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Abstract
ReaGilè (pronounced ‘Ree-e-gee-le’) is a Southern Sotho word meaning ‘We Have Built’. The phrase suggests dialogic praxis, negotiation, self-reliance and popular participation in the radical, humanising Freirean sense. In this paper, this term is the name of a project that brings the theme of development into sharp focus. ReaGilè are pre-fabricated, self-contained, education and entertainment complexes situated on a 400m² site at local schools or public open spaces consisting of a 60 seat cinema theatre, 30 seat computer and internet centre, community care aid centre and community policing centre. These complexes are planned to service historically under-serviced South African townships, peri-urban and rural areas and help create jobs, especially amongst the youth, women and the disabled. Based on the philosophy that money and wealth cannot be taken from the poor to give to the rich, and applying a dialogic strategic partnership co-operative model, each ReaGilè co-op will provide auditorium and computer education facilities to township and rural schools, be owned and run by 27 local community members, provide a basic salary, medical-aid and an equitable share of all distributable profits to each member/employee, give preference to women, youth and the disabled, structure prices affordable to each community, offer free sport, edutainment, community news and adverts on 5 outdoor screens and be financed through government, other grants and/or term loans. This paper outlines the ReaGilè idea and its implementation in South Africa from a community development point of view, discussing its implications both for the community services industry value chain and job-creation. It also uses the ReaGilè concept to problematise the notion of ‘development’ and of ‘youth and development’.

Keywords: Development; ReaGilè; South Africa; township; modernisation; modernisation theory; dependency theory; film; cinema; cinema complex; youth; education; job creation; film distribution; film industry; film industry value chain;

1 This study is part of a larger 5 year primary research study, the Film Cities project being carried out by the Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) at the University of Kwa Zulu-Natal. The Film Cities Project intends to study value chain networks in specific film production centres in South Africa i.e. Durban, Johannesburg (Gauteng) and Cape Town. Further information is available on the following links:
http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1080&Itemid=107
http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1077&Itemid=142
Development, Youth, and Youth and Development

The issues that are facing the youth are being ignored for eleven months of the year and only recognised on the youth month. But even on the youth month when the issues of the youth are being recognised there is a lack of seriousness about dealing with the crisis facing the current generation. There is a lot of talk and big speeches in stadiums and on TV but very little action. (Abahlali BaseMjondolo Youth League Press Statement, 2011)

The likes of McClelland (1961) and Hagen (1962) posit that so-called anti-innovation cultural traits block development. The solution, it seems, would be to instil modern values that would replace the prevailing anti-modernising ones. The communication theories of Lerner (1958), Schramm (1964) and Shannon and Weaver (1949), among others, for instance, tend to support this need to systematically diffuse societies with ‘modern values’ so as to dilute and replace anti-modern, traditionalist tendencies. To some extent, such diffusion would happen, and be measured, not just through media transmission but also media penetration. The penetration of media was also the penetration of modernity, thus also accelerating the decay of ‘tradition’. In essence, tradition was the anti-thesis of development, something that held up and blocked progress and the greater good. That is, tradition was assumed to be inefficient and somewhat chaotic, and therefore wasteful and unprofitable. Something much more efficient, planned, organised and superior had to take its place.

To unlock development potential, tradition had to be ‘innovated’. That is, modern values had to be diffused, like timely blood transfusions, from the outside to weaken the inherently wasteful, debilitating grip of anti-modernity. Rogers’ (1962, 1983) ‘diffusion of innovations’ theory is perhaps the best residue of this early thinking about the ideological nature of modernisation. Rogers arbitrarily boiled down five hundred empirical studies to five-staged divisions of the world, separated by such parameters as those more likely to quickly adopt and incorporate instruments of modernity, and those less likely to do so. At base, the modernisation paradigm deploys development in its prescriptive, lifeless sense, as if life were a mathematical equation: if this, then that. Prescription, where others are told what to do and how to do it for their supposed own good, is the modus operandi of this mode of transmitted, injected development.
To a greater extent, the core of this ‘dominant modernisation paradigm’ still remains in use today, though with some theoretical facelifts and cosmetic discursive modifications (e.g. Rogers 1976). In the greater web of international politics, of course, the modernisation development paradigm is reflected in the discourse of the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) which attempt to guide the Third World to take-off, catch-up and modernise through spreading free-market capitalism, free enterprise, liberalisation of economies, cuts in public spending, structural adjustment, the free-reining of competition, corporatisation, privatisation, and minimising state intervention as far as profits could allow. As McCracken (1991) succinctly puts it:

The liberal, market-organized economic order has a straightforward procedure. Let the old and new battle it out in the impersonal arena of open, competitive markets. If consumers, free to choose in these open and competitive markets, prefer the new, the old is forced out of the market and disappears. There is a procedure for continuous cleansing of the system as the productive resources are moved from the old to the new and better. And for this process also, the market economy can draw upon the wisdom of the entire community to sort out the new products that should prevail - and whose production will then become a claim on the economy's inevitably limited supply of productive resources. Contrast this with the process in a command economy, where a bureaucracy must make these decisions. More comfortable with old ways, the pertinent department will inevitably be skeptical of the new, and even experts are often off target in judging what people will want to buy. These decisions are better left to the more impersonal markets.

Blocked development would hence be ‘unblocked’ by letting market forces do most of the talking. Modernisation is thus, in essence, development for profit or for the assumed greater profitable good. ‘Tradition’, on the other hand, is inefficient and chaotic, and hence anti-profit.

Modernisation, youth, development, youth and development: a critique of the glib assumptions of the South African National Youth Development Agency Act
The modernisation paradigm’s critical weakness was to fetishise modernisation itself, to the point that all else found its answer and solution in this fetish of linearity. Its raison d’être, ‘modernise or be damned’ – the so-called ‘modernisation imperative’ – had too little human content to be meaningful in human-lived contexts. That is, the paradigm seemed too cleansed of the messiness of actual lived situations to resonate with those at whom development was ‘targeted’. Through modification and face-lift, as argued, this paradigm lives on, and is exported and exchanged, in different guises. Often, however, its active presence can always be predicted by how much it fetishises and makes transparent what should be the fairly opaque notion of ‘development’. That is, it is in essence a prescription. An example would be our national laws focused on ‘development’. The ‘National Youth Development Agency Act’ of 2008, launched by South African President Jacob Zuma on Youth Day in 2009, for example, is a case in point. While sincere about engaging the present-day problems facing South African Youth, the Act still fails to problematise ‘youth’, ‘youth development’ or ‘development’ in any significant sense.

In the definition adopted by the Act, for instance, ‘youth’ simply means ‘persons between the ages of 14 and 35’. Does being of age 14 in South Africa, however, mean the same as being of age 14 in New Zealand, Canada Egypt, or Palestine? Should not being of age 35 in South Africa also imply the operation of specific constraints? The point here is that, in South Africa, as anywhere else in the world, age is not only a fully political, politicised and ideological construct; it is lived in practice. Age is not at all superficial or innocent. Rather, it is fully socialised, historicised and constrained by a constellation of complex factors and events. Suppose South Africa’s life expectancy is set at the age of 45 or 54; what, therefore, does being of the age of 35 really mean? How is it to be meaningful? What does this imply about the definition of youth, development and youth development?

At age 12 Hector Peterson (1964 - 1976) was already an adult. Clearly, the structural violence surrounding him, which touched and segregated against him even before he was born, meant that he could not be 14 or 15 before joining the protest against the imposition of Afrikaans. What therefore does ‘ages of 14 to 35’ mean? What is this definition of youth based on? Clearly, the definitions of the Youth Development Agency Act of 2008 are based
on an unproblematic, glib assumption of ‘youth’ as innocent and as growing up in an innocent world – which South Africa, or any country, is not. The Act appears to share, wittingly or not, the prescriptive, received assumptions of the modernisation paradigm which sees societies in isolation from the lived, empirical histories that shape them from day to day. For the modernisation paradigm to work, for instance, it must ceaselessly and actively sanitise everything it cannot comprehend by subsuming it under the rubric of ‘traditional’. If it is traditional, then it is anti-innovation – which means that it ought to be left behind. The reason for leaving the traditional behind, as we saw earlier, is that it is thought of as the anti-thesis of development, as something that holds up progress and leads to ‘blocked development’. Tradition is anti-profit.

