

**Rural Development and Land Reform through a generational
lens: A case of Vuki farm in the Western Cape, South Africa**
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T.P Khutswane

Supervised by: Dr. P. Hebinck

2nd Reader: Dr C. Almekinders

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Abstract

After 15 years of democratic transition in South Africa, it becomes legitimate to question the role of youth in development process particularly rural development, land reform and agrarian transformation. The leading motive of this paper is that development can be achieved by capitalising on all resources in society, including the involvement of all stakeholders, both adults and youth. A youth lens towards development is key to the future because seven out of eight MDGs relate to youth. Drawing from the recent case study at Vuki project, this paper enables us to look at whether and how youth are participating and benefiting somehow from land reform. Land reform has proven to be a complex process with different sets of outcomes. Vuki has emerged as a good example of land reform because group of beneficiaries have shaped state intervention (land reform), by turning the falling farm into a commercially viable enterprise. Besides being Fair Trade certified, it enjoys access to both local and global markets. Vuki also continues to provide livelihood opportunities for a casual and seasonal labour force from poor areas in the Eastern Cape. However, when looking at Vuki from a generational perspective, the future of Vuki may be less promising. The youth play a marginal role on the farm and have shown little interest in farming. The transfer of ownership and skills from one generation to another is not discussed at Vuki. It is not clear how and when the ageing adult generation will share its resource (the farm) with the succeeding generation, the youth.

Keywords: Development, South Africa, Land reform, Participation, Youth, Generation, Adults, Fair Trade

Geographical location of the Study Area

Map 1: Western Cape in South Africa



Map 2: Overberg District / Grabouw area where Vuki farm is situated



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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CPA	Communal Property Associations
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
EC	Eastern Cape
FWES	Farm Worker Equity Scheme
GLTN	Global Land and Tool Network
IDT	Independent Development Trust
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
SLAG	Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant
WC	Western Cape

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is about the role of youth in rural development and in land reform in South Africa in particular. The land reform programme was initiated not only to seek redress of the injustices that occurred in the past but also to redistribute resources and provide opportunities for land based developments. In most developing countries land policies are frequently central to developmental processes. Ownership of land as Bromley (1989) and many others have argued could lead to economic growth realising surpluses, particular when ownership is private. Thus if reform are initiated that provide opportunities for the poor to own land, land becomes a vehicle for development.

The leading motive of this thesis is that development can be achieved by capitalising on all resources in society, including the involvement and commitment of all stakeholders, both adults and youth, men and women. Developing a youth lens towards development is key for the future (World Development Report, 2007). This is reflected in the Millennium Development (MDG) goals: seven out of eight relate clearly to the youth. Even where young people are not the explicit focus, their involvement can be important to achieve these goals. Development with a youth focus is important not only for future developments but also to mitigate intergenerational transmission of poverty.

The World Youth Report of 2005 has formulated it quite strongly. The youth of today with ambiguous economic and cultural relationships with the globalising world, they are relatively well adaptable and therefore best able to use and employ new technologies. They are the potentially the better educated generation particular in relation to information and communication technologies. However, there are many young people, particularly in developing countries in the South who lack economic power to benefit from these opportunities. This clearly underlines the need for a perspective of development being a process of negotiation between groups and generations over accessing, distributing and using resources for livelihood enhancement.

The aim of this thesis is to discuss and explore land and land based development from a generational point of view. In this way we hope to get a better grasp whether and how land as a resource and youth combines and what advances or inhibits participation of youth in the South African land reform program. Bernstein (1996) has reported that so far there is little investigation about the developmental role of the youth and whether they have a desire to farm and the implication of this in the politics of land. Indeed, anyone who visits land reform projects notices that youth play a marginal role and in many cases play no role at all. This begs questions like is land reform creating conditions for the youth to participate and engage meaningfully with land reform and farming? Or does the youth ignore land reform as a vehicle for development; and if so why and what processes are at play?

To answer these and other questions I set out to review literature in Chapter 2. First literature to explore what constitutes the youth question. This serves to come to grips with developmental issues as well as to develop a conceptual grasp of how to investigate and interpret youth issues. I focussed my literature review largely on Africa and South Africa in particular. Because land reform unfolds as the context to examine youth questions, what role they play in land reform and what motivates them to engage or disengage from land based livelihoods, I reviewed some of the land reform related literature to formulate a clear perspective on how to examine and interpret land reform processes. I will also pay attention to the specificities of land reform and what has been achieved in the Western Cape Province. Together these two blocks of literature will help me to formulate a generational lens on land reform and to develop a clear problem state and set of research questions. In the methodological section I will explain why, how and what kind of data I collected.

Chapter 3 focuses on the youth question as it unfolds in South Africa. Problems and issues will be shortly explored and reviewed. I will also pay attention to what initiatives are taken by the post apartheid government to address youth issues.

Chapter 4 brings us to the case study central to this examination of the youth issues. Here I will describe the historical and contemporary contexts of what today is known as Vuki farm.

Chapter 5 zooms in quite some detail in on the actors that play a role on the farm and the kind of negotiations that take place at Vuki.

In Chapter 6 I'll formulate some conclusions about the youth and land reform. In this chapter I will answer the research questions that I used to organise and order my research.

Chapter 2: Youth, development and land reform

The theoretical cornerstone of my thesis hinges on the understanding that development is not a linear and socially homogenous and harmonious process. I rather understand development as non-linear following prefixed patterns and a continuous processes of negotiation that take place between social actors, be they groups, different genders or different generations. Kamphamti (2004) adamantly points out that the outcome of development is such that social inequalities might increase. Development as Long (2001) has argued is best to understand as an arena of struggle over resources, what constitute resources and how to use them. The analytical implications for my research are twofold. The first is that development entails negotiations between generations. The second is that land reform as a government initiated process to redistribute resources involves a continuous struggle between land reform beneficiaries belonging to different generations.

2.1 Development from a generational perspective

Many sociological theories characterise society as made up by different groups. Sociologists study society as such and many (not all) aim to show that society is not homogenous but heterogeneous. Many sociologists would argue that society intrinsically hinges on social inequalities that are increasing rather than decreasing despite government attempts to reduce inequalities through implementing policies (Seekings and Nattrass, 2006). Hence the analytical importance of distinguishing social categories. Most commonly one makes distinctions based on income (rich from poor), gender (man and women), generations (adults and youth), political and economic power (classes), and religion (religious denominations). Sociological theories do not simply develop these categories per se but build their analysis and understanding of society on the study of the interrelationships between these groups, how these groups or categories are constructed by people themselves and thus how groups or categories perceive one another.

For sociologists, society is the product of everyday interactions between social actors which are individuals but also groups and institutions. At

this point it is useful to make a distinction between sociological theories that depart from a structuralist epistemology (that is attributing the capacity to initiate social change to structures like the state, laws and institutions) and those actor oriented theories that attribute agency to social actors that despite a range of constraints are capable of manoeuvring and identifying a variety of options and ways of development (Long, 2001). This thesis is inspired by actor analyses of social change as it offers scope for an empirical investigation of society as constituted by groups (in my case generations) and more importantly perhaps to investigate how and why they negotiate and about what. According to Bate and Peacock (1989) every society has constructed social categories which are elements in a set of relationships constituting the social structure of that society. Gender categories, class, ethnicity and age as well as group in the sense of networking and interacting are all included as part of society.

Age is a major dimension of the social structure and a major touchstone by which individuals organise and interpret their experiences throughout their life. The changing society has brought with it new question regarding the social meaning of age. The aging population has brought with it a new concern about relations between age groups and possible age divisiveness that may arise in a political arena. Societies not only provide a new context, but new opportunity to rethink of age in ways that might prove constructive both to individuals and the society at large. Societies are changing in ways that relate to age (Neugarten and Neugarten, 1986).

There is an ongoing conflict between dominant and disadvantage categories of people within a society, for example the rich in relation to the poor, men in relation to women and adults in relation to young people. The stage of youth is a critical time for formulating one's belief and patterns of behaviour. Age is one of the most basic social categories of human existence and primary factor in all societies for assigning roles. However age is not a unitary concept and maybe used in reference to life cycle development or in a generational sense. Braungart (1986) argues that the stage of youth is of a particular interest since it appears to be important time for the development of attitudes and behaviour. These developmental characteristics are likely to make youth critical of their elders and society. This has been interpreted by some indicating that youth have a predisposition to generational conflict (Braungart et al.,

1986). Perceptions of the periods of life are being altered as well as role transitions, social competencies with regard to age appropriate behaviour are appearing in informal age norms. The social systems emerging are based in a general way of functional age that is as the individual competencies change over time those competencies are nurtured and utilized in the interest of society. Social age distinctions are created systematically; responsibilities and rights are differently distributed according to social change, (Neugarten and Neugarten, 1986). Societies define at least three periods of life: childhood, adulthood and old age. In more complex societies the period of life become more numerous as they reflect other forms of social change. Different patterns of age distinction are created in different areas of life such as in education, family and work force. Chronological age becomes an index of social change. Lang and Fingerman (2004) have reported that an individual's age is an indicator of cohort and a role position within a society.

Social actors of different age's command different abilities, experiences and work potentially towards different goals. Social actors use those capacities and experiences to constructs a meaningful livelihood and these livelihoods may be age specific. While working towards implementing their goals and dreams, social actors engage in a daily struggle for survival and in doing so they may confront and contest each others resources. This fits the idea that development is best understood as an arena of struggle were different actors negotiate resulting perhaps in winners and losers. Hebinck and Verschoor (2001) argue that although actors are often limited in their choices by lack of resources, they should not be seen as passive recipients of change. They create a room for manoeuvre for their own interest, for example youth and adults in the same society might have different interests which are shaped by their past experience, cultural disposition and life style shaping the choices they make.

Ansell (2005) points out that it is inevitable that development processes are shaped by local factors. Societies must therefore ensure that new generations of citizens identify and engage as responsible members. Adults in different settings should insist a tolerance as a basis for social interaction. Meaning within developmental process, youth must have a voice and learn how to discuss and negotiate their different views. The values in which youth are raised are the foundation for their political views and for the society they create. Today's youth are growing up in a

more global world. Information flows have increased substantially because of the greater reach of the global media, movies, music and other cultural exports, though access varies significantly (World Development Report, 2007). It is important then, to be conscious that although youth are affected by these processes their lives remain diverse. Many societies tend to think of youth in relation to the future, both of their own and future for the society more widely. Youth also live in the present; failure to give them attention now may affect not just today but probably their entire lives. Youth are actors in their own lives, not merely object for development as they exercise control over their own situations and this should be recognised by policy makers. Individuals in a society observe how people respond to them and develop a picture of reality based on that. For example young people as individuals are likely to develop reality of society from their particular perspective, based on the reaction of people around them (Ansell, 2005).

There is often a full complexity of the interaction between the child, family, society, and the world. A myriad of factors make youth highly heterogeneous category, these categories intersect in multiple, often unexpected ways and interact on different planes simultaneously. As part of society, youth contribute to the structures, norms, rituals, and directions of society while also being shaped by them. They make themselves, through inventive forms of self-realization and an ingenious politics of identity and they make society by acting as a political force, as sources of resistance and resilience, and as ritual or even supernatural agents and generators of morality and healing through masquerade and play.

