CAPSI Research into Non-Profit Contribution to Dignified Employment in Africa:

Impacting Policy Discussion, Bringing Institutional Change and Building a Pan-African Research Network

Executive Summary

In 2023, the Centre on African Philanthropy and Social Investment (CAPSI) and a major international foundation embarked on a five-year US$7.8 million project to study the nonprofit sector's contribution to dignified and fulfilling employment for young people in 17 African countries. The research addresses the problems of unemployment, working poverty, informal employment and limited opportunities for career progression. Halfway through its tenure, this programme has produced country reports, datasets and seminars, and supported 19 doctoral fellows. Early signs show its findings are influencing policy discussions and institutional changes, while building a pan-African research network and digital knowledge sharing hub.

Introduction

A staggering 42% of the world's youth population lives in Africa, with more than 70% of Africans under the age of 30.[1] This demographic trend presents both opportunity and risk. While youth unemployment rates vary widely across countries, a defining feature of labour markets across the continent is the prevalence of working poverty. Even when young people are employed, many remain trapped in low-wage, insecure and informal work that offers limited stability, progression or long-term prospects.

Employment outcomes are shaped by structural features of African economies, including limited formal-sector absorption capacity, skills mismatches and the dominance of informal employment. As a result, numerical job creation alone is an insufficient indicator of progress – distinguishing between survivalist employment and dignified, fulfilling work is critical to understanding the quality and sustainability of youth employment outcomes.

Thus, on 13 April 2023, CAPSI announced a US$7.8 million (about R140 million at the time) partnership with a major international donor foundation to measure how the nonprofit sector contributes to dignified and fulfilling employment opportunities for youth in 17 African countries (see **Appendix 1** for a full list and map).[2] The partnership seeks to build and share robust evidence on youth employment, develop a new generation of African researchers and create sustainable pathways to strengthen the way nonprofits support dignified, fulfilling work opportunities for young people.[3]

The Knowledge Gap: Why This Study Is Necessary

CAPSI's literature reviews reveal a significant knowledge gap regarding the qualitative aspects of job dignity and fulfilment for marginalised youth. The contribution of the nonprofit sector to providing youth employment, both to work opportunities directly within the nonprofit sector and by facilitating jobs in other sectors, is also insufficiently understood due to a dearth of

reliable, consolidated data on the sector's role as an employer. While the quantitative outputs of NPO-led initiatives (job opportunities created, the number of people able to secure jobs, etc.) have been researched, the qualitative aspects of job dignity, such as stability, fair remuneration and opportunities for advancement had not been sufficiently researched.[4]
The partnership's core focus is on researching the contributions the nonprofit sector makes to enabling young people to secure dignified and fulfilling work. This sector's role is frequently overlooked in labour-market analysis, and the project aims to test the hypothesis that it is a significant economic actor in African labour markets.[5] Professor Bhekinkosi Moyo, director of CAPSI, sees the research as crucial for providing the evidence needed to reposition the nonprofit sector within economic and policy debates, enabling it to be recognised as a meaningful contributor to addressing the continent's youth employment challenges.[6]

While youth unemployment rates vary widely across African countries, a defining feature of the labour market is the high prevalence of working poverty. Even when young people are employed, many remain trapped in low-wage, insecure and informal work that offers limited stability, progression or long-term prospects. This blurs the distinction between employment and dignified, fulfilling work and obscures the quality of outcomes being achieved.

Project Objectives

The partnership is designed around three interlinked objectives:

Mapping the Terrain. The project will produce data and knowledge about the ways in which the nonprofit sector in 17 African countries is able to create dignified work opportunities for young people (aged 15 to 35) across a range of employment pathways, including direct employment, skills development, enterprise support and policy engagement.

Providing the Expertise. The project seeks to train doctoral students enrolled at African universities to produce rigorous, locally grounded research that strengthens the evidence base on youth employment and contributes to improved policy and practice across the continent.

Navigating the New Territory. The project helps build and share practical evidence. It provides common ways to measure results, makes findings easy to access, and uses this evidence to support decision-making, policy discussions and the design of future programmes. It also includes a digital hub that links young Africans to available job opportunities.

Collectively, the project is intended to benefit young people, policymakers, researchers and nonprofit organisations by strengthening the evidence base required to design, support and scale dignified and fulfilling employment pathways.

