

IMPROVING YOUTH LIVELIHOODS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

**A REVIEW OF POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THE LINK BETWEEN SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND ECONOMIC
WELL BEING**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The youth crisis in Africa	1
1.2 Study objectives	2
1.3 Data availability	2
1.4 Structure of the report	2
1.5 Acknowledgements	3
2. YOUTH PROGRAMMES: TYPOLOGY AND LESSONS	4
2.1 Types of interventions	4
2.2 Programme characteristics	5
2.3 Cross-cutting programmatic lessons	6
2.4 Sexual and reproductive health	10
2.5 Non-formal education	12
2.6 Vocational, life, and business skills training	13
2.7 Financial services	16
2.8 Income-generating activities and small enterprise development	18
3. INTEGRATED PROGRAMMING	20
3.1 The impact of AIDS prevention programmes in SSA	20
3.2 Conceptual issues	22
3.3 Livelihood interventions	25
3.4 Evidence	26
4. AN ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR YOUTH PROGRAMMING	29
4.1 The rationale for youth programming in SSA	29
4.2 Categorising youth	30
4.3 A general assessment framework	30
4.4 An outline assessment framework	34
5. CONCLUSION	38

ANNEXES

	Page
1. Defining youth and 'youth in especially difficult circumstances'	39
2. Youth in SSA: An overview	44
3. A typology of youth programmes	58
4. Institutional responses	62
5. Educational and training issues	67
6. Street children programmes	71
7. Youth livelihood programmes: case studies	72
8. Evaluation methodology issues	90

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The youth crisis in Africa

The protracted and deep-seated economic crisis that has afflicted almost every country in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) since the early 1980s has had a profoundly negative impact on the well being of the large majority of the population in the continent. However, young people growing up in the midst of this crisis of development have been particularly badly affected. Economic opportunities in the formal sector have contracted sharply and most youth have no alternative but to eke out an existence on small farms and the burgeoning 'popular economy'. With deepening poverty, family and other social relations have become increasingly strained.

During the 1970s and 1980s, youth did not pose a serious threat to political and social stability in most countries in SSA. Addressing the needs of disadvantaged youth was not, therefore, a high development priority for most governments and donor agencies. But, as the socio-economic situation of youth in Africa has worsened, especially during the last decade, more attention has been given to the specific problems and needs of youth. In particular, urban society in SSA is becoming increasingly criminalised with the proliferation of youth gangs. With large-scale migration, urban youth are now largely cut off from their rural roots and are falling through traditional safety nets. The link between youth and conflict in SSA has not been properly explored, but the recruitment and deployment of child soldiers has become widespread. Violence against women is endemic with disturbingly high levels of rape being reported in many countries.

African youth are also very vulnerable to HIV/AIDS, especially in the high prevalence countries. The factors that are fuelling the rapid spread of the pandemic in SSA are complex, but the general failure to change sexual behaviour is largely attributable to increasing poverty compounded by unequal gender relations. Young women in Africa have neither the economic means nor the social power (or 'agency') that would enable them to avoid high-risk sexual behaviour.

There is a growing sense of pessimism about the situation of youth in much of SSA and the scope for improving their well being. In developed industrial countries, disadvantaged youth comprise only a small minority of the total population and governments have sufficient resources to mount major support programmes. In SSA, the opposite situation prevails. Disadvantaged youth comprise a large segment of the population, public and other resources are extremely limited, and meaningful economic opportunities are generally not available for most youth, particularly in rural areas. The scale and nature of the youth problem in SSA is, therefore, fundamentally different.

The challenge is to mainstream youth in the development process. This will entail major changes to social relations, which remain strongly patriarchal and gerontocratic in most African countries. Self-evidently youth are the future of all societies, but youth have particular problems and needs. Development and poverty reduction strategies must, therefore, be youth-centred if these needs are to be adequately addressed and sustainable development is to be achieved.

1.2 Study objectives

Faced with this mounting youth crisis, it is increasingly recognised that the livelihood needs of youth in SSA must be addressed in a more comprehensive and systematic manner. The fact remains, however, that relatively little research has been undertaken that seeks to identify these needs and considers ways in which they can be met. The purpose of this study is therefore as follows:

- Develop a typology of programmes and other activities that are being used to improve youth livelihoods.
- Document the main lessons from the main types of interventions that seek to improve youth livelihoods.
- Explore the potential for youth livelihood improvement programmes (YLIP) as a means of averting risk sexual behaviour and, more generally, enabling African youth to make healthier choices.
- Develop an assessment framework that can be used to design and evaluate YLIPs, focusing in particular on contextual factors and performance indicators.

There are a variety of definitions of 'youth'. However, for the purposes of this study, youth are defined as all individuals aged between 11 and 24. Three main types of youth are delineated, namely in-school youth, out-of-school youth, and post-school youth (see annex 1).

1.3 Data availability

Three sources of information have been utilised for this study. First, a comprehensive literature review was undertaken. Second, information on youth policies and programming was requested from governments, funding agencies, and non-governmental organisations in SSA, and international NGOs in Europe and North America. Over 200 organisations were contacted. And third, a survey of British NGOs was undertaken in order to assess the extent and nature of their youth programming. A total of 25 NGOs with discrete youth programming were identified and interviewed.

1.4 Structure of the report

The report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 identifies the main types of programming in support of youth livelihoods and summarises the main lessons that can be drawn concerning the outputs and impacts of these interventions. Examples of youth projects and programmes in SSA in each of the main activity areas are presented in annex 7. Chapter 3 discusses the conceptual and operational relationships and linkages between reproductive health, enterprise and life skills programming. Finally, in Chapter 4, the outline of an assessment framework that can be used to design and evaluate youth livelihood programmes is presented.

There are a total of eight annexes. These include background information on the situation of youth in SSA, a discussion of key issues in the definition of youth and youth in especially difficult circumstances, and 18 case studies of youth programmes in SSA, which illustrate the main types of interventions and key lessons.

1.5 Acknowledgements

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2. YOUTH PROGRAMMES: TYPOLOGY AND LESSONS

2.1 Types of interventions

Youth programming can be classified into four main types of activity: supporting emotional and health needs and economic needs; capacity building/institutional development; and the promotion of broader structural change in the economic, social and political position of youth in wider society.

2.1.1 Emotional and health needs

Youth programming in SSA has concentrated very heavily on sexual and reproductive health (SRH) issues. There are four types of SRH interventions: school-based, clinical services, social marketing and mass mobilisation, and multi-service centres. SRH services cover information, education, communication, contraception, pregnancy testing, and targeted medical treatment (mainly for sexually transmitted diseases, pregnant adolescents, and young mothers and their children).

'Life-skills' programmes focus on a wide range of information and skills that are needed in order for young people to enjoy healthy and productive livelihoods and to be 'good citizens' able to participate effectively in community and national development. Basic literacy, numeracy, and management skills are typically incorporated into these programmes.

2.1.2 Economic needs

There is a wide range of programmes that directly address the economic livelihood needs of youth. These can be sub-divided into those that seek to build capabilities and assets/resources and those that purposively structure opportunities to achieve more productive economic activities.

The following programmes help to build capabilities and assets.

- Basic education: numeracy and literacy skills. Formal (return to school) and non-formal
- Training services: Vocational/technical, management, life skills, entrepreneurship,
- Financial services: credit, savings schemes, grants
- Information/advisory services: technical assistance/ extension activities
- Provision of assets: capital (equipment, buildings, vehicles), land, other inputs (materials). Individual or collective use, given or loaned for free or at a cost

The following types of programmes help to structure economic opportunities:

- Improved employment opportunities – income generation projects, co-operatives and other group enterprises, employment promotion, small enterprise development.
- Better access to resources – land, property, services, infrastructure
- Better access to markets – product, labour (employment/careers information)
- Protect and promote rights – property, employment (pay, conditions of work, job security, representation), education (access, exclusions – pregnancy, HIV), state benefits. Organising through youth organisations, trade unions, provision of information and training

Programmes that help to improve economic opportunities have traditionally focused on employment creation through new income generation activities (IGA) and enterprise development. Economic opportunities have to be identified carefully and an integrated package of services provided to assist individuals and groups to produce and market particular goods and services. However, these programmes can embrace all livelihood activities i.e. those that are market/income-related (wage labour and sale of goods and services) and non-market, subsistence activities. 'Income generation' on its own is, therefore, too narrow a focus.

2.1.3 Capacity building

Some youth programming focuses on supporting the institutional development of service delivery organisations at national, regional and local levels. This type of support does not, therefore, provide services directly to youth, but seeks to improve the capacity of other organisations to provide these services. The main type of services are financial and management and technical training.

2.1.4 Empowerment

Advocacy programmes seek to promote more far-reaching 'structural change' in order to create a more enabling environment for youth development and support for youth livelihoods. The main focus is on economic and social policies, legal reform, and efforts to change social norms. A key objective is to encourage greater youth participation in community development

2.2 Programme characteristics

2.2.1 Overall support

Despite frequent political pronouncements about the economic and social problems confronting youth in SSA, government efforts to support disadvantaged youth have remained very limited in most countries. The main reasons for this are discussed in annex 4. Among NGOs, there is also little explicit focus on supporting youth livelihoods. The main exception is 'street children', most of whom are males. Apart from providing financial support to a relatively small number of NGO projects, none

of the main donor agencies have sizeable programmes that target specific groups of disadvantaged youth. The broader objective of social sector programmes is to ensure all children receive the necessary basic health and educational services to be able to lead productive lives both as youth and adults.

Youth programming has attracted so little specific support from governments, NGOs and donors precisely because 'youth' is such an amorphous social category. On the one hand, out-of-school youth are regarded as 'children' who should be in school (even though in many countries there are not enough school places for them) and should not, as a matter of principle, be engaged in 'child labour' (although most are, in fact, economically active). They are also heavily dependent (both economically and emotionally) on their parents or other adults. Post-school youth (16-24 year olds), on the other hand, are usually subsumed into the adult population as a whole. The implicit assumption is, therefore, that post-school youth do not face any additional problems accessing the limited support services, which are available for the adult population as a whole. Nor do they have any economic and social needs that relate specifically to their age that would give them priority over and above other economically excluded and socially vulnerable groups.

The AIDS pandemic in Africa is, however, now forcing governments, NGOs and donor agencies to focus more on 'youth' as distinct social category. It is now widely accepted that the vulnerability of young people, and especially young women, to HIV/AIDS threatens to undermine the entire development process in high prevalence countries. Thus, until the pandemic is contained, preventing infection among young people is critically important. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, this will require a complete re-appraisal of both government and donor policies and programmes concerning youth. In particular, because health education is unlikely, on its own, to lead to the required changes in sexual behaviour among impoverished youth, more integrated programming is urgently needed in order to tackle the causes of the AIDS pandemic in a more systematic and holistic manner.

2.2.2 Programme heterogeneity

What is particularly noticeable about the case study programmes that are presented in Annex 7 is that every programme has its own unique combination of objectives, inputs and outputs which, to a large extent, is a reflection of the size and heterogeneity of the youth population in SSA. This diversity seriously limits the extent to which it is possible to develop a common assessment framework, which can be used in the design and evaluation of youth programmes. To reiterate, youth is as heterogeneous in its composition as the population as a whole and youth programming is characterised by myriad permutations of target groups, objectives, and specific interventions.

2.3 Crosscutting programmatic lessons

The development of a national strategy for improving youth livelihoods must draw on the lessons that have been learned in the design and delivery of youth programmes. Many of these lessons relate to specific types of intervention (vocational training, micro-finance, etc), but there are some important lessons that apply to all youth

programming in SSA. The following discussion first summarises these crosscutting lessons and then focuses on the main SRH and economic livelihood programmes.

The knowledge base: There is a fundamental lack of information about the special characteristics and needs of disadvantaged youth in SSA, the services provided to these youth, and programme outputs and livelihood and other impacts. It is not possible, therefore, to get a clear picture of the overall level and type of services that are being provided to the main youth clientele. Furthermore, many of the services that benefit youth are not specifically targeted at youth, but are part of wider programmes of support for adult population as a whole. There is a danger, therefore, of under-estimating the overall level of support provided to youth in Africa.

Mainstreaming youth livelihood needs: The special needs of young people have not been adequately taken into account in the design and delivery of public services and other development initiatives. The generally limited involvement of youth in the design of programmes has resulted in low levels of youth participation and up-take of many services. However, in the context of both urban and rural livelihoods, it is not usually practicable to create separate youth provision of major services (for example, agricultural extension). The challenge is, therefore, to create youth-friendly services that directly address the specific needs of young people.

Successful models: There appear to be relatively few successful youth livelihood improvement programmes (YLIP) in SSA. In part, this is due to an inadequate understanding of the distinctive features of youth livelihoods. However, the additional difficulties of delivering services to youth, especially younger, out-of-school youth, is a key factor. Immaturity, inexperience, and limited livelihood autonomy affect all programmatic interventions for youth (see below). Given the highly subordinate position of most female adolescents, it is particularly difficult to target interventions at this group in a cost-effective manner. Most women are engaged in low skill survival enterprises (especially vending) where the scope for livelihood improvement is quite limited. This factor coupled with the relatively high cost and low impact of most YLIPs (especially when compared to the perceived high pay-off from basic health and basic education provision) make them unattractive choices for most governments and donor agencies.

Gender biases: There is a strong bias in favour of male youth in especially difficult circumstances in urban areas, (especially homeless street children). 'Even where opportunities are purposefully structured to engage all young people, they usually attract more boys than girls' (Mensch, 1998: 21). Consequently, young women continue to be seriously under-represented in most youth programming.

Programmatic biases: Most programmes that target younger adolescents (11-16 year olds) are concerned with promoting sexual and reproductive health. Relatively few programmes for this age group have explicit economic livelihood improvement objectives. Among adolescent girls, in particular, there has been a narrow focus on preventing pregnancy.

Supporting the most marginalised youth: Programmes for street children and other seriously disadvantaged youth are relatively costly but, generally, have had

very limited, long-term impacts on livelihoods. To be effective, a range of high-quality services has to be provided (see Annex 6).

Targeting: Given the heterogeneity of youth, beneficiaries must be carefully targeted. Poor selection procedures invariably result in programmes being ‘captured’ by non-target groups.

Capacity to respond: The lack of ‘agency’ that many youth have over their lives profoundly affects how they think about improving their own livelihoods. This is particularly the case among young married women and single adolescent women living in the parental household. In communities where the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high, this can also have a major impact in limiting opportunities for youth and households to participate in all types of programmes. More generally, the poor and especially poor women have very little available time to participate in programmes and other activities that seek to improve their livelihoods.

Government services: The poor quality of most government services is so low in many countries in SSA that most of the population, including young people, see little point in using them. As a rule, youth in SSA do not regard state institutions as being sensitive to and supportive of their most pressing needs.

Scale of interventions: Most youth programming in SSA is limited in scope with relatively small numbers of beneficiaries. With a few exceptions (for example, Kenya and South Africa), fewer than three percent of disadvantaged youth benefit from government and NGO training programmes in SSA countries.

Costs of failure: Unsuccessful programmes can cause even greater frustration and hardship among youth. Unfulfilled expectations, wasted time, and increased economic insecurity are all too common outcomes of youth programmes in SSA.

Single versus multiple interventions: Single, ‘minimalist’ interventions rarely lead to large and sustainable improvements in youth livelihoods. Youth programming is therefore becoming more complex as it is increasingly recognised that holistic, integrated approaches are needed in order to tackle the root causes of poverty and ill-health.

Institutional specialisation and networking: There has been a long running debate about the efficacy of specialist and multi-purpose organisations. Single institutions are not usually able to provide efficiently the range of specialist services that are required for integrated youth livelihood improvement programmes. With regard to entrepreneurship development, for example, Grierson and McKenzie argue that ‘integrated packages of services seldom work well, are prohibitively expensive, are extremely difficult to staff and manage, and, in any case, cannot hope to reach the huge and growing number of entrepreneurs. Cost and complexity make sustainability unlikely’ (Grierson and McKenzie, 1998:24). Closely integrated networks of different service providers must therefore be developed. However, with the possible exception of South Africa, these kinds of networks for youth livelihood programming are non-existent or poorly developed in most countries in SSA.

Family support and acceptance: Many youth programmes, especially among adolescents, have failed because they have not had the active support of parents and other household members. This is a particularly serious problem where the opportunity costs to the household of youth participation in a particular programme are relatively large and where cultural norms are challenged. Gaining the support of parents and guardians can be time-consuming and frequently entails a complex process of negotiation and compromise.

Community support and involvement: High levels of community support and involvement are crucially important, but attempting to accommodate a widely diverse range of interests can 'cripple a programme's forward motion' (Senderovitz, 1997: 20).

Economic opportunities in the popular economy: The overall potential for interventions to improve the livelihoods of disadvantaged youth is frequently quite limited. There is a marked tendency to over-estimate the scope for improving productive, independent economic activity. If anything, this has increased during the last decade with the emergence of 'private sector development' as the major long-medium term objective of economic reform programmes in SSA, particularly among donors. However, the fact remains that most informal sector activity will continue to be 'the last resort of the desperate rather than a panacea for employment problems' (ILO, 1997:65).

The impact of economic liberalisation on the informal sector is another key issue that shapes the economic opportunities available to disadvantaged youth. The evidence is fairly scanty, but what is available suggests that most survivalist micro-enterprises where youth tend to be heavily concentrated have been negatively affected by economic liberalisation. This is mainly because economic reform programmes have depressed aggregate demand (especially in urban areas), increased import competition, and generally increased levels of uncertainty. Income returns among survival enterprises are likely to have declined in most countries as a result of large influxes of new entrants unable to find wage employment in the formal sector.

Incrementalist versus transformative approaches: Faced with this situation, the response of many governments and some NGOs in SSA has been to adopt more 'transformative' approaches, which provide a critical mass of skills and resources to targeted individuals and groups that will enable them to change significantly their livelihoods. Enterprise development programmes are the archetypal intervention of this kind. With regard to poverty reduction, however, the main problem is that the resources and time needed to start viable new enterprises are usually well beyond the means of the poorest groups. Disadvantaged youth have also not been targeted because of an alleged lack of relevant experience and access to the social and economic networks needed to run successful small enterprises.

With improved understanding of the livelihood needs of the poor, the merits of more incrementalist programming are increasingly being recognised.

Youth participation and ownership: Youth must be centrally involved in the design and management of youth programmes. While this is increasingly recognised, especially by NGOs, many youth programmes are characterised by adults wanting to

help young people, but who are unwilling to relinquish control over the process. Ensuring high levels of beneficiary participation can be both costly and difficult. There is also a pervasive tendency to under-estimate the importance of external facilitators who need exceptional skills and attitudes.

Youth groups and collective action: NGOs and, to some extent, donors have been criticised for their ‘romanticisation’ of the community and over-estimating the potential for collective action to meet immediate income needs and longer term political goals. Most communities are riven with divisions and traditional structures reflect the interests of local elites. Disadvantaged youth, in particular, often lack strong economic and social bonds that form the basis for effective collective action.

Programme design and delivery: The usual lessons can be drawn concerning ‘good practice’ with respect to the planning and management of youth programmes. Poor strategic planning, target audience identification, needs assessment, and financial, physical and human resources management are endemic problems, particularly among small, poorly resourced NGOs.

Over-ambitiousness: Programme objectives tend to be too ambitious, especially given limited institutional capacity and resource availability.

SRH-livelihood integrated programmes: There is no clear understanding of the alleged synergistic benefits of SRH-livelihood programmes. Nor is there any robust evidence to show that these programmes are more effective in achieving sustainable improvements in sexual and reproductive health and, in particular, lower levels of HIV infection (see Chapter 3).

2.4 Sexual and reproductive health

Remarkably little good quality research has been done on the efficacy of SRH services for young people in Africa. Most research on SRH programming impacts has been undertaken in the United States. Evaluations from the developing world are “almost entirely lacking” (UNAIDS, 1997:22).

As elsewhere, SRH programmes for youth in SSA have focused on information, education and communication and the provision of contraceptives. HIV education programmes have strong appeal because they are relatively simple to design and implement compared to more complex integrated interventions. A key factor in school-based programmes is that there is a captive audience. Out-of-school youth are often considerably more difficult to reach.

Well-designed education programmes in supportive environments can, however, change sexual behaviour. A UNAIDS review of all published evaluations found that slightly more than 40 percent of the sexual and health education programmes had a positive impact on sexual behaviour (see UNAIDS, 1997). In Uganda, between 1989 and 1995, the proportion of women aged 15-19 reporting that they had never had sex rose from 26 percent to 46 percent. The corresponding increase among males in the same age cohort was from 31 percent to 56 percent (UNAIDS, 1998). In Senegal, the percentage of schoolboys who used a condom the last time they had casual sexual increased from ‘less than one percent’ in the mid 1980s to 67.0

percent in 1997. In Zambia, also, a sustained health education campaign among adolescents appears to have been very successful. In Lusaka, in particular, the overall prevalence rate among women has halved since 1994—from 28 percent to 14 percent (see UNAIDS, 1999c). High levels of political support and widespread community mobilisation have been key factors in all three of these success stories. However, improvements in economic well being do not appear to have played a significant role.

However, despite being widely adopted, school-based family life education programmes have been generally ineffective in SSA, mainly because the curriculum has had ‘little or no relationship to the real choices and pressures that African youth face around sexual health’ (ibid: 43). Teachers in most countries have been unable and/or unwilling to adopt the participatory, flexible teaching methodologies, which are essential for effective SRH education (see Hyde, 1999, UNICEF, 1999).

Narrowly focused, clinic-based family planning services for married women continue to predominate in most countries in SSA. Only very recently have SRH services been set-up for young unmarried women. Typically, health education programmes provided by clinics have been too didactic and often coercive, have little or no youth involvement, and generally neglect issues that youth consider relevant. Because most public services in this area are not youth-friendly, the take-up among youth has usually been very limited. As Chapman and Gordon point out, ‘reproductive health programmes have seldom been designed or implemented in ways that empower women and promote gender equity’ (Chapman and Gordon, 1998:134). Given the marked gender inequalities in sexual relations in SSA, the provision of IEC services on their own has not usually had any significant and sustained impact on sexual practice, especially among males.

Furthermore, adult attitudes to SRH services for young people remain deeply conservative throughout SSA, despite the rapid growth in unwanted pregnancies, and the STD and HIV epidemics. There is a widespread but mistaken belief among adults that the provision of SRH services leads to higher levels of sexual activity among youth.

2.4.1 Youth-centred, participatory approaches

The adoption of more innovative approaches to improve the sexual and reproductive health of youth in SSA remains limited, but some initiatives have had some positive results. It is increasingly recognised that interventions must focus on the causes and not just the symptoms of the sexual behaviour of youth. Behavioural change requires a holistic approach that is based on multiple but closely integrated interventions that directly address the developmental and social needs of youth, and not just their medical needs as has been the case in the past. The World Health Organisation’s Adolescent Health Programme is based on this premise (see WHO, 1994).

In general, it has been found that youth respond most effectively to those who are non-judgmental, confidential, knowledgeable, caring and creative and where they are encouraged to ask questions and make their own choices.

Innovative projects and programmes have been implemented in each of the four main areas of SRH activity viz. school-based, clinical services, social marketing and mass media, and outreach. Among these, outreach services are most likely to impact directly on the economic livelihoods of youth. Clinics have an important role to play, but the challenge is to reach youth before they become sexually active and need the services of clinics. It is possible to get away from the 'health clinic stigma' by providing special services for youth in appropriately designed facilities and with well trained staff whom young people trust. The fear of 'being seen' attending clinics and lack of confidentiality are major concerns among youth in SSA (see Senderowitz, 1998).