On the other hand, they appear in various ways: as risk factors for themselves through suicide, drug use, alcohol, and unsafe sex; by breaking societal norms, conventions, and rules; sometimes by breaking limbs and lives; and sometimes by breaking the chains of oppression, as the role of young people in fighting South African apartheid so powerfully illustrated. Young people constantly shake and shape society but are also shaped and shaken by it. Finally youth are pushed, pulled, and coerced into various actions by encompassing structures and processes over which they have little or no control: kin, family, community, education, media, technology, the state and its decay, war, religion, tradition and the weight of the past, and the rules of the global market (De Boeck and Honwana, 2005). The growing up experience of younger and older generations as Flagan et al., (2006) has argued is usually disparate which results in

generational conflicts. Its differentiation is expressed in a sequence of roles and events, social transitions and turning points that depicts the life course. A number of factors are instrumental in developing this perspective which is a temporal construct of cohort, career and life history. In practical terms, these are complex intergenerational relationships, dynamic and evolving, relating to all aspects of family life. Schwartz (1975) argues that generations are segments perceived or imposed on a continuum. Generation may therefore be defined as those individuals in a society through time who see themselves or are seen by others as culturally distinguished from others who preceded or followed them. Although youth and age still follow each other the circle of successive generations is not unbroken for the paths of young and old which extend through time and change.

Generation is also a social construction rather than a biological one. Where novels events are rare and change is slow in a society, distinct generation may not appear, (Demartini, 1985). Only where events occur in such a manner as to demarcate a cohort in terms of its historical-social consciousness, we can speak of generation. Generation as a concept has been motivated largely by belief in its potential explanatory power for understanding individual and collective behaviour. The generational character created by events a cohort experience during its youth is assumed to be important even decisive, influential on the later attitudes and actions of its members. New generations experience historical conditions different than older generations and this difference lay the potential for marked social change.

There is always change potential embedded in generational succession because persons belonging to the same generation share a common location in the social-historical process thereby predisposing them for a certain characteristic made through experience and characteristic type of historically relevant action. The emergence of new generations' produces individuals whose attitudes towards heritage handed down by their predecessors is a novel one (Demartini, 1985). Intergenerational discontinuity then stems from adjacent generation interpretations of the same historical events. Emergence of new generations certainly results in some loss of accumulated cultural possessions and it facilitates re-evaluation. Smooth transmission between generations is threatened by cultural heritage from one generation to another which is always less complete. Elements of this heritage are lost and discarded especially as

they have little meaning to a new generation which has not participated in accumulation of that heritage. New generations' also interpret socio-historical events differently than do present generations.

Demartini (1985) has pointed out that during period of rapid change, a strain towards discontinuity between generations intensifies. Members of new generations often emerge as a change agents or generation units which can be defined as groups within the same actual generation which work out material of their common experiences. Generally young people share social and cultural growing up experience with their contemporaries and look at each other rather than adults for bonding. This is especially when youth cohorts comes of age under different circumstances with the adult generation. Then adults have more difficult time transmitting their values, beliefs and practices to youth who may view adults as antiquated. Changing values are key to understand social change because values play an important role in legitimizing social, political and economic practices, (Demartini, 1985).

Therefore change of values has important consequences for the legitimacy of social system. Young generation usually challenge adults in number of arenas like culture and science (Demartini, 1985). There is a generational conflict between youth and older members of society which is not unique. But instead similar to which always characterises youth as the preceding generation, this generation gap represent time in the life history. It is a time in the life cycle when it is difficult for the young people and adults to understand each other. The anxiety of adults makes it harder to hear what youth are saying or what problems are the young people trying to work through. Age-related outcomes are not mere consequences of aging, but of complex interrelations that combine social structural, cultural, and interactional processes, (Gangrade, 1970).

2.2 Conceptual definition of youth

Youth is usually seen as a relational concept which refers to the social processes whereby age is socially constructed, institutionalised and controlled in a historically and cultural specific ways. According to Wyn and White (1997), one of the most significant issues which confront the category-youth is the apparent symmetry between biological and social process. Youth can also be seen as a relational concept because it exist and has meaning largely in relation to the concept of adulthood. Youth is a

transitional phase from childhood to adulthood when young people through a process of intense physiological, psychological, social and economic change, gradually be recognised and recognise themselves as adults. So it is more of stage in life than age, (World of Development Report, 2007). Transition to adulthood often includes leaving school; entering the labour market, establishing an independent household, getting married, voting and parenthood. All these can be referred to as social, demographic or role transitions. Transition to adulthood therefore implies the existence of social idea of what it means to become an adult.

Thus youth status is not merely biological but it is also socially constructed, formed from the criteria that members of society deem to be important for adult status. For this reason it is necessary to find out how the transition to adulthood is conceptualised by members of various societies at various times. Though age groups are commonly slotted into chronological boxes, age too is constructed through socio-cultural, economic and political processes. Youth being a social concept, the important criteria for being adult may vary from one society to another and within any given time this criteria may change over time. Although a person's life span can be measured by the passing of time, cultural understandings about the growing up and ageing is a social meaning, (Leccardi and Ruspini , 2006).

According to Plug et al., (2003) recently transition from education into labour market, with that from youth into adulthood is becoming blurred. Youth are no longer restricted solely to the period of secondary and tertiary education. There is a blurring of tasks that were formerly connected to youth (education) and adulthood (work). Contemporary youth simultaneously adopts tasks that formerly were exclusively connected to either youth phase or to adulthood. They may attend education and at the same time have a job and be young parents. They may even return to full-time education after having been employed full-time for number of years. Education and employment no longer seem to coincide unambiguously with a particular life phase. Young men and women appear to be somewhere between youth and adulthood, varying between being either young or adult, being both young and adult or being neither young nor adult.

Herrera (2006) reported that youth refer simultaneously to a cultural group, an age cohort and a socio-political category. The notion of youth as

cultural group emerged in the post World War two era, when young people with access to markets and goods were distinguished by certain tastes, lifestyle choices and patterns of consumption. As the youth taste has come to dominate the market, age has become less important than consumption patterns. In other words how old you are and how old you imagine to be is increasingly defined by what you consume. It is clear that the category youth lacks a clear definition and in some situations it is based on the social circumstances rather than chronological age or cultural position. The complexity of generational politics, choices and needs of individuals are understood through the full range of their experiences, not just their current position or status.

2.3 Operational definition of youth in South Africa

Youth has a different meaning depending on the context. Distinction by government and demographers is that youth or young people have statistical artefact to refer specifically to the ages 15-24 years. This is usually done to ease the comparison of age grouping. Many countries draw a line on youth at the age which a person is given equal treatment under the law-often referred to as the age of the majority. This age is often 18 years in many countries and once a person passes this age is referred to as an adult. However, the operational definition of youth differs from country to country. Most of this definition depends on socio-cultural, institutional, economic and political factors. The standard UN definition states that youth includes people between 15 and 24 years of age (Youth and the United Nations). For the purpose of this study youth is both males and females between 14-35 years old which is the youth definition in South Africa (National Youth Policy, 2007). At Vuki farm, I have categorised youth as both males and females between the age of 15-35 from both seasonal workers and those forming part of shareholders' households. This was to ensure that I gather different opinions about land reform and agriculture from both youth currently working and those still studying.

2.4 Land reform

Land and ownership of land plays multiple roles in development. In most developing countries land continues to be a critical determinant of economic well being, social status and political power. This explains why many governments in Africa are engaged in some form of land reform. Redistribution of land increases productivity (Binswanger and Lutz, 1998). Not only because land ownership is associated with improved access to

credits market providing benefits as insurance to the poor, but also because ownership and rights to land are highly unequal. Land reform is thus to improve access and secure ownership of and rights to land. Secure tenure of land as Deininger (2003) argues can improve the welfare of the poor, in particular by enhancing the asset base of those such as women, youth whose land rights are often neglected.

At the same time it creates the incentives needed for investment which is a key element for sustainable economic growth. Governments have clear roles to play in promoting and contributing to socially desirable land allocation and utilization. This is clearly illustrated in land reform policies in economies which have high unequal distribution of land ownership where land issues are often a key element to social strife. Global Land Tool Network (GLTN, 2008) reported that however land policies often fail to be inclusive because they focus almost exclusively on adults at the expense of the rights and development needs of the majority of the world's population – youth. While youth represent the majority of the population in many countries, the dramatic population shift through increase in life expectancy, smaller family sizes and changing household structures calls for increased policy focus.

Age, gender and land intersect repeatedly through gendered power relations to deny her access to land; security of tenure through out her life stages, as a result of various forms of cultural, social, sexual and economic exploitation. Land as an economic resource is often in the hands of elder members of society. It does not benefit youth in equal degree as compared to adults (Bromley, 1989). Research on land issues invariably focuses on the adult male-as the head of the family and household. To an extent, gender mainstreaming initiatives have sought to address women's rights. Yet, this prioritisation of adults (sometimes referred to as the 'dominant age group') in the land discourse has generally been at the expense of other age groups like youth (GLTN, 2008). Land policy prescriptions or intervention models ignore the particularities, diversities, and complexities between and within population groups. In practice land issues vary considerably even within youth sub-groups such as child headed households, conflict or disaster displaced children, street children, homeless, child workers, HIV orphans, trafficked girls, migrant young workers, disabled, minority and indigenous youth. Thus, land policies that disengage with the rights and development needs of the majority of the world's population are partial sighted. Understanding age differentials

and responding to marginalised age cohorts through innovative, targeted and age-appropriate strategies and land policies will be the challenge for the coming decades (GLTN, 2008). The basic management and social unit relating to land is often the family, though family structures themselves are changing. In rural areas, family farms have been successful forms of agricultural organisation, in terms of productivity as well as social agency. The family develops coping strategies as the main source of mutual support in some societies.

Land is not a commodity for most vulnerable age groups but has social meanings and livelihood contexts which include food security, opportunities to achieve other assets and socio-economic mobility. At certain life stages, certain population groups are at greater risk of poverty and social exclusion, which are exacerbated by events such as migration, conflict, disease or disaster and personal circumstances such as unemployment. The position of youth is not clear on land policies. However this limitation of young people's access to land outside the kin group of older generation is problematic especially when alternative livelihoods are not available. Cotula *et al.*, (2007) argues that issues about land affect every social category of the society, male or female, rural or urban dweller, adults or youth, leader or subordinate. However certain categories of people are most affected by issues pertaining to access and control over land. This group of people include women and youth and the insecurity of tenure affects a greater society than is generally recognised.

2.5 Land Reform in South Africa

The programmes of land reform, namely redistribution, restitution and tenure reform, as Cousins and Hornby (2002) argue offer groups of people the option of buying a single piece of land through the creation of a legal entity to own the common property. Several types of legal entities are available to these groups but the most commonly used are Trusts and Communal Property Associations (CPAs). While these programmes are open to both groups and individuals, most land has in practice, been transferred to groups, many comprising hundreds (or even thousands) of households. Even with a shift in land reform focus to supporting individual emerging farmers, communal land tenure remains the most viable option for many land reform beneficiaries, as well as their choice. Having functioning CPAs is critical to the success of land reform projects in improving the tenure and lives of the people who are intended to

benefit from them. The CPA Act (1996) sought 'to enable communities to form juristic persons to be known as communal property institution in order to acquire, hold and manage property on a basis agreed to by members of a community in terms of a written constitution' (Communal Property Act 1996: Preamble). CPA is expected to develop its own deed or constitution describing how the body functions as well as describing how land can be accessed and managed by the group. Constitution making is the mechanism to construct the group and create a legal person that can own land.