Project Methodology

To achieve these objectives, the project adopted a continent-wide scope and a mixed-method research design (see **Appendix 2** for a research timeline) to enable comparative analysis across 17 diverse labour-market contexts. An intersectional lens is applied throughout, with particular attention to young people facing multiple and overlapping forms of marginalisation.[7]

The research is conducted in two stages: first, a literature review and synthesis, which encompasses sources including peer-reviewed articles, organisational reports, government

reports and "grey literature"[a].[8] The second phase, currently underway, involves primary research to gather both quantitative and qualitative data using a combination of complementary methods, including youth and NPO surveys, interviews with marginalised youth and key stakeholders, case studies, and focus group discussions.

Interim Outputs

Although still in its early stages, the project has already generated a variety of tangible deliverables.[9]

Publications and Reports

The initial research phase culminated in the publication of ten country-level literature review reports, with additional reports currently underway. A high-level document, *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the Creation of Dignified and Fulfilling Work for Young People in Africa*, consolidates findings across all 17 countries.[10]

Primary Data and Quantitative Outputs

Quantitative research began in 2024 and involves surveying at least 200 young people per country. Data collection has been completed in most participating countries, with several country teams having analysed their data and produced draft quantitative reports. This phase has also generated a rich, standardised dataset that provides a foundation for future comparative research on youth employment and the nonprofit sector.[11]

Digital Infrastructure and Tools

The project has established systems for central data management and public-facing knowledge access. Kobo Collect serves as a central repository for data collected across the 17 countries, enabling the generation and download of country-level quantitative reports. The CLEAR AA framework underpins monitoring and evaluation across the project. In parallel, the team is developing an internal and outward-facing dashboard that will function as a knowledge hub, housing project outputs and linking nonprofit organisations with young people regarding opportunities, resources and employment pathways.

Knowledge Dissemination and Engagement

CAPSI has prioritised active dissemination of findings, holding more than 20 seminars and webinars based on the literature reviews and convening panels at the annual Africa Philanthropic Conference. Consultative conversations are also underway with youth and stakeholders at country level. A youth competition currently in progress encourages young people to engage with the research findings and reinterpret them in accessible formats. Entries so far include a gaming app, comic books, poetry and animation, promoting youth-led knowledge translation and creative engagement.[12]

Capacity Building and Training Outputs

The project has delivered targeted training to strengthen research quality and capability. Research personnel have participated in workshops to support consistent use of quantitative tools, while a dedicated workshop in November 2025 refined instruments for the qualitative research phase. Nineteen doctoral students are receiving financial support of US$30 000 per year each over five years. In addition to funding, fellows participate in annual PhD workshops

[a] Information and research produced by organisations outside traditional commercial or academic publishing channels, often including reports, government documents, white papers and working papers. [**Source:** University of Sussex (n.d.), "Understanding Grey literature", available at: https://guides.lib.sussex.ac.uk/grey-literature (accessed 19 November 2025).]

and academic conferences, and are supported through supervision arrangements that link university and CAPSI expertise.[13]

Impact to Date

These outputs have begun to generate tangible effects within policy spaces and partner institutions. There has been preliminary evidence of policy uptake, with the parliamentary forum in Uganda expressing interest in working with the Ugandan research team so that the study's findings can inform youth policy reform.[14]

Anecdotally, governments and NPOs have begun to engage with the findings. Dr Mohamadou Sy of *Institut Supérieur de Développement Local* (the Higher Institute for Local Development, ISDL) in Senegal reports having worked with government stakeholders to ensure that strategic recommendations emerging from the research inform policy discussions and decision-making processes.[15]

The research has also driven institutional change. As the partnership progressed, gaps in existing research on women in philanthropy became evident. CAPSI allocated funding to support the Adɔyɛ[b] programme, a standalone initiative addressing this gap. This foundational work subsequently helped secure US$1 million in additional funding from the Chanel Foundation to expand the programme further. (See **Appendix 3** for more on Adɔyɛ.)

The partnership has also resulted in governance and policy learning. CAPSI engaged in extensive negotiations regarding intellectual property arrangements for funded doctoral research, leading this project's funding partner to revise its position and affirm the retention of IP rights by students and universities.

Finally, the project prompted institutional reform at Wits Business School. As a condition of the grant, Wits developed and adopted an overarching safeguarding framework, consolidating previously fragmented policies and strengthening protections for vulnerable research participants.