The Youth Development Agency Act appears to leave behind, inexplicably, the grounding subtexts such as June 16. It is as if such notions of ‘youth’ hold up progress. While the Act does helpfully recognise ‘the heroic struggles of generations of the youth to bring about freedom and democracy in South Africa’, and also that ‘youth development is central in the reconstruction and development of South Africa’, it appears to gloss over how youth and development in South Africa specifically happen. Do youth in South Africa just become youth – just by reaching age 14 and until they are 35? What initiates youth into ‘youth-ness’ and what cuts them off from it? Surely, it cannot just be the instrumentalising evidence of their birth certificates. Does development just happen to the youth, who simply turn up to receive it or reject it? Firstly, it needs to be recognised, youth do not grow up innocently or linearly. Rather, they grow up already as part of a structure and a context, which shapes and constrains. Secondly, ignoring this context of constraints and life-chances may mean that resources for youth development are likely to be allocated prescriptively, on the superficial basis of one’s age and not on the productive evidence of empirical, lived needs for which one’s age is but a reflection.

Re-reading Dependency theory: Beyond behaviourist theories of development

One of the more relevant critiques of the behaviourist, positivist assumptions of the modernisation paradigm has been the so-called dependency theory, of whom a key theorist
is Andre Gundar Frank. For nations that underwent colonisation, the appreciation of how systematic underdevelopment happened is of historical importance. These structural constraints are often ignored by-modernisation scholars. In South Africa, for instance, it may require an understanding of how underdevelopment is closely related to the historical influx of international capital, itself tied up with the enactment of laws such as the Glen Grey Act (1894), the Land Act (1913) and those following the 1948 general election which not only legalised dehumanisation but systematised both exploitation and social and economic underdevelopment of the black majority. Andre Gundar Frank’s account of the systematically intertwined nature of development and underdevelopment, therefore, is critical in understanding the socio-economic conditions that hamper or promote the development of South Africa’s poor today.

Although slightly dated, Andre Gundar Frank’s classic analyses of development and underdevelopment still resonate with many social and economic schools of thought. Frank’s argument has, if anything, been consistent. He has argued that available mainstream theory of development is inadequate because it takes as its raison d’être the exclusive distillation of Euro-American experiences to stand for the historical experiences of the rest of the world. It is this exclusive and invented reading of the world’s economic condition that, according to Frank, is untenable. In turn, most of our theoretical categories and guides to development policy, argues Frank (1966), not only speak about development in isolation from the social and economic history of the majority of the peoples of the world, but are also yet to

2 Of this, Samir Amin (1989: 10-11) says:

The European culture that conquered the world fashioned itself in the course of a history that unfolded in two distinct time periods. Up until the Renaissance, Europe belonged to a regional tributary system that included Europeans and Arabs, Christians and Moslems. But the greater part of Europe at the time was located at the periphery of this regional system, whose center was situated around the eastern end of the Mediterranean basin. This Mediterranean system prefigures to some extent the subsequent capitalist world system. From the Renaissance on, the capitalist world system shifts its center toward the shores of the Atlantic, while the Mediterranean region becomes, in turn, the periphery. The new European culture reconstructs itself around a myth that creates opposition between an alleged European geographical continuity and the world to the South of the Mediterranean, which forms the new center/periphery boundary. The whole of Eurocentrism lies in this mythic construct.
disabuse themselves of two notions: that only the social and economic history of advanced capitalist nations merits proper, serious and rigorous study, and that modernisation should and will diffuse to non-Western societies for the developmental good of these societies. These, he says, are egregious myths. As Hettne (1990: 37) says, it is advisable not to read the history of Europe into the future of the Third World.