Social marketing and mass media can achieve wide coverage and are relatively cost-effective. The Ghana Mass Media Campaign, the Uganda Delivery of Improved Services Project, and the Tsa Babana Project in Botswana have been positively evaluated. The Ghana Mass Media Campaign relied mainly on television advertisements focusing on AIDS prevention messages. By the end of the one year campaign (in mid 1991), the number of sexually active 15 year olds had fallen from 44 percent to 27 percent and condom use among unmarried youth with multiple sexual partners had increased from 14 to 23 percent (see Israel and Nagano, 1998).

Worldwide, peer educators are a key element of outreach programmes. Numerous evaluations indicate that peer educators can be very effective when they are properly integrated into well-designed outreach programmes, which are culturally appropriate and community-based. Well-trained peer educators with good training materials are accepted by target audiences and are cost-effective. However, there are still relatively few successful examples of the use of peer educators in SSA. The West African Youth Initiative and CRUSH (Community Resources for Under 18s on STDs and HIV) in Kenya have both been positively evaluated (see Chege, 1996). One of the main reasons why peer education programmes have been so slow to be adopted in SSA is the widespread and persistent taboo concerning peer counselling among girls. The high turnover of peer educators is another major problem undermining the sustainability of most programmes. There has been a trend therefore towards greater reliance on professional adult educators.

Finally, there is still a large unmet demand for contraceptives among youth in most countries in SSA (see Annex 2). Increasing the supply of contraceptives should therefore be a top priority.

2.5 Non-formal education

2.5.1 The need for NFE

A very high proportion of school-aged youth in SSA, particularly those who live in rural areas, have never been to school or drop-out of school before they can acquire basic literacy and numeracy skills (see annex 2). Information is scanty, but out-of-school youth in SSA have very limited access to non-formal education. Improving basic literacy and numeracy skills is a basic objective of all youth livelihood improvement programmes. It is clearly important, therefore, that the main lessons that have been learned about the efficiency and effectiveness of national and other literacy programmes are incorporated into future initiatives.

2.5.2 Literacy programmes

Dan Wagner, a leading authority on adult literacy, states that “there is virtually no evidence from developing countries that adult literacy programmes lead to actual economic improvements in the lives of program participants’ (Wagner, 1995: 342). The main problem is that most literacy programmes fail to respond directly to the learning needs of adults and young people. They are generally based on a ‘literacy comes first’ approach which is non-participatory, school-based, with a heavy reliance on a ‘primer’ for instruction. Because it implicitly assumes that illiterates are ignorant and unable therefore to lead fully productive lives, this approach has an ‘over-positive attitude towards the achievement of literacy...When it becomes clear that literacy does not bring prosperity or power this tends to undermine confidence and de-motivate learners’ (Rogers, 1994: 25). If anything, therefore, adult literacy programmes are disempowering. Low levels of learner commitment are the norm with attendance at scheduled lessons falling off very quickly. Functional literacy programmes where literacy is taught in parallel with income generating activities have also been a ‘spectacular failure’. Most income generating activities do not require literacy.

New approaches focus on the need to make literacy programmes very much more learner-centred. In particular, the normal sequence of acquiring literacy skills and then using these skills for specific productive activities is reversed. In the ‘literacy comes second’ approach, individuals are helped to engage in developing activities before they learn to read and write, using the skills they already possess. Literacy training is provided when and only when there is a clear demand for it. In other words, literacy needs are directly related to definite learning opportunities that are context-dependent. This new approach is therefore consonant with the sustainable livelihoods approach in that the starting point is to build incrementally on what people already have in the way of capabilities and assets (see Chapter 4). Learners who participate in Actionaid’s REFLECT programme develop their own learning materials based on their learning needs. Consequently, their literacy becomes a form of empowerment (see Actionaid, 1998).

2.6 Vocational, life, and business skills training

2.6.1 The scale of training activities

The provision of training services for disadvantaged youth has been too limited in most countries in SSA to have any significant impact on youth livelihoods. The national network of youth polytechnics in Kenya is one of the best known examples of government-sponsored training provision for youth in SSA. However, they have never catered for more than seven percent of all primary school leavers. The South African government has ambitious plans to expand youth and community colleges and create a coherent national qualification framework. In other countries too (for example, Malawi and Zambia), governments want to establish large networks of multi-service youth centres, but do not have the resources to do this (see Governments of Malawi and Zambia, 1997).

Given the very limited resources available for training, governments have, for understandable reasons, concentrated on training high and middle level personnel for both the public and private sectors. The main beneficiaries have, therefore, been male secondary school leavers who have managed to find a place at one of these institutions. Many public sector training institutions in SSA have been or are currently being privatised as part of concerted efforts to reduce government responsibility for vocational education and training. This is likely to further restrict the access of the poor to training services.

Most youth training projects in SSA have relatively few participants (typically less than 100 at any one time). There has been a general failure to scale-up pilot training projects and significantly reduce initial training costs. Other providers are also downsizing their training services for disadvantaged youth because of declining external funding and, in some cases, lack of demand for the training courses that are on offer. NGO training services for youth in urban areas are generally very limited.

2.6.2 Forms of training provision

The relatively few government and NGO formal training institutions for disadvantaged youth in SSA have been frequently criticised for providing long term, pre-employment vocational training courses in a fairly narrow range of traditional, male-dominated artisan trades with little or no business/enterprise and life skills training. These training services are invariably 'captured' by relatively well-qualified school leavers and there are strong pressures to offer nationally accredited qualifications. The quality of training is usually poor due mainly to serious shortages of well-trained and experienced instructors, a general lack of funding for equipment and materials, and limited scope for on the job training placements in local enterprises. Despite seriously inadequate resourcing, costs per trainee are often high as a result of small enrolments on long courses and low completion rates. There is usually limited job creation which, in large part, is due to poor training needs assessments and the absence of follow-up training and the provision of other services, in particular credit.

As with micro-finance, NGOs have tended to adopt a minimalist training approach based on the rationale that skills must be immediately applicable to the poor for income generation activities. Consequently, the duration of training must be as short as possible. In a review of NGO training projects in six countries in Africa and Asia, Leach found that vocational and business training prior to the provision of credit is essential, but that the initial post-training increases in income that have occurred have not been sustained over longer periods. Consequently, short, one-off training courses are not usually effective (Leach, 1999).

Training needs assessment. While it is widely recognised that training must be 'demand-driven', proper training needs assessments are rarely undertaken in SSA countries. Proponents of the 'labour market analysis' approach argue that training needs can be identified using simple labour market signals or indicators. However, the information requirements of market-driven planning methodologies are, in fact, considerably greater than those of discredited central planning techniques.

Training needs can only be properly assessed as part of a much wider ranging livelihood needs analysis which identifies the services that are required to achieve improvements in the capabilities, assets and other income earning opportunities of precisely delineated target groups of youth. This requires a high level of analytical skills. Regular tracer surveys of the beneficiaries of training courses are essential. They are rarely undertaken however and, even when they are, their findings are generally invalidated by low response rates.

Training for self-employment: Given the limited capabilities of out-of-school youth, additional training for self-employment is nearly always necessary. However, training on its own rarely results in viable self-employment. In Nigeria, for example, by the early 1990s, only two percent of the 100,000 apprentices trained through the government's Open Apprenticeship Scheme had managed to start their own businesses mainly because of the high cost of equipment (see Gallagher and Yunusa, 1996). Very few government training institutions in SSA have managed to provide conventional training services to out-of-school youth.

Educational background: The limited educational attainment of most disadvantaged youth seriously affects their trainability. Consequently, literacy and numeracy training are also usually needed.

Gender: Research shows that poor women in most developing countries are usually most interested in skills training that meets their own 'practical gender needs' as opposed to longer term 'strategic gender needs'. As a result most training for young women in SSA has been closely related to gender-stereotyped tasks and occupations.

Youth training in the formal sector: Most of the most successful models of youth training in the industrialised and semi-industrial economies have limited relevance to SSA. This is because major reliance is placed on training placements in formal sector enterprises (see Gallart, 1999). The formal sector is too small in most SSA countries to be able to support a sizeable youth training programme of this kind. Conventional apprenticeship programmes have collapsed in most countries.

Apprenticeship in the popular economy: The training capacity of the informal sector is generally over-estimated. Traditional apprenticeships are widespread in much of West Africa, but are much less common in the rest of SSA.

Cost recovery and income generation: Low levels of demand for training among micro-enterprise operators coupled with usually minimal ability to pay limit the scope for cost recovery among disadvantaged youth. The potential for income generation by training institutions from the sale of products and services is also seriously over-estimated. Most short duration NGO training activities are not amenable to this kind of activity. The Brigades in Botswana are widely cited as a successful form of post-school training, but they are still largely reliant on government subventions for most recurrent expenditures, including salaries.

Even very low user fees for training services drive away poor youth. In Ghana, for example, the majority of students at heavily-subsidised vocational training institutes in rural areas come from relatively well-off urban households (see Bennell, 1998).

Privatisation of training: Governments in SSA are under pressure from the World Bank and other donor agencies to reduce the share of vocational education and training institutions in public education budgets. A key objective is, therefore, to privatise the funding and provision of training services. However, the extent to which this is consistent with the provision of affordable training services for out-of-school youth and other disadvantaged groups is questionable.

Life skills: Well designed and delivered life skills training is very effective in helping young people make informed choices about their futures. Life skill courses cover orientation to the world of work, basic literacy and numeracy, social skills, and basic business management. However, trainees must have been able to decide which life skills they need and want to learn and that these skills must have immediate 'practical applications'.

2.7 Financial services

2.7.1 General lessons

A voluminous literature exists on micro-finance programming for the poor. There is general agreement that the widespread availability of micro-finance is critically important for improving the livelihoods of the poor. However, it is not a 'magic bullet' (see Buckley, 1998). The main lessons concerning micro-finance programmes are as follows:

- There is a strong tendency towards minimalist programmes targeted at women. However, other services are often required to achieve sustained increases in micro-enterprise incomes.
- The very poor have not generally benefited. While group-based lending is an effective method for disbursing credit and ensuring high repayment rates, people with no obvious source of income are often excluded. 'Self-selected groups are likely to exclude the poorest' (Johnson and Roxaly, 1997:44). The poorest are unable to avail themselves of even very small loans mainly because household opportunities for the productive use of loans are often limited, weekly meetings are too time-consuming, and repayment risks are too high.
- There is need for greater flexibility in loan sizes and repayment schedules.
- The range of activities that require low inputs and generate quick returns is usually quite small. This is likely to be the case among youth who generally have few assets and limited skills and experience.
- The need for consumption credit is greatly under-estimated. The impact of credit is invariably viewed through an 'income lens' (see Wright, 1999). However, among the poor, credit helps to reduce household vulnerability to shocks by smoothing and diversifying income sources and protecting household assets. The role of credit in providing access to education and healthcare is frequently the most valued impact.

- Achieving economies of scale is essential in order to keep delivery costs at acceptable levels. Organisational factors are of over-riding importance in enduring the cost-effectiveness of large micro-finance programmes.

2.7.2 Micro-finance for youth

The provision of micro-finance for youth in SSA remains very limited. No more than 15 youth projects with micro-finance components have been identified a part of this study. There is, however, growing interest in the role of micro-finance in improving youth livelihoods in SSA. In large part, this is because it is widely recognised that, on their own, education and training interventions do not usually lead to sustainable self-employment.

The case studies presented in Annex 7 highlight the following problems that have been encountered with micro-finance programming for youth in SSA.

Screening mechanisms: Selection procedures have generally been too lax and there has been inadequate use of savings requirements in order to screen out potential defaulters.

Peer pressure: There are additional complications with the conventional group lending approach because peer pressure is likely to be less strong, especially among marginalised youth (with weak socialisation). The commitment to repay can also be lower among younger women who may leave the group to get married.

Control over loan use: The lack of control of loans by youth borrowers has been a major issue. Given their subordinate position in most households, they are under strong pressure to relinquish control of loans to adult members. Research shows that control over loans given to women or youth is more likely to be retained when the size of the loan is relatively small (in relation to overall household income) and when it is based on activities that do not challenge notions of traditional or appropriate work. The need for close parental and community involvement is crucial.

Credit-only interventions: In reviewing the performance of youth credit projects world-wide, Marcus concludes that 'simply providing loans or savings facilities to children and young people is not particularly effective; more than adults they may need training in how to make best use of the money' (Save the Children, 1998:32). Most of the youth credit programmes in SSA recognise the need for an integrated approach, but providing the range of services required imposes major demands on organisations and seriously reduces the number of participants.

Youth demand for micro-finance: Youth in certain situations are reluctant to borrow money. In South Africa, for example, the Centre for Opportunity Development has operated multiple enterprise development programmes for youth in the Western Cape and Northern Province. However, 'not many loans have been facilitated for clients to date, through no lack of trying' (Woolley, 1998:2).

Professional expertise: The lack of appropriate technical expertise has been a key issue in a number of projects, which has resulted in basic mistakes in project design and implementation.

Age limit: Legal problems with youth who are under 18 do not appear to have been a serious constraint.

Group based lending. In well-designed projects, groups have been very successful and have 'taken on a life of their own'. Weekly meetings provide key support for participants but are time-consuming.

Loan size: Loans are usually too small.

Programme size. The number of participants in youth-oriented micro-finance programmes tends to be small

2.8 Income-generating activities and small enterprise development

More research is needed in order to assess how small enterprise/industry development organisations have responded to the particular needs of youth. A notable example is the NTSIKA enterprise promotion agency in South Africa. However, there appear to be relatively few well-developed income generation and enterprise development programmes specifically for youth in SSA. Where they do exist, participants are relatively well educated, numbers tend to be small, unit costs are high, and outcomes very mixed.

Equity-efficiency trade-offs are also particularly acute with respect to small enterprise development programmes. Most disadvantaged youth deserve to be supported. However, their potential to become successful entrepreneurs is likely to be less than better-educated and trained youth and adults with relatively large asset portfolios and wider social and economic networks. There are usually much better qualified candidates for these programmes who are older with relevant experience and relatively well educated.

Most disadvantaged youth in SSA in the rural areas are already participating in a small enterprise, namely the family farm along with other income generating, non-farm activities. The priority is to ensure that, where appropriate, targeted support is provided to these youth as part of rural development programmes.

2.8.1 Demand-driven programmes

Youth enterprise development programmes must be rooted in the realities of small enterprises. However, while paying lip service to ensuring that service provision is demand-driven, many programmes are, in fact, still strongly supply-driven. Potential entrepreneurs are selected, trained, asked to develop a business plan, and provided with financial and other post-training support. These programmes tend to ignore the needs of new and existing entrepreneurs who, more than anything, want 'quick, short-term, specialised services that are tailored to their immediate needs' (Grierson, 1996: 72). Income generation activities frequently fail because they are based on a 'low-level, standardised package of services' (ibid).

A key lesson is therefore that enterprise development programmes should re-orient their basic service philosophies away from the 'beneficiary' to the 'client'. This helps

to ensure that only appropriate, truly useful services are provided and gives the client the opportunity to choose or influence the services that s/he receives.

2.8.2 Private sector and community involvement

Community involvement in youth enterprise programmes in SSA has been fairly limited in most countries. Greater efforts should be made to mobilise expertise and resources from private sector and the community at large in support of enterprise development. Mentoring schemes have a particularly important role to play.

In most countries, corporate involvement in and/or support for youth programmes has been limited. Unilever has used young people to market its products in the informal sector in Zambia (personal communication, Jamie Schnurr).

Projects that have successfully combined training with income earning activities on a sustainable basis are rare, but the opportunity to 'earn as you learn' is attractive to disadvantaged youth. This type of activity can also serve as a means to 'capture' adolescent girls and introduce them to a wider range of social possibilities. Centre-based income generation activities for adolescent girls have to be carefully chosen so that they do not compromise their social status and adversely affect their household work activities.

3. INTEGRATED PROGRAMMING

This chapter explores the benefits of formally linking or integrating SRH objectives with livelihood improvement interventions. As noted earlier, there is rapidly growing interest in the potential of 'integrated programmes' in reducing risky sexual behaviour in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in SSA. 'Preventive health information, HIV education and empowerment are some key components of HIV/AIDS strategies. Linking these strategies with group lending produces an effective combined intervention approach' (USAID, 2000:1). However, no hard evidence has yet been produced on the performance of integrated programmes, which could be used to substantiate assertions of this kind.

From the outset, it is important to emphasise that SRH objectives can be integrated not just with mainstream programmes that target economic needs, but also emotional, social and political livelihood needs. This includes social/recreational, cultural and political activities.

Integrated programmes have a long history in development theory and practice. For example, Integrated Agricultural Development Programmes were introduced in many developing countries during the 1970s. The well-documented lessons from these programmes should, therefore, be carefully re-visited. The first generation of integrated programmes has been replaced with simpler, single intervention programmes, although these still often have multiple economic and social objectives. The emphasis that is now placed on primary education is a noticeable example. Investing in primary education will, it is argued, result in lower population growth, better nutrition, female empowerment, higher productivity, and improved political/community participation. Consequently, more explicit links with other programmes are less necessary. Crucially, however, there is no evidence that shows a strong causal relationship between primary education enrolment rates and lower HIV prevalence. Thus, in many countries in SSA, the expected social returns to primary education will not accrue without major changes in sexual behaviour, especially among young people.

The renewed interest in integrated (or 'linked') programming in recent years can also be attributed to a better understanding of the complexity of individual and household livelihood strategies and the multiple determinants of overall well-being. Poverty alleviation strategies must therefore be multi-dimensional in their overall approach.

3.1 The impact of AIDS prevention programmes in SSA

With some notable exceptions, efforts to stem the AIDS pandemic in SSA have not been successful. Relatively little research has been undertaken that systematically analyses the reasons for this limited impact.

The key (albeit usually implicit) proposition that underpins integrated programmes is that, on their own, conventional SRH promotion activities are not sufficient to achieve major changes in sexual behaviour among African youth. However, it is important to emphasise that the size and related resourcing of SRH programmes is still very limited in many countries in SSA. The very strong excess demand that exists for contraceptives, especially among youth, is indicative of major shortfalls in the

coverage of SRH programming. Furthermore, not all SRH interventions in SSA have been unsuccessful. Integrated programmes may indeed be more attractive to youth because they offer useful economic and other services, but the fact remains that this type of intervention is relatively very costly. Thus, it is quite possible that well-designed, national SRH programmes could have greater impacts on sexual behaviour as well as being more cost-effective than integrated programming activities.

3.1.1 HIV education programmes

'Most HIV intervention programmes have been based on the assumption that giving correct information about transmission and prevention will lead to behavioural change. Yet research has shown numerous times that education alone is not sufficient to induce behavioural change among most individuals' (UNAIDS, 1999:1). This is because sexual behaviours are powerfully shaped by a range of socio-economic, cultural and other contextual variables.

Education programmes are based on psychological models of individual behaviour change with a strong focus on the cognitive level. They tend therefore to ignore the interactive relationship of sexual behaviour in its social, cultural and economic dimensions. These models also assume a high degree of individual agency i.e. most behaviour is intentional and under volitional control. However, this is often not the case among the most vulnerable groups of youth (especially young women), in SSA.

While individual approaches have had some positive impact, it is recognised that 'to stem transmission on a larger scale for longer-term maintenance of changed behaviour, community and structural level programmes are a critical component' (ibid, 7). Consequently 'AIDS interventions are moving from solely individual approaches to multi-dimensional models of community mobilisation, empowerment and structural policy interventions' (UNAIDS, 1999a: 22). In short, both individual persuasion and social enablement are essential in order to change sexual behaviour.

3.1.2 Poverty and gender relations

Specific contextual factors have undermined the overall effectiveness of HIV prevention programmes in SSA. It is clear that acute and deepening poverty, unequal gender relations, and pervasive sexual coercion are key factors. Sex relations have a strong transactional nature among a large and probably growing proportion of young people in SSA, especially in the urban slums (see annex 2). Tackling the underlying causes of poverty and patriarchy is therefore 'as much an urgent part of the HIV/STD agenda as is condom promotion and sex education' (UNAIDS, 1999:51).

Disempowered young women in SSA have to weigh up the benefits and costs of adopting safer sexual behaviours. In the context of acute poverty, daily pressures to survive can swamp the obvious longer-term benefits of not becoming infected. Given highly unequal and frequently violent gender relations, asking partners to use condoms is itself a high-risk encounter. Ultimately, therefore, reducing the risk of HIV transmission necessitates fundamental changes in the balance of power in gender

relationships. Unless attention is also paid to young men's sexuality, most efforts to help young women will be ineffective.

3.2 Conceptual issues

There has been little or no exploration of the theoretical framework, which informs integrated SRH-livelihood programming. The rationale for this type of programme derives from social, structural and environmental models of behavioural change.

3.2.1 The sexual health-livelihood link

Figure 1 presents a simple schematic model of an integrated sexual health-livelihood programme for youth. To be effective, an integrated programme that links the two types of interventions should create a synergistic interaction with greater combined benefits per unit of input compared with the benefits that accrue from unlinked interventions. The provision of services and resources that directly improve livelihoods provide the necessary incentive for individuals to participate. This in turn provides a more receptive institutional framework for SRH programmatic interventions. Certain types of livelihood programmes can also strengthen particular social processes, which can then be exploited by SRH education programmes.

3.2.2 Social, structural and environmental models

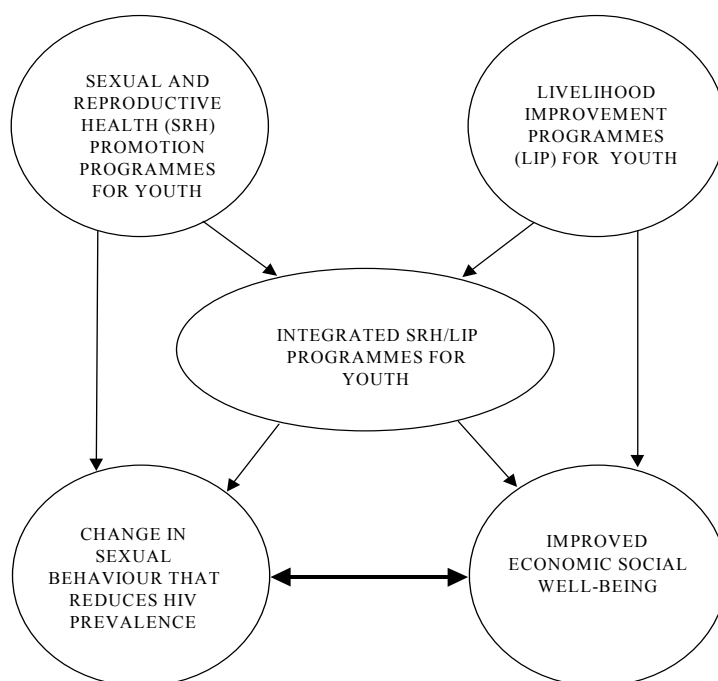
Sexual behaviour is deeply embedded in individual desires, social and cultural relationships, and environmental and economic processes. Consequently, prevention of HIV is enormously complex. A holistic approach is therefore needed that can analyse the reasons for specific sexual and related behaviours and develop packages of services needed to modify these behaviours. While reductionist approaches based on simplistic propositions are attractive, they are just as likely to aggravate rather ameliorating the situation.

The basic premise of social behavioural models is that it is the immediate peer group that an individual identifies with which has the most significant influence on her/his behaviour. Peer group norms can themselves be modified by political and community mobilisation. Peer group pressure is likely to be particularly salient among youth.

The following specific social, structural and environmental models are particularly relevant with respect to integrated programmes:

Diffusion of innovation: This theory describes the process of how an idea is disseminated and accepted by a community. It posits that people are most likely to adopt new behaviours based on favourable evaluations of the idea communicated to them by individuals in the community whom they respect. Key 'opinion leaders' can therefore play an influential role in encouraging youth to change their sexual behaviour. Getting a critical mass of opinion leaders to adopt and endorse behavioural changes is the starting point for effective programming.

Figure 1: Links between SRH and livelihood improvement programmes for youth



Social inoculation: This model focuses more on immediate pressure by peers as the main mechanism for inducing behavioural change. Commonly, youth who are slightly older than programme participants are used as peer educators.