Reach, Circulation and Uptake

The research outputs are being actively accessed and distributed. By November 2025, country reports and the synthesis report had been downloaded 1 379 times and viewed 6 842 times (see **Appendix 4** for detailed metrics).[16] CAPSI has convened more than 20 conventions, seminars and conferences, both in person and online, to share interim findings and facilitate dialogue among policymakers, researchers and practitioners (see **Appendix 5** for a list of engagements).[17]

Capacity and Capability Building

A central impact of the project lies in its contribution to research capacity development. Nineteen doctoral students (with a further cohort anticipated)[18] receive annual funding of US$30 000 over five years, enabling them to pursue full-time research across diverse and, in some cases, high-risk contexts.[19]

Beyond financial support, fellows benefit from layered academic development, including annual PhD workshops, conference participation, structured peer-learning forums and dual

[b] Adɔyɛ, which means Love in Action, was formally known as Women in African Philanthropy.

supervision arrangements involving both university and CAPSI researchers. As research fellow, Prince Mudau put it: "If I did not have this fellowship, I would not have been able to pursue my research dreams."[20]

The project has also strengthened institutional research networks. Coordination across 17 partner universities has created a sustained pan-African academic community, on which CAPSI now draws for examiners, reviewers and panel members (see **Appendix 6** for partner institutions).

Emerging and Expected Impacts

Impact on NPOs is beginning to emerge. In Senegal, for example, the research enabled ISDL to compile an up-to-date database of national, regional and local NPOs, addressing a long-standing information gap. The 132 organisations surveyed are already engaging with interim findings to inform their work.[21]

While direct youth-level impacts are still emerging, the research is amplifying the voices of marginalised young people, including those in conflict-affected and politically sensitive contexts such as Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo.[22] It is expected that, as findings continue to be shared and integrated into policy and programme design, the research will contribute to improved employment pathways and conditions for the young people NPOs seek to support. The lives of the people CAPSI seeks to study – NPOs and the youth they employ – will be improved by the research findings.

Lessons Learned and Next Steps

Alongside these emerging impacts, the project team has reflected on key lessons to guide future implementation. These are:

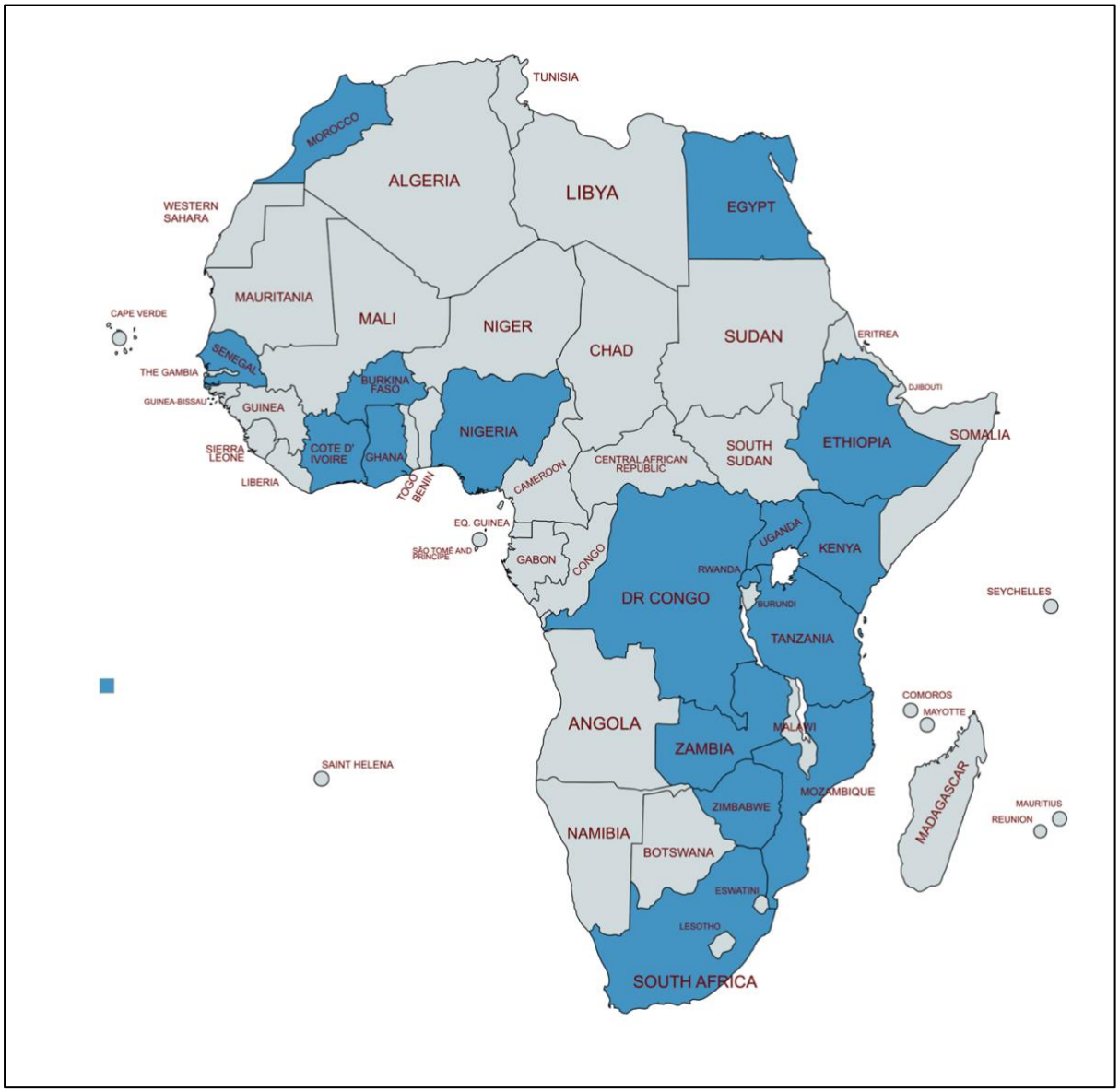
- staffing and capacity realities were more demanding than anticipated;
- institutional and bureaucratic processes slowed implementation;
- cross-country research requires far more resources than conventional projects, especially in conflict zones and where language barriers exist;
- there are major knowledge gaps in African philanthropy and NPO labour contributions; and
- collaboration strengthens research quality but requires structured systems to support it.