In practice however, the group does not prepare these documents as they lack the necessary drafting capacity and it is often done in isolation by government staff or consultants. They are frequently written in English rather than other languages and the style is heavily legalistic. The Act prescribes the following principles to be included in every constitution: fair and inclusive decision making, equity of membership, democratic processes, fair access to property, accountability and transparency, security of tenure, sustainability and compliance to legislation and constitution. In practice, most CPAs have failed to live up to this ideal, and Trusts although governed by different regulations appear to suffer many of the same problems. The group ownership creates multiple tensions, which to date have barely been acknowledged in South African policy debates, (Lahiff, 2007).

According to Lahiff (2008) evidence suggests that most, if not all, group land reform projects are confronted by major challenges regarding the use and benefits of resources. Groups generally appear ill-prepared for the task of land administration, and difficulties are greatly compounded where attempts are made to engage in collective production. It is suggested that matters of group dynamics, organisational development and commercial management present major challenges to large groups, dominated by relatively poor and poorly-educated people. Recurring problems include a failure to define clear criteria for membership of the CPA or the rights or responsibilities of members. Community Trust is the favoured form of legal entity within most provinces with exception of Northern Cape and Gauteng which has higher levels of CPAs. Raynolds et al., (2007) argue that land reform in the Western Cape (WC) is pursued mostly in the form of farm worker equity scheme initiatives (FWES). FWES were initiated in the early 1990's as a method of redistributing farm assets to land reform beneficiaries while maintaining the viability of

commercial farming operations. Equity-share schemes have been proposed as one means of dealing with the slow pace of land and wealth redistribution in South African agriculture. Share-equity schemes in agriculture are arrangements in which farm workers, small-scale farmers or other disadvantaged people buy shares in a commercial farm or an agricultural processing company. They may already be working on these farms or in these companies. The shares may be in an already existing farm or company, or an investment vehicle may be specially established for this purpose. The ability of farm workers or small-scale farmers to buy equity comes from their access to government subsidies or through access to credit as a result of a long relationship with the company or farm.

According to Gray et al., (2004) the concept of equity-share schemes is not limited to include only farm workers, but other previously disadvantaged stakeholders, such as neighbouring rural communities. Equity-share schemes offer an institutional environment that creates an incentive to invest in enterprises where resources such as land are co-owned. Co-ownership will continue to pose a challenge in the transition of South Africa's inequitable farming sector because many of the group settlement schemes that were created under the government's settlement/land acquisition grant (SLAG) programme have succumbed to weak institutions. Department of Land Affairs (DLA) was not always able to ensure that diverse groups of beneficiaries would devise and enforce rules to manage their communal resources. In the virtual absence of rules governing use or benefit rights, some of this land has become an open access resource with individuals unable or unwilling to finance improvements and inputs, (Knight et al., 2004).

Considering that a large majority of farm workers do not have sufficient means to purchase their own land it is perhaps more appropriate to compare equity-share schemes with other group ownership models. In this respect, Knight et al., (2004) are of the opinion that the institutional arrangements of equity-share schemes outperform conventional producer co-operatives and communal property associations (CPA's). In most cases management exercises exclusive use rights to the farmland with farm workers obtaining tradable voting and benefit (dividends and capital gains) rights in proportion to their financial investment. These institutional arrangements help to alleviate the free and forced-rider problems that undermine cooperative forms of business organization and therefore encourage investment of money and effort by shareholders.

2.6 Land reform as a policy context

In many parts of Africa, the last decades have been characterised by debates as to the purpose and direction of land reform. The appointment of commission of enquiries to land matters, the formulation of national land policies and the enactment of new land laws. Augustinus and Lind (2007) argue that developing new land policies can be a long and difficult process. It is even more so if the policies are to be pro-poor. If they are to help correct the disadvantages that poor people typically suffer in many areas of land policy. In most countries land policies, laws and procedures are biased against the poor. The poor remain trapped in poverty because they cannot access and use land that they need to grow crops, build houses and establish businesses. Without secure tenure, they have no incentive to invest in the land. Many land procedures—such as registering a piece of land or transferring it to a new owner – are too expensive for the poor to afford.

The process of policy development as Augustus and Lind (2007) argues, is itself biased against the poor. It is dominated by elites: politicians, commercial interests, land owners and developers, and technical specialists such as lawyers and surveyors. The poor have little political clout, and they lack the technical background and resources to contribute to the policy discussion. Pro-poor policies are needed to overcome these barriers. Such policies should provide a range of land rights, suited to different situations. They should ensure that the poor have access to land and land services, at a price they can afford. They should give security of tenure—at a minimum price, preventing people from being arbitrarily evicted from their homes in urban or rural areas.

Land policies like other types of policy, necessarily reflect the economic, social, political objectives of the nations in which they are formed. In consideration of land policies and programs it is important to bear in mind the interrelationship between specific land policies and general goals of national, social and economic policy. These goals are by no means mutually exclusive; many of them overlap and compete with each other, (Barlowe and Johnson, 1979). Land reforms are the particular plans of action designed to advance or carry out land policies. Some are forward looking, others are set up merely to correct past mistakes. Land reform as De Janvry (1981) argues is an institutional innovation by the ruling order in an attempt to overcome economic or political contradictions without changing the dominant social relations. Thus, a reform fall short of

revolution (where the dominant social relations are changed) and goes beyond mere disregard of economic problems or repression of political demands. While instituted within the ruling order, the origin of reform can however rest just as well in the political pressures of the dominated group as an initiative of dominant classes.

Land reforms in particular aim at transforming the agrarian structure. The agrarian structure is characterised by a system of social relations (modes of production and their corresponding social class composition) and a system of land tenure. Land reforms consequently can change the modes of production in agriculture, the class structure, control of the state by specific classes and their respective access to public and pattern of land tenure. According to De Janvry *et al* (2001) policies of poverty alleviation encompass practically the whole range of development policies. Efficiency-equity is at the heart of mainstream policies thus central to policy debates on poverty. An example of efficiency-equity effects are asset distribution policies like land reform. In most developing countries there is a problem of optimum access to farm land. Land is typically misallocated among potential users and worked under incomplete property or user rights that create disincentives to efficient use. The need to address issue of optimum access to land has led many countries to reopen land policy reforms.

Deininger *et al.*, (2007) point out those policy makers are increasingly aware that the way in which productive assets and the associated economic opportunities are distributed will have far-reaching implications for long-term development. If high levels of inequality reduce growth, countries that have inherited a very unequal asset distribution may be able to realize considerable gains from redistribution of assets. This argument, together with evidence of a negative relationship between farm size and productivity, and considerations of social justice has historically formed the justification for a wide range of redistributive land reforms that aimed to create the basis for a more inclusive and sustainable pattern of development. Land reform can therefore be viewed as effective policy leading to rural development which reduces poverty incidence by redistributing the skewed pattern of privately owned land, transferring monopoly profits of landlords to the existing rural poor, (El-Ghonemy and El-Ghonemy, 2002).

Land is an important economic resource for the development of rural livelihoods. Lack of clarity over who controls the land and the non-recognition at formal law of rights held in land by farm dwellers and the occupiers of communal land puts constraints on the extent to which land can be used as an economic resource for development. Land reform policies have consequently been defined to alter access to land. Access to land help gives value to access held by household with zero or low opportunities cost outside land. Ntsebeza and Hall (2007) argue that land reform has proven to be a far more complex and challenging to implement in South Africa than what policy makers and their international advisors has expected. Research has revealed that rural population is not homogenous but socially and economically differentiated and different strata within rural communities assemble different bundles of livelihood strategies.

When dealing with agrarian programs like these which are a state intervention bringing social change it is necessary to take an actor-oriented approach that entails recognising the multiple realities and diverse social practices of various social actors (Long, 2001). Development process between different social interest and the interaction of life world needs to be understood because society and its organization are made up of heterogeneous material. Social relations of human individual actors and all describe to the nature of society. Therefore society should be viewed as an effect of generated patterns of networks made up of diverse elements like age, sex and ethnicity. This patterning generates organisational or institutional effect like hierarchy and power. These patterns are to some extent independent of the particular individual and exert a force which shapes behaviour and identity (Law, 1992).

Ntsebaza and Hall (2007) have outlined paradigm shifts which are required to realise the vision of land reform. This involves the government in recognising its central role in land and agrarian reform. The state can use the market to acquire land to meet identified demand and undertake area-based planning for development, with the support of the communities, NGOs and private sector expertise where appropriate but must not remain hidebound by the ideology of the market-based development. Policy makers' questioning their sceptics about the potential for small-scale production and their consequent bias in favour of large-scale production. This program must place the multiple and diverse character of the livelihoods of the rural poor. Actor-oriented perspective is

necessary because social actors define their own issues as they always provides other perspectives which base more emphasis on their life worlds and strategies for shaping the world around them or even their intention to, (Long, 2001).

Actors shape development based on their needs as they are not passive recipients of planned intervention. The Vuki case I explore further in this thesis is a real proof of how actors find complementary forms of rural development within an agrarian situation. Heterogeneity of this community was acknowledged because activities were categorised according to gender and age. Social relationships and networks as well as meanings and values were generated within that social arena to the benefit of the community as a whole. These actors used their agency and capacity to assess problematic situations and organise appropriate responses. This did not mean that all individual actors were responding the same way to the social structure for example women and youth had different views from men. This means that land as a natural resource is vital, but cannot be the only focus of development, complementary forms of rural development must also be promoted. Again the active participation of beneficiaries of land reform in the process of policy-making, planning and implementation must be secured. Ntsebeza and Hall (2007) argue that “to date only lip service has been paid to community participation”.

2.7 Land reform as arena

A preliminary examination of the literature suggests the analytical usefulness to conceptualise land reform as a socially articulated space in which different actor projects interlock (Long and van der Ploeg, 1994). Land reform has created new and enhanced spaces, or room for manoeuvre, for a range of social actors that are directly and indirectly benefiting from the social transformations initiated by it. In this thesis I will identify some of these beneficiaries and what they do. I will also show, however, that the actions of the social actors involved are not necessarily driven by motivations to achieve consensus about the nature and direction of social development. It is thus more useful to conceptualise land reform not simply as a neutral social space but rather as an arena in which social actors strategise and cooperate but also struggle and negotiate over access and use of key resources and their meanings. The study of land reform benefits from and builds upon an

approach that zooms in on social actors; one that values the importance of documenting everyday life and the encounters vis-à-vis a land reform project. Such an approach as Long (2001:24) summarises, pays attention to and has

‘a concern for the ways in which different social actors manage and interpret new elements in their life worlds, [...] analyses how particular groups or individuals attempt to create space for themselves in order to pursue their own ‘projects’ that may run parallel to, or perhaps challenge government programmes or the interests of other intervening partners, and [...] attempt to show how these organisational, strategic and interpretive processes influence the broader context of power and social action’.

