YOUTH, REGIONESS AND SADC

ACTION FOR AND BY YOUTH TO BUILD A BRIGHTER FUTURE

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Foreword

What is life like for young people living in different SADC countries today? Do they share the same values? Can they interact freely beyond their countries' borders? What differences are characteristic and what commonly shared strategies would they want to apply to turn challenges into opportunities?

The political institutions of the Southern African region and its official body – SADC – have a vast number of protocols and policy documents purporting to be positive for the economic, political, social and cultural development and integration of the region's people. As the majority of the populace in SADC is below 35 years of age, the Southern African Youth Forum (SARYF) of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) decided to take a closer look at these policies and protocols during its annual conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, and discuss the challenges youth are currently facing today, as well as mapping out how to actively turn challenges into opportunities. Under the overarching theme of 'Regioness', the FES alumni explored the different implications of living in a commonly shared regional space.

The region's soaring unemployment, which predominantly affects the youth, and the consequential stalling of developmental progress, i.e. modernizing education systems or providing true political and economic participation for the younger generation in decision-making bodies, form a challenging background to the day-to-day realities of Southern African youth.

The lively and motivated debates on these topics during the previous SARYF meetings led to this year's call for papers from the alumni of the FES Youth leadership programmes in Southern Africa. This symposium gave them an opportunity to not only test their own perceptions of the stated problems via research but also offered them a contributory platform from which they could make public recommendations for policy reforms and improved implementation of current SADC policies.

The authors herein give incisive views on sometimes controversial issues, offering concrete policy recommendations to enable their generation to become an integral part of policy and decision-making. Through their contributions, they also convey the hopes and energies of their generation to lead their countries, and the region as a whole, towards a brighter future.

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Harare, December 2014

From youth inequality to youth participation in socioeconomic development

Lebogang Malepe

Abstract

The notion of regioness is widely discussed in the current developmental discourse. However, as a result of certain factors, youth are largely impeded from contributing towards regional socioeconomic developments. This paper therefore seeks to discuss these challenges to youth participation in the Southern African region. These involve lack of access to resources such as land and investment capital, being under-skilled in terms of having a positive effect on development, poverty and unemployment. The paper proposes strategic youth empowerment as a major mitigation strategy to enable them to contribute meaningfully towards socioeconomic development. This entails practical recommendation on addressing the problem of youth inequality and its adverse impact on sustainable development. Education policies must be reviewed to include skills-based training, which will lead to employment creation and poverty reduction, the industrialization of the region for economic growth, the promotion of participatory democracy that will include youth in structures, policies, legislations and other developmental process that concern them. The greater proportion of the region's population is young people, and it is they who constitute the foundation upon which the future of every nation should be built. If youth are neglected, they will not be ready to assume their future roles in society, thereby becoming a liability rather than an asset.

Introduction

This paper will first outline and describe challenges faced by young people and demonstrate how they hinder youths from contributing towards regional development. The paper will also demonstrate how youth strategic empowerment can involve youths in development planning and implementation. The paper then argues that employing strategic youth empowerment methods would lead to the achievement of desired regional development outcomes. In order to discuss these issues, the paper adopts a mixture of rights-based and instrumental approaches. As youth constitute a significant proportion of the population of each country in the SADC region, their needs must be prioritized. Furthermore, if youth are involved in tackling issues that concern them, they will be able to strategize and develop solutions (Devlin; 2006). Moreover, youth empowerment ought to start at community level, as this will encourage youth ownership, resource identification and the deployment of such for better development.

The key concepts used in the paper are defined as followed:

- *Regioness* – The concept of ensuring holistic developments for the benefit of the entire region as opposed to national development. This means working harmoniously towards a common goal of improving the lives of the people in the region. This may involve, but not

be limited to, sharing resources, ideas and policies and developmental programmes that can be enjoyed by the people of the region through mutual agreements

- *Socio-economic development* – Sustainable strategies and policies that work towards improving the socioeconomic welfare/status of the people of the region which are also sustainable. These involve aspect of development such as the economic diversification and growth, education, policy and politics, food security and industrialization in the region
- *Youth* – Persons aged between 18 and 35
- *Youth inequality* – Factors that limit or, to a certain extent, constrain youth's ability to contribute towards desired regional socioeconomic development
- *Strategic youth empowerment* – In the context of this paper, this refers to mitigation strategies for enabling a responsive deployment of youth to execute and/or offer meaningful inputs towards regional socioeconomic development.

Youth inequalities and challenges faced by youth

Youth spend the first phase of their lives in schools and colleges to acquire a basic or higher education. When it is time for them to participate in the socio-politico-economic environment, they face various challenges. The challenges can negatively affect their lives, making it difficult to make ends meet, make progress and/or contribute to national and regional development. Such a situation results in unequal opportunities.

Land

Land is a vital resource for developmental achievement. Most youths in Southern Africa face the challenge of limited access to this resource. Even civil society institutions such as youth organizations face the same problem. This is due to impediments such as national land policies and youth's lack of financial capability to acquire land. In South Africa and Zimbabwe, for example, current land problems are inherent because of previous colonial land policies. In South Africa, white nationals (8.7 per cent of the population) own 80 per cent of all viable land.[1] It is an incontestable fact that youth, especially black young, are negatively affected by this situation. In South Africa, this is evidenced by ongoing squatting. In post-independent Zimbabwe, while land reform was introduced to redress colonial-induced inequalities in land ownership, commentators have observed that this programme did not necessarily benefit youth.[2] In Botswana, youth can only access land at the age of 21, and even then they have to prove that they have financial resources to develop the land should they acquire it. This is almost impossible for youths of this age, since they will not have the necessary funds. Botswana's governmental youth programmes such as Young Farmers Fund, which intends to help youth to venture into agro-business, has land ownership as a pre-requisite for access to funding. Such programmes seldom benefit the youth because they don't have land, further disenfranchising young people.

Lack of investing capital

Young people lack the required financial resources simply because of their age. This is an impediment to youth being able to engage in economic activities. Botswana's Youth Development Fund can only offer young people US$5,000 grants as starting capital and loans of up to US$10,000.

[1] See www.statssa.gov.za/publications/p0302/p03022013.pdf.
[2] See www.archive.kubatana.net/docs/chiyou/btt_%20youth_development_empowerment_110114.pdf

Government actually needs to offer larger sums for youth to kick-start macro-business that can compete nationally and then regionally. The Zimbabwean Youth Fund, which offers loans of up to US$1,000 loans for unemployed youth are too small to set up sustainable and competitive businesses. If youth face such huge challenges at national level, it will be difficult for them to start business and penetrate regional and ultimately international markets.

Limited skills

While some governments offer limited financial assistance for youths, most young people do not have the necessary financial management and marketing skills to start or even run business projects. For example, about 60 per cent of unemployed youth targeted by the Zimbabwe Youth Fund cannot write proper business proposals. In many cases, governments do not provide such skills training. Financial assistance, though it needs to be improved, should also be coupled with skills provision on business management. Hence, there is need to develop skills-based education and education policies ought to be driven by the need to educate and economically empower youth and reflect regional economic development and markets for such skills. In other words, skills development for youth should be demand-driven and availed from a young age. This will enable the region's youth to venture into the fields of construction, mining, textiles, health and technological commodities, i.e. cell phones and other modern consumer devices. There is also need to ensure that youth skills development targets the sport and recreational sector, as this offers opportunities for talented youth to develop careers and businesses. Since the lack of skills is a major cause of youth unemployment, improving the skills base will increase the rate of employment and hence the economic development of the region as a whole.

Unemployment and poverty among youth

Unemployment and poverty is rife among youth. When unemployed, their right to decent living standards is infringed. This also affects their confidence to compete for public office, such as standing in elections. More serious negative variables include violent crime, political instability, alcohol and substance abuse, low morality and compromised health (De Beer and Cornwall, 2013). One third of the SADC population lives in abject poverty and roughly 40 per cent are either unemployed or underemployed. These statistics are more pronounced among youth. In Botswana, youth unemployment is put at 17 per cent by government sources and 34 per cent by other sources such as the trade union movement. Such huge discrepancies are due to varying definitions of unemployment. The Government of Botswana's definition of employment is even said to include relief projects such as *Ipelegeng,* which offers assistance of about US$5 per month, although beneficiaries can only access it three times per annum. Government statistics do not include youth who have given up looking for work since their numbers have not been captured during surveys (Tswaipe, 2013). Unemployment is prevalent across SADC; even resource-rich countries such as South Africa and Namibia have been unable to reduce wealth gaps and the rates of poverty and unemployment. In South Africa, black youth in particular find themselves at the bottom of the corporate strata and are either underpaid or not benefiting significantly (Mohr, 2008).

It has also been observed that, until today, most Southern African countries have focused on the delivery of social services, neglecting post-colonial economic transformation. The impact of this is evident among youth. Zimbabwe, for example, has high numbers of youths in the diaspora as a result of political and economic problems. According to Trymore Karikoga,[3] only 6 per cent

[3] Ibid.

of Zimbabwean youth are employed, 22.5 per cent are unemployed while 32.5 per cent are still at school or college. Looking at the extent of the problem, job-creation for young people in Southern Africa should be a priority.

Limited youth representation in decision-making

At times, youth policies and programmes do not answer or provide solutions to youth problems. This is so, simply because youths are neither involved in formulating interventions nor consulted about the interventions hoping to help them. For example, in Botswana one may wonder why a Young Farmers Fund was introduced rather than a General Youth Fund that encompassed all business fields such as construction, mining and others. This would have given youth opportunities rather than trying to make them all farmers. Other SADC member countries are equally 'guilty', engaging in non-responsive and unaccountable development strategies that actually miss the target of youth socioeconomic empowerment. This is indicated in SADC baseline data, which clearly shows that youth involvement still lags behind in structures of policy, governance processes and involvement with national democratic structures. SADC has been mandated to promote participatory democracy by including both women and youth at higher levels such as political and parliamentary platforms. However, unless the youth are not taken on board at community and local level, this will only remain a pipe dream.

Health

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has had a huge impact on youth and it is every government's responsibility to respond appropriately (Currie et al.; 2008). It is also evident that there is a clear relationship between HIV and youth inequalities. Therefore it is important that the regional response to HIV/AIDS should consider socioeconomic reforms, especially for youths.

Strategic youth empowerment

The various challenges discussed above are indeed stumbling blocks for youth to participate in regional development. However, by empowering the youth, i.e. creating economic, political and social opportunities that enable them to meet their needs, they will be able to do so. To achieve this, robust interventions are needed to alleviate and eventually eliminate the challenges youth face. Adult-led interventions geared at improving the lives of the young people need to forget the stereotypes of young people being idealistic, irresponsible and threatening (Devlin, 2006). If this can be done, there will be a way for youth to be involved and participate in decision-making fora, allowing them to devise empowerment strategies, and so pave way for youth to contribute to socioeconomic development both at national and regional level. These youth empowerment strategies include but are not limited to the following programmes and interventions.

Affirmative action programmes

Affirmative action programmes involve deliberate interventions that are designed to empower previously marginalized groups such as youths and women. Non-exhaustive examples of these include:

- Giving youth first priority when allocating land
- Waiving financial capacity and/or status when considering land allocation for young people and youth organizations' proposed businesses. Instead, they may be allowed to produce a management plan to prove the viability of the business initiatives that need land. The management plan should indicate the initial, intermediate and mature use of

land for smooth monitoring. The waiver should come with conditions that restrict youth to utilizing that land only for the proposed business. Alternatively, youths proposing businesses should be provisionally allocated land and monitored for a stipulated period. Failure to adhere to conditions could lead to that land reassigned. This would stop youths from commodifying land acquired for business developments.

- Policy development for youth needs to involve them in developmental planning and execution. This will ensure that their voices are reflected in the new development goals.[4]

Employment creation

For the region to create employment, governments should consider industrialization and the production of goods locally. All should introduce or intensify skills-based training in order to avail skills for an industrialized environment and current job market demands. SADC has considerable local resources – Botswana, for example, is one of the world's leading producers of diamonds but does not produce finished jewels. If the region further industrialized mining, agriculture, textiles as well as developing professional sport and the performing arts, it would help to create employment for young people and save them from the poverty trap.

Involving youth in leadership and politics

It is important for the responsible authorities and/or governments to consider the voice of youth when formulating national polices and programmes so as to render them youth-friendly and beneficial to marginalized groups. Thus, youth have to be involved in decision-making. In order to bring about youth development, the youths themselves need to devise policies that can be administered by youth organizations. The latter also need to be capacitated so that they can effectively manage such responsibilities. Organizations such as the youth parliament and other measures geared at getting youth to participate in public life, most importantly politics and leadership, should be encouraged. In so doing, youths would be mentored and shaped into effective citizens.

Desired regional socioeconomic development

If the region mitigates the challenges faced by youth it will allow the creation of opportunities for youth to contribute in developing themselves and the region as whole. At the end of the day the notion of regioness and youth development would both have been made tangible.

Regional economic growth

One of the desired outcomes that youth could contribute towards is the development of regional economic growth; this can be achieved through increased industrialization of the region. Although there are diverse economic structures in the region, this development can be mutually harmonized and implemented. This can be achieved through mutual agreements that foster development of infrastructure, the use of information, communication and other technologies, as well as required skills. Through this, the region will be able to minimize exports of raw material and process locally instead, adding further value, and then reach out to international markets.

Better and relevant education policies

Early childhood development should be emphasized, as should the availability of pre-schools ought to be developed for our children. A reading culture should be encouraged in areas where

[4] See www.worldwewant2015.org/es/node/299198.

marginalised and minority groups are found. Education policies need to promote the availability of libraries and other resource centres for children to access the best possible education. In order to achieve skills-based education, vocational training programmes need to be rigorously revised to incorporate modern technologies in order to equip youth with relevant skills. Financial and marketing skills and business mentorship should also be prioritized among youth who want to venture into entrepreneurship and other business areas. Education policies ought to introduce both sport and creativity and performing arts programmes, as early as lower primary school, if not at pre-school level. This is because the current market has provisions to support careers in these fields. South Africa, for example, having earlier introduced both music and performing arts at primary schools level now excels in these areas at professional level.