CAPSI's own project staff learned a great deal in the early phases of the project, including project management and coordination; strategic navigation, diplomacy and adaptability; and networking and partnership development skills.[23] (See **Appendix 7** for more detailed training and skills development outcomes.)

A data validation workshop is scheduled to take place in Senegal in March 2026 and will bring together all the stakeholders to work on synthesising the information captured. Subsequent reports will be published later, as the primary research is currently underway.[24]

Appendix 1 List and Map of Participating Countries

1. Burkina Faso
2. Cote d'Ivoire
3. Democratic Republic of the Congo
4. Egypt
5. Ethiopia
6. Ghana
7. Kenya
8. Morocco
9. Mozambique
10. Nigeria
11. Rwanda
12. South Africa
13. Senegal
14. Tanzania
15. Uganda
16. Zambia
17. Zimbabwe



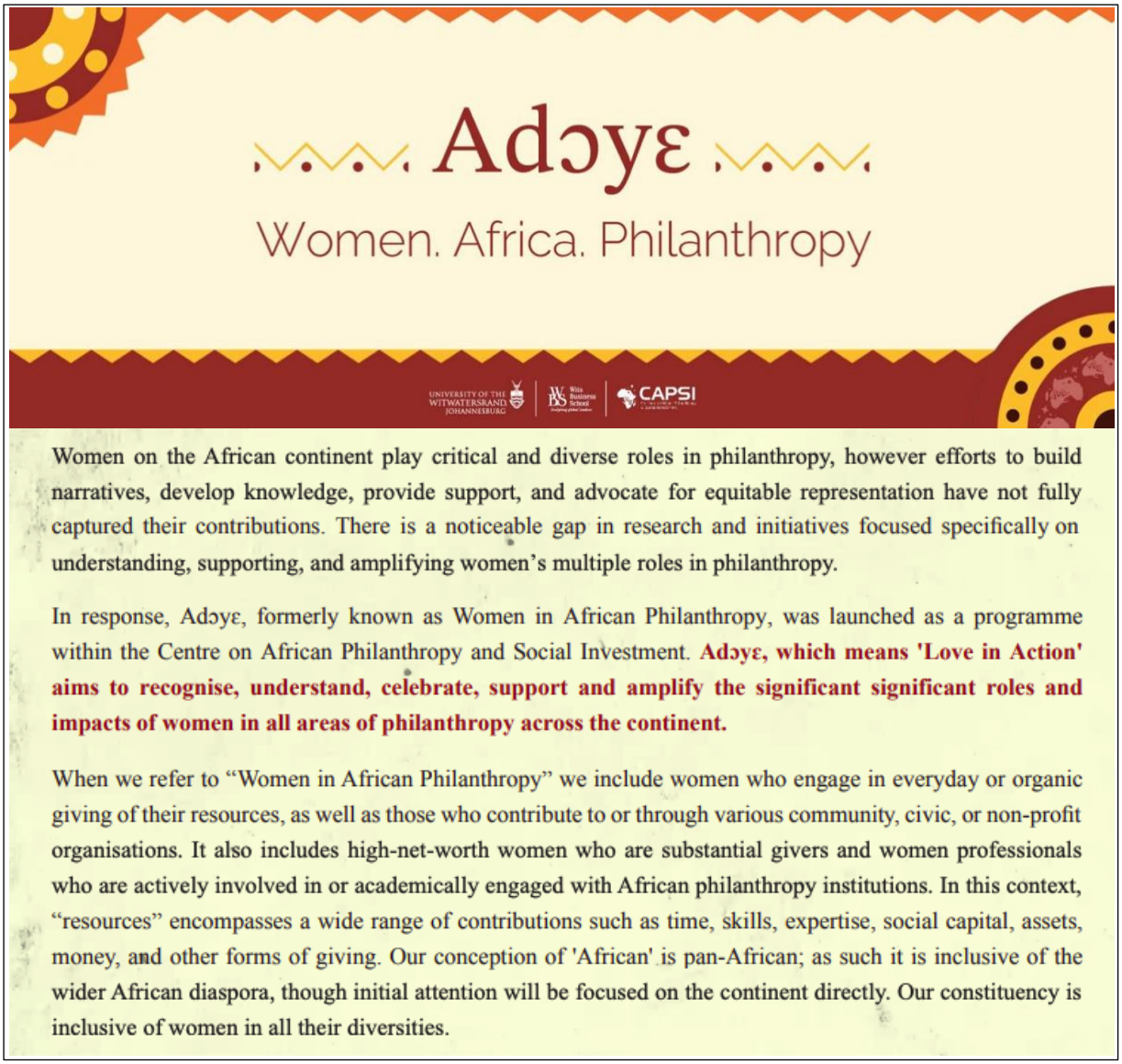
Source: CAPSI (2023), "CAPSI and Mastercard Foundation Partner on project geared towards youth employment research in Africa", 13 April, available at: https://capsi.co.za/wits-universitys-centre-on-african-philanthropy-and-social-investment-and-mastercard-foundation-partner-on-project-geared-towards-youth-employment-research-in-africa/ (accessed 14 November 2025); MapChart (n.d.), "Create your own custom map", available at: www.mapchart.net/ (accessed 19 November 2025).