Documenting and analysing the strategies employed by the actors involved, as well as their discursive means, appeared indeed as useful and insightful. It provides first hand evidence for the need to sub-divide land beneficiaries in much greater detail. Some of the beneficiaries appear as owners co-owning the farm; others come into play as shelter and social security seeking representatives of the poor. Again others (some of them belong to the old and the new rural elites) are making use of failures of land reform projects and lease parts of the resources of the project or purchase farms after they have been handed back to the State. Land reform certainly is a new element in many rural peoples’ lives and has created space and opportunities for some of them to change their lives... Outcomes of land reform are shaped by the interactions among the various participants.

2.8 Problem statement: Land reform seen through a generational lens

Combining the two conceptual cornerstones of my research project – development as generational struggle and land reform as an arena – enables me to look at whether and how youth are participating and benefiting somehow from land reform. Land reform conceptually becomes the arena or battlefield of the generations for key resources that land reform projects provide access to. Land reform can be understood as a continuous negotiation between generations. With such problem statement I now can formulate my research questions and sub-research questions.

2.8.1 Research questions

What is the nature of the relationships between generations in land reform projects like Vuki and what are the prospects for the future?

2.8.2 Sub research questions

Who are the social actors (youth and older generations) involved?
What is the nature of their interactions/social relationships?
What livelihood strategies do they employ?
What role does land play in these strategies?
What does the youth do in land reform projects?
What effect (socio-economic) does the project have on their lives?
What is the nature of their involvement and engagement?
How do they see/perceive land reform?

2.8.3 Research Objective

To analyse the South African land reform programme with a focus on Vuki farm, by investigating what advances or inhibit youth participation on land reform projects and the effect of the programme on their livelihoods.

2.8.4 Methodological considerations

In an attempt to unravel the complexities of development process through land ownership, I have spent a period of six months doing field research at Vuki farm. I have chosen this farm as a social space created by land reform. This choice was influenced by the fact that Vuki farm went through several changes in ownership before it ended up as a group owned farm and the beneficiaries have been part of that transformation process throughout the years. As a result, beneficiaries at Vuki have particular experience which was accumulated as workers first, then equity shareholders and currently as 100% owners of the farm. This farm is also exceptional in the sense that unlike many land reform projects which have beneficiaries from similar cultural backgrounds, Vuki community is comprised of members from different socio-cultural backgrounds i.e. blacks and coloureds. Besides cultural differences, it is also comprised of both adults and young social actors. The interface between those beneficiaries becomes a complex space because they perceive things differently as they bring along a various life worlds which intersect. I have adopted a case study strategy which allowed me to investigate contemporary phenomena within the land reform setting and daily realities of the so called beneficiaries. This enabled me to get a holistic and meaningful characteristic of real life events at Vuki. This was done through daily interaction with Vuki community. Participatory observation was used hand and hand with variety of other methods including documents review and informal interviews. The methodology was

grounded in the detailed observation and interpretation of the lived in experiences of individuals (adults-youth, men-women) and the group as a whole.

Chapter 3: The youth question in South Africa

Today's world population counts an estimated 1.2 billion of young people, an increase of 17% compared to 1995. About 87% of this young people live in developing economies. In Africa 200 million people are youth which comprises more than 20% of the total population. In 2005, 62% of Africa's overall population fell below the age of 25, (The World Bank, 2008). Young people in all regions of the world experience some degree of difficulty or uncertainty as they make a transition from childhood to adulthood. However the situation that youth face in Africa is the most difficult in many respects. ILO Programme on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work (2006) has reported that globally youth are faced with many challenges like unemployment. In 2005 it was estimated that 85 millions of youth aged 15-24 were unemployed.

This accounts for nearly half (44 %) of all the unemployed persons in the world. In almost all the countries the youth unemployment rate exceeds that of the adult unemployment rate, yet youth makes up only 25 % of the working population. More than one third of youth in the world are seeking jobs but unable to find work, some have given up on the job search or are working but still living below the US\$2 a day the poverty line. Across the globe, generation of youth is rapidly reaching adulthood bearing tragic consequences of their nation's worst problems. In the year 2005 unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa was as high as 19, 5 %, number of unemployed youth in Africa rose by 35 % (World Youth Report, 2007). World Bank Development report (2007), suggest that worldwide by the age of 24 youth in developing countries leave school and enter a new stage of life. While this assumption is true for some youth, it is suggested that transition from school to work is more complex that it used to be.

Generally young people are unable to realise their expectations due to constraints that they face like unemployment and it is difficult for them to enter the labour market and take advantage of existing opportunities to sustain their livelihood. The current global financial crisis threatens to further strain labour market and exacerbate a tenuous situation for African youth. Beyond economic crisis, increased rates of unemployment have social ramifications. Most youth may see little alternative to the

future advancement and in order to survive they may end up in dangerous, demeaning or dirty often illegal activities like criminality, drug use, prostitution and they may have high risk to HIV/AIDS than those employed and integrated in the community. Beside unemployment, youth of the region are faced with marginalization from decision making. Issues affecting youth are attempted to be solved by authorities and elder generations without truly consulting young people for their inputs to address these issues. They are also faced with health concerning diseases like TB, malaria and etc. Another challenge is that of lack of education as the World Youth Report (2007) argues that many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa provided subsidised tertiary education in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s it became clear that this investment could not be sustained. This funding was then redirected from tertiary to primary education.

Without adequate education youth face difficult transition to adulthood and independence as they are likely to experience unemployment, poverty and social exclusion. It is estimated that the youth population aged between 14 and 35 years is about 35 percent of South African population which account to 14, 4 million. When the new government came into power in 1994 it was faced with the task of addressing the needs of young people because of the following 3 reasons:-youth were integrally involved in the liberation struggle internally and externally as they fought for the liberation army. Youth development challenges increased as a result of their involvement in struggle and they sacrificed their educational needs and aspiration with the motive of liberation first then education. Youth have a significant stake in the outcome of elections due to the sheer number of young people who meet voting age requirement because they become apathetic about voting when they feel their lives have not improved (Berger 2001).

In South Africa, unemployment is the main challenge undermining democracy. According to Altman (2007) youth unemployment and associated poverty are amongst the greatest socio-economic challenges facing South Africa. Survey has indicated that in 1999 youth comprised of 70% of the unemployed and 46% of the working population. In 2000, 58% of economically active youth were unemployed. There are number of reasons why generally youth have the highest unemployment rate. These reasons are multifaceted; others argue that economic growth failed to create jobs while others argue that it is the growing rate of population especially youth who far exceed number of jobs created by the economy.

Again during economic crisis, when companies layoff youth are the first to be cut off due to their limited work experience. Unemployment has socio-economic impacts like increased rate of crime, violence and escalating HIV/AIDS pandemic. In South Africa, around 5,3 million people live with HIV/AIDS and 10,2 % are infected young people. Of the five million people all over the world who were infected during 2001, 58% were below the ages of 25.

3.1 Youth situation in the post apartheid South Africa

Since the start of the colonial era, South African young people have been victims of adverse political and socio-economic conditions. They have been subjected to poverty, blatant political manipulation and racial segregation. As a sector of South African society, young people had to face the challenges of being overlooked and controlled by government that had little intention of advancing their well-being. They experienced poor housing conditions, restricted and racially segregated access to education, training and employment opportunities, high levels of crime and violence and a general disintegration of social networks and communities. The Apartheid government did not develop any specific policies or programmes to address the equal development of all young women and men (Pahad, 2007).

Prior to the democratisation of South African society in 1994, youth development occurred within a context of political, social, economic and cultural oppression. This situation contributed directly to many of the current dilemmas young women and men face. The apartheid government did not address the development needs of young men and women as a specific category. The particular needs, challenges or opportunities faced by young people were either ignored, or not considered important enough to warrant more focused policy or programmatic interventions. Youth development is an integral part of addressing the challenges of post Apartheid South Africa (Pahad, 2007).

In devising policies and programmes for the development of all South Africans the integration of issues and the specific challenges faced by young people were essential. Youth development in SA is addressed in an environment where all stakeholders, including young people themselves, work towards common goals. An important departure point for youth

development lies in the active involvement of young people in national development. National Youth Policy (1997) reported that young women and men are not only a major resource to and inheritors of future society, but they are also active contributors to the nature of society today.

Youth development provides a foundation and mechanism for youth participation in socio-economic development whilst recognising that young people should be protagonists of their own development and not merely recipients of government support. By placing young people and their development in the broader context of reconstruction and development, common developmental goals and a spirit of co-operation and co-ordination is encouraged. All these are addressed through a National Youth Policy of 1997 which is a framework for youth development across the country. This policy aims at ensuring that all young women and men are given meaningful opportunities to reach their full potential, both as individuals and as active participants in a society. The policy addresses the major concerns and critical issues to young men and women and gives direction to youth programmes and services provided by government and non-governmental organisations, (National Youth Policy, 1997).

3.2 How South African Society Perceives Youth

In many countries societies have shown ambivalence in the way they perceive youth, these societies idealised youth or demonised youth as a stage in life course, viewing young people as a problem group. Youth is contemporaneously expected to be the age of deviance, disruptions and wickedness. In South Africa the concept of youth portray different meanings to different segments of population. For some it portrays a violent undisciplined criminal element in society and for others it connotes an excluded marginalised segment of population. Sometimes youth are being portrayed as rebels against the political and social order as destructive and anti-social. According to South African Regional Poverty Network (2002) this started during the 1970s and 1980s as a ruling regime and public of that era did not only link youth with black but also to violence. Adult's perception of youth is validated by an ideology of dominance because adults need to prescribe the roles of youth by defining and limiting their responsibilities, opportunities and status.

This dominant negative social perspective has been associated with addressing youth issues from a social welfare perspective. The welfare perspective views the youth as presenting problems, which needs to be solved through intervention of older people. The idea that youth are a problem to society and to themselves is a central theme which the media and researchers alike return. For example in the 1990s concept youth was portraying the dualism of young people as both the symbol of society's future and its victims (South African Regional Poverty Network, 2002). Youth are often reduced to passive objects upon which intervention must act rather than active subject participating in shaping their lives and communities. According to Gangrade (1970) youth are general constituents of society because the values of society are seen in the individuals who profess or practice them and the same values ought to be transmitted to the succeeding generations.

To understand problems of youth it is important to understand what is happening to both the older and younger generation. Consequence of social processes is that often young people do not have the power to shape their lives as they might otherwise have done. The issues surrounding youth identity and youth agency are ultimately circumscribed, contextualised by the dominant social relations in whom they are positioned. Youth and society cannot be separated from each other, generally they are intertwined. There are two critical moments when youth's identity have been decisively shaped in South Africa: one is aligned on the past, while the other is aligned on the present. Both are rooted in the history and politics of apartheid and inequality. Identity of youth in general under apartheid regime was imposed from above, rather than being spontaneously developed on the basis of cultural and historical connectedness (Mathoho and Ranchod, 2006).

