CHILD, YOUTH & FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL



DRAFT Pan-African Youth Charter &

The Status of Youth in Africa

PRODUCED ON COMMISSION TO THE AFRICAN UNION

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Introduction

Globalization, while in itself not a new concept, is gathering momentum in its ability to touch and redefine the lives of young people, either directly or indirectly, through its pace, extent and complexity. For young people with the skills and resources to maximize the opportunities that advancements in technology, economics, politics, culture and the environment are bringing to the fore, globalization has heralded new found opportunities and the chance for economic development and prosperity. Yet for those young people living on the margins of society, without education, work skills, financial resources or opportunities, globalization has widened the gap and greatly limited their ability to find a meaningful place in the mainstream world.

Youth Demography

These rapid changes are accompanied by unprecedented growth in the numbers of young people across the globe. Currently, estimates of young people aged 10-24 years are 1.76 billion, constituting 27 per cent of the world population (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). However, the distribution of young people across regions is uneven, with 86 per cent of young people residing in developing countries. Africa's share of young people in the developing country context is estimated to rise from 19 per cent (294 million) in 2005 to 26 per cent (435 million) by 2030. For the majority of developing countries, subsequent cohorts of young people are expected to increase until at least 2050. Young people currently make up the largest (30 per cent) and fastest growing proportion of Africa's general population (African Union, 2004). While the proportion of young people in Sub-Saharan Africa (17 million) is due to peak in 2005, for the majority of young people on the continent - in East, West, Central and Middle Africa - that peak will only occur by 2050 (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Demographic Bonus

The youth population bulge, commonly known as the demographic bonus, is recognised as an opportunity to renew the world's and indeed Africa's social and economic capital. Sustainable growth is as much about human capital development as it is about economic growth, and infrastructure and technology advancement. Young people's energy, creativity, flexibility and adaptability to interface with the scope of change in the globalizing world are a recipe for steady, sustained growth and development. But this can only be realized through investments in education and skills development, including sound early childhood development, care and nurture offered by safe and supportive families and communities, opportunities for gainful employment, and platforms to engage and influence civic and political life. In fact, some Asian countries have used this demographic bonus optimally to ensure sustained economic development.

Young people of today are the best educated in human history with gender gaps closing steadily. In practically all OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries, young people can expect to spend a minimum of 11 years of their formative lives in education and training (United Nations, 2003). In 1999, it was estimated that a five-year-old living in these countries could spend 15 to 20 years of their lifetime in formal education (United Nations, 2003). Advancements in health technology and greater access to health care mean that many more children are able to enter youth healthier than ever before. Easier access to family planning and

health services has resulted in a decline in maternal mortality. Family sizes, too, now reflect an emphasis on child quality rather than quantity. Democratic governance has risen from 57 per cent in 1973 to 75 per cent in 2003, increasing chances for young people to participate in civil society and political life (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Youth today have the dual benefit of family and community guidance as well as a range of mass media that offer new ideas and knowledge including television, radio, newspapers and the internet.

Challenges facing Youth

Despite these developments, the lives of young people across the world are subject to a number of contradictions. It is estimated that 130 million young people are illiterate (United Nations, 2005a), youth unemployment is three times higher than that among adults, 60.7 million young people in sub-Saharan Africa live on less than US\$ 1 a day, and 102.1 million live on less than US\$ 2 a day (United Nations, 2005a). Millions of young people find themselves without recognized purpose or productive usage of their time. History bears testament to how this un-channelled energy can become a breeding ground for rebellion and civil strife (Cincotta, et al., 2003). Cincotta and colleagues (2003) reported that countries in which young adults make up 40 per cent or more of the population – known as the youth bulge – in an environment of high rates of unemployment and rapid urbanization, are at significant risk for civil conflict. Their report also concluded that the highest demographic risk factors for civil conflict exist in countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and in South Asia. Goldstone (2002) also pointed to the risk posed by demographic change for conflict. He argued that rapid growth in the labor force in slow-growing economies, as well as rapid increases in the educated youth who aspire to higher positions when those positions are not available, is an ingredient for civil conflict.

Challenges facing Africa

The challenges facing youth in Africa must be contextualized within the continent's continued struggle for poverty reduction and sustainable growth. With a population of 840 million in 2002, expected to rise to 1.2 billion by 2025 (UNDP, 2002), Africa has the highest population growth rate (2.2%) yet the lowest life expectancy (53 years). Total fertility rates are highest in the world yet contraceptive use is the lowest (UNECA, 2001). As a result, the proportion of the population below 25 years of age is extremely high, increasing the dependency ratio and hence placing a high burden on families and governments to provide support education, healthcare and employment. In 2002, Africa reported the highest crude mortality rate (14 per 1000) (African Union/UNFPA, 2003) and infant mortality rates (86 per 1000 live births) (UNDP, 2002). Maternal mortality stood at 1 in 16, rating poorly against Asia (1 in 110) and Latin America (1 in 160) (UNDP, 2002).

Migration and urbanisation have also come to characterize the African way of life. Africa is home to the fastest growing urban population with 38 per cent of the population living in cities (African Union/UNFPA, 2003) and 61 per cent of urban populations living in slums (UN HABITAT, 2003). While urbanization in Europe was accompanied by industrial-based job opportunities, a similar economic boom did not accompany Africa's internal migration. It is fueled by factors such as lack of arable land and supplies for agriculture, unemployment, poor education and health services, drought, famine and war. Any starry-eyed notions of better quality of life in the cities

are quickly dispelled by the reality of congestion, poor employment prospects, lack of basic services, and crime.