Appendix 2 Research Timeline

Activity/Phase	Duration/Timeframe	
Overall project duration	Five years	The partnership runs for five years from 2022 to 2027.
Project initiation and funding	2022 – early 2023	The partnership began in 2022. The grant award of US$7.8 million was announced in official press releases in April 2023.
Phase 1: Literature review	Initial phase (completed/published by 2025)	The initial synthesis report was based only on literature reviews because the project was still in its early phase at the time of publication.
Phase 2: Doctoral training	Recruitment in late 2024	The deadline for applications for the PhD Fellowship was 16 September 2024.
Phase 3: Primary research and future reporting	Currently underway, extending to 2027	The acknowledgements of the synthesis report state: "In the next three years [following 2025], we will be publishing additional reports based on primary research currently underway".
Doctoral programme duration	Five years (within the project)	The aim is to train 20 doctoral students over a period of five years. Each fellow receives support for a maximum of five years.
Project conclusion	2027	The five-year partnership is scheduled to conclude in 2027.

Source: Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, Charles Farirayi, Dennis Osei, Eleanor Chipeta, Jacob Mati, Joseph Sobuthongo, Mpho Mogwe, Ntando Hoza, Robin Drennan, Wycliffe Ouma and Xolani Dlamini, 19 November 2025; Osei, D. B., Ouma, W. N. and Chipeta, E. M. (2025), *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the Creation of Dignified and Fulfilling Work for Young People in Africa: A Synthesis Literature Review Report,* available at: https://capsi.co.za/research-reports/contributions-of-the-nonprofit-sector-to-the-creation-of-dignified-and-fulfilling-work-for-young-people-in-africa-a-synthesis-literature-review-report/ (accessed 10 November 2025); CAPSI (2023), "CAPSI and Mastercard Foundation partner on project geared towards youth employment research in Africa", 13 April, available at: https://capsi.co.za/wits-universitys-centre-on-african-philanthropy-and-social-investment-and-mastercard-foundation-partner-on-project-geared-towards-youth-employment-research-in-africa/ (accessed 14 November 2025).

Appendix 3 Adɔyɛ (Formerly Women in African Philanthropy)



Women on the African continent play critical and diverse roles in philanthropy, however efforts to build narratives, develop knowledge, provide support, and advocate for equitable representation have not fully captured their contributions. There is a noticeable gap in research and initiatives focused specifically on understanding, supporting, and amplifying women's multiple roles in philanthropy.