Chuprov and Zubok (1998) argue that young people's social exclusion in a society causes an imbalance of the whole social system leading to rupture between its parts and the ineffectiveness of its channels of integration. The ongoing systemic crisis has adversely affected the social structure, and the young people could not occupy their proper place in society. Their situation was largely chaotic and unpredictable. Exclusion affects all groups, and is on the increase. Even educated and well qualified young people find themselves in a danger of discrimination, alienation, and marginalisation. Most of them live under conditions of constant risk, brought about by various social, economic, and legal factors. Different

categories of South African youth face the risk of downward social and professional mobility, on the one hand, and non-realisation of their aims, on the other. It is likely that these trends will accelerate, and will probably lead to an escalation of the level of social tension between youth which, in turn, might result in the alienation of the young generation from society, setting up a vicious spiral. The conflict between youth interests, on one hand and social conditions on the other, has severely affected their economic status, and many young South African youth are living on or below the poverty line (Chuprov and Zubok, 1998).

3.3 Socialization of youth

Societies institutionalize particular goals and values, patterns of social relationship and ways of doing things requisite to the continued operation of that social system. Rules can be found in every society governing the passage to adulthood. In some social systems, this transition is sharply demarcated, highly routinized, and carefully coordinated, while in others, it is far less easy to chart the course through which social members come of age. In sociological language it prescribes patterns of normative conduct in a system of structured roles. Where these patterns are working and living, acting and reacting, seeking and believing become so widely accepted as legitimate that conformity with them is generally expected and is supported by moral sanctions, they can be called institutions of that society (Sawyer, 1951).

In any society these institutions are highly interdependent. The patterns of family relationships or of social rankings or ultimate values for example necessary bear in upon patterns of economic activity, (Sawyer, 1951). From birth the human individual is moulded towards conformity with these institutions through the process of socialization. Family, neighbourhood, school and all bring young people in a substantial measure to internalise those goals and relationships, those ways of feeling and behaving that make up the bulk of social structure. Functions of home, school and community are essential in acknowledging the socialization of young people.

There is always a need in each society to internalise the norms and values by individuals and society as a whole. Primary socialization of youth is often provided by family, home, and then communities. Secondary

socialization is bestowed by school, peer group and media. An example is the current youth challenges like crime in South Africa which is replication of the past. Over the past 30 years crime and violence became normalised amongst the socially excluded youth. The youth revolt of 1976 and the rebellion of 1980s wounded key institutions like families and schools. Both the state-led violence of apartheid and violent struggle against it produced violence that permeated societies including schools. South African society as a whole was intimately involved in a situation in which one either submitted to or supported or rebelled violently against the institutionalised violence of the state (Pelser, 2008). As youngsters move from childhood to adulthood they become more cognizant of the larger community and less accepting of adults' socialization efforts. It is the young people 's contact with society that makes them more sensitive to what is going on in the world around them and also makes them more critical of adults and the kind of society that adults have created for them (Flanagan et al., 2006). According to GLTN (2007) most African society's tradition provides the glue for the complex interaction between the different generations. Yet, forces of globalisation, urbanisation and commercialisation combine to reduce interaction between children and their grandparents (as well as other relatives) who served as agents of child socialisation.

Herrera (2006) argues that there is a new form of youth socialization. This can be found in the youth orientated media, market and technology worldwide. Formation of new form of socio-cultural production from music to fashion and film. Adult's authorities, including parents, teachers and institution like universities while retain a degree of authority, hold less sway over socialization of youth than in the past. Socialization process becomes more bidirectional with youth playing a more intensified role in teaching and socializing older generation to adapt to new technology and cultural patterns associated with globalization. For example in South Africa youth today are seen as uninterested in politics, materialistic in nature and consumer oriented. They spend on hip, big name and expensive brands. Recently two distinct youth identities have been formed in South Africa. One is that of rich, privileged consumers with education and enjoying opportunities provided by democracy such as black economic empowerment.

The other is that of poor, marginalised youth with little education, several of whom have resorted to crime in an attempt to enjoy the consumerist

lifestyle of their peer. Given that culture consists of values, norms, beliefs and expressive symbols, it is certainly possible to speak of youth culture in the words of a period in which a system of values, norms, belief and symbol expressions (behaviour and life styles) are different from those of adults' society. Youth culture forms around the most varied interest which range from "wearing clothes that are in" to "listening to music that is in" but it can also arise from the inconsistencies that young people perceive in adult society between "acclaimed values" and visible results. From their assessment of the culture of society, young people develop norms that enable them to challenge society. In general what started as a revolt ends up as a style-in other words, with a culture that has expressive symbol, norms and elements of particular norms. From this particular way of perceiving and living, young people maintains their relations with society, (Swatos and Kivisto, 1998).

As the young generation establish social relationships, they come into conflict with other groups within the social system. In every society, conflicts between youth and society arise due to a number of factors. These include the inequality of young people's social status in comparison with adults, and the conflicts arising between youth and agents of socialisation. These result in a clash between young people's aims and interests with institutional norms and patterns, which are often more conservative. Conflicts between youth as a social group and adult society exist in every society, in more or less acute form. In some societies, the effectiveness of integration mechanisms means that conflicts are mainly local in character and are primarily settled at a micro-level like groups and communities, (Chuprov and Zubok, 1998)

3.4 Conclusion

Youth is an important stage which is also difficult. In addition to grappling with their identities the young people are expected to undergo several events that mark their transition to adulthood. Challenges like escalating unemployment rate make transition to adulthood more problematic. But youth have been resourceful. They employed copying strategies such as extended schooling, leaving their parental homes at older ages and delaying entry into marriage, (Ravavero and Rajulton, 2003). Policy makers globally must pay attention to the engagement of the marginalised youth. This is important not only for social change but for

sustainable development because youth can be main actors in accelerating development despite discourses that frames them as a trouble or presenting problems. If given opportunity they can be powerful agents for social change.

Societal transformations in South Africa have created opportunities and potential of youth to extend their education and skills development. Political changes that swept the country in the mid nineties brought advancement to youth. This is evidenced by dramatic increase in enrolment of young people in education system. Makiwane and Kwizera (2008) argues that despite this imperative gain, there is serious problem of quality of education and increase drop out rate which had made the large section of the population to remain outside the labour market. In addition the AIDS epidemic which swept the country at the same time when political changes were taking place resulted in increase in morbidity and mortality among youth. As a result the quality of life among majority of youth remains low, reflecting the historical racial cleavages of South African society.

Chapter 4: Vuki land reform project

Vuki farm formerly known as Whitehall is a 310 hectares, an example of CPA in the Grabouw area of the Western Cape. Whitehall fruit farm was the first to restructure as an equity-share scheme in 1992. The scheme was initiated by the owner of the farm to solve his financial problems and to share the benefits of his farm with his workers. His initial intention was to make 30% ownership of the farm available to workers, but the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) advised him to “make a clean deal” by selling 50% of the farm. Farm workers used a loan from DBSA, Independent Development Trust (IDT) and commercial banks to acquire 50% stake in the farm land holding. These loans were secured through bonds on property. Participation in the equity share scheme was voluntarily and open to all permanent workers. Shares in the Workers’ Trust were allocated to permanent workers only, and the number of shares was calculated according to length of service and income. As part of contribution to the scheme, most workers forfeited their annual bonuses.

Whitehall Worker ‘s Trust and the Hall Family Trust each had 50% shares in the Whitehall Landholding company (which owned the immovable property) and the Whitehall farming Trust which owned movable property (the two companies were separated for tax reasons). Employees then had equal share with previous owner in profits and capital growth. The trustee board consisted of eight members, four representing the workers and another four representing the Hall family, and a dispute resolution mechanism was specified. Decisions on the day to day running of the farm were made by the management team which comprised of the general manager, production manager, assistant production manager and personnel manager. This scheme developed into several phases involving initial building of trust and reaching agreements in principle. Facilitation by external agents also took place and time was allowed for interracial attitudes to reach middle ground.

In structuring the deal that way beneficiaries obtained a higher debt burden than if they could have applied for the land reform grant. Despite

a very promising start this scheme experienced serious problems due to decline in fruit prices, steep rise in the interest rate and adverse production conditions during the latter half of the 1990's. As a result this farm went through liquidation process in 2001. Vuki has emerged from the proverbial ashes after the liquidation of the Whitehall Farming venture in 2002. The employees of this venture were retained by the liquidator to run the operation. The liquidator appointed an experienced business recovery specialist to assist the workers and act as the general manager. Later this farm applied and was allocated Land and Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) grant from DLA. Then it was officially handed over as redistribution project to a total number of 42 beneficiaries by the former Minister of Agriculture in the Western Cape, Mr Dowry on the 5th August 2005.

4.1 Contemporary organisation

Vuki is a redistribution project, and generally described as a share equity scheme, but given that the members own all the shareholding and all work on the project, it is more accurately described as a collective farm or workers' co-operative. As such it conforms to the model of CPA projected by numerous restitution and redistribution agreements but rarely achieved in practice. The name Vuki is a Sesotho word meaning to stand Up, the use of this word implies "Arise, be awake....go and do something for yourself. Vuki's predominant crop is apples and pears which are exported to England while vine grapes are also grown for the local wine maker. They also have an on-farm resort (bed and breakfast & restaurant) which is a tourist attraction of the farm.

Currently this farm has a total number of 37 beneficiaries (28 men and 9 women) who are all permanent employees and shareholders of Vuki farming (Pty). The trust deed guides the actions of elected directors who are responsible for the corporate governance of the farm operation. Beneficiaries elected seven managers consisting of a consultant providing mentorship and guidance, human resource manager, financial manager, production manager, crop protection and logistics manager, irrigation manager and monitoring manager. This small group could be seen as the principal beneficiaries of the project but, like the general workers they are earning a wage income (i.e. a return to labour) rather than receiving either rental income or dividends. Farm management is through consultation with managers in their respective fields of expertise assisted by a consultant.

The farm employs about 300 seasonal workers who can be seen as “non-beneficiaries” because they are people temporarily employed in the farm without shareholding. As a result there is daily struggle between these two types of workers or beneficiaries at the farm. Benefits to the members of Vuki project are in the form of wages (and salaries for the directors), dividends (if and when there is a profit, and after loans have been repaid), housing and a range of social benefits, including investment in education and social security for worker-shareholders. This farm has been progressive in terms of human capital and enjoys good labour relations. It is also regarded as an industry leader of productivity due to receiving many national and provincial productivity awards. Vuki is structured in two entities, namely Vuki Trust and Vuki Farming (Pty) Ltd. The Trust is the owner of all fixed property and the sole share holder in the (Pty) Ltd. The vision of Vuki Trust is to improve the living standard of beneficiaries through fair and adequate wages, adequate labour practice, healthy living conditions, adult education, and bursary programs for tertiary education.