Recommendations

1. Youth structures within SADC must be strengthened in order to promote youth participation representation in structures and policy and developmental processes at regional level. This may include SADC youth structures including a broad spectrum of youths, from those in rural areas or among minority groups, the unemployed and the employed, the educated and semi-literate, and so forth.
2. Regional integration must progress, and with an emphasis on regional economic co-operation. This may eventually lead to full industrialization of the region. To pave way for this, SADC has to effect technological, infrastructural and relevant skill developments to harmonize sustainable economic development.
3. SADC countries must lobby for policies and laws that discourage the export of raw materials at the expense of value-addition. Raw materials should be processed locally and exported, as this will generate jobs for young people.

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SEX WORK: Moral hazard or missed fiscal opportunity?

Grace Chirenje

Abstract

In Africa, talking about sex is generally taboo, let alone talking about the dynamics of sex work. This paper seeks to explore the possibilities of SADC countries legalizing sex work. First, it defines sex work and provides an understanding of the perspectives that surround this sector in the region. It then explores sex work in other regions, in order to give the reader deeper insight into the realities of sex work. By analyzing the income base of sex work in different parts of the world and unpacking the theoretical arguments of sex work, the author allows room for exploring whether sex work is immoral or can be a means of facilitating for some form of income for governments. Finally, the paper suggests how best to harness the economics of sex work in SADC, using aspects of the Nordic Model and revenue-generation in other regions, so that governments look at increasing their tax revenue base.

Introduction

Sex work, prostitution, commercial sex work – the very naming of this sector is political in the sense that, depending on one's reality and worldview, the naming of the industry can have a twist. It is rarely a topic of everyday discussion, even though those who work in this area argue that this industry is real, lucrative and worthy of debate, especially when governments decide to look at generating income and increasing their revenue base. The assumption that sex work is largely hinged on human trafficking and is thus a violation of human rights seems to be a biased insight. Moreover, those who have deemed the sex work debate to be moralistic in nature seem to have overlooked the many realities that confront this sector. Many people assume that sex work simply involves exchanging sex for money. In fact, there are many other forms – lap dancing, exotic dancing and stripping, for example. For the purposes of this paper 'sex work' is any act exchanged for any form of financial gain between client and service provider, with the focus on female sex workers.

There are two schools of thought when it come to sex work, one that has a moralistic emphasis and the other an economic basis. In the face of assuming regioness within SADC, it is critical to look at sex work within the region, government attitudes and explore mechanisms of unpacking sex work in a much more productive and progressive way. This paper ultimately proposes that heads of government in SADC explore the possibility of universally legalizing and thus formally recognizing sex work and devising methods to harness its economic potential.

Unpacking sex work

There are many definitions and understanding of the socioeconomics of sex work. Cheryl Overs (2002), for example, defines it as 'the provision of *sexual services* for money or goods'. Elizabeth

Two displaced San women who support their families by working as prostitutes in Gauteng, South Africa. Photo: Hein Waschefort.

Hartney (2014) argues that 'sex work' is a new, more politically correct and more inclusive term for engaging in sexual activity for money or otherwise working in the sex industry. Depending on the client's specific needs, she adds, activities might include physical contact with a paying client, creating or being the subject of sex-related photos or videos, engaging in phone sex and participating in live sex shows. ProCon.org states that 'sex worker' was conceived as a non-stigmatizing term, without the taint of the words 'whore' or 'prostitute', to convey professionalism rather than a lack of worth, as it regarded by much of society. This said, however, sex work is strongly divided between those who believe it is a valid career choice and those who believe it exploits men, women and children those working in the sex industry. Moreover, it is important to realize that the term was also coined to protect the rights of those involved in the trade so that they are not stigmatized by being framed in a certain way that is derived from a name.

Jane Pritchard (2010) argues that sex work is an inherent human right, more particularly as a women's right of sexual expression and an arena in which they can exercise disproportionate control over men. Others argue that sex work it is a form of patriarchy that actually deprives women of their sexual choices. Some people see women involved in sex work as objects of male pleasure and that any form of sex work should be regarded a promotion of patriarchy and its tenets. However, it is critical to note that sex work could be a form of women expressing themselves and their sexuality. It cannot be denied that aspects of power are involved and that abuse is a huge possibility. Nonetheless, it is important to have a full understanding of the many forms of any patriarchal system and the power dynamics that define sex workers' roles. Again, it is pertinent that reflects on the aforementioned factors and examines issues concerning the stigma that sex workers face, especially with regard to HIV/AIDS discourse.

Jaquetta Newman and Linda White (2012) posit that there are three feminist views on sex work. These are as follows:

1. The sex work perspective

The sex work perspective maintains that 'prostitution' is a legitimate form of work for women faced with the option of other bad jobs; therefore women ought to have the right to work in the sex trade free from prosecution or the fear of being prosecuted. It further argues that governments should eliminate laws that criminalize voluntary prostitution. This, the sex work perspective asserts, will allow prostitution to be regulated by governments and business codes, protect sex trade workers and improve the ability to prosecute people who hurt them. Sex workers under this view are regarded as ordinary citizens whose income could be taxed and contribute to the national fiscus. SADC governments could benefit by attempting to understand this view and harnessing it to their respective economic potentials.

2. The abolitionist perspective

The abolitionists' perspective holds that governments should work towards eliminating sex work.

Others argue that abolition is a movement that considers it to be a form of violence against women and a direct deterrent to gender equality. Abolitionists challenge the systemic inequalities that result in the unchecked male demand for paid sex. Racism, colonialism, male dominance and poverty have produced a class of women that can be legally segregated from society, and these women are noted to be used as instruments of male pleasure and sexual commodities. Abolitionists strongly oppose the full legalization of the sex trade, rather advocating the Nordic model, which deems it illegal to purchase sex. This view also promotes the notion that sex work is a clearly patriarchal mechanism that oppresses and subjugates women.

3. The outlaw perspective

The outlaw perspective views work in the sex trade as a way that women can develop themselves whilst awaiting to join what are deemed as 'better jobs'. The premise is that the world has been unfair on women to such an extent that they need some form of 'occupation' while they hope to reach their actual job potential and that sex work will 'do' until that happens. This viewpoint works on an assumption that all women engaged in sex work ultimately want to do something else. Moreover, it assumes that women sex workers have other qualifications or are working on realizing other qualifications outside sex work. It thus somewhat promotes stigma and discrimination against sex workers.

Other theories and views on sex work

Structural functionalism

Margeret Anderson (2009) argues that functionalism interprets each part of society in terms of how it contributes to its stability as a whole. Society is more than the sum of its parts; the latter are primarily the institutions of society, each of which is organized to meet different needs and each of which has particular consequences for the form and shape of society. They are also mutually dependent. Sex work is an industry that services those who consider themselves in need of such services and as such, its presence somehow influences and contributes to the functionality of other parts of society. Irrespective of how people feel about this, it is nevertheless a reality.

SADC perspectives on sex work

There are diverse views on sex work in SADC, and even where the law is silent or criminalizes sex work, the protection of sex workers is minimal despite them having human rights. There has been a lot of effort regarding achieving borderlessness when it comes to trade, but when it comes to sexuality realizing their rights is different. It is also intriguing that there is little research on the decriminalization or legalization of sex work even though countries are trying to advance gender equality and equity. Most research that has been carried out in SADC concerns the links between sex work and issues surrounding HIV/AIDS. In most cases workers are tagged as conduits for transmitting diseases. For women, this is unfair labelling (they are the target of such research) and is in itself discriminatory, unproductive, biased and lacking insight.

SADC countries that outrightly criminalize sex work

Botswana

Living off the earnings of sex work or solicitation are criminal offences in Botswana. Sections 149 to 158 of the Botswana Penal Code punishes procurers, brothel-keepers, and any 'male

person living on [the] earnings of prostitution. 'Section 153(1) states that 'any person who detains a woman or girl against her will in or upon any premises with intent that she may be unlawfully and carnally known by any man, whether any particular man or generally; or in a brothel is guilty of an offence.'

Mauritius

The Criminal Code of Mauritius criminalizes sex work. Article 253(1) prohibits the procuring, enticing, and exploiting another person for prostitution, while Article 253(3) prohibits procurement by means of fraud, deceit, threat, violence, or any other means of duress. So doing in order to traffic the person abroad is a criminal offence.

Namibia

The Combating of Immoral Practices Act, 1980 criminalizes several sex-related activities, including 'soliciting sex in public, pandering, and keeping a brothel, immoral conduct' in addition to 'indecency, procurement, living off the earnings of prostitution, and unlawful carnal knowledge of a sex worker'.

South Africa

Solicitation, as well as profiting from the sale of sex or maintaining a brothel is criminalized in South Africa under the Sexual Offences Act 23, of 1957. Section 21(a) states that: 'Persons living on earnings of prostitution or committing or assisting in commission of indecent acts', and any person 'who has unlawful carnal intercourse, or commits an act of indecency, with any other person for reward; shall be guilty of an offence. Sections 2 and 3 and Section 20(1)(a) prohibit brothel-keeping. The act of purchase on the part of the client has been recently criminalized (Section 11 of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act of 2007). South Africa has, since 2000, had Law Reform position paper arguing for the decriminalization of sex work, but there has been no movement in terms of efforts to see it enacted.

Swaziland

Sex work, procurement and brothel-keeping are illegal in Swaziland. The Crimes Act 1989 imposes a fine of 80 US dollars and up to two years imprisonment on any person who encourages or 'entices or encourages immoral acts'. However, this legislation may soon be replaced by the Sexual Offences and Domestic Violence Bill 2009, which, if passed, could impose fines of up to $2,000 and imprisonment of up to six years for those engaged in sex work. It would also impose fines on brothel keepers of up to $13,000 and prison sentences up to a maximum of 25 years.

Tanzania

Prostitution is illegal under Tanzanian law, and there is also a prohibition against brothels and the defilement of children below the age of 14. The law similarly forbids child pornography and prostitution and considers any sexual act with a girl below the age of 18 to be rape, which is punishable by life imprisonment. However, enforcing these provisions is very difficult, since the legal age for marriage is 15. Moreover, marriage renders the other law redundant as it specifically refers to single women.

Zambia

Living off the earnings of sex work or solicitation is a criminal offence in Zambia. Sections 140 to 149 of the Zambian Penal Code punish procurers, brothel-keepers, and any 'male person living on [the] earnings of prostitution'. The code also allows 'every common prostitute behaving

in a disorderly or indecent manner in any public place' to be jailed for a month as an 'idle and disorderly person' (Section 178.a.)

Zimbabwe

Sex work is illegal in Zimbabwe. The Criminal Law (Codification) Act 2004:152 came into effect in July 2007, replacing the Sexual Offences Act of 2001. Sections 81 to 84 criminalize solicitation; living off the earnings of sex work; procurement; and brothel-keeping. Section 81 of the act makes it illegal to solicit, imposing a maximum prison sentence of up to six months. Section 82 prohibits 'living off or facilitating prostitution', imposing a maximum prison sentence of two years. Section 83 makes it illegal to procure sex, or for any person to engage in any sex that the law deems unlawful, imposing a maximum prison sentence of two years. Nonetheless, sex work is rife and despite many rounds of mass arrests in urban areas, neither workers nor their clients have been deterred. There have been reports via social and traditional media of sex workers being abused as a result of lack of legislation protecting their rights as workers. Some are said to exchange sex for their freedom when arrested.

It is important to note that even in countries which have criminalized sex work, it nevertheless continues, and in many different forms. Having been arrested, sex workers will return to the streets after their release. Some make deals with the arresting officers by offering them free sex, which further exposes them to abuse and violations. It has been argued that if prostitution were legalized, society would benefit from revenue generated by income tax either through cash-based transactions or through brothels. Moreover, legalization would give sex workers the power to demand the recognition of their basic human rights and seek redress if they are violated. Although legalizing the profession might make it attractive for sex-traffickers, as their trade will be openly regulated, the benefits outweigh this prospect, especially where the judicial sector is efficient and committed to its work. For governments and the fiscus, what greater incentive is there than an awareness of the prospect of revenue generation that is at close hand?

SADC countries that have not criminalized sex work

Angola

Although Angola has no specific laws dealing with sex work, it is widely regarded as an illegal activity. Poverty is a driver for many women to engage in sex work. With poverty levels in Angola at 65 per cent and scarce employment opportunities, many women are effectively forced into prostitution.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

There is no legislation with regard to sex work in the DRC, except in cases involving girls under the age of 14. The civil war and ongoing insurrections have had a devastating effect on ordinary people; according to the US Department of State, the primary reasons why women enter into sex work are poverty and poor economic conditions. They also reported that the Security Forces encouraged prostitution and supposedly harassed and raped prostitutes.

Lesotho

The law in Lesotho does not address sex work. Entry into the commercial sex work industry is predominantly driven by poverty – the unemployment rate in Lesotho is 45 per cent. Traditional laws and customs severely limit the rights of women in areas such as property rights, inheritance and contracts, hence limiting their spectrum of choices. There is also a strong link between

migrancy and the spread of HIV/AIDS, and Lesotho is particularly vulnerable in this respect. Maseru is Lesotho's major border crossing, with transport corridors to and from South Africa and other destinations in SADC, involving large and regular cross-border movements of people. There is increasing internal rural migration to the city, particularly by women searching for work. The lack of a law prohibiting sex work makes it a good destination for sex workers from all over the SADC region.

Madagascar

Sex work is not a crime in Madagascar, although related activities, such as pimping, are illegal. In 2004, a report produced by the US Embassy in Antananarivo pointed out that domestic statutes concerning sex work are often inconsistent, particularly with regard to age. For example, Article 331 of the Malagasy Penal Code specifies 14 as the age of consent, whereas Article 332, which deals with rape, describes 'underage' as equating to a person age 15 or under. Confusingly, Article 334 provides sentences for those convicted of 'habitually' procuring sex workers under the age of 21 and 'occasionally' procuring sex workers under the age of 16.

Malawi

Sex work is not a criminal offence in Malawi, although the law does prohibit people from living off wages earned through prostitution, owning a brothel, or forcing another person into prostitution. Sex workers are indirectly targeted by the police, with loitering being the main charge for which they are arrested.

Mozambique

At present, there is no legal framework concerning sex work in place in Mozambique. Deputy Minister of Women's Affairs and Social Welfare, João Kandiyane, pointed out that the current situation in Mozambique whereby sex work 'is neither prohibited nor permitted by law' enables a situation where sex workers are not even treated as human beings, leaving them subject to abuse and exploitation. He has called for legislation that would guarantee them basic fundamental rights including the rights to health, dignity, protection against violence and other forms of abuse as well as respect for the women's choice of profession, regardless of their motives for becoming prostitutes.