Poverty in Africa is all too pervasive with half of the population living below the poverty line (UN HABITAT, 2003). Economies have struggled to respond in the face of slow growth rates and a large chunk of resources dedicated to servicing debt. Infrastructure and human capital development have been hobbled by corruption, internal conflicts and civil strife. HIV/AIDS has thrived in these conditions, now the leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa. About 3 million new infections occur each year, peaking among young adults below 25 years of age (AU/UNFPA, 2003). The resurgence of tuberculosis, tied to weakened immunity and the HIV/AIDs epidemic, has thrown the already struggling health services into crisis. Many are unable to cope with the demand for health care, and when healthcare providers themselves are living with HIV/AIDS.

Contemporary youth place a great deal of emphasis on autonomy and independence, and young people in Africa are no different. However, there is a mismatch between their expectations and the reality of their experiences as they move into adulthood (Morrow & Richards, 1996). Poverty, unemployment and underemployment, juxtaposed against rising expectations and aspirations for material wealth and connectedness, as advertised by the globalizing world, predispose young people to acquire these material trappings through crime, drug trafficking and violence. Lack of financial security also delays young people establishing stable relationships and marriage while searching for identity, which they often find in street life and gang warfare. A sub-set of young people are inclined to engage in antisocial behaviour such as the use of tobacco, alcohol and illicit drugs as well as unsafe sexual practices (United Nations, 2003).

Why Focus on Youth?

An advocacy document on the need to involve young people in poverty reduction strategy efforts put forward several additional arguments why countries should invest in the development of young people (UNFPA, 2005). The paper argues that the large share of young people in Africa's population warrants an equitable share of the resources. This is especially the case of extreme poverty, which may be more pertinent to particular age bands within the population. The World Youth Report (United Nations, 2005a) suggested that in 2002 over 700 million young people were living in extreme poverty and that 160 million young people were experiencing extreme hunger. The report also asserted that after interventions to mitigate childhood poverty, the next best intervention to break the cycle of intergenerational and life course poverty was to create opportunities for sustainable livelihoods for young people. What is more, five of the Millennium Development Goals (namely universal access to primary education, gender equity in access to education, maternal health, HIV/AIDS and other diseases and employment creation) apply directly to improving the situation of young people (Ad hoc Working Group for Youth and the MDGs, 2005). If the world is to meet the Millennium Development Goals, a massive injection of resources and development strategies are required in Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, trails, remains stagnant and, in some cases, has even regressed on key development goals (United Nations, 2005b). In a knowledge-based society, where human capital is the trading currency, the long-term socio-economic benefits to be accrued by investing in the education and health of young people cannot be overemphasized (UNFPA, 2005). But perhaps the greatest call to action to improve the lives of young people is derived from the ethos of human rights that all countries in, have the right to live a productive and fulfilling life.

How we Define Youth

How we harness the assets and resources of young people and help them overcome their challenges, requires some focus on whom we consider to be youth. Sociologically, youth is defined as a transitional phase from childhood to adulthood marked by events such as completing schooling and further education, entering the world of work, achieving financial and residential autonomy from family, engaging in close personal relationships and, in some cases, marriage. While there is a biological aspect to the transition through puberty, much of it remains social and cultural (Arnett, 2003). These building blocks of adulthood, influenced by historical, cultural, social and economic factors and, to a large extent, by globalization, are taking on new time frames that do not necessarily coincide with traditional age delimiters of youth. For example, increasing opportunities for education translate into longer time periods spent in training, extended financial dependence on families and delayed entry into the labour market. For many youth, the tenuous relationship with the labour market itself implies that they remain financially dependent on families for longer periods of time and hence delayed transition into financial and residential independence. Lack of financial independence, in turn, delays entry into stable relationships in a context of earlier sexual debut. The socio-economic inequality across nations, the cultural diversity that governs and defines these life phases, as well as varying legal definitions in terms of minimum age for voting etc., means that a global consensus on an age definition of youth is, and will remain, hard to reach. However, for the purposes of statistical comparison, organizations such as the United Nations have adopted a narrow definition of youth of 15-24 years of age, while the Commonwealth defines young people between 15 and 29 years of age.

The lengthened transition of millions of youth in Africa, shaped on the one hand by increased access to education and, on the other, by prolonged involvement in political emancipation and difficulty to find employment, means that country level definitions often stretch well into the third decade of life. For example, Nigeria defines youth as young people between 10-24 years, Kenya and Malawi 15-30 years, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Madagascar and Senegal as 15-35 years and South Africa as 14-35 years of age. The lengthened transition is not unique to Africa although the motivation behind the extended lower and upper limits may be different. Arnett's (2003) research on transitions to adulthood among a diverse sample of Americans found that a clear majority of young people believe that they only fully reach adulthood after the age of thirty. The educational transition has significantly lengthened in the developed world. By the age of 29 years, more than a quarter of Australian and Nordic citizens are still in part time or full time education (United Nations, 2003).

Contrarily, for some girls in Africa, adulthood is conferred at a much younger age through early marriage and childbearing. Researchers argue that while marriage is an important marker of adulthood, it should not be used as a sole definition in the absence of other transitions to adulthood (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). In any case, the delayed and declining rates of marriage in Africa raise questions about the relevance of marriage as a marker of adulthood.

An argument can also be made for lowering the age definition of youth to between 10 -12 years as many of the decisions that influence the transition to adulthood start to

take shape at this early stage. For example, health promoting behaviours, that protect against unsafe sexual practices and licit and illicit substance use, can be inculcated at this early stage, when behaviour is easier to change. Similarly, promoting a culture of entrepreneurship during these formative years can create alternative opportunities for economic participation. Hence the World Health Organisation defines *adolescents* as those between 10-19 years, youth between 15-24 years and young people as between 10-24 years. For organizations such as the Africa Union or NEPAD, the dilemma is not so much to recommend a standard age definition of youth, as local contexts militate against this, as to encourage member states to consistently apply the chosen definition across policies and programmes. The inter-relatedness of the multiple youth transitions requires cross-sectoral policies and programmes. This, in turn, hinges on a common understanding of who is regarded to be youth.