In response, Adɔyɛ, formerly known as Women in African Philanthropy, was launched as a programme within the Centre on African Philanthropy and Social Investment. **Adɔyɛ, which means 'Love in Action' aims to recognise, understand, celebrate, support and amplify the significant significant roles and impacts of women in all areas of philanthropy across the continent.**

When we refer to "Women in African Philanthropy" we include women who engage in everyday or organic giving of their resources, as well as those who contribute to or through various community, civic, or non-profit organisations. It also includes high-net-worth women who are substantial givers and women professionals who are actively involved in or academically engaged with African philanthropy institutions. In this context, "resources" encompasses a wide range of contributions such as time, skills, expertise, social capital, assets, money, and other forms of giving. Our conception of 'African' is pan-African; as such it is inclusive of the wider African diaspora, though initial attention will be focused on the continent directly. Our constituency is inclusive of women in all their diversities.

Sources: CAPSI (n.d.), "Adɔyɛ", available at: www.capsi.wits.ac.za/ad%C9%94y%C9%9B-women-in-africa-philanthropy/ (accessed 5 December 2025); CAPSI (n.d.), *Adɔyɛ Brochure*, available at: www.capsi.wits.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/Ad%C9%94y%C9%9B-Brochure.pdf (accessed 5 December 2025).

Appendix 4 Detailed Metrics Demonstrating Research Uptake

Key Highlights

- Total downloads across all Youth Employment publications: 1 379
- Total page views across all Youth Employment pages: 6 842
- Highest-performing publication (downloads): Senegal report (167)
- Highest-performing publication (page views): Kenya report (1 032)
- Synthesis report shows moderate engagement (downloads: 27; page views: 412), reflecting use across academic and practitioner audiences.
- Reports released earlier (2022–2023) show significantly higher long-term download decay but steady viewing patterns across 2024–2025.

Consolidated Metrics Table (Downloads + Page Views)

#	Report Title	Downloads	Page Views	Combined Engagement
1	Senegal	167	689	**856**
2	Nigeria	160	554	**714**
3	Zimbabwe	134	402	**536**
4	Mozambique	132	320	**452**
5	Ghana	113	518	**631**
6	Tanzania	94	348	**442**
7	Zambia	60	291	**351**
8	Uganda	178	302	**480**
9	DRC	17	176	**193**
10	Ethiopia	17	268	**285**
11	Kenya	240	1 032	**1 272**
12	South Africa	204	942	**1 146**
13	Synthesis Report	27	412	**439**

Note: At the end of 2025 Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Egypt, Ethiopia, Morocco and Rwanda had not yet submitted report.

Totals

- **Total downloads:** 1 543
- **Total page views:** 6 254
- **Total combined engagement: 7 797**

Highest-Performing Reports

By Downloads	By Page Views
• **Senegal (167)** • **Nigeria (160)** • **South Africa (204)** • **Kenya (240)** ← highest combined reach	• **Kenya (1 032 views)** • **South Africa (942 views)** These two account for **29%** of all page views

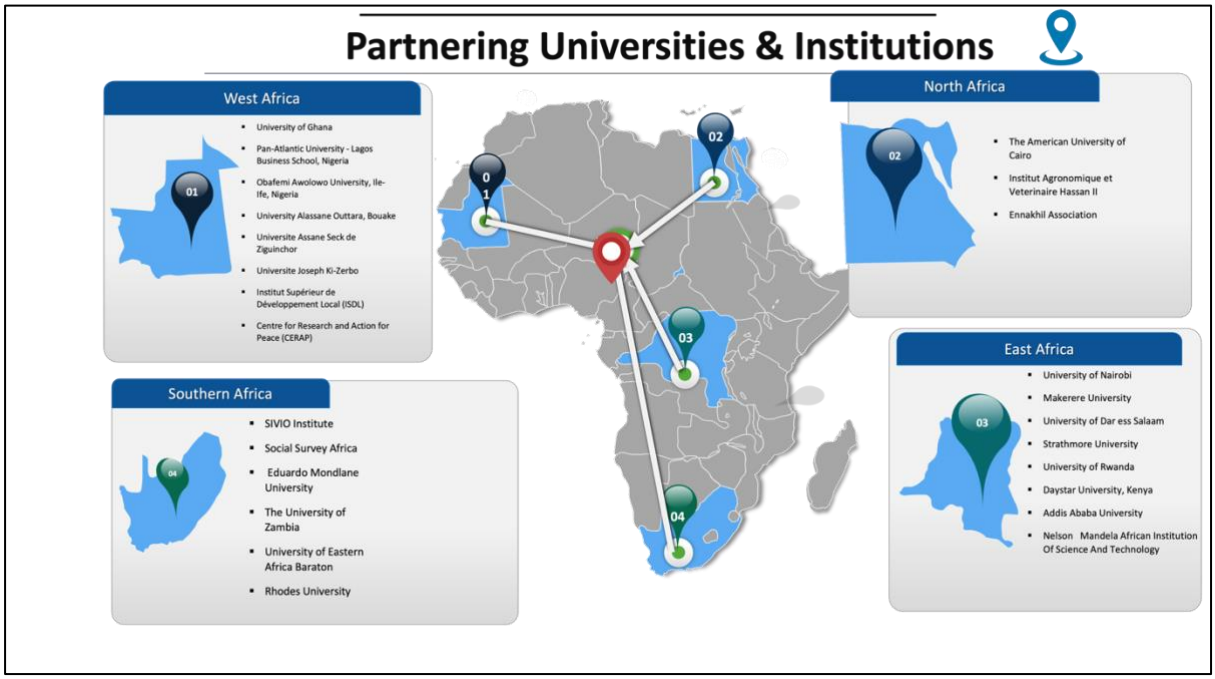
Source: Personal email correspondence with Dennis Osei, 3 December 2025.