Insights on sex work from other regions

The sex work debate is not peculiar to Africa and SADC. What is of critical note is that some countries outside the continent have embraced models that have helped them harvest some meaningful income. Table 1 (overleaf) summarizes the incomes generated by different countries from sex work, revealing that that the sex industry generates vast sums of money that effectively remain under the table.

The Swedish (Nordic) model

With regard to the Nordic model, Arthur Gould (2001) argues that there are laws in Sweden that make it illegal to buy sexual services but not to sell them. Pimping, procuring and operating a brothel are also illegal. When enacted in 1999, the criminalization of the purchase, but not the selling, was unique. In 2009, Norway and Iceland adopted similar legislation, as did France in 2013. While essentially agreeing with Gould, Sandra Chu and Rebecca Glass (2013) argue that the Nordic model fails to protect the rights of sex workers and is nothing more than a piece of legislation that criminalizes the purchase of sex. Many countries have since adopted this model as a means of regulating the sex industry.

Table 1: Global index of per country income through sex work

Country in order of highest ranking	Income in USD
China	73 billion
Spain	26.5 billion
Japan	24 billion
Germany	18 billion (legal industry)
United States	14.6 billion
South Korea	12 billion
India	8.4 billion
Thailand	6.4 billion
Philippines	6 billion
Turkey	4 billion
Switzerland	3.5 billion (legal industry)
Indonesia	2.2 billion
Taiwan	1.8 billion
Ukraine	1.5 billion
Bulgaria	1.3 billion
United Kingdom	1 billion
The Netherlands	800 million (legal industry)
Italy	600 million)
Cambodia	511 million)
Israel	500 million)
Ireland	326 million)
Czech Republic	200 million)
Jamaica	58 million
Australia	27 million

Source: www.havocscope.com/prostitution-revenue-by-country/

Manisha Shah and Scott Cunningham (2014) argue that the unrealistic goal of ending the sex trade distracts the authorities from dealing with the genuine horrors of modern-day slavery (which many activists conflate with illegal immigration for the aim of selling sex) and child prostitution (better described as money changing hands to facilitate the rape of a child). An article in *The Economist* adds that governments should focus on deterring and punishing these crimes, and allow consenting adults who wish to buy or sell sex to do so safely and privately. Looked at this way, sex work ceases to be an issue of morality, and takes on a purely economic aspect. What does this mean in a context like SADC where *Ubuntu* (communal means of living and being) is of high regard and sex work is considered almost taboo? Would legalization work for governments? These questions will be answered as governments begin to review their positions on sex work and engage with lobbyists in this sector. This paper will also attempt to answer some of these questions.

Religious and moral arguments for the decriminalization of sex work

For some, sex work is the world's 'oldest profession' – there multiple references to its existence in the Koran, the Torah and the Bible. It has been argued that with so little changing in human nature over the millennia, the government is probably right not to try to eradicate prostitution, but instead ensure it is as safe and crime free as possible. If that includes permitting mini-brothels, or even full-scale ones, then religious protests against 'immorality' should be put aside, recognizing that condemnation has not made any difference and that regulation might achieve more (Romain, 2007.

The New Testament's condemnation of sex work is aimed at temple prostitutes. What therefore appears to be condemned in the Bible is not sex work per se, but a sort of religious prostitution, where sex was used as a method of worship (Bennachie, 1996: 10). Interestingly, while there are severe penalties in Iran and Iraq for adultery (and by default sex work if the client and sex worker are unmarried), there is a Muslim law that arguably facilitates sex work at some level. The practice of 'Nik al-Mut'ah', which roughly translates as 'marriage for pleasure', allows couples to have sex for a limited period of time, anywhere between an hour and more than year – with possible renewal (Lapidos, 2008). Payment from the man to the woman is typical, since the practice was established as a way of enabling widows to receive an income. Since the sex is sanctioned there are fewer questions about its morality.

These arguments offered by renowned academics on sex work give new insight for reflection around the *Ubuntu* debate, which attempts to condemn sex work on moralistic grounds. Moreover, some have argued that sex work deters social cohesion and erodes the moral fabric of society.

Harnessing the economic potential of sex work in SADC

Sex work is borderless and whether governments in SADC embrace it as reality or not, the truth of the matter is that it is a thriving sector. Even in countries where sex work has been criminalized, the industry continues to thrive and grow. For example, in 2009 Sweden's National Bureau of Investigation estimated that there were about 90 Thai 'massage' parlours in and around Stockholm, most of which were judged to be selling sexual services. By 2011/2012, the number had risen to around 250, within a further 200 or so throughout the rest of the country.

The Economist (op. cit.) argued that:

> Governments should seize the moment to rethink their policies. Prohibition, whether partial or total, has been a predictable dud. It has singularly failed to stamp out the sex trade. Although prostitution is illegal everywhere in America except Nevada, old figures put its value at $14 billion annually nationwide; surely an underestimate. More recent calculations in Britain, where prostitution is legal but pimping and brothels are not, suggest that including it would boost GDP figures by at least £5.3 billion ($8.9 billion). And prohibition has ugly results. Violence against prostitutes goes unpunished because victims who live on society's margins are unlikely to seek justice, or to get it. The problem of sex tourism plagues countries, like the Netherlands and Germany, where the legal part of the industry is both tightly circumscribed and highly visible.

The failure of prohibition is pushing governments across the rich world to try a new tack: criminalizing the purchase of sex instead of its sale. Norway, Iceland and France first, in 1999, followed Sweden; Canada is rewriting its laws along similar lines. The European Parliament wants the 'Swedish model' to be adopted right across the EU. Campaigners in America are calling for the same approach.

The suggestion here, without rubbishing aspects of *Ubuntu* and borrowing 'foreign ideologies',

is that SADC governments explore the possibilities of establishing laws that will protect the rights of the sex workers and tax their earnings such that revenue from this industry can be collected. This model has worked in countries such as Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland. The idea is to enable the sex work industry in SADC to become more organized, efficient and, above all, taxable. Economically, governments in SADC are struggling, judging from how they are frantically looking to the West and to the East for investment. By legalizing sex work, they could generate revenue and protect some of their most marginalized citizens from violence and stigma. Aziza Ahmed (2011) supports this notion by noting that sex workers, who are aiming for recognition and legalization of their trade, have long been in pursuit of decriminalizing their form of employment. Removing criminal prosecution for sex workers in SADC would create a safer and healthier environment and allow them to live with less social exclusion and stigma, as their trade will be officially regarded as decent work. The starting point could be open debate between those member states countries who deem it illegal and those who do not consider it a criminal activity, and exploring possibilities that arise.

The Sex Work Education and Advocacy Taskforce SWEAT (2006) indicates that the following would be addressed by legalizing sex work:

- The Labour Relations Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act would be applicable to sex workers
- Safer and more hygienic working conditions would be required – most sex workers want o practice safer sex but are unable to enforce it, as there is no legal obligation
- Limits to legal working hours – many sex workers in criminalized systems report working days of over 14 hours
- Paid vacation time and sick leave – sex workers frequently report no paid leave or sick leave for those working for brothels
- The obligation to display information about safer sex, to provide condoms, or to screen clients to the public in any public space – if international labour standards were applied brothels would be obliged to promote and perform safer sex, helping to alleviate the risk of contracting or spreading HIV.

The above also represent points of departure for governments to reconsider their views on sex work and harness its economic potential for broadening the fiscus.

Conclusion

Criminalizing sex work does not eradicate it. Instead, it drives it underground, putting women sex workers at an even greater risk of abuse, violence and exploitation. It also gives their clients an unfair advantage, as its exposes them to risks of infection with diseases such as HIV and AIDS, not to mention other sexually transmitted diseases. What is clear for the SADC region is that sex work is here for the duration. If this sector is going to be regulated so as to generate revenue at country level, protect the rights of the sex workers and promote human rights, then legalization is a solid first step way forward.

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YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT: SADC 'Public Enemy Number One'

Clemence Machadu and Daphne Jena

Abstract

Creating adequate and appropriate employment for youths in SADC is still a huge challenge, despite the fact that regioness has been widely expected by member states to successfully tackle such ongoing socioeconomic ills. Member states have tried, individually and as a collective, to come up with solutions to the problem but have been largely impeded by several factors. This lack of employment has resulted in negative socioeconomic and political consequences for the wellbeing of the youths in the region as they have been unable to actively contribute their respective country's economies. It is against this background that the authors of this paper investigate the scope, causes and effects of youth unemployment in the region and suggest customised strategies that could be implemented to position it within the context of regional economic development. The researchers further suggest how SADC member states can collectively and individually make efforts to create employment for both skilled and unskilled young people who are currently unemployed.

Introduction

Regioness is defined by Börn Hettne and Frederik Shöderbaum (2002: 38) as the 'process whereby a geographical area is transformed from a passive object to an active subject, capable of articulating the transnational interests of the emerging region'. Thus, 'regioness' speaks to the degree to which certain space is considered as a distinct entity. It is the centre of the new global architecture. By 15 June 2014, the World Trade Organisation had received 585 notifications of Regional Trade Agreements, of which 379 were in force, compared to less than 30 in the 1990s. The foreign policies of many countries now identify regioness as a key developmental issue. Section 12(2) of Zimbabwe's constitution, for instance, says that: 'The State must promote regional and pan-African cultural, economic and political co-operation and integration and must participate in international and regional organisations that stand for peace and the well-being and progress of the region, the continent and humanity'. SADC member states see regioness as a way to foster accelerated sustainable socioeconomic transformation while creating favourable macroecon-omic environments through indicators such as trade surpluses, low inflation rates, increased foreign investment and high employment.

According to Article 5 of the SADC Treaty (1992), one of the objectives is to promote and maximise productive employment in the region. However, youth unemployment, which constitutes the greater part of general unemployment levels in SADC and other parts of the world, has been on the increase in Southern Africa, despite ongoing efforts to curb or ameliorate the problem. SADC has instigated a number of protocols and strategies aimed at directly or indirectly addressing this issue. As the causes and effects of youth unemployment differ from country to country,

Table 1: Selected unemployment rates in SADC for persons aged 15-24

Country	Male (%)	Female (%)	Year
Botswana	29.6	43.5	2010
Mauritius	17.8	28.1	2011
Namibia	36.7	47	2004
South Africa	45.4	55	2011
Tanzania	7.4	10.1	2006
Zambia	23.1	19.5	2000
Zimbabwe	28.2	21.4	2001

Source: SADC Statistics Yearbook 2011.

SADC member states have also implemented customised national economic and youth policies and, in their constitutions, pledged to ensure that youths are afforded opportunities for decent and productive employment and various means to socioeconomic empowerment. However, despite the region's vast resources and fairly modern infrastructure, most of these initiatives have failed. The socioeconomic effects of youth unemployment seem to be weighing heavier on the arms of SADC governments and current interventions are fast becoming obsolete.

Those African Heads of State who met in February 2009 in Addis Ababa declared the decade 2009–2019 to be that of youth development in Africa. Halfway in, it seems that it will instead prove to be a lost decade in this area. The authors were curious about the above issues and set out to unravel them. As a result, this paper seeks to interrogate youth unemployment in the region, hoping to provide an overview of the situation, and its causes and effects. It concludes with recommendations on how to deal with the latter.

An overview of youth unemployment in SADC

The United Nations defines 'youths' as people between the ages of 15 and 24, and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines an unemployed youth as a person between the age of 15 and 24 who is: (a) without work; i.e. had not worked for even one hour in any economic activity (paid employment, self-employment, or unpaid for a family business or farm); (b) currently available for work; and (c) actively seeking work; i.e. had taken active steps to see work during a specified recent period (usually the previous four weeks) (ILO 2013). SADC extended this age group by adopting the African Youth Charter's definition of any person aged between 15 and 35, although not all member states follow it to the letter. This has the knock-on effect of either lowering or increasing the youth unemployment rate in the respective member states, bringing the challenge of comparable asymmetries. Despite the latter, it is estimated that half of Africa's population is under 35 years of age and that during the next six years the number of people aged 15 and over will increase by about 13.3 million each year.

In 2011, the youth unemployment rate in Southern Africa was 11.5 per cent (SADC, 2011). According to the ILO, more than 18 million jobs are needed every year to reduce this percentage. Youths and women are most affected by unemployment and underemployment and three out of four workers are considered to be in vulnerable employment. Although there is lack of updated documentation from all member states, the number of those out of work has doubtless increased. Table 1 shows the percentages of unemployed youth in several SADC countries according to the 2011 study.

Globally, there are perhaps as many as 290 million 15-to-24-year-olds, or a quarter of the world's youth, who are out of work. Further, it is generally accepted that the rate of youth unemployment is usually more than twice that of the average unemployment rate. The figures might be even higher, for the methodologies and definitions used by statistical agencies in determining unemployment rates in the region vary and tend not to reflect what is actually happening. Jobs that do not qualify as formal[1] may sometimes be included in the definition of employment by a government, in full violation of the Decent Work Agenda, which was adopted by ILO in 1999 and embraced by the African Heads of State and Government in 2004.

Why youth unemployment requires attention

African governments tend to pay more attention to macroeconomic indicators, for example inflation, than they do to unemployment, youth unemployment in particular. This is despite the fact that research has established that unemployment is much more damaging to society than moderate levels of inflation, and that the region's central bankers'[2] disproportionate focus on the level of consumer price growth is misguided.

In their study, David Blanchflower et al. (2014) found that unemployment depresses wellbeing more than inflation. Their study noted that even a one percentage point increase in unemployment rate lowers wellbeing five times more than an identical increase. Since the greater part of the general unemployment rate is constituted by the youths, they are the ones who are most affected by unemployment and dealing with youth unemployment is a sustainable way to dealing with unemployment.

If new commitments are anything to go by, governments in SADC slowly seem to be realizing the need to foster youth employment, even if there is little concrete action. Indeed, Zambia's Minister of Finance, Alexander Chikwanda, has stated that youth unemployment is a 'ticking time bomb for all of us'. It does, however, appear that this new realization has been met with unmatched commitment. Zimbabwe, for instance, pledged in its new constitution that '[a]t all times the State and all institutions and agencies of government at every level must ensure that appropriate and adequate measures are undertaken to create employment for all Zimbabweans, especially women and youths' (Section 14.2). Further, Section 20(1)c vows to ensure that youths '[a]re afforded opportunities for employment and other venues to economic empowerment'. The government has however failed to do so as the number of unemployed youth has been increasing each year. Thus there have been calls from key institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), ILO and World Bank, as well as people from SADC member states to actively deal with the problem of youth unemployment:

> South Africa is not creating enough jobs for the labour force. Of the 20 per cent unemployment rate in South Africa, youth unemployment is even higher, at more than 50 per cent. (IMF, 2013)

> The greatest challenge facing SADC countries is youth unemployment and there is the need for robust policy response at both national and regional levels. (Southern African Trade Unions Co-ordination Council, March 2014)

> Unless bold actions are taken, Africa's youth could become a recipe for social and political instability. (Aeneas Chuma, ILO Regional Director for Africa, 2014)

The effects of youth unemployment in the SADC region have started to manifest in the form

1. A formal job is one that has normal hours and a regular wage that is liable for tax.
2. 'A governor or high-level executive involved in creating monetary policy at a country's central bank.