This literature review could not adopt a standard definition of youth as the data sources varied tremendously in the definitions adopted. For example, the United Nations World Youth Reports (2003, 2005) adopted a definition of 15-24 years while the National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine (2005) referred to young people as being between 10-24 years of age. Therefore, the discussion on youth, also referred to as young people, is as far as possible prefaced with the specific age range considered.

Youth Development Framework

Since the early 1990s, the approach towards young people has undergone a paradigm shift from problem-fixing and crisis-avoidance to a youth development approach. The traditional stigmatizing problem-reduction approach has been criticized for its disjointed and fragmented strategy towards young people. The negative stereotypes, fueled by media hype and in some cases political agitators, have labeled young people as unproductive, apathetic, materialistic, individualistic, disaffected, a lost generation, unpredictable and vulnerable. Yet examples abound of how young people are at the forefront of technological innovation, environmental activism, religious participation and economic productivity. Youth played a prominent role at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002. A recent report on the Status of Youth in South Africa (Richter *et al.*, 2005) found that attending a religious service was a key form of community participation by young people aged 18-35 years. In fact, young people in Africa welcome the chance to participate, to shape their own development and that of the society (African Union, 2004).

Integrated and Positive Approach

The youth development framework adopts an integrated and positive approach towards young people. It recognises the resource that young people are; which, in combination with a supportive environment, can provide a platform for young people to cope with the multiple challenges that they face and to make a contribution to society. Youth development, consistent with the catalytic role that young people have played in changing the course of Africa's political history, dispels the myth that young people are merely adults in the making and that it is only a transitional phase fraught with uncertainty and difficulty. Rather, McGrath (2001) asserts that young people should be viewed as "active social and cultural actors in their own right". This has become a fundamental assertion of the youth fraternity at a global level and is extensively discussed in contemporary national youth policies. Youth Development as a comprehensive strategy, has been defined as "... the ongoing growth process in

which all youth are engaged in attempting to (1) meet their basic personal and social needs to be safe, feel cared for, be valued, be useful, and be spiritually grounded, and (2) to build skills and competencies that allow them to function and contribute in their daily lives." (Pittman *et al.*, 1993)

Holistic Development

Youth development is underpinned by a number of key principles. A growing body of research points towards the similarity in protective and risk factors for a number of co-ocurring problem behaviours, including achievement, adjustment and competency, on the one hand, and substance abuse, delinquency, violence, teenage pregnancy and school dropout, on the other. A holistic and integrated approach responds to the need of young people for a wide array of skills at emotional, physical, spiritual, social and economic levels to achieve positive human development. The focus is on developing social and psychological capacities of young people. This is especially pertinent when the complexity of disadvantages sap the emotional resources of families and communities, the primary sites of socialization, to build a sense of self-worth and self-confidence in young people. For this reason, policies and programmes that adopt a holistic approach are likely to enjoy greater success. Accordingly, the Education for All Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2004) pointed out that, inherent in the delivery of quality education, is a holistic approach in which educational institutions regard both cognitive and non-cognitive outcomes of young people as a dual responsibility.

Diversity

The heterogeneity of young people, hailing from different historical, cultural, language and socio-economic backgrounds and living in varying contemporary circumstances must be acknowledged. Arguments have been made that the world is converging on key indicators of health, education, environment, transportation, communication, gender gaps and some economic indicators. While poverty has declined in some regions and not changed in others, for sub-Saharan Africa, poverty rates have actually increased overall (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). While the life experience of a few privileged youth in developing countries are converging towards the experiences of youth in developed countries, for many youth in developing countries, the rapid growth in the economy of developed countries means that they are diverging further and further apart. Hence youth needs must be viewed on a continuum, with acknowledgement that the legacy of colonialism and other repressive policies have created greater disadvantages and vulnerability for subgroups of young people including women, rural youth and out-ofschool and out-of-work young people. In fact, the living conditions of young people, their training and skills set, as well as their ability to enter the labour market are creating more and more diversity. The World Youth Report (United Nations, 2005) asserts that, to break the legacy of intergenerational, life-course and chronic poverty, emphasis must be placed on creating spaces for disadvantaged groups of youth to pursue sustainable livelihoods.

Contemporary challenges such as poverty and HIV/AIDS have also redefined the traditional roles and responsibilities of children and youth. As caregivers succumb to illness and death, young people are forced into care giving and decision-making roles within households, and are required to provide for themselves and their families. Within impoverished contexts, youth also play important roles in supplementing household income by taking on jobs and assisting in agricultural and household tasks. Robson (2004), in an anthropological study in rural Nigeria, documented children's

agency in productive, reproductive and trading activities both independently and alongside adults. Although recent estimates indicate a decline in child labour, the reality is that many children in the developing world play a productive role in the world economy. It is estimated that some 352 million children, aged 5-17, are economically active; of this number, 171 million are engaged in hazardous forms of work (ILO, 2002). Large numbers of street children who live independently of adults, and the almost 300 000 children enrolled in violence and warfare (WHO, 2002b), challenge traditional conceptions of youth as passive beneficiaries dependent on adults.

Life-cycle Approach

Human development is a life-long process with early childhood development forming the bedrock for positive youth development. Youth development, as an approach, aims to build the participation of young people, beginning in families and extending through schools and communities to civic, political and economic engagement. Each developmental stage brings forth particular needs for support. For example, many older youth are parents themselves with responsibilities for childcare, in addition to meeting their own needs. Positive youth development eases the transition into adulthood by developing the building blocks necessary to assume responsibilities of adulthood. However, as discussed earlier, the nature and the markers of transition into adulthood have changed since the seminal work in this area was completed in the 1970s and 1980s, when the conditions of youth were very different from the contemporary situation.