Appendix 5 List of Knowledge Share Sessions

Year	Convening, Seminars, Conferences	Country
2023	Criteria for Youth Inclusion Webinar	Multiple countries
2024	CAPSI Youth Project – Internal Methodology Workshop	South Africa
2024	CAPSI Youth Project – Quantitative Methodology Workshop	South Africa
2024	Regional Youth Convening (Kigali, Rwanda)	Rwanda
2024	CAPSI 5th African Philanthropy Conference (APC) – Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe – youth project panel discussion for country partners	Zimbabwe
2024	CAPSI 5th APC – Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe – academic conference presentations – PhD fellows	Zimbabwe
2024	CAPSI Youth Project Stakeholders Convening	Kenya
2024	Regional Youth Convening – Accra, Ghana	Ghana
2024	PhD Writing and Methodology Workshop	South Africa
2024	Association for Research on Nonprofit Organisation and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) Conference – presentations by regional lead researchers	United States
2025	CAPSI Seminar Series – Synthesis Literature Review Report launch	Multiple countries
2025	CAPSI 6th APC – Cairo, Egypt – panel discussions – country partners	Egypt
2025	CAPSI 6th APC – Cairo, Egypt – panel discussions and academic conference presentations – PhD fellows	Egypt
2025	PhD Writing and Methodology Workshop	South Africa
2025	CAPSI Youth Project Quantitative Methodology Workshop	Multiple countries
2025	CAPSI Youth Project Partner Catch-Up Seminar	Multiple countries
2025	CAPSI Youth Project Qualitative Methodology Workshop	Multiple countries
2025	Association for Research on Nonprofit Organisation and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) Conference – presentations by regional lead researchers	United States
2025	CAPSI Seminar Series – Youth Project (First Webinar): Disseminate Literature Review Reports for Ghana, Uganda, Mozambique and Zambia	Multiple countries
2025	CAPSI Seminar Series – Youth Project (Second Webinar): Disseminate Literature Review Reports for Senegal, Nigeria and Ethiopia	Multiple countries
2025	Africa Rise Youth International Summit 2025: Panel discussion (country partners and PhD fellows)	South Africa

Source: Personal email correspondence with Dennis Osei, 3 December 2025.

Appendix 6 Partnering Universities and Institutions



Sources: CAPSI (n.d.), Youth Project Meeting (presentation), Personal email correspondence with Bhekinkosi Moyo, 2 December 2025.

Appendix 7 Training and Skills Development Outcomes of the Research

Skills Developed by Beneficiaries, Students and Participants

NPO-led initiatives focus heavily on imparting skills that enhance market competitiveness and address gaps in formal education. While the research posits that nonprofit organisations (NPOs) and related initiatives play a vital role in developing skills among youth and participants across Africa, addressing significant skills mismatches in the labour market, the impact of this role is still being studied.

In the interim, however, the project's country partners have benefited from the experiences of honing the primary research tools in response to regional contexts and utilising the project's technical components such as data collection, analysis and other digital literacy skills.

Doctoral Students

The 20 doctoral students supported by the project are being trained in the field. They are supported to attend PhD workshops and other conferences, and are paired with internal staff members and supervisors to work on their projects and publish findings.