The re-development of the railways could stimulate widespread economic development through vast stretches of rural Uganda and so create countless employment opportunities for youth in rural and more remote areas.
Photo: US Army Africa, Vicenza, Italy.

of pockets of youth uprisings. In August 2014, youth members of Zimbabwe's opposition party were arrested and beaten after staging demonstrations under the banner of 'Occupy Africa Unity Square'. These protesters were demanding government to deliver on its promises of improved access to proper healthcare facilities and education, including employment. South Africa too has seen protests from youth regarding employment and being unable to meaningfully participate in the country's economy. These early signs of political dissent show that it is important for the region to actively address youth unemployment.

To prevent this, SADC must be firmly proactive, rather than reactive, to all the various issues of youth unemployment. No amount of arrests will ever create a single job.

Causes of youth unemployment in the SADC region

The lure of the bright lights and the supposed wealth all urban areas offer appears to be promoting heavy rural–urban youth migration. As few have benefitted from various land reform programmes and/or find rural life unproductive and unrewarding, most leave for urban areas in the hope of finding work. Unfortunately, such areas are already filled with youths who cannot find jobs due to de-industrialisation. Rural areas lack support structures for the youths, who are failing to explore job creation opportunities in their areas. This forces them to go to cities, where youth already constitute a large employment challenge.

One of the main causes of youth unemployment in the SADC region, particularly in Zimbabwe, is the incompatibility of the curriculum with the needs of twenty-first century industry. As a result of this disjuncture, school-leavers' qualifications are largely irrelevant to national economic needs. Shrinking economies cannot absorb youths seeking jobs in the formal sector, and those who are prepared for the formal sector cannot thrive in an informal setting. The Zimbabwe Youth Fund is proof of this. Set up to provide loans for income-generating projects, with a bias towards manufacturing and agricultural projects, most of the youths who applied for and were granted money from this revolving facility were school-leavers. However, the majority failed to repay the loans, for their business projects failed as they lacked the requisite skills. The fund suffered a sharp loan to default ratio of 80 per cent.

Another cause of unemployment is the limited capacity of national economies to create new employment. In SADC many economies are shrinking, resulting in companies having no choice but to close. This is the direct result of inappropriate national and regional economic policies that do not address unemployment challenges, such as the implementation of the SADC Free

Trade Area. Globalization has also exposed regional industries to stiff competition from highly industrialized nations through Economic Partnership Agreements. Locally produced goods are failing to survive on the global market mainly because they are neither cost-effective nor price-competitive.

The introduction of manual labour-reducing technologies has also reduced the demand for employment in sectors such as oil, gas and mining. That many countries in the SADC region have failed to strike a win-win balance between capital-intensive and labour-extensive production is also an issue of concern. For example, while Zimbabwe's economy grew by a few percentage points between 2009 and 2012, it was not matched by any meaningful growth in the number of jobs. Rather, updates in technology and heavy machinery have resulted in further job losses. For example, Hwange Colliery's computerization programme, which was implemented in 2012, led to 200 redundancies. Extractive industries are capital-intensive, which creates a barrier to entry for potential local business owners. In response to these issues, the youths have turned to informal systems of employment, which are characterised by lower incomes, insecurity and under-employment, leading to increasingly weakened consumer spending power and aggregate demand. In addition, SADC sees huge exports of raw materials, resulting in job reduction in the processing industries. Today, more than 70 per cent of Zimbabwe's exports are raw materials destined for countries such as Britain, China and the United Arab Emirates. This means that more jobs are created for the people in the receiving countries for processing of those raw materials.

It seems that member states are reluctant to prioritize youth employment in resource allocation. Unemployed youths in the region are not getting welfare cash transfers to buy basics such as food. The provision of basic needs happens to be a constitutional right in most member states. Instead, governments are prioritising minor issues such as salary increments. In the case of Zimbabwe, government gave a 26 per cent salary increase to about 250,000 civil servants in the first quarter of 2014; that money could have been used to employ more young people and reduce inequality gaps. Instead, it widened the gap between youths and adults. Moreover, the non-participation of youth in policy formulation or platforms that discuss youth issues typically leads to inappropriate and ineffective strategies and policies for tackling youth unemployment, job-creation in particular.

The effects of youth unemployment in SADC

Youth unemployment can have serious socioeconomic and political consequences, if unaddressed timeously or effectively.

The authors of this papers discovered that the main adverse social effects of youth unemployment arise from idleness. For example, under-occupied youths may turn to immoral and illegal ways of earning income and/or to substance abuse, the consequences of which include addiction, suicide and mental health problems. In a recent interview, the director of Zimbabwe United Nations Association suggested that about 65 per cent of the nation's youths suffer from mental problems related to the latter. His words raise several red flags. The authors also observed that violence and criminal activities are rampant in countries with high youth unemployment rates. In South Africa, for example, some areas have roadsigns with the following message: 'High Crime Area, Do Not Stop'. This is a clear indication that crime has become an alternative practice for some unemployed youths.

Youth unemployment is also a huge compelling factor for sex work. Illegal in SADC, it is therefore often practiced in unsafe ways because there are no laws protecting those involved in

Leading by example: 'Violence is caused by drugs and alcohol. When you're stressed, or you've done something wrong,' says Themba (left). "So to help people is to be kind and advise them on how to solve their stress, because you can't run away from your problem. You must face your problem." Themba, volunteer worker looking out for young boys with drink- and drug-related problems Photo: DfID.

it. In most cases it results in a high risk of them contracting HIV and/or other sexually transmitted infections. According to the National AIDS Council, over 53,000 people were infected with sexually transmitted diseases between January and June 2014 in Harare alone. It is the authors' strong belief that this figure could have been much lower if there were high employment opportunities in Harare.

Apart from reducing self-esteem, unemployment can actually affect youths' future employability. It can also immensely compromise their role in society, as they become vulnerable to abuse by politicians – for instance, to be incited into violence in return for small tokens such as opaque beer such as Chibuku. In the end this will even destroy their credibility as future leaders.

Those who experience unemployment early on are also more likely to earn less than their peers who are already in work. This is due to the deterioration of their skills and their comparative lack of experience. As a result, most potential employers end up shunning them, believing that they will be unproductive.

Because of the desperation that comes with persistent joblessness, many youths have found themselves vulnerable to bogus job recruitment agents, who swindle them by making false promises of work.[3]

Regional interventions to avert youth unemployment

In light of the above, SADC, working with its international partners such as ILO, has taken steps to reduce youth unemployment in the region. These have largely focused on the creation of several legislative and strategic frameworks that set the basis upon which member states can design their policy interventions. However, it is important to note that the commitment of member states to implement these policies efficiently and effectively is lagging behind. These interventions are as follows:

The Protocol on Finance and Investment – Established in 2006, it aimed to create new employment opportunities by focusing on industries that provide upstream and downstream linkages with other sectors, while also attracting foreign direct investment. The goal has not been reached: job opportunities for youths have dwindled, bringing us back to question how realistic and effective some of these protocols are.

SADC Employment and Labour Protocol – This was adopted and signed by SADC Heads of State

[3] The Zimbabwe National Roads Administration (ZINARA) recently issued a public notice through the *Herald*, warning of fake vacancies on social media.

at the 2014 Summit held in Zimbabwe. It provides a framework for the regional harmonization of employment and labour standards. Of interest is that, for the first time in more than a decade at regional level, an instrument with provisions for supporting the informal economy has come into force. Other positives include the formation and increased coverage of social safety nets beyond the formal employment sector, the inclusion of protection of migrant labour and the acknowledgement of the need to reinforce support to rural workers. The next step is the ratification by two-thirds of SADC Member States for the protocol to enter into implementation level. In as much as this is a welcome development, there is a tendency by member states to delay the ratification of policies.

The procedure that ought to be followed is that the protocol be ratified by the respective parliaments of member states followed by domestication. However, it might take years to garner the requisite two-thirds. It is therefore important that member states expedite this important process. The other downside is the lack of enforcement parameters; barely two months after its adoption, South Africa issued a stern warning to all foreigners working illegally within its borders that they were likely to face deportation as of October 2014.

This is an indication that the signing and approval were mere formalities and do not bind the states to adhere to the protocol. Hence, there is need to speed up the ratification.

The SADC Youth Employment Promotion Policy and Strategic Plan – Formulated to work side by side with the SADC Employment and Labour Protocol, the strategic plan is a progressive decision taken by SADC to formulate both a policy and a plan aimed at promoting youth employment. The full details are not yet available, as it is still being finalized. However, the principles behind it are to provide a huge opportunity for stakeholders to interface and to realistically identify solutions to the endemic problem of unemployment in the region. Even so, the underlying reality for SADC to set realistic goals and targets and to garner political will and commitment to develop a holistic and cohesive framework remains. Most important will be involving the youth when crafting the policy and plan to ensure its relevance. Some issues for consideration pertaining to this emerged at the 2005 SADC Conference on Youth Employment (ILO, 2005). Among these were:

- Developing action programmes
- Governments giving priority sectors with the highest employment potential for youths
- Establishing innovative gender-sensitive training and skills development
- Creating employment programmes for youth
- Creating equal opportunities
- The need for governments to create a conducive and enabling environment through an integrated policy approach
- Extending representation to the informal economy through workers' organisations and support for youth organisations and initiatives
- Private sector financing and support of youth programmes and initiatives.

The overall aim of all these suggestions was for SADC governments to prioritize job creation for the unemployed youths through various development programmes. If properly planned, the free movement of job-seekers will allow expertise to spread within the region, thereby reducing the number of idle young minds and increasing youth activity.

The SADC Regional Labour Migration Action Plan – The main objectives of this action plan are to regulate migration within SADC in a way that benefits both the sending and receiving

countries and to protect the rights of migrant workers and to contribute to a just and equitable development in the region. Fully integrating national and sub-regional migrant workers without discrimination based on their citizenship is another objective. One important factor to note is the aim to create mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the labour markets in the SADC region.

Though progressive, the action plan is neither a policy framework nor legally binding, which gives room for political hesitancy among SADC countries in terms of formulating and enforcing a migration protocol. The key issue is that SADC needs a regional framework for governing migration to enhance regional integration, employment creation and sustainable livelihoods. Member states should be urged to agree on labour migration laws in a manner that meets the requirements for decent employment creation and promotes regional integration. Given the chance, youths are in a position to explore opportunities within the region before they make long-term commitments in their professional and personal lives. Without the necessary frameworks it may be difficult for them to consider existing opportunities. For example, in the third quarter of 2014 the Government of Zimbabwe lodged an official complaint with South African authorities over the inhuman treatment of Zimbabweans under deportation. Zimbabwe's Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Kembo Mohadi, said: 'I did indicate to the (South African Home Affairs) minister that deportations are inhuman in the first place …. You don't treat humans like that, round them up from the streets, bundle them in vans … and deport them to Zimbabwe' (*Herald*, 3 October 2014). This was a result of some of the loopholes that are created when there is lack of political will to implement policies.

Conclusion and recommendations

Having analyzed some of the causes and effects of youth unemployment in the region, the authors propose the following priority measures to be adopted by SADC member states:

- Prioritizing labour-intensive sectors in funding, i.e., manufacturing industries such as textiles, clothing and footwear.
- Banks should be required to allocate a number of bank loans to skilled young people, so that they do not have to compete with those who already have years of experience and/or collateral.
- Youths need to become active participants in policy formulation so that their needs are effectively addressed.
- Vocational Training Centres need to be refurbished or increased in order for more youths to learn modern practical and business skills that will enable them to be competent in the informal sector. (This can be started in schools.)
- Member states should have regular labour audits in order to identify ghost workers and replace them with young people.
- Reduce the age of retirement age by five years.
- Foster intra-regional trade in raw materials and intensify the value addition of raw materials in line with the theme of the 2014 SADC summit, which was 'Leveraging the region's diverse resources for sustainable economic and social development through value addition and beneficiation.'

For the SADC region to attain sustainable socioeconomic transformation there must be a strong commitment and ability to concretely tackle youth unemployment. Youths are the future of the

region and, without decent and sufficient jobs, their contribution will be diminished. Africa will remain the 'dark continent' if the issue of youth unemployment remains among the lowest of the region's priorities. This paper has attempted to present a case that advocates for youth unemployment to be declared the region's major challenge, it being a devastating socioeconomic issue. Governments in SADC must adopt and fully implement the necessary interventions to effectively curtail this economic disaster area, or at least be seen to be taking bold steps in this direction.

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ALTERNATIVES TO THE CONCEPT OF NEO-LIBERALISM: The forgettable legacy of the 'Washington Consensus' & the way forward for the Third World

Tatenda Mombeyarara

Abstract

There has been a burgeoning interest among academics and activists in understanding neo-liberalism, i.e. the idea that market forces should be allowed to determine how society is run, without interference or intervention from the State, and that the lower classes of society will benefit from the perceived economic growth through a trickling-down effect. This study challenges this popular view, arguing that neo-liberalism is not ideal for the progression of society, as it is fraught with economic problems that have already caused unprecedented suffering amongst the lower classes. The paper posits that since neo-liberalism is a variation of capitalism, one cannot speak of the total elimination of the social ills its inherent contradictions generate without embracing socialism – the antithesis of capitalism. Indeed, contrary to the conventional description and technical measurement for economic growth, this study demonstrates that development is better described and measured by social achievement. It uses a number of examples of neo-liberalism in capitalist countries to demonstrate that 'development' has led to significant improvements in the material conditions of the majority of their citizens. In conclusion, the paper recommends that Southern African countries adopt 'solidarity' economics and social democracy as an alternative.