Families and Communities

Youth development needs to be viewed within a context of broader community and national development. An ecologic approach towards youth development suggests that youth thrive in safe, nurturing and supportive environments offered by families, schools and communities. The reciprocal and mutually shaping relationships between young people and these environments require equal, if not greater, investment also in improving these contexts to be able to offer the supportive and protective shield that will promote positive youth development. Various international instruments champion the family as the source of succor for children and youth, and seek to protect the family as an institution. At the same time, observations are made about the breakdown of traditional African families and communities through poverty, unemployment, crime, violence and war, migration, urbanization, westernization and HIV/AIDS (Chigunta, 2002, 2005). For families and communities to be able to fulfill their role of nurturers and protectors, considerable resources need to be invested in supporting them against the forces of instability and disintegration.

Youth Participation

The involvement, engagement and active participation of youth are key to youth development. A youth development approach provides support and opportunities to empower youth to meet their needs and learn appropriate skills with the help of caring adults within facilitative structures and services. The voices of young people in Africa has not been silent in bringing about social and political change, often at high costs to themselves through death, disability, and lost opportunities for education and employment. However, mechanisms and resources to involve youth in a meaningful way in decision making processes, as part of the youth empowerment strategy, remain a consistent challenge. It is both a right of young people, as well as in their interest, to

ensure them an adequate standard of living and protection from economic, sexual, emotional, and physical harm and exploitation. In fact, national productivity and security hinges on developing the full potential of young people and engaging them not only as beneficiaries, but also as participants and problem-solvers (Pittman & Flemming, 1991). Such thinking has motivated the Youth Employment Network (YEN), a special initiative stemming from the global push to promote youth employment, to undertake extensive consultation with young people in devising policies and programmes (ILO, 2004). The United Nations is also actively encouraging member states to ensure youth representation at the General Assembly. As such, youth consultation and participation has become the hallmark of national youth policy development.

Africa's Commitment to Youth

The world's commitment to young people is clear. As far back as 1969, the United Nation's General Assembly lobbied for the development of youth policies, youth councils and youth participation as part of the general objectives of development (United Nations, 1969b). The declaration of 1985 as the United Nations International Youth Year and, particularly, its tenth anniversary in 1995, are watershed moments in the history of youth development. In 1995, the efforts of 1985 were commemorated by the development of the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond. The programme is clear in its objectives to move beyond general recommendations to include programmes of action to achieve integrated national youth policies.

Africa's history is also marked by efforts to promote youth development. In the 1970s the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa hosted a meeting on national youth service as part of the UN's mission to promote action oriented national youth policies. Africa also played its role in promoting the ideals of the International Year of Youth with a planning meeting in 1983, and follow up meetings in 1996 and 2000. The preface to a recent publication on children and youth by the African Union, NEPAD and other partners, states that 'we do not need to make any additional promises to children. Instead we need to honour those commitments already made. This is an era of implementation.' (African Union et al., 2004). The extent to which member states have delivered on these commitments remains in question. For Africa, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children, and the Millennium Development Goals set the stage for the continents commitment to children and young people.

Africa's commitment to human capital development and the role that young people can play in the socioeconomic development of the continent is also stressed in the above document (African Union *et al.*, 2004). Working towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, the document proposes combating HIV/AIDS and promoting girl's education as two of the critical strategies required to fast track the development of African children and youth. The four other strategies proposed are to: enforce the rights of orphans and vulnerable children to a basic standard of living; institute decisive steps to control malaria, measles and malnutrition; provide universal access to healthcare and primary education; and protect young people from violence, discrimination, abuse and exploitation. The document rightly asserts that the situation of young people in a country, as the most vulnerable sector of society, is a telling indicator of the quality of governance.

The African Union was borne in 2002 out of the structure of the Organization for African Union. Its primary objective, to rid the continent of colonialism, has as its new vision to accelerate socio-economic integration of the continent, to build a united and strong Africa by promoting partnerships between governments and civil society including women, youth and the private sector; and to improve peace, security and stability. Clearly Africa's future cannot be mapped out, and the African Union's mission fulfilled, without effectively addressing youth development, empowerment and the preparation of young people for leadership and the fulfillment of their potential. Accordingly, one of the portfolios of the African Union Commission, namely the Department of Human Resources, Science and Technology, has as one of its primary functions, the integration of youth as part of the development process of the continent.

It is also clear that despite multiple youth-related interventions, African youth do not get the priority that they deserve. Indeed, African youth seem to be sorely in need of reasons to imagine a fulfilling future. The hope and optimism that motivated African youth in the 50s, 60s, and 70s gradually faded away during the 80s when single party systems completely subjugated youth for propaganda purposes. The democratization process initiated in the early 90s raised some hope, which unfortunately, was short-lived. Poverty, the indebtedness of States, the marginalization of Africa, illiteracy, recurrent conflicts, virtually institutionalized corruption, substance abuse, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and many other problems which Africa, have seriously disoriented African youth. Many are prepared to risk their lives to flee to apparently kinder climates promising a better future.

Numerous youth associations, starting with the Pan-African Youth Union, have come into being. But many of these have faltered in face of the paradox which expresses the general disorientation of young people. On the one hand, statutory texts proclaim noble principles and ideals, while on the other hand, they live out their day-to-day activities under conditions that are the opposite of the ideals.

The newly found optimism that the establishment of the African Union brings must filter through to the continent's youth. To achieve this, young people need a new frame of reference; one which entrenches their value as an important sector of the African society. As a guide and a framework to facilitate accelerated implementation of comprehensive and effective youth policies and strategies and to empower youth to take advantage of these provisions, the African Union proposed the development of a Pan-African Youth Charter.

Methods

In this regard, the Department of Human Resources Science and Technology (D/HRST) commissioned the Child, Youth and Family Development (CYFD) Programme at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), South Africa, to prepare a draft of the Pan African Youth Charter.

Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference specified that the HSRC was to:

- Analyze succinctly the status of the African youth and the challenges faced by young people and national Governments. In doing so, to highlight the cultural and socio-economic conditions that affect youth development and empowerment in Africa.
- Participate and conduct interviews at the Pan-African Youth Union during the 'NEPAD Perspectives on Youth Employment and Poverty Alleviation' meeting (Algiers 1-3 October 2005).
- Review youth-related policies (in the five regions of the African Union), in terms
 of their comprehensiveness, their strategies, under-pinned by human right
 principles, backed by adequate financial allocations, and monitored for effective
 implementation and impact of their implementation. Identify the strengths,
 constraints, and gaps.
- Based on the above and the *Strategic Framework for a NEPAD Youth Programme* (NEPAD, 2004), draft a Pan-African Youth Charter (discussion paper). In this connection, facilitate the Expert Group Meetings as well as discussions of the Youth Forum (consultative meeting) on the draft Charter. Subsequently, revise the draft Charter, taking into consideration the perspective of the Experts Group and the outcome of the Youth Forum.

The Pan-African Youth Charter is to be the result of the following activities:

- A **literature review** on the modern-day cultural, socio-economic and political contexts characterizing the life, problems, expectations and future prospects of African youth. The literature review is to be informed by:
 - The **analysis of a questionnaire on qualitative issues** relating to the lives of young people. The questionnaire is to be administrated to key Pan-African youth organization in rural and urban areas and supported by interviews with some youth leaders.
 - The analysis of African and worldwide institutional provisions for youth development that could be applied at the African level.
- Validation and adoption of the draft Charter through the following process:
 - Experts' Meeting to be held in Addis Ababa.
 - Youth Forum to be organized by the D/HRST in Addis Ababa.
 - Pan-African meeting of Ministers in charge of youth (2006).
 - The Summit of AU Heads of States and Government in July 2006.

Literature Review

The literature review was conducted through web-based searches and by reviewing key databases such as Medline, Africa wide:Nipad, ISAP, SACat, Sociological Abstracts, NEXUS and World Bank GDF online. The following seminal documents provided a compass to identify key youth development issues at a global level.

- World Youth Report (United Nations, 2003, 2005a)
- Growing up Global. The Changing Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries (National Research Council & Institute's of Medicine, 2005)
- The Young Face of NEPAD: Children and Young People in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (African Union *et al.*, 2004)
- Strategic Framework for a NEPAD Youth Programme (NEPAD, 2004)

While these documents chronicle some aspects of the lives of young people in Africa, much of the literature on youth development in Africa is unpublished, available only in reports, conference papers and working papers prepared for particular institutions. As a result, hand searches of reference lists from these and other documents were used extensively to locate additional literature. In addition, websites of organization's working in the youth arena were also searched for key reports and papers (e.g., World Bank, United Nations, UNICEF, UNESCO, ILO, African Union and NEPAD).

Interviews

A consultative process was adopted between the HSRC and the D/HRST to develop a qualitative instrument with the objectives of identifying:

- Key challenges facing youth
- Priority areas for the Pan-African Youth Charter
- Policy and institutional provisions for youth
- Youth participation in decision making and governance

Interviews were conducted with eight purposively selected youth leaders attending the Pan African Youth Union meeting on 'NEPAD perspectives on Youth Employment and Poverty Alleviation' in Algiers. The experience in Algiers informed our decision to produce a shortened version of the questionnaire that was subsequently translated by the D/HRST from English into French. Both versions were made available electronically to key youth organizations identified by the D/HRST from the various regions of Africa (Southern, Central, East, West and North and the Indian Ocean Islands). Table 1 provides a summary of the number of organizations per region (including the key youth leader interviews conducted in Algiers) that were contacted and those that completed the interview. The research instrument was also completed by the NEPAD Youth Desk and the Pan African Youth Union as two continental-wide bodies promoting youth development.

Table 1: Interviews conducted per region

Region	Submitted	Completed
Africa-wide	7	3
Central	5	4
East	5	2

North	3	1
Southern	13	6
West	7	5
Indian Ocean Islands	1	1
Total	41	22

Policy Analysis

The African Union (2004) report on The State of the African Population provided a table on the status of youth policies across the 53 member states. This document was used as a reference point to identify countries that have youth policies or whose youth policies are embedded in a population or health policy. Government websites were subsequently accessed to retrieve youth policies. Of the 24 African countries that have an existing youth policy either as a stand alone policy or included as part of an existing policy (28 countries do not have youth policies), only five policies were located on the respective government websites. Access to policies was hampered by the fact that seven of the government websites were in languages other than English, while government websites for 12 countries were non-functional (see attached list). Attempts to access policies by contacting youth councils and youth organizations in the respective countries, as well as African country embassies located in South Africa, did not yield useful results. Therefore, the policy analysis was supplemented with data obtained from the report by the International Council on National Youth Policy (2005) that conducted a Comparative Analysis of National Youth Policy, the United Nations Report (2001) on the status of youth policies, youth councils and programme action plans as well as the interviews conducted with key youth organizations and youth leaders. It must be noted that discrepancies amongst the data sources (see Appendix I), limit the extent to which data can be interpreted.