Gender and power. Gender theories identify the principal social, cultural and economic causes of unequal gender relations and, in particular, power relations between men and women, which result in high-risk sexual behaviour. HIV education programmes at the individual level have focused on the development of negotiation and other skills. However, women in most countries in SSA have been generally unable to translate these skills into effective practice.

Empowerment: This body of theory asserts that social change happens through dialogue to build up a critical perception of the social, cultural, political and economic forces that structure reality and by taking action against forces that are oppressive. By improving individual self-esteem and confidence, feelings of powerlessness can be cast off.

Socio-economic factors: Research has shown that economic factors have a strong influence on individual sexual behaviour (Sweat, 1995). However, the nature of the link between improved (economic) well being and the prevalence of HIV has not been systematically researched in SSA. The key underlying proposition is that improvements in the livelihoods of young women can help to reduce pressures for them to buy into the 'patriarchal bargain' and thereby engage in risky sexual behaviour. Given the strongly 'transactional' nature of adolescent sexual relations in many parts of SSA, improving the economic well being of adolescent women is likely to be a key factor. This is because the economic compulsion to obtain material

benefits from sexual relationships is reduced or eliminated altogether. However, this must be combined with life skills training in order that young women also have the knowledge and negotiating skills needed to avoid risky sexual behaviour.

Among young males, improving their economic livelihoods could actually increase their capacity to engage in high-risk sexual behaviour.

3.2.3 Forms of integration

Integrated programmes can take a wide variety of forms. At one extreme, programmes can have explicit objectives concerning changes in sexual behaviour, but with little or no conventional SRH programmatic input. In other words, improved economic well-being is itself sufficient to lead to the desired changes in sexual behaviour i.e. a direct causal link exists between economic well being and undesirable sexual behaviour (see Figure 1). This is only likely to arise where material gain is the dominant motive for engaging in risky sexual behaviour. Being able therefore to identify groups of young women (and possibly young men) where this is the case is very important. In Zambia, for example, Actionaid has an income generating project with women fish traders living on the shores of Lake Kariba who regularly exchange 'sex for fish' with local fishermen (see Actionaid, 1998). Variants of this 'sex for money, money for sex' syndrome are commonly reported elsewhere.

The very rapid growth in AIDS orphans and in particular orphan-headed households will, in the absence of appropriate interventions, lead to a higher incidence of sex-for-income coping strategies. Integrated programmes that address the livelihood needs of orphans are therefore a major priority.

It seems unlikely, though, that livelihood improvement interventions for the most HIV-vulnerable youth in SSA will be sufficient on their own to reduce significantly risky sexual behaviour. Consequently, explicit SRH promotion activities will need to be formally integrated into these programmes. This is because empowerment requires a more concerted, holistic approach. How then should SRH and livelihood improvement interventions be combined? Again, there are no simple, 'cook-book' solutions. From the limited number of integrated programmes that have been implemented in SSA, two types of integration appear to be the most common.

- Relatively weak SRH orientation where SRH promotion activities are 'tagged-on' to mainstream livelihood programmes.
- Relatively strong SRH orientation with some livelihood elements incorporated in services provided mainly to attract youth to visit centre. There are two distinct ways in which the provision of a wide range of services at multi-service youth centres may change the sexual behaviour of youth. First, simply by attracting more youth to these centres, there is a greater likelihood that they will change their behaviour even though the services offered may have little or no immediate impact on their economic livelihoods. In other words, the non-SRH services that are offered essentially serve the function of 'a lost leader' that are necessary in order to attract and retain a clientele. And secondly, where the services do lead to improvements in economic livelihoods, this may positively affect sexual behaviour. However, in most programmes, livelihood support services are fairly

limited and thus it is unlikely that clients will be able to increase significantly their overall level of economic well being.

3.3 Livelihood interventions

Another key issue is the extent to which different types of livelihood improvement intervention are supportive of social and structural models of sexual behavioural change. The following three programme characteristics are likely to be particularly important:

- The degree to which the programme operates at individual or group level. Programmes that essentially deliver services on an individual basis offer few, if any, opportunities for behavioural change, which are typically associated with group-level activities.
- The time period for economic payoffs. The more immediate the economic benefits that accrue from programme participation, the greater the socio-economic impacts are likely to be on behavioural change.
- The overall impact on economic well being. Livelihood improvement programmes that successfully offer an integrated package of services are more likely to have larger and more sustainable economic benefits than single intervention programmes. However, because they are more complex, they are more prone to programme failure.

Table 1 shows how these key characteristics are related to the main types of livelihood improvement programmes. Human capital and micro and small enterprise development programmes generally deliver services at an individual level. Other programmes most notably micro-finance and social/cultural/recreational operate at the group level and therefore provide greater opportunity for behavioural change through the role of opinion leaders, peer educators and dialogue and social bonding leading to empowerment.

Proponents of more integrated approaches tend to favour micro-finance programmes based on group lending and social collateral for the following reasons:

- They are relatively simple, single livelihood interventions
- Women are relatively easy to target. Young women have much higher prevalence levels of HIV and are therefore a major priority. Small group work has also been found to be very effective among women but not heterosexual males
- They have fairly quick and often quite significant economic pay-off.

Reliance on group lending methodologies (regular meetings, group discipline, etc) facilitates more equal gender relations and social empowerment. Group lending helps to form strong social bonds, which in turn makes SRH education more effective. It is easier for group members to discuss taboo and other sensitive subjects.

The potential payoffs (with respect to changing sexual behaviour) of linking SRH promotion activities with other livelihood interventions are likely to be lower. In particular, they tend to be more individualistic, are more difficult for the very poor to access, and have longer-term economic benefits.

The SRH-livelihood link is likely to be quite different for male and female youth. As noted above, improving the economic well being of male youth without concerted SRH interventions could result in higher HIV infection rates because males have greater means to engage in risky sexual behaviour ('presents' for girlfriends, alcohol/drug consumption, services of sex workers). Among young women, however, improved economic well being is likely to reduce directly the incentives to engage in risky sexual behaviour, especially if they are unmarried. But even so, livelihood improvement programmes are, on their own, unlikely to lead to the major changes in sexual behaviour that are urgently needed.

Table 1: Characteristics of livelihoods improvement programmes

Type of programme	Client forms Individual ↔ Group	Payoff timescale Short ↔ Long	Type of intervention Single ↔ Multiple
Basic education	√		√
Vocational training	√		√
Group leading micro-finance		√	√
Social/recreational		√	√
Advocacy			√
Micro-enterprise development/IGA	√		
Small enterprise development	√		√

3.4 Evidence

Two types of evidence are of interest. First, what is the nature of the relationship between livelihood improvement and sexual behaviour? And secondly, what are the impacts of particular kinds of SRH-livelihood programmes on sexual behaviour?

There is a general 'dearth of information' on tests of relevance of behavioural change models especially in the developing country context. Moreover, very few integrated SRH-livelihood programmes have been tried in SSA. Consequently, no robust evidence yet exists that demonstrates that integrated programmes have a significant impact on reducing risky sexual behaviour and thus preventing HIV. Nor have these programmes been widely adopted in other regions. An important reason for this is that economic factors have probably been less important in the spread of HIV outside of Africa.

3.4.1 Literature review

An assessment of the relevance of the theoretical models that underpin SRH interventions has been recently undertaken by UNAIDS. Only one of the 18 programmes that had been tested systematically focused on the impact of socio-

economic factors on sexual behaviour. Similarly, among the much larger number of programmes that have targeted specific groups (women, sex workers, etc), none have explicit livelihood objectives which seek to improve the economic well-being of target groups in order to change sexual behaviour (see UNAIDS, 1999).

3.4.2 SRH-focused programmes

Senderowitz argues that multi-service youth centres (MSYCs) have been found to be effective in changing sexual behaviour, especially where a single focus on family planning for youth is not culturally acceptable. They also attract young men in ways that conventional clinical services generally fail to do so (see Senderowitz, 1998). Surveys show that MSYCs address the dominant concerns of youth, namely preparing for and finding a job. These centres can serve a variety of clientele and provide a wide range of services. For example, the main objective of the UMATI Pregnancy Dropout Programme in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania is to prevent second pregnancy among adolescent women. The following services are available: academic instruction, counselling, vocational training, health services, family planning, childcare and family life education. While the programme has been quite successful, the number of young women who can be assisted is small and the overall cost is high. This is a common finding of most evaluations. Senderowitz does not however present any hard evidence to support these claims.

There are a small number of SRH-oriented programmes that are not centre-based. For example, WHO supports a nation-wide project in Nigeria called 'Promoting health through functional literacy and inter-sectoral action'. Micro-finance is provided by the People's Bank of Nigeria, which has borrowers in over half of all villages in the country. AMREF's Kabale SRH Project in Kenya has income generating activities as a key component. Income generation is 'considered crucial for the long term sustainability of project activities' (AMREF, 1998:4), although no detailed impact evaluations appears to have been undertaken

3.4.3 Economic livelihood-focused interventions

Information on three economic livelihood programmes for youth in SSA which have attempted to incorporate SRH promotion activities are presented in Annex 7. Evidence from elsewhere is quite limited. In Bangladesh, there appears to be a strong link between the provision of micro-finance and contraceptive use among poor women (see Scholar, 1996). Evidence from Bangladesh also shows that employment of young women in rapidly expanding garments sector has delayed significantly age of marriage. However, the potential for increasing wage employment of this kind is very limited in SSA given poor international competitiveness. As part of the APE project in Cairo, monetary incentive has been provided in order to delay marriage until 18, which appears to be very effective (see Assay and Bruce, 1998).

3.4.4 Cultural and recreational programmes

Youth are highly interested in popular culture (music, dance, theatre) and sports. There is considerable scope therefore for the integration of SRH promotion activities in these types of programming. These programmes are group-based, and opinion

leaders and peer educators can play important roles. While participating youth can be empowered, there are usually no immediate economic benefits. ENDA, an NGO based in Dakar, has had considerable success in developing innovative programmes that support these aspects of youth livelihoods. The Mathare Youth Sports Association is another prominent example (see Annex 7).

4. AN ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR YOUTH PROGRAMMING

This chapter presents an assessment framework for youth programming. This is essentially a set of guidelines for programme development for improving youth livelihoods. Key issues and related hypotheses provide reference points which, collectively, serve as a framework for the systematic design and appraisal of specific programmatic interventions. These issues and hypotheses are largely based on practical lessons that can be drawn from the design and implementation of policies and programmes in this area. The starting point for programme development is therefore a sound diagnosis of the livelihood needs of target groups and an analysis of the outcomes and impacts of specific interventions (see annex 8).

Numerous lessons from programmatic interventions, both general and with respect to youth have already been presented in Chapter 2. The basic tenets of what constitutes 'good practice' in programme design and management are well known and apply for most types of programmatic interventions regardless of the group that is targeted. However, without more detailed information on key performance indicators (quality, quantity, and cost-effectiveness), it is not possible to develop a detailed assessment framework specifically for youth. Moreover, even with much better information, it will still be very difficult to draw meaningful operational generalisations because youth programmes are so diverse, both in terms of design (target groups, objectives and inputs, etc) and context. This highlights the importance of good quality action-research in designing youth programmes.

4.1. The rationale for youth programming in SSA

An assessment framework will help to establish the rationale for separate youth programming. Age-specific programmatic interventions for youth are generally well accepted for SRH, pre-employment vocational training, and cultural and recreational activities precisely because there are clearly identifiable youth-specific needs in each of these areas. However, the justification for other types of youth-specific intervention is much less clear. An assessment must be made therefore of the problems associated with including specific groups of youth in mainstream adult programmes, in particular micro-finance and micro/small enterprise development. While, in principle, inclusivity is a desirable programme characteristic, adult-dominated programmes may have negative youth-biases, which create particular barriers to entry and/or prevent youth from effectively utilising the services that are provided. Highly marginalised or distinct groups of youth such as sex workers, demobilised soldiers, youth offenders, street youth, may have psychological and social needs that necessitate separate programme provision and/or are seriously stigmatised by adults and other youth.

The case for separate youth programmes is also much stronger if they can be effectively integrated with SRH objectives to achieve programme synergy i.e. outputs/per unit cost from integrated efforts are greater than with single intervention programmes.

As noted earlier, the whole notion of 'youth livelihoods' needs to be very carefully unpacked. Youth livelihood implies economic independence, but in many contexts youth have little control over many of the key decisions that affect their economic

and social well being. It is precisely for this reason that achieving greater economic independence for women is a major objective of micro-finance and enterprise development programmes. Another key issue is what kinds of 'youth livelihoods' are acceptable, especially when they conflict with universal principles concerning 'child labour'.

4.2 Categorising youth.

The assessment framework must be based on an appropriate categorisation of youth. Youth should be divided into three main groups, namely those who are in and out of school, and those who are above school-age and who are therefore expected to be economically active members of the labour i.e. 'school-leavers'. Within each of these main categories, other key characteristics need to be taken in account, most notably, gender, marital status, location, and incidence of poverty.

4.3 A general assessment framework

The five main components of the assessment framework are presented in Figure 2. These are the overall goal and purpose of youth programmes, the overall policy environment for youth, the institutional structure, the livelihood needs of youth, and the activities and outputs of youth programmes.

4.3.1 Goals and objectives

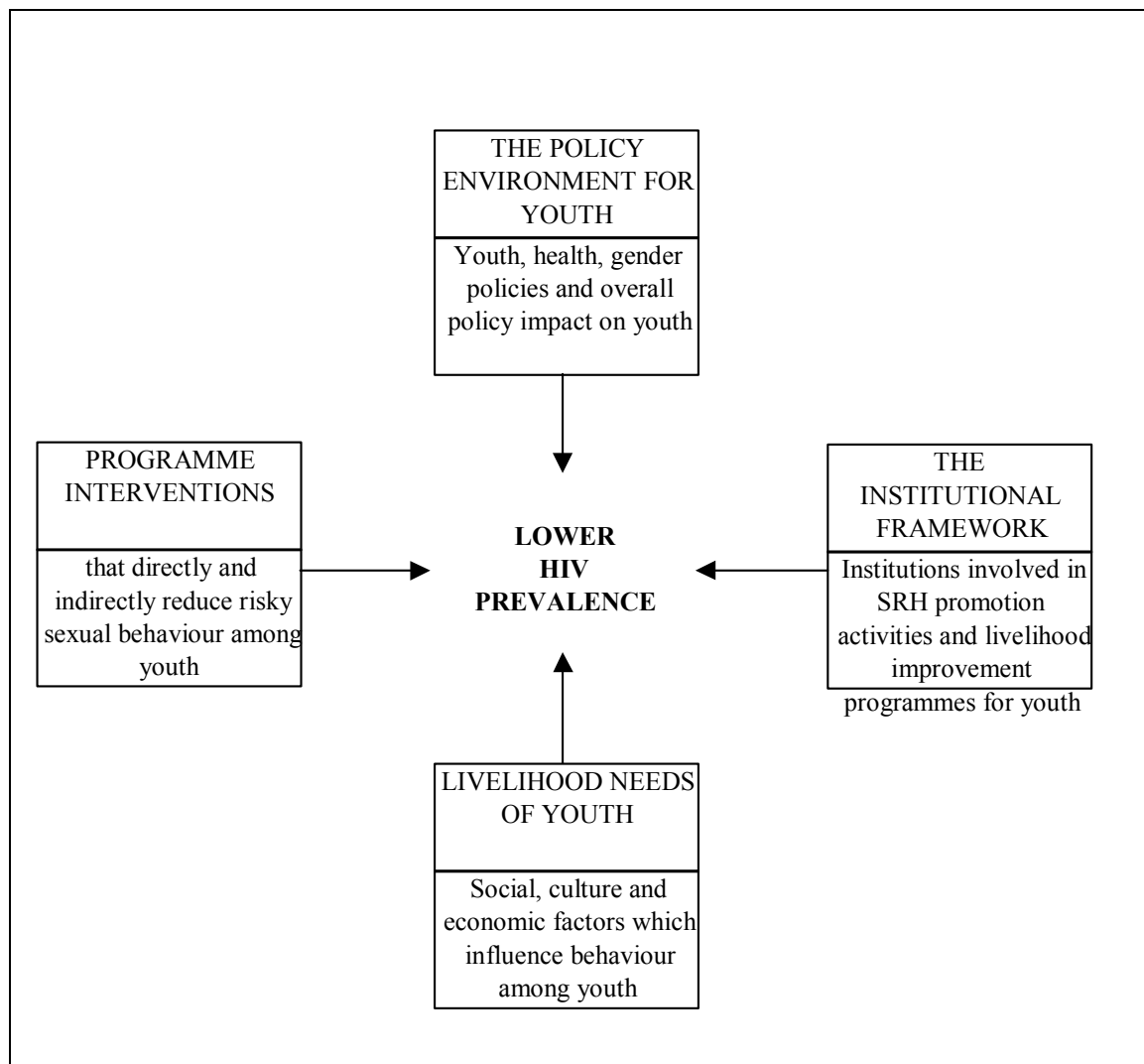
An assessment framework must be developed around a clear overall goal and purpose. Improving the livelihoods of the most disadvantaged youth in SSA is one obvious goal. However, in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in SSA, a more urgent goal in some countries is reducing HIV infection rates among youth. This is because the large majority of individuals become infected during adolescence. Consequently, achieving the necessary changes in sexual behaviour is the super-ordinate objective around which the assessment framework should be constructed.

Two sets of inter-related questions underpin this assessment framework:

- What shapes the sexual behaviour of youth? In particular, what are the livelihood contexts of specific groups of youth that lead them to engage in high-risk sexual practices?
- How can sexual behaviours among youth be changed through programmatic interventions?

If vulnerability to HIV infection among youth is now the paramount concern in SSA, then this in itself provides the justification for comprehensive programming that targets youth as long as these interventions are successful in changing their sexual behaviour. However, if changing sexual behaviour is not the main objective, then there must be other reasons why youth should be targeted (see below).

Figure 2: Diagnostic framework for reducing HIV prevalence among African youth



4.3.2 The policy environment

The key issue here is to what extent is there an effective policy framework for supporting youth livelihoods, especially for the most vulnerable (with respect to economic, social, and health objectives). This entails an analysis of the overall commitment of government and other major stakeholders to improving youth livelihoods and an assessment of policy coverage and design. The key questions that must be addressed in the assessment framework include the following:

- What are the underlying attitudes of political and social elites to youth?
- To what extent are youth treated as a distinct social category in overall economic and social development strategies?

- How are the special needs of youth identified and translated into policies and programmes? In particular, to what extent is national youth policy based on clear principles and objectives with respect to specific target groups, which are consistent with other key development/social objectives including 'child labour'.
- What are the impacts of other social and economic policies on youth? These are usually difficult to establish precisely because youth is not explicitly targeted.

4.3.3 Institutional factors

Sufficient institutional capacity has to exist in order to deliver YLIPs in an efficient and cost-effective manner. Thus, a key component of the assessment framework is the analysis of the performance of public institutions and NGOs, which are involved in supporting youth livelihoods. In particular, which programmes are well managed and what are the major reasons for this superior performance?

While complex programmes with multiple interventions are often needed, the case studies show how difficult it is to design and manage integrated youth programmes in SSA. Institutional weakness is pervasive. In the case of large micro-finance programmes, recent evidence from South Asia demonstrates that organisational factors are very important in accounting for the success of large NGO micro-finance programmes. A key lesson is therefore that social collateral lending arrangements cannot completely substitute for strong institutional capacity.

Similarly, institutional networks are seen as being indispensable in delivering a range of services for youth, but there are no such networks in SSA. As a result, organisations are obliged to provide all these services themselves, usually with a low degree of efficiency and effectiveness.

4.3.4 Youth programming activities

The assessment framework must provide a comprehensive overview of the main objectives, activities and outputs and impacts of programmatic interventions for all major groups of youth throughout each country or targeted region.

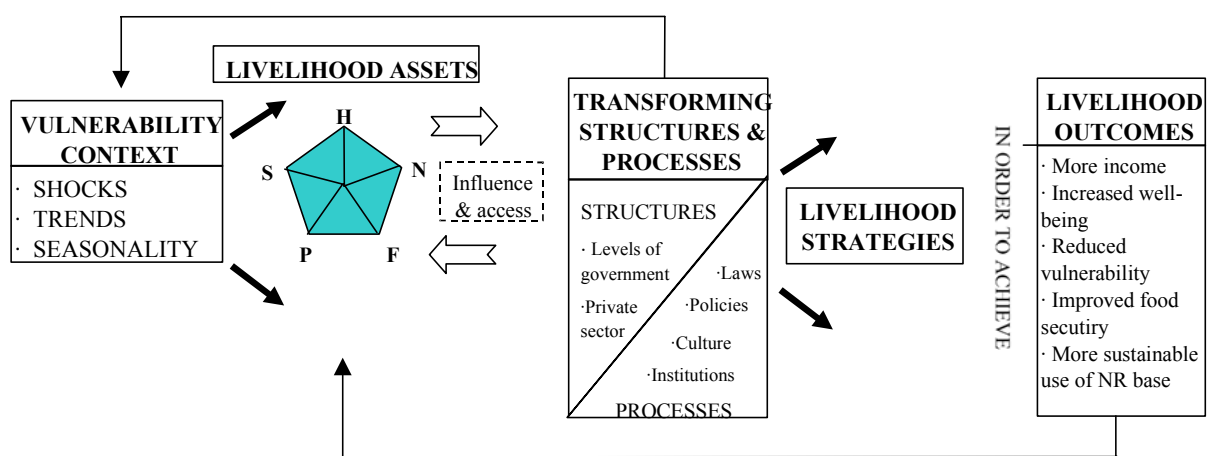
4.3.5 Youth livelihood needs

The sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) is a particularly useful conceptual framework for identifying the livelihood needs of youth. The SLA is an analytical device for improved understanding of livelihoods and poverty. A livelihood comprises 'the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future' (ODI: 1999:1). Poverty has been usually defined in relation to minimum income or consumption levels. The SLA, on the other hand, adopts a more wide-ranging definition of poverty: 'Poverty is the absence of basic capabilities to meet physical needs, and to achieve goals of participating in the life of the community and influencing decision making' (ibid). Consequently, there other key 'livelihood objectives and outcomes' such as a sense of 'voice' in the household and

community, the absence of insecurity or vulnerability, health, literacy, and education, and access to assets.

The SLA framework is presented in Figure 3. The household is the key institutional arena in which individuals pursue their livelihoods. People in households have five types of capital asset (human, financial, physical, natural, and social) which are the basic 'livelihood building blocks'. Households use these assets to pursue multiple activities. In SSA, farming on its own rarely provides sufficient means of survival and, typically, 30-50 percent of rural household income is derived from non-farm sources. Households are also multi-spatial with household members pursuing activities in a number of locations, which frequently transcend the urban-rural divide.

Figure 3: The sustainable livelihood framework



Where:

H represents **human capital**: the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies;

P represents **physical capital**: the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy and communications) and the production equipment and means that enable people to pursue livelihoods;

N represents **natural capital**;

F represents **financial capital**;

S represents **social capital**.

The SLA starts with what poor people are already doing. With the full participation of the beneficiaries themselves, the starting point of livelihood improvement programmes is to identify 'livelihood security gaps' and to exploit the resourcefulness and ingenuity of the poor and their own skills to the maximum. 'There is usually something that can be built upon, improved and left within the community's control' (CARE, 1999:4).

Transforming structures and processes shape the outcome of the livelihood strategy of each household. Programmes can attempt to modify these structures and/or help the poor engage in new economic and social activities that improve their well being.