Introduction

Roberto Mangabeira Unger (1987), a leftist Brazilian academic, argued that things are not always how they are because they have to be so, and concluded that there is life beyond neo-liberalism. This study draws from this analytical framework to suggest alternatives to the concept of neo-liberalism. In doing this, it defines neo-liberalism as a right-wing form of economics that promotes an expansive free market, de-regularization and unfettered privatization (Elisa and Moore, 2003). This thinking emanated in Washington DC after the Second World War, as the West sought to rebuild their economies and maintain economic hegemony. This came to be known as the Washington Consensus and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is synonymous with its ideology. To date, pro-capital schools of thought have defended this system by claiming that society at large benefits from the trickling-down effect of the free market policy. However, this paper argues that the current status of the world economy is glaring proof of the failure of this approach. The level of inequality and poverty of the majority, when juxtaposed with the obscene wealth of the minority elite, clearly justifies the urgent need to abolish this parasitic economic system and replace it with a system that guarantees decent standards of living for all (Trotsky et al., 1973). On one hand, we have hospitals recording deaths as a result of diseases such as cholera, which is caused by lack of clean water, simply because governments lack

the necessary funding for upgrading the infrastructure. On the other, we read reports of people flying to another country for a meal or to watch sport – a clear indication of availability of surplus resources.

Dialectically, the contradictions that exist in the capitalist system (lord–serf, master–servant, and now employer–worker) make most, if not all, reforms to capitalism futile. Only social revolution can usher in the more humane system of socialism, which is the antithesis of capitalism (Ibid.). There is an ongoing generalized and systematic failure of the capitalist system, as heralded by the 2008–2009 global economic crises. This great recession has unleashed massive unprecedented class struggles and social conflicts from Tahrir Square, Cairo, to Marikana, South Africa (Shauna and Bond, 2012; J. Rees, 2003). Thus, the contradictions within the capitalist mode of production could result in an implosion of the system and change the global economic order. An endless list of examples can be used to indicate the levels of political, social and economic disarray directly emanating from the deficiency of neo-liberalism as an economic system. So acute are its effects in the Third World and developing countries that we are still witnessing deaths as a result of hunger, curable diseases and preventable catastrophes, all because the epicenter of neo-liberalism leaves no room for human survival and welfare in its objective of accumulating profit (Mombeyarara, 2008). This is a double tragedy for developing countries in the sense that their economies cannot grow and develop under a neo-liberal framework without financial handholding by global financial powerhouses such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. Paradoxically, accepting such help entails accepting conditionalities such as austerity measures and the removal of all social protection nets, thereby attacking the livelihoods of the people these economies are supposed to protect (Payer, 1974; Frank, 1966; Mlambo, 1997).

What then, is to be done?

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (2002),[1] both nineteenth-century German thinkers, studied capitalism and developed the Marxist theory, aptly stated that the ruling ideas of the ruling class at any time are the ruling ideas of society. Contrary to the description and technical measurement of economic growth generally accepted in assessing capitalist economies, namely Gross Domestic Product, I argue that development is better measured by social achievement such as good and accessible healthcare, education, clean water, adequate food, human and civil rights and a decline in poverty and economic exploitation. It defies logic to applaud countries such as China, Saudi Arabia and Singapore as models of economic growth under neo-liberalism. Within their borders, vast and profitable multinationals run and determine the wealth of society, but the material conditions of the majority of their citizens, who are predominantly the workforce, are deplorable.[2] In these countries there are exploitative labour conditions and the suppression of basic rights and freedoms. Trade unions and protests are banned and the populace has little or no input on governance issues (Clarke, 2005).

By contrast, countries such as Venezuela that are conventionally considered underdeveloped have better socioeconomic systems that enhance the material conditions of their citizens. In fact, there are alternatives taking shape at all levels of society in Latin American countries. Bolivia and Venezuela offer the most incisive perspective of economic justice as much of the fiscus is

[1] Marx (1818–1833) was an economist, sociologist, and revolutionary socialist. Engels (1820–1895) was better known social scientist, author, political theorist and philosopher. He and Marx were the joint fathers of Marxist theory.

[2] In China, 230 million people live below the poverty datum line. See also Shujie Yao (1997).

subordinated and socialized for the public good (Zakrison et al., 2012; Mombeyarara, 2008). Bolivia, for example, has nationalized its rich natural gas resource, thereby denying private capital the chance to benefit to use it for personal aggrandisement (Rochlin 2007). The overwhelming financial collapse in Argentina in 2001-02 and the victory of the candidate for the Worker's Party, Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva, in Brazil's 2002 and 2006 presidential elections highlight, in very different ways, the need for a viable alternative democratic economic strategy for Latin America and, by extension, much of the developing world (Munck, 2003).

The principles of social democracy championed by Germany and most Scandinavian countries have also proved to be helpful to society than the neo-liberal policy framework, as they have been deemed plausible alternatives by offering social protection to the lower classes (Giddens 1998). In these countries there is far less inequality than in most western capitalist societies and there are visible and effective social safety nets in the form of social welfare and vocational training. Economies influenced by Keynesian or mixed economy theories have tended to do better in terms of bringing about a better society.[3] However, people – blue-collar workers in particular – should have no illusions regarding the limitations of Keynesian economics, as it is embedded in capitalism and as such only seeks to sanitize it and give it a more humane face.

Given the above, it is clear that capitalism as an economic system has failed for the majority. Where it has worked it has only been to the benefit of the minority. Third world countries on the fringes of the world capitalist economic order tend to be at the receiving end of the inadequacies of this economic system and consequently suffer some of its more virulent effects. These include unemployment, hyperinflation, economic crises, extreme poverty, political instability and civil war. Admittedly, African countries such as South Africa, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have 'benefited' from their close relations with both western and eastern capitalist powers and have thus forged positions for themselves as sub-imperialist powers. However, those that have been disenfranchised by this oppressive system protect themselves by enhancing nation-to-nation solidarity and restructuring and reorienting regional political and economic institutions, among these being SADC and COMESA.[4,5]

Conclusion

Belief in the Washington Consensus has greatly diminished – it would be pure folly for growing economies to embrace this undemocratic system. As we move towards an inevitable new world economic order of socialism that does not have a prescribed period, let us embrace alternatives such as social democracy and solidarity economics[6] and ensure that we build social safety nets and solidarity. It is without dispute that socialism is not universally accepted as a viable option to capitalism; chief among its shortcomings is the fact that a planned economy kills competition, thereby suffocating the dynamism and innovation that are widely attributed to the lure of profit. Its weaknesses notwithstanding, it is at the very least progressive. In view of the uncertainty

[3] John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) was a British economist who challenged neoclassical economic thinking, which advocated the unregulated free market. He argued that there was need for a certain level of state intervention. His ideas were recognized and altered the course of macroeconomics.

[4] Interview with Dr Wesley Mwatwara, War and Strategic Studies Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe, 6 October 2014.

[5] The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, a free trade area.

[6] These are activities organized to address and transform exploitation under capitalist economics and the corporate, executive and large shareholder-dominated economy.

regarding neo-liberalism and revolutionary socialism, Keynesian and mixed economies borrow from both ideologies and offer a better society where inequality is checked.

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THE INFLUENCE OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SADC REGION

Nqobile Moyo

Abstract

Historically, youth have been key actors in all significant social, economic and political changes. This has been attributed to them growing as a demographic group that is energetic and versatile, with immense ability to adapt and sustain protracted struggles. The paper will look at the advantages of collaboration and the need for a multi-sectoral approach to youth issues, not just to achieve the desired influence and impact but also to maximize diminishing resources available to youth. This will be done using two case studies of youth organizations in the SADC region. Focus will be paid to the challenges that youth organizations encounter internally and externally, and to possible counteractive tools and measures. Essentially, the paper can be used by youth organizations on how to establish and strategically position their organization in order to ensure influence and sustainability. Youth have and will continue to be leaders of change, although they need to be able to create spaces and opportunities that will enable them to meaningfully participate in national decision-making, policy formulation and implementation processes. Equally, to benefit from their potential, SADC needs to harness and maximize on the ability of its youth and integrate them at every possible social, economic and political level.

Introduction

Worldwide, youth organizations have been at the forefront of struggles for justice, social and political change. These institutions, whose task is to 'organize youth' to tackle issues that affect them, can be set up by young people or by interested adults who may not necessarily be youth themselves but are interested in youth issues. Youth institutions may be politically inclined or apolitical in practice and may operate at local, national, regional and international level. Demographically, 65 per cent of Africa's population is under 35 years of age, of which over 35 per cent are between the ages of 15 and 35, making Africa the most youthful continent. By 2020, it is projected that the average age of 75 per cent of the population will be 20 years (AU, 2011).

Youth in SADC

Being part of a youth organization has many advantages for young people; for example, it provides a platform for them to more effectively deal with their issues. It also enables young people to develop personal and interpersonal skills that will capacitate them to think critically, problem-solve, develop a sense of agency, empower them psychologically and raise their self-confidence and esteem. Such institutions also create 'safe spaces' for youth to exchange knowledge, skills and ideas and create leadership opportunities within the organization structures that will allow them to practice leadership roles at an early age, such opportunities may not be found elsewhere.

Above: The memorial to Hector Pietersen, who was shot on the day of the Soweto uprising. June 16 is now recognised as National Youth Day, when South Africans honour their youth and bring attention to their needs.

As indicated above, the majority age group in the SADC region is under 35 years of age. In 2010, this number was put at 200 million; the UN estimates that this number will have doubled by 2050 (UN, 2008). Youth are the future of the African continent and are quite clearly a significant constituency of society, one that cannot be ignored. Thus, it is crucial that youth organizations engage with stakeholders on key issues that affect their effectiveness. This process will determine whether SADC and the African continent can transform the youth from a potential socio-economic burden into a demographic 'bonus'. Youth organizations have long proved to be a formidable force, as illustrated by their ability to drive and sustain armed liberation struggles and put forth ideologies that trigger and fuel efforts against (colonial) rule. Classic examples of these include the 'Soweto Uprising' by high-school students on 16 June 1976, which changed the course of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Another example is the 1988 national student boycott, where 75,000 school students rose up in protest against the Bantu education system. More recently, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), which was founded by Julius Malema in 2013, has changed South Africa's political landscape, as 49 per cent of its members are under the age of 24. These are examples of youth organizations and political movements that have worked for and facilitated great change in the development of sub-Saharan Africa. Admittedly, there is a striking difference between the protests and the formation of a political party. The former opposed oppressive apartheid system in Namibia under South African rule at that time and thus united people against an oppressive ideology, whereas the EFF signifies a new frontier in youths fight for emancipation, whereby the enemy is the 'liberator turned oppressor'. Today, youth have to fight for space and voice against their (male) elders in positions of political power. For a long time, culture and tradition have been instrumental in suppressing youth and women, positioning men as the head of the family, and whose decisions are beyond reproach. This is changing, and publicly, for Malema has shown that leadership can be justifiably challenged, by both youth and women.

Challenges to youth organizations

Despite several political and social advances, the influence of youth organizations is threatened by several factors:

- Youth exclusion is glaringly obvious at national and regional platforms, especially at decision-making and policy formulation stages.
- Youth often are engaged simply to 'rubber stamp' and enforce what their elders have unilaterally decided. Pseudo youth consultation and participation have been the norm, where a select, i.e. politically sympathetic, sector of youth is engaged under the guise of inclusive national youth consultation and participation

- Internally, at leadership level, youth have found it difficult to embrace and maintain good governance systems in their organizations, hence the stunted growth and short lifespan of many youth organizations
- At government level, national youth co-ordinating bodies lack adequate resources and, more importantly, the power to independently administer and rally behind core youth concerns. Government interference with and the politicization of national youth bodies has weakened their appeal to youth organizations
- The lack of regional standard guidelines governing the establishment and management of youth co-ordinating bodies has left the purpose of their establishment and mandates malleable, and defined differently by national governments according to the political affiliations of current ruling parties.

Multi–sectoral co-ordination mechanisms for youth simply do not exist in Africa, regardless of their potential to establish and sustain national youth councils. The lack of political will by governments has been cited as a chief culprit, whereby their ministries of youth and national councils are rarely allocated adequate funds to implement programmes to develop youth. Ironically, it may seem that it is almost on some governments agendas to ensure that youth remain easy to control and manipulate by keeping them economically deprived and thus dependent on the 'few crumbs' they receive, mainly in the form of unsustainable politically aligned loans and projects or from the pockets of the ruling elite, particularly before and during election periods. Ultimately, this has made it difficult to identify inter-sectoral linkages to assist in developing integrated policies and programmes on youth priority issues. Recently, it emerged that youth organizations are seemingly involved in this kind of 'silent tussle' for resources. During the May 2013 SADC meeting in Swaziland, ministers of youth noted, with concern, the growing practice by multilateral agencies who directly finance youth organizations and their participation in local, regional and international activities without first consulting the respective Ministry of Youth as to the national priorities requiring funding and the 'eligibility' of the youth organization seeking these funds. If this situation is 'reversed', i.e. government clearance is required before funds can be disbursed, the results could be disastrous, given the inability of most Ministries of Youth to demonstrate inclusivity, impartiality and an open mind towards youth, especially those who have different political persuasions or points of view. The result is a competitive rather than complimentary relationship, where governments are now covertly restricting and checking youth organizations through oppressive Statutory Instruments, which has, in turn, has drastically reduced the chances of fruitful collaborations between adequately funded youth organizations and cash-strapped government ministries.

Many other challenges plague youth institutions. These include the lack of documentation, research, data and information systems on youth issues, as well as little or no information on what programmes have/have not worked and why, in order to better inform future interventions and policies.

Youth working to turn challenges into opportunities

Despite the countless challenges youth organizations face, some have managed to create opportunities for their members to strategically engage, solve and compliment national and regional efforts. They have, for example, embraced the urgent need to act locally with a view/hope of ultimately having a national and regional impact. Examples of such initiatives are Voices In the Vision for Africa (VIVA) National Youth Association (Zimbabwe) which is the convener and

Secretariat of a Joint Youth Working Group (JOWOG) and Youth Empowerment and Civic Education (YECE) (Malawi). Through strategic collaborations with other youth organizations, arms of government and the private and public sector, these organizations have made significant contribution to socioeconomic and political transformation and discourse in their communities and nations.