The vision of Vuki Farming (Pty) Ltd is to make optimum use of all available resources to maximise profit. As a result of all these activities Vuki is accredited with Eurogap and Fair Trade certified. This means production at Vuki is based on human rights first and they receive extra price that covers not only the production cost but enables production that is socially just and environmentally sound. There is a Joint Body Structure which ensures that the Fair Trade premium money is spent on social development. The duties of this body is to manage the Fair Trade premium, create awareness and inform the workers about Fair Trade and act as a voice of the workers about Fair Trade. This Joint Body structure is not a worker committee, or union but rather elected individuals who are representatives of workers and management. There is ongoing audit to monitor if the farm confirm with the principle of these two organisations. The most common benefits at Vuki are improved housing, free transport (for example, to town once a week or to a clinic and to Eastern Cape during festive holidays). Other benefit includes free crèche and schooling. It seems that project managers are aware of the workers’ need for tangible benefits, especially when dividends have yet to be declared.

4.2 Social development activities at Vuki

Access to water and electricity are significant factors in the ability of rural people to exploit resources available for livelihoods promotion, especially with regard to natural resources. Agricultural and income-generating activities require these. In addition, electricity often provides households with access to information via the public media, enhancing their understanding and grasp of political events and processes in their society. Unfortunately many rural areas continue to lack basic infrastructure such as water and electricity supply. This lack of infrastructure entrenches problems of chronic poverty and limits the potential of communities to sustain economic growth, rural livelihood and social development. Vuki has descent modern houses which are all painted, electrified and have access to clean running water.

Vuki farm is evidence that for land reform projects to achieve their goals of development and poverty alleviation various public institutions have a crucial role to play. Thus land reform cannot be viewed in isolation from other social and economic rights. It is typically not only one department that should be involved. At Vuki for example various departments provides services. Department of health ensures that beneficiaries have access to health care by provision of mobile clinic once per month and a presence of a nurse once every week. Vuki also has an agreement with a local medical practitioner to monitor beneficiaries' health status and to attend to their urgent medical needs. This community also receive public health education like HIV/AIDS awareness and comprehensive immunization to young children. Social development department ensures that farm workers have access to social security grants like child, disability and pension grants. During pay days of social development, beneficiaries are given time off and transported to the nearest town of Grabouw to receive their grants. Again social development has sewing lessons once per week as a capacity building programme focusing mainly on women. While the department of Agriculture provides an ongoing extension service, department of education ensures that every child has access to education by providing a bus that is transporting learners daily to the nearby schools. Beneficiaries are using the extra premium from Fair Trade for social development and the following educational facilities were initiated:

- A crèche-for children below 6 years old
- An aftercare class with a qualified teacher for learners that are still at primary and middle school
- A mathematics aftercare class also with a qualified teacher
- A computer centre which also has one qualified teacher to guide learners

4.3 Conclusion

Vuki can be seen as the success story of land reform because a failing farming enterprise has been turned around and now appears to be in a better financial shape than it was for many years. It is a typical example of current land reform policy that aims at correcting past wrongs by creating class of black commercial farmers with market oriented focus. This is because Vuki farm has outcomes which make beneficiaries better off and increased degree of confidence domestically and internationally, as they enjoy market access locally and globally. Vuki holds a number of potential lessons. Firstly, despite beneficiaries owning a valuable land asset, members have little expectation of obtaining either dividends or rental income (i.e. returns to land or capital). Again majority of workers have a job that is slightly above the statutory minimum wage, with social benefits somewhat above the industry average. The benefits of ownership are effectively limited to more-or-less guaranteed employment as long as the enterprise remains commercially viable. The only other benefit arising specifically from ownership is on retirement, when a member's share in the company is compulsorily bought out by the remaining members, thereby generating a significant once-off pension payout.

Chapter 5 The social dynamics at Vuki farm

Vuki farm is evidence that land reform has created new and enhanced social spaces for a range of actors. At Vuki farm different categories of social actors benefit from the social transformations initiated by land reform policies implemented since 1994. It has emerged as a good example of land reform because it is Fair Trade certified, while also enjoying access to both the local and global market. Extra premiums from Fair Trade are used for social development of the entire Vuki community. This is the perspective on Vuki based on relative outsider's views. The argument is based on Vuki 's ability to continue production and to distribute some of the benefits to non-land reform beneficiaries (e.g. the seasonal workers). The question now arises how does Vuki look when explored from the 'inside.

For that purpose I have categorised Vuki according to the roles Vuki-actors play in the organisation of the production process (e.g. shareholders, non-shareholders, workers with educational background, workers without educational background) and the generational categories (adults and youth, residing on the farm and those residing off-farm). Interviews with these groups of actors as well as observations enabled me to explore the internal dynamics ongoing at Vuki. This chapter is divided into two, the first part presents how the farm work is organised at Vuki and what beneficiaries do. The second part presents an analysis of Vuki seen through a generational lens. This should give us an idea about the future and sustainability of Vuki.

5.1 Part one: How the work is organised

Planning and decision making at Vuki is done by managers and directors guided by the mentor with consultation from other shareholders. Workers are then divided into sub-groups daily to implement those plans into programme of action. Each sub-group is comprised of both the shareholders and non-shareholders with a guidance of a foreman and then duties are executed equally by individuals within a sub-group. This arrangement has created a room for social interaction between shareholders and non-shareholders; as a result there is no noticeable

distance between them. During participatory observations, it was easy to hear and notice the spirit of sameness that workers equip to achieve their tasks, for example they share common topics or jokes, laugh together and share things like water. This includes the foremen who stand next to the group monitoring if activities are carried out as planned. Different actors were then individually interviewed to capture a broader perceptive of what actually Vuki is and their different opinions about it. Different names we used (not real names of individuals) when presenting the following cases for confidentiality reasons.

5.1.1 Case 1: Permanent workers: shareholders

Mr Xolane has a 45 years farming experience accumulated by working at various farms around Western Cape. He jointed Whitehall (Vuki) farm in 1976 under previous owner. Everybody including managers at the farm perceives him as more knowledgeable as a result often when you speak to them; you're referred back to him. He started by sharing the history of the farm with me saying "we came individually and met here for the first time as workers of former Whitehall farm. By then we were sharing accommodation as sub-groups or cohabiting in the same houses. This setting allowed us to know and understand each other because we all struggled with same vision of maintaining our livelihood while sending remittances back home. As a team we survived the harsh working conditions of discriminatory wages were skin colour determined your daily wage. We all witnessed the downfall of Whitehall and this was a threat to our livelihoods as the future was uncertain. We elected skilled personnel amongst ourselves who had capacity of representing us". This committee or managers were the only resource that beneficiaries relied on to find a way out of that uncompromising situation.

He was elected in the previous committee because of his experience and currently he is a production farm manager and also involved in different agricultural associations like Agri-Western Cape and Water Usage Council on behalf of the project. According to him "farming is a process that needs careful decisions and good response to immediate challenges". He recalled back to the 1990s fruit industry challenges that led to the downfall of Whitehall. He said "now we manage this farm collectively, as a team we are able to handle different operational farm challenges especially those that could not be predicted like increase in fuel, food and electricity prices. He further said "daily operation of the farm is challenging for example during harvest season we need more workers in a very short period.

Most of them are unskilled workers who need proper training and it is better to hire as many as possible because of the short term of the harvest season. He continued by saying "I have personally noticed that youth on the farm have fear towards farming because of observing the hard work of their parents. I wish that in future we can have a programme where learners with agriculture as a subject can be given a chance to practice what they learn at school. We need to find an effective way which cannot have a negative impact on production because every minute at the farm counts".

He then proudly said "Our priority is community development that is why we are Fair Trade certified. The extra premium from Fair Trade is deposited into individual accounts and we formed a structure called joint body which ensures that the money is used for social development of the entire Vuki community".

Another case was of Sophie, 36 years old who is the youngest shareholder at Vuki. She started working at Vuki in 1993, after completing her high school. She heard through a friend that there is a farm that needs workers during harvest seasons. She tried her luck and that's how she joined Vuki. Since 1994 she was sent to several training courses like entomology and supervision course at Elgin Community College by the farm. After 2002 she was elected as a general manager, this has motivated her to have more interest on farming because her life was improving. In 2005 she was appointed as one of the directors of the farm. Her current role is to ensure that children's educational facilities like stationary, food, school uniform are funded and she feels that she is indirectly fulfilling her dream of becoming a social worker.

I observed that managers are the major drivers of the farm as they are planners and initiate things while keeping a close contact with the off-farm institutions like government. Then they ensure that all the decisions taken are implemented by organising all necessary material needed and delegate duties to other workers for execution. She explained that "it's difficult when you are young and working with elder people. I have learned to always be respectful to elders because we do not see life the same way. My motivation is that they taught me everything that I know now because I came here with no experience on

farming or agriculture. She further explained that all workers are equal at Vuki, staying together made them to relate like relatives although most of them are not blood related. During observations it was easy to notice that duties are executed in an atmosphere where trust and supports are the main components that unite workers to blur their individuality.

5.1.2 Case 2: Seasonal workers: non-shareholders

Nomsa is originally from North West province, I found her busy clearing the floor up by picking the toys at the crèche while children were asleep. She started working seasonally at Vuki around the late 1990s. Her case is a bit different from all others because she came through her husband who was recruited by her brother who joined Vuki first. Her brother recruited her husband because the farm needed a mechanic to repair farm implements. Her role is to take care of children at the crèche. According to her, life at Vuki is much better than in North West because there are so many developmental activities especially on youth. She said “even though we earn little wage but the farm have many things that improves our lives especially our children’s lives. She mentioned things like housing, free electricity, access to water and a school uniform voucher which her family received because of her husband’s shareholding.

She kept on reminding me how expensive life is while explaining the daily routines of Vuki. Amongst other things, she is happy with the sewing lessons and other awareness lessons that they receive. She further said “all my children’s educational needs are taken care of, for example my 21 years old son went to college with the farm bursary to study electrical engineering, while my 12 years old child travels freely with a bus to the nearby school”. She is also excited that the farm encourages youth to study anything that they need and they are not obliged to come back and work on the farm. Instead they are encouraged to explore the outside world so that they do not become like their parents working on the farm with no alternative means of making a living.

The other case is of Zama who originates from the Eastern Cape (EC) and migrated to Western Cape (WC) for better opportunities after completing his high school education. He settled in the nearby location called Rooitak, and he kept on looking for a job until he found Vuki. He said “poverty drove me to this farm; my dream was to get a job at different firms around Cape Town but unfortunately it was not easy as I thought. I do not have any interest on agricultural activities, it is hard work and we work under

harsh weather conditions. This is just a temporary means of maintaining my livelihood while searching for a better job". He further told me that maybe if he was permanently employed it was going to be better because he could have taken advantage of all extra benefits that comes out with being a permanent worker. Now he is renting a place at a nearby location and has to send remittances home every month. According to him, seasonal workers are in difficult situation because their duties are the same with permanent workers but benefits are not equal. Again during rainy days, they are not working and this affects their daily wages.

5.1.3 Case 3: Workers with educational background

Most of this category are seasonal workers in their early twenties and have recently completed their high school education. Unfortunately due to lack of financial resources they could not further their tertiary education. An example is Biza who is originally from EC. He also migrated to WC hoping to find better opportunities. He thinks that farm work is hard, physical labour leading to stress. He showed me a metal ladder which they use to climb on trees and said "every move I take to the next tree I carry this thing on my back". He further said to me "just be honest can you do this job? This is a kind of punishment to people who did not go to college". According to him agriculture or farming is good for elder people without education. He argues that it is unfair for a person to spend 12 years of Schooling and end up struggling with trees at the farm. He view agriculture or farming as a punishing job because no matter how hard they work they do not achieve their goals and desires of a flashy life style.