The SLA is particularly appropriate as a framework for youth livelihoods for the following reasons:

- It is premised on the notion of individuals as social actors with an active presence of their own and considerable agency. This is in marked contrast to the traditional

policy stance, which perceives youth as ‘people in the process of becoming rather than being’ and who are therefore vulnerable, in need of adult protection and control, and generally incapable of assuming ‘adult’ responsibilities;

- It highlights the position of youth as members of households and the wider community. The underlying assumption of many youth programmes is that youth need to be assisted in order to develop more autonomous livelihoods. However, the challenge facing many youth is how they can make a more effective contribution to overall household production;
- It forms the basis for a more holistic and integrated approach for supporting youth, which precisely identifies the capabilities, assets and economic activities and opportunities among the youth population and builds on these in a realistic and sustainable manner;
- Focusing on the household production of good and services and income from wage labour is more satisfactory than the usually heavy emphasis that is given to ‘income generating activities’.

4.4 An outline assessment framework

The outline of an assessment framework for the three main categories of youth (in- and out-of-school and after-school) is presented in Figure 3. On the basis of the broad lessons that have emerged to date, each box summarises the likely impact of a specific type of programme with respect to a particular youth category. However, given the heterogeneity of youth and the diversity of contexts, this framework will have to be adapted for specific programmatic interventions.

4.4.1 School-aged youth

Among school-aged youth, the achievement of ‘education for all’ is widely regarded as the most important development objective. Supporting the livelihood needs of school-aged youth who have never been to school or who have dropped-out could however conflict with this objective mainly because improved economic well being increases the opportunity costs of attending school and thereby makes the attainment of EFA that much more difficult.

Given that most out-of-school youth are not independent economic actors, what programmatic interventions that specifically improve their livelihoods are most promising? Traditionally, only vocational training has been provided (mainly by NGOs) to post-primary school-leavers and other school dropouts in order to enable them to become economically independent. However, there is usually no immediate improvement in their livelihoods while undertaking this type of training. Indeed, given often high opportunity costs, participation in training programmes could lower the economic well being of students and their families.

Out-of-school youth who are economically independent (such as street children) are particularly difficult to target. Unmarried female youth in South Asia are not considered eligible for credit support by virtually all the large and highly successful micro-finance NGOs which target poor women (see Gomes, 1999).

Table 2: An assessment framework for youth livelihood programming

Youth category	Livelihood assets	SINGLE LIVELIHOOD INTERVENTION PROGRAMMES (LIP)							INTEGRATED LI PROGRAMMES (VT/MF/NFE)		INTEGRATED LIP/SRH PROGRAMMES
		Basic education (BE)	Non-formal basic education (NFE)	Vocational training (VT)	Micro-finance (MF)	Other assets/support	SRH education/promotion activities	Recreational/sports	Micro-enterprise development	Small-enterprise development	Numerous permutations
In-school youth (10-15 year olds)	High ↓ Low	If reasonable quality, can have high impact, especially in the medium-longer term. For poorer households, investment in BE can have negative impact in the short-term.	-	Most specialised school-based VT has low impact and is not cost-effective.	Not a realistic option given lack of livelihood autonomy, skills, experience, and time availability.	Priority is to provide support to parent(s) and other household heads of children who cannot complete 6-7 years of basic education	Low impact of family life/ health education (poor curriculum, teacher resistance and competence). Provision of other SRH services (particularly contraceptives) could have major impact if social/cultural sensitivities can be overcome.	-	Not a realistic option.	Even less of an option.	Recreation/sports linked to SRH promotion activities probably most effective.
Out-of-school youth (10-15 year olds)	High ↓ Low	For above reasons, OSY should be encouraged to return to school, but usually very difficult for the most marginalised groups (e.g. street children).	Limited demand and impact. Provision of NFE for AIDS orphans is a key issue.	Traditional pre-employment, centre-based training has low impact for OSY who are poor and have insufficient assets to be viably self-employed.	Not usually a realistic option (livelihood autonomy/adult appropriation, and viable economic opportunities where youth has comparative economic advantage).	Low impact for same reasons as micro-finance.	Some major impact with youth-friendly clinical services and has defined outreach programmes.	Potentially major livelihood impacts with high levels of cost-effectiveness. But little direct impact on economic well being.	Ditto, as above, but greater potential for youth who have livelihood autonomy, acute economic needs, and are not seriously marginalised (e.g. Orphan-headed households).	As above.	Insufficient evidence available to be able to reach robust conclusions. For male youth, however, it is especially crucial that any improvements in economic well being are accompanied by SRH promotion activities.
Post-school youth (16-24 year olds)	High ↓ Low	Not usually a desirable or feasible option.	Limited demand for literacy among poor youth especially in micro-enterprises and small holder agriculture	High impact for relatively well educated school leavers since it provides access to formal sector employment. Generally, low impact for disadvantaged youth.	Still high risk for above reasons, but more feasible as youth become older and more mature and acquire necessary social and technical competencies.	Package of inputs normally required. Where repayment required, same problems as with micro-finance.	As above but sexual behaviour more difficult to change with increasing age.	As above.	Finding viable 'niches' for micro-enterprise development remains a major challenge.	For exceptionally able and motivated youth only.	As above.

SRH programmes should target young adolescents, especially before they come sexually active. However, it is difficult to see how integrated programmes could be provided for individuals in their early teens. And even if youth livelihood improvement programmes can be designed for specific groups of OSY, adult appropriation of benefits remains a key issue

In-school youth are invariably no less vulnerable to risky sexual behaviour than their contemporaries who do not attend school. They may even be more vulnerable if they have less disposable income and sexual harassment is widespread in schools, as is the case in many countries in SSA. Once married, young women tend to have fewer sexual partners. Thus, from an integrated programme perspective, there may still be a need to support the livelihood needs of in-school youth. Cultural and recreational activities based at youth clubs/multi-service centres with some vocational training activities are likely to be the most promising interventions.

4.4.2 Post-school youth

The assessment framework must clearly identify the economic status of post-school youth. Some will be economically independent (in formal or informal sector employment), but most will continue to be part of the household economy. It is also important to identify which activities after-school youth can compete effectively with adult entrepreneurs.

While the scope for livelihood improvement programmes among post-school youth is generally much greater than for school-aged youth, single interventions are still unlikely to have much impact on either livelihoods or sexual behaviour.

5. CONCLUSION

Given the paramount need to stem the AIDS epidemic in SSA, everything possible must be done to change the sexual behaviour of young people in order to avoid new infection. Given the high level of coercive sexual activity in some countries, changing male behaviour is a top priority. Comprehensive, well-resourced national strategies to change the sexual behaviour of young people should be developed as quickly as possible.

As part of these strategies, the potential of integrated SRH-livelihood programming for youth in helping to stem the epidemic deserves serious attention. However, given the current paucity of information, which can be drawn upon to design effective interventions, a comprehensive programme of action research is urgently required. Multi-disciplinary teams of researchers should be established throughout SSA. Given the sensitivity that surrounds HIV/AIDS and sexual practice, innovative research methods still have to be devised. A common assessment framework is also essential.

Impact evaluations of a selection of youth SRH, livelihood, and integrated programmes should be undertaken as soon as possible. Small pilot integrated programmes should then be established with proper baseline surveys and control groups. Where appropriate, successful interventions should be scaled-up. However, creating the institutional capacity to do this will require a very concerted effort on the part of all stakeholders.

ANNEX 1

DEFINING YOUTH AND 'YOUTH IN ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES'

Youth is the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. In pre-colonial African societies, this transition occurred very rapidly and youth as a major social category hardly existed. The prolongation of youth in advanced industrial countries has occurred as a result of expanded education and training provision and greater recognition of the sexual and behavioural changes that occur during adolescence and early adulthood. While the same processes have been at work in SSA, the failure of African economies to absorb the majority of young people into the formal economy has, in many ways, become the defining characteristic of youth in SSA.

Although youth is essentially a cultural and social construct, youth is increasingly defined according to universal age-based criteria. The UN definition of 15-29 generally prevails in international fora, but other age ranges are still commonly used. Legally, young people are still children until they are 18 in most countries. The period of adolescence (from 10-19 years old) does mark a distinct period of sexual and emotional development that is common across all societies. Thus, some researchers believe that adolescence rather than youth is a more useful unit of analysis from a variety of policy perspectives. In the African context, most young people become sexually active at an early age and a large proportion of school-aged youth are also economically active. It seems reasonable therefore to adopt a definition of youth that starts at the age of 11.

If the upper age limit of the UN definition is retained, this means that all young people between 11 and 29 are considered to be youth for policy purposes. The concern here is that youth becomes such a large and heterogeneous group that it ceases to be a meaningful analytical category. This age group comprises almost one-third of the total population in SSA and, in many countries this share will continue to increase quite rapidly as overall life expectancy falls as a result of the AIDS pandemic. In Botswana, for example, the official definition of youth extends until 39 years old, but life expectancy is projected to fall to 38 by 2010. In the African context, the most meaningful age range is therefore 11-24.

Youth in Especially Difficult Circumstances

The adoption of a wide age range for youth highlights the importance of being able to identify those young people who are in especially difficult circumstances.

Out-of-School and post-School youth: The focus of this study is on improving the livelihoods of youth in SSA who are economically vulnerable and socially excluded. In the absence of data and monitoring systems that would enable all children and youth who are in especially difficult circumstances to be identified, most discussions take 'out of school youth' as

the target group. The preoccupation with out-of-school youth (OSY) is understandable in view of the importance of basic education in laying the foundation for productive livelihoods. However, this raises a number of key issues.

First, who exactly are OSY? If it is accepted that basic education should be at least eight years in duration and children should start primary school no later than seven years old, then anyone under 16 and not at school can be classified as being 'out of school'. In SSA, however, a sizeable proportion of this group will be under 11 and thus fall below the lower age limit of 'youth' defined as 11-24. Out-of-school children are an even greater priority than OSY and the only feasible livelihood intervention is to ensure that they receive a proper basic education.

Second, what should be done with OSY? The overriding goal of 'education for all' is that all children should complete at least eight years of education. If governments are serious about achieving this, then it follows that their first priority is to get OSY into school. Given that compulsory education is not feasible in most countries in SSA (for a variety of economic, social and political reasons), what should be done to ensure that children who have never attended school or have dropped out return to school for at least the full primary education cycle? In practice, most governments in SSA do not have the resources to provide financial incentives to encourage OSY to return to school. The main approach is preventive i.e. to promote attendance and minimise dropout mainly by improving the quality of basic education and providing financial support for children from the poorest households and girls who are still in school. Many would argue that this is the most effective way of improving youth livelihoods in the longer term. Since most governments simply do not have the resources to support the mass of OSY, they are effectively left to fend for themselves.

Thirdly, an exclusive focus on OSY excludes all other youth who should have completed basic education. These 'after-school youth' (ASF) comprise all those in the 16-24 age cohort who do not continue in full time education (either in secondary school or in tertiary level education and training institutions) and are economically vulnerable and socially excluded. In the developed country context, it is precisely this group who are targeted by special youth employment, training and other active labour market policies that seek to meet the needs of disadvantaged youth and, more generally, facilitate the transition from school to the world of work.

Specific groups of YEDC

Among youth in SSA, which particular groups are the most economically vulnerable and socially excluded? Apart from in South Africa, no comprehensive surveys of youth have been undertaken that enable these disadvantaged groups to be properly identified and enumerated. However, the following marginalised groups are usually singled-out by governments and NGOs: street children, sex workers, criminals, refugees and ex-combatants,

orphans, the disabled, and other very poor youth living either in households or independently.

'Street children': Few censuses have been undertaken but the numbers of children and youth living on the street i.e. are homeless are growing very rapidly in almost all African cities.

Sex workers: Estimates of the numbers of youth in SSA who are working as prostitutes (on a full-time and part-time basis) are not available, but there could be as many as five million. Rates of HIV infection are very high among this group (typically well over 60 percent).

Criminals: Urban society in SSA is becoming rapidly criminalised. Male youth are in the vanguard of this crime wave. Criminal gangs are a major social phenomenon in most cities (for example, 'tsotsis' in South Africa and 'area boys' in Lagos).

Refugees and demobilised soldiers: During the last two decades, 28 countries in SSA have been disrupted by armed conflicts. Marginalised and disaffected youth have formed the backbone of most rebel armies. Other children and youth, particularly in rural areas, have been forcibly recruited. These conflicts have caused massive disruption among civilian populations. It is estimated that four percent of the entire population of SSA was displaced in the mid-1990s. There were over 20 million refugees in 1998. The impact of war and civil strife on young people is deeply traumatic. It shatters their sense of trust in the world and challenges the meaning and purpose of life. Their identity formation is undermined (see Maslen, 1997).

Orphans: The very rapid growth in the number of orphaned children and youth is becoming a massive problem in high-incidence HIV countries. During the next 10-15 years, caring for orphans will dominate both public and private sector programmes for children and youth. UNAIDS defines an orphan as someone who has lost both parents or her mother. Table A1 shows the estimated number of AIDS orphans in each country in SSA by 1997, but the overall number is expected to grow exponentially during the next 5-10 years as the full impact of the pandemic is felt. For example, in the four countries with the highest rates of HIV infection (Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe), it is estimated that 30-35 percent of all children will have lost one or both parents by 2010 (SAFAIDS, 1998). In Uganda, 1.7 million children have already lost one or both parents. Orphan-headed households are becoming increasingly common. Most orphans will require a range of services to support their livelihoods needs, both now and in the future, which will soak up limited resources that are currently being used for other YEDC.

Table A1: HIV prevalence by country in SSA, 1997

	Estimated number of people aged 15-49 living with HIV/AIDS, end 1997				Orphans (cumulative)	HIV prevalence among women in antenatal care clinics			
	Adults	Adult rate (%)	men	women		major urban areas		outside major urban areas	
Sub-Saharan Africa	20,000,000	7.4	10100000	9,900,000	7,800,000	year	median	year	median
Angola	100,000	2.1	48,000	52,000	19,000	1995	1.2	1995	0.5
Benin	52,000	2.1	26,000	26,000	11,000	1994	0.9	1994	1.1
Botswana	190,000	25.1	97,000	93,000	28,000	1997	38.5	1997	33.7
Burkina Faso	350,000	7.2	180,000	170,000	200,000	1996	9.6	1994	6.1
Burundi	240,000	8.3	120,000	120,000	160,000	1993	23.2	1993	5.7
Cameroon	310,000	4.9	160,000	150,000	74,000	1996	4.5	1996	6.3
CAR	170,000	10.8	85,000	85,000	65,000	1995	10	1995	14
Chad	83,000	2.7	41,000	42,000	55,000	...	...	1992	4.1
Comoros	400	0.1	...	...	...	1994	0	0	0
Congo	95,000	7.8	48,000	47,000	64,000	1994	7.5	1993	4
Cote d'Ivoire	670,000	10.1	340,000	330,000	320,000	1997	9.1	1997	9.5
Dem. Rep. of Congo	900,000	4.3	450,000	450,000	410,000	1995	4.3	1993	4
Djibouti	32,000	10.3	16,000	16,000	3,900	1993	4	...	...
Equatorial Guinea	2,300	1.2	1,200	1,100	1,600	1992	1.8	1995	0.3
Eritrea	49,000	3.2	...	...	...	...	...	1994	3
Ethiopia	2,500,000	9.3	1,300,000	1,200,000	840,000	1996	18.2	1991	4.8
Gabon	22,000	4.2	11,000	11,000	4,800	1995	4	1993	1.2
Gambia	13,000	2.2	6,700	6,300	8,400	1994	0.6	...	...
Ghana	200,000	2.4	100,000	100,000	130,000	1996	2.2	1996	2.2
Guinea	70,000	2.1	35,000	35,000	18,000	1996	1.5	1996	1.4
Guinea-Bissau	11,000	2.2	5,300	5,700	990	1995	2.7	...	...
Kenya	1,600,000	11.6	820,000	780,000	440,000	1997	15.9	1997	13.3
Lesotho	82,000	8.3	41,000	41,000	9,500	1994	31.3	1994	8.9
Liberia	42,000	3.7	21,000	21,000	21,000	...	...	...	...
Madagascar	8,200	0.1	4,100	4,100	1,300	1996	0	1996	0
Malawi	670,000	14.9	340,000	330,000	360,000	1996	30.5	1996	15.9
Mali	84,000	1.7	42,000	42,000	33,000	1994	4.4	1994	2.9
Mauritania	5,900	0.5	3,000	2,900	1,400	1994	0.5	1988	0
Mauritius	500	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mozambique	1,200,000	14.2	620,000	580,000	170,000	1996	5.8	1996	19.2
Namibia	150,000	19.9	75,000	75,000	7,800	1996	16	1996	17.4
Niger	61,000	1.5	30,000	31,000	20,000	1993	1.3	1994	1.2
Nigeria	2,200,000	4.1	1,100,000	1,100,000	410,000	1994	6.7	1993	2.4
Reunion	160	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rwanda	350,000	12.7	180,000	170,000	120,000	1996	27.6	1996	9.9
Senegal	72,000	1.8	36,000	36,000	49,000	1994	0	1994	0.3
Sierra Leone	64,000	3.2	32,000	32,000	47,000	1992	2	...	...
Somalia	11,000	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
South Africa	2,800,000	12.9	1,400,000	1,400,000	200,000	1997	14.9	1997	18.1
Sudan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Swaziland	81,000	18.5	40,000	41,000	8,000	1996	26.3	1996	26.5
Togo	160,000	8.5	78,000	82,000	110,000	1996	7.6	1996	4.1
Uganda	870,000	9.5	440,000	430,000	1,700,000	1997	14.7	1997	8.75
United Rep. of Tanzania	1,400,000	9.4	720,000	680,000	730,000	1996	13.7	1995	9.6
Zambia	730,000	19.1	360,000	370,000	470,000	1994	26.5	1994	13.8
Zimbabwe	1,400,000	25.8	680,000	720,000	450,000	1995	31	1996	46.7

Source: UNAIDS 1998: Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic June 1998

Disabled: In war affected countries, a very high proportion of youth suffer from emotional and physical problems. In Uganda, for example, over 10 percent of all youth are physically disabled or suffering from emotional trauma of one kind or another.

The ultra poor: Youth who are members of the poorest households are a major target group. This is especially the case in large urban areas where households are dependent on cash income and their labour is usually their only major asset.

ANNEX 2

YOUTH IN SSA: AN OVERVIEW

As noted earlier, there is very little published information on the characteristics of youth in SSA and their particular needs. This annex presents and discusses available data in the following areas: youth population, urbanisation, poverty, employment and other livelihood activities, education attainment, health and sexual behaviour, and social and political change in general

Youth population: Among the major regions of the world, SSA has the youngest population. Almost one-fifth of the total population of SSA is in the 15-24 age cohort and one-third in the 11-24 age cohort.. Table A2 presents the estimates of the youth population (10-24) for each country in 2000 and the projected population estimates for 2015. The youth population is projected to increase by 44 percent by 2015, although there are significant variations between countries.

Urbanisation: Rates of urbanisation are very high in most countries in SSA, although data on rural-urban migration is generally not available. Currently, nearly 40 percent of the population in SSA is estimated to be living in urban areas (defined as cities and towns of more than 200,000 people) (see Table A3). While economic liberalisation has resulted in higher rates of income growth in rural than urban areas, rural-urban migration in SSA is still being fuelled by rural-urban income gaps (for example, 3-4 times in Kenya), which are very high compared to other developing regions (see Lipton and Eastwood, 1999). The majority of migrants are young men. African cities are expected to absorb 60-80 percent of the projected increases in population over the next 30 years.

The social and political position of youth: Politically, young adults are regarded as 'youth' until well into their 30s in many countries in SSA. To a large extent, this is a reflection of gerontocratic power structures. While, in an economic sense, young people are treated as adults from an early age, they remain relatively uninvolved in decision making in the community, and local and national government. In many countries, youth lack a voice, which would enable them to make their particular needs manifest. Culturally, children are 'seen but not heard' in most societies in Africa.

Among youth, university graduates and secondary school leavers are the most powerful political groups and it is their needs that governments have generally responded to. Politically active youth have been co-opted by the dominant ruling party in many countries.

Table A2: Youth population in SSA, 2000 and 2015 (millions)

	2000			2015			total population increase (%) 2000-2015
	total	youth (10-24)	youth as % of total population	total	youth (10-24)	Youth as % of total population	
Angola	11.49	3.58	31%	16.97	5.58	33%	56%
Benin	6.52	2.16	33%	10.38	3.48	34%	59%
Botswana	1.48	0.55	37%	1.59	0.58	37%	7%
Burkina Faso	11.89	4.01	34%	17.26	6.13	36%	45%
Burundi	5.93	2.04	34%	8.46	2.93	35%	43%
Cameroon	15.89	5.23	33%	23.25	7.94	34%	46%
Cape Verde	0.41	0.13	33%	0.49	0.16	32%	19%
C.A.R.	3.52	1.18	34%	4.73	1.58	34%	34%
Chad	7.76	2.41	31%	11.39	3.67	32%	47%
Comoros	0.58	0.18	31%	0.90	0.29	32%	54%
Congo	2.78	0.93	34%	3.66	1.23	34%	32%
Cote d'Ivoire	16.19	5.53	34%	22.87	7.99	35%	41%
Dem. Rep. of Congo	51.99	17.15	33%	81.06	27.98	35%	56%
Djibouti	0.45	0.14	31%	0.67	0.21	32%	47%
Equatorial Guinea	0.48	0.15	32%	0.70	0.22	32%	46%
Eritrea	4.14	1.34	32%	6.57	2.07	31%	59%
Ethiopia	60.97	20.21	33%	82.08	29.55	36%	35%
Gabon	1.24	0.35	28%	1.56	0.44	28%	25%
Gambia	1.38	0.43	31%	2.13	0.70	33%	54%
Ghana	19.27	6.32	33%	24.74	7.74	31%	28%
Guinea	7.61	2.44	32%	10.59	3.36	32%	39%
Guinea-Bissau	1.26	0.41	32%	1.75	0.55	31%	39%
Kenya	29.25	11.15	38%	33.26	11.52	35%	14%
Lesotho	2.17	0.72	33%	2.54	0.84	33%	17%
Liberia	3.09	0.95	31%	5.01	1.61	32%	62%
Madagascar	15.29	4.89	32%	22.91	7.34	32%	50%
Malawi	10.15	3.67	36%	11.71	4.35	37%	15%
Mauritania	2.66	0.85	32%	4.14	1.37	33%	56%
Mauritius	1.20	0.31	26%	1.39	0.32	23%	16%
Mozambique	19.61	6.28	32%	27.55	9.28	34%	40%
Namibia	1.67	0.60	36%	2.03	0.74	36%	21%
Niger	10.26	3.23	31%	15.72	5.23	33%	53%
Nigeria	117.17	37.14	32%	166.53	57.92	35%	42%
Reunion	0.73	0.19	26%	0.90	0.24	26%	24%
Rwanda	8.34	3.13	37%	10.58	3.64	34%	27%
Sao Tome & Principe	0.16	0.05	33%	0.25	0.09	34%	59%
Senegal	10.39	3.37	32%	16.79	5.55	33%	62%
Sierra Leone	5.51	1.68	30%	8.47	2.79	33%	54%
Somalia	7.43	2.32	31%	11.64	3.66	31%	57%
South Africa	43.98	13.43	31%	48.29	14.81	31%	10%
Sudan	35.53	11.63	33%	52.52	17.20	33%	48%
Swaziland	1.00	0.36	36%	1.31	0.48	37%	30%
Tanzania	31.96	10.85	34%	43.01	14.83	34%	35%
Togo	5.26	1.73	33%	8.70	2.87	33%	65%
Uganda	23.45	7.79	33%	36.98	13.14	36%	58%
Zambia	9.87	3.65	37%	13.39	4.93	37%	36%
Zimbabwe	11.27	4.49	40%	12.07	4.39	36%	7%
Total	640.66	211.35	15.44	891.48	303.51	15.59	18.67