Frank’s analyses have led to the appreciation of a raft of critical issues in development theory. They have not only led us to appreciate what he sees as the misconceptions of capitalist economic theory, but also of the fact that capitalism is not merely an advanced stage of development (snugly located in the ‘core’ countries) but really one that actively generates and produces underdevelopment (in the world’s ‘periphery’) in equal measure – such that the metropolis continuously develops while the satellite continuously underdevelops. That is, a deep-seated inequality is at the core of the processes of development and underdevelopment. The added value of Frank’s position on development and underdevelopment is that it attempts to show that the development of underdeveloped parts of the world will not automatically be guaranteed, generated or stimulated by merely ‘diffusing’ capital, institutions and values to them from the international and national capitalist metropoles. Rather, economic development ought in fact to occur in spite of most of these relations of diffusion. It is this latter point that is of the most relevance to this paper. Development is seen as not just a linear process. It is instead, also, lateral. This paper is about a lateral process of ‘developing’ poor communities in South Africa through local innovation stimulated by local needs.

**Freirean participatory development approaches**

Participatory development happens when local actors, who daily live the lives that are supposedly in need of developing, perceive the opportunities and constraints in their world and act on these. Paulo Freire (1976) has called this the ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’, where the impetus for social action is not imported but is organic, firmly grounded to the context of the lived. Freire sees people as not only living in ‘specific situations’, but also as ‘uncompleted beings’ who are however conscious of this incompleteness and attempt ‘to be more fully human’ through a combination of thoughtful reflection and praxis. This reflection
and praxis contrasts markedly with the monologic, propagandistic model of the modernisation paradigm which attempts to convince societies that they are somehow backward and in need of developmental take-off. At the base of the pedagogy of the oppressed is *dialogue*. Dialogue means that the agenda for development is a constantly shared conversation, not a prescriptive imposition – and that the script for development is written, shaped, owned and implemented by the poor themselves. Dialogue starts not with the uninformed, blank slate assumed by diffusion theorists to constitute Third World societies, and which is then filled with well-intentioned innovation. Rather, there is no emptiness. Societies are always already in possession of life-giving knowledge, which oppressors however attempt to mute and shackle for selfish and sometimes sinister purposes.

**The ReaGilè Project**

In 2007 two South Africans, John Eschenburg and Abram Thebyane, partnered to found ReaGilè, a creative industrial project with the aim of establishing a chain of ‘community upliftment complexes’ throughout South Africa that would create sustainable jobs in urban, peri-urban and rural areas that were formerly marginalised under the economic policies of apartheid and that still remain marginalised under post-1994 modernisation policy frameworks. Prototype cinema construction began in December 2007 and was completed in 2008. A ‘strategic partnership co-operative’ business model was subsequently created for the project, based on the belief that ‘strategic partnership co-ops’ were one of the best ways to ensure sustainability and viability in the complex present-day social, political and economic climate of South Africa where much wealth and money is being made in the midst of increasing poverty, disillusionment and suffering. The first co-op was constituted and registered at CIPRO in 2008 as a test bed. Obviously, to succeed, the

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3 The high rate of youth unemployment in South Africa means that most young people – with the exception of a privileged few – are still far from attaining the skills, aptitudes, experience and opportunities needed to drive the South African economy forward. An economic glass ceiling still exists, filtering out the youth and keeping them in subordinate and semi-permanent spaces where they are more vulnerable to exploitation and dehumanisation. This national *lack* directly impedes the country’s overall economic development, imposing an ever-growing burden on the state to single-handedly provide social assistance to a large swathe of the population.
ReaGilè Project is, and will need to keep, collaborating with local, provincial and national government since funding for the co-ops is envisaged to be in the form of a government grant, loan or commercial loan and land for erecting the complexes is municipal land. Already, it seems, Johannesburg City Parks has committed full support and assistance for ReaGilè establishment.4 Approval and supply of serviced sites for the ReaGilès will follow approval of funding. In 2011, a ‘Letter of Endorsement’ by SP Mashatile, the Minister of Arts and Culture, was received.

In terms of ownership and management, ReaGilè co-ops are registered and operated in accordance with the Co-Ops Act of 2005. Each co-op is managed by 27 community members with preference being shown for women, youth and the disabled where possible. 7 founding members serve on the Board, with one member elected as chairman. Local structures and NGO’s recommend which co-op from the local community should own the local ReaGilè. In terms of uniqueness, the ReaGilè co-op is founded and established by 7 members from a local community, and has full strategic partnership support, including assistance with establishing the co-op and sourcing of funding of the purchase price, while no strategic partnership fee or other fee is paid to ReaGilè iHs Pty Ltd. As noted before, ReaGilè iHs Pty Ltd takes no profits from the ReaGilè co-op. Any single ReaGilè provides a number of services such as affordable, life-skills and entertainment hub to the community; sustainable, employment opportunities to 27 disadvantaged, local Individuals (7 founding members, plus 20 employees); local jobs during installation and construction where possible; entrepreneurial opportunities with little capital investment or prior business expertise. Hence some of the unique selling points of the ReaGilès are as follows:

1. Establishment of mini edutainment centres, within walking distance of the community.
2. Provision of affordable local entertainment and Education, with no travelling costs.
3. ReaGilès are owned, managed and staffed by members of the local community.
4. Provision of a local Community Policing Centre and Community Care Centre.

4 Personal communication with John Eschenburg, November 2011.
Furthermore, ReaGilè funding is facilitated by ReaGilè iHs Pty Ltd, which also provides free strategic partnership support, and training. That is, corporate advertisers sourced by ReaGilè iHs Pty Ltd pay for the co-op support. In general, some of the advantages and benefits of ReaGilès are that all profits generated by ReaGilè co-ops remain in the local community, that co-ops create community involvement, upliftment and buy-in, that the co-ops themselves are within easy walking distance of each client community, that the National ReaGilè Project plans to create more than 32 000 sustainable jobs in and for the disadvantaged community in South Africa, and that the venue includes state of the art audio visual systems which are of great value in a digital age for community use and for hire, among others.

On the other hand, each hosting province would put in place an assembly plant for ReaGilè complexes, employing local, skilled and unskilled workers – as well as a regional support office employing local management, technical and bookkeeping staff. With ReaGilès in place nationally, it is envisaged that South Africa would more or less benefit from:

1. the creation of thousands of sustainable cinema industry jobs for disadvantaged people, especially for the youth.
2. new cinema development in disadvantaged townships and rural areas, thus assisting emerging and established filmmakers, and strengthening the film-services industry and the film industry value chain.
3. additional community based educational facilities, thus assisting with the education of both young and old.
4. additional community based crime prevention facilities.
5. additional community based health care facilities.
6. a new revenue stream of ±R350 million per annum, to local ‘film rights holders’. Again, this would boost the economic standing of the local film industry, and especially that of emerging filmmakers.
7. new capability to provide local and international film productions to under-serviced townships.
8. a potential R4.5 billion/annum, added to entertainment industry turnover by the ReaGilè co-ops.
9. ±1200 new cinemas for ±40 million new clients, creating massive demand for local films.

The developmental focus of the ReaGilè initiative has led to a SWOT (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis (see Appendix) that ensures planning for maximum
feasibility and sustainability. The significant weakness of some developmental initiatives has, to some extent, not only been to ignore self-test and to over-value their own self-efficacy, but also to ignore certain unforeseen structural weaknesses. For ReaGilè the SWOT analysis will involve planning for the potential risk of vandalism, political in-fighting, non-commitment, corruption and competition. Rather than compete with the likes of Ster-Kinekor, Nu-metro and independent cinema, these established players will also be in a position to supply video media. There is little or no risk of attrition with shebeens and taverns since ReaGilè provides wholesome family entertainment in an alcohol-free environment. Home TV will also not compete directly with ReaGilè as the latter offers multi-choice, full surround sound, air-conditioning and increased potential for socialisation and for building community bonds as well as opening up spaces for collective community expression and engagement. Little direct competition exists as there are few initiatives of similar nature.

If ReaGilès were to be successful, each local township community, for instance, would see the building of some of the structures selected in the images below. The images also show the simple, organic process of creating ReaGilès.

Figure 1. A model view of a ReaGilè Complex. ReaGilès are located on 400m² leased land, in township residential, park or public open space. Image: Darren Eschenburg©
Figure 2. ReaGile Floorplan

Fig 2. A second model view of a ReaGilè complex, with advertising. It is envisaged that there will be one ReaGilè Complex per ±30,000 residents. Image: Darren Eschenburg©
Figure 3. A cut away view of a prototype of a ReaGilè Complex. ReaGilès are community based, prefabricated, self-contained entertainment and education centres. This model consists of a community policing centre, housing up to 4 trained reservists and potential head quarters for CPF and street patrols. There is also a community care/first aid centre and place of safety, to supplement existing government public medical health structures. There is community based business (kiosk etc.) with technical and accounting support and mentoring and full back-up. For security purposes, internal and external IP video surveillance systems for monitoring clients and public viewing areas are provided. Image: Darren Eschenburg ©

Figure 4. Inside the 30-seat computer centre. This venue includes the audio visual systems which are of great value in a digital age for education, internet literacy, community use and for hire. Image: Darren Eschenburg ©.
Figure 5: ReaGilèes are an unsurpassed recycling idea. The humble beginnings of a ReaGilè complex, housed in unique, prefabricated, container based structures. The cost of building materials is much reduced but without actually compromising on the quality of the final structure, as pictures further below will show. The cost-effective nature of ReaGilèes ensures that they are not another wasteful method of handling tax-payer rands. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©

Figure 6. Construction begins. Panels are welded together using basic welding techniques and innovative engineering ideas. Also, at the construction stage, jobs are created in the community while there is also skills transference. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©
Figure 7. Constructing the interior of a ReaGilè, including walls, ceiling and floor tiles. Insulation, padding, sound-proofing, wiring and other internal work is carried out according to the best interior industrial design specifications available at affordable, accessible cost. There are no windows. Rather, the interior will be fully air-conditioned. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©

Figure 8. Painting the exterior. The container is a very mobile piece of technology and can be transported easily from place to place. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©
Figure 9. Setting up and testing the internal structure. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©

Figure 10. Inside a ReaGilè cinema – finished interior. The seats afford comfortable seating while also having foldable panels that instantly turn the seat into a desk-and-chair for workshops, seminars and other uses. Because of the insulation, the interior is noiseless. Cool and warm air can be regulated via the environmentally-friendly air-conditioning. Cinemas like this one will screen 7 hours of educational material and 9 hours of feature films to paying clients, with enough ‘spectrum’ also available for short films and local language films. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©
Figure 11. Some pioneering audience members! The inside of a ReaGilè is surprisingly spacious, owing to the intelligent interior design. The lighting is plentiful for practical activities but can be turned off at a flick of a switch for an immediate dark theatre experience. The lights are energy-saving bulbs. At the sides and the back is the 9.2 ch surround sound system. Also at the back is the air-conditioning. Photo: Darren Eschenburg©

Figure 12. An interior view at the indoor theatre screen and auditorium. Shown here is a mini theatre stage, for live-show performances by performing arts groups as well as a video based education centre, providing life skills and availing training to the local community. This 54/60 seat cinema, within easy walking distance, and showing local language and international films, has the potential to alter the traditional value chain of the South African film industry. That is, for young South African emerging filmmakers, this exhibition site has
the potential to solve current problems of distribution. At the very least, it has the potential to create a huge demand for local films. Photo: Darren Eschenburg ©

Figure 14. ReaGilè cinema as seen from the outside, showing outdoor screens. A total of five 2.7 outdoor screens, overlooking a public viewing area/park run from 18:00 -24:00. The outside is meant to be a free public viewing area, showing sport, community news, local township-produced short films, advertising, information and HIV/AIDS awareness, and so on. It also doubles up as a community edutainment facility for the display of a range of local township produced media, with a bias towards production by community youths. Photo: Darren Eschenburg ©

Fig 16. Outside view

Recommendations
ReaGilè is not envisaged as a glib answer to South African youth in their communities in terms of supplying jobs, health, entertainment, education and crime-free environments. ReaGilè is only a fragment and a lot of work still needs to be done. In general, for sustainable integration of youth in the national development agenda, the following recommendations may be critical:

1. The first step would be to step away from failed approaches. Modernisation doctrine does not work for the Third World.

2. Deeper questions and critical thinking are needed in order for us to more effectively repurpose received ideas before we turn them into policy. Glib acceptance of definitions of youth and development are not tenable. The question ‘whose development?’ should always be posed whenever the issue of developing people comes up.

3. There is need to build developmental theory from more than one source. The views of the Abahlali Basemjondolo, for instance, are as important, if not more important, as those of the NGOs, corporates, economists, planners, law-makers and politicians. Development needs to be theorised beyond institutions. It needs to be humanised.

4. Born-in-South-Africa solutions are best for South African problems. The economic heritage of apartheid will be problematised and solved in South Africa by South Africans for South Africans.

**Conclusion**

There exists no single, definitive, theory of development. This is because development itself is only fully defined in practice by those who develop themselves, and seldom by observers and outsiders. Development is transitive in the sense that it is what one does and seldom what one has. We could do well, at this point, to remember Hettne’s (1990: 2) words that ‘There can be no fixed and final definition of development, only suggestions of what development should imply in particular contexts’ (italics in original). To a large extent, he says, development is contextually defined and open-ended, and should be constantly redefined as our understanding of the process deepens and as new problems emerge. Perhaps the biggest failure of development policy, as Turok (1987) suggests, has been the failure to develop linkages backwards and forwards. A project such as ReaGilè tries to do just that: to design and establish lateral linkages that work in spite of the capitalist prescriptions by the state. The state, while ultimately well-meaning, is still going ahead with
transplanting the seeds of the modernisation paradigm in South Africa’s post-1994 soil – seeds which, in many places around the world, have led to bitter harvests. In crafting a youth policy, the definition of who is a youth ought to recognise not just age, but how youth is produced within South Africa’s unique political economy.

One of ReaGilè’s catch phrases is BBBEE, or Be profitable, Be affordable, Be sustainable, Entertain, and Educate. ReaGilè has the potential to show the way forward for unique public-private partnership relationships that avoid the pitfalls of blind modernisation. Its stakeholder list (local municipalities, government, co-op members from the local community, film industry, schools, corporates, youths, women, NGOs, among others), for instance, shows a unique network of equally linked relationships. The network itself could be as follows: local municipality or school provides a 400M² serviced site; government (CIS/NEF) provides a Purchase Loan/Grant to each Co-Op; Co-Op Members contribute 10 percent and ‘sweat equity’; the Department of Basic Education may sponsor community school attendance at curriculum based films, training sessions and computer training courses presented during school hours from 8 to 2p.m in each ReaGilè complex; the film industry supplies affordable international and local language films and creates and supplies South African curriculum based educational films; co-ops pay film copyright holders R50/hour to flight educational and feature films thus contributing R350M per annum to South African film industry; and, finally, ReaGilè iHs Pty Ltd supplies the ReaGilè Complexes at cost, including free technical and strategic support plus 10 percent of advertising revenue. Of course, for ReaGilè, there are still many risks in this unique network. Risks prior to start-up include delays by national government to assist, co-operate and buy-in to the project, authorisation of suitable park or public open space (as pointed out earlier, the city of Johannesburg has seemingly already committed), and timeous authorisation of delivery of services to each site by the municipality. After start-up, risks include the inability of communities to support a co-op due to economic conditions, loss of business due to damage by natural disasters, theft or fire etc (mitigated by comprehensive insurance and strategic partnership support). As such, continued reinvention of this development model to tweak and resolve the risks and threats remains imperative.
There are, and will be, no easy answers to South Africa’s developmental problems with regards to the youth. The worst solution, arguably, would be to keep returning to failed approaches such as modernisation. Borrowing, for instance, the often high-sounding but also clichéd ideas and language for youth development from initiatives such as the Lisbon strategy5 or even its supposed predecessor, EU 2020,6 is not likely to do Africa any long term developmental favours, even at the same time that an artificially enforced autarky is not likely bear much fruit either. The answer is perhaps to be found somewhere in between. However, that balance or in-betweenness should be on the terms dictated by the lived needs and everyday language of local youths, not a sleek importation of the still-colonial modernisation paradigm. In this paper, I have tried to propose that born-in-South-Africa initiatives such as ReaGilè promise to provide that subtle in-betweenness. As we have seen, of course, fitting youths within the national development agenda is easier said than done. Not only have envisaged national targets of halving unemployment and poverty by 2014 been off track, but continued inequality and poverty are a cause of concerning. To be sure, there are some signs of youth participation in terms of an integrated national youth development agenda. But there is not enough or consistent support in terms of political will to sustain born-in-South-Africa solutions such as ReaGilè. Solving the heritage of apartheid will mean mainstreaming youth in core national policies. This goal is however still hopelessly under-realised. Furthermore, there is need to move away from monolithic ‘youth policy for all’ and to try to understand how youth use development support in ways that exceed the goals of such over-arching youth policies. While the building of an enabling environment, closely related to general developmental and social cohesion issues is critical, it should not be a matter of clever language and verbiage but of concerted, people-centred action.

5 The Lisbon strategy (2000) is/was a plan for making the EU ‘the world’s most competitive economy’.

6 Europe 2020 is a strategy proposed by the European Commission in 2010 for ‘reviving’ the economy of the European Union
REFERENCES


**APPENDIX**

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<th>INTERNAL FOCUS</th>
<th>STRENGTHS</th>
<th>WEAKNESSES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources (assets, finance)</td>
<td>Funding available from Government</td>
<td>Potential Vandalism impact</td>
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<tr>
<td>Products, brands and markets</td>
<td>Internal organisation</td>
<td>Returns to stakeholders (debt and equity)</td>
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<td>Operating systems. (production/distribution)</td>
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**Agencies till 2015.** Comprehensive insurance on all assets. Create and maintain a strong brand. No competitors offering similar services in the community. Audio/Visual and Computer Systems are tried and tested industry standards. Dedicated owners and Management team. Bookkeeper from ReaGilè iHs (Pty) Ltd. EFT Only Bank Account (3 Signatories) Profitable business from day one. Term Loans managed by Bookkeeper. All Staff Members dependent on profit.

**Political in-fighting.** Other poorly run ReaGilè Co-ops may damage the brand. Dependency on electricity. Generator expensive to run. Member’s Initial lack of business & financial skills. Poor support by community may threaten viability.

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<th>EXTERNAL FOCUS</th>
<th>OPPORTUNITIES</th>
<th>THREATS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competence profile of the company’s industry and outside industry:</td>
<td>Massive demand for employment in the townships.</td>
<td>Lack of Government Buy-In</td>
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<td>The fit of the company in its own industry</td>
<td>Current downturn ensures quality staff.</td>
<td>Competitors entering market</td>
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<tr>
<td>The fit of the company with other industries</td>
<td>Strong support available from ReaGilè iHs (Pty) Ltd ensures success.</td>
<td>May be perceived by Shebeens etc as a competitive threat.</td>
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<td>New, Full Strategic Partnership ensures conformity, fit and success.</td>
<td>Nearby ReaGilè competition</td>
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**ReaGilè SWOT Analysis.**