Another case is of Momo (22) originally from EC and has relocated to WC searching for better opportunities. She stays outside the farm with her sister who is a nurse at Grabouw clinic. She said "my sister used to work at different farms seasonally during school holidays to make funds for college fees. So I have also decided to work seasonally at Vuki for a year or two so that I can further my studies later". She thinks farm work is boring and too physical. She said "I keep on searching for domestic jobs (security guard, cleaning etc) at different areas where people have better means of living. I am not coping with work here so anytime if I get something outside the farm I will leave". She thinks people working at the farms have no other alternatives to make a living.

5.1.4 Case 4: Workers without educational background

Tebza (33 years) also originates from EC and he was recruited by one of the managers who originate from Matatiele (EC) to Vuki. He has never been to school in his life. He said he was very happy to hear about an opportunity like Vuki, he immediately came with that manager. He thinks Vuki is much better because although the income will never be enough, to him it make a huge difference. He was comparing it with his previous work where he was a herd man earning R150, 00/15 Euro per month. Besides the fact that income was too little to maintain his livelihood, receiving it was always a problem because sometimes he will work for 3 months without being paid. His motivation at Vuki is that if you have worked, your wage is guaranteed. He thinks although the job is demanding in harsh weather conditions but for him, Vuki is the best opportunity. He said “the reality is that even people with college certificates don’t easily get a job nowadays, so for me the possibility of never securing a job was high”. His main wish is just to be permanently employed at Vuki so that his future can be a bit secured.

Chipu is a 29 years old male from Matatiele (EC) who also has never been inside the school yard. He was also recruited by the manager; he said “once a year. Tapi goes with a car to Matatiele and moves around the location in street corners or shops where we bond with friends. I still remember that day when he asked me if I don’t need a job”. Then he continued explaining about Vuki saying “life is much better here because now I stay at the man’s hostels in the farm. I am planning to soon get a wife and marry her so that I can be granted a house. Houses are only allocated to families”. During our interview he was from a disciplinary hearing as a witness because two men around his age had stabbed each other with a knife at the rugby game. He said “I don’t like being in this situation (disciplinary) because maybe managers will think I am troublesome and this might reduce my chances of being a permanent worker”. His main concern is that although they receive better wages but working for more than 5 years as a seasonal worker is discouraging. He thinks even if he cannot be a shareholder but being appointed permanently will be enough for him.

5.2 Part two: Vuki through a generational lens

I will present here, the interview feedback from youth on and off the farm with the main purpose of showing the existing generational gap or the marginal role that youth play in land reform and/or the politics of land. This section will help us to capture the different perceptions or the youth's stand point on issues related to agriculture and land reform. The respondents at the farm in this category were shareholder's children. Most of them are indirectly or directly benefiting from land reform without being actively involved on the daily routines of farm work at Vuki. Their daily routine involves commuting with a bus to the nearby locations for schooling and after school they attend after care where they do their home works. The remaining group are youth residing outside the farm, the first group is part of Napier community and they are currently unemployed. The last group are those who are in a one year learnership programme with the Western Cape department of agriculture at Bredasdorp office. Again the names used to present cases are not real names of individuals.

5.2.1 Case 5: Youth residing on the farm (still studying)

Zaza is a 16 year old female and her mother is a permanent worker at Vuki. She told me that seeing her mother wearing overalls and sweating daily to make a living breaks her heart. This made her to fear agricultural activities. She observed different things like spraying with herbicides and insecticides. This has influenced her decision to get involved in a school project: How to use chemicals safely. This was an opportunity for her to find out things like: why is it important to only spray at certain seasons or times, what effect do these chemicals have on workers. She found out at school because her mother is always too tired from work to even make a small conversation. She said they all have daily routines like school, after school they attend an after-care for their homework's and later they either watch television or go to singing group/choir in the evening. She views agriculture with disdain or at least apathy and her future dream is to become a psychologist.

She said "the only thing I know is that our parents here are working hard so that we don't end up being farm workers like them". She appreciates the fact that their parents' lives are a little better compared to other farm workers outside Vuki. But she did not know anything about land reform or the status of her mother, whether shareholder or not because to her working on the farm, you are just a farm worker. Suzi (18 years) is a grand daughter of the lady that works at the kitchen, and she has started living

on the farm since 2004. She does not know anything about agriculture or farming because her future dream is to become a lawyer. She is not interested in any agricultural activities that are going on at the farm because she sees hard work which she does not understand. She realised that they have better opportunities at the farm like mathematics teacher who assists them individually, computers, stationary and they receive free meal after school. She observed that her friends outside the farm are poorer than her and they do not care about the future. She said “farm life taught me to think a lot about my future because I do not want to be like my parents who cannot read nor write, and I also do not like the hard work that they do”. At first she used to be embarrassed because her friends at school will make jokes of those residing on farms, but later she noticed that she is better off than them.

Thози is 17 years old boy who always ask his parents about their daily activities of the farm. He has a close relationship with his father because of that, and he believes agriculture is very important as he grew up in the farm but unfortunately does not get any chance of experimenting or exploring it because children are not allowed to do anything except studying on the farm. Recently he was involved in a school project in which 217 learners from different schools were testing soil samples and identifying different plants that could grow well on various types of soil. He won a bronze medal at this competition and this has encouraged him to study agricultural management after his grade 12.

He believes he will have a better future because not only his parent supports him but he has the support of the entire people living at the farm. He said “here we live like we are relatives, every elder whether your parents or not have the right to discipline you when you misbehave”. His observation is that most elders do not approves of a child studying agriculture and he aims to study agriculture and live a good life which will change the elders’ perception about this field.

Kago is a 20 years old female who came to live with her parents from January 2008, because she could not further her studies after completing matric in EC. The farm was the only option to provide her with funding to achieve her dreams. She said “although farm life is boring but I think teenagers at the farm are much better because they do not get involved in drugs, alcohol abuse, roaming the street and there is no problem of teenage pregnancies like other teenagers outside the farm. She is now

undertaking a nursing course at Providence College in Bellville through a farm grant which is a benefit to the long service of her father at the farm. She hates agriculture because she sees how her parents struggle to make a living without having any other choice. Another case was of Thabo who is the son of one of the managers. He has good grades at school and when they were on an exhibition tour to Stellenbosch University he developed an interest on agriculture as a career. He went back to explain to his parents and he noticed that his mother was not keen about his choice. He said “my mother thought I will end up working like them pruning trees in the sun, but I explained that the situation will not be same”. He also thinks the management team is very supportive to them because they helped him to choose exact career path-agricultural economics. He further said “Farm life shaped my future because now I know what I want from life; I can’t even wait for January 2009 because I am now admitted and have accommodation there”.

5.2.2 Case 6: Youth residing outside the farm

This youth category reside in small town called Napier outside Bredasdorp. I found them through a snowball method because the official from the department of agriculture introduced me to a community member Phindi who is involved in Health and Welfare project. Their project organises TB, HIV patients around the area and look for sponsors to assists with funds for food and medication. Phindi introduced me to the youth leader in the area, Tuks (23 years old). He has completed his diploma at Worcester College. Unfortunately he is still unemployed and decided to organise dancing lessons to youth in the area to keep them away from the street. Tuks explained that the only thing he knows about agriculture or farming is that it produces food. He learned this from farm workers residing in their community. He thinks agricultural environment is not good because he used to hear farm workers complaining about little income. This has influenced his decision of being apathetic towards agriculture. He told me that it is better to rather remain unemployed than working at the farm.

Another case is of Zodwa (21 years) female who completed her matric in 2007. She has also completed a short course in tourism and still searching for a job. Some of my questions were “when you hear the word agriculture what comes to your mind? What do you know about agriculture? If agriculture can disappear today will it matter to you (personally) or to your community? She explained that she grew up in an

area were only illiterate people were subjected to work at the neighbouring farms. Therefore she does not think agricultural activities are good for people with any schooling background. Her opinion is that even if agriculture could disappear it will not matter to her, but maybe it might be a problem to farm workers and their families. After three meetings with this youth they started avoiding our appointments by not answering my calls. I suppose it is because I did not bring up issues that are interesting to them as they confirmed that agriculture is not an option to their life.

From the above feedback it was clear that the word agriculture is not part of youth's vocabulary. Most of them chose to be ignorant on agriculture even though they live in area where agriculture is a cornerstone of the economy. I realised that the negative perception of agriculture by youth is influenced by different reasons which made me eager to also interview a group of youth that were under learnership at the Department of Agriculture: Bredasdorp office. This is a one year programme aiming at equipping youth with agricultural skills for employment opportunities. The programme is key component of the human capital development strategy designed specifically to meet the needs of the Western Cape economy.

One of the respondents was Jason, who is a 33 year old male. He explained that he completed his matric in 1999. Unfortunately he could not further his tertiary education as he is an orphan and therefore could not pursue his dream of becoming an Editor. He said "I ended up throwing my curriculum vitae (CV) anywhere that is why I am here. Agriculture as a career was far away from my interest but due to poverty I will end up being an agriculturalist". He said he grew up in a small-scale farming environment and has noticed how difficult it was for his family to make a living. The problem was every year there was a decline in production until the family gave up on farming. This has influenced his decision of viewing agriculture as something that cannot maintain livelihood.

Another case was Duks, who is a 22 years old female originating from Kwa-zulu Natal. She is not passionate about agriculture especially that she grew up in an environment where the soil can only produce sugar cane and only illiterate people were subjected to work on farms. Her visits to fruit farmers around WC, made her realise that more efforts are needed to

inform youth about different activities around farming. Although she started acknowledging the broader sense of agriculture, she does not think it's a good career for her because her main interest is on finance. Due to lack of funds to study finance courses she applied for this learner ship. She is still hopeful that after completing this training program, she will secure a job and save money which can assist her in achieving her future dream of being at a finance sector.

5.3 Conclusion

The work organization at Vuki farm is arranged in such a way that only old generations or elder social actors have roles in carrying out daily production activities. Interaction is only amongst workers, thus shareholders and non-shareholders sharing skills and knowledge particularly from those who have considerable farming experience with the seasonal workers or non-shareholders whom majority are unskilled workers. This arrangement allows transfer of skills or ongoing learning from permanent to seasonal workers. Despite the skills sharing amongst workers, the youth category who are shareholders 's children, remains largely marginalised or disengaged because they play no role on the farm or production activities. Their role is schooling and they only relate with shareholders as parents at home. The future of how will the farm be handed over to the next generations is not discussed or at least there is no evidence of how that issue will be addressed in future. Consequently youth at Vuki farm are pessimistic towards farming activities, they view farm work as dirty job for illiterate people and the work organisation in a way supports them or creates environment where youth are disengaged. There are no measures in place of making agricultural production or farm work attractive to the young generation. Lack of youth involvement at Vuki poses a great threat to the future sustainability of that farm.