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census database

Table A3: Table A3: Urban population in SSA, 2000 and 2015

country	2000		2025	
	total urban pop (millions)	% total population	projected total urban pop (millions)	% total population
Angola	4.7	36.2	14.8	55.6
Benin	2.1	33.9	6.3	51.8
Botswana	0.6	33.3	1.7	55.4
Burkina Faso	4.4	37.5	14.4	66.4
Burundi	0.7	9.0	2.9	21.2
Cameroon	7.5	49.3	19.5	66.9
Cape Verde	0.3	62.6	0.6	78.9
CAR	1.6	41.6	3.7	58.9
Chad	1.7	22.8	5.0	38.5
Comoros	0.3	34.1	0.9	53.4
Congo	1.9	63.3	4.3	76.6
Cote d'Ivoire	7.9	47.0	23.6	64.1
Dem. Rep. of Congo	15.9	31.0	52.1	49.8
Djibouti	0.5	84.3	0.9	89.8
Equatorial Guinea	0.2	48.4	0.5	68.5
Eritrea	0.8	19.0	2.5	35.7
Ethiopia	9.5	14.9	37.9	29.9
Gabon	0.8	53.8	1.9	69.6
Gambia	0.4	28.9	1.0	48.6
Ghana	7.9	39.2	21.9	57.7
Guinea	2.6	33.6	8.0	53.3
Guinea-Bissau	0.3	25.2	0.9	44.6
Kenya	10.3	31.8	32.6	51.5
Lesotho	0.6	27.1	2.0	47.3
Liberia	1.7	48.1	4.7	64.6
Madagascar	5.3	30.8	17.4	50.5
Malawi	1.9	15.6	7.1	31.7
Mali	3.8	30.4	12.3	50.0
Mauritania	1.5	59.0	3.3	73.3
Mauritius	0.5	41.7	0.9	57.8
Mozambique	0.9	41.1	21.5	61.1
Namibia	0.2	42.9	1.9	63.6
Niger	0.5	19.2	8.2	36.5
Nigeria	14.7	43.3	146.9	61.6
Reunion	0.2	71.2	0.7	81.9
Rwanda	0.2	6.7	2.4	15.0
Senegal	1.6	45.1	10.5	62.2
Sierra Leone	0.6	40.2	5.1	59.1
Somalia	1.2	27.9	9.8	45.9
South Africa	12.3	53.1	48.7	68.6
Sudan	3.0	27.3	27.1	46.4
Swaziland	0.1	36.1	0.9	56.6
Tanzania	1.6	28.2	30.3	48.3
Togo	0.4	33.7	4.9	52.3
Uganda	0.9	14.2	13.8	28.8
Zambia	1.7	44.7	11.5	76.1
Zimbabwe	1.2	36.0	10.9	49.8
Total	139.5	37.1	660.7	54.8

Source: UNCHS, 1996: An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements, 1996, OUP

The extent to which age-relations in SSA have affected political, social and economic development is a key issue, but very little research has been undertaken. A common argument is that African youth need to free themselves from excessive and frequently oppressive control of their lives by elders but, at the same time, new social relations need to be nurtured that can constructively channel their energies. However, traditional age-based relations are rapidly disintegrating (especially in conflict-affected countries/regions and urban areas), but these are not being replaced with new forms of effective socialisation and social control. There has therefore been a 'relinquishment of community responsibility to nurture adolescents and groom them as responsible adults' (Rwebangira and Liljestrom, 1998:222). Traditional norms and modern values and behaviour coexist and often contradict each other. Sociologists point to an absence of a coherent set of values and beliefs to guide parents, children and youth' which results in a process of 'negative socialisation.' Acute poverty also tends to breakdown trust and basic social networks

Rural and urban youth are in qualitatively different situations. As elsewhere, African 'cities stimulate unconventionality through the generation of distinct sub-cultures'. Individualism and normlessness among youth are pervasive. The emergence of a youth 'underclass culture' is widely commented upon. Poor housing is a major aggravating factor in urban areas. Given the stress of living in urban slums, 'many who live there have mental and physical disorders' (IFRA, 1994:45). Among urban households, young people are usually a burden for longer periods than in rural areas. Marriage is delayed as a consequence. Young, single mothers are often in a precarious economic situation. The majority of rural youth have access to land so tend to be less vulnerable whereas among urban youth their labour is their only major asset

Poverty: Approximately 45 percent of the population in SSA live on less than one dollar a day (see Table A4). Over 50 percent live below the national poverty line in 10 out of 18 countries for which data is available. The data is very old in countries such as Cameroon where the overall incidence of poverty is known to have increased dramatically during the 1990s.

Malnutrition in childhood has a major impact on the physical and mental capacities of youth to pursue productive livelihoods. Between 20-50 percent of children are suffering from malnutrition in 27 out of the 30 poorest countries who are included in the Special Program for Africa. In SSA as a whole, 43 million children were stunted as a result of malnutrition in 1995. Over 205 million Africans were estimated to be without access to health services in 1990-95 and nearly 250 million (43 percent of the total) were without safe drinking water (see Killick et al, 1999)

The overall incidence of poverty has increased in most countries in SSA during the 1990s. Rapid population growth has out-paced economic growth with the result that aggregate per capita income has declined. Worsening income distribution in most countries has aggravated this situation.

Table A4: Incidence of poverty in SSA

COUNTRY	Latest year	below national poverty line	survey year	Below \$1 a day
Benin	1995	33	..	
Botswana	..	..	1985-6	33
Burundi	1990	36		
Cameroon	1984	40		
Chad	1995-6	64	..	
Cote d'Ivoire	..	..	1988	18
Ethiopia	..	..	1981-2	46
Gambia	1992	64	..	
Ghana	1992	31	..	
Guinea	..	..	1991	26
Guinea-Bissau	1991	49	1991	88
Kenya	1992	42	1992	50
Lesotho	1993	49	1986-7	49
Madagascar	..	..	1993	72
Malawi	1990-1	54	..	
Mauritania	1990	57	1988	31
Mauritius	1992	11	..	
Niger	1989-93	63	1992	62
Nigeria	1992-3	34	1992-3	31
Rwanda	1993	51	1983-5	46
Senegal	1991	33	1991-2	54
Sierra Leone	1989	68	..	
South Africa	..	..	1993	24
Tanzania	1991	51		..
Togo	1987-9	32	..	
Uganda	1993	55	1989-90	69
Zambia	1993	86	1993	85
Zimbabwe	1990-1	26	1990-1	41

Source: World Development Indicators 1999

Typically, between 15-25 percent of the population in SSA countries are 'always poor' while another 25 percent are vulnerable to shocks (particularly droughts) and are 'sometimes poor'. There are particular groups that are especially vulnerable. A lack of able-bodied male labour is a common characteristic of a high proportion of poor households (i.e. female and orphan-headed households, and the disabled and elderly). Households with many young children are also more likely to be poor as are adolescent females who have children. The rural poor comprise over 80 percent of the total poor in most countries. Impoverished rural areas tend to have high rates of male migration to urban areas and thus a relatively high proportion of female-headed households. The remoteness of many rural areas means that their populations are isolated from state institutions and receive minimal public services.

Economic reform programmes in SSA have attempted to shift the internal terms of trade in favour of the rural economy. Privatisation, civil service reform, increase import competition have resulted in significant labour retrenchments in many public and private sector enterprise and organisations, which has mainly affected urban areas. Food prices have increased rapidly. Consequently, as a general rule, poverty is increasing more rapidly in urban areas. For example, in Nigeria, the number of people living in extreme poverty in urban areas increased from 1.5 million in 1988 to 4.3 million in 1993. The incidence of extreme poverty also rose in rural areas, but by much less (from 8.6 million to 9.6 million). Consequently, 'urban poverty in Africa will become the most significant and politically explosive problem in the next century' (Burgess 1997:25).

The livelihood burden on urban women has increased appreciably as they have had to assume the role of primary breadwinner with male members of the household being unable to find wage employment. Because the urban poor generally have a narrower range of survival strategies to call upon, they are usually more vulnerable than the poor in rural areas.

Educational attainment: Tables A5-7 show the percentages of female and male youth in the 15 to 19 age cohort in urban and rural areas in each country in SSA who have enrolled in Grades 1, 4 and 9. The difference between the level of educational attainment between females and males and urban and rural areas is striking. In Niger, for example, only 9.4 percent of rural females in this age cohort had ever enrolled in Grade 1 and only 0.2 percent reached Grade 9. Even in countries such as Ghana, which has a relatively well-developed education system, nearly one-third of rural female youth has not gone beyond Grade 4. The level of educational attainment is particularly low throughout Francophone West Africa.

In many countries, however, parents are already investing heavily in the education of their children. Consequently, the availability of household resources that can be used to improve the livelihood capabilities and assets out-of-school youth and after-school youth is generally very limited.

Table A5: Percentage of 15-19 age cohort in SSA with at least one year of primary education

Country	LYA	urban male	rural male	urban female	rural female
Benin	1993	77.1	50.5	57.9	20.7
Burkina Faso	1993	77.3	26.5	63.8	12.4
CAR	1994/5	88.8	71.3	77	39.3
Cameroon	1991	88.9	81.4	83.4	64.6
Chad	1996	74.4	53.8	54.6	23.3
Comoros	1996	84.2	82.2	80.4	58
Cote d'Ivoire	1994	83.8	58.1	62.4	41.6
Ghana	1993	93.5	81.8	90.3	71.4
Mali	1995/6	63.5	22.1	44.2	10.3
Niger	1997	72.7	27.7	59.9	9.4
Nigeria	1990	91.4	69.7	83.9	58.2
Kenya	1998	97	96.6	95.6	96.5
Madagascar	1997	85.4	70.2	86.4	68.8
Malawi	1996	94.7	88.4	89.3	69
Mozambique	1997	91.5	81.3	83.7	52.8
Namibia	1992	97.1	89.3	96.8	94.8
Rwanda	1992	88.8	78.8	84.1	77.5
Senegal	1992/3	77	28.9	66.5	15.7
Tanzania	1996	93.6	87.7	93.2	81.1
Togo	1998	95	83.4	79.5	59.6
Uganda	1995	97.4	90.3	89.2	77.2
Zambia	1996/7	97.2	87.8	95.8	85.4
Zimbabwe	1994	99.3	97.4	98.7	97.5

Source: World Bank

Table A6: Percentage of the 15-19 age cohort with four years of education

Country	LYA	urban male	rural male	urban female	rural female
Benin	1993	60.9	35.1	40	10.6
Burkina Faso	1993	69.9	20.7	57.7	9.1
CAR	1994/5	72	35.7	56.6	14.8
Cameroon	1991	85.2	69.7	79.8	53.4
Chad	1996	61.7	24.9	37.8	6.8
Comoros	1996	72.5	57.1	70.9	39.6
Cote d'Ivoire	1994-5	77.7	45.8	51.9	30.5
Ghana	1993	92.6	74	84.1	66.4
Mali	1995/6	57.3	13.8	36.2	5.6
Niger	1997	19.5	1.4	12.2	0.2
Nigeria	1990	88.4	63.1	81.9	52.1
Kenya	1998	93.8	89.5	91.8	90.2
Madagascar	1997	68.3	30.3	64.9	34.3
Malawi	1996	83.3	52.1	73.8	40.2
Mozambique	1997	74.7	47.7	59.8	23.8
Namibia	1992	92.3	62	93.9	77.1
Rwanda	1992	73.8	59.3	74.1	64.7
Senegal	1992/3	71.1	25.1	59.9	12.7
Tanzania	1996	84.9	75.8	88.4	74.1
Togo	1998	83.9	60.4	63.6	34.3
Uganda	1995	82.9	68	81.7	55.9
Zambia	1996/7	94	71.3	90.2	67.7
Zimbabwe	1994	98.4	93.8	96.6	92.1

Source: World Bank

Table A7: Percentage of 15-19 age cohort in SSA with nine years of education

Country	LYA	Urban male	rural male	urban female	rural female
Benin	1993	14.9	3.6	8.1	0.5
Burkina Faso	1993	25.6	2.1	16.3	0.8
CAR	1994/5	8.1	1	4.7	0
Cameroon	1991	32.4	10	29	6.5
Chad	1996	15.5	0.8	5.5	0.1
Comoros	1996	16.5	5.1	14.3	1.9
Cote d'Ivoire	1994	29.6	10.4	15.2	1.8
Ghana	1993	50.1	29.7	49.3	30.3
Mali	1995/6	3.9	0.5	2.5	0.4
Niger	1997	25.3	4	12.2	0.2
Nigeria	1990	41.1	16	43.9	12.3
Kenya	1998	42.4	15.2	31.8	14.7
Madagascar	1997	17.3	2.2	19.5	1.9
Malawi	1996	11.1	1.2	20.4	1.6
Mozambique	1997	5.5	0.6	4.9	0.1
Namibia	1992	32.4	4.4	33.3	9.3
Rwanda	1992	20.6	9	24.1	6.4
Senegal	1992/3	21.5	3.1	12.9	0.5
Tanzania	1996	9.5	1.4	9.6	1.6
Togo	1998	12.2	5.1	7.1	0.5
Uganda	1995	28	5.2	24.9	5.7
Zambia	1996/7	24.7	4.3	23.3	4.9
Zimbabwe	1994	73.7	30.1	63.9	31.4

Source: World Bank

Table A8 shows the literacy rates among females and males in the 15-24 age cohort by country. A total of 130 million youth in SSA are estimated to be illiterate. Over one-quarter of young people are illiterate in 13 out of the 31 countries for which data is available.

Table A8: Illiteracy among youth in SSA (15-24 year age cohort)

Country	Male	Female
Benin	33	67
Botswana	17	9
Burkina Faso	58	81
Burundi	36	43
Cameroon	7	10
Central African Republic	27	48
Congo	3	5
Cote d'Ivoire	33	46
Ethiopia	47	51
Gambia	39	55
Ghana	9	17
Guinea-Bissau	32	66
Kenya	5	8
Lesotho	18	2
Malawi	20	42
Mali	34	49
Mauritania	44	62
Mauritius	8	7
Mozambique	28	59
Namibia	11	8
Niger	71	88
Nigeria	13	20
Rwanda	16	21
Senegal	43	62
South Africa	10	10
Sudan	19	33
Tanzania	8	15
Togo	15	11
Uganda	16	31
Zambia	10	18
Zimbabwe	0	2

Source: World Development Indicators 1999, World Bank

The DAC targets:: The Development Assistance Committee of the OECD has promulgated a new 'integrated set' of international development goals. With respect to education, two targets have been set, namely "there should be universal primary education in all countries" and "gender disparities in primary and secondary education should be eliminated by 2005". Assuming that primary education comprises six years of education and repetition rates remain unchanged, then primary school enrolments will have to increase from 78 million in 1997 to 162 million by 2015 if the DAC target is to be achieved, an increase of 108 percent. The additional effort required is particularly large in countries where enrolment ratios are very low (see Bennell, 1999b). If

governments commit themselves to achieving the DAC targets for education, this has obvious implications for the resources that are likely to be available to support youth livelihood programmes.

Youth employment: There is very little good quality information that can provide a comprehensive overview of youth livelihoods. Most of the standard labour force statistics are of little value in the SSA context. In particular, the labour of household-based females is usually excluded from these surveys and the true incidence of open 'unemployment' is relatively small since chronic poverty forces nearly everyone to engage in some productive activity. It is the extent of under-employment that is the critical issue.

The large majority of out-of-school and post-school youth live in rural areas and are engaged in both farm and non-farm activities. Young women usually get married soon after they leave school, especially in more traditional societies e.g. Muslim Sahel.

Time series data on wage employment is only available for a few countries in SSA. However, the proportion of the total labour force employed in the formal sector does not exceed 20 percent in most countries and this share has generally been shrinking since the mid-late 1980s. In over 15 countries that have experienced particularly acute economic crises (which are often related to civil strife and conflict), the overall number of people in wage employment has declined in absolute terms.

Marriage: As elsewhere, the marital status of young women in SSA has a major impact on their livelihoods. The median age of marriage in the region is 17 (see Table A9). 'The urgency to marry and have children early is related to the precariousness of the adolescent girl's status' (Mensch et al:1998: 63). Nearly three quarters of adolescent women in SSA with less than six years of education are married by the age of 20 compared to only around 40 percent among those with more than six years of education

The treatment that a young wife receives from her husband and his family depends to a considerable extent on giving birth to children early in the marriage. The traditional mandate of young women to bear children soon after marriage remains integral to their respectability and economic security in most of Africa.

Childbearing: Fertility levels among adolescent girls in SSA are exceptionally high. Among women aged 20-24, 55 percent give birth to their first child before they were 20 compared to only 33 percent in Asia and 35 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Childbirth in adolescence is exceptionally high in Niger (75 percent), Mali (67 percent), and Uganda (68 percent) (see Table A10). There are large differences in fertility rates between rural (58 percent) and urban areas (46 percent). Educational attainment is also a key factor. 64 percent of adolescent women give birth who have less than six years of education compared to only 37 percent among those with more than six years of education.

Table A9 : Median age of marriage in SSA countries

Country	Age group	
	25 – 29	40 - 44
Benin	18.7	18.3
Burkina Faso	17.5	17.5
Cameroon	16.9	16.3
Central African Republic	17.4	16.6
Comoros	20.4	17.6
Côte d'Ivoire	18.2	18.2
Ghana	18.9	18.7
Kenya	19.5	18.3
Madagascar	18.9	18.0
Malawi	17.7	18.1
Mali	16.1	15.9
Namibia	26.8	24.4
Niger	14.9	14.8
Nigeria	17.2	16.9
Rwanda	20.9	19.4
Senegal	16.8	15.8
Tanzania	18.8	17.4
Uganda	18.9	18.7
Zambia	18.4	17.4
Zimbabwe	19.3	18.9

In 9 out of 20 countries in SSA with data from Demographic and Health Surveys, the percentage of women who gave birth before the age of 20 increased in the 20 years preceding the survey (including Malawi 7 percentage points, Nigeria 5, and Niger 13).

Fostering: A very sizeable proportion of adolescent girls and boys in SSA live in a household without either parent. In West Africa, in particular, many adolescent girls from rural areas are 'fostered out' to work for families in urban areas. Working conditions are generally very poor (long hours, low pay, poor food) and sexual exploitation is common.

Sexual and reproductive health: For many policymakers and researchers, 'the centre of the adolescent problematique remains sexual and reproductive health' (Mensch et al, 1998:2). The SRH policy agenda in SSA (particularly among donors) has been dominated by population control. However, with the advent of the AIDS pandemic, the focus has shifted to HIV prevention in order to minimise AIDS-related morbidity and mortality among youth. AIDS will result in much lower population growth rates in most SSA countries over the next two decades. The explosion in the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) among youth has been a major factor in the spread of HIV. There is, however, growing concern about the highly negative impact of early marriage on female livelihoods.

Prevailing social norms in SSA encourage adolescents to be sexually active before marriage and to have multiple partners. In general, the 'Western notion of romantic attachment has not supplanted pre-colonial social mores

concerning sexual behaviour' (Caldwell et al, 1998:324). As a consequence of limited schooling in many countries and de facto early entry into the labour force, adolescents see themselves as young adults. At the same time, however, there are strong, culturally-sanctioned taboos on the discussion of sexual matters between adjacent generations. A 'culture of silence' exists in most African societies concerning sex education and advice between adults and their dependants (especially where grandparents are responsible for the rearing of children as is common in many countries). Furthermore, given the prevalence of female-headed households throughout SSA, adolescent males often have few opportunities to talk with reliable and trustworthy men.

Major power disparities based on economics, age and gender make adolescent girls vulnerable to exploitative and coercive sexual practices. This is exacerbated where they are poor and the pressure to earn income in order to meet their own and/or household needs are strong. Most feel they have little leverage in part because of a pervasive lack of self-esteem. Where women's economic opportunities are highly restricted, females have great difficulty in separating sex from economic survival. Surveys show that in many countries well over one-third of women report that their first sexual intercourse was involuntary. This is symptomatic of the limited life options of most adolescent women.

Table A10: Childbearing among adolescent women in SSA, 1980s-90s

Country/survey year	Percent of 20-24 year-olds who had a child by age		
	15	18	20
Botswana, 1988	1.6	25.6	54.7
Burkina Faso, 1992-93	4.3	31.5	62.4
Burundi, 1987	0.8	7.5	27.1
Cameroon, 1991	11.0	46.2	66.8
Ghana, 1993	2.3	24.5	48.5
Kenya, 1993	4.4	27.9	52.2
Liberia, 1986	10.5	44.4	64.2
Madagascar, 1992	6.1	31.1	52.9
Malawi, 1992	8.8	37.5	63.3
Mali, 1987	11.6	46.0	66.9
Namibia, 1992	1.6	17.8	41.6
Niger, 1992	14.5	53.3	75.0
Nigeria, 1990	12.1	34.9	53.5
Rwanda, 1992	0.2	8.3	24.6
Senegal, 1992-93	6.3	33.8	51.7
Tanzania, 1991-92	4.0	28.3	56.8
Togo, 1988	4.7	30.1	56.1
Uganda, 1988-89	5.5	41.7	67.5
Zambia, 1992	3.7	34.2	61.3
Zimbabwe, 1994	2.5	23.2	46.9

HIV/AIDS: In 1999, 8 percent of the adult population aged 15-49 in SSA was infected with one form or another of the HIV virus (UNAIDS, 1999). Prevalence rates in SSA countries in 1997 are presented in Table A1. Youth

are especially vulnerable with well over one half of all new infections in SSA among the 15-24 age group. For physiological and social reasons, rates of infection are typically three-four times higher among female than male youth. But this can be much higher. For example, in Kisumu, Kenya infection rates in 1998 were three percent for male teenagers and 23 percent among female teenagers (see UNAIDS, 1999d).

Contraception: Data on male contraceptive use is not generally available. In most countries, most sexually active adolescent women know about at least one contraceptive method. However, more detailed knowledge about reproductive knowledge (in particular time of ovulation) is minimal and relatively few adolescent women are currently using contraceptives. The proportion of all women aged 15-19 who are using any contraceptive method ranges from 2 percent in Niger, Rwanda and Senegal to 23 percent in Cameroon. Among those who sexually active and unmarried, typically less than one quarter use any method and only 10 percent rely on a modern method (pill, injection). All the available evidence indicates that there is a very large unmet demand for contraception among both female and male youth.

Crime and disability: There are no comprehensive data sets for crime and disability in SSA.

ANNEX 3

A TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH PROGRAMMES

This annex discusses the key elements of a typology of programmatic interventions for youth in SSA. There are three main dimensions of any service/programme typology:

- Who are the main clientele?
- What services are provided?
- How are these services provided?

An intervention typology for youth needs to be directly related to the main modalities that exist for improving livelihoods. There are, therefore, two main types of intervention, namely those that build individual and institutional capabilities and resources and those that structure opportunities. These embrace a very large number of specific types of service provision, each of which it would be possible to develop its own typology of activities. For example, with respect to vocational training, a typology should be based on the following programme characteristics: timing of provision (school, post-school, pre-employment, job-related), location (school, college, on the job), duration (a few hours to many years), occupational level (unskilled, skilled, professional), type of skill (technical, managerial), skill application (general to all enterprises, enterprise-specific), type of employment (waged, self-employed).

Who is supported? The client group

Youth as an age-defined group is almost as heterogeneous in its composition as the population as a whole. A typology needs to capture in as simple a manner as possible the main dimensions of this heterogeneity.

Nature of intervention: Depending on the nature of the intervention, programmes can (i) directly support youth either as **individuals** or as **groups**. The size of group beneficiaries can vary from two to all youth in a particular country; and (ii) improve the capacity of **institutions**. Most services are provided to individual youth with the intention that they will act on their own to improve their livelihoods. Some interventions, however, target groups as a whole who are expected to work collectively to improve livelihoods.

Age: As discussed earlier, youth covers a wide age range with individuals at very different stages of their lifecycle. Programmes tend, therefore, to address the needs of particular age groups of youth. In particular, these include out-of-school youth (usually under 17 year olds) and after-school youth.

