-economic situation in Malawi, as have been described in the previous chapters, people that are graduates are often still dependent on others after their graduation from The Samaritan Trust (Honwana, 2012). Although different relations that people have with others are always transforming, the dependency of youth might remain. There are different types of networks that can be of importance. Important social spheres can be family, neighborhood, friendship, church, work, and associations. Different people will mobilize their networks in different ways, and this can differ per situation.

Marques (2016) found that poverty influences the types of spheres of which the networks of people consists. The poorest people had a high concentration on the family and neighbourhood sphere, and their networks were relatively small. This was something that came back in my fieldwork; most youth were living with their families again after graduation. This might also have to do with the socio-economic situation and waithood; the majority was dependent on kinship to fulfill their basic needs and were not self-sufficient.

This makes it difficult to support each other when they cannot sufficiently provide for themselves and are themselves still stuck in the phase of waithood. In her article, Pontalti (2018, p. 184) states the following;

“However, the majority have remained dependent on reciprocal relations with kin even as their elders have become less capable of fulfilling their reciprocal obligations to them.”.

She addresses the deteriorating chances that many youths have compared to previous generations. According to Marques (2016), schooling had a positive effect on the number of different spheres a network exists of, while decreasing the importance of localism. This could indicate why for the recently graduated youth, family is of major importance, as they have often not finished high school. But it could also indicate that the vocational skills training of The Samaritan Trust contributes to the different spheres of the networks that these youth have and decrease the importance of localism. Gender impacts these networks as well according to Marques (2016); for women, church and beliefs also were important for the concentration of spheres, but not when comparing working men and women.

Thus, the relevance of looking at kinship ties of recently graduated youth is partly based on chapter 2, that addressed the socio-economic situation of these youth; many youths are trapped in a position of dependency as a part of waithood. This dependency is often on their kinship relations. This is addressed in academic literature as well; people with less financial resources often have smaller networks and that their family is relatively important in their network. Thus, kin can help youth to foresee in their basic needs as a minimum standard of living, until they can become independent.

The influence of kinship ties after graduation

This section addresses the kinship relations that the youth can rely on and the influence of the graduating of a vocational skills program at The Samaritan Trust on these relations. Most people that I have talked to, had some sort of kinship relations to fall back on. To be more specific, many youths had their families to look after them. In other cases, some youth were supported by friends. However, friends were often trapped in waithood as well, so this help was financially speaking limited. The youth who really had no one to rely on could partly rely on The Samaritan Trust after graduation, so they would not immediately go back to the street.

To differentiate the diverse group of youth at The Samaritan Trust; there is a difference between youth who were formerly living on the street and those from the communities, who have been selected via youth clubs. The youth from the communities all had kin to rely on, while the youth who were previously living on the street often had kin to rely on, but not in all cases.

Relying on kinship ties

Beforehand, my expectation was that youth who were following a vocational skills training at The Samaritan Trust would not have much contact with family-like ties. In my proposal, I wrote; *“Social networks are of major importance in Malawi, and the fact that these participants are former street youth, could be an indication of limitedly being able to call on one’s family network. As family is an important social network in Malawi, with an extensive impact on a person’s life and livelihood, and in the face of waithood and maintaining in a stage of dependency, it can become demanding and troublesome to obtain one’s basic needs (Rock et al., 2016).”*.

However, this did not appear to be the case; most of the people that I have talked to were part of kinship ties and could rely on these ties for support. This is for example the case for Mary.

Struggling even with kinship ties to rely on

Mary did vocational skills in painting and decoration in 2018. From her parent’s house, she walked to The Samaritan Trust every day. Currently, she is still living with her parents and does not have a job. Mary stated that because there are so many people in the house, as she has many siblings, she sometimes sleeps at the house of the neighbour, to have a bit more space. However, she remains dependent on family for other basic needs, such as food. Violet, a social worker from The Samaritan Trust, told me that Mary was liked a lot by the people working for The Samaritan Trust. She said that Mary often came to her before her classes and said that she was hungry. Violet had the suspicion that she did not eat before walking all the way to The Samaritan Trust in the morning, and therefore often brought a snack for Mary. This is interesting to note, that Mary, even though she had her family to rely on, sometimes went hungry. However, Mary did state that currently, she would go to netball practice 3 times a week, which likely requires some resources, for example to get the sports gear.