Pan-African Youth Charter

The literature review, interviews with youth organizations and youth leaders, discussions with youth organizations on the content of the Youth Charter at the Pan African Youth Forum for the promotion of African Unity held in Bamako, Mali in September 2005 (attended by 150 participants from 10 East and West African countries), as well as the following Charters, Treaties, Conventions and Declarations, informed the drafting of the Pan-African Youth Charter:

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- OAU Charter (1963)
- Resolutions Adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in its Tenth Ordinary Session (1973)
- Cultural Charter of Africa (1976)
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
- Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UN,1979)
- African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's rights (1981)
- African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation (1990a)

- Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990)
- African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (1990b)
- World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond (1996)
- Braga Youth Action Plan, World Youth Forum (UN, 1998)
- Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programmes (1998)
- Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (1999)
- Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy (2001)
- Declaration on the Decade of a Culture of the Rights of the Child in West Africa (2001-2010)
- Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)
- Policies and Programmes involving Youth (UN, 2004)

Strategic Framework for a NEPAD Youth Programme

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), with its vision of eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable growth and development on the continent, also recognizes the key role that young people should play in socio-economic development and the promotion of peace and security (NEPAD, 2004). The *Strategic Framework for NEPAD Youth Programme* (NEPAD, 2004) provides the rationale for NEPAD's focus on young people by outlining the many challenges that they face and setting the stage for engagement with young people about the world they currently live in and about a vision for the future. The framework identifies the priorities for youth development and offers guiding principles for supporting young people through specific strategies and programmes. The thrust of the framework is to foster youth empowerment to ensure that young men and women take up their rightful place at the forefront of socio-economic development and as catalysts and negotiators of peace, security and sustainable development.

With respect to youth, NEPAD proposes that its *first strategic objective* of integrating the voice of young people into the AU/NEPAD structures will be achieved by establishing a Pan African Youth Ministry within the Pan African Parliament, with the intent of developing an African Youth Policy. The framework also lobbies for the creation of an African Youth Commission within the African Union structure to spearhead and provide consistent focus on the needs of young people as a priority group and as a cross-cutter for development.

The second strategic objective aims to establish linkages with key development partners and achieve an equitable distribution of resources to foster youth empowerment and development. This vision will be operationalised through the development of a continent-wide clearing house for information and knowledge on youth, supporting research on youth, convening an annual forum of key stakeholders, and establishing an African Youth Development Fund to leverage funds for youth empowerment. The framework also proposes forging links with the African Diaspora who, on the one hand, find themselves disconnected from family networks and their culture and sometimes suffer the indignity of xenophobia and who are, on the other, keen to make a contribution to Africa's development, even if from afar.

The *third strategic objective* revolves around mobilizing and supporting the regional economic communities, member states, civil society and the private sector to promote youth empowerment and development.

While there are some unique challenges facing youth on the African continent, a review of the literature suggests that the majority of youth concerns are in fact global. However, the extent to which youth in Africa are disadvantaged by factors such as globalisation, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS, juxtaposed against the pace at which the developed world is forging new frontiers, places African youth in the tenuous position of still struggling to meet fundamental needs. The NEPAD Strategic Framework (2004) is aligned with the priorities identified in the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond as outlined in the World Youth Reports of 2003 and 2005. Issues of accessible, relevant and quality education, decent and productive work, hunger and poverty, health with a focus on HIV/AIDS and reproductive health, conflict and war, participation and leadership, globalisation, and the preservation of cultural knowledge and heritage, need to be at the forefront of youth development.

As such, within the time-frame specified by the *terms of reference*, this report can only provide broad brushstrokes on the situation of youth in Africa, punctuated with the experience of youth leaders and youth organisations as examples of contextual priorities. The promotion of gender equality is recognised as the one of the key developmental objectives for Africa, and the review is imbued with a gender perspective.

Education and Skills Development

It is widely acknowledged that one of the fundamental pillars for sustainable human development is investment in education of good quality. This is acknowledged in two of the Millennium Development Goals, which focus on educational attainment through universal access to primary schooling and gender equality in access to education by 2015. Parents and young people have high aspirations for schooling and higher education, yet only a few young people will be able to fulfil those aspirations. Research among rural primary school children in Kenya showed that between 80 to 90 per cent of boys and girls aspire to higher education, yet only one per cent will be afforded the opportunity to study further (Ajayi *et al.*, 1997). Similarly, youth in South Africa (Richter *et al.*, 2005), Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe also consider education a worthwhile investment (Al-Samarrai & Bennell, 2003). The thrust of education initiatives tend to be directed at the formative years of development, when cognitive, intellectual, physical and behavioural development is rampant. This is rightly so, as a failure to maximise the development opportunity in this early stage of life has proven extremely difficult and costly to remedy later in life.

The school has become the symbol of educational development although the scope of education stretches well beyond it. However, schooling does set the stage for formal education and has the ability to inculcate an ethos of lifelong learning. The school is increasingly taking on a socialization role, previously the domain of families and communities. As children make the transition into adolescence and young adulthood, the shift away from parental influence to self-socialization through peer influence is increasingly recognized. The school has an opportunity to shape the nature of that peer interaction and foster positive outcomes. This is especially relevant to prevent the uptake of deviant behaviour such as substance use, violence and delinquency during the early adolescent years. With the threat of HIV/AIDS, schools increasingly adopt a holistic approach to education and including life-skills training programme in their curricula.

However, the outcome of socialization is in part dependent on the attitude, behaviour and training of teachers and the milieu of the school. Gender socialization provides a useful example of how teachers can influence young people, either by reinforcing traditional stereotypes or fostering equality as part of a human rights perspective. A mixed methodology study in Kenyan schools (Mensch & Lloyd, 1997), reported that girls were disadvantaged due to the negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour of teachers. Girl's intellectual capacity was demeaned and they were provided with little support to overcome gender stereotypes that they encountered in and out of school (Mensch & Lloyd, 1997). Such stereotypes were perpetuated also by female teachers.

The school generates social capital by creating access to networks of parents, teachers and peers. Governments and civil society look to the school to engender civic participation, teach young people their rights and responsibilities as citizens, inculcate national identity and pride, as well as respect and tolerance for differences in culture, language, faith, race, and gender among others. As a rallying point in the community and with the increasing decentralization of education systems to include parental involvement in governance structure, an opportunity exists for the transfer of cultural norms and values through schools. With modernity and technology, on the one hand, and traditional culture and values, on the other, the school offers an opportunity to promote and integrate the benefits of both streams.