Case study 1: VIVA – Joint Youth Working Group (JOWOG), Zimbabwe

VIVA is a youth capacity and peace-building organization that focuses on increasing youth representation and participation in national processes in the social, economic and political issues. Dialogue has been its primary tool of choice, backed by practical and tangible actions. Its inclusive and collaborative approach, as evidenced by its ability to attract diverse youth organizations from different political party youth wings, civil society and women-led, student, community and faith-based youth organizations, led to the formation of the Joint Youth Working Group (JOWOG). This working group provides a 'safe space' where youth can dialogue and proffer solutions to national cross-cutting issues affecting them and, more importantly, in collaboration with state and non-state actors and the private and public sector, in a bid to promote peace- and nation-building. JOWOG has enabled many polarized Zimbabwean youth to speak with one voice to various stakeholders, including Parliament, at which JOWOG regularly presents youth policy briefs as inputs to inform national discourse and policy formulation and implementation.

Given that VIVA is only three years old, and JOWOG just two, this amalgamated youth coalition is a practical and successful example of the power of like-minded national youth platforms. JOWOG has become an ideal national youth think tank for youth issues and peace-building matters, for government now calls upon it to provide input in policy review and realted processes. In recognition of its innovative approach, the African Union (AU) Youth Division appointed VIVA as the Advocacy and Communications Officer at its headquarters, under the umbrella of its Peace Corps. VIVA has also made progress in engaging the SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organizations, where it is again facilitating meaningful youth participation and representation in various SADC organs, largely in terms of peace-building and crafting the SADC Youth Employment Promotion Policy and Strategic Plan and the SADC Youth Strategy Business Plan.

Case study 2: Youth Empowerment and Civic Education (YECE), Malawi

The YECE is a youth non-governmental organization. Established in 1997, it has clearly stood the test of time and excelled in many respects in its areas of operation. The organization focuses on addressing the vulnerability of young people, orphans and other vulnerable children by empowering them with knowledge and skills, through community-based workshops and projects in order for them to positively meet the challenges related to their sexual and reproductive health. Through effective information dissemination and interactive tools and activities such as social media and awareness programs, YECE has empowered youth to participate actively in the entrenchment and sustainability of human rights and good governance in Malawi.

YECE has single-handedly established 54 youth groups/clubs in its operational districts, namely Lilongwe, Kasungu and Mchinji. These have been instrumental in conducting organizational activities such as workshops on raising awareness about human rights and democracy and community-based training on various issues affecting youth. These workshops have provided youths (and their communities) with valuable knowledge and skills that have enabled them to meaningfully participate in and contribute to local and national policy formulation processes.

In response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic and its particular impact on young people and children,

YECE developed an easy-to-understand HIV/AIDS Testing and Counseling (HTC) manual specifically designed for youth. The manual has been adopted by many other youth organizations in Malawi. YECE has also used sport to spread the word on HTC awareness and sensitization and trained more than 200 peer educators.

YECE's work also extends to tertiary education. In has introduced a volunteer exchange programme for local and international university students with the World University Service of Canada. This has enabled the organization to build its staff capacity and offer local university students hands-on experience in sharing and learning best practices in the sectors of HIV/AIDS, Human Rights and Democracy.

Its success largely relates to its ability to collaborate and to achieve its set targets. To date, it has worked with more than 40 local and international organizations. These range from local youth organizations, government departments to international donor agencies and universities.

Conclusion: lessons learnt and recommendations for effective youth organizations

If a youth organization is to be vibrant and have an impact, it must have a firm foundation. Key steps that youth should observe when establishing their organization, include the following:

- Have a clear idea of their goals and objectives
- Identify specific issues they want to tackle
- Select the best strategies for achieving the expected output
- Be cognizant of the environment and context in which they are operating
- Be fully aware of the scale of available resources that can finance programme implementation
- Identify and understand their target audience and relevant stakeholders/partners.

All organizations should carry out a skills audit to ascertain whether their organizational staff have the ability and capacity to accomplish the stated goals and objectives. Being able to collaborate where resources are scarce is key to ensuring greater impact; it is sometimes important to consult or pitch ideas to the target group, as well as to relevant stakeholders and partners who might be able to offer guidance and so strengthen the organization. This will instill a sense of ownership in the target group and stakeholders. Besides the valuable buy-in that such consultations will bring about, it will allow the organization to ascertain its relevance, the value it will add to the target group and establish its issues and expectations.

Moreover, transparency, impartiality and inclusivity (where applicable) is vital, given that our society is polarized along socioeconomic, political and/or ethnic lines. Regardless of the good intentions of a given youth project, if these processes are not observed, the initiative might fail to gain credibility, not to mention the trust of the target group and stakeholders. In the case of coalitions, it is highly advised to have clear engagement guidelines in the form of a Strategic Plan and a Memorandum of Understanding or Terms of Reference. These documents will prevent potential misunderstandings, since all partners will know their role and responsibilities. Lastly, it is paramount to put in place systems that ensure accountability and adherence to good governance practices.

Where possible, youth organizations should aim to work in collaboration with national youth councils and government Ministries of Youth to ensure that their objectives are in sync with national and regional objectives. Governments should not view youth organizations as competition for financial resources from multi-lateral partners and donors, but rather as partners for achieving national objectives. They also need to accept that the youth have the agency to fully

participate in national issues and are keen to co-determine rather than being mere endorsers of unilateral declarations on key matters. Youth organizations should be engaged as equal partners in national and regional matters, given their major potential to positively participate if given sufficient space.

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THE NEXUS BETWEEN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY LAND REFORM AGENDA & THE CONSOLIDATION OF CITIZENSHIP & NATION-BUILDING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Abstract

Land reform has been at the centre stage of development planning and has emerged as the 'New Question' of the twenty-first century, especially in Southern Africa. Issues such as inequality, racial conflict, resource nationalism and property rights have dominated its entire spectrum. Noting that the concept of citizenship in the post-colonial discourse has been much contested, in SADC in particular in terms of who is or is not a citizen, and what 'citizenship' really means. Out of this comes the issue of nation-building; how can nations be built without understanding and negotiating this issue? Positively addressing the disparities on land ownership in Africa can be seen as a mechanism towards building citizenship and promoting nation-building in the post-colonial states of Africa. The subject thus requires much academic scrutiny over and above its politicization. Revisiting the land reform agenda in order to promote citizenship and nation-building at state level is the imperative behind this paper, which comes at a time of various debates on the state of land ownership in Southern Africa in particular and the developing world in general. This paper scrutinizes to what extent the land reform process in Southern Africa has enhanced citizenship and helped in nation-building, highlighting how the land reform process is an important tool for addressing the hindrances to consolidating citizenship. The paper uses the case study methodology, looking at Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Within SADC, there are various types of land reform processes, as these studies illustrate. The paper introduces the topic by highlighting the important concepts of land reform, citizenship and nation-building and then briefly analyzes the historical development of pre- and post-colonial citizenship in Africa before interrogating this question in the context of the case studies. The conclusion highlights that there is indeed a positive correlation between the land reform agenda and the consolidation of citizenship and nationhood in Southern Africa.

Introduction

The land ownership question is central to development policy planning and management. It is also pivotal to politics and economics, which are the main topics that circumscribe societal relations. As such, in this study the paper illustrates the extent to which land reform can facilitate citizenship and nation-building. This consideration is taken in view of the nation-building deficiency in terms of political and economic participation of the citizenry; unity and cohesion; the empowerment of marginalized groups and people; social equality and equity; and tolerance and reconciliation. The economic sanctity of land is reflected in how classical economists such as Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo discussed its centrality to production; 'land is [also] a universal means of labour, both as the place where the process of labour occurs and a natural treasury of objects of labour' (Kulikov, 1986: 13-14).

From this background, the paper considers the impact of land reform in Southern Africa, whose main feature is obviously increased access to land for the blacks and equitable entitlement within all races, gender and location, thereby influencing development values of citizenship and nation-building. The paper explores the experiences of and lessons drawn from the exercises of land reform within the context of how the influence the notions and processes of citizenship and nation-building, taking into consideration the empirical underlying objectives in each case. The question of land reform observes issues such as access to land for the marginalized, amongst these being women and youths, farm workers, people living with disabilities, minority African tribal groups and the poor. Overlooked in political and economic processes, these groups constitute the parochial or are subjects of the dominant classes and are de facto second-class citizens.

Conceptualizing the study

Understanding the twenty-first century

Land reform, nation-building and citizenship are among the key development proponents and objectives of post-colonial Africa. Although the period under review is post-millennium, the last two decades of the twentieth century were, for much of Southern Africa hugely socially and politically significant. Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, followed by Namibia in 1990 and the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994.Having grappled with issues of a political nature, most of which were concerned with issues of self-determination, the dawn of twenty-first century saw of the start of a significant shift, governmental foci turning to other priorities such as economic co-operation through intra-regional trade. The outstanding feature of this period is the clear dominance of capitalism and democracy as critical economic and political structure functions dominating the governance of states.

Given this, concerns in politics both national and international can be revisited. Within SADC there has been a relative focus on peace and security, regional trade and development, freedom of movement and cross-border co-operation. These have been in the context of challenges and development opportunities, especially where most states are still trying to consolidate their post-colonial statehood. To date, SADC in the twenty-first century has been characterized by a rigorous land reform agenda that was kick-started in Zimbabwe through the Fast-Track Land Resettlement Scheme. This was followed by similar programmes in Namibia and South Africa. Together with citizenship and nation-building, it has remained at the centre of development, ushering in process that has, unfortunately, been marred by racial segregation and alienation. As such, land tenure in the twenty-first century has been debated in terms of traditional social capital (customary African land tenure) and the individualized tenure system (Obeng-Odoom, 2011: 161). It is nonetheless essential to bear in mind that this paper is fundamentally concerned with the historical development of land ownership in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Particular to the twenty-first century is the rapid increase in everyday access to information, ranging from general Internet usage and social media, to the power of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the rise of pan-Africanism. These elements have worked together to create a unique struggle for belonging and identity. Inasmuch as these have worked to bring people together, they have simultaneously increased their sense of alienation. As a result, there is a pressing need to create an active citizenship that is correlated with participation, and people's rights and obligations under the auspices of globalization and regional integration.

Land reform

A small march by the EFF on Mandela Day (18 July) along Buitenkant Street, Cape Town, in support of land reform in South Africa.

Land reform can be defined as a deliberate land re-distributive national programme or process that is guided in terms of formulation and implementation within the parameters of economic, egalitarian and political motives. To the move to embarking on a land redistribution exercise is typically associated with what the government of the day considers important in terms of land ownership. Research and literature on land reform in Southern Africa dwells on a policy's impact on the economy, politics, human rights and social equity and equality. Several scholars have carried out rich enquiries on the impact on rural development, economic participation and decision-making, poverty eradication, agrarian reform, production and environmental conservation (Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Sachikonye, 2003; Kariuki, 2009).

Land reform can be understood in context of property rights and land tenure. The latter imply the exact detail at national level as provided by the legal, policy and statutory provision of land governance. This means the ownership, management and administration falls into two categories: private and public land. Property rights denote certain rights that are exercised over land that entail an enforceable duty of non-interference (Obeng-Odoom, 2011: 162). Land tenure refers to the system of institutions or rules of land ownership, use and management, obligations, responsibilities and constraints as to how land is owned and used. Within the scope of this study, the definitions of property rights and land tenure inform how a shift in land tenure is land reform largely operationalized by existing property rights.

Within this same context are what this paper identifies as a value system and a consideration of land reform, for example, a public policy cycle beginning with problem identification and definition; agenda-setting; policy goals and objectives, decisions and adoption; policy implementation; administration and monitoring and evaluation. This has been the approach taken by most African governments, particularly in the twenty-first century, and as a methodology of debate from independence onwards.

Land and race

It is an empirical and historical fact that land issues in Africa are inextricably tied to race. This is due to the dynamics of colonization that saw the indigenous population (blacks) losing access to and ownership of their land. In this context, land reform means giving back land to black populations or increasing their state of ownership as a form of redistributive and remuneratory justice. There are, however, other methodologies behind land reform, some of which have been contested. For example, questions have been raised as to the legality of taking land from white farmers and giving it to black people, and if the willing buyer–willing seller mode works. In order to come to grips with land reform in Africa, it is important to understand race relations and the racial component in land issues. The general view has been that land reform is seen as a process of taking and/or seizing land from white 'owners' and giving it to disempowered and landless

black people. However, in this paper, land reform is viewed as a process of equally redistributing land to formerly disempowered black citizens.

Nation-building

Upon attaining independence, most post-colonial governments embarked on a robust nation-building exercise to foster cohesion and belonging between tribes, races and classes, a feature that had been eradicated under colonialism. Many newly independent countries were conscious of limitations to their development in this regard. These included sporadic disturbances to peace and security, intra-state tribal conflicts, natural resource nationalism and an economically unequal society. Central to this paper is exploring the extent to which nation-building can contribute towards natural resource nationalism, i.e. situations where the allocation, utilization and extraction of natural resources is a subject of much heated debate. Key arguments surrounding the conflict in Africa include the exclusion of the native population when it comes to benefiting from their use or sale. These resources include oil (Niger Delta), mineral resources (DRC), agricultural land (Zimbabwe) and cocoa (Ivory Coast). A standpoint of this paper is that land reform is, in terms of nation-building, a catalyst for uniting the populace or citizenry in the beneficiation of natural resources, particularly through addressing the colonial imbalances of a racially structured ownership that led to inequality. According to Kariuki:

> The mammoth expectations that these reforms will generate reconciliation, stability, nation building and economic growth on the one hand, at the same time dealing with the question of redress – injustices of land, dispossession, inequality in land ownership and its attendant poverty patterns, has proved a daunting task. (2009: 3)

This study looks at the Southern African experience. In essence, there are a lot of issues that the term 'nation-building' is and is not. What the term usually avoids is the uncomfortable reality of a great number of processes – social, cultural, institutional, intellectual, ideological and political – hiding between this easy terminology solution (Utz, 2005: 616).

Nationhood and the myth of nation: An imagined community?

Benedict Anderson's (1991) perspective of what is a nation changed the very conceptualization nationhood. His view is that nationness and nationhood are essentially cultural artefacts of a particular kind, and to fully understand them one needs to interrogate historicity of these concepts and how the meanings have changed over time (48). This precludes the idea that nations physically exist, instead they are created illusions within the minds of certain persons who share a common identity or culture. For Tom Nairn (cited in Anderson (in 1991):

> Nationalism is a pathology of modern developmental history as inescapable as neurosis in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity attaching to it, a similar built-in capacity for descent into dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world and is largely incurable.

According to both these academics, nationalism is an illusion that satisfies groups of people's need to feel that they belong, and that they also share distinct characteristics and culture that are unlike any other grouping of people. Anderson notes that nationness and nationhood are imagined since the members of even small nations will never know or meet every one of their peers, but in each of their minds there is the image of a shared community (Anderson; 1991:49).