Grace is another example; I interviewed her on February 25th. Grace lives with her younger sister, her brother and his wife. She has stated that she has only experienced a lack of money or food twice in her life. This was when her brother did not have the money to purchase food, but after a day, he managed to bring some food. From this remark, it becomes evident that she mainly relies on her brother for her basic needs.

Both Mary and Grace both came to The Samaritan Trust via the youth clubs; both were already living with their families during the beforehand. This is however different for Henry and Umi.

Starting to rely on kinship after graduation

Henry came to the city of Blantyre from rural Chikwawa province, not knowing anyone. After graduating from The Samaritan Trust in 2017, he started living with his older brother, who moved to Blantyre in the meantime. Now, even as he was working, he was still living with his brother and the family of the brother, sharing resources.

And for example, with Umi, who had graduated from The Samaritan Trust over 10 years ago, this was the case; before coming to The Samaritan Trust, he was living on the streets. After graduating, he went to live with his aunt, depending on her. A couple of years later, he now has his own business, near his aunt, and can provide for himself.

Within these examples, it becomes evident that youth who do have kin to rely on, still face difficulty to fulfill their basic needs. However, for example with Grace, she stated frustration about the responsibility of The Samaritan Trust to find her a job. She made it clear that a lack of food is very uncommon for her. This also became evident while talking to other youth that had their families to rely on; the lack of a job seemed to be at the center of their worries. This was different by people who did not have kin to fall back on; then, more worries were expressed about having a place to live, and food.

Differences in the provision of basic needs by kinship ties depends on the setting as well; those in rural areas indicated to have more of a lack of food. For example, as is the case with Sekani, that was introduced in chapter 3. He lives with his family, his father is working, and Sekani does piece work. Food security seemed to be less reliable than with Grace for example, while both had had their training at The Samaritan Trust, and both had a family to rely on. Another difference between them, is that Sekani had been living on the streets of Blantyre, while Grace had been selected for The Samaritan Trust via the youth club and was thus living with kin beforehand.

The church and friendships

Personally, I thought the church would be an important institution in the life of these youth. Many people of my target group went to church, none however stated to receive resources from the church.

Importance of church

The importance of the church for example becomes evident in the story of Olivia, whom I talked to on the 18th and 20th of March; Olivia is studying a computer course at the weekend, funded by a friend of her late father. During the weekdays, she

mainly stays at home. She does go to church, and in the church, she is part of a singing group. These girls come to her house every afternoon to practice. Both the church and these girls do not help her with resources; however, Olivia emphasized their importance. For example, in the sociogram she has drawn. In this sociogram, she has emphasized her singing group and has addressed her neighbor. She has not addressed her direct family, nor the friend of her father that pays for her education. This, in combination with the interview and participating observation, leads me to believe that the singing group that Olivia has met at church is very valuable for her, even though it does not include financial help.



Sociogram Olivia, 20-03-2019

Olivia has met these friends through church, one could argue if this shows the relevance of the church, of friends, or perhaps both. In my fieldwork, most people named their friends in the interviews or informal talks. In the case of Olivia, which I have just introduced, Olivia had a lot of time in which she was not doing anything, as she stated herself. This meant that she had a lot of time on her hands. As her friends would visit her almost every day, to sing together, this could be a sign that all of them could be in a phase of waithood. This was for example the case with Agnes and Peter, whom I visited at the house of the family of Agnes on the 28th of March; both do small piece works, but this is not fulltime. They also meet up with each other, and with other friends. However, this could be a bias of this research: it is difficult to access those who are working, as work takes up a lot of their time. This was at least the case with Kondwani (whom I visited at the 22nd of March) and George (whom I visited on the 28th of March); I was able to visit them at their workplaces, however only for a short period of time because they needed to get back to work.

No kinship to rely on

Some graduates got into the vocational skills program via their youth clubs. After graduation, toolboxes for sharing are typically kept at a youth club. In these youth clubs, the amount of people differs. There might be 20-25 people in a club. Then maybe 4 to 6 of them go to vocational training. At these youth clubs, they do different activities, for example; poems, plays, and they address relevant topics, such as HIV/aids, or encouraging girls to go back to school after early marriage and pregnancy. These youth clubs provide social support. During one of the participants' observations during a youth club meeting, on February 13th, 2019, I ask with who they share resources and most of the youth share resources with their parents. When asked who they contact when they have a problem with a lack of money, everybody that answered stated, some as one of multiple options, that they would try to contact their parents. When asked about the distribution with parents, all the people that answered stated that their parents contribute most. In the other talk at a youth club on the 15th of February, some youth indicate that they do comedy, music, and dancing as well, and they talk about relevant topics. One girl addresses that she normally does not go to the meetings anymore, as she is very busy. In addition, former street youth were not in these youth clubs. This could indicate that these youth clubs are a social activity, available for those who have the time to go there, so for people who are not full time working on the provision of their basic needs.

M. stated that those who really have no one or nothing to rely on can rely on The Samaritan Trust. She did state however, that life would not be easy for recently graduated youth. An example of where The Samaritan Trust had helped someone with an affiliation, would be Kondwani, as elaborated upon before. As The Samaritan Trust has an intake that at times is as high as 120 youth per year, The Samaritan Trust needs the youth to rely as much as possible on their own networks. The Samaritan Trust might help the graduated youth who need it with perhaps an attachment, but this support is not for a longer period of time (interview 04-04-2019). As I have indicated before, The Samaritan Trust faces difficulty with keeping in touch with its graduates. Thus, having to rely on The Samaritan Trust, instead of kinship ties, appears to be a sub-optimum.

Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the influence of kinship ties on youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program from The Samaritan Trust. Kinship covers a broad range of ties. In practice, it often meant parents, siblings or uncles and/or aunts. From my fieldwork, it appeared that kinship ties were very important for youth; most of them were depending on kinship ties for their basic needs. Kinship ties appeared to be a first option to rely or build on for these youth; those who can rely on kinship ties, do so. However, youth who rely on their kin can still face hardship and almost all of them still faced a lack of provision in their basic needs. However, living with kin means a roof to sleep under. The people who do not have such ties can look for other ties to rely on. Such situations often appear to be even less ideal than the support of kin. It is difficult to support other youth, as all of the youth that I have talked to that recently graduated from The Samaritan Trust, were not self-sufficient in fulfilling all of their basic needs. Those who really had no one to rely on could partly rely on The Samaritan Trust. This did come with a lot of insecurity, as youth are dependent on the funding or contacts of workers of the organization, which may differ, or run out. Thus, reasonably one could say that to keep relying on The Samaritan Trust after graduation is some sort of inferior back-up option. Those who can rely on the optimum, which contains kinship ties to rely on.

Chapter 5; Discussion and conclusion

Discussion

This research has looked into the influence of kinship relations on the basic needs provision of youth who have recently graduated from a vocational skills program of The Samaritan Trust. In this research, it appeared that kinship relations are crucial for youth who have recently graduated. These findings lead to multiple new questions, such as what are the alternatives for youth who do not have kin to fall back on? And how do the youth evolve and develop over the years after their graduation?

Growing from a role of dependency and waithood into a fully established, independent adult, might take time. As the group that I looked at had only graduated for a maximum of a year and a couple of months, while some had not even taken their exam due to difficulties with the administration, it could be that the expectation that this group has reached some form of independence is too soon.

Despite the limitations of self-sufficiency in basic needs for the youths in this research, the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust seem valuable to me. This is because of their focus on learning a specific skill, combined with counseling and teaching the youths certain life skills. In the difficult socio-economic climate, it might take time before work within the vocational skill can take off. In the meantime, the other skills that the youth have learned might benefit them as well.

According to academic literature, gender differences are of great importance in the field of vocational skills training. This research has hinted at some gender issues but has not given the attention it deserves. Being a girl can be a limiting factor in finding work. In addition, girls are more prone to sexual abuse in the workplace. It would be advisable for future research to incorporate a gender focus even more. For further research on this topic, I would encourage to elaborate on the difference in living in rural or urban areas, as well as making a sharper division between former street youth and youth who were selected for The Samaritan trust via youth clubs. There is a certain linkage between the kin living in rural or urban settings and whether youth are living with their kin or not.

Overall, I consider the conclusions of the thesis still valuable, even with its limitations. This is due to the in-depth conversations with multiple people. I have also gotten a grasp of The Samaritan Trust and the vocation skills programs that the organization offered during my internship. This has enabled me to make certain conclusions, substantiated by academic literature as well as my own experiences during the fieldwork.

Conclusion

This research has aimed to answer the following question; How do kinship relations influence the basic needs provision of youth who have recently graduated from one of the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust? The different chapters have answered parts of this bigger question. In this section, overall conclusions will be made.

The first chapter addressed the difficult socio-economic situation in Malawi, which is especially difficult for youth. In general, youth face difficulty finding jobs and becoming independent. Many are stuck in waithood.

Secondly, the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust were addressed. These programs come along with certain expectations, which differ for the organization and the youth partaking in the programs. Many youths indicated a sense of frustration after graduating from the program, as they expected to find a job fast, or expected The Samaritan Trust to find jobs for them. Instead, there were many challenges. From the organizational viewpoint, it was stated that the time after graduation could even be the hardest time for the youth. However, other workers from the organization did appear to maintain these expectations of youth that The Samaritan Trust would find them jobs. One could argue that The Samaritan Trust tries to maintain these expectations, to motivate people to join the program. When youth know that attending such a program will not make everything easy for them, less might make the effort. I do consider the vocational skills programs valuable for this youth. However, this value might only show after a lot of effort is put in by these youth, because of Malawi's social-economic situation. One advantage that is visible, is that quite some former street youth are reintegrated with their kin. This is visible, as most of the former street youth are now living with their kin again. This could be because of several reasons, for example the aspect of The Samaritan Trust that focuses on counseling to get the relations better again. Contrary to what contemporary literature is saying, one could reason that a youth who has finished a program could have improved prospects, and therefore be more appealing for their kin. Thus, the vocational skills programs of The Samaritan Trust are of a certain added value for the youth. However, this may not be apparent just after graduation and require work and effort from the youth as well, which may not always pay off.

The third block has focused on the basic needs provision of recently graduated youth. Even though many youths depend on kin for their basic needs provision, basic needs provision is often still lacking. This dependency on kin for basic needs provision is influenced by the socio-economic situation in Malawi, as described in the first chapter. Because of the availability of limited chances for youth, youth remain captured in a state of waithood. This is experienced as very frustrating; many youths indicated the expectation that their socio-economic position would have changed and that they would have a job, while the majority did not have jobs. These expectations, as I stated before, might be maintained by The Samaritan Trust. However, the expectations from The Samaritan Trust do contain this

dependency on kin. Therefore, reintegration with family and communities or anyone to rely on is part of the program of The Samaritan Trust. I consider this a realistic expectation of The Samaritan Trust.

The last concept of my research question to be addressed is kinship ties. This is a relevant concept, as even though a vocational skills program aims to increase people's independence for the future, independence is not just to be reached after graduation. I argue that this is not because the program is not valuable, but because of the socio-economic situation and waithood. It is surprising that even most of the youth who were living on the streets go back to living with their kin and can depend on them. It is important to recognize the diverse groups of youth that follow vocational skills programs at The Samaritan Trust; some youth were living with their kin during the vocational skills program. Kin, however, appeared to be the first option to rely on and fall back on in case of dependency, where most youth can rely on. In the case that the youths did not have kin to fall back on, their situation concerning their basic needs appeared to be more insecure. This was the case although even when relying on kin, there was still a certain degree of insecurity.

To come back to the research question, kinship relations are of major influence on the basic needs provision of youth who have recently graduated from the vocational skills program of The Samaritan Trust. This research has looked at the implicit understanding that vocational skills programs provide chances for independence to youth. This implicit understanding that education in these vocational skills programs immediately lead to more independence in the basic need provision of youth has appeared to be untrue. This relation between education and basic needs provision is much more complicated, with many other factors that influence the basic needs provision, such as gender, location, the socio-economic situation in the country. The role of The Samaritan Trust and its vocational skills program can perhaps be described as an enabler of capabilities of youth; it provides them with certain freedoms and opportunities, by taking away some barriers. Due to other circumstances, the freedom for these youth is not fully enabled however. For basic needs provision, kinship ties appear to be the first option for people to rely on. The Samaritan Trust tries to counsel youth with their kin where they can. If after graduation, youth do not have some sort of kinship relation to rely on, their basic needs provision will be significantly more insecure. However, due to the socio-economic situation, also for those who have kin, it can still be unsure at times. Furthermore, for those who do not have kin, The Samaritan Trust partly takes up this responsibility. However, this is not such a favorable situation as having actual kin to rely on. During this time, kin remain crucial for youth to rely on; a house divided cannot stand.

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