Access to Schooling

Over the past twenty years, access to schooling has improved dramatically, especially for girls. On average over 80 per cent of boys and girls have had some contact with formal schooling representing a 10 percentage point increase for boys and 20 percentage point increase for girls (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). However, some countries in Africa still lag far behind this norm. There are countries in sub-Saharan Africa whose ever-attended rates for 10-14-year-olds fall below 70 per cent. What is more, in nine African countries, over half of children have never attended school. While the gains for females have been dramatic, male participation in school has lost some ground in the last decade with declining participation rates in Eastern and Southern Africa. As a consequence, female participation rates equal or exceed that of male participation in seven Eastern and Southern African countries (Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe) (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

The percentage of adolescents completing at least four grades of school is a useful indicator of progress in achieving the educational targets of the Millennium Development Goals. By the late 1990s, 75 per cent of adolescents had completed four years of schooling (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). This represents a 17 per cent increase for boys and 45 per cent increase for girls over the last twenty years. However, growth in school participation has slowed among boys with most growth having occurred in the previous decade. While a similar pattern can be seen for the completion of primary schooling, with convergence of male and female rates anticipated, it is estimated that the growth rate in primary school completion for sub-Saharan Africa will stagnate at around 58 per cent for males and 53 per cent for females for the 10-14-year-age group. Without an extraordinary investment of resources, sub-Saharan Africa is unlikely to reach the goal of universal primary school education by 2015 (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

On average, 75 per cent of 10-14-years-olds are in school. For Eastern and Southern Africa, it is estimated that 74.1 per cent of boys and 70.6 per cent of girls attend school. The gender gap is wider for Western and Central Africa at 66.1 per cent for boys and 57 per cent for girls respectively. Northern Africa has participation rates of 81.0 per cent for boys and 67.6 per cent for girls (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Participation rates decline dramatically among the 15-19-years-olds and the gender gap widens to between 10 and 15 percentage points. Gender disparities are generally more pronounced in countries with overall low participation rates (UNESCO, 2001). Age for grade matching is also poor in developing countries due to late entry, re-entry and grade repetition (UNESCO, 2001). As a result, a fair percentage of adolescents and young adults are still in primary school. While 70 per cent of 15-19-year-olds in middle income countries are in secondary school, in Eastern and Southern Africa only 31 per cent of boys and 38 per cent of girls in this age group are, in fact, enrolled in secondary school (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). On the other hand, by age 20-24 years, about a fifth of young men in Africa are still in school. The outlook for these youth is poor. High rates of repetitions and the pressure to earn a wage or fulfil family commitments often impedes the ability of these young people to continue with their education, and this leads to high drop out rates.

Factors Determining Access to Schooling

There are still more that 100 million children out of school, of which 60 per cent are girls. The developing regions, namely sub-Saharan Africa, Southern Asia and the Arab States, account for 95 per cent of out-of-school children (UNESCO, 2001). The bulk of the deficit from universal primary education occurs among the poor, with poorer children and those living in rural areas, being less likely to attend school. Despite the progress in gender equity, girls from poor and rural backgrounds are still disadvantaged in access. School enrolment in Africa was hurt by the introduction of cost-sharing mechanisms in schools as a response to the structural readjustment programmes of the 1980s. Parents, particularly those living in poverty, have to cope with the direct costs of education through school fees, indirect costs through the purchase of uniforms and books, opportunity costs through lost income from child economic participation, and time costs through domestic chores performed by girls such as fetching water, fuel, caring for siblings and cooking.

Incentives have to be created for parents to send their children to school. A synthesis paper by Kremer (2003) on randomized evaluations of educational programmes in Kenya has demonstrated that school participation can be increased by reducing the indirect cost of schooling to households through subsidies for uniforms, textbooks and better classrooms. What is more primary school enrolment, particularly for young girls living in rural areas, has also received a boost through the implementation of conditional grant schemes that offer food packages in exchange for school attendance. The Food for Education programme in Bangladesh resulted in a 35 per cent increase in enrolment over two years (Millenium Project Task Force 3, 2004). Conditional grants in the form of cash transfers for school attendance are now also being piloted in Mozambique (MTT/HEARD, 2005). The abolition of school fees in Uganda, Malawi, Tanzania and Kenya has been met with a massive demand for schooling. In Kenya, more than 1.5 million children who had been kept out of school because of costs are now taking advantage of free primary school education (The Mercury, 2005), while in Malawi abolition of school fees in 1994 led to a 55 per cent increase in enrolment (Rugh, 2000). Since 1997, Uganda also recorded dramatic increases in the demand for schooling with enrolment rising from 3.4 million to 6.5 million by 1999 (World Bank, 2002). While the direct costs of education have been taken away from parents, the burden is shifted to schools themselves and measures need to be instituted to fill this gap. The Ministry of Education in Kenya, for example, responded with the introduction of a grant system to primary schools to mitigate the effects of free primary school education (MTT/HEARD, 2005).

A number of other factors have also contributed to the increase in demand for schooling over the last few decades. The shift from agricultural to industrial-based economies has been accompanied by a shift in the demand for apprentice-based skills to literacy and numeracy skills that can be best provided in the school environment. The rapid urbanization of African families has meant not only improved access to schooling, but greater motivation to enrol children in school to increase chances for waged employment (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Declining fertility rates, infant and child mortality and smaller family sizes also mean increased opportunities for education. Patrinos and Psacharapoulos (1997) demonstrated that larger family size in Peru, particularly the number of younger siblings, led to more age-grade distortion and poorer school outcomes, as well as greater need for older siblings to work to care for younger siblings. They

demonstrated similar findings in Paraguay, providing motivation for subsidies to poorer households to enable children to remain at school (Patrinos & Psacharapoulos, 1995). Smaller family sizes also translate into greater opportunities for schooling for girls who live in poor households.