The major hurdle facing emerging post-colonial states, is the interpretation of national identity.

Mary Fulbrook (1997: 73) argues that 'nations themselves are a myth. There is no such real entity as a nation: only a social reality, in the Durkheimian sense, when enough people are prepared to believe in the salience of a certain set of characteristics as attributes of nationhood'. The idea of a nation is thus greatly located in the national goals and priorities of both citizenship and national identity.

It is worth noting that 'dominant myths, when institutionalized, may become a matter of power, resources and ritual: a stage may come when people no longer have the belief myth, but live with the consequences' (Ibid.). In other words, political systems tend to create national consciousness on issues that are articulated, modelled and institutionalized for a particular purpose. Whilst borrowing the notion of myth, as adapted by Fulbrook, this paper is in alignment with the fact that the epistemological footing of national values and identity do change over time. Agents of political socialism such as media, schools, the family and other institutions are responsible for processes that lead to nation-building.

The sense of nationhood is more likely to occur under certain conditions than others. Anderson noted the importance of literature elites and what he called 'print capitalism'. As an example of anti-colonial nationalism, he alluded to the fact that the importance of political context and struggle based on perceived interests in opposition to others might shape nationhood direction. In this regard, the experiences of the struggle for equality, justice and independence were uniform to certain classes and groups of people affected in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. But the reality of advancing land reform from a perceived political myth to a solid advance towards building nationhood has been received and articulated differently within the these three countries. Nation-building is not just a post-colonial story but an inevitable process of shaping a glorious future for the people, it is not a once-off process but rather requires the inclusion of other strong principles – in this case citizenship, and the material aspect of land, here – to make it a hybrid process or national project with sustainable support elements.

Citizenship and its historical development in Africa

It is impossible to study citizenship in Africa without revisiting the continent's colonial history. The conceptualization of citizenship in Africa is intricately intertwined in colonial history and the post-colonial struggle. The disparity in definitions on what citizenship means to different countries also leads to how it informs a nation-building agenda. In liberal thought, citizenship is a status that entitles individuals to a specific set of universal rights granted by the government of the day, and it is assumed that these citizens act rationally to advance their own interests. Donald Horowitz (1985) states that the citizen in the first instance should not be understood as a type of person but as a position in the set of formal relations that are described by democratic sovereignty. From these definitions it can be noted that citizenship entails formal rights and that these rights are obtained through a relationship with the state. In legal terms, however, citizenship is the status conferred upon individual persons by a state under certain conditions that enables them to enjoy certain rights and freedoms within the states jurisdiction, this relationship also entitles this individual to protection by the state and also prosecution by the state for violation of laws and statutes. Citizenship is collective and relational and it designates a mutual, reciprocal recognition of categories of persons and institutions of authority (Lund, 2011).

John Locke, eighteenth-century English political philosopher, conceived of citizenship differently, for he noted that it is inextricably tied to consent, whether consent is tacit or express:

> A citizen is one who consents with others to form a polity whereby one secures the rights originally granted by the state of nature and subsequently endangered by man's use of his rights to the detriment of the rights of others.

According to Locke, citizenship cannot exist without consent on the part of the ruled to be ruled. Hence, it can only begin only when a person has the legal ability to consent to any form of contract. This is usually at the age of 16 or 18; in some countries it is 21. This brings forth the following the question: Are we only citizens when we join a formal relationship with the state or is citizenship appointed at birth? Locke's view is fundamental to addressing questions of citizenship, for consent rests with the parent(s) who register your birth.

At independence, African countries had land rights that were tied to ethnic identity. Discussing citizenship in Africa is thus very much tied to how individuals identify their relationship with the state. Mahmood Mamdani (2002) states that colonialism was the dividing line between the indigenous and non-indigenous and therefore ancestry became the basis for some rights. Colonialism saw the displacement of large numbers of people away from what they had valued the most, their land. While the questions surrounding land remain unanswered, it is very difficult to speak of developing solid citizenship and nation-building in Africa.

Ethnic identity plays a major role in defining citizens of a nation–state; this however has not been without its negative side. Inter-tribal conflicts have seen one ethnic group turning on the other with unprecedented viciousness, as in the cases of Rwanda and Burundi, and, to a lesser degree, Uganda. However, Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004) argue that ethnic identities alone do not lead to such civil wars, it is rather the politicization of these differences that lead to fighting. Besides displacing large numbers of people from their ancestral lands, colonialism also created artificial borders, 'locking' different ethnic identities into place. At independence, one of the main tasks of nation-building was to create a national identity absorbed ethnic identities (Jackson and Roseberg, 1982).

Under colonialism, indigenous peoples were not recognized as full citizens and thus did not enjoy the same rights as their white masters. In Africa, black people were treated more like chattel. For example, South Africa's decentralized despotism pointed to the tyranny of the colonial state against black people (Mamdani, 1996). It eroded the sense of belonging and divided the indigenous people amongst themselves, further enabling colonial governments to maintain power and control. The main feature of this form of rule was the creation of native administrations where the state appointed Native Administrators to rule the indigenous communities. This indirect rule tapped into authoritarian possibilities into culture and ingrained it into different cultures, and it became easier to keep indigenous populations in check. Decentralized despotism led to ethnic identities becoming more pronounced and divides between indigenous people continuing to grow.

Mamdani notes that prior to independence black Africans were seen only subjects of the state. They were denied all rights and freedoms purely on the basis of race. The task after independence was thus to create citizens and not subjects. To do this, African governments had to instil in its previously disenfranchised population the idea that citizenship now tied everyone to a nation-state, regardless of their ethnic identity. Uniting people that had been divided by, in some cases, centuries of reinforced tyranny and separation was an arduous task for new African governments. Whereas citizenship had been used to discriminate it now had to be more encompassing, inclusive of all persons regardless of ethnic identity, social identity, membership and status.

Although citizenship in Africa remains a contested feature in terms of who should be regarded as a citizen, it is important for national governments to consider it under pre-colonial and colonial and try to enhance its modern-day application through means such as property ownership and active participation in the economy and political life of the state. It is important to look

beyond legal framework and create a socially united citizenry in the autonomy of the state. Further, Ali Mizrui and Michael Tidy (1984) state that nation-building is a challenge for Africa, as it was not part of the immediate agenda at independence.

Dual citizenship

Distributive justice in post-colonial Zimbabwe has proponents that include debates on exclusion of certain groups' citizenship through legislation. In a particular sense, Zimbabwe's debate was greatly centred on whether to allow dual citizenship. At independence, the new government had a policy of reconciliation and unity, hence ZANU(PF) avoided its abolition in 1980 to prevent conflict with the white population, most of whom were most of European or South African descent and were the country's economic backbone. However, in 1984, the government reversed its position, as it felt that it was used for convenience by non-indigenous Zimbabweans, be they local whites or black migrant workers. All were given the option of denunciating either their foreign or Zimbabwean citizenship, even if it were acquired by descent.

Sara Rich Dorman (in Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Ndhlovu, 2013: 274) argues that 'defining boundaries and meaning of citizenship are considered of paramount importance in many countries when resources diminish'. Additionally, various national projects that followed the national debate of citizenship were centred on resource ownership and allocation in Zimbabwe, chiefly land. A more stringent approach to citizenship was attained when the government embarked on the first land reform programme in 2000 and finalized the Indigenization and Empowerment Act (Chapter14.33) and the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment (General) Regulations, 2010, Statutory Instrument 21 of 2010. The policy targeted public foreign-owned companies to cede 51 per cent stake of its shares to indigenous Zimbabweans.

Case study justification

The cases chosen to illustrate the aforementioned issues are Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Land reform is a hotly contested issue – there are questions surrounding its legality, approach and even rationality. In Southern Africa in particular, the 'problem' of land reform and redistribution needs to be addressed immediately, or it will soon have a negative and long-lasting effect. If the land question remains unresolved it implies that colonial structural inequalities still persist and nothing has changed. For example, under apartheid, South Africa practiced institutionalized segregation, whereby the rights of society were all ordered in terms of race. This brought a critical state of disempowerment for the blacks, who were the majority:

> The 1913 Land Act No. 27 and the 1936 Trust and Land Act No. 18 were the main laws that sowed the seeds of discrimination. These acts reserved 87% of the land for whites, coloureds and Indians, but mostly whites. The Black South Africans, who constituted about 75% of the populations, were crowded on the 13% of land, and also segregation existed within the 13%. (Obeng-Odoom 2011:166)

A century later after the enactment of the Land Act of 1913, its effects remain and still cause conflict. The same can also be said of Zimbabwe – the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 divided the country into six regions where the natives were similarly disenfranchised. In colonial Namibia, native populations lost considerable land to white settler minorities, who ultimately owned 43 per cent of all agricultural land (Werner and Kruger, 2007).

Following the advent of democracy in South Africa, a land reform agenda was instituted and consolidated under the 1996 Constitution on the basis of a willing buyer-willing seller agreement. This approach had previously been implemented by Zimbabwe in the Lancaster House

Agreement, which was signed in December 1979. Nearly three decades later, the government implemented the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme in its place, as the first approach had not reached its intended goals. Tom Lodge (2002) mentions that elsewhere in Africa land reform had been successful, that transferring land from white settlers and giving it to black peasants made for more efficient agriculture that could support substantial rural populations (Lodge, 2002: 70-1). Research into nineteenth-century practises had shown that black farmers had been successful commercial farmers until the colonial state had prohibited them from competing with white farmers (Ibid: 70). From this premise, the matter of restitution aside, there appear to be viable economic benefits that can be realized through the land reform agenda.

SADC: Land reform, citizenship and nation-building

The advent of the twenty-first century ushered in a new sense of urgency to addressing the state of land in Southern Africa. As noted by Ben Cousins (2000), the violence of the land seizures in Zimbabwe highlighted a political problem that had parallels in Namibia and South Africa. The message in the sub-text was clear: if deliberate legal measures are not taken to achieve land reform, the people will inevitably use force to 'take back' the lands that were stolen from them during the colonial era. In this context this section explores the pressing need to address the land question. More so, it expresses how land reform is vital to the political, economic and social salience of the process of nation-building, not to mention citizenship.

Property rights, citizenship and nation-building

Being a citizen means having the entitlement to property rights according to law. Thus, when a person is given land it fulfils their right as a citizen of a certain juridical space or state. Here we reiterate Lund (2011) in stating that property and citizenship are intricately related in their composition, and that the core element is recognition. Lund also adds that the process of recognition of political identity as belonging and of claims to land and other resources as property simultaneously work to imbue the institution that provides such recognition of its authority to do so. Namibia is a case in point on how the issues of property can be complicated by existing laws dealing with land ownership. Historically, the law that applied in Namibia is that the basic constitutional protection of private property was clearly was influenced by South African Roman Dutch apartheid-era real property law. Resultantly, the constitution is silent on the protection of the various kinds of communal property rights held by blacks (Amoo and Harring, 2005). Historically, before the Independence Constitution came into force, land in Namibia was classified as state (crown) land, communal land and private land. This classification, by and large, has been maintained. The historical classification of land is the genesis of the imbalances in land distribution and ownership in present-day Namibia. Land set aside for private ownership is still mostly owned by whites. At independence, the then Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, in his opening address to the Land Conference on Land Reform in 1991 said:

> There are about 6,292 farms. Out of these, 6,123 farms are white-owned, and cover 95 per cent of the surface area of the commercial districts (34.4 million hectares). Within this ownership category the overwhelming majority of farms belong to individual white farmers, including non-Namibians. To be more specific, a total area of 2.7 million hectares (382 farms) belong to foreign absentee farmers, that is to say 0.9 million hectares belonging to citizens from Austria, France, Italy and Switzerland, while the bulk of 1.7 million hectares is owned by South African residents. Similarly, there are individual Namibian farmers with more than two large farms, as against thousands of their landless fellow countrymen who live in squalid poverty.

At a public forum in Ngorongoro region, Tanzania, held to let women air their voices, common issues that cropped up for women food producers included the inequalities in land ownership; lack of telephone and communication infrastructure; unequal division of labour; and limited access to markets. Photo: Oxfam East Africa (

This paper argues that property rights are a major safeguard to citizenship, as the entitlement has guarantees under various bills of rights for security of tenure. For instance, Zimbabwe's Constitution Amendment Number 20 provides for property rights under Section 70, while Section 71 of the Zimbabwean Constitution, any agricultural land that was acquired under the Compulsory Land Acquisition Act 2000 from former white-owned land remains state land. The allocation of land in Zimbabwe however does not guarantee any individual private property holder status on agricultural land obtained for land settlement purposes. Section 25(7) of South Africa's Constitution provides that 'A person or community disposed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure to comparable redress'. The social contract that connects the citizen to the state by emphasizing the right to own property thus emphasizes the link between citizenship and land and political authority in society (Lund; 2011). Land thus connects property and citizenship intimately and legally. The difference in the action (or inaction) within SADC largely relates to countries having other priority issues.

Land ownership, productivity and poverty eradication

According to Christian Lund (2011), land is immediately important for the livelihoods of large populations on the African continent and thus forms the basis of the economic and social development of society. Land ownership in SADC has a special role for it enables people to be productive for the common good. Agriculture, for example, is the biggest employer within the region and making a significant contribution to the many countries' GDP. The idea of a citizen working towards the development of the state as a thriving economy is the basis of building a strong and powerful nation. The SADC Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security (2004) offered, among other programmes, increased access to agricultural inputs, land and machinery for rural farmers. Whilst this was aimed at promoting food security and nutrition, it is also worthwhile to acknowledge that it saw land reform as a key strategy to end rural poverty and create sustainable employment.

The South African land reform process has undergone two major paradigm shifts since the end of apartheid. These are targeting 'redistribution and restitution' (1996–2000) and the 'market-based approach' (beyond 2000). Initially, there was a euphoria-driven determination to address the land question, especially through the quest to correct the inequalities of apartheid. However, the best approach to its implementation has been the 'efficient approach', one that is market-driven and deemed efficient for land management. The willing buyer–willing seller model has

also been used, with Catherine Cross and Donna Hornby (2000) arguing that this model dictates that redistribution takes the form of giving subsidies to purchase land rather than direct state acquisition of large tracks of land concentrated in a few hands. Hence, the South African experience of land reform has, as viewed by Ruth Hall (2004), been as an encounter in which the state has tended to support emerging black commercial farmers rather than the rural poor. As a consequence, it speaks more to enhancing and consolidating citizenship. This is because restitution, by its very nature, deals with settling past imbalances. Promoting the rural black peasant farmers through ownership and access, increased economic participation and decisions are thus key to nation-building.