Educational attainment: The educational attainment of OSY can be broken down as follows: never attended school, primary dropouts, primary completers, and secondary dropouts. Many programmes target 'youth' who have not completed primary school.

Gender: Programmes frequently have gender objectives. Some are exclusively for female youth while others have specific gender objectives. The focus on gender reflects the fact that young men and women usually have very different and often conflicting needs and young women are typically more disadvantaged.

Economic and marital status: Youth can be categorised according to their degree of economic independence from the nuclear/extended family. Many programmes target younger youth who continue to live 'at home' and who are not therefore economically independent. Marital status (as well as cohabitation) and the number of children are also key characteristics of programme clientele. For example, a programme can target young unmarried mothers who are living on their own away from the parental home.

Degree of economic vulnerability and social exclusion: Youth clientele can be categorised according to the level of poverty and degree of social marginalisation. In South Africa, for example, youth are placed into the following categories: secure, at risk, marginalised, and 'lost'. The most marginalised include those youth who are living on the street, unsupported orphans and the disabled, sex workers, criminals, prisoners, drug addicts, refugees, and many soldiers. However, far more youth are living in acute poverty, but are not socially excluded. Countering the worst forms of child labour is a key objective of numerous programmes.

Threat to social and political stability: The degree to which particular marginalised groups are perceived as a threat to political and social stability is a powerful factor, which has shaped both government and NGO programmes.

Geographical focus and scope: There is very considerable variation in the geographical scope and focus of youth programmes in SSA. Traditionally, church-based NGO have concentrated their activities in rural areas, but with the mounting urban crisis an increasing number of NGOs are beginning to pay more attention to disadvantaged urban youth. Many youth programmes are confined to fairly limited geographical locations. Some however, are nationally and a few international (e.g. ENDA)

Scope for improvement: The scope for improvement is another key defining feature of youth clienteles. Among the most vulnerable and marginalised groups of youth, the scope for major improvements in their livelihoods is often quite limited whereas among other less marginalised groups of youth, there is considerably more potential. Enterprise development programmes deliberately back winners who are not usually the very poor. A trade-off invariably exists therefore between the needs of youth (equity) and their capacity to take advantage of particular services (efficiency and effectiveness).

What support is provided? Service delivery

Overall macro-policy context: The overall policy and institutional context for youth is a major factor shaping the nature and extent of public and private programmes that support the needs of youth. Government policy and practice in relation to youth varies considerably among countries in SSA. The degree to which governments seek to create an 'enabling environment' for youth is of crucial importance.

Need categories: The totality of youth programmes respond to all the livelihood needs of youth, either as individuals or as a collectivity. Service delivery programmes focus on emotional, health, and immediate economic needs while capacity building and empowerment programmes are primarily concerned with the institutional development of youth organisations (or organisations that have youth clienteles) and the broader economic, social and political development of youth as a whole.

Service delivery programmes can also be classified according to the extent to which they provide 'welfare' support to meet immediate basic survival needs (food, medicine, temporary shelter, temporary employment, security), or are more development-oriented in that they seek to improve the capabilities, assets and economic activities of youth in a sustainable manner. Welfare interventions are clearly necessary to maintain livelihoods, but do not address the root causes of the economic vulnerability and social exclusion of youth.

Modality of service delivery: Services can be provided to individuals on a one-to-one basis (information, counseling, technical assistance, apprenticeship) or to groups of varying sizes (training, credit, income generation activities).

Duration: The duration of the support provided to individuals and institutions varies enormously. Some programmes offer very limited assistance (e.g. a few hours of training) while others provide long term support (e.g. residential care, support for individual apprenticeships, institutional support)

Type of inputs: Programme inputs vary according to the particular areas of youth need that are being addressed. The types of input are: material (food, shelter, medical), information, financial (credit, savings, grants, scholarships), skills development (education and training),

Single or integrated/multiple interventions: Programmes vary according to the number of specific services that are provided. Comprehensive set of integrated services or minimalist.

Size: The size and geographical coverage are key defining characteristics of youth programmes.

How is support provided?

Nature of youth involvement: Youth are normally involved in programmes on a voluntary basis but, exceptionally, their participation may be involuntary. Programmes normally have a variety of selection criteria, some are self-selecting.

Youth and other stakeholder participation: The overall level of youth participation in the design and implementation of programmes is a key feature. Traditionally, this involvement has been limited and programmes have been top-down and adult-driven with little sense of ownership by youth. Increasingly, however, the necessity for full youth participation in all phases of programme delivery is recognised, especially among more progressive NGOs.

The degree of involvement of other key stakeholders (community, parents, elders, local leaders) is also a key variable.

Institutional provision: The typology should include the main characteristics of institutional provision:

- Type of organisation: central government ministry, local government, specialised public agency; private sector (NGOs, (local/foreign), community-based organisations, commercial; public-private sector partnerships.
- Personnel: age, nationality, professional training, full/part-time and volunteer workers
- Service delivery: centre-based and/or outreach
- Funding: public, private; national, overseas; user fees

ANNEX 4

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES

Government policy and practice

Separate ministries of youth are responsible for youth affairs in most countries in SSA. In many countries (especially in Francophone Africa), these ministries are also responsible for sports and culture. South Africa is a significant exception where a strong inter-departmental committee chaired by the Vice-President has been created in order to ensure an effective, coordinated response. Similar coordinating structures have been established elsewhere, but they are invariably weak, both politically and in terms of resources. Ministries of Youth usually have very limited personnel and other resources that can be devoted to supporting youth livelihoods. In many respects, they are Cinderella ministries. The main exceptions are in countries with particularly high rates of urbanisation (e.g. Zambia) and where youth have been centrally involved in recent political struggles and have significant political power (South Africa).

Typically, each ministry of youth affairs has responsibility for a small network of youth training centres, most of which are seriously under-resourced and struggling to survive. Not surprisingly, therefore, there is a strong sense of frustration among politicians, policymakers and operational staff working in Ministries of Youth. In Zambia, for example, the National Youth Policy states that 'the MYSCD along with a few NGOs struggles to make a minimal impression on the huge and desperate out-of-school market' (see Zambia, 1997:45). The ministry manages sixteen youth skills training centres with a total enrolment of 650 students receiving an 18-month training in traditional trades. Donor support for these centres has been largely withdrawn during the last five years.

Ministries of youth have generally taken the lead in developing a national youth policy in each country. However, only exceptionally are these policy documents based on a detailed and comprehensive analysis of youth livelihoods and the social and political aspirations of youth. Most lack a coherent strategy, which is properly integrated with national development policy and, in particular, poverty reduction programmes. Youth have generally only been marginally involved in the formulation of national youth policy.

National youth service schemes have been established throughout SSA. In some countries, school leavers are obliged to undertake a period of national youth service before they are allowed to go onto higher education. In others, this service is completed after higher education. Participants in these schemes are mainly from elite backgrounds and they do not directly support youth livelihoods, in particular among the poor and most disadvantaged. They are costly and difficult to manage properly. In Kenya, for example, the unit cost of the National Youth Service is three times higher than for

secondary schooling. In Botswana, the pre-university national youth scheme is being phased out.

The marginalisation of youth in public policy

Government pronouncements abound in SSA concerning both the role of youth in development. In practice, however, the actions taken by most governments to address the needs of youth have been limited. As the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa itself points out 'the measures taken so far towards solving the problems of youth in the region have been insufficient and ineffective and have little impact on the problems and needs of African youth' (UNECA, 1994:21). Furthermore, although data is not generally available, many argue that the overall effort by governments and organisations in civil society to support youth is declining in many countries. 'Across most of Africa, organisations concerned with social welfare that have traditionally provided education and initiation into adulthood are weakening' (IPPF, 1998:10).

Better indicators and data are needed that can measure the extent to which individual governments responding to the development needs of youth. Many governments and donors would argue strongly that children and youth are, in fact, the principal beneficiaries of key public services and, in particular, primary education and primary health care are prerequisites for productive youth and adult livelihoods. Considerable evidence exists which shows that the payoffs from basic investments in human capital are high in both absolute and relative terms and that if youth do not have this basic foundation of knowledge and skills then subsequent interventions (training, credit, etc) are unlikely to be successful.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that direct government support for youth livelihood programmes in SSA remains limited. There are numerous reasons for this marginalisation of youth. As usual, these largely boil down to priorities and limited resources.

The role of the state: Many governments in SSA still show relatively limited commitment to eliminating poverty. A World Bank study found that only 10 governments in SSA in the mid-1990s had effective poverty-reduction strategies (see World Bank, 1996). The adoption of market-driven economic reforms necessarily reduces the role of the state in supporting youth. This is because, while it is accepted that governments should provide basic public services (in particular education and health), the provision and funding of other services should be privatised wherever possible. In conjunction with democratisation and decentralisation, civil society itself must take the lead in providing a range of services to promote community development. Most youth are young adults who are members of extended households. Consequently, with respect to economic services, there is no need to treat youth any differently from adults who are expected to respond to improved economic incentives as a result of economic reform.

Resources: Public expenditure on ‘economic services’ that are most likely to benefit OSY has been contracting in most countries in SSA. Education and health budgets, on the other hand, have been protected. Public expenditure on vocational education and training which has been most important area of public support for youth and YEDC has been falling in most countries.

“Youth” as a distinct social category: Youth as a whole is too large and heterogeneous social category to be a major priority for governments in SSA. Crosscutting ‘youth relations’ do not impact on social and economic outcomes in the same way that ‘gender relations’ do. The interests of different segments of youth are very different and often contradictory, particularly with respect to gender and economic status. YEDC do need to be targeted, but governments generally lack the resources to deliver major programmes. Many groups of YEDC are regarded as ‘delinquents’ and so it is difficult for even sympathetic governments to generate political support for non-coercive programmes.

Difficult to reach: Out-of-school youth are mostly illiterate and many are unemployed or seriously under-employed. Most adolescents and even older youth are members of households and are not, therefore, fully independent economic actors. They lack control, therefore, over their livelihoods. Even projects that are self-selecting do not usually attract OSY. Older women in households tend to monopolise new economic opportunities while adolescent girls act as ‘skivvies’. Female youth are silent and lack confidence, but generally, are the most oppressed. Consequently, ‘adolescent girls are virtually invisible in the public domain’ (Mensch et al, 1998: 78).

Youth who urgently need support (street children, criminals, etc) are invariably the most difficult to reach. Government policies and practices towards these highly marginalised groups tend to be repressive and coercive.

Non-Governmental Organisations

NGOs are increasingly expected to take the leading role in providing services and other support for youth livelihoods. The main responsibility of government is to create the necessary ‘enabling environment’. With the collapse of state services in many countries, grass roots and other community-based organisations have proliferated.

While NGOs are expected to take the lead, their overall capacity remains limited. Most are very small and have a limited geographical focus. In Tanzania, for example, 60 percent of NGOs have fewer than ten staff. Big NGOs similar to BRAC in Bangladesh and the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka, which serve tens of thousands of people do not exist in SSA. The main contribution of many NGOs is the development of ‘innovative’ programmes. They frequently have more room for manoeuvre. In part, is because NGOs are not as politically vulnerable as governments in sensitive areas, particularly sexual and reproductive health.

The prospects of NGOs taking responsibility for scaling-up of major service activities remain limited in many countries.

Church-related organisations are the most important providers of training to OSY, particularly in rural areas in most of SSA. Conventional training courses are usually of 1-3 years in duration and target primary school dropouts and primary school leavers. No other services are usually provided. The Salesians of Dob Bosco are one of the most important church organisations providing vocational training in Africa. In Liberia, for example, they have seven training and rehabilitation programmes for young people aged 7 to 20 with over 7000 direct beneficiaries.

International NGOs have a high profile in many countries. Increasingly, they see their role as working with 'partner' organisations providing finance and technical assistance. However, apart from projects assisting street children, there is relatively little explicit support for youth livelihoods. The main focus is on reproductive health, area-based community development programmes, micro-finance, and income generating projects with a strong focus on the women's group model. International NGOs have tended to concentrate on working in rural areas, although a number have developed urban programmes in recent years. In urban areas, housing has usually been their top priority followed by health, income generation activities, and children in especially difficult circumstances.

International NGOs are generally wary of traditional, long term training courses because they are too long and expensive and are not generally accessible to the poorest and women. Participatory skill development is an increasingly popular alternative approach to conventional training that underpins the activities of many NGOs. This approach, which draws heavily on the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, seeks to develop forms of non-formal education and training that encourage and empower the poor to challenge the unequal social relations that result in mass poverty. The main argument here is that lack of training is not usually the most critical problem for the poor since most already have the necessary survival skills. The views of Soto and his followers have been particularly influential. They argue forcefully that 'the main constraint is not lack of human capital but the impediments put in their way by state policies and practices' (Harper, 1996: 107). An inability to access credit on reasonable terms is one of the most serious of these impediments. Traditionally, training has been regarded as a prerequisite in order to provide the poor with the skills that can be utilised through the provision of credit. The new approach, on the other hand, effectively reverses this traditional sequence of training then credit'. Given that the key skills are already available, credit is the most critical input precisely because 'it releases the potential contained in these (indigenous) skills' (Kabeer, 1994:230). The poor do not need, therefore, to be 'trained' by outside instructors since they can manage their own process of skill formation through their own efforts. 'Poor rural women are experienced and knowledgeable managers of their local environments in need of material assistance from governments rather than top-down 'education' instructions' (ibid: 265).

The new generation of NGOs are more overtly political in that their main focus is to support collective action among the poor and particularly women in order to achieve specific economic, social and political. They tend therefore to work with groups rather than individuals and, as intermediary institutions, support grassroots organisations of the poor. Their main objective is to help to empower the poor by providing support that enables them to take responsibility for diagnosing their own problems and developing appropriate solutions. Promoting awareness and attitudes that result in greater self-confidence and self-belief is therefore of crucial importance. It is for this reason that NGOs place so much emphasis on 'life skills' training and learning by doing.

Local NGOs are heavily dependent on overseas financial support, either directly from official funding agencies or international NGOs. With declining aid budgets, many NGOs are faced with serious funding crisis. In order to survive, some are commercialising their activities which has major implications for their capacity to support disadvantaged groups, including youth.

Despite widespread claims that NGOs have a better record working with the poor, "systematic evidence in support of these propositions is scanty". NGOs have a poor record on supporting enterprise training (see Bennell, 1999).

ANNEX 5

EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING ISSUES

A dominant theme of many critiques of formal basic education in SSA is that schools do not impart the skills that are most urgently needed by the large majority of children whose main livelihoods continue to be based on smallholder farming and small-scale income earning activities in the informal sector. It is because schools are so irrelevant both in terms of the content of what is taught and the attitudes that are engendered that drop-out rates are so high and school leavers are so 'alienated' (see UNESCO, 1998). It is widely believed among politicians and senior policymakers in SSA that 'the lack of appropriate technical education among school-going rural youth is the single greatest handicap to the development of self-employment in the rural setting'. Vocationalising the school curricula is seen, therefore, as the single most urgent reform needed for the development of viable youth livelihoods.

Numerous initiatives to create more relevant, vocationalised curricula in SSA have generally failed mainly because both students and parents are highly resistant to this kind of reform. 'The very idea of education and training for self-employment has in the past been widely regarded by youth of school-going age and their parents as almost a contradiction in terms as institutions of learning are meant to assist in escaping from this fate' (Hoppers, 1994:8). It is a basic fallacy therefore to believe that schools can change the dominant attitudes that students and other major stakeholders have concerning the overall purpose of formal education (see Foster, 1966). These attitudes are shaped by the basic structure of incentives in a society and so long as formal sector employment continues to offer the main opportunity for social and economic advancement, this will remain the primary motive for investing in school.

On the supply side, acute resource constraints have also undermined the implementation of full-blown vocational training in secondary schools. Students costs are typically at least 50-75 higher than in purely academic programmes and shortages of adequately qualified and experienced teachers remain acute (see Bennell, 1999). Poor quality of training has meant that examination pass rates are generally very low and relatively few of the successful students take up employment in the occupations that they were trained for.

Weaker forms of vocationalisation in schools in SSA are relatively common. Students take one or more 'practical' subjects (usually carpentry, metalwork, agriculture, home economics and clothing technology). Again, however, the quality of training and student interest is generally low.

The prospects for 'education for all' in SSA during the next 10-15 years are poor, especially in countries where current enrolment rates are below 50 percent and population growth remains high (above 2.5 percent per annum) (see Bennell, 1999). Even with increased formal provision, the overall number of out-of-school youth could still increase significantly during the next decade

as poor parents and guardians who have short time horizons become increasingly aware of the limited pay-offs to education.

Given the continued limited availability of public education and the overriding imperative to devote most available time to supporting individual and household livelihoods, the scope for out-of-school youth to re-enrol in full-time public education is generally quite limited in most of Africa. Many are too old as a result of disruptions to their lives caused by protracted conflicts and civil strife and the most disadvantaged (in particular street children) are too poor or emotionally disturbed to attend normal government schools. Consequently, while improving the overall quality of primary education must remain a top priority, alternative forms of non-formal educational provision, which are low cost and accessible to (especially those who are economically active) need to be expanded as a matter of urgency.

The fact remains, however, that the current priority attached to formal primary education by governments and funding agencies will continue to militate against the rapid expansion of NFE for youth in SSA. It is widely asserted that formal primary education has much higher social rates of returns than adult literacy programmes. Expanding girls' education is widely seen as the most important public intervention in order to change their social and economic situation. However, among NGOs, literacy training is a high priority activity and is commonly incorporated into income generating projects and savings and credit groups.

Community schools

Proponents of community schools argue that this type of education has a key role to play in solving the problem of out-of-school youth in SSA. Evidence is limited, but learning outcomes in language and mathematics do appear to compare favourably with government schools, although gender differentials in performance still persist (see Hyde et al, 1996 and Muskin, 1997). With lower costs per student than at government schools, community schools appear, therefore, to be relatively cost-effective forms of education provision for OSY. However, 'the suspicion is that these institutions are not as cheap as their promoters would have us believe' (Hyde, 1999:16).

While community schools provide access to education for disadvantaged children and youth, particularly from rural areas who would otherwise remain uneducated, they are clearly a 'second tier' of education provision for poorest children with a higher cost burden for parents than at free or heavily subsidised government schools. Given the high demands that community schools place on poor, agricultural communities, their overall sustainability in the absence of external funding is likely to be problematic. Community schools are only a viable option for communities that are unwilling to accept the standard model of state education provision (in particular the amount of time children are expected to be at school) or are in locations where it is too expensive or difficult to provide basic education.

The training crisis in SSA

In reviewing the key lessons that emerge from training interventions for youth in SSA, one is faced with a paradox. On the one hand, the livelihoods approach highlights the fundamental importance of improving the capabilities of the poor, in particular among those whose labour is their only form of capital. The development of vocational, business and other life skills is therefore a precondition in order to improve the livelihoods of disadvantaged youth. On the other hand, however, a strong consensus exists that most training has failed to have any appreciable impact on the livelihoods of the poor in SSA. Most expert commentators agree that training in the informal sector is 'difficult and no one has a workable formulae on how to proceed' (Castro, 1996:23) and that 'few training schemes for the self-employed have worked' (ILO, 1994). Faced with this 'training crisis', there has been a strong move away from training in favour of other interventions, most notably health and micro-finance that are seen to have considerably greater potential for improving the well-being of the poor.

There are two basic dimensions to this training crisis. The first relates to the innate difficulties of providing training services to poor people. The skill requirements of survival enterprises, particularly those in the services sector, are usually fairly minimal and the poor themselves do not usually have the time or resources to be able to benefit from the training services that are on offer. In simple numerical terms, 'survival' enterprises and income generating activities predominate in most informal sectors. Skill requirements for most tasks undertaken in these types of economic activity are minimal and/or relatively easily acquired on the job. Women are particularly heavily concentrated in low skill activities (most notably street vendors and food preparation). It is difficult therefore to see how conventional training services could significantly increase productivity and/or incomes in these kinds of activities. 'Within the household sub-sector and independent services sub-sector, training, in itself, has little impact in breaking the low income trap' (ILO, 1997:103). In addition, 'economic compulsions' and 'acute vulnerability on a daily basis' keep the poor out of conventional training. Although most labour surveys show high levels of 'under-employment', most poor people (especially poor women) are, in fact, too busy working to have time to enrol on training courses of any kind.

The low level of effective demand for training services in the informal sector has been consistently identified by innumerable surveys in SSA. Entrepreneurs and workers generally rank formal training to overcome skill constraints as one of their lowest priorities. Credit and access to markets are almost universally the most critical constraints. Typically, entrepreneurs and artisans only start to become aware of the usefulness of training once they have gained access to new markets. Training demand in the informal sector is also probably in many countries as increasing levels of competition from new entrants are lowering incomes.

The second dimension of the crisis concerns the overall lack of provision and poor quality of training services for the poor. Public training institutions in

SSA, in particular, have been criticised for being elitist and ineffectual. These institutions, it is argued, have neither the capacity nor the incentives to re-orient their training services to support disadvantaged youth or other groups of poor people. NGOs are closer to the people but they remain at the margins of the training system and lack the resources to make a large-scale sustained contribution.

For many, particularly those working in the NGO sector, the very concept of 'training' is itself problematic. The conventional dictionary definition of training is 'to prepare the performance for a task(s) by instruction'. However, it is clear that training can be more broadly defined to include not only formal instruction, but advice and any other purposeful activity that seeks to enhance the capabilities of particular client groups through the provision of relevant knowledge and /or the development of specific skills. The traditional concept of training is therefore being superseded by a much wider definition which focuses on activities that promote learning and skill acquisition through empowerment and capacity building, but which are frequently not considered to be training per se.

Many organisations are reluctant to describe what they do as 'training' because, with the growing emphasis on individual and community empowerment, the notion that poverty reduction entails a simple transfer of a discrete body of knowledge and skills from the 'haves' to the 'have nots' is politically and intellectually objectionable. For these reasons, the training function is itself becoming invisible, not so much because it is being ignored or excluded, but because it is being more closely integrated or embedded in a range of financial and non-financial interventions that collectively seek to improve youth and other livelihoods. This is precisely why most NGOs have such difficulty in evaluating the 'training' impacts of their project and programmes.

While a number of important lessons have been learned, the fact remains that there still no clear strategic vision about what training services are required to improve the livelihoods of disadvantaged youth in Africa and how these should be provided. It is this lack of vision, of simply not knowing what to do, which is perhaps the most worrying aspect of the training crisis in the continent as a whole.

ANNEX 6

STREET CHILDREN PROGRAMMES

The number of NGO street children projects in SSA is growing rapidly. Every city has numerous projects. There are a diversity of approaches. More traditional projects are sponsored by churches and well meaning individuals. Newer NGOs have adopted more sophisticated and multi-dimensional approaches, but the numbers of children who can be taken off the streets and put into residential care are still very small.

There is a broad consensus that working with street children is very difficult. Costs are high and sustainable impacts usually limited. Repressive government policies and practices pose a major challenge. Effective support needs to be multi-dimensional and very high quality. In particular, the psychological/emotional needs of children have to be addressed. Although many street children indicate that they would like to return home, most come from unsupported families so there is no real possibility of returning.

Other key lessons of street children programmes are as follows:

- The prospects of reuniting children with their families are usually poor because they are orphans or their families are not supportive or still unable to cope.
- Many poor programmes are poorly conceived: They tend to be 'tentative and sympathy driven'. Many are based on 'western conceptions' and are 'not sensitive to African culture'
- The root causes of destitution have to be addressed. Where possible, projects must work with the families of street children and, in particular, those families where children are already on the street in order to prevent other children leaving.