Internal Skills Developed

Internal project staff and research leads have developed crucial managerial and strategic capabilities in response to structural and bureaucratic hurdles:

- Project management and coordination – coordinate efforts, divide roles, and successfully manoeuvre around project timelines when key positions were initially unavailable.
- Adaptability and role shaping – when the management team was understaffed, regional project leads stepped into managing and coordinating roles, demonstrating the ability to reshape their roles and adjust to needs to deliver on the project.
- Strategic navigation and networking – the regional lead for the Southern region learned to strategise and regroup to navigate challenges such as reluctance from organisations to assist in data collection in Mozambique due to political unrest. The team successfully employed its networks (e.g., approaching the Mash Foundation) to open doors to smaller organisations to collect data.
- Collaborative process design – the project team learned that decision-making regarding research tools in such a diverse population group could not be one-size-fits-all; they had to co-create the tools with country partners and the youth.
- Capacity building (digital tools) – the team worked with partners to employ and implement digital tools like Kobo Collect and dashboards for central data deposition, monitoring and evaluation, and analytical purposes.

Source: Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, Charles Farirayi, Dennis Osei, Eleanor Chipeta, Jacob Mati, Joseph Sobuthongo, Mpho Mogwe, Ntando Hoza, Robin Drennan, Wycliffe Ouma and Xolani Dlamini, 19 November 2025.

[1] Osei, D. B., Ouma, W. N. and Chipeta, E. M. (2025), *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the Creation of Dignified and Fulfilling Work for Young People in Africa: A Synthesis Literature Review Report*, available at: https://capsi.co.za/research-reports/contributions-of-the-nonprofit-sector-to-the-creation-of-dignified-and-fulfilling-work-for-young-people-in-africa-a-synthesis-literature-review-report/ (accessed 10 November 2025).

[2] CAPSI (2023), "CAPSI and Mastercard Foundation partner on project geared towards youth employment research in Africa", 13 April, available at: https://capsi.co.za/wits-universitys-centre-on-african-philanthropy-and-social-investment-and-mastercard-foundation-partner-on-project-geared-towards-youth-employment-research-in-africa/ (accessed 14 November 2025).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Dlovu, H. and Cheruiyot, R. (2025), *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the South African Economy: A Focus on Creating Dignified and Fulfilling Work for the Youth*, available at: https://capsi.co.za/research-reports/contributions-of-the-nonprofit-sector-to-the-south-african-economy-a-focus-on-creating-dignified-and-fulfilling-work-for-the-youth/ (accessed 10 November 2025).

[5] CAPSI (2023), "CAPSI and Mastercard Foundation partner on project geared towards youth employment research in Africa", op.cit.

[6] Moyo, B. (n.d.), "From the desk of the director", available at: https://capsi.co.za/from-the-desk-of-the-director-july-2023/ (accessed 5 November 2025).

[7] Osei, D. B., Ouma, W. N. and Chipeta, E. M. (2025), *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the Creation of Dignified and Fulfilling Work for Young People in Africa: A Synthesis Literature Review Report*, op.cit.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, Charles Farirayi, Dennis Osei, Eleanor Chipeta, Jacob Mati, Joseph Sobuthongo, Mpho Mogwe, Ntando Hoza, Robin Drennan, Wycliffe Ouma and Xolani Dlamini, 19 November 2025.

[10] Osei, D. B., Ouma, W. N. and Chipeta, E. M. (2025), *Contributions of the Nonprofit Sector to the Creation of Dignified and Fulfilling Work for Young People in Africa: A Synthesis Literature Review Report*, op.cit.

[11] CAPSI (n.d.), Youth Project Meeting (presentation); Personal email correspondence with Bhekinkosi Moyo, 2 December 2025.

[12] Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, Charles Farirayi, Dennis Osei, Eleanor Chipeta, Jacob Mati, Joseph Sobuthongo, Mpho Mogwe, Ntando Hoza, Robin Drennan, Wycliffe Ouma and Xolani Dlamini, 19 November 2025.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Zoom interview with Mohamadou Sy, 4 December 2025.

[16] Personal email correspondence with Dennis Osei, 3 December 2025.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, 3 December 2025.

[19] Zoom interview with Prince Mudau, 3 December 2025.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Zoom interview with Mohamadou Sy, 4 December 2025.

[22] Zoom interview with Prince Mudau, 3 December 2025.

[23] Zoom interview with Bhekinkosi Moyo, Charles Farirayi, Dennis Osei, Eleanor Chipeta, Jacob Mati, Joseph Sobuthongo, Mpho Mogwe, Ntando Hoza, Robin Drennan, Wycliffe Ouma and Xolani Dlamini, 19 November 2025.

[24] Ibid.