Minority rights, decision-making and equality considerations

The growing pressure for land resources has aggravated land-related conflicts and political mobilization in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Property, especially land, is about a relationship among social actions with regards to objects of value. When one group feels the other is getting more value than they should, this creates tensions that are politically costly or can result in outright acts of conflict (Lund, 2011). It is therefore important to consider land reform exercises as trying to consolidate the differences that exist amongst national minority groups for the purpose of establishing equality and participation and curbing marginalization, the end goal being nation-building and consolidating citizenship. In relation to the mining industry, the Zimbabwe Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act, besides empowering the communities within the resource-rich extractive mining areas through Community Share Ownership Trusts, also ensures that workers benefit from the Employee Share Ownership Scheme. The two systems constitute the 20 per cent of the 51 per cent that the mining companies should cede to the local indigenous Zimbabweans.

However, the effects of land reform are quite the opposite in terms of benefiting the workers on formerly white-owned commercial land. Most came from Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, largely due to the policies of the Federation between Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi). About 75 per cent of these farm workers were migrants, and their locally born descendants making up the remainder (Sachikonye 2003: 4). Unlike those descendants of migrant workers in the mining industry, the land reform actually did not empower Zimbabweans who were of foreign descent. According to Sachikonye (Ibid.: 3-4)

By year 2002, 51 000 black farmers were resettled and only 600 white farmers remained. A total of 11,5 million hectares of land changed hands within 2 and half years. However, up to 200,000 farm workers households were displaced from the acquired farms (there were an estimated 320,000 farm worker households on the farms prior to land reform).

It is evident that not all land reform programmes reach this intended goal of enhancing equality and incorporating minorities and marginalized groups. The experience of Zimbabwe therefore eventually relegated the farm workers to the peripheries of economic participation and the essential identity of being a Zimbabwean was compromised by being rendered jobless. Furthermore, in the context of other influencing processes on nation-building it brought much discord at national level. As such, Derek Heater (1999) argues on that, 'the contemporary interest in citizenship can be explained by six interlocking factors. Among these factors are the contemporary processes of globalization – localization, and the associated dynamics of increased international migrations, heightened political awareness of ethnic and cultural difference within nation-states and fragmentation of nation states on the basis of political difference'. From such circumstances, it can be argued the ruling party ZANU(PF) at time of the initial land reforms associated farm

workers with the opposition political movement. Some of the reasons given were that the farm workers were sympathizing with their (former) white employers who opposed the government's stance on land reform because it affected them economically. Many were unable to participate in national elections after dual citizenship was abolished. From this premise it can be shown that in the quest to include minority groups, some actions lead to further inequalities. Once again, there needs to be careful consideration of how any land reform process should be undertaken, for if done 'incorrectly' it can act as a deterrent to consolidating citizenship.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the relationship that exists between the twenty-first century land reform agenda in Southern Africa and the bid to consolidate citizenship and nation-building. The land reform and redistribution exercise is a potentially explosive topic and has been greatly criticized by the international community at large. Despite this, little has been done to establish how the various land reform processes in Southern Africa are being undertaken to create nations rather than states, and to address past wrongs and to create active citizens who can contribute to development. South Africa still has the most unequal land distribution in Africa, Zimbabwe has had a fast-track land reform and Namibia is still in its early stages of trying to address land inequalities. It is important to note that measures are being taken to address this.

There is still a long way to go towards achieving the end goal of land equality, for few African countries have achieved equal land distribution across races and ethnic groups. With increasing urbanization, key demands by the population are oriented in the access to housing and employment. To see successful land reform and nation-building, land reform should address needs of the people for its legitimacy – the issues and problems surrounding it far less fixed than those of nation-building and citizenship. The World Bank considers that a land redistribution programme must consider two goals: it should be able to cater for welfare objectives through giving the poor access to land and ensure that the land be used productively. Although, land reform in Southern Africa does to a greater extent point to consolidating citizenship and nation-building, there have been negative consequences –increased inequalities, violence and negative political repercussions as well as reduction in agricultural production. It would be incorrect, however, to regard the land reform agenda in Southern Africa as an outright failure. It is a work in progress as regards achieving and consolidating citizenship and nation-building, and there is a positive relationship between the three end goals.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUTH FACILITATION & DEVELOPMENT IN CONTRIBUTING TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SADC

Bapate Ntikinca

Abstract

Youth facilitation and development is of increasing importance, particularly within developing regions in Southern Africa, as the youth are confronted with an array of socioeconomic challenges. These include, but are not limited to, unemployment, low education levels, poverty and HIV/AIDS, all of which hinder their prospects for participation in a knowledge-based society. The purpose of this paper is to explore the various ways in which youth facilitation and development in the form of volunteerism and leadership, political participation, skills development, empowerment and service programmes can build social cohesion, accelerate youth development and contribute to economic development in SADC. It focuses on the importance of youth facilitation and explores ways in which youth development and participation can provide opportunities for them to participate socially, economically and politically at a national level.

Introduction

Various legislative frameworks such as the National Youth Policy of South Africa (March 2009) and the African Youth Charter (August 2009) uphold the belief that all youth have the right to actively participate in the social, political and economic spheres of society. However, in most instances, youth in SADC face an array of socioeconomic challenges that include HIV/AIDS, poverty and unemployment, all of which hinder their prospects of joining mainstream society and improving their living conditions. In light of these problems, it is increasingly important to promote opportunities for youth participation that will contribute to human development. Youth facilitation and development programmes provide opportunities for young people to become an active part of society and play an important part in developing their communities, countries and personal wellbeing. Doing so will assist the SADC region in overcoming the difficulties that lie ahead which, among others, include high unemployment and threats to socioeconomic development.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the ways in which youth facilitation and development in the form of volunteerism and leadership, political participation, skills development, empowerment and service programmes can build social cohesion, accelerate youth development and contribute to economic development in SADC. Youth facilitation and development includes enabling young people to play a significant role in assisting and contributing towards local and national development, at the same time building their own skills, aptitudes and proficiencies. This paper concludes by looking at ways in which governments, the private sector and civil society organisations can foster youth facilitation and development in SADC.

Putting it into practice: Welcome Witboi – a former gang member from Valhalla Park, Cape Town – transformed his life to become a women's rights champion after taking part in a UK aid supported prisons project with Sonke Gender Justice. Their 'One Man Can' campaign tackles HIV and gender-based violence. Photo: Lindsay Mgbor.

The importance of youth participation

A growing proportion of the population in SADC is represented by the youth, an age group that has great potential to contribute to economic growth and development. However, they do not have much of a voice in the sphere of influence that is the public domain. Addressing the needs of the youth in this region is a serious issue, one that cannot be ignored, as this would be a squandering of human potential that would have negative and unsustainable implications for the region. Promoting youth participation is important in ensuring that the youth, as the future, are able to contribute towards national and regional public policy-making in the region.

In this regard, an important legislative framework is the African Youth Charter, for it has created a platform for states to develop policies and programmes for the development of young people. Moreover, it provides that State parties must take the necessary measures to promote active youth participation in society, to include ensuring the participation of youth in politics, parliament and other decision-making bodies. In addition, state parties should also ensure equal access for young women and men in fulfilling advocacy and civic duties. It is important though, to take into cognisance that the implementation of the former is largely dependent on the state and civil society organisations.

Expanding such opportunities for youth facilitation and leadership is fundamental for increasing opportunities for enabling youth to voice their opinions in a way that allows them to be actively responsible for their own development. Youth facilitation and development programmes offer many opportunities for youth to participate in decision-making, advocacy and planning. They also allow them to be agents of change and actors in policy implementation. Youth participation often requires some measure of student voice or youth voice, as well as youth–adult partnerships. Results are often measured by youth development goals, academic outcomes or returns on social capital and may take the form of improved civic engagement, increased rights or greater intergenerational equity (Ashford, 2007).

The socioeconomic and political context of youth in the SADC region

According to Amartya Sen (1999), 'an important priority for SADC is to address poverty, limited access to decent health facilities and services, as well as low levels of education'. The importance of this is augmented by the negative impact of such circumstances on human development and youth opportunities for building a better life. Quality education is vital for human development as it ensures that youth can be economically active and prosper, thus improving their lives and those of their families and communities. Moreover, it is important to ensure that there is a proper alignment between a country's economic needs and its education system. A better

understanding of the complex relationship between education and the labour market is necessary for meeting economic and training needs.

Youth unemployment and underemployment remain huge challenges to the overall socioeconomic development of youth and their involvement with and in mainstream society. Countless young people around the world are subjected to unacceptable working conditions and hours, often under informal and sporadic work arrangements, that consequently result in low productivity and remuneration. Access to information and communication technologies such as social media and the Internet are not as accessible to youth in the SADC – Malawi, Lesotho and Swaziland, for example – to other parts of the developing. The result could well have negative implications, such as reducing opportunities for youth to participate at a global level.

The importance of youth facilitation and development in contributing to economic development in SADC

Defining youth facilitation

Youth facilitation and development include activities that create opportunities and avenues for youth to actively participate in society in ways that will enable them to join in with tackling problems regarding development. These activities also allow young people to build up skills and experience to better their future prospects. Youth facilitation itself is a process by which youth acquire competencies and positive connections to self, others and the larger community. It also encompasses a combination of the people, support, opportunities and services that youth require to improve their overall wellbeing. Participation looks at service that is not necessarily directed towards financial gain but at personal development through acquiring knowledge and skills that will be of benefit for the future (Ashford, 2007).

'Development' can be referred to as a specified state of advancement or an event instituting a new stage in a changing context. It is a broad and complex issue that has varying definitions and often equated with economic growth and development is believed to be a situation whereby people lead long and healthy lives, have sufficient knowledge and resources for a decent living standard and are able to actively participate in societal life (UNDP, 2010).

Promoting youth facilitation and development through socioeconomic and political participation and service

This section explores the ways in which youth facilitation and development contribute to increased social, political and economic participation.

Social participation

Promoting social participation involves increasing the active engagement of young people with others around them, in their communities and in society more broadly. In so doing, this enables the youth to build connections with others and contribute to the social development and cohesion of their communities and countries (Alessi, 2004).

By undertaking voluntary activities for the benefit of others, young people mix with those they might not otherwise have met. Youth facilitation and service brings people together, opens up new associations of people and experiences and enables the marginalised and more privileged to build social bridges and forge new connections (Ibid.). Volunteering and development activities such as volunteering as part of a team, attending community development meetings or participating in mutual aid groups can further enhance this alternative form of social

capital by nurturing trust between citizens and promoting ideals of reciprocity and solidarity. In instances where youth are marginalised, for example, youth facilitation and development can promote social cohesion through the provision of opportunities for youth to work together for a common goal and create a true sense of assimilation and integration (Perold, 1993).

A youth and advocacy event in Uganda. Photo: USAID.

Political participation

The inclusion of youth in formal politics is important, particularly for SADC countries in transition, such as Malawi, Lesotho, Namibia and Tanzania. Moreover, fresh ideas and new leadership may work towards overcoming despotic and repressive political ideals, as seen in the rise in violent border tensions in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In theory, if youth are not included in policy and decision-making, democracy could be destabilized and regional conflict could rise. This is because the youth are a positive force in terms of social change that is transformative and developmental. Youth participation should not, however, be limited to involvement in youth branches and factions of political parties and elections; it should extend to encouraging young people to be active citizens who engage in civic actions. To effectively participate, young people must be given the proper tools, in the form of information and education about and access to their civil rights. These civic actions include the youth expressing their political voice, enabling them to have confidence in their ability to influence government and actively participate in politics. Civic engagement is likely to exhibit forms of social capital that are important for maintaining democracy and peaceful co-existence. Other forms of civic actions include protests and demonstrations that raise awareness on important issues without supporting the use of violence to promote political objectives (Eberly and Gal, 2006).

Another core principle is that youth political participation needs to be meaningful and effective, transcending symbolic gestures. Here, capacity development is vital, both on the collective and individual level. The capacities of organizations and the degree to which an environment enables individuals and institutions to participate in political processes must also be factored in. Interventions to assist youth should also be as youth-driven as possible. Organizations should encourage youth to participate in project management, partner with other youth-led initiatives, and facilitate youth inclusion in national and local consultation processes, including through new technological platforms. It is important to follow an approach that considers youth as change agents, as part of the solution to the regions problems.

Economic participation

Given the high levels of structural unemployment, i.e. a form of unemployment where, at a given wage, supply outweighs demand, in the SADC region, much attention needs to be paid to the potential for youth facilitation and development to increasing active participation in the economic sector.

Many youth facilitation and volunteering programmes aim at providing exposure to work environments, new skills and experience that will enhance their chances of finding decent employment. They also help to solidify emerging social networks that can be of use when looking for jobs. In other words, both have a direct and indirect prospect of increasing the ability of young people to actively participate in the economic life (United Nations Youth, 2011). It is also important to recognize that further study and research into the relationship between volunteering and service and improved employment opportunities is needed. Moreover, the specific intent and administration of such programmes is clearly important to achieving increased economic participation, and thus vigorous evaluations of national youth service programmes and other forms of youth facilitation and development programmes are, in conjunction with their impacts on economic participation through employment, further education or free enterprise, are essential for understanding how the probability of these programmes can be maximised in the SADC context.

Conclusion

Socioeconomic challenges such as poverty and unemployment inhibit the participation of youth in all developing countries. Ensuring greater youth facilitation and development will them to play a greater role in public life and also develop their aptitude and potential. This paper has looked at the various ways in which youth facilitation and development work at building cohesion and increasing youth development and their overall contribution to economic development within the SADC region. It further advocates that the youth can and should participate in three ways, through community engagement and civic action; political participation through involvement in the policy making process by forming low-level partnerships with government and state agencies; and economic participation through volunteerism and exposure to work environments. Overall, a way forward would be to foster a collective understanding of what youth participation involves and how it can be implemented. Existing and proposed participatory platforms can be strengthened by including youth in their design, implementation and the monitoring and evaluation of instruments, strategies and programmes. Youth participation can also be enhanced by improving education, updating the curriculum and building capacity. Youth-friendly information and materials can be developed with young people themselves, through traditional forms of media such as newspapers, radio and magazines, as well as Internet-based social media. Structures and mechanisms can also be created to advance youth participation and institutionalize youth participation in decision-making processes that affect young people, for example, by establishing youth advisory groups and youth networks for positive civic engagement.

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