ANNEX 7

YOUTH LIVELIHOOD PROGRAMMES: CASE STUDIES

A. Non-formal education

Case study 1: Community rural schools in Mali

Save the Children (US) has supported and managed with local partners a programme of community rural schools in Kolondieba District, Mali. Established in 1992, the programme has been broadly modelled on the BRAC community school in Bangladesh, although there have been a number of local adaptations. Participating villages are expected to build their own schools with materials supplied by SCF/US. The schools are stocked by SCF/US with educational materials for use during the first year. Instructors are respected members of the community who have at least five years of education or have been trained by SCF/US for literacy work. Their salary, which is paid by the community, is approximately one-ninth of the cost of a government teacher. The schools have three grades (compared to six in government primary schools) and the 'reduced' curriculum focuses on reading, writing and mathematics, with mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Enrolment is open to all children with gender parity.

The school attendance rate in the district was only 14 percent at the early 1990s. The current target is to achieve full educational coverage by 2000. There are now over 900 community schools in Mali.

B. Training services

Case study 2: Rural Training Centre for Youth, Matabeleland North Province, Zimbabwe

The overall aim of the project is to establish an effective and self-sustaining vocational training centre in Matabeleland North Province in Zimbabwe, which enables young people to generate their own income in rural areas. Unemployment among youth in this area is very high and there is considerable rural-urban migration. There are very few facilities in the region providing practical vocational training, which could lead to employment in the rural informal sector.

A British NGO, ApT, is working in partnership with ORAP, a relatively large and well-established Zimbabwean NGO. The duration of the project is five years (1995-2000). 600 trainees from poor backgrounds are to receive training in four areas: metal fabrication, food technology (crop production, cooking and baking, garment making), and carpentry. At least half of the trainees are to be young women. Trainees are nominated by their local communities and then carefully screened by Centre staff for 'entrepreneurial potential and aptitude'. It is intended that by the end of the project, 400 trainees will have established their own businesses. In order to ensure that

training provision is demand-driven, a market survey was undertaken to identify business activities where viable opportunities exist for young people.

Three types of post-training support are to be provided: Business and technical advice by centre staff on an extension basis; a small hire purchase scheme using revolving funds to give trainees access to tools and working capital, and the provision of small loans. Strengthening ORAP's overall capacity to manage and develop training and enterprise programmes in the future is another major objective of the project.

The total cost of the project is £600,000 (US\$980,000), half of which is provided by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). The centre is expected to meet all operational costs by the end of the project. The main sources of income are projected to be rental of centre facilities (25 percent), training fees (50 percent) and income earned from the supply of goods and services to local communities (25 percent). Given the wide catchment area and relatively remote location of the centre, training is residential and staff housing has to be provided.

The main problem that has affected the project is the unrealistically short time expected for training. It was originally envisaged that a two-month course would be sufficient. However, 'given the low technical/academic background of the trainees', the duration of the training has had to be considerably extended- to six months in the case of the metal fabrication course. Other major problems have been: staff recruitment, high staff turnover, serious water shortages, and the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar, which resulted in a tenfold increase in construction costs.

The first intake of students was supposed to be in April 1997. However, by early 1998, only two courses had started with a total enrolment of 30 students. The total number of trainees is unlikely to exceed 200 by the end of the project period. Nor is the centre likely to be financially sustainable.

Case study 3: The Senegalese Association for Help in the Training and Placement of Disadvantaged Youth (ASAFIN).

Established in 1981, ASAFIN provides training to poor, out-of-school youth between the ages of 14-21. Its main partner organisation is the Orphan Apprentices Foundation in Auteil, France. ASAFIN's training centre employs 20 full-time and 50 part-time staff. Total enrolment in the mid-1990s was 2,400, 30 percent of whom were young women. Students come from all over Senegal as well as neighbouring countries. Most courses are heavily over-subscribed.

A three year training in a wide range of semi-skilled and skilled, mainly manual occupations is provided, but industrial placements with local enterprises are only available for approximately 200 students each year. The centre has developed its own curriculum and certification. Training is both 'informal and non-conventional'.

ASAFIN also assists students to find jobs and promotes micro-enterprises. Students are expected to develop their own employment projects. 'The children enter the centre with a project in mind, and they come out with the capacities and competencies to carry out their project, provided they are given the means'.

Student fees account for three-quarters of the Centre's income. The remainder comes from grants from local and foreign organisations. The government makes a small financial contribution, which amounts to no more than 1-2 percent of total income. Total expenditure per student was around US\$130 in the early-mid 1990s. Fees are waived for around one-quarter of students who are orphans or cannot afford to pay.

Evidence of employment outcomes is very limited. The centre's management claims that 85 percent of graduates find suitable employment, but it is not clear what the breakdown is between wage and self-employment. ASAFIN graduates are recognised as being 'creative, non-fatalistic (sic) and enterprising'. However, the overall management of the centre remains weak. ASAFIN is a 'paradox, because in spite of the positive results and its expansion, management has no mechanism for planning, systematic evaluation, or follow-up'.

Case study 5: Church-run Vocational Training Centres, Tanzania

In 1996, there were 177 not-for-profit training centres in Tanzania which were registered with the government, of which 158 were run by churches (mostly Lutheran and Catholic). Enrolments at church-run vocational training centres totalled almost 15,000 and accounted for nearly one-third of all students undertaking vocational training. Government training institutions only enrolled 5,400 students.

Church-run VTCs mainly provide training in basic trades to primary school leavers and dropouts in rural areas. A survey of these centres in three regions (Kilimanjaro, Moshi and Dar Es Salaam) found that five traditional manual trades account for nearly two-thirds of all enrolments (tailoring (33 percent), electrical installation (13), motor mechanics (9), carpentry (6), masonry (3)). Female students comprised 60 percent of enrolments and were mainly undertaking tailoring and secretarial courses. 80 percent of the training is at least two years in duration. Students sit for government trade tests at the end of their course. Each VTC typically enrolls less than 75 students (see Bennell, 1999c).

In overall terms, enrolments at these church-run training centres have stagnated during the 1990s. Between 1990 and 1996, enrolments declined at 40 percent of the surveyed VTCs and at another 24 percent, annual enrolment growth rate was less than five percent. In marked contrast, enrolments at for-profit commercial training centres grew rapidly during this period. There are three main reasons for this situation.

- Church-based VTCs have continued to offer training in the same traditional trades at a time when employment opportunities in most of these trades have become less attractive, especially in rural locations. Commercial training centres, on the other hand, have responded quickly to the emergence of new training opportunities, particularly in the area of computing.

High dropout rates are also the norm for most training courses at these centres. This is mainly because, once students have acquired basic skills in their chosen trades, many see little point in continuing to the end of courses and acquiring a government certificate since most of them are destined to become self-employed in the informal sector. Pass rates in trade tests are also very low (well under 50 percent), which also discourages students to enrol and further encourages early dropouts.

- These centres have been forced to increase their fees significantly since the early 1990s as funding from overseas has declined. Between 1990 and 1996, the median fees for all courses increased by 200-300 percent. By 1996, the fees charged for the cheapest courses amounted to approximately 22.5 percent of average per capita household expenditure in rural areas. Given the social goals of the churches, most would have preferred to make up shortfalls in funding caused by declining donor support by increasing their own income generation activities. Their failure to do so has been largely due to the difficulties of sustaining and promoting income generation activities in the context of depressed rural markets.
- Academic secondary education, mainly at private schools, has expanded rapidly since the late 1980s. Both students and parents generally have a marked preference for academic secondary schools as opposed to artisanal vocational training centres.

Case study 6: Limuru Girl's Centre, Kenya

The Limuru Girl's Centre is run by a local NGO, which, since 1981, has provided training in agriculture and clothing technology for adolescent women from poor backgrounds. 'It aims to turn out sound citizens with leadership skills, experience and training so that they can either take up employment or return home their homes and set up their own businesses as well as taking an active role in the women's' group movement'.

Entrance requirements are relatively high, namely a minimum of Grade C in the Form Four examination i.e. 12 years of education. The training courses are full-time for three years and students sit for national craft examinations. Additional training is also provided in business education, business English and women's health. Total enrolment is around 150. The centre is totally reliant on overseas funding. In recent years, the Danish government has been the main funder.

Limited information is available on training and employment outcomes. LGC is the only institution in the country that offers craft-level training for young women in agriculture and most graduates get jobs with companies in the agricultural sector. However, employment prospects for clothing technology students are relatively poor mainly because 'stiff competition makes it difficult for graduates to market themselves to potential employers or customers'.

Case study 7: The Educational and Vocational Training Programmes of the Undugu Society of Kenya

The Undugu Society of Kenya is a large, local NGO, which has a variety of programmes that support 'street children' and the communities they come from in Nairobi, Kenya. It was established in 1972 and now works in three major slum areas of the city. In the mid-1990s, USK directly assisted 1,500 young people, which is around one percent of the estimated total population of street children in Nairobi.

USK provides basic education, vocational training, and financial support for disadvantaged youth in order to equip them with the capabilities and assets to generate sufficient survival levels of income.

Basic education: USK originally provided scholarships to street children so that they could re-enrol in government schools. However, many were unable to adjust to the structured classroom environment and dropped-out of school yet again. USK decided therefore to establish its own non-formal, 'practical' education programme called 'school for life'. Centres have been established throughout the city, which deliver the full primary education curriculum to out-of-school youth over a three-year period. The curriculum covers 'real topics' that directly address the needs of these children. Around 700 primary school dropouts attend USK's school for life each year.

One year of vocational training in basic trades is provided at USK's own training centres, mainly for youth who successfully complete their three year basic education. Most of the training is male-oriented (carpentry, motor mechanics, metal work). Pass rates in government craft examinations are generally high. In 1990, USK also started an Informal Sector Training Programme. Students who have completed their vocational training are helped to find artisans who are prepared to provide one year of apprenticeship training. In the mid-1990s, there were around 100 USK apprentices and the average cost of facilitating each apprenticeship was K.Sh. 6-8000 (US\$100-125). Apprentices spend 90 percent of their time being trained on the job and spend the remaining 10 percent of their time receiving formal classroom instruction.

On completion of their training, micro-credit has been made available to USK trainees in order to help them start their own businesses. However, repayment rates have been very low and credit is no longer made available. An equipment loan scheme is being considered as a more viable alternative.

C. Financial services

Case study 8: Partnership for Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health (PALS), Zambia

The PALS project is based in four urban 'locations' in Lusaka and Livingstone. Phase 1 of the project (1996-1999) provided an integrated package of services targeted at both communities and health clinic that had as its overall objective the improvement of youth sexual and reproductive health. This included the extensive use of peer educators (for information dissemination and sale of condoms) and youth-friendly clinical services (in particular the establishment of Youth Friendly Corners). CARE and the Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia have worked in close partnership with the targeted communities in the design and implementation of the project. A comprehensive participatory learning assessment was undertaken at the beginning project, which provides exceptionally good baseline information for evaluation purposes.

The project also included a micro-finance component. 'The objective of this intervention was to promote safer sex through the introduction of activities that promote a more positive view of one's self and one's future by building skills needed for improving the livelihood status of out of school young people' (Fetters and Munkonze: 1999:iv). A standard group-based lending methodology was employed. A 14-hour business course was delivered to five groups of five-member credit cells. Four credit officers were hired to run the scheme. On completion of the course, each participant was required to produce a business plan for their proposed activity, which was then reviewed by the Credit Review Board. Successful applicants received a loan of Kwacha 100,000 (US\$67 on average), but are expected to repay Kwacha 120,000 to cover the interest rate on the loan and the cost of the Loan Insurance Fund.

A total of 221 adolescents (out of a target of 300) aged 14-19 in two locations, Mtendere and Ngombe, received loans with a six month repayment period. Nearly 95 percent of the loans were used for small scale vending businesses. Repayment rates were very low. Of the total amount disbursed, only 35 percent of loans in Mtendere and 11 percent in Ngombe had been recovered by early 1999. In Mtendere, out of a total of 146 loans, only seven individuals (six girls and one boy) repaid more than Kw.100,000. Between 14-20 percent of participants repaid nothing in both locations. Repayment rates among females were consistently higher than among males.

The internal evaluation of the PALS project cited the following reasons for these poor repayment rates: too lengthy grace and repayment periods, lack of control over the loan, with parents and other household members spending it for consumption purposes, over-reliance on self-selection, and rushed implementation. Loans were disbursed simultaneously which reduced peer group pressure to repay loans.

The evaluation attempted to assess the impact of the micro-finance intervention on sexual reproductive health. There are two possible ways this

could have happened. First, SRH information was included in the business skills course and second, through improvements in the livelihoods of loan recipients. It is not possible to disentangle these two factors. The evaluation report notes however that “many (respondents) said they reduced the amount of sexual activity or partners because this type of behaviour is not conducive to good business and they ‘feared misusing money’” (ibid, 37). The proportion of loan recipients who had had sex in the past three months and used something to prevent pregnancy actually decreased from 72 percent in the baseline survey to 63 percent. In Ngombe, however, (where the overall repayment rate was extremely low), this percentage increased from 68 percent to 90 percent.

Case study 10: Tap and Reposition Youth (TRY) Savings and Credit Project for Adolescent Girls, Nairobi, Kenya.

This is a pilot project to assess the feasibility of establishing a sustainable micro-finance scheme available for adolescent women who have dropped out of school as the principal means of promoting viable micro-enterprise. The Population Council is collaborating with a local micro-finance institution, K-REP in Nairobi Kenya. The specific objectives of the project are to develop and test an approach for extending credit to adolescent women that is financially sustainable and has the potential for scaling-up. The main activity is the development of a credit and saving scheme for an initial group of 100 women using K-Rep’s standard ‘juhudi’ grouping lending methodology. Loans in the range of K.Sh. 5000 to 15,000 (US\$67-200) are to be disbursed during the first year of the two-year project and are to be repaid on a weekly basis. The saving requirement is that participants must save regularly for a minimum of eight weeks and have saved an amount equivalent to 10 percent of the loan requested. Participants are also to receive initial training (one week) in basic management skills as well as on-going support and life skills training at regular weekly meetings. The total project budget is US\$60,000. A full-time loan officer has day to day responsibility for managing the project.

Participants have been carefully screened, in particular in the context of their family and overall level of support. Only one-third are actually adolescents i.e. below 20 with the remainder being in the 20-24 age group. One-third are married and half of them have children. One half have completed primary education and the other half has some secondary education. Preference has been given to women who have had some relevant vocational training. 40 percent had not earned any money before. Most of the 90 loans that had been disbursed from the start of lending activities in June 1999 up to October 1999 were used for the usual ‘gendered’ income earning activities namely vending and garment making. None had defaulted although there had been nine dropouts.

Case study 11: Small-Scale Industries and Graduate Employment Scheme, Nigeria.

The SSIGE programme is one of four programmes established by the National Directorate of Employment in Nigeria, which focus on creating jobs

through self-employment. The programme provides loans to unemployed youth (mainly secondary school leavers and tertiary level graduates) of up to Naira 50,000, which are repayable over a five year period. Loan recipients are encouraged to participate in the Directorate's Entrepreneurship Development Programme. The loan scheme is co-financed by a consortium of banks and the federal government. The loans are collateralised with the original copies of the participant's academic certificates and testimonials.

A survey of loan beneficiaries who had received their loans over four consecutive years was undertaken in seven states. The main findings of the survey were as follows:

- Nearly three-quarters of enterprises were engaged in agricultural and manufacturing activities.
- 40 percent of beneficiaries were located in large urban areas (with populations of more than 100,000)
- Previous training or experience strongly influences choice of activity. Those who opted for 'low skilled service' activities had little formal training or experience.
- Among all four-year groups, around three jobs per enterprise were created in the first year, but thereafter there was little or no employment growth.
- Asset growth was limited. Among beneficiaries in sole proprietary businesses with assets of less than N 50,000 when they first received the loan, only 28 percent had managed to increase their assets to above N 50,000 at the time of the survey.
- The depressed economic environment had a major impact on sales growth. 75 percent of beneficiaries reported negative sales growth (in real terms).
- Repayment rates are very low. No figures are provided, but the evaluation report concludes, 'regrettably, the loan scheme is running out of steam. This is mainly due to the twin problems of high default rate and low budgetary allocation by the Federal Government. The former has remained an intractable problem of government-funded assistance programmes because of the perceived notion of such subsidised programmes as the so-called 'national cake' on the part of the beneficiaries and which the involvement of private banks was meant to eliminate or reduce' (Owualah, 1998: 8).

Case study 12: Trickle-Up Conditional Grants in Africa

Trickle Up is a global micro-grant program. It was started in 1979 and is based in New York. The TUP model seeks to reach the poorest of the poor who are generally excluded by conventional micro-credit programmes and who undertake no or very limited income-generating activity. TUP works in

partnership with locally based development organisations (referred to as Co-ordinating Agencies) who cover the local expenses of implementing the programme so that the full TUP grant goes directly to the entrepreneurs to start their business. The Co-ordinating Agency selects families or groups of three or more people who wish to start a business they have planned themselves. To qualify for a TU grant, each group completes a two-page Business Plan, pledging 250 hours of work per entrepreneur in a three-month period, and savings or re-investment of at least 20 percent of their profit. Once this plan is approved, the beneficiary receives a US\$50 dollar grant. After completing the required hours of work and reinvestment, each completes a two-page Business Report showing whether the business is continuing, hours worked, profit and reinvestment. On receipt of the Business Report showing that the conditions of the grant have been met, another US\$50 grant is made. Twelve months later the Co-ordinating Agency is requested to report briefly on the continuity and progress of the business.

Between 1979 and 1998, a total of 73,500 businesses had received TUP grants. In Africa, 26,085 businesses involving nearly 135,000 entrepreneurs were supported during this period. 64 percent of recipients were women and 45 percent were under 27 years old. The average three-month profit of businesses in Africa supported in 1998 was US\$175 with 82 percent reporting that this was their main source income.

Comprehensive external evaluations have not been undertaken in Africa. An evaluation of TUP grants in Ecuador and Guatemala concluded that the program was largely successful in reaching the poor and enabled recipients to incomes well above the minimum wage. Interestingly, membership of business associations is an important factor in improving business success. 44 percent of grantees in Ecuador and 77 percent in Guatemala were members of business associations. The report recommended that grants should be larger, written reports should be more 'user-friendly', and that more efforts should be made to develop a 'critical mass' of TUP businesses in particular 'economic zones' in order to encourage the development of economic linkages between them.

Sources: TUP, 1998. Fisher and Peck, 1998.

D. Income generation projects

Case study 13: AIDS Widows and Orphans Support Project, Kampala, Uganda

The project began in 1991 with the overall aim of helping HIV-positive parents establish a source of family income. It also provides vocational training for older children and those already orphaned; education on AIDS/behaviour change to teenage children of people with HIV/AIDS; and legal education and advice in order to safeguard the rights of women relatives and children. The project is managed by a British Catholic NGO with financial support from DFID. It has five staff members and an annual budget of around £20,000.

During the period June 1996 to December 1998, the main outputs of the project were as follows:

- 236 people with AIDS (PWAs) started income-generating activities. Nearly 85 percent were in retailing.
- 120 teenagers received vocational training in catering, home management, garment making, carpentry, electrical installation, motor vehicle mechanics, and metal work.
- 90 students were assisted to start tailoring businesses.
- 500 teenagers took part in behaviour change seminars
- 300 children received counselling
- 700 were given legal advice.

Implementation of the proposed activities involves vetting of applications, training in simple bookkeeping and loan management, and on-going monitoring and loan recovery. Initially, the project adopted a welfare approach with exclusive reliance on grants. However, all assistance is now in the form of loans in order to attain financial sustainability. Loan repayments are only 40-50 percent, which is largely due to the frequent periods of ill health and debility among clients. Although over two-thirds of IGAs failed to make a significant profit, three-quarters were continuing which indicates that they must be perceived as being of some benefit, albeit in the longer term.

While training for boys has been at established centres in Kampala, the project took direct responsibility for the training of girls. However, the centres that were built were costly to run and serious difficulties were encountered in recruiting sufficiently well trained and experienced instructors who were sympathetic to the special needs of orphans and children from families living with AIDS. It was decided therefore to hand over the centres to others with more time and resources to devote to them. Unfortunately, the new owners excluded the project clientele and alternative training venues had to be found. On the balance, though, the separation of training activities is appropriate since it allows the project to focus more clearly on income generation and health education.

Case study 14: Employment Creation for Youth, Kenya

Employment Creation for Youth is an 'element' of the Skills and Resources for Community Productivity Project implemented by CARE in six rural locations in Kenya with financial support from CIDA and USAID. The ECY was motivated by the 'the failure of the government's youth polytechnic programme' (CARE, 1997: 3) which was mainly due to the lack of employment opportunities for youth who had been trained. Over-supply of trained youth in a number of trades was a major weakness of the programme.

A comprehensive and thorough evaluation of the ECY was undertaken for the period 1992-1997. Control groups of non-targeted youth in the six communities as well as other locations were also surveyed.

The target beneficiaries of the ECY are unemployed female and male youth between the ages of 15-35. The four main objectives are:

- Develop local sustainable institutions to address youth unemployment
- Develop entrepreneurial skills and local capacity to support an entrepreneurial culture
- Improve access to resources for initiating or expanding employment opportunities among youth
- Improvement in attitudes that restrain youth from taking up available employment opportunities.

Institutional development: Implementation of the ECY has been based on a community-driven extension methodology known as Participatory Information Gathering, Analysis and Dissemination (PIGAD). A PIGAD team comprised of CARE personnel and community members has worked with the target communities in each location to establish sub-PIGADs and youth groups. The evaluation found that while PIGAD teams and (195) youth groups had been established and functioned well, the technical and financial sustainability of the PIGADs was poor. This was despite the fact that 80 percent of the members of PIGAD had received training in career counselling, small enterprise development, the management of revolving loan funds, and leadership and communication skills which improved their self-esteem and their 'co-option into other community leadership roles' (p.18). Exclusive reliance on the voluntary services of PIGAD members resulted in high turnover.

Skills Training: Nearly 4000 youth (30 percent more than planned) received small vocational and business skills training. 37 percent of respondents stated that they had 'adopted improved business management practices, leading to higher turnover and profitability' (ibid,12). However, these claims were not supported by more objective evidence. Nearly half of the youth respondents indicated that the training was too simplistic and thus 'inadequate to cater for the needs of their businesses as they became more complex' (p.23).

Mobilisation and Access to Resources: The ECY set a target of 40 percent of participating youth accessing credit. The PIGADs mobilised almost K.Sh. 1 million in equity contributions from the targeted communities, which has been used by youth groups to establish revolving loan funds. While about one-quarter of the participating youth had constituted themselves into RLF groups, only 8.9 percent obtained loans from this source. The annual interest rate charged on loans was 32 per cent, which was considered as 'prohibitive' by participating youth. Repayment rates were generally low because of the lack of 'credible action' on loan defaulters. However, the ECY element has engendered a 'saving culture' among youth who have participated in the RLF groups.

Attitude Formation and Change: The ECY intervention has led to 'a significant career attitudinal change among the youth'. Nearly two-thirds of the target youth in the six locations were actively involved in ECY activities, surpassing the stated objective of 60 percent. All of the youth surveyed reported

'undertaking some self-employment following the element interventions' (ibid, 11). Career counselling 'changed the youth's career preferences in favour of self-employment, especially in business' (p. 16).

The ECY had an overall impact goal of 50 percent of participating youth achieving at least a 50 percent increase in income. In the event, only 25.7 percent of the evaluation respondents reported an increase in incomes of at least this magnitude. However, 100 percent of respondents stated that their incomes were more than K.Sh. 65 per day, compared with a target of 30 percent. While little information was collected on the precise nature of the productive activities undertaken by participants, 'it would appear that the greatest impact of the ECY element is not on the generation of new employment opportunities, but rather on the reduction of under-employment among existing businesses' (p.16).

Case study 15: Youth Skills Enterprise Initiative, Lusaka, Zambia

The YSEI is a joint undertaking of the Zambia Red Cross, the YWCA of Zambia, and Street Kids International. The primary goal of the programme is to provide street and working youth in Lusaka with an opportunity to earn an increased daily income, and to learn useful business and life skills. It aims to be a youth-centred process that addresses the practical economic needs as well as the broader social and health needs of youth. The target group is youth between the ages of 14 and 22, out of school with a grade 9 education or less, living in sub-standard or unsafe living conditions, and subjected to physical or emotional abuse.