The combination of economic and health advancements have also contributed to improvements in the health and nutritional status of children. With declines in severe malnutrition, and hence lifelong cognitive impairment, more children are able to participate meaningfully in school. Improving the nutritional status of preschoolers, leads to a greater number of grades of schooling completed as well as an earlier entry age at school (Alderman *et al.*, 2003). A randomized evaluation in Kenya also demonstrated that school participation can be increased by relatively inexpensive health programmes, such as deworming, and by providing meals. In fact the latter programme also had a positive impact on test scores in cases, even when teachers were relatively experienced (Vermeesch & Kremer, 2004). School communities have realised the importance of adequate nutrition to ensure timely entry and better school performance. One of the earliest interventions made by the democratic government in South Africa was to introduce a school nutrition programme in 1994 that currently provides a school meal to over 4.5 million learners in 15 000 schools (Tshabala-Msimang, 2004).

Just as poverty has intergenerational effects, so does education. As cohorts of parents become recipients of schooling, particularly educated mothers, they are more likely to enrol their children in school. Lloyd and Blanc (1996), in a seven African country study, illustrated that the education of the head of the household was an important factor determining school enrolment. This was often linked, for young children, with the timing of school entry. However, it is household standard of living that determined completion of grade four. The study also showed that children living in a female-headed household are more likely to attend school compared to children living in a male-headed household with similar resources. Similarly, a Peruvian paper analysing factors that determine school progression in light of high drop out and failure rates, showed that educated parents were important determinants of entry into primary and secondary schooling, and that siblings who were working as a supplement to family income were crucial for secondary school attainment (Pal, 2005). Hence growing family income and wealth have also opened up opportunities for education for young people although these opportunities are less available in parts of Africa because of little or no increase in per capita income.

Level of Schooling Attained

There is ample empirical evidence outlining the link between schooling level attained and earning ability, as well as other social outcomes such as, fertility, infant mortality and child health. An additional year of schooling is associated with a ten per cent increase in wages earned. The return on years of schooling in terms of finding a job and wages earned, are particularly noticeable for developing countries where the pool of human capital tends to be generally lower. For girls too, where entering employment is not a viable option, schooling increases their possibilities of marrying into a higher income household and has positive impacts on their child rearing practices (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). For young people themselves, both in terms of their socialisation and for private returns, and for the advancement of the economy, the quantity, but more importantly, the quality of

schooling will be a telling factor (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005).

The links between schooling and positive outcomes are not as straightforward as initially thought. Merely entering the schooling system is not always enough to confer positive outcomes, as lasting effects are best achieved when a minimal threshold of schooling is achieved. In Ghana, primary school education is treated as no education and hence does not contribute to human capital accumulation. This may be a reflection of the low quality of education at the primary level. Returns are in fact highest for post-primary school education. For rural Ghana, findings show that it is important to improve access to and the quality of primary and post-primary education (Lavy, 1996). Even though for men the return on primary schooling is higher, for women the returns are greater when they have completed secondary education. In societies with high levels of inequality, a 10 per cent gain in fertility is only accomplished among women with some secondary education. Women with secondary levels of education are also more likely to able to protect themselves from violence through female genital mutilation and from HIV/AIDS (Millenium Project Task Force 3, 2004). Post primary school education also delays entry into marriage and first birth, protects against higher fertility and is associated with reduced family size (Millenium Project Task Force 3, 2004).

Secondary School Education

The global focus on access to primary education during the 1980s and the 1990s has seen a concomitant shift in resource allocation away from secondary and tertiary education. Nonetheless, the push for primary education has had cascading effects in increasing the demand for secondary education. Since 1990, primary school enrolment in Africa grew by 42 million while secondary school enrolment grew by 18 million (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). Despite the recent assertions of the inter-relatedness of all levels of education, for Africa, the decline from primary schooling to secondary school is dramatic. While the global gross lower secondary enrolment ratio, defined as compulsory education in 22 African countries, is 79 per cent, Africa's figure drops to a low of 45 per cent (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). In half of African countries, lower secondary school enrolment falls below 40 per cent while 7 African countries report ratios of above 95 per cent (Algeria, Cape Verde, Egypt, Libya, Seychelles, South Africa and Tunisia (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). At the upper secondary level the global ratio drops to 51 per cent and Africa's enrolment drops even further to a meagre 29 per cent (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). On average, enrolment ratios drop by about half between lower and upper secondary levels. Despite the closing of gender gaps at the primary level, the gap is still prevalent at the secondary level, with the gap more widespread in lower secondary education. Of the countries with a gender parity index of below 0.97, 31 countries are in Africa, 17 in Asia and 3 in the rest of the world (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). Generally, gender disparities at the primary level tend to get exacerbated at the secondary level. As a response, countries such as Malawi and Tanzania have instituted bursary schemes to improve girls' access to secondary education (MTT/HEARD, 2005).

The flow from primary to secondary education is determined by factors affecting enrolment at the primary level. Drop out between primary and secondary school is a considerable hurdle for continued education. It is estimated that in 19 African countries one in two children either does not enter school or drops out before reaching

the last grade of school (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). What is more, half of the children enrolled at the end of primary school do not enrol into secondary school the following year (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). Competition for places in secondary schooling in countries such as Kenya through national examinations or graduation from primary education, accompanied by high direct (e.g., higher school fees) and indirect costs (increased transport costs due to poor availability of secondary schools), also inhibit entry into secondary schooling. For the conversion of education into human capital, strategies that go beyond universal primary education need to be implemented.

Higher Education

As primary and secondary school access improves, demand for higher education will also