Chapter 6: Vuki as an arena of social interactions

Vuki is an arena where different actors interact with each other daily. Social actors at that farm can mainly be categorised into two: old and young generation. All the 37 shareholders or permanent employees are the old generation and their roles vary from being directors, managers, foremen and simply workers. As a result they have authoritative power in farm operation because they are involved from planning, decision making and executing plans into program of action. The shareholders do not have any genealogical relations; they are bound together through networks, trust and reciprocity amongst individuals and groups as a whole because they share common historical experience of being previously employed at Whitehall.

Beside shareholders, the remaining part of the old generation about 10% are spouses who are members of male shareholders' households. The young generation category is comprised of 90% seasonal workers whom majority originates from the Eastern Cape and is currently residing in the nearby locations transported daily to Vuki, only few of them about 10% cohabit in the male hostel at the farm. The other group of youth are those residing on the farm and parented by shareholders. The institutional arrangement at Vuki is dynamic and thus part of a process of social interaction. For example the sub-groups formed for executing duties allow social interactions and this creates a homogenous outlook as both shareholders and non-shareholders execute exactly the same duties. Their interaction is in a way that expresses a smooth working environment because the group coherence is enforced by sharing of skills, knowledge, experience and agency that other members possess.

This community invokes the spirit of *Ubuntu* or humanness which imply that a "person is a person through other people". The root base of the working environment is created on solidarity between members, removing individual interests and creates uniformity amongst the group members. This setting means even if you do not agree, it's a taboo to raise your disagreement as a result you simply comply. Members share a notion of caring and sharing with each other "I am because you exist", which promotes interdependency among actors in that social structure, an

example is that most individual respondents used the word “We” instead of “I”. Despite this homogenous outlook, individual interviews have revealed the inequality between permanent and seasonal workers. Seasonal workers implicitly complain that although their duties are the same, they do not receive equal benefits and their job is insecure due to being just casual workers. They quoted “residing outside the farm and having to pay things like accommodation, basic services including electricity and water while earning the same wage with permanent workers”. The main point of their dissatisfaction is tangible benefits like houses, school uniform voucher which are received only by permanent workers and their spouses.

The other factor of shareholders being managers/foremen creates unequal power relations because they instruct what is to be done, how and by whom. As a result non-shareholders are in a sub-ordinate position and do whatever they are told to do. They comply with whatever rule on the farm with the hope that abiding might increase their chances of being permanently employed. Besides being compliant, they do not have any other alternative of maintaining their livelihoods. An example is one non-shareholder from a disciplinary hearing who said “I don’t like being in this situation because managers might think I am troublesome and this might reduce my chances of being permanently employed”. The setting at Vuki farm has created two different views; on one hand you have shareholders who express satisfaction due to the fact that their lives are better off. They proudly quotes things like houses, education which made them confident about farming, they even compare themselves with workers from neighbouring farms. On the other hand you have non-shareholders who are distressed with the situation of being casual workers for years.

The situation at Vuki relate to what Lahiff (2008) calls “Capitalist collectivisation’ which imply the state-imposed pressure on groups of land reform participants to use agricultural land in a collective manner resembling single owner with market oriented objectives. This is because Vuki group has adopted a management style resembling that of a single owner operating that farm. There are formal and informal rules often subjected to multiple interpretations by different actors. In such settings power is never diffused equally, the institutional patterns at Vuki express class (shareholders: non-shareholders), gender (male: female) and age (adults: youth) and other social inequalities. The complex interconnected

at that farm promotes decision making process based on facts and knowledge which is likely to lead to future sustainability of the farm. Vuki is dynamic continually shaped and reshaped over time thus forming part of a process of social interaction. I have borrowed Long (2001) 's theory of actor-oriented to analyse complexity of that farm situation, with its myriad of historical, social and economic problems. Vuki farm is evidence that combination of assets endowment is important for rural communities whether in terms of family members, skills, education and social networks. Again workers are encouraged to take a long term view by creating a common expectation and basis for co-operation that goes beyond individual interest. The fact that people at Vuki know each other also creates an opportunity for collective management of resources. It therefore stands a better chance of future sustainability because of the current investment on human capital and the strong links with the off-farm institutions like the market and government.

According to Walker (1998) unfortunately women continue to have a subordinate position on land reform because their participation in most projects is mediated through their matrimonial status. Vuki is no exception because out of 37 shareholders only 9 are women and majority of them are working seasonally while forming part of male shareholders' household. The unequal power relation in the household where men are heads and makes major decisions is automatically transferred to work environment. The other category that remains largely marginalised on land reform debate and even at Vuki is youth. Bernstein (1996) has argued that there has been little investigation about the youth whether they have a desire to farm and the implication of this in the politics of land is largely unexplored.

The situation at Vuki has proven that land issues or land reform is not associated with youth. Farm operation at Vuki is structured in a way that excludes youth as active participants but rather has reduced them into passive recipients of development. The needs of youth are assumed and addressed without actively engaging or involving them. The farm rules do not allow any young person especially those of shareholders to work on the farm. All workers at Vuki both shareholders and non-shareholders believe that they are currently working on the farm due to their lack of education. Most of them said "my children must get educated and go somewhere else; working on the farm is not good for them". As a result a youth stage is equated with schooling for those residing on the farm and

nothing else in relation to agricultural practices. This view is planted on the youth's minds that farm work is equal to illiteracy. As a result all young people even those that are employed seasonally believes that they are at the wrong place, they regard themselves as still unemployed and are searching for off-farm jobs like being a security guard and cleaning at other people's houses. Majority of youth working seasonally and those residing on the farm perceive agriculture as occupations involving intensive labour with low prestige. They perceive agricultural activities as dirty work and a phenomenon of the past practised by the preceding generation. Youth uses statements like "I don't want to be like my parents". This category is not only ignorant to agriculture but wish to remain so. They have no interest on agriculture and view it with disdain or at least apathy.

Despite the disdain, interviews uncovered anger or resentment towards agriculture because most youth feel that their parents have little alternatives of maintaining their livelihoods. As a result the youth have a limited knowledge on agriculture. This situation poses several basic questions like: Who will work on Vuki farm tomorrow? What would be the long-term consequences to the protection of agricultural production at this farm? Or how can continuity be ensured? Although youth are apathetic towards agriculture, it is clear that agricultural or farming environment (Vuki farm) have positive socio-economic impact on their lives. Those residing on the farm acknowledge the fact that their lives are better off as compared to their peers' off-farm; they used statements like "at least here we have things like computers". They feel that even though farm environment is boring but at least it keeps them away from dirty activities like drugs, alcohol abuse, roaming the streets and teenage pregnancies'. Some of them confidently said "we are not too poor like our friends off-farm". Generally the young generation are not keen with agricultural work and have different reasons, for example those outside the farm equate agriculture with little income, inhumane treatment and a job for illiterate people.

The situation at Vuki clearly reminds us, of what the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) report of 2005 argues that land reform in South Africa is influenced far more by beliefs of the country's history than plans for future well being. The reality is that although Vuki farm currently is commercially viable and improving the lives of those involved, the flip side is the youth or succeeding generation who are

negative towards production process. There are no debates on succession planning, and no means of encouraging the youth participation. Or it can be argued that no action is taken to transfer the knowledge, skills from ageing shareholders or the preceding generation to their children or the youth. Based on the above case it is appropriate to ask ourselves about Vuki in the next coming 30 years. It cannot be ignored that in the coming century the skilled workers will gradually subside or simply die, the question is what will happen to Vuki enterprise, if the youth are not gradually learning the production process. Situations like this on land reform projects not only Vuki alert us that land reform program cannot afford to be only beneficial process of the present while not looking at the future prospect or sustainability of the program. Otherwise farms like Vuki which was privately owned in the past and currently group owned stands a possibility of being sold back to individuals maybe even international buyers.

6.1 Conclusion

Land reform in South Africa has proven to be far more complex and non-linear process which has created differentiated outcomes. Vuki has emerged as a good example of land reform because group of beneficiaries shaped the state intervention (land reform), by turning the falling farm into a commercially viable enterprise. This farm has proven that the complexity of land reform consists of many elements with different characteristics influencing each other and the influence is dynamic. For example from being a sole privately owned farm to an equity share scheme and now stand as a Communal Property Association that has expanded to the market locally and internationally. Social transformation at Vuki is achieved by recognising the multiple roles of various social actors (Long, 2001). This farm is also a good example because of being Fair Trade certified as it ensures agricultural production under healthy and safe working conditions by investing on community development.

However when looking at Vuki from a generational perspective it looks a bit different with a less promising future due to the fact that youth are not engaged on any farming/agricultural activities around the farm. Currently there are no explored and appropriate measures of transferring knowledge, skills, labour, management, control of farm between the soon to retire adult generation and the next generation. There is no succession plan or a procedure of when and how will the farm be handed over to the

next generation. Failure to have a succession plan creates significant future problems as the next generation may not continue to farm or build on what their parents (current shareholders) has built up during their entire lives. Lack of youth involvement in land reform-Vuki in particular may jeopardise the transformation set in motion by the post apartheid reform program.

Recommendations

South African government has made intervention in relation to land based development and land reform, however the missing link is a strategy of involving or ensuring youth participation in these programmes. Despite various legislative interventions made since the dawn of democracy, youth remains marginal in land based development. The above case (Vuki) has shown that although beneficiaries can make land reform fit their situations and ensure access to sustainable livelihoods and food security, it is worthwhile to note that youth remains disengaged. The issue is not lack of resources like land or capital but rather lack of determination or the right attitude from the youth's point of view. It must be accepted that what the youth perceive as cool and possible future careers is far away from agriculture. An impression is created among today's young generation that agriculture is non-profitable and it is only suitable for the elderly.

Therefore policy makers and practitioners must note the existing generational gap within land reform and land based development. Explicit commitment is needed to combat inequalities based on age and land policies needs to be youth inclusive. Rural development, land reform, agrarian transformation and youth development should be approached as part of development of the whole society including both old and young generation. There should be initiatives for replacing the declining ageing farmer population particularly among rural farmers and land reform beneficiaries. This can be done by involvement and utilization of youth in agricultural sector to develop creative responses to the challenges of youth unemployment, diseases, skills shortage and fight against poverty. This is because generally young people are resources that are optimistic, potentially innovative, flexible and globally oriented, meaning that any

development that has a youth lens will get closer to achieving MDGs. Encouraging youth participation on agriculture requires inter-departmental co-operation particularly the education and agriculture departments. Currently there is lack of awareness about scope of opportunities in agricultural field, including lack of awareness around the economic diversity of agricultural enterprise. The education system is further doing injustice by offering agriculture as an alternative subject to science streams subjects. The economic role that agriculture plays is in many instances understated or downplayed which might contribute to the low prestige that agriculture is currently enjoying amongst youth.

For South Africa to return from being a net importer of food to its status of a net exporter, the focus must be on engaging youth in agriculture. This can be approached by creating awareness of agriculture at primary to high school, market agriculture as a viable career option, promote it as a science subject and also provide learners with exposure to farm visits. In summary if one could generalise from the above case, it will be proper to argue that land policies and land reform program must adopt a youth lens to ensure future sustainability of land based development and development of rural communities.

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