YSEI provides training and credit and training to this target group. Between October 1996 when the programme was started and June 1998, an annual intake target of 72 individuals for the two implementing agencies (ZRC and YWCA) has been set. The 'guiding principles' of YSEI are as follows:

Peer lending: A standard group lending methodology has been adopted. Participants are divided into self-selected small teams (of 5-7 members) with other participants that they trust, and sign a binding agreement to co-guarantee each other's loans. Up to three loans are available –of up to US\$25, US\$80 and US\$60 respectively. The interest rate is 15 percent and the repayment period is three months. The members of each team are only eligible for subsequent loans once every team member has repaid their current loan. During the repayment period, participants are required to attend weekly meetings.

Parental and guardian involvement: Given that participants are still under the influence of adult authority and supervision, it is critical to establish a 'positive, informal relationship' with parents and guardians. They are obliged to sign a formal contract that they approve of their child's participation and that they will not interfere with their loans and business activities.

Training: All participants have to complete preparatory training which includes 15 sessions of 2-3 hours over three weeks. The training covers basic

business skills, and life skills for business management, and health and social issues. Strong reliance is placed on visual aids and participatory activities. Five training sessions of 2-3 hours are required to receive a second loan.

Selection: YSEI programme officers very carefully select participants. Strong links have been established with reliable community organisations that work with youth.

Form of loan: To reduce the demands for self-discipline, the challenges of handling large sums of money, and the risk of appropriation by family and friends, loans are disbursed in the form of business assets rather than cash.

Positive incentives: Goal-setting and incentives (most notably certificates for completion of training and loan repayment, social events, and provision of snacks and beverages) help to motivate and encourage participants.

Only limited information on programme performance is available. The short-term target for loan repayment is 70 percent, but this should increase to 95 percent once the programme is well established. For the first intake (June 1996), the YWCA disbursed 43 first loans with a 9 percent default rate and the Red Cross disbursed 31 loans with a default rate of 16 percent. Among second loans, however, 58 percent were in arrears. By July 1997, the overall default rates on all loans were 38 percent and 12 percent for the YWCA and ZRC respectively.

The overall (net) monthly income target is at least US\$25 within six months of starting their business. Among the third intake (June 1998), the average net income was US\$54 in mid 1999.

E. Small enterprise development

Case study 16: Youth Business Trusts in Ghana and South Africa

The Youth Business Trust (YBT) model was first developed in the UK by the Prince's Trust in the mid-1980s. It has subsequently been extended to a number of developing countries. In Africa, YBTs have been established in Gambia, Ghana and South Africa and youth enterprise organisations are in the early stages of becoming YBTs in Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

The YBT model provides a package of services to unemployed, under-employed and under-financed young people aged 16-35 who have viable business ideas. The package of services includes micro-loans, grants, mentoring and advice, and training in business management and technical skills. The model is based on a tri-sectoral partnership between government, NGOs and the private sector. Regular mentorship, which is provided on a voluntary basis by private sector managers and other appropriate individuals in the community, is 'perhaps the most distinctive element of the YBT model'. It seeks to build the social capital base on which an aspirant entrepreneur can succeed. An individual lending methodology is employed with no explicit collateral requirements and no penalties for late re-payments. Loans are

obtained on the basis of personal guarantees and a thorough analysis of the applicant had his/her business plan. No follow-up loans are available. Grants are also provided.

An evaluation was undertaken of YBTs in Ghana and South Africa in 1998. The numbers of participants were small in both countries (20 and 217 respectively) and females were seriously under-represented (22 per cent in Ghana and 44 per cent in South Africa). The average size of loan was £613 in Ghana (254 percent of GNP/capita) and £302 in South Africa (only 20 percent of GNP/capita). While the scheme did not therefore assist the poor in Ghana, in South Africa support was provided to more marginal micro-entrepreneurs. No information was given on the age profile of participants.

All clients interviewed stated that the loan from the YBT had had 'a significant impact in terms of increased sales and profits'. However, no hard evidence on actual impact was provided to support these subjective responses, which are likely to be highly biased.

Participants in Ghana expressed a high level of satisfaction with the mentoring they had received. However, in South Africa, mentoring was generally ineffective. Only nine percent of participants were satisfied with their mentors. It is generally a lot more difficult to provide effective mentoring in rural areas.

YBTs are best suited to provide generic and broad-brush business management training. They generally lack the high levels of in-house expertise to offer other kinds of more specialised business as well as technical training as rely on other training providers for this support.

Most YBTs in developing countries are not sustainable without donations. The YBT in South Africa only managed to cover 17 percent of its total operating costs (including loan loss provisions). This is despite having an effective interest rate of 55 percent. In Ghana, loans have only made very recently so repayment data is not available. Using proxy data, the evaluation estimates that 'portfolios at risk' were 62 percent in South Africa and 40 percent in Ghana in mid 1998.

In neither country is an effective loan tracking system in place. A major concern is that 'social goals are seen as more important than on-time loan repayment'. Without major changes in management policies and practices, the scope for scaling-up the YBT model is very limited.

Case study 18: Katutura Youth Enterprise Centre, Windhoek, Namibia

KAYEC was established in 1993 as a joint initiative of the Lutheran and Anglican churches in Windhoek, Namibia. The centre received funding from DFID between 1995 and 1998 in order that KAYEC could consolidate and expand its services. A One-Stop Enterprise Centre has been established which brings together in one location practical participatory training courses for young unemployed people in life, business and vocational skills. These

courses are coupled to an advisory service on loan applications and marketing, together with the provision of back-up support for the preparation of business plans, information on job opportunities in the formal sector, and facilitating link-ups with successful business mentors. Graduates of KAYEC are encouraged to join its Enterprise Club in order to provide mutual support and encouragement to new trainees and advise on new training courses and other activities. The main target group is unemployed urban youth in the 18 to 30 age-range, with preference given to women. The minimum education entry qualification is Grade 9. Education As part of DFID support, a youth enterprise tourist project was developed as a source of income to meet the Centre's operational costs.

Total enrolments on KAYEC courses were 1,739 between 1994 and 1998. However, enrolments on the vocational training courses were much smaller: only 73 students completed the modular-based courses in bricklaying and plastering during this period. 62 percent of trainees have become economically active - 28 percent are in full-time employment, 22 percent in part-time employment, but only 12 percent have started their own businesses (mostly in retail activities and small-scale manufacturing). However, in the absence of a control group of unemployed youth, it is not possible to reach firm conclusions concerning the employment outcomes of the project. Rates of self-employment have been higher (35 percent) among graduates of the business course which is based on the ILO Start Your Own Business curriculum.

Student proficiency (especially in English and maths) has also been a problem on some courses. There is some pressure therefore to increase the minimum education requirement and selection procedures need to be tightened.

Post-training services are only provided to those trainees who are self-employed. KAYEC personnel try to visit each trainee every month during the first year after completing their training although this has been difficult to achieve in practice. A total of 52 loans have been accessed from lending institutions with a default rate of only 9.6 percent and one-third of loans fully repaid. KAYEC plans to start its own Micro-Credit Loan Scheme with the intention of making loans of up to N\$5000 available to graduates who come from highly disadvantaged backgrounds, but have demonstrated their potential to start their own businesses.

Only limited progress has been made with respect to income generation and cost recovery. Micro stalls where students could market their products and services were not profitable mainly because rents were too high and the centre is located some distance from the main commercial centre of the township. The tourist project was not considered to be viable and was abandoned. Fees (ranging from N\$50 to N\$360) are charged which ensure that 'clients place a premium on the value of the training courses it offers'. However, the total cost of courses offered by the centre averaged N\$1,225 between 1994 and 1998. The centre remains heavily reliant therefore on grants and other donations.

F. Institutional Development and Empowerment

Case study 19: Environmental Development and Action (ENDA)

ENDA has a wide range of programmes that support urban youth in Africa, Asia and Asia. ENDA was established in Dakar, Senegal in 1972 and now works with youth in four other countries in SSA (Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mali and Zimbabwe). During the 1980s, ENDA pioneered a participatory, action research methodology in order to ensure that its programmes not only address the needs of disadvantaged urban youth but are also owned by them. ENDA has relied on multiple popular networks that are embedded in civil society in order to promote large-scale change that goes beyond micro-projects.

In Dakar, the ENDA Jeunesse Action programme provides the following services:

- Non-formal education on the street to out-of-school youth;
- 'Introduction to life' camps which help street children re-establish their links with their families. Nearly half of the children who attend the ten day camp return to their families;
- Support for youth organisations, particularly in the areas of sports and culture. Using culture as a catalyst for action is central to ENDA's overall philosophy.
- An apprenticeship scheme working with artisans in the popular economy. The apprenticeship is for seven years and covers all the major trades. 280 apprentices and 100 artisans are involved in the scheme.
- Rehabilitation of youth offenders. Carpet-weaving workshops have been established for youth prisoners

The ENDA-Sante programme focuses on AIDS prevention. A two-day training course has been designed for local youth leaders and other individuals working with youth. 1800 'community monitors' (who are mostly aged 25-30) provide information and advice on sexual and reproductive health to groups of least 100 youth in Gambia, Mauritania, Mali and Senegal.

ENDA-Siggi (which, in Wokof, means 'lift up your head and fight adversity') and ENDA Graf (Group for Research Action and Training) programmes provide financial services for the poor. Workshops are held to 'introduce solidarity and create a critical spirit'. For example, with the help of ENDA, the Women's Savings and Loans Association of Grand-Yoff in Senegal has increased its membership from 700 in 1987 to 2500 in 1996.

Institutional development is a major focus of ENDA's work. Between 1990 and 1997, ENDA trained over 1500 urban animators from 15 African countries in participatory research techniques.

The empowerment of youth underpins all of ENDA's programmes, both at the individual and institutional levels. ENDA has also assisted housemaids and

other low paid youth in Dakar to form the Mouvement des Enfants et Jeunes Travailleurs in 1992 which had 800 members in 1998. It is estimated that there are nearly 90,000 'mbindaan' housemaids in Senegal who migrate to urban areas. Most work very long hours, receive little or no pay, and are poorly fed and housed by their employers.

As a trade union organisation for youth, MEJT campaigns for the enforcement of basic human rights for young workers and takes up grievances of individual members concerning pay and other working conditions. Similar organisations have been established in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cot d'Ivoire and Mali and a strong regional network now exists. The EJT groups have gained recognition by the authorities and the level of police harassment of street workers has declined appreciably. In addition, these groups have set up mutual health insurance groups for common diseases, financed through membership fees. Working conditions for housemaids (most of whom come from the rural areas) have improved considerably. An employment agency has also been established.

Case study 20: Mathare Youth Sports Association, Nairobi, Kenya

MYSA began in 1987 in order to promote sports (principally soccer) and environmental clean-up activities among male youth living in the Mathare Valley slum area of Nairobi. Its scope has been subsequently widened to include sports for young women and reproductive health education, focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention. The MYSA has 'become a model for empowering youth to run effectively their own organisation as well as to develop self-esteem and skills to benefit themselves and their community' (Senderowitz, 1998:20). It provides an opportunity for youth to become leaders and role models for their peers. Youth play key roles in all aspects of the organisation, including administration, coaching and health education).

Over 10,000 youth from Mathare have participated in MYSA activities. There are now over 300 soccer teams from 50 slum 'villages' who play in league competitions and other tournaments and are regularly involved in clean-up campaigns. The AIDS awareness programme has trained 75 leaders who have reached all members. While no formal evaluation has been undertaken, it is reported that school attendance has improved as a result of the programme, drop-outs have declined, and there has been a 'drastic decline' in team members withdrawing from the programme because of pregnancy.

Case study 21: Youth Enterprise Societies, Education with Enterprise Trust, South Africa

EWET assists disadvantaged communities in South Africa to develop the institutional capacity to 'equip young people with entrepreneurial skills that will give them a head start in the business world'. The Youth Enterprise Society is an extra-mural activity for secondary school students. Each society has 45 members (15 each from Grades 9-11) and 3-6 volunteer YES Advisers from the local business community. YES meet twice weekly after school. The purpose of these meetings is to develop key life and business skills. EWET

has developed training materials, which cover 17 key areas of business competence.

A person from a particular locality who is interested in establishing a YES is assisted by EWET to form a 'Local Partnership'. This comprises local business, community and youth leaders, educationalists, and local government officials. EWET accredits local partnerships and provides YES club handbooks and training materials as well as training for YES Advisors.

A successful pilot project was run from between 1993 and 1996. There were 30 YESs in 1999 (with 1500 members). EWET's 'long term' goal is to have one million YES members throughout the country. EWET had 10 staff in mid 1999 and receives funding from the corporate sector and overseas donors (including USAID).

ANNEX 8

EVALUATION METHODOLOGY ISSUES

This annex outlines the main features of a simple and practicable assessment framework that can be used to evaluate the impacts of interventions targeted at youth in SSA. While this is largely based on evaluation 'best practices' that are accepted world-wide, the problems of undertaking impact assessments in the context of low-income countries in SSA with limited capacities and usually poor data have been taken into account.

An assessment framework is an elaborated methodology, which enables robust conclusions to be drawn about the efficiency and effectiveness of specific interventions in achieving certain impacts. While ascertaining impact is a key objective, the other major goal of impact assessments is to understand the intervention process itself in order to improve the future design and management of programmes.

1. General considerations

The overall approach

Who undertakes the assessment is a key consideration in how the assessment framework itself is designed. In the past, the main emphasis has been the collection of quantitative, objectively verifiable data for limited set of performance indicators and ultimately a single rate of return. This is mainly done by external evaluators with very limited participation by programme staff and clients and with a heavy reliance on questionnaires

Much greater importance is now attached to the views and perceptions of 'insiders' and other key stakeholders. A range of participatory, action-research techniques has been developed that allow children and youth to represent their feelings and beliefs in ways that are meaningful to them. Respondents' views are necessarily subjective and there is always the danger of positive bias i.e. wanting to give positive assessments. However, this can be avoided by extensive use of triangulation with the responses from other groups and objectively verifiable data.

It is important to maintain the correct balance of quantitative and qualitative information. Quantitative, objectively verifiable information for key performance indicators is still indispensable.

The evaluation must be rigorous enough to reach robust conclusions about the impact of the intervention. But there are clearly financial and time constraints. The assessment should be used as an opportunity to build the evaluation capacity of programme personnel. Many programmes are very small so it is not realistic to have major evaluations. For larger programmes, multi-disciplinary teams are usually required. Funding agencies should

provide much stronger incentives for proper evaluations to be carried out with clear guidelines on what should be done.

Impact Levels

With respect to youth livelihoods programmes, there are two basic types or levels of impact. First, the impact on the well being of the targeted beneficiaries themselves as well as wider impacts at the household, community and national levels. The main beneficiary performance indicators measure therefore changes in economic, emotional, physical, social and political well being. The second type of impact is on the overall capacity of youth to improve their livelihoods. i.e. with respect to changes in their capabilities/competencies, resources/assets and set of opportunities that form the basis for achieving improvements in their livelihoods.

Well being performance indicators: Traditionally, most impact evaluations have focused on quantifiable economic performance indicators to measure changes in beneficiary well being. Cost-benefit analysis is used to calculate private and social rates of return, which provides a basis for comparing very different kinds of programmes. The main objective therefore is to measure the change in the average income of the beneficiary group that results from one dollar of programme expenditure. However, for reasons that will be discussed later on, for the majority of youth programmes in SSA, calculating this rate of return is likely to be very difficult.

Livelihood capacity performance indicators: Evaluating the performance of a programme in providing services that improve the capabilities, resources and opportunities to youth is usually less complicated than for well being. The main performance criteria are scope, equity, relevance, quality and cost-effectiveness.

Equity: Who have benefited from the intervention? To what extent have targeted youth been served? Where non-targeted individuals have benefited, what are the main reasons for this?

Relevance: How relevant is the programme in meeting the livelihood needs of the targeted clients?

Cost-effectiveness: What is the total cost of achieving a unit of output of a certain quality? This is the basic measure of the 'internal efficiency' of service delivery.

2. Basic methodological issues

Longitudinal data and control groups: The overall objective of the assessment framework is to assess the impact of specific interventions on youth well being and livelihood capacities. In order to do this, well-defined performance areas have to be evaluated at the beginning and end of the programme as well as some time after this (normally at least three years) in order to assess longer term impacts and the overall sustainability of the

programme's impacts. While before-and- after comparisons using longitudinal data are indispensable, it is still not possible to reach robust conclusions on the extent to which any observed impacts can be attributed to programme interventions.

In principle, the attribution problem can be satisfactorily dealt with through the careful selection of control groups. These should be as identical as possible in all respects to the targeted groups both in terms of individual and household characteristics and the overall economic environment in which they derive their livelihoods. Ideally, two control groups should be selected and surveyed (both non-clients from the same community and non-clients from non-program communities). In practice, the use of control groups is very rare.

Multi-service programmes: It is very difficult to assess the precise impacts of particular elements of multi-service youth programmes. Resources are shared and it is virtually impossible to disentangle each element.

Youth and household livelihoods: It is much easier to assess the impact of a programme when targeted youth are independent economic actors or where they are participants in a discrete economic activity (IGA, enterprise) that has been supported by the programme. Where, however, youth continue to be part of the household economy, it is far more difficult to assess the impact of the programme given the fungibility of income and resources within households. This is true both for benefits and costs. For example, a young person may benefit from a particular youth programme, but this results in additional costs (both monetary and non-monetary) being incurred by the household, which may not be immediately apparent.

Programme goals and objectives: Well-designed programmes have clear goals and objectives with a comprehensive set of objectively verifiable indicators. In practice, however, this is still the exception rather than the rule. While the impact assessment should evaluate the extent to which programme objectives have been realised, the objectives themselves should also be scrutinised. For example, they may be too ambitious.

3. Quantitative output and impact performance indicators

Where appropriate, all performance indicators should be dis-aggregated by gender and age cohorts.

Income and assets: Of beneficiaries themselves as wage employees and self-employed. If they are self-employed, how many additional jobs are created and what are the incomes of employees? The impact on the household and dependent children (health, nutrition, education) also needs to be evaluated. It is notoriously difficult to get reliable information on household income and assets.

Health: Incidence of malnutrition, major diseases (including HIV/AIDS, STD), drug-taking, etc.

Sexual behaviour: Key data are age of first sex, use and type of contraception, age of marriage, age of first birth, and number of partners.

Education and training: Key data are enrolments, enrolments as percentage of enrolment capacity, repetition, drop-out and completion rates, average completion times, public examination results, test scores, total expenditure per course/number of completers per course, skills utilisation (percentage of trainees in training-related jobs and activities)

Institutional capacity: Key information areas are as follows: staff training (management and technical); staffing stability (attrition); staff profiles (qualifications and experience); new management systems/practices; size, relevance, quality and cost-effectiveness of programmes; personnel sustainability (reliance on foreign personnel); financial sustainability; competencies in main planning and management functions (strategic planning, needs assessment, annual programming, human resources, physical resources, financial resources, communications, marketing, relations with stakeholders; number of youth associations/organisations, areas of activity, membership.

Structural change: To what extent do interventions promote broader social and economic change? Particular concerns are the empowerment of youth and the overall political engagement of youth in civil society. Quantitative indicators include voting patterns, and the age profiles of local and national politicians.

4. Main assessment activities

The impact assessment comprises a variety of inter-related data collection instruments for key respondents. Simple information systems need to be established in order to collect data on service inputs and outputs and clients on an on-going basis. The key respondents are service providers (managers, operational personnel (loan officers, counselors, instructors, advisors), funders); youth clients; informed outsiders (other providers, community leaders, government organisations, researchers); and secondary beneficiaries (parents, employers, clients of target group).

Baseline survey: Two types of baseline information are required - for institutions and for clients. For institutions, baseline information needs to be collected at the start of the project whereas for clients, this requires a series of before and after service delivery comparisons for groups of projects at various stages of the programme.

Individual, pre-service delivery questionnaire: Samples of clients and non-client control groups prior to the delivery of services: Information should be requested on income, health, skills, self-esteem, and deviance as well as simple activity profiles.

Secondary data for key well-being impact areas should be utilised wherever possible. This includes the following types of surveys: household income and

expenditure, poverty assessments, literacy, demographic and health, labour force.

Programme inputs and outputs: A database on all inputs and outputs should be developed from the start of the programme.

Inputs: Qualification and experience profiles of staff; income by source (fees, interest, production activities, grants). Fixed and operational expenditure by main activity/ programme element.

Outputs: Education and training services: For each course offered: eligible applicants and enrolments by gender, drop-outs and repetition rates, test scores and/or examination pass rates, completion rates, fees, income earned.

Financial services: Number of clients, total value of loans and grants over time, and repayment rates.

Employment promotion: Number of clients, duration of employment, income/material benefits, type of work

Advisory: Number of clients, number of visits, services provided

Institutional development: Client organisations, services provided, number of visits,

Structural change: Target areas, activities

Client data-base: The programme data-base should also include basic personal information for each client and the services provided to each of them.

Background information: age, gender, address, educational attainment, previous training, work experience, status (dependent, independent, single, married) children.

Education and training services: Enrolments by course, gender, examination results, test scores, attendance and dropout rates, time to complete course

Financial services: Loans received, savings, repayment record, attendance at meetings,

Other services: equipment, post-training support,

Current activity status: main activity, location.

Client and control group individual interviews

The same client and non-client control groups who were included in the baseline survey(s) should be re-surveyed after the delivery of services and after a sufficient time has elapsed to assess the utilisation of the service and

impact on well-being. The whereabouts of these individuals can be ascertained using simple tracer survey techniques. Social networks are sufficiently close-knit in most communities for it to be possible to obtain reliable information from service providers, parents, relatives, current and past clients and friends concerning their current whereabouts and activities.

Clients are then interviewed. The questionnaire that forms the basis for this interview has three main sections: ratings of various aspects of service delivery, and information on post-service activities and current well-being information. Again, it is important to get high completion rates in order to avoid biased responses (those who are most pleased with the service are easier to interview). The interview and questionnaire should be in mother tongue. Confidentiality and anonymity assured.

The interview with each individual in the control group focuses on current activities and well-being indicators.

Client group assessments

Representative groups of clients should be assembled to do participatory assessment exercises. Groups are left to do exercises on their own which ensures anonymity. Convening group meetings of clients can be difficult to organise, especially if clients are geographically dispersed, but it is still a cost-effective way of getting good quality information from relatively large numbers of clients.

The following is a useful group exercise. Four groups of 6-8 ex-clients are assembled. Each group is gender separated. A set of cards each with a negative statement on a particular aspect of service provision is given to each group. e.g. 'The course fees were too high.' Each statement is discussed in turn by the group as a whole. The group has to decide/reach consensus on whether they agree, disagree or are not sure about the statement. If they agree, the group then has to decide whether they are not bothered, dislike a little or dislike a lot. Responses to each statement can be compared between groups for consistency.

Each individual is asked to indicate on a prepared form whether the service has had a large positive impact on their well being, some impact, no impact, or negative impact. Individuals in each response group are grouped together and asked to write on separate cards specific reasons for their overall impact assessments and where appropriate rank them in order of importance. The groups are then asked for their suggestions about how programme should be modified.

Service provider questionnaires and interviews

Information and views concerning all aspects of programme design and delivery should be obtained from programme staff. All key managers should be interviewed and wherever possible all programme deliverers (instructors, loan officers, advisers).

How have services been modified since the start of the programme? What further changes that are still needed?

Programme implementation. Quantity, quality and timeliness of inputs and outputs. Programme management issues;

Programme impacts: Client characteristics, assessment of overall impact,

Individual questionnaires to all personnel: Anonymous. Ratings of prepared statements especially on how they have been managed plus 'other comments' section where may well provide information that unwilling to provide in interviews.

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