

AN EXPLORATIVE STUDY OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S ECOLOGICAL CITIZENSHIP IN DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

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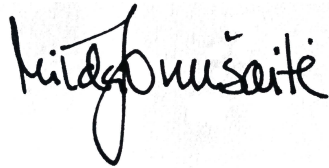
ABSTRACT

In the context of growing concern for the potential impact of climate change, climate governance mechanisms are employed by nation states aiming to influence environmental actions of various actors. Promoting green behaviour of individual citizens is one of the current climate governance approaches. Furthermore, increasing attention is given towards the younger generations, as they will have to bear the consequences of climate change. Empowering young people to act against climate change is, therefore, important. This study aims to explore whether ecological citizenship among young people in Durban, South Africa, could be a valuable component of climate governance. It will do so by: 1) exploring how young people conceptualise climate change, 2) how they understand and experience citizenship, 3) whether they possess features of ecological citizenship.

This research consists of a qualitative study based on semi-structured interviews with eighteen young individuals. The conceptual tools of practice theory and citizenship, that incorporate aspects of ecology and youth, are utilised for understanding the empirical study. The findings suggest that young people in Durban have a vague understanding of climate change-related concepts. Furthermore, it shows a gap between the understanding and the experience of citizenship. The youth comprehend citizenship with its features of rights and obligations; however, their experience of citizenship is largely dominated by detachment from politics, a sense of exclusion, and a lack of authentic opportunities to play out citizenship activities. Lastly, everyday practices of young people reveal a limited range of environmentally friendly actions accompanied by a moderate sense of agency in relation to environmental problems. This study shows that in order for young people to be able to act as ecological citizens, there are several structural constraints that need to be transformed into opportunities. This research suggests that there is a need to: 1) enable citizenship options for young people, 2) establish practical alternatives for sustainable behaviour. This study argues that providing such structural opportunities has the potential to develop young citizens that *can* act in an environmentally friendly way, without providing any guarantee for green behaviour. However, the potential for such behaviour is nevertheless greater with structural opportunities, rather than constraints.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references, and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.



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28.11.2013

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CO ₂	Carbon Dioxide
COP	Conference of Parties
GHGs	Green House Gasses
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNFCCC	United National Framework Convention on Climate Change

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Last, but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to all participants of this study, and to the two churches for suggesting and allowing me to conduct this research there. I am proud to say that I have worked with eighteen inspiring and reflective young people in Durban. While analysing their answers and re-reading the themes countless times, I experienced many moments of pride, hope, and excitement. I am honoured to say that I have been let into eighteen young South African hearts that have showed me everything from vulnerability to strength, from helplessness to being and owning the future, and from fears to dreams and hopes. I was worried that I would find that young people are apathetic and pessimistic, but they turned out to have (to borrow the words of one of the participants) a “cup of awesome” instead.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Climate change is a major environmental problem caused by production and consumption patterns that result in increasing amounts of green house gasses (GHGs)(Giddens, 2009; IPCC, 2007, 2013). Climate governance aims to remove and lower the amount of GHGs in the atmosphere by influencing environmental actions of various actors through regulatory processes and fiscal incentives. The role of non-state actors in climate governance is increasingly a response to the stalling role of the state in international climate governance (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006). Ecological citizenship that aims for green behaviour by individual citizens is a relatively new climate governance approach (ASSAf, 2011; Dobson, 2003; Latta & Garside, 2005; Melo-Escribuela, 2008; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). Simultaneously, there is growing attention given to young people as they contribute the least to the causes of climate change, but will have to live with the consequences of current decisions and actions. Furthermore, the daily practices of young people will eventually determine the future quality of the environment (Alier, 2009; Hayward, 2012; IPCC, 2007; Jackson, 2009; UNICEF & RSA, 2011). Climate governance that targets young citizens is thus the main motivation in this study.

This study entails a degree of complexity, as it combines three concepts: climate change, youth and citizenship, and the resultant explorative study of ecological citizenship among young people as a climate governance tool. Furthermore, the analytical framework will in part be based on practice theory that is grounded on a dialectical structure and agency approach. This chapter intends to provide the rationale for the study. Firstly, a contextual background of climate change related issues of relevance are explained. Thereafter, a brief introduction of the citizenship concept is presented in relation to youth and environmentally related issues. The purpose of the study is addressed subsequently by introducing the research questions. Lastly, the methodology and the structure of this paper are attended to.

Firstly, climate change is a problem in need of urgent attention. The point of departure for this study is the fact that climate change is a global challenge in need of urgent attention (IPCC, 2007, 2013). Defined by the UNFCCC, “[C]limate change means a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere” (UNFCCC, 1992, p. 7). A recent study reveals that 97 per cent of climate

change-related, peer reviewed articles published between 1991 and 2011 concluded that climate change is directly caused by human actions (Cook et al., 2013). The IPCC report from 2007 is considered as a tipping point in the climate change science, as it established with more than 95 per cent certainty that climate change is unambiguous due to indisputable evidence of increasing average temperatures (Alier, 2009; IPCC, 2007). The most recent Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report (2013) confirms with greater certainty both the severity of climate change and the human influence on the changing climate systems. The point of view here is that climate change is no longer a debate, but rather an accepted fact (Alier, 2009).

The IPCC (2007) report singles out Africa as one of the most vulnerable continents. This is due to the wide range of projected impacts coupled with the multiple stresses that they entail and combined with the low adaptive capacity (IPCC, 2007, 2013). Moreover, children, the elderly, and poor people are particularly at risk (IPCC 2007). The impacts of climate change are not exclusively an environmental issue in South Africa. They are far reaching across sectors due to widespread developmental issues of both a social and economic nature (Naidu, Hounscome, & Iyer, 2006). South Africa is an interesting case study as it illustrates the international climate change debate. Typically, developing countries suffer the most from the effects of climate change, but contribute the least, while the developed countries on the other hand contribute the most to the global pool of emissions, but suffer least of the consequences (Giddens, 2009). South Africa, however, is in an ambiguous position as it is considered to be both a developing and a developed country. The South African population suffers significant consequences, mostly due to the low adaptive capacity rooted in socio-economic issues that cut across all sectors and that climate change-related events exacerbate. Nonetheless, South Africa is also one of the world's dirty economies, and is a major contributor to GHG emissions globally (Letete, Guma, & Marquard, 2010). This creates an extraordinary challenge for strategies of climate governance in South Africa. There is a necessity to balance widespread developmental needs attained by fostering economic growth with environmental concerns constraining the options for unlimited growth that South Africa so desperately requires (ASSAf, 2011).

Durban, KwaZulu-Natal

The study is located in the city of Durban, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, where climatic changes are being observed that conform to climate change projections (DAEARD, 2010). The mean temperature in Durban is expected to increase between 1°C and 3°C during the

next 50 years. Heat waves, meaning temperatures reaching 35°C and lasting three days, are expected to double (ASSAf, 2011). KwaZulu-Natal is by South African standards already a wet region, nonetheless floods and erosion will increase as an effect of increased rainfall patterns. The city of Durban is also vulnerable to sea level increases due to its coastal position. Durban can, according to Hughes (1992) in ASSAf (2011), withstand a sea level rise of 0.2 meters, but the predictions for the sea level rise in Durban vary from 0.44 to 1.0 meter (KZN energy 2001:27). In addition, the indirect effects of climate change such as food price hikes, migration, and decreasing tourism are expected to effect Durban (ASSAf, 2011). This indicates that the population of Durban will most likely be negatively affected by climatic changes.

The climate change related context is now established, allowing us to move towards the next theme of this study, namely citizenship. Conventional concepts of citizenship with the inherent balance between rights and duties, exclude both environmental aspects and the role of young people. It is today's young people, however, who will inevitably have to deal with the multifaceted challenges of climate change. Empowering young people to face these challenges is therefore crucial, as their decisions and actions will determine the future environment and, in turn, their own quality of life. The concept of citizenship allows for an exploration of how young people are positioned in society and whether or not they are able to act as citizens (Back & Cameron, 2008; Hayward, 2012; Jeffrey, 2012; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). According to Smith and Bjerke (2009), the more young people are treated as citizens, the more they will act as such. By contrast, if young people are regarded as insignificant, they can become insecure in their own capabilities and choose not to engage (Jeffrey, 2010, 2012; Pearce & Larson, 2006; September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Youniss et al., 2002). Youth is a phase of transition from childhood to adulthood where identity takes shape through various learning experiences in social processes. With the right balance of guidance, challenges, support, and experience in social situations, young people develop as citizens (Back & Cameron, 2008; Hayward, 2012; Jeffrey, 2012; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). The emphasis on developing young citizens is necessary due to the increasingly challenging and rapidly changing global context that young people grow up in (Jeffrey, 2010, 2012). According to Fauske (2011), these changes are happening more rapidly and are combined with a longer generational exchange rate, which makes it more challenging to pass on traditions and culture from one generation to the next. This passing on of knowledge and experience has

historically prepared the young for life and guided them through the transition from childhood to adulthood. In other words, the global changes happen rapidly, while the generations change at a slower pace (Fauske, 2011). This indicates that it may be worthwhile to invest more energy into assisting the youth in their transition to adulthood by providing guidance and a passing on of knowledge gained, in order to ensure that they are capable of more easily handling the challenges of the current global and local contexts. On that note, young people are not necessarily more suitable for achieving greater sustainability than adults, but there is a tendency to overlook young people both in citizenship and in climate governance, which is arguably disadvantageous.

Promoting sustainable behaviour of individual citizens is a specific climate governance mechanism (Dobson, 2003; Jelin, 2000; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). Ecological citizenship is based on the idea that information and awareness among citizens will cause them to voluntarily modify their behaviour towards sustainability. For Andrew Dobson, a central figure in the theoretical development of the concept, the value of virtue is of essence. Dobson argues that greater sustainability will be achieved if citizens' actions are grounded in the idea that it is the right thing to do, rather than responding to fiscal incentives (2003). There are also more pragmatic climate governance approaches to ecological citizenship that rely on fiscal incentives to guide the individual behaviour of citizens (ASSAf, 2011). Either way, the goal is to influence the outcome of individual actions towards sustainability.

The major criticism of ecological citizenship is that it leaves the underlying power dynamics unchallenged, as it ignores the role of structures that bring about climate change (ASSAf, 2011; Melo-Escribuela, 2008). Practice theory is utilised in this instance to comprehend the limitation of ecological citizenship and to ground the complexity of this study. Ortner (2006) presents practice theory as a dialectical relationship between social actors and the larger structures. In other words, structures shape the practices of social actors, however, the social practices produce and reproduce the social structures (Ortner, 2006). The essence of the argument is that this dialectical relationship is best represented by the everyday practices of ordinary people; these practices are a result of the structure and agent combination (Page & Mercer, 2012). This point of view will serve as a viable tool to explore the everyday practices of young people in Durban, South Africa, positioned within both environmental and developmental pressures.

The rationale for this study is based on a combination of variables. There is an explicit need for empirical work on ecological citizenship as it is a relatively new concept (Dobson, 2007; Latta, 2007; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). Thereafter, this study aims to investigate what is often neglected in the Southern hemisphere; namely, the possible role of young people as agents, rather than victims of climate change. The largely report-based literature on young people and climate change from the global South focus on young people's vulnerability (Back & Cameron, 2008; Gautam & Oswald, 2008; IDS, 2009; PLAN, 2003; Polack, 2010; Seballos, Tanner, Tarazona, & Gallegos, 2011; UNICEF & RSA, 2011; UNICEF, 2007, 2008). While the Northern studies focus on young people as potential agents in the battle against climate change (Lovell & Brien, 2009; Partridge, 2008; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005; Strandbu & Skogen, 2000; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011). Exploring how to include youth in climate governance is arguably not an issue exclusive to the global North, however, the context of developmental pressures in the global South is inevitably highly influential. Nevertheless, it is not a reason to ignore the potential of environmental social practices among young people in the Southern hemisphere.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main research aim is to investigate the environmental practices of young people in Durban, South Africa, and what possible role can young people play as ecological citizens in climate governance. The following sub-questions allow investigating the above:

1. How do young people conceptualise climate change-related topics?
2. How do young people understand and experience citizenship?
3. Do young people possess features of ecological citizenship?

The results of this research reveal that the participants have a vague understanding of climate related concepts and an inability to relate to it as personally relevant. It further shows a fair understanding of citizenship, while the experiences of citizenship are influenced by a sense of exclusion, detachment from politics, and limited options for executing citizenship activities. Lastly, the everyday practices of young people reveal a limited range of environmentally friendly actions, accompanied by a moderate sense of agency. Overall, this paints a rather bleak, if unsurprising, picture. This study, however, argues that it is possibly the everyday lives of young people within the context of structural constraints that partly determines the outcomes of their actions. Therefore, the responsibility for environmentally friendly behaviour cannot be placed on the young citizens alone, when the structural

opportunities for doing so are limited. This research suggests that there is need for policy targeting to enable young people's citizenship options and to establish practical alternatives for sustainable behaviour.

In summary, the overall argument is that sustainable practices of individual citizens are significant and it is therefore important to incorporate young people into climate governance, but climate governance relying merely on individual incentives is insufficient. There is a need for a more hybrid climate governance approach, that incorporates various actors from across sectors. An approach that acknowledges the role of structural constraints and opportunities that shape the potential of environmentally friendly practices for young individuals.

1.4 Research Methods and Structure

The research paradigm of constructivism is employed in this study, as this is an exploratory study based on qualitative research methods. The main research instrument for collecting data is semi-structured interviews that provide grounds for the thematic analysis. A hybrid approach of both deductive and inductive methods was utilised during the thematic analysis of the findings. As a result, the overall research process was guided by reciprocity between theory and enquiry, consequently resulting in what I will refer to as young people's ecological citizenship.

The definition of youth varies within a range of people from 14 to 35 years of age depending on the source (African Union, n.d.; *National Youth Commission Act*, 1996; UN, 2010, p. 3). Youth is a broad group and there are evidently different characteristics that dominate the younger and the older cohort. In this paper, the younger cohort of 13 to 18 years of age will be in focus. The terms used to refer to this cohort in the literature are adolescents, children, youth, young people, and teenagers. In this dissertation the terms youth and young people are employed interchangeably. The literature refers to low carbon, ecological and environmental citizenship. In this paper the term ecological citizenship is predominantly applied.

Chapter Two provides a literature review that firstly focuses on covering the foundational topics of climate change, youth, and citizenship. Subsequently, the associations between these themes are outlined. Lastly, practice theory and young ecological citizenship are

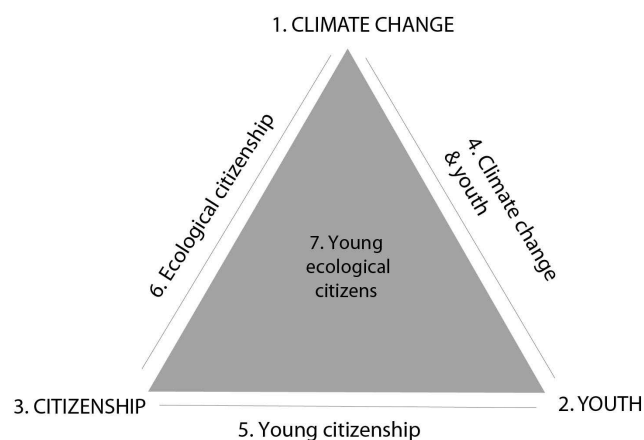
approached in an attempt to combine all the concepts. Chapter Three outlines the methodology utilised for conducting this study. The limitations of this study are addressed towards the end of the chapter. Chapter Four presents the findings separately according to the research objectives of the study, where each of the sections outlines the descriptive findings, as well as providing a thematic analysis. Chapter Five outlines the main features of this research, provides a summary of the study, and outlines a few recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

“Like nightmares disappear and seem distant in the light of day, the worst-scenario environmental disasters seem so abstract and distant that they cannot be thought of as ‘realistic’. They therefore belong in the same timeless realm as the dream and the nightmare, and for that reason they exist beyond a reality that can be conceived of within a linear conception of time” (Nilsen, 1999, p. 190)

This chapter considers the interaction of three major thematic areas: climate change; youth; citizenship. Although the result is a complex framework, which Figure 1 attempts to illustrate, this is justified by the complex nature of the subject itself. In order to deal with this complexity, each of the three major themes will initially be outlined separately. Thereafter, the interaction along the axes will be explored respectively. Lastly, I will consider how all three concepts fit together and utilise practice theory to manage the complexity of the argument - that in order for young people to be able to act as ecological citizens, several structural constraints need to be transformed into opportunities. This intricate combination of the literature offers a conceptual tool for understanding the empirical story that will allow for the analysis to explore the environmental practices of young people in Durban, South Africa, and the possible role they can play as ecological citizens in climate governance. The numbers in Figure 1 indicate the order in which the topics will be presented in this chapter.

Figure 1: The Interrelatedness of the Concepts in this Study



2.1 Responses to Climate Change

This section introduces characteristics of climate change that are of relevance to this study. The delayed affects of climate related impacts, the tragedy of the commons, and the abstract nature of climate change, make it a time-less and space-less phenomenon, which are characteristics that create a great deal of challenges when it comes to motivating actors to change their practices (ASSAf, 2011; Giddens, 2009; IPCC, 2013).

The delay in the manifestation of climate-related impacts is one critical feature of climate change. This is simply due to the time scales required to remove GHGs from the atmosphere, which takes between five and two hundred years (Gardiner, 2006; Giddens, 2009; IPCC, 2007). Due to the impact delays, the past and current emissions will accumulate effects for centuries, even if the amount of GHG emissions were stabilised today (IPCC, 2007, 2013; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006). Following from the delayed effects of climate change, the second challenging feature is that climate change is so abstract and its effects so long term that it practically exists beyond people's realities (Nilsen, 1999; Ojala, 2012a, 2012b). "If phenomena involve characteristics that cannot even be described by the concept of threat, they are so far beyond any notion of time and space as to appear utterly unreal in people's minds" (Nilsen, 1999, p. 189). (For more on risk theory, refer to Ulrick Beck, 1992). People relate more easily to matters that are near in space and time to themselves, and that can be perceived as both tangible and understandable (Nilsen, 1999). Climate change is a timeless and space-less phenomenon for the majority of people, thus the incentive for individual actors to act in favour of the climate is weak (Nilsen, 1999; Ojala, 2012a). This will be revisited in the Findings chapter, as the respondents in this study struggled to relate climate change to their personal sphere.

Another problematic characteristic of climate change is the tragedy of the commons, first introduced by Garrett Hardin in 1968. The foundational idea is that individuals act rationally based on self-interest in order to maximize their own short-term gain. Individual actors therefore exploit and eventually deplete the common resources at the cost of the common recourse itself, despite the group's common long-term interest (Beinart, 2000; Gardiner, 2006; Hardin, 1968). When the cost of pollution is less than purifying emissions, countries will choose to continue to emit GHGs. This is partly linked to the fact that the externalities of production processes are not yet linked to major fiscal costs (Hardin, 1968; Meadows,

1999). Thus, climate change is a complex phenomenon that does not provide individuals, countries, or continents with an incentive to act independently in favour of the commons.

In summary, climate change is considered with a great deal of certainty to be a problem that people, both globally and in South Africa, will have to deal with. Firstly, the effects of climate change are so sluggish, that responding to the problem will have significant delays. Yet, these responses and their effects will also have delays, creating a great deal of uncertainty (Giddens, 2009; IPCC, 2007). Climate change is not a matter of concern for individuals because it is rarely present in people's immediate sphere in a way that they can grasp. This is not to argue that people do not care about climate change, but rather that it is challenging to regard something that is so vague and distant as significant. Lastly, the tragedy of the commons gives actors little reason to change; as long as someone else emits GHGs, why should they change their individual behaviour? The negative effects will still happen as a result of the consumption patterns of others, despite their costly change of behaviour towards the better. Despite all of this, the inevitable question is nonetheless: how do we deal with a challenge of such scope? A complex problem requires a complex response. Climate governance is not a set standard of procedures and mechanisms, and can in theory be designed according to the needs. Managing climate change might then require a complex climate governance design.

2.2 Youth

Ramphela (2002) emphasises that youth are not only the future, but also current decision-makers and consequently are an essential part of building a society. It is therefore important to investigate the context that young people grow up in. Young people often feel that they are continuously treated as inferior due to the mere fact that they are young. The argument is that there is room to acknowledge young people and partially include them in decision-making that affects them, without giving them the full control of the process; the benefits of which arguably apply to both the society (structure) and the young people (actor) themselves (Butler et al., 2009; Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). This subsection of the literature review will provide a brief contextual background in order to position this study within a context. Subsequently, a short discussion on the benefits of including youth and the pitfalls of excluding youth will take place, thereafter the factors that increase youth engagement will be presented.

Wray-Lake et. al. (2010, p. 62) claim that shifts in youth's attitudes are significant indicators of long term social change, as the young generation will eventually become the local, national, and global leaders, as well as those leaders' followers (UN, 2005; Wray-Lake et al., 2010; Youniss et al., 2002). Paying attention to these shifts thus has high social relevance. Furthermore, youth is a context-specific social construct shaped by three vital structures: their family, education, and community (Bjerke, 2010; Boyce, 2010; Fussell & Greene, 2002; Hart, 1997; Ramphele, 2002; Weller, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002). This indicates that different structural opportunities determine the well-being, aspirations, and the opportunities for young people across the globe (Bjerke, 2010; Chawla, 1999; Ramphele, 2002). According to the World Bank (2006), there were 1.5 billion youth defined as people aged 12 to 24 years in 2005, of which 1.3 billion were located in the developing world. This draws some attention to the question of how to foster healthy and functioning young people in a developing context.

In South Africa, youth are defined as 14-35 years of age in the National Youth Commission Act (No.19 of 1996), which is a wide definition. Youth account for an estimated 37 per cent of the population, meaning that South Africa has a younger population than the global average of 18 per cent (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008; UN, 2005). Overall, the level of socio-economic well-being among the majority of youth remains low in South Africa due mainly to historical racial segregation, mass unemployment, and the AIDS pandemic (Makiwane and Kwizera 2008, Boyce 2010). Serving as a foundation for South Africa's future, this indicates a few challenges ahead.

The literature repeatedly underlines that youth is neither a singular classification nor a homogenous group. Youth does signify a specific stage of a person's life as a transition from childhood to adulthood, while not being able to identify with either. It is an intermediate period influenced by emotional instability, where dependence and independence coexist. The turmoil during this transitional phase often results in youth being stigmatised by clichés ranging from hope of the future to rebellious and apathetic (Boyce, 2010; Hart, 1997; Partridge, 2008; Pole, Pilcher, & Williams, 2005; Weller, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002).

In understanding the responses to participation of youth, Kruger and Chawla (2005) cover a case study from 1999 with young people in Johannesburg partaking in the process of identifying dangers and necessary improvements to make the city more child-friendly. The

study was part of a UNESCO program with the objective of guiding future municipal policies in Johannesburg. The study showed that the children and youth were able to identify, evaluate, and recommend reflective solutions.

Harré (2007), Matthews (2010), Pearce and Larson (2006), Smith and Bjerke (2009), and Weller (2007), among others, studied the benefits of youth participation and claim that it furthers the establishment of new social and practical skills, which also have emotional benefits such as self-worth, and feelings of belonging and empowerment. These factors serve as a positive cycle that result in further commitment and therefore reinforce the sense of agency (Harré, 2007). It goes without saying that these benefits apply not to the young individuals exclusively, but also to the society as a whole (UN, 2005).

The literature also points out recurring challenges of working with youth (Clements, 2005; Harré, 2007; Hipkind & Poremski, 2005; Hordijk, 2012; Kruger & Chawla, 2005; Matthews, 2010; Partridge, 2008; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Weller, 2007). The nature of participatory processes proves to be too slow for the youth due to the lack of immediate results. Secondly, the attitudes of adults manifest as a challenge as it is difficult to make adults and young people work together harmoniously. Thirdly, characteristics of young people such as a lack of confidence, culture of peer pressure, and lack of interest are stalling factors for participation (Hordijk, 2012; Matthews, 2010). The second and third points are partially evident in the findings of this study, which will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Four. Furthermore, the more general obstacles for young people's engagement are usually a combination of structural and individual constraints. Factors such as language, culture, availability of alternatives for participation, institutional barriers, individual marginalisation due to psychological difficulties, lack of resources, and poverty are some of the factors that create a higher threshold for young people to engage. These factors need to be actively targeted by policy in order to lower the threshold for participation in society among youth (Backe-Hansen, 2011). When young people are marginalised, they do not feel that their contributions are valuable and so they become insecure of their capabilities (Ramphele, 2002; September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002).

There are several factors that increase the likelihood of youth involvement in society. Pearce and Larson (2006) investigated the factors that turn initially disengaged youth into motivated participants. Three factors were identified as essential components to the

favourable outcomes of this process; namely, peer support, the essential role of the mentor, and the need for the issues at stake to be of personal relevance. This encouraged the shift from a passive to an active role where the choice to stay within the program became voluntary rather than compulsory (Pearce & Larson, 2006). This will be outlined in greater detail as it is significant for youth engagement.

A fine balance of co-operation between young people and adults is evidently necessary. The role of adults is important in providing guidance and support, however, there needs to be a degree of freedom, which requires adults to let go of some of their authority (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). To complicate the matter the co-operation between young people and adults often proves to often be a challenge (Clements, 2005; Hordijk, 2012; Kjørholt, Bjerke, Stordal, Hellem, & Skotte, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007).

Vague challenges are often hard for young people to relate to. Issues on the agenda need to be of personal relevance, or at least they need to be understood as personally relevant. The role of the mentor is crucial here in breaking the phenomenon up into tangible issues that youth can relate to personally (Nilsen, 1999; Ødegård, 2007; Pearce & Larson, 2006). As a result, youth engagement tends to be more cause-oriented due to the necessity of personal relevance (Nilsen, 1999; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008a, 2008b; UN, 2010; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Weller, 2007).

In addition to Pearce and Larson's (2006) recommendations, the importance of spaces for young people's participation in society seems to be a recurring element in the majority of the reviewed studies (Clements, 2005; Hall, Coffey, & Williamson, 2010; Harré, 2007; Hipkind & Poremski, 2005; Hordijk, 2012; Jennings, Parra-medina, Hilfinger Messias, & McLoughlin, 2006; Matthews, 2010; Roholt, Hildreth, & Baizerman, 2008; Thomson & Holland, 2004; Weller, 2007). Hall, Coffey and Williamson (1999) argue that youth need a space outside their school and home environments that is unsupervised, accessible, and affordable in order to construct identity and show presence.

Clements (2005) followed up on the case study introduced earlier by Chawla and Kruger (2005) to evaluate the outcomes of the participatory project from Johannesburg. It appears that the report with the recommendations from the young people had disappeared and had not been circulated through the official channels. The improvements were not implemented

and as a result, the initial success that led to enthusiasm and empowerment among the young and their teachers was replaced by disappointment, anger, and disbelief. Clements (2005) concludes that the government structures failed to incorporate and follow through on the agreed objectives. It was evident that the government lacked skills and knowledge about how to co-operate with young people (Clements, 2005).

Clements (2005) makes it clear that the official representatives working with child-related matters must know how to interact with young people in person. It has been established that the role of the adult is vital, however, it is evident that the success factor is highly dependant on the personal characteristics of the mentor. It is possible to learn how to connect well with youth to a certain degree, although this is evidently an instinctive feature in some individuals (Clements, 2005; Pearce & Larson, 2006). The benefit of people who work with youth having this inherent ability to co-operate and communicate well with them is repeatedly mentioned in the literature as an invaluable resource for successful youth initiatives (Clements, 2005; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Weller, 2007).

Smith and Bjerke(2009, p. 21) support this by arguing that a common problem with youth initiatives is the lack of skills and knowledge around how to work with young people. Furthermore, the authors point out that the agenda for including young people is not always genuine (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). It is at this point essential to question the grounds for inclusion of young people. Any youth initiative needs to ask how the young people will benefit from the process, or whom the process is actually intended to benefit (Hart, 1997; Kjørholt, 2002; Mniki & Rosa, 2007; UN, 2005). Kjørholt and colleagues (2009) studied the motives behind a multitude of youth projects. There is evidence of certain projects using young people as valuable tools to realise objectives other than the interests of youth. In such cases, young people are often included in participatory projects for political publicity as ‘tokens’ of symbolic value (Backe-Hansen, 2011; Clements, 2005; Kjørholt et al., 2009; Kjørholt, 2002).

In conclusion, it is evident that both young people and society benefit from including youth. However, there are several challenges in working with youth due to their transitional position. There are also several factors that increase both the likelihood of youth engagement and the success rate of youth initiatives. The authors argue that the young people need to feel that the matters are of personal relevance to them, that they need to

receive guidance in the form of mentoring, and support in terms of resources and motivational challenges in order for them to engage and the initiatives to succeed (Hipskind & Poremski, 2005; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). Young people generally ask to be included, respected, and acknowledged as persons with valuable contributions in social relations to adults (Bjerke, 2011a).

2.3 Citizenship

This subsection will briefly present the concept of citizenship to provide a short contextual background in order to allow for the later sections of this chapter to address concepts that build on citizenship.

Citizenship broadly symbolises a membership of a community; conventionally a nation state with set territorial boundaries (Dobson, 2003). Citizenship is therefore constructed as a *relationship* between a state and an individual citizen (Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). The foundation of this relationship is an asymmetrical combination of obligations and rights. This combination is unique and often the distinctive feature that defines various approaches to citizenship (Dobson, 2003; Isin & Wood, 1999, p. 117; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith, 1998, p. 98; Weller, 2007).

The liberal theory on citizenship sees citizenship as a status, and emphasises contractual rights of an individual nature (Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008; Weller, 2007). The public sphere within the nation state is recognised as the arena for citizenship activity. This approach is criticised both for a singular focus on rights and for overlooking the potential significance of obligations in citizenship (Dobson, 2003; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008; Weller, 2007). The civic republican notion of citizenship has lost some of its ground due to the dominance of liberal citizenship. The republican approach to citizenship is duty-based and is more community oriented. In contrast to the liberal rights based approach, the republicans emphasise the notion of active participation grounded in a moral framework for the greater good, rather than individual rights (Dobson, 2003; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008; Weller, 2007).

In conclusion, globalisation alters the political nature, political processes, and political thoughts. It is only natural to think that the citizenship concept, which is an inherent part of any political process, is also changing. Whether the context of citizenship is changing in or

out of line with the political changes is still uncertain, nonetheless, change is evident (Sáiz-Valencia, 2005). Although conventional notions of citizenship exclude both youth and the environment, these changes will serve as useful grounds at a later stage for examining the interactions between these nodes (Manning & Ryan, 2004; Weller, 2007).

2.4 Climate Change and Youth

Having set out the three core themes informing this study, the discussion will now turn to the way in which these themes interact with one another, as represented by the axes of the triangle in Figure 1 on page 6. This part of the chapter will account for why it makes sense to combine climate change and youth. The relationship between young people and climate change is approached with a pronounced North and South disparity in the literature. The reports from the global South focus dominantly on risk reduction and the vulnerability of children, while the studies from the global North, on the other hand, are more centred on environmental knowledge, attitudes, and actions among young people. Both types of reports will be covered in this section. Finally, the intention of this study will be justified by pointing to a gap in the literature.

The inherent delays of climate change account for the importance of younger generations, as they will have to bear the consequences of current decisions and actions (Wray-Lake, Flanagan, & Osgood, 2010). Wray-Lake et.al. (2009) call to mind the significant value of young people's environmental understandings, attitudes, and actions, as they will determine the future climate governance strategies and consequently the quality of the environment. The proposed argument of this section is that youth will eventually have to cope with both the effects of climate change and the increasing pressure of finding viable solutions. Rational thought dictates that it is important to investigate the ways in which the youth can be better prepared for the tasks awaiting them in life. This is also motivated by the reality that marginalised population groups generally have few available options when it comes to participating in efforts towards climate governance (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006, p. 312).

The most noteworthy point of divergence in the literature is the approach to young people in relation to the environment, which evidently depends on the development level of the country studied. Research from Australia, the UK, the US, Norway, New Zealand, and Montenegro investigates the environmental knowledge, attitudes, and practices among young people, which treats youth as independent actors in society (Lovell & Brien, 2009;

Partridge, 2008; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005; Strandbu & Skogen, 2000; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011). While the largely report-based literature from Cambodia, Nepal, Kenya, El Salvador, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Vietnam, and South Africa tends to conversely study the negative impacts of climate change on young people, especially younger children and how vulnerable they are, which has a rather victimising effect (Back & Cameron, 2008; Gautam & Oswald, 2008; IDS, 2009; PLAN, 2003; Polack, 2010; Seballos, Tanner, Tarazona, & Gallegos, 2011; UNICEF & RSA, 2011; UNICEF, 2007, 2008).

The Northern Context

Young people in the developed world have a basic understanding of environmental issues with a superficial and inconsistent comprehension of climate change (Lovell & Brien, 2009; Partridge, 2008; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005; Strandbu & Skogen, 2000; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). The awareness regarding causes and effects of environmental problems, specifically relating to climate change, is characterised by confusion and a degree of misconception (Lovell & Brien, 2009; Schreiner, Henriksen, & Kirkeby Hansen, 2005; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). A basic understanding of climate change characterised by confusion and misconception is also the case in this study.

Young people in the global North do perceive climate change with a degree of concern (Schreiner et al., 2005; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005; Strandbu & Skogen, 2000; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). However, environmental problems are one of the few political issues that youth feel are inevitable and beyond their control (Thomson & Holland, 2004), and as such they lack a sense of agency as they do not believe that their contribution can be influential (Ojala, 2012b; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005; Strandbu & Skogen, 2000; Thomson & Holland, 2004; UN, 2010; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Weller, 2007). Interestingly, when young people see the issue as personally relevant, that is when they become engaged in environmental matters (Nilsen, 1999; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008a, 2008b; UN, 2010; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Weller, 2007). This suggests that climate change needs to be interpreted as having a personal relevance for youth (Nilsen, 1999; Schreiner & Sjøberg, 2005).

Strandbu and Skogen (2000) found that pro-environmental attitudes of young people often reflected their cultural capital and class background. Skogen (1996) found that environmental attitudes and lifestyles are predominantly present among young people from highly educated, middle-income families with employment from the non-producing sector. Consequently, youth from lower class backgrounds had less environmentally friendly attitudes (Strandbu & Skogen, 2000). However, Skogen(1996), Strandbu and Skogen (2000),

Strandbu and Krange(2003), and Ødegård and Berglund (2008a) all underline the fact that regardless of its influence, class formation takes place within a structural context and is not the only determinant for pro-environmental behaviour. One must therefore be wary of simply labelling environmentalism as a middle class phenomenon. On that note, targeting climate change in South Africa is often a challenge due to the culture of racially stigmatising environmentalism positing it as a white, middle class phenomenon (ASSAf, 2011).

The Southern Context

The notion of youth is under-represented due to the dominant focus on children in the largely report-based literature covering the global South. The majority of the reports underline how children bear most of the climate related impact, but contribute least to the problem (Back & Cameron, 2008; Gautam & Oswald, 2008; IDS, 2009; Polack, 2009; Seballos, Tanner, Tarazona, & Gallegos, 2011; UNICEF, 2007, 2008). The reports further supplement each other in the consideration of children's heightened vulnerability due to their cognitive and physiological immaturity (Back & Cameron, 2008; UNICEF, 2008). There is a consensus on the increased vulnerability of poor children living in the developing world as they face increasingly frequent and severe climate related disasters, combined with a low coping capacity (Back & Cameron, 2008; Seballos et al., 2011; UNICEF & RSA, 2011; UNICEF, 2007, 2008). The main line of argument is that the complexity of the challenges facing children comprises linkages between climate change and wider development pressures in developing countries (UNICEF & RSA, 2011; UNICEF, 2008).

One study, by Ahmad et.al. (2012), investigates the understanding of ecological citizenship among youth in Malaysia. This study conducted in 2007 of 30 young people aged between 18 and 25 revealed low levels of environmental knowledge, especially in relation to climate change. Furthermore, the youth felt they had little incentive to act upon the environmental problems. Nevertheless, the research was done in a developing country with an angle of young people as agents. It will be interesting to contrast the findings of Ahmad et.al. (2012) with this study. However, there are few grounds for comparative reasoning due to the disparities of methods and no definition of what low levels of knowledge are in Ahmad et.al. (2012).

In South Africa, young people's conceptualisations and actions in relation to climate change are scarcely covered in the literature. The report "Exploring the Impact of Climate Change on Children in South Africa" by the Department of Women, Children, and People with

Disabilities, and the Department of Environmental Affairs in co-operation with UNICEF (2011) lacks quality primary data as the study is predominantly desk based. There is, therefore, as stated in the report, a great need for more substantial research with empirical data on young people and climate change in South Africa (UNICEF & RSA, 2011). Additionally, the deficiency of studies covering young people's conceptualisations and actions regarding climate change in the context of a developing country, without treating the youth as merely victims, is evident. This is precisely the intention of the proposed research, to investigate how to include young people in climate governance in a developmental context.

2.5 Young People's Citizenship

“Whilst policy-makers are fearful of teenage apathy, they are also fearful of teenagers’ political engagement” (Weller, 2007, p. 170).

An Ambiguous Picture of Youth

Conventional concepts of citizenship often ignore the role of youth (Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008; Weller, 2007). The argument that will be rationalised in this section is that exclusion from citizenship is neither beneficial for the youth, nor the society. The literature provides an ambiguous image of young citizens. On the one hand young people are portrayed as an active part of society as citizens, while on the other hand there is a moral panic where youth are stigmatised as being apathetic, rebellious, and in need of control (Bennett, 1997; Boyce, 2010; Jeffrey, 2012; Roberts & Letsoalo, 2009; Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; UN, 2005, 2010; Weller, 2007). There are three major predicaments with the notion of youth as apathetic citizens, which serve as points of convergence in the literature, which this part of the chapter will cover. Firstly, it will address the paradox of how young people are often excluded from citizenship activities automatically due to their status as minors and simultaneously stamped as apathetic citizens. Secondly, young people do not understand citizenship as it is conveyed in theory and therefore detach themselves from formal citizenship activities such as party politics. Thirdly, citizenship activities by young people are not regarded as legitimate and fall outside of ‘good citizenship’. Consequently, studies covering children's reflections on citizenship, with its inherent rights and duties, will be presented to provide a contextual background for this study.

Firstly, the general notion of the youth as apathetic often stems from the misconception that reluctance to vote among young people equates to apathy. Political citizenship rights are automatically granted at the age of 18 in many countries. This implies a version of citizenship that excludes minors and that authorises participation in society through voting or a relationship to a political party only (Kennelly, 2009; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Ødegård, 2011; Weller, 2007). However, there is a recent move away from this assumption and towards the idea that alienation from the political processes among youth does not necessarily signify apathy, but rather points to distant decision making in a large scale political order (Manning & Ryan, 2004; Weller, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002). This is not to argue that citizens should be able to vote earlier, but rather pointing out that society excludes young people from the political processes and at a later stage problematises their disengagement from politics (Kennelly & Dillabough, 2008; Kennelly, 2009; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008; Weller, 2007).

Secondly, young people do not experience citizenship the way it is conveyed in citizenship theory (Jeffrey, 2012; Kennelly & Dillabough, 2008; Kennelly, 2009; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Weller, 2007). Generally speaking, studies show that young people across the globe tend to rather engage in cause-oriented issues of individual relevance (Nilsen, 1999; Ødegård & Berglund, 2008a, 2008b; UN, 2010; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Weller, 2007). Research shows that young people do not see politics and their daily lives as related matters. There is, as a result, a tendency for young people to convey hesitancy, or even disillusion, towards participation in political processes (Bjerke, 2010; Kennelly, 2009; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). Notwithstanding this, young people do have an understanding of their duties and rights, and they do consider themselves citizens. However, their citizenship activities are not regarded as legitimate in conventional citizenship theory (Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009).

This leads to the third point, namely the distinction between a good citizen and an active citizen. Dillabough and Kennelly (2008) and Kennelly (2009) criticise the notion of 'good citizenship', as a practice stripped down to individual, self-regulated, responsible acts limited to participation in society through a political party or philanthropy. An active citizen, on the other hand, engages with and responds to state policies, and challenges the status quo if necessary (Kennelly & Dillabough, 2008; Kennelly, 2009). Young people are active and engaged in society, but not necessarily in conventional ways such as voting and involvement

in party politics (Ødegård & Berglund, 2008b; Ødegård, 2007). Youth engagement takes many forms and often plays out on a local level where there is a degree of personal relevance. If these activities were to be recognised as citizenship activities, young people would not be considered apathetic (Jeffrey, 2012; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Nilsen, 1999; Roholt et al., 2008; Weller, 2007).

To summarise the paradox, youth are given boundaries of legitimate and acceptable citizenship that do not match their lived realities. When young people's actions fall outside these boundaries it should not automatically imply that they are passive citizens. It seems too simplistic to equate voting patterns with active citizenship and therefore stamp youth as apathetic (Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008; Weller, 2007). To illustrate the point, Weller (2007) writes of a protest led by children in the UK against the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Many of the participants were expelled from school and treated as scapegoats for protesting against what they considered wrongdoings within their society (Weller, 2007). This is precisely the paradox that is mentioned here. There is an aspiration for young people to be active, but only within the boundaries of political comfort, social norms, and limitations of what constitutes a good citizen. Consequently, this calls for a more fluid notion of citizenship that incorporates young people and acknowledges that they do actively express their duties and rights as citizens (Dobson, 2003; Hipkind & Poremski, 2005; Kruger & Chawla, 2005; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Mniki & Rosa, 2007; Partridge, 2008; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Roholt et al., 2008; Sherman, 2004; Weller, 2007).

What does citizenship actually entail for young people? It appears that citizenship is not an end goal, but rather a learning process where young people learn through experience. This process consists of social interactions that provide opportunities to take responsibility, experience their rights, and act as social agents. It is by working with other people that youth see how they are capable of expressing themselves (Bjerke, 2011; Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009). Roholt et.al. (2008, p. 113) argue that this requires youth to feel that they are taken seriously and that they can demonstrate how they "can make a difference". In simple terms, the more young people are treated as citizens, the more likely they are to engage. There are starkly different opportunities for young people to exercise their citizenship in different structural contexts (Smith & Bjerke, 2009).

Smith and Taylor (2009) assessed a range of studies on young citizenship from Australia, Brazil, New Zealand, Palestine, Norway, and South Africa in the edited book *Children as Citizens? International Voices*. The authors claim that young people generally have an understanding of their rights across the globe (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). This is especially the case regarding rights that are contextually part of their everyday life and that they can easily relate to; for instance: the right to be taken care of, and the right to food, a family, education, and safety. With increasing age, the concept of rights shifts from the need to be nurtured and provided for, towards the freedom of expression and the right to influence choices that affect their lives (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). The dominant understanding of responsibilities were towards the family, school, and community, and included respecting others and generally not doing wrong according to a moral code (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). Overall, young people ask to be treated with dignity and respect, to have an opinion, and to have a say without having full control over decision making (Bjerke, 2011a).

In the South African context, a study with 112 youth was conducted in 2004 and is presented by September and Roberts (2009). The concept of citizenship proved to be hard to define, however, the South African youth referred to citizenship as a feeling of belonging to a community or country. The young people predominantly claimed to be citizens by birth, while less than half of the parents in the study regarded their children as citizens from birth (September & Roberts, 2009).

The youth in the South African study mainly focused on the right to food, shelter, clothing, education, and safety. Freedom of expression was strongly represented by the older respondents, along with the idea of justice in their communities and schools. The older participants still expressed a need for love and nurturing, although to a lesser degree than the younger respondents (September & Roberts, 2009). Regarding responsibilities, the general trend was to obey the laws and authorities such as family and school. The older participants expressed the responsibility to not do wrong, to respect others and to take care of their possessions. A great deal of the older respondents also showed awareness of the reciprocity between rights and responsibilities (September & Roberts, 2009).

Furthermore, the study by September and Roberts (2009) suggests that the adults were sceptical about the idea of citizenship for young people in South Africa. The parents and teachers favoured a type of citizenship that Kenneley (2009) labelled 'good citizenship',

which is arguably problematic as dealt with earlier in this chapter. Regarding rights, the parents agreed that children should have freedom of expression, but with limited input with regard to decision-making. In addition there was limited support for youth to have the right to protest against injustice in their local community. Also, there was explicitly little support for young people to rightfully claim their own space (September & Roberts, 2009), which as previously mentioned is essential in fostering engagement among young people (Clements, 2005; Hall et al., 2010; Harré, 2007; Hipskind & Poremski, 2005; Hordijk, 2012; Jennings et al., 2006; Matthews, 2010; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Roholt et al., 2008; Thomson & Holland, 2004; Weller, 2007).

The general opinion among adults from the South African study by September and Roberts (2009), reflects that young people should obey and respect adults, authority, and public institutions. In addition, these responsibilities should not be questioned and challenged by youth. There was generally a great deal of reluctance among the adults to enable young people to be citizens. There was evidence of little authentic participation with young people in the study, despite the progressive constitution in South Africa and the ratified UNCRC. The authors argue that the patterns of these power dynamics result in passive and insecure young citizens that reinforces their exclusion (September & Roberts, 2009). They further conclude that the explicit desire for a passive and obedient child is a distressing sign for the development of democracy and justice (September & Roberts, 2009). This case study provides support for the argument that exclusion of young people is neither beneficial for the youth, nor the society.

To ground the conceptual debate after the South African context, there is a need for a delicate balance of rights and responsibilities for young citizens. Young people generally construct themselves as citizens capable of citizens' activities while acknowledging that they are different to adults (September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). Accordingly, Hawyard (2012) recommends supporting practical possibilities for citizenship activities for young people. Nevertheless, there is an obvious difference between citizenship for adults and youth due to different levels of maturity. According to Lister (2008) in Smith and Bjerke (2009), these differences need to be kept in mind and accommodated. On that note, young people argue that they can express agency while continuing to depend on adults (Bjerke, 2011a). Agency and dependency do therefore not have to be contradictory according to Smith and Bjerke (2009). Young people ask for participation in order to enable

a dynamic and reciprocal process of connecting and interacting with people. The goal is for young people and adults to be positioned differently, but treated as equally important (Bjerke, 2011a). To summarise, key components of citizenship for young people are respect, recognition, and participation (Smith & Bjerke, 2009).

In conclusion, there is an inherent risk of depriving young people of their freedom and childhood with too many responsibilities as part of the push to become social agents in society. However, labelling and treating young people as ignorant, as non-adults, as only amounting to something in the future, belittles their present actions and creates a sense of insecurity, which is also not advantageous (Smith & Bjerke, 2009). Young people have an understanding of citizenship that does not posit them as identical to the adult version of citizenship, but rather aims to acknowledge and respect the rights and obligations that young people have as citizens (Bjerke, 2010). It is possibly conventional citizenship theory and adult thinking that grapples more with the notion of young people as worthy citizens (Manning & Ryan, 2004; September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007).

2.6 Ecological Citizenship

“Conventional conceptions of justice and citizenship do not provide the human species with an adequate set of tools for resolving the difficulties created by ecological damage today”
(Smith, 1998, p. 91).

Ecological citizenship can be considered as a climate governance strategy that breaks down national boundaries and privatises the environmental responsibility. It attempts to confront the tragedy of the commons by giving individual actors a motive in which to ground their actions (Dobson, 2003; Jelin, 2000; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). This section will investigate whether ecological citizenship can be a viable approach to climate governance. This debate will incorporate Practice Theory to position the argument that sustainable behaviour by individual actors might not be a sufficient climate governance tool, as the structures prove to be too influential for autonomous citizenship practice.

In broad terms, environmental citizenship combines green politics and theories of citizenship (Melo-Escrihuella, 2008). It is an approach that seeks to achieve sustainability through citizenship activities. Ecological citizenship has been the topic of debate in ‘green literature’, policy documents, and institutional campaigns since the 1990s, while it has been

a deliberate climate governance strategy since the early 2000s (ASSAf, 2011; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). Having only achieved attention within the scholarly circles in the last decade, the empirical implications of the concept remain under-explored and so there is an explicit call for a more practical approach within this field (Dobson, 2007; Latta, 2007; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008).

Andrew Dobson is central in the evolution of the environmental citizenship debate (Dobson, 2003, 2007; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). Dobson (2003, 2007) stresses the importance of obligations that citizens have to the world and to humanity; a duty to do justice that transcends national boundaries. The language of virtue is central for Dobson; it implies that ecological citizens represent a commitment to the underlying rationale to do good because it is the right thing to do, while understanding the reason for change rather than merely obeying instructions by responding to superficial fiscal incentives (Dobson, 2003, 2007; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). Consequently, deep shifts in environmental behaviour with corresponding attitudes and values are an essential aim of ecological citizenship, as they arguably create long lasting changes towards a more sustainable society (Dobson, 2003, 2007; Kelly & Abel, 2012; Latta & Garside, 2005; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008).

However, studies show that price hikes and climate change impacts are the main causes of green behaviour, giving the value of virtue little validity. A more pragmatic form of ecological citizenship as a climate governance mechanism is often referred to as low carbon citizenship, which is directly initiated by the government intending to inform and encourage individuals to adopt sustainable behaviour. Such strategies include: policy regulations that influence behaviour; economic incentives, such as supporting the transition to renewable sources of energy for households; creating awareness with the expectation of increasing the likelihood of green behaviour among citizens. Transferring part of the responsibility for handling the challenge of climate change to individual citizens, who will adapt their efforts in order to personally mitigate the effects of climate change, is a deliberate climate governance strategy gaining ground since the 2000s (ASSAf, 2011).

Ecological citizenship provides citizens with the rights to access reliable information and political participation. The problem with this notion is that social inequality and material constraints may hinder some citizens from their right to participate in decision making

processes (Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). This refers to the structure and agent dynamic that will be explored shortly. In addition, the concept of ecological citizenship assumes a linear shift in behaviour caused by access to information. It takes for granted that knowledge of correct behaviour translates into actual practice in accordance with this knowledge (ASSAf, 2011; Loyal, 2003). This notion is directly challenged by the unsustainable behaviour of the well-informed part of the population. Information is nevertheless a significant component of social behaviour, but political, social, and cultural factors are highly influential in the social actions of individuals (ASSAf, 2011; Loyal, 2003; Norgaard, 2006). Furthermore, Melo-Escrihuela (2008) regards the volunteer personal duty approach to naively assume that individual citizen's acts of responsibility would lead to greater sustainability. Citizens might democratically agree, while executing their rights, to maintain the unsustainable way of production and consumption (Melo-Escrihuela, 2008; Reynolds, Blackmore, & Smith, 2009; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008).

2.7 Practice Theory

Practice theory is of relevance here as it explores the dialectical relationship between agency and structure that allows for the further scrutiny of ecological citizenship (Ortner, 2006). Exploring social practices of ordinary people is essentially practice theory, where the practice refers to actions that make up the everyday lives of social actors. These social practices are according to practice theory a result of societal structures, while also being the force that produces, reinforces and transforms societal structures (Loyal, 2003; Ortner, 2006; Page & Mercer, 2012). This indicates that "social practice is not just an individual's choice," (Page & Mercer, 2012, p. 4) but rather a result of a combination of structural constraints and opportunities. While structural constraints are real, one has to be wary of a purely constraint based approach. Individual actors are partially informed subjects rather than robotic mechanisms blindly following the commands of structure. Therefore, actors and structures are not seen as opposing, but rather as reciprocal forces in practice theory (Loyal, 2003; Ortner, 2006; Page & Mercer, 2012).

To contextualise practice theory in this study: ecological citizenship refers to voluntary actions of individual actors within a structural system as a climate governance mechanism. Ecological citizenship naively assumes that citizens have the opportunity to act in a virtuous way that regards the global environment and humanity. The options for such actions evidently need to be enabled by structural opportunities. For instance, transport is one of

the major contributors to global GHG emissions (ASSAf, 2011; IPCC, 2007). Thus reliable and safe public transport needs to be made available by the larger structural forces in order for individual actors to be able to act as ecological citizens, by allowing them to avoid travelling in their individual vehicles. Structure creates both opportunities and constraints for individual agency and action (Loyal, 2003). Structural opportunities, however, are not a guarantee for sustainable action of individual citizens, but it does allow for the possibility.

Summary

The suggested green behaviour by ecological citizenship does not challenge the structures that cause climate change. Furthermore, the shortcomings of relying on individual citizens as a climate governance strategy in order to create a more sustainable society, is evidently insufficient due to the structural forces that citizens act within (ASSAf, 2011; Melo-Escrihuela, 2008). A hybrid climate governance approach that incorporates social processes by various actors, including individual citizens, the private sector, industry, civil society, and the state is arguably necessary in striving for a sustainable society (ASSAf, 2011; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006; Okereke, Bulkeley, & Schroeder, 2009). Nonetheless, pro-environmental practices of individual citizens are a significant *part* of the hybrid climate governance approach.

2.8 Conclusion: Young Ecological Citizens

The final part of this chapter will attempt to fuse the diverse concepts discussed above and bring the focus in towards the middle of the triangle depicted in Figure 1 on page 6. In preparation, a brief revision of the triangle is due. Climate change is a global threat with immense negative repercussions if it is allowed to continue at the current pace. The system that drives climate change is the goal of endless fossil fuelled economic growth. Climate governance aims to influence environmental actions of actors through various regulatory processes in order to influence the outcomes of their actions. Appealing to individual incentives has been a central part of climate governance since the 2000s (ASSAf, 2011; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006).

It has been established that youth's participation in society is beneficial now and in the future, for both the society and the young people themselves (Bjerke, 2011b; Hayward, 2012; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008; Weller, 2007). However, the urge to engage should not only start in adulthood, it needs to be motivated and fostered much earlier in life. Furthermore, youth initiatives need to originate from genuine motives of

youth development. Adults working with young people should be able to connect well with youth and provide a balance of freedom and support (Clements, 2005; Hordijk, 2012; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). Large issues need to be translated into tangible, understandable, and relevant concepts that the youth can relate to, as they require personal relevance in order to spark engagement (Nilsen, 1999; Pearce & Larson, 2006; Roholt et al., 2008). Lastly, structural constraints need to be specifically targeted by policy in order to create practical opportunities for authentic citizenship among young people (Hayward, 2012; September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009).

Subsequently, when combining concepts relating to climate change and youth, a future oriented picture emerges that justifies the focus on youth as they will eventually manage the future climate (Wray-Lake et al., 2010). Looking at this from a lens of practice theory, everyday practices of young citizens, whether intentional or not, will eventually determine the state of the climate. It is therefore necessary to look at these everyday practices as the result of the structure and agency synthesis. On that note, young people grow up in a structure of family, community, country, and the global economy driven by unsustainable fossil-fuelled consumption and production (Loyal, 2003; Ortner, 2006). In South Africa, this is intensified by stark inequalities that create an aspiration for unsustainable consumption and production as it is tightly linked to the image of wealth among the majority of the population (ASSAf, 2011). Hence, young people are social agents accounting for a substantial 37 per cent of the population in South Africa that partly reproduce the structure through their everyday actions, and that are in turn largely a result of the structure itself (Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008; Ortner, 2006; Page & Mercer, 2012). This creates a vicious cycle that reproduces climate change. Breaking this cycle at an early stage of life does, therefore, appear as a reasonable idea.

It is evident that individual practices are influenced by structure and that the personal responsibility for pro-environmental behaviour is highly dependent on the opportunities for such actions. In conclusion, sustainable practices of young individual citizens are a significant part of climate governance as it has the potential to benefit both the actor and the structure. However, climate governance relying on young individuals' actions of ecological citizenship is insufficient, and so there is a call for a more hybrid approach to climate governance, including a wide range of actors from across the private, public, and civic sectors (ASSAf, 2011; Lemos & Agrawal, 2006).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodological considerations of the study. It firstly establishes the setting for the study. The target population, the selection process and the final study sample description are thereafter addressed. Subsequently, the processes of data collection and analysis are described, before the ethical considerations and limitations of the study are presented.

3.1 Introduction

The foundational philosophy of this study is the paradigm of constructivism, known for its interpretative nature that seeks to understand a local and specifically constructed reality (Mounton & Marais, 1996). This research consists of an exploratory study of conceptions of climate change-related topics, understandings and experiences of citizenship, and of ecological citizenship features among youth in Durban, South Africa. This is in order to explore whether or not ecological citizenship for young people in Durban, South Africa, could be a valuable component of climate governance.

The study is constructed around two main pillars. Firstly, it is based on a body of literature covering theoretical frameworks of climate change-related science, citizenship in relation to ecology and youth, and practice theory. These conceptual tools allow for an analysis of the qualitative data, which serves as the second pillar of this study. A qualitative methodology was applied consisting of data collection via semi-structured interviews to allow for an intensive rather than extensive approach (Mounton & Marais, 1996). A total of 18 interviews were completed.

3.2 The Setting

The initial intention was to conduct the research at a school. However, due to the lack of feedback from the Department of Education regarding a required permission, the focus shifted towards church youth groups. The study was conducted at two churches from the areas of Glenwood and Pinetown in Durban, South Africa. About 15 young people from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds attended the youth meetings at the church in Glenwood on Sundays. The church in Pinetown had a larger youth group of about 30 young people that met every Friday. The youth groups consisted of social activities and discussions

on various topics such as freedom, rights, and how faith could be incorporated into their daily lives.

3.3 Target Population and Study Sample

The intended sample for the study was 20 young participants with an equal amount of males and females. The targeted age profile was between 14 and 17 years of age in order to fit the South African youth definition of 14-35 according to the National Youth Commission Act (1996) and also to only include minors that have not yet had their political rights granted for the purpose of this study. One participant of 13 years of age was eager to participate and was therefore included as she was the only person under 14 years attending the meeting. Excluding her seemed counterintuitive for the objective of this study.

The selection process of the participants started with a short presentation of the study at a regular youth meeting at the respective churches. During this presentation, the theme of the study was provided together with a description of the process and what the study would require from the participants. At this point, the environmental focus was revealed. The data is undeniably shaped by the fact that the participants were aware of the environmental focus of the study. The Information Pack (Appendix B) consisting of detailed information about the study and consent forms for both guardians and the young participants were subsequently handed out.

This process recruited eight females instantly, while the remaining young people expressed a desire to think about it and talk with their guardians. Thereafter, due to the fact that no male respondents volunteered, a combination of snowball and purposive sampling targeting young males was employed in order to recruit the remaining participants. During the recruiting process, the youth leaders in both churches were invaluable in encouraging the young males to participate. In addition the participants who had already taken part in the study recruited their friends to participate, incorporating features of chain sampling. The recruiting process continued until 18 respondents had been interviewed from the above stated criteria. The socio-economic and racial profile happened to be diverse without a need for specific targeting to achieve this. The recruiting process was stopped at 18 interviews due to the timeframe extending into the participants' preparations for final exams.

In total 18 interviews were conducted; ten from the church in Pinetown and eight from the church in Glenwood. The age of the participants ranged from 13 to 17. The racial distribution of the sample is as presented in Table 1; 72 per cent of the participants were black, 17 per cent mixed race, and 11 per cent white. The limitation in this instance is the lack of young people with an Indian heritage, which accounted for a significant 17 per cent of the population represented in Durban in the 2011 Census (South African Statistics). However, none of the churches had participants of Indian heritage, which automatically limited the racial sample variation. The gender characteristics are more dominated by females that represent 61 per cent, while male participants account for 39 per cent of the sample. This is a qualitative study and is therefore not representative, however, there is an acceptable variation of race according to the general demographic picture of the country with the exception of Indian heritage, while the gender distribution is slightly skew.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics of the Participants

No	Date of Interview	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Church
1	13.04.2013	13	F	Black	Pinetown
2	13.04.2013	16	F	Black	Pinetown
3	01.05.2013	14	F	Black	Pinetown
4	13.04.2013	14	F	Mixed race	Pinetown
5	16.04.2013	17	F	Black	Glenwood
6	16.04.2013	14	F	Black	Glenwood
7	17.04.2013	15	F	Black	Pinetown
8	18.04.2013	15	F	Black	Glenwood
9	26.04.2013	17	M	Black	Pinetown
1	26.04.2013	15	M	Mixed race	Pinetown
11	26.04.2013	14	M	Black	Pinetown
12	28.04.2013	14	F	Black	Pinetown
13	28.04.2013	14	F	Mixed race	Pinetown
14	29.04.2013	17	M	Black	Glenwood
15	01.05.2013	17	M	White	Glenwood
16	03.05.2013	16	M	Black	Glenwood
17	03.05.2013	17	M	White	Glenwood
18	04.05.2013	17	F	Black	Glenwood

3.4 Data Collection

The research was conducted during the months of April and May 2013. The interviews were arranged once the consent forms were returned signed by the guardians. The participants signed the consent forms either prior to or at the beginning of the scheduled meeting with assistance if necessary. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews consisting of approximately 40 questions (Appendix A). The research instrument was

designed to cover the main themes in this study; climate change-related conceptions, understandings and experiences of citizenship, and questions investigating features of ecological citizenship. The semi-structured questions proved to be less structured than planned, as the respondents reacted very differently to the questions than expected. As a result, the questions were more guiding, while probing became the main tool in the process of getting towards the substantial content.

As the research was done with young people, the interviews started with a brief preparation to make the participants comfortable and more confident. The respondents were informed of the researcher's contact details and asked whether they had any questions before the interview. Lastly, small talk was initiated where there was a degree of uneasiness. Eight of the interviews took place in a separate room at the church property during the youth meetings. Ten interviews were conducted after school hours at various coffee shops close to their school. The locations were selected with care towards neutrality. The duration of the interviews ranged from thirty minutes to more than an hour. All interviews were recorded digitally.

The aim was to base this study on a combination of individual interviews and a creative image-based research tool. The data for the image-based research was derived from a photography exercise. However, the response rate was too inconsistent to base an analysis on and this data is therefore excluded. Several cameras were returned with quality pictures, others never returned, several returned half full, others with arbitrary pictures. In the aftermath, it is evident that such a photography exercise requires a substantial amount of preparation. An attempt was made with an information sheet (see Appendix B), which was clearly insufficient. Notwithstanding, it proved to be a valuable learning experience.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data derived from the interviews was transcribed, coded, recoded, and thematically analysed. The data was transcribed using the software ExpressScribe and coded with the qualitative data analysis software Dedoose. A hybrid approach of both a deductive and inductive thematic analysis was employed during this process, as the theory guided the initial coding structure, while the emerging tendencies in the data altered the development of the code structure (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Due to the amount and the variety of emerging themes, such as future visions, political issues, motivational tools, pessimistic

confessions on the individual sense of agency, recommendations, the role of family and education among other things, the theoretical framework was again utilised to select the themes for the final analysis that will provide the basis for the following Chapter. In other words, there was a continuous reciprocity between enquiry and theory. The theoretical framework of ecological citizenship was initially intended as the dominant analytical framework in this study. However, during the thematic analysis it became evident ecological citizenship was insufficient as it did not address the structural constraints of individual behaviour and that practice theory would be a valuable analytic tool. The theoretical framework had to therefore be altered according to the data. Hence the combination of an inductive and deductive approach was not only applicable to the analysis of the data, but also to the research process as a whole.

3.6 Ethics

A proposal with an ethical clearance form was submitted and approved by the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, and the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Due to the increased vulnerability of minors, extraordinary measures were taken to protect their rights and integrity. The participants were provided with a great deal of information (Appendix B) to ensure that their participation was an informed choice. The permission from their guardians was granted. All interactions were voluntary. No provocative questions were asked. The identity of the participants is not revealed in this study to ensure their privacy through anonymity. In addition digital recordings are stored with pseudonyms to ensure the long lasting protection of the participants' anonymity.

3.7 Limitations

There was a difficult balance between informing the youth and their guardians sufficiently about the study in order for them to make an informed choice, and attempting to avoid creating obvious research expectations. The environmental topic often felt slightly forced and unnatural during the first few minutes of the interview. There is therefore not too much emphasis put on analysing warm-up questions.

Qualitative methods are utilised for the depth of the data, rather than width. However, this study includes three themes by which it loses some of the depth that would have been achieved by rather focusing on one theme exclusively. Nevertheless, this was an intentional

choice in order to explore the synergy between various themes, while still being able to delve fairly deeply into each theme. As this is a qualitative study, the results are context specific. Due to the sample size of a qualitative study, the results are in no way representative.

The use of churches to conduct the study was a pragmatic choice in order to access youth, and religion is not the focus of the study. In some ways, it is not inappropriate given the dominance of Christianity in South Africa with 79,8 per cent of the population identifying as Christian according to the 2001 Census by Statistics South Africa¹. Conducting the research at churches also has the advantage of gaining participants from various schools where they are exposed to different learning environments and socio-economic backgrounds. Yet it is important to recognise that this may have shaped the data in a sense that the participants are to a greater extent influenced by the civic-mindedness of the religious structure.

A combination of purposive and chain sampling was employed to specifically recruit male participants. This implies that the selection of the sample is partly based on the social system of the recruiters; young people that had already partaken in the study and the youth leaders. This has an inherent risk of bias and might have an impact on the remaining sample that is not controlled. However, the results of the chain sampling were invaluable, as the young males were not willing to participate otherwise.

During the thematic analysis there are undeniably moments of recognition of better-suited questions for the semi-structured interview. In particular, it would have been interesting to investigate at what stage in life they regarded themselves as citizens. This would have allowed for a more comparative analysis of this study with the study by September and Roberts (2009) in retrospect. However, as the study by September and Roberts (2009) only emerged as relevant during the thematic analysis, these considerations were therefore premature at the time of the research instrument design. There is also an inherent limitation by exclusively looking at young people and presenting only their perspectives. The participants do argue that they want to learn and to engage, but that they lack the options to do so. This study cannot control whether or not the participants have access to such options. Ideally, this study would have benefited from including interviews with the young

¹The most recent Census from 2011 did not investigate religious orientations.

people's parents, teachers, and youth leaders to get a more authentic representation of the context that young people grow up in as in September and Roberts (2009).

The thematic analysis is limited in a sense that it is based on the interpretation of the researcher, which may be biased by preconceptions so a hybrid approach of both inductive and deductive methods were utilised to neutralise this. There was a continuous synergy throughout the study between the enquiry and theory that resulted in the current approach combining youth, ecology, citizenship, and practice theory (Mounton & Marais, 1996).

In conclusion, this study is based on qualitative research methods consisting of semi-structured interviews with 18 informants aged 13-18. The research was done in two areas metropolitan area of the city of Durban, South Africa. This has allowed for an intensive, rather than an extensive investigation of whether ecological citizenship for young people in Durban, South Africa, could serve as a valuable climate governance component.

CHAPTER 4:

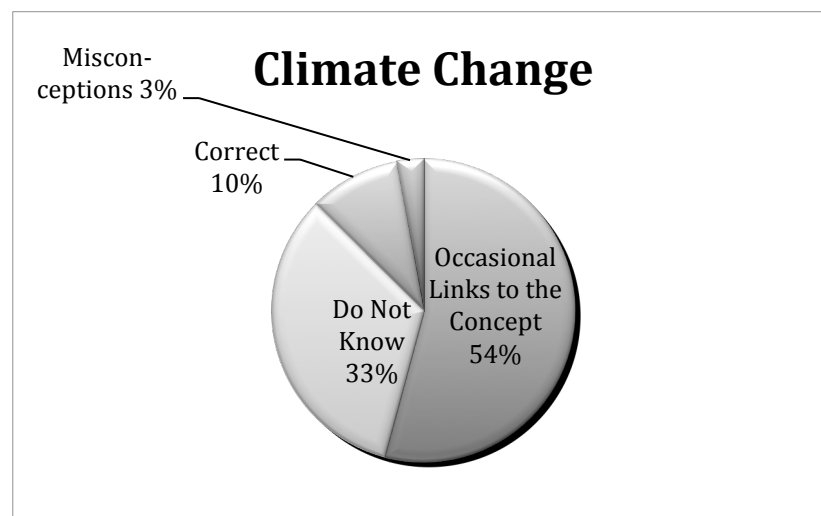
THE ROLE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AS ECOLOGICAL CITIZENS IN CLIMATE GOVERNANCE

This chapter outlines the three themes in focus: 1) how young people conceptualise climate change; 2) how young people understand and experience citizenship; 3) whether young people possess features of ecological citizenship. The latter will be presented, analysed, and discussed in synergy with the overall research aim; exploring environmental practices of young people and the potential role they could play as ecological citizens in climate governance.

4.1 Conceptualising Climate Change

The conceptualisation of climate change-related topics among the participants are grouped into four categories: correct comprehensions, misconceptions, 'do not know', and occasional insubstantial links to the concept of climate change. The common denominator in the latter category is that the participants struggled to grasp climate change-related concepts - definition, cause, effect, solutions - but referred to certain aspects that could be linked to the actual concept in mind. Figure 2 is based on the frequency of responses according to the categories described above. In summation, it appears that the knowledge on climate change-related topics was limited to a few people. Otherwise the responses seemed to be influenced by arbitrary facts of varying relevance.

Figure 2:The Distribution of Responses on Climate Change-related Topics



Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

All the participants had heard of the term climate change. Notwithstanding, the vast majority struggled to describe climate change, but could provide occasional superficial links to the concept (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18). The participants admitted it was a difficult term to explain and often resorted to examples that implicitly referred to certain aspects of climate change:

“Climate change is like when people do different stuff that affects like the atmosphere and the earth and stuff.” (Interview 1)

“Well, not having a set climate. I think it is hard for the weather people to predict the weather. Because it’s just not... it doesn’t seem like a specific weather pattern that we have. I am not really sure how to explain it.” (Interview 8)

Two respondents could explain climate change confidently and accurately (Interviews 5, 17). While three participants could not explain the term at all (Interviews 9, 10, 12).

Only a minority of the young people could comprehend the causes of climate change fairly accurately by referring to emissions of GHGs driven by human consumption patterns (Interviews 5, 14, 17). The majority of the responses fit into the occasional insubstantial mentions of: “different gasses,” pollution, cars, factories, spray cans with aerosols, deforestation, and ozone layer depletion as possible causes for climate change (Interviews 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18). There were a few misconceptions such as smoking and littering causing climate change (Interviews 1, 2). Lastly, four young people said that they did not know how to explain the cause of climate change (Interviews 8, 10, 12, 16).

The dominant trend in conceptualising the effects of climate change was the general understanding that it would merely get worse (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 18). This was based on occasional and insubstantial links to possible effects of climate change such as the increase of extreme weather events, rainfall, heat, and food availability:

“It will be negative [...] Because I think it might be very hard to undo, unchange it. Because I like sports, it would be very difficult to play sports in very unpredictable weather or if it’s too hot, you can’t really play.” (Interview 8)

Three informants could not comprehend the possible effects of climate change (Interviews 4, 12, 16), while two had a substantial understanding of the complex causal relations (Interviews 5, 17). Interestingly, six respondents mentioned the distress of never being able

to see polar bears as they were perceived as threatened by climate change (Interviews 5, 7, 8, 16, 17, 18). It seems that the topic of climate change and polar bears was intertwined rhetorically, quite unexpected in a South African context. Two participants expressed a desire to live in Durban in the future, but were concerned due to the possibility of Durban ending up under water (Interviews 6, 18).

Comprehending solutions to climate change was clearly the weakest field of knowledge. The majority of the respondents had not heard of existing climate governance strategies beyond their domestic sphere (Interviews 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18): “because they don’t mention it, they don’t tell us, so I wouldn’t know” (Interview 18). In addition, a few respondents expressed that they struggled to see how domestic actions could be related to climate change (Interviews 2, 13, 18). Furthermore, several respondents expressed pessimism and claimed that no one is doing anything about climate change (Interviews 5, 8, 11, 18). The responses by the remaining five participants are categorised as occasional insubstantial links to the conceptualisations of solutions for climate change. Several participants mentioned the United Nations and COP17 and tentatively related these to climate change (Interviews 2, 5, 7, 16). A few of these informants also referred to technology and green consumerism (Interviews 2, 7). In general, this fragment was generally dominated by pessimism.

The findings suggest that formal education was the main source of knowledge about climate change for the vast majority of the participants. Guest speakers, geography lessons, and life orientation classes were the most dominant sources of information at school (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). The media also played a crucial role in the knowledge production on climate change. The young people mentioned learning about climate change from the internet, news, cartoons, documentaries, and programs on Discovery Channel and National Geographic (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18). Two respondents from the church in Glenwood attributed some of their knowledge on climate change to their youth leader at church (Interviews 5, 6).

None of the participants claimed to have experienced effects of climate change-related events on their personal lives directly. There were two references of hospitalised friends due to heat strokes (Interviews 5, 7). Also, several respondents had relatives that were

severely affected by floods and mudslides in rural areas (Interviews 5, 13, 14, 18). None of the participants attributed these events to climate change.

4.2 Analysing Conceptions of Climate Change

The findings reveal that the participants had a generally limited understanding of climate change-related concepts, a result which is in line with the literature (Lovell & Brien, 2009; Schreiner et al., 2005; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). Table 2 outlines the response frequency of the total sample according to the categories described in the introduction of this chapter. Table 2 also highlights the fact that solutions to climate change are indisputably the weakest field of knowledge on climate change-related concepts, due to the largest frequency of 'do not know' answers. Knowledge does not necessarily lead to agency, and agency does not necessarily lead to action, proven by the significant population who are environmentally educated while living in the comfort of denial (Norgaard, 2006). However, knowledge is significant and does play a part in this process. This provokes an argument that limited knowledge of solutions to climate change provides few grounds for the likelihood of informed action.

Table 2: Frequency of Responses Categorised, Total Sample

The overall sample	Occasional links to the concept	Correct	Do not know	Misconceptions	Total responses
Definition	13	2	3	0	18
Cause	8	3	5	2	18
Effect	13	2	3	0	18
Solution	5	0	13	0	18
Total response frequency	39	7	24	2	

Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

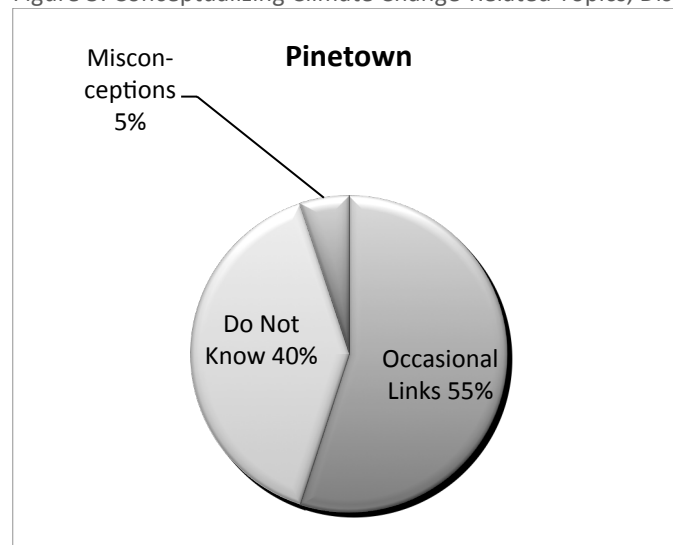
Table 3 and 4, and Figure 2 and 4 display the divergent tendencies in the two different churches. The analysis of the data from the church in Pinetown presented in Table 3 and Figure 3 reveals that there was not one correct comprehension of any climate related topic, while the 'do not know' category was significant and a few misconceptions were presented.

Table 3: Frequency of Categorised Responses, Pinetown

Pinetown	Occasional links to the concept	Correct	Do not know	Misconceptions	Total responses
Definition	7	0	3	0	10
Cause	5	0	3	2	10
Effect	8	0	2	0	10
Solution	2	0	8	0	10
Response frequency	22	0	16	2	

Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

Figure 3: Conceptualizing Climate Change-Related Topics, Distribution of Responses from Pinetown



Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

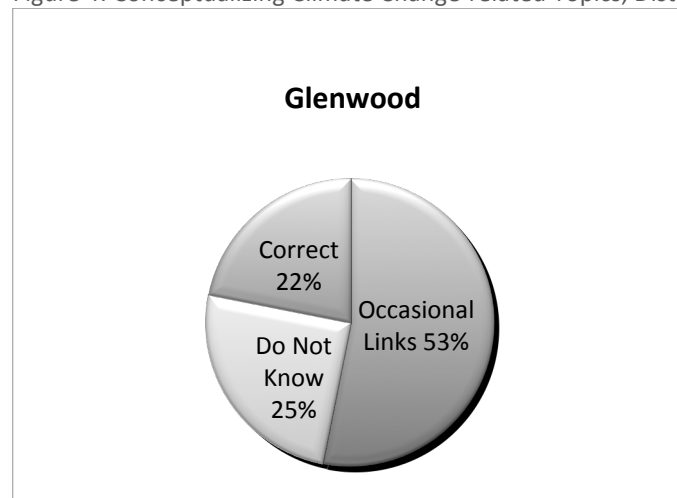
Contrastingly, the responses from the church in Glenwood presented in Table 4 and Figure 4, show that there were cases of correct comprehensions, while there were no misconceptions. The category of “occasional links to the concept” was dominant in both sample groups, while the uninformed category was more dominant in the Pinetown sample. The thematic analysis does point to a divergence of knowledge in the two churches worthy of attention. Drawing from the literature, this could be related to class structures, among other things. However, it needs to be investigated further in order to provide causal relations.

Table 4: Frequency of Categorised Responses, Glenwood

Glenwood	Occasional links to the concept	Correct	Do not know	Misconceptions	Total responses
Definition	6	2	0	0	8
Cause	3	3	2	0	8
Effect	5	2	1	0	8
Solution	3	0	5	0	8
Response frequency	17	7	8	0	

Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

Figure 4: Conceptualizing Climate Change-related Topics, Distribution of Responses from Glenwood



Source: Own calculations, based on data from this study.

The findings support that young people generally have a vague understanding of climate change-related matters characterised by confusion and occasional misconceptions, in line with the literature from the global North (Lovell & Brien, 2009; Partridge, 2008; UNICEF & UNDP, 2011; Wray-Lake et al., 2010). However, the level of environmental knowledge among the participants in this study is slightly lower than the general trend presented in the literature from the global North, as the uninformed category of young people in this study is more prevalent.

The young people in this study were not directly victimised by climate related changes, in contrast to the literature from the global South and South Africa specifically (Back & Cameron, 2008a; Gautam & Oswald, 2008; IDS, 2009; Polack, 2010; Seballos et al., 2011; UNICEF & RSA, 2011; UNICEF, 2008, 2011). The vulnerability was only indirect for a few informants that witnessed the effects of heat waves on their friends and heard of damages from relatives in rural areas. However, this study might have yielded different results in a rural setting where the vulnerability to climate change-related events is higher. To summarise, the participants in this study could arguably be situated between the vulnerable

image presented in the literature from the global South and the vague understanding of climate change presented in the literature from the global North.

In order to consider climate change with a degree of concern accompanied by a sense of agency, young people need to regard climate change as personally relevant (Nilsen, 1999; Nilsen, 2005). The relevance of climate change was mentioned infrequently in relation to uncomfortably hot days that affected their ability to play sports, the challenge of predicting weather, heavy rains that affected their mobility, and the fear of never being able to see polar bears. The perceived effects of climate change had predominantly little relevance to their everyday lives beyond a level of comfort. Without being able to point to any causal relations, the tendency in the findings is that the participants generally struggled to see climate change as part of their personal sphere: “It’s like with some of my friends, we do talk about how the world is so hot now, eish, not used to it this time. We do have those conversations, but we don’t know where to take them, we don’t get the big picture,” (Interview 2). Nilsen (1999) and Ojala (2012a, 2012b) argue that the inability to relate climate change to a tangible concept of space and time leaves people with little cause for concern or commitment, as it lacks personal relevance. In line with the above, this appears to be the case among the young people in this study. There is therefore a call to stimulate young people’s curiosity by presenting to them what their future might hold in an attempt to connect a vast global issue to the personal life of the youth (Nilsen, 1999; Ojala, 2012a, 2012b).

4.3 Understandings and Experiences of Citizenship

Understanding Citizenship

Conceptualising citizenship was often a challenge for the participants and included a moment of contemplation: “[i]t’s getting quite hard to answer these questions...” (Interview 16). Being a member of a country or community that gives one a sense of belonging was the most dominant response as to what citizenship meant to the youth (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18). Being socially or politically active as a defining aspect of citizenship was present among some respondents from the church in Glenwood (Interviews 5, 8, 14, 17). ‘Doing their part’ in helping South Africa was mentioned as an important part of citizenship by informants from both churches (Interviews 6, 14, 16, 18).

Regarding rights, the most frequent responses were the right to safety and protection (Interviews 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 18), and the right to freedom of expression (Interviews 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18). Thereafter, the right to service delivery, shelter, and education was brought up (Interviews 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18). Five respondents referred to constitutional and human rights as the foundation for all rights (Interviews 8, 9, 11, 15, 16).

“A right to a home, water, food, a right to say what’s on my mind. I don’t know.

There is a lot, but it’s not coming to my head right now. The basic rights we have.”

(Interview 9)

“I have a right to speak, to be heard, to live, to believe in what I want to believe in.”

(Interview 4)

Half of the respondents mentioned independently that rights had corresponding responsibilities (Interviews 2,3,4,5,9,13,14,15,17).

To be a “good citizen” by helping others, obeying the laws, and doing “what is meant to be done” was a dominant response regarding responsibilities (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17). Some of the young people expressed a sense of agency by referring to the responsibility to speak out and to improve their country (Interviews 4, 5, 17, 18). By contrast, not everyone felt they had responsibilities (Interviews 10, 16).

“Responsibility to ah, I don’t know. I don’t think of that, I only think of my rights.”

(Interview 10)

“I don’t feel like I have any duties, I feel like I do everything by choice.” (Interview

16)

Experiences of Citizenship

Four features emerged from the thematic analysis of the data regarding the experience of citizenship. Firstly, a participatory process was conceptualised as unrealistic. Secondly, a sense of exclusion due to their status as youth became apparent. Thirdly, the majority of the respondents revealed an explicit detachment from politics. Lastly, the participants referred to both challenging and motivational issues in relation to their experiences of citizenship, which resulted in the fourth theme labelled as recommendations.

Participation

One of the questions inquired how the youth would feel about joining a participatory project aiming to renovate a public space in their area. The most striking feature was the inability to relate to the question, as participation appeared an unrealistic option. One respondent did not comprehend the possibility at all (Interview 1). By contrast, one respondent had already

been involved in a participatory process and was therefore positive about the idea (Interview 5). The remaining respondents were generally sceptical about the likelihood of options for authentic participation in South Africa (Interviews 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). "I would love to, I would. I don't know if I ever will get there, if it will ever happen," (Interview 4). Notwithstanding the above, these participants did reflect on the potential benefits of a participatory process.

"That would be perfect [...] Not only would it inspire us to go out and actually be proactive in communities, but it would also make us realise that we actually have some way to participate in society." (Interview 17)

Exclusion

The sense of exclusion applied to the vast majority of the participants responding to several questions². The data shows that they generally felt undermined by older people (Interviews 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18). The respondents claimed that they were often disregarded and not taken seriously. They described the tendency to be judged and labelled as bad or naïve due to their status as youth (Interviews 2, 5, 5, 10, 12, 13, 16, 18).

"Adults don't usually take us seriously in important matters like in economics, politics, and voting [...] He (father) says, 'what do you know about politics? You are still in school, you don't know half of the things that are happening in the world.'" (Interview 14)

"Nobody take us seriously these days, they think that all teenagers are the same." (Interview 6)

"Most families you find that the youth does know about this, but then they are too shy to say anything because of what their parents would say, like, 'ah you know what to do now?'" (Interview 2)

While this may seem to be a fairly typical demeanour of teenagers, it should not be dismissed that many described feeling angry, upset, unappreciated, sad, hurt, stupid, insecure (Interviews 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18). Several respondents argued that being

² Does your status as a young person affect your ability to take meaningful action? What motivates you to feel like you can make a difference? What causes you to avoid expressing concerns? What makes you feel like you cannot make a difference?

young inhibits action due to judgements towards them (Interviews 2, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18). Consequently, the respondents declared that they refrained from expressing themselves freely in order to avoid negative feedback (Interviews 2, 6, 10, 13, 18). The youth claimed that repetitive comments of a negative nature often made them give up (Interviews 2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 18). They claimed that it was a vicious cycle that reinforced the ‘I don’t care’ attitude that they were initially accused of:

“There are certain people, again, older people who just say NO. [...] They don’t really take us seriously, they ‘take us for small’ I like to say. I think they are the reason why we have this ‘I don’t care’ attitude.” (Interview 18)

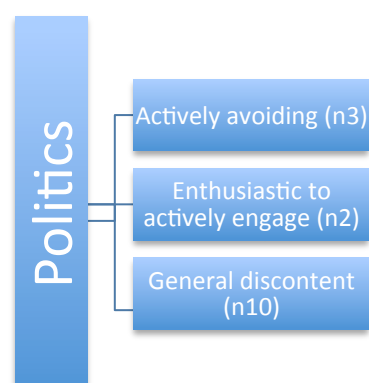
“It is sad to say, we are not really recognised and people do not really think that what we have to say really has meaning or logic behind it. [...] We are just categorised into one group. It’s the wreckless, lazy, all of those labels that they give us. It’s not really productive, our mindset ends up believing it.” (Interview 5)

The respondents also admitted that it was not exclusively older people they were concerned about. Several participants said they often avoided expressing their concerns due to peer pressure, trying to fit in among friends, and avoiding being judged negatively (Interviews 1, 2, 10, 13, 14, 15). “You are afraid people might say certain things” (Interview 1).

The Political Order

No specific questions related to politics were asked. Nonetheless, the topic kept resurfacing with the exception of three participants who did not mention politics at all (Interviews 6, 7, 11). One of the questions inquired as to how the respondents felt they could influence South Africa. The responses were often of a negative nature towards the political system, rather than positive towards actual alternatives for influence. The major tendencies emerging from the data within this subsection are illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Expressed Attitudes Towards the Political System



Three participants expressed a desire to actively avoid politics due to frustration caused by the political leadership. They did not believe that they could influence South Africa through the political system (Interviews 5, 16, 18). By contrast, two female respondents actively desired to participate in party politics (Interviews 3, 8). However, these young females were also highly discontent with the current political situation.

“I cannot wait until I am 18 because I know I will be able to join a Youth League party or something. It’s just burning inside me to just join. I really really really want to have something to say.” (Interview 8)

The vast majority generally stated that they were frustrated with the political situation and the leadership (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17). As a result, they expressed a desire to distance themselves from politics. The respondents indicated that the people in charge did not deserve the leadership positions, which was often linked to corruption (Interviews 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18).

“They do a lot of manipulation and less delivering.” (Interview 14)

“South African politics, it is not quite pretty. You try and support this one because he is the good one, next thing you hear is that he stole four million and is getting locked up [...] I don’t try to involve myself in politics.” (Interview 16)

The youth felt they lacked positive role models to relate to, but had many negative ones. Five respondents explicitly mentioned Jacob Zuma, the South African president, and Julius Malema, the former leader of the ANC Youth League, as negative role models (Interviews 4, 10, 12, 13, 18). None of the current leaders of South Africa were mentioned as positive role models. Julius Malema was spoken of as an exceptionally bad example representing the opposite of what the youth stood for (Interviews 12, 13, 18). The participants felt they could not relate to the issues addressed by the ANC Youth League and mentioned that they might have never heard about the youth league if it was not for Julius Malema’s wrong-doings, which they realised was unfortunate.

“People are speaking for us. And like for example, Julius Malema, [...] what he is saying is not what we are thinking, it’s basically the complete opposite in a sense.” (Interview 13)

“Our leaders [...] just find every excuse in the book to justify their actions, which obviously aren’t right. That is what the rest of the population looks at, and that is a

shame. [...] I do not know if I want to be in a leadership position in that kind of state” (Interview 5).

Recommendations

A set of recommendations were not explicitly asked for, however a tendency emerged quite clearly when the participants repeatedly requested to be taught, inspired, included, and utilised. Firstly, the participants asked to be taught. They expressed how they would like to be aware of what is happening in the world and what options they have to potentially address different issues (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). Secondly, the young people asked to be inspired. It is evident that certain adult individuals, who believed in the young participants, encouraged and motivated the youth, made them feel like they could make a difference (Interviews 2, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18). Thirdly, the participants explicitly asked to be included. A significant part of the respondents were eager for adults to groom them, support them, and work with them (Interviews 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18). “Why not train us now to be the best that we can be in the future? [...] Put us under your wing” (Interview 5). Lastly, the respondents recommended utilising them for their energy and ideas. They claimed that young people have much to offer and felt it was unfortunate to leave that potential uncultivated (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 16, 17, 18).

“Have you ever seen young children, and they just have a “cup of awesome”? Like you can see it in their faces that they are so enthusiastic, you just cannot get these kids down because they just have that cup of awesome. We should use this!” (Interview 17)

4.4 Analysing Understandings and Experiences of Citizenship

This subsection analyses the recently mentioned findings on citizenship. A subsection outlining the features of ecological citizenship in more detail follows subsequently. Lastly, the final discussion examines the synergy between all nodes and explores the option of ecological citizenship for young people in the South African context.

In line with the global and national trends, young people in this study had a general sense of citizenship as well as their rights and responsibilities (Bjerke, 2011; September & Roberts, 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009). This research draws many parallels with the South African study on citizenship among young people by September and Roberts (2009). In both cases, citizenship was generally conceptualised as a feeling of belonging. Rights and responsibilities were also conceived of with a degree of resemblance. In September and

Roberts (2009), the older cohort of their sample mentioned the right to care and nurture, but focused more on the rights to freedom of expression and decision making, in contrast to the younger cohort, which is also reflected in this study. The dominant responsibility of obeying laws and not doing wrong was apparent in both cases, alluding to the notion of 'good citizenship' as explained earlier by Kennelly (2009). The understanding of the reciprocal relationship between rights and duties were also significant in both studies.

Let us re-examine the three points of convergence in the literature regarding the ambiguous image of youth as passive citizens. Firstly the literature pointed to a problematic tendency to equate voting with apathy (Kennelly, 2009; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Weller, 2007; Youniss et al., 2002). None of the respondents in this study mentioned voting at any point. In addition, if voting is viewed as a defining feature of citizenship, all the participants in this study can then not be considered citizens merely due to their status as minors. Therefore, in agreement with the literature, it does seem naïve to equate citizenship and levels of engagement to voting patterns. Secondly, the literature points to the major gap between citizenship in theory and the way young people understand citizenship. This is often illustrated by the alienation from formal political processes (Jeffrey, 2012; Kennelly & Dillabough, 2008; Kennelly, 2009; Makiwane & Kwizera, 2008; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008). The thematic analysis of this study outlines that a detachment from politics is evident due to a major discontent with the overall political scene, in line with the literature. The last point of convergence in the literature is the debate about the moral panic in regard to apathetic youth as the distinction between good citizens vs. active citizens (Kennelly & Dillabough, 2008; Kennelly, 2009). Based on the findings, the most prominent understanding of responsibilities among the participants was doing what is right and obeying the laws, which fits the notion of a 'good citizen' according to Kennelly (2009). This is, however, problematic as it arguably restricts the legitimate citizenship activities and predominantly serves the interest of the state to leave the status quo unchallenged (Kennelly, 2009). However, selective exceptions among the youth expressing citizenship to include features of active citizenship was evident, although these could not be linked to personal experiences of active citizenship (Interviews 4, 5, 17, 18).

To contextualise the inability of the young people in this study to show for an execution of citizenship activities, September and Roberts (2009) has to be drawn in. The findings that September and Roberts (2009) present among the adult perceptions have clear bonds to

certain aspects of the findings presented in this section. September and Roberts (2009) concluded that the perceptions of adults were alarming in the sense that they longed for obedient children with little authentic participation as a result. These power dynamics were, according to the authors, a cause for creating insecure citizens that felt excluded (September & Roberts, 2009). The young people in this study expressed no experience of participation with only one exception (Interview 5), while feelings of exclusion were dominant, in line with the above. September and Roberts (2009) pointed out the finding in their study of the lack of authentic participation and concluded that it is an alarming sign for any democracy, especially when combined with the desire for obedient and 'good citizens'.

The literature often calls to mind that citizenship for young people is a learning process where they can engage in issues of personal relevance and learn to *become* citizens. It is by working with other people in lived everyday experiences that youth see how they are capable of expressing themselves, and where they can demonstrate how they can make a difference (Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009). The findings in this research so far are not in line with the above, and rather shows how the youth felt excluded and had little experience of authentic participation that could be considered a learning process to allow them to develop as citizens. Furthermore, the level of marginalisation that was expressed by the participants was not present to the same degree among other studies on citizenship experiences in Smith and Taylor (2009). It is therefore evident based on the findings of this study as well as those of September and Roberts (2009) that the structural context for young people in South Africa is challenging in terms of options for executing their citizenship.

Bjerke (2011) argues that young people would like to be considered as differently equal; meaning that young people and adults are inherently different, but equally important. It is useful to draw in the requests by the youth in this study to be taught, inspired, included, and utilised for their abilities. It does seem to suggest that they ask for guidance and support, but that they would also like to partake to a larger degree than they were able to at the point of the study. Agency and dependency do therefore not have to be contradictory, according to the youth in this study and the young people from studies by Smith and Bjerke (2009).

To recapitulate, the young people in this study had a vague understanding of citizenship, their rights, and responsibilities. Although they did not have experiences of authentic

participation, nor did they actively act out their citizenship activities. However, they did rhetorically long for the ability to act and be considered as citizens. In addition, the detachment from politics and a sense of exclusion was evident. So far the analysis suggests that the experiences of citizenship for the participants in this study are limited. However, whether it is correct to categorise these participants as apathetic is questionable by looking at the structural context for their citizenship options. They had limited options for citizenship activities, they had limited freedom and support for engagement in issues of relevance, and they had little grounds for engaging in politics. It does appear that young people are often “talked *about*, rather than *to* or *with*” (Threadgold, 2012, p. 30). This reveals quite a complex picture of young citizenship that needs to further investigate the dialectical synergy between structure and agency in order to reveal what needs to be specifically targeted in order to create options for citizenship activities to develop young citizens.

4.5 Features of Ecological Citizenship

In response to environmental rights, the most common answer was the right to take care of the environment (Interviews 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17). The right to live in a clean and safe environment where the young people did not have to fear the future, was something that was mentioned by a third of the respondents (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 18). Three participants did not know or had never thought about their environmental rights (Interviews 4, 12, 16). One participant claimed that he had no rights to the environment, “[n]ot a thing [...] I am here on borrowed time, we all are” (Interview 17). The most general notions of environmental responsibilities were to “not mess the environment up” and thus to take care of it (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17). This includes the respondents that previously claimed that they had no general responsibilities or had not thought about it (Interviews 10, 16). Numerous participants expressed that respecting resources and learning about the effects of their own actions was a responsibility (Interviews 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14).

When asked who the young people thought was responsible for dealing with climate change, the vast majority undoubtedly claimed that it was every human alive, including themselves (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18). The remaining participants respectively argued that the government and various organisations had to take the responsibility (Interviews 4, 15), and that business and factories causing the problem

should be held responsible (Interviews 11, 12). “I would say factories, they do most of the gas that pollute the earth, basically their fault” (Interview 11).

One of the questions asked how the participants would feel about owning a car in the future. Seventeen out of eighteen participants were eager to own a car; hopefully by the time they turned 18. Words like “amazing,” “excited,” and “cannot wait,” were dominant in all the responses (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18).

“Getting a car right now seems like one of the best ideas.” (Interview 14).

“I would like *cars*, not *a car!*” (Interview 16)

One of the respondents that wanted a car realised that it was a problematic desire due to the environmental effects (Interview 13). The one exception was Interview 17, who claimed that he wanted a bicycle.

The interviews addressed what it would take for the young people to make the change towards environmentally friendly behaviour, hypothetically. The most frequent response was that it had to be a crisis of major scale that would affect the young people personally. They argued that people are selfish and would not care unless it affected them directly, which they admitted was true of themselves as well (Interviews 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 13, 15, 18). An equivalent amount of participants called for more awareness in order for their behaviour to change. They asked for more knowledge on the effects of their personal actions. They also claimed that images showing the effects of climate change on people that the participants could relate to, would potentially make them change their behaviour (Interviews 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15). Several respondents suggested making sustainability easier, cheaper, and more fun as a way to get them to act more environmentally friendly (Interviews 11, 14, 16, 17).

Environmentally Friendly Behaviour

The participants were also asked of environmentally friendly practices within their domestic sphere to investigate how the rhetorical notions would match their actions. Many respondents aspired to act in an environmentally friendly way, but claimed it was not easy (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17). Recycling at home initiated by their parents was undoubtedly the most common response (Interviews 3, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17).

However, Interview 5 was an exception: “[w]ell I try to recycle, but at home my mom does not recycle, so it is hard for me to recycle. It’s tradition, I am not proud of it, but I am going to try and change that.”

Several participants indicated that they saved water and electricity at home (Interviews 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 13, 16), four of which mentioned that this was motivated by cost (Interviews 2, 3, 13, 16). A few participants also adhered to green consumerism such as avoiding purchasing spray deodorant (Interviews 9, 15, 16). Furthermore, three participants claimed that they were clean people not doing anything to harm the environment, hence that they were already doing the right thing (Interviews 1, 8, 9). A quarter of the respondents declared that they were not doing anything at home or individually (Interviews 4, 11, 14, 18).

A few informants admitted to behaviour such as littering and wasting, while acknowledging that it was wrong (Interviews 14, 18). They justified their actions by pointing to existing pollution, peer pressure, culture, and lack of knowledge. However, they also expressed a degree of anxiety about the way climate change might affect their future and the importance of personal agency. This suggests contradictory indications, which is not unexpected among youth due to the transitional phase. Below is an extract from Interview 14 to illustrate:

Q: Does climate change concern you in any way?

A: Yah, it concerns me a lot because it is our future of the world. The damage that is being done now is going to affect us in the future [...]

Q: What impacts do you think your actions have on the planet?

A: [...] I can say my actions are good and bad at the same time. [...] You are walking with your friends and you are lazy and the dustbin is far, there is other papers on the ground, why don't I also throw it you know, being motivated by the dirt and rubbish that is already there. Might as well just put another one.

Q: How do you think you can actively help prevent climate change?

A: I can try to not throw rubbish. It is just one person you know, but then it goes on to everybody, because if you say no, I am going to wait for this guy to stop polluting, so if he is not going to stop polluting, you are not going to stop polluting, so it starts with you and next person will see you as an example and so on. So basically, start with yourself.

4.6 Analysing Everyday Practices and Ecological Citizenship as a Climate Governance Tool for Youth

Ahmad et.al. (2012) studied the understanding of ecological citizenship among young people in Malaysia in 2007 and found low levels of knowledge on climate change and a lack of any

incentive to act upon environmental problems. There is a degree of resemblance in relation to the findings of this study. However, the question that related to the limited understanding of climate change accompanied by little incentive to act upon environmental problems needs to be further explored.

The participants predominantly claimed that everyone is responsible for dealing with climate change, themselves included. This tendency points towards essential aspects of ecological citizenship and agency where obligations towards humanity and nature go beyond national borders (Dobson 2003). Unsurprisingly, none of the respondents thought that citizenship included a sense of belonging to a community larger than the nation state. Furthermore, ecological citizenship also naively assumes that acts of responsibility would lead to sustainability (Melo-Escribuela, 2008). The young people in this study did argue that they are responsible for dealing with climate change. Yet despite the rhetorical responsibility, the vast majority of the participants could not match the responsibility claim and responded in contradictory terms regarding their aspirations and actions.

Practice theory allows for the exploration of the relationship between structural forces and actions of individual actors. Several respondents desired to act more environmentally friendly, but claimed it was not easy. This does by no means exempt the agent of the option to affect their own actions, but it does point towards a structural context that makes an achievement of desired actions challenging. Additionally, the dominant desire for owning a car is an alarming finding from a climate governance perspective. However, by exploring the context of public transport in Durban, which is neither reliable nor safe, the individual incentive for having a car is rather intensified by structural constraints of poor public transport (ASSAf, 2011).

A significant proportion of the participants claimed that they would most likely only change their behaviour in an event of a crisis that would have personal repercussions. Although it might seem alarming, this appears to be a standard tendency. Studies reveal that the highest degree of influence to individual behaviour was achieved by price shocks and destructive climate related events (ASSAf, 2011). This seems to be partly supported by the need for personal relevance (Nilsen, 1999). It also suggests that avoiding change could be a personal characteristic of certain individual agents, which gives the structural context less relevance (Loyal, 2003).

The equivalent proportion of participants asked for more information on climate change that they could personally relate to (8 out of 18). This tendency supports Nilsen's (1999) call for climate change to be broken down to tangible and understandable concepts of personal relevance to the youth. Individual agents cannot be expected to achieve this independently without structural processes that enable this through educational institutions or specific youth incentives (ASSAf, 2011). The participants also called for sustainable behaviour to be made easier, cheaper, and more fun. This clearly indicates a call for practical possibilities by larger structures to enable social practices, but there is no guarantee for sustainable practices in return, however, the potential is arguably higher with structural opportunities, rather than constraints.

The advertisement for saving electricity by Eskom, the South African electricity provider, had reached some informants and was perceived as a strategy that could be linked to climate change (Interviews 6, 8, 13, 15). Furthermore recycling, green consumerism, and conservation of resources were environmental friendly actions mentioned in this study. However, several participants admitted that their family acted sustainably due to financial incentives. These practices indicate that certain participants are responding to incentives and policies initiated by the government, rather than the value of virtue motivating citizens to act based on the fact that is the right thing to do (Dobson, 2003; Melo-Escribuela, 2008). Moreover, a significant portion of the participants claimed that they did not engage in any environmentally friendly actions or that they were 'clean', and thus did not need to have to compensate for their actions, which opens up for a structure and agency debate that this data does not have the grounds to cover.

Climate governance aims to affect environmental actions of actors with various mechanisms, ecological citizenship being one of them. This raises an important question: Which is more significant; the environmental action, which is the core of climate governance, or the motivation behind the action, which is the core of ecological citizenship? Practice theory establishes that the outcome of any process is a result of the everyday actions of ordinary people. These everyday actions are in turn results of personal characteristics of the agent, and of the larger structural constraints and options that influence the possible actions of the agent (Page & Mercer, 2012). Therefore, the sustainable actions by the youth in this study

seem to be a result of this combination, rather than the intended value of virtue in ecological citizenship.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

In the context of climate change being a knowledge-intensive field, the participant's knowledge is arguably insufficient to relate climate change to issues of personal relevance, which gives little cause for concern or commitment on the part of the actors (Nilsen, 1999). Leaving the environment aside, the young people in this study were not actively developed as future citizens, let alone as citizens at the time of the study. They could comprehend and reflect on citizenship, the inherent rights and duties, and occasionally the reciprocal relationship between the two, but the practical side of citizenship was dominated by an alienation from politics and a general feeling of exclusion. This does not bode well for developing citizens with a sense of agency. With support from the literature, the argument is that the benefit of including young people more and preparing them as citizens will not only benefit the young people themselves, but also the society. This, however, requires specific policy targeting (Hart, 1997; Hayward, 2012; Manning & Ryan, 2004; Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007).

Furthermore, ecological citizenship is an active process founded on citizenship activities across local, national, and international levels (Dobson, 2003; Kelly & Abel, 2012; Latta & Garside, 2005; Melo-Escrihuella, 2008). This naively assumes that citizenship activity is a given, which makes the relationship between the theory of ecological citizenship and this empirical story challenging, as the findings struggle to provide evidence of options for genuine citizenship activity for youth.

This study is essentially about what role young people could potentially play as ecological citizens in climate governance. What practice theory would suggest is that the environmental behaviour of young people in this study is part of their everyday life and embedded practices, rather than intentional outcomes of choices about being environmentally friendly. Young people make behaviour decisions about how to relate to the environment given the resources and options made available to them by social structures (Page & Mercer, 2012). Although the "autonomy of the individual is embedded in the social structures on which they operate," (Page & Mercer, 2012, p. 4) there is a risk of ignoring the role of human agency that produces and reproduces these social constraints

(Ortner, 2006). Thus the outcomes of participant's actions can be explained by the synergy of agency and structure.

Hence, ecological citizenship seems to be an insufficient mechanism of climate governance due to the reliance on individual incentives without considering structural constraints that appear to influence the environmental practices of young people in this study. Furthermore, the South African context is far too complex with a wide range of developmental pressures to give ecological citizenship activities a priority in the everyday lives of young people.

The findings of this study reveal that in order for young people to be able to act as ecological citizens, numerous structural constraints need to be addressed, while structural opportunities need to be created. The findings therefore recommend policies targeting practical citizenship options for developing young citizens. Furthermore, given that climate governance cannot solely rely on sustainable practices of young individual citizens, as it ignores the structural forces behind climate change, it is arguably necessary to move towards a hybrid climate governance approach that relies on various actors from across private, public, and civic sectors in the battle against climate change. The problem is that a hybrid climate governance approach requires responsible citizens, and this in turn requires structural opportunities for environmentally friendly behaviour. For that reason this study recommends establishing practical alternatives for sustainable behaviour as part of a hybrid climate governance approach.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The principle aim of this study is to investigate whether young people in Durban, South Africa could be part of a climate governance strategy as ecological citizens. This investigation is based on how young people in Durban conceptualise climate change-related topics, how they understand and experience citizenship, and whether or not they possess features of ecological citizenship.

This research employed qualitative methods to allow for an explorative study. Eighteen semi-structured interviews provided the data for the thematic analysis. In addition, the research draws on literature from a range of concepts such as climate change science, youth, citizenship, as well as a combination of these concepts, which results in a hypothetical combination of young ecological citizenship analysed utilising practice theory.

The thematic analysis establishes that young people participating in this study had a generally vague and superficial understanding of climate-related concepts without grasping its complexity, and without being able to relate climate change to their personal life directly. Furthermore, the thematic analysis revealed that the majority of the participants could reflect on their rights and duties in line with the global trends (Butler et al., 2009; Smith & Bjerke, 2009). Similarly to the South African case study by September and Roberts (2009), the findings reveal that the experience of citizenship among young people is dominated by detachment from politics, a sense of exclusion, and few authentic alternatives for participation. The result is often that young citizens are insecure of their capabilities (Roholt et al., 2008; Smith & Bjerke, 2009; Weller, 2007). The support that young people need in order to feel that they can make a difference was not present among the majority of the participants. By contrast, the young people asked to be taught, included, inspired, and utilised in this study, in line with Bjerke's (2011) conclusion that young people would like to be treated as differently equal. The argument is that whether young people feel like they can make a difference and whether they can act as citizens is significant, both for their own development and for the society at large. However, the evidence from the thematic analysis is that the participant's role as citizens was generally marginalised. Based on the findings, this study recommends policies that target the development of young citizens by providing practical options for citizenship activities accompanied by guidance from competent adults.

Furthermore, the everyday practices of young people reveal a limited range of environmentally friendly actions accompanied by a moderate sense of agency. Whether young people are acting in an environmentally friendly way is, in the end, the essential question for climate governance. However, limited actions cannot be explained solely by poor choices of individual agents, as that obstructs the potential influence of social structures. It is therefore inappropriate to blame the participants for failing to be ecological citizens. On the other hand, it is rather valuable to acknowledge the complex reality with numerous structural constraints that makes dealing with climate change as young citizens within the South African context, and the global fossil-fueled economy, challenging. The second recommendation is therefore to establish practical alternatives for sustainable practices that would at least enable actors to live their everyday lives more environmentally friendly, intentionally or not.

In conclusion, the argument is that there is a need for more than merely responsible citizens in a successful approach to climate governance, but also that young ecological citizens can play a vital role as part of a hybrid approach to climate governance. However, responsible citizens do not emerge from within a structure that does not create circumstances for such and this needs to therefore be targeted specifically. The study shows that in order for youth to be able to act as ecological citizens, there are several structural constraints that need to be transformed into structural opportunities. In the context of this study it is obvious that it is necessary to enable young people's citizenship options and to establish practical alternatives for sustainable behaviour in order to utilise the potential power of the youth in addressing the problems of climate change.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What do you think are the greatest dangers facing our world today?
2. What do you think are the environmental issues facing us today?
3. Are you aware of the term climate change?
4. Does climate change concern you in any way?
5. What do you think is meant by climate change?
6. What do you believe is the cause of climate change?
7. What impacts do you think your actions have on the planet?
8. How do you think climate change will affect your own future?
9. How do you think climate change effects our planet and South Africa?
10. Have any climate related changes (floods, droughts, cyclones, etc) affected your life directly?
11. Have you ever struggled to get home or to school because of climate related disasters?
12. What kind of world would you ideally like to live in 2050?
13. What kind of world will you most likely live in in 2050?
14. What needs to change to bring the current situation towards the ideal?
15. How might these changes come about? Name as many as possible
16. What knowledge and skills would you personally need to make the changes you have envisioned (2050)?
17. Can you think of any situations where you have acted as an active agent of change before?
18. (What do you feel needs to be done to tackle climate change)
19. (How do you think you can actively help prevent climate change?)
20. How did you learn what you know about climate change?
21. How do you find the topic of climate change to learn and discuss about?
 - a. What first got you (interested) in climate change?
 - b. Has any person stimulated your (interest)?
 - c. How has the media stimulated your (interest)? Could you please give some examples?
22. What does citizenship mean to you?
23. What rights do think you have as a citizen?
24. What rights do think you have to the environment?
25. What responsibilities do you think you have as a citizen?
26. What responsibilities do you think you have towards the environment?
27. Who do you think is responsible for dealing with climate change?
28. Do you know of any actions being taken to tackle climate change?
29. Do you know if anything is being done to deal with climate change in your community?

30. Is your family making any adjustments at home to adapt or cope with the potential change?
31. How do you feel like you can influence the future of South Africa?
32. How do you feel like your status as a child/young person affects your ability to take meaningful action?
33. How would you react if the plan to improve a public space that you use with your friends had included a group of young people in the planning process?
34. Has any school or classroom experience been inspiring? What else has been inspiring?
35. What motivates you to feel like you can make a difference?
36. What causes you to avoid expressing concerns?
37. What makes you feel like you cannot make a difference?
38. How do you feel about owning a car in the future?
 - a. How would you react if the price of a car and petrol would triple due to environmental tax?
 - b. How would you feel if public transport was cheap, reliable and there were bicycle lanes? Would you choose this rather than a car/use more?
39. What do you think is needed to make a real difference in your behaviour?

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION PACK

INFORMATION PACK



Hello!

Thank you for taking the time to find out more about this research project.

Inside this information pack you will find:

- 1) An information letter for you.
- 2) An information letter for parents/guardians with the informed consent form.
- 3) An informed consent form.
- 4) A short questionnaire.

Any learner that would like to take part in this study needs to return the signed copy of documents 2, 3 and 4 to the church by a date we will agree upon today.

I hope that you find this information pack useful. My contact details can be found inside the pack, should you wish to contact me with further queries. I look forward to hearing from you!

All the best,
Milda Jonusaite

INFORMATION LETTER

What is this study about?

This study aims to explore how young people in South Africa understand and relate to the environment, and how they feel about their own role in the future. I find this topic so interesting that I would love to know what you think about the environment and how you relate to it, no matter how little or how much you know, or care about it.

What will participating in this study involve?

If you decide that you are interested in this study, you will be asked to chat to me individually in an informal interview. You will also be able to choose whether you would like to do a photography task. At the end of the interview, you will receive a disposable camera with guidelines and you will be asked to take pictures of a topic that we decide after the interview. Half of the pictures should be for the project, while you are welcome to use the other half for your own personal use. Once I develop the pictures, we would meet again for a short talk about your pictures and you would get a copy of your own pictures to keep.

What will happen in an interview?

During the interviews, each participant will sit with me individually and we will have an informal conversation around some of the issues important to this project. I am interested in your views, experiences and stories. I would like to interview approximately fifteen to twenty young people during the first school term of 2013. The interviews will take approximately 45 minutes to complete and will be held in a venue on the church property. The dates and times for the interviews will be negotiated with those of you who are willing to take part.

How will the participants be selected?

The selection process will be designed to ensure that young people of different genders and ethnic groups are selected. In order to select the final participants, I will use the information that you provide in the learner questionnaire to select the required number of learners.

When will I find out if I have been selected to take part in the study?

I will contact you via SMS using the mobile number you provided shortly after I have collected the reply slips. Alternatively, we will decide when and where to meet for our interview during the first information session.

How will my identity be protected?

In my thesis and all possibly written and published reports, articles and in presentations, your real names will not be used and therefore your identity will not be revealed. Instead I will use false names (pseudonyms) to disguise the real name of those of you who agree to participate. In this way your identity will be concealed and your input in the study will remain confidential. However, hiding your identity may become problematic in the production of the reports for the church, parents/guardians and yourselves if required, as other people might know who participated in the study and thus may guess the identities of the participants. As such, I will try to ensure confidentiality as far as possible.

What will happen to the information I provide?

The information that you provide in this project will be used by me to complete the Masters thesis. I would also possibly like to publish the results of this study in academic journals, reports or presentations.

Confidentiality is important in this study. During the project, the gathered information (including possible taped recordings of interviews, interview notes, photographs, etc.) will be stored on my personal computer, guarded with a security password and backed up on a secure online database for research. Only my supervisor and I will have access to this information. After the study is complete, I will shred any written notes, delete all of the electronic information and destroy any tapes produced in the project.

What are the benefits of participating?

This study offers you a number of different opportunities.

You will have the opportunity to:

- Engage in discussions and debates about your self, your environment and other related issues in South Africa and the world.
- Be creative! You decide how you would like to express and present your views and experiences both in the interview and during the photography task.
- Contribute to research on youth and their environmental conceptualisations in both within and outside South Africa. The study will also be presented to several stakeholders in Norway.
- Let your voice be heard! :)

Does participating in this study cost anything?

No! I will cover all the costs of the materials used in the research and I will provide refreshments.

Participation is voluntary!

It is important to remember that participation in this study is completely voluntary. It is also important that you discuss this project and your participation with your parents/legal guardians. You will need your parents/guardians signature to participate. However, your parents/guardians signature only allows you to choose whether you would like to participate. I would like to underline that participating in the project is a choice that can only be made by you. If you would like to be involved in this project please bring a signed and dated copy of both your individual and your parents'/guardians' informed consent form on the date we agree upon during our first meeting.

If you decide that you would not like to participate, you will not suffer any form of prejudice or disadvantage. If you agree to participate and later change your mind, you are free to leave the project at any time with no consequences.

If you have any further queries please do not hesitate to contact either my project supervisor or myself.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you.
Best regards,

Milda Jonusaite
MA student at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Contact number: 083 523 3509
Email: mildajo@gmail.com

My projects supervisor's details are:

Prof. Richard Ballard
School of Built Environment and Development Studies
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Contact number: 031 260 2266
Email: ballardr@ukzn.ac.za

PARENT/GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT (Document 2)

Please read this consent agreement carefully. Your child will also receive an information letter and a consent form to sign before the interview; please review the consent form together.

Dear parent/guardian:

My name is Milda Jonusaite, I am doing research on a project entitled '*Fostering ecological citizenship: environmental conceptions, concerns and sense of agency among youth in Durban, South Africa*'. Professor Richard Ballard at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, supervises this study. I write to request permission to invite your child to participate in the study. I obtained your child's name from the Youth Group at St. John the Baptist Church in Pinetown.

Purpose of the research study:

The aim of this study is to explore the environmental conceptualisations, concerns and sense of agency among youth. Insight into youth's conceptualisation of the environment and their sense of agency is critical for responding effectively to climate change. The goal of this study is to highlight the obstacles to ecological citizenship and to point to the conditions that can foster the development of youth as ecological citizens to address the multifaceted challenges of climate change.

What your child will do in the study:

Participants will complete an interview, estimated to take about 45 minutes. The interview will ask the participants about their environmental conceptions, concerns and how they perceive their role in influencing the future. At the end of the interview, a disposable camera will be handed out to each participant with the task of capturing a topic agreed upon during the interview. Thereafter, a short follow up interview will take place where the participant will be given the opportunity to explain their personal connotations behind the photographs.

What you will do in the study:

Granting permission for your child's participation by returning this signed form is all that is requested of you. Parental participation is not requested in this study.

Risk:

The probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research will not be greater than those ordinarily encountered or to be expected in daily life. Your child's rights to dignity and autonomy will be respected. No personal and intimate information will be requested or revealed.

Benefits:

Your child's potential participation will be highly appreciated. The study seeks to advance knowledge in relation to youth and climate change in order to benefit future children and their environment. The potential direct benefits to your child from participating in this study would be a possibly expanded understanding of their relationship to the environment and the experience of expressing opinions in a creative way.

Confidentiality:

The gathered information (including possible taped recordings of interviews, interview notes, drawings, photographs, etc.) will only be available to my supervisor and myself.

Excerpts from the interview and a selection of the photographs may be made part of the final research report. A pseudonym will be used in the report to ensure the anonymity of your child or there will be no quotations by your child if requested.

Voluntary participation:

Your child's participation in the study is completely voluntary.

Right to withdraw from the study:

Your child may skip any questions during the interview. Your child may withdraw from the study at any time by informing the researcher that s/he no longer wishes to participate, no questions will be asked.

If you have any further queries, feel free to contact either my supervisor or me.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing from you,

Best Regards,

Milda Jonusaite

MA student at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Contact number: 083 523 3509

Email: mildajo@gmail.com

My projects supervisor's details are:

Prof. Richard Ballard

School of Built Environment and Development Studies

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Contact number: 031 260 2266

Email: ballardr@ukzn.ac.za

Agreement:

I agree to allow my child to choose to participate in the research study described above.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (Document 3)

My name is Milda Jonusaite (student number 20628522). I am doing research on a project entitled '*Fostering ecological citizenship: environmental conceptions, concerns and sense of agency among youth in Durban, South Africa*'. Professor Richard Ballard at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, supervises this study. I am managing the project and should you have any questions my contact details are:

Cell: 0835233509

Email: mildajo@gmail.com

Your legal guardian's permission has been obtained for you to choose whether you would like to participate in this study. Before we start I would like to emphasize that:

- your participation is entirely voluntary;
- you are free to refuse to answer any question;
- you are free to withdraw at any time without any consequences.

The interview will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team. Excerpts from the interview and a selection of the photographs may be made part of the final research report. Do you give your consent for: *(please tick one of the options below)*

Pseudonym (substitute for real name), gender and age, or	
Pseudonym only	
None of the above	

to be used in the report?

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the project.

§Please sign this form to show that you agree to participate and that I have read the contents of this agreement to you.

----- (signed) ----- (date)

----- (print name)

Write your address below if you wish to receive a copy of the research report.

QUESTIONNAIRE (Document 4)

First name/s and surname: _____

Age: _____

Gender: _____

Race/Ethnicity: _____

Place of residence (residential area/ suburb only): _____

School: _____

Grade: _____

Contact telephone number: _____

If you would like to take part in an interview after school hours, please indicate which afternoons (Monday – Friday) you are most likely to be free during the first term, or whether you would like to meet during the weekend:

Thank you very much for your time!
Milda

APPENDIX C: PHOTOGRAPHY EXERCISE

Info:

- The camera can take about 27 pictures.
- The first and the last picture might not come out as planned; so use the first shot as a practice/fun picture.
- I would like you to dedicate about 12 pictures to this project and the rest 12-15 are for your own personal use.
- Once I develop the pictures after you have returned the camera, I will make sure that you receive a copy of your creative work 😊

How the camera works:

- Turn the wheel until it stops before every picture you take.
- The camera is ready for use when the light is on.
- If you would like to use the flash, the flash switch is in front of the camera.
- You are now ready to take pictures.

Remember:

- Keep the finger away from the viewfinder (the “glass-hole” in front of the camera).
- Use the flash when taking pictures inside.
- Write notes while you take pictures, so I know what you were thinking/taking a picture off and why.
- You do not have to do the tasks in order.
- You do not have to do all the tasks, but do as many as you can.
- You can take several pictures for one task if you want.
- No right/wrong way of doing it. Feel free to explore.
- Be creative, there are no rules really. You can take pictures standing, sitting, on your knees, lying down. The motives can be anything within your imagination, no limits.
- Enjoy it!

Tasks:

1. Take a picture of something that has changed in the environment.
2. Take a picture of something you love in the environment.
3. Take a picture of something you find worrying in the environment.
4. Take a picture of what you think contributes to climate change.
5. Take a picture of how climate change has affected you.
6. Take a picture of anything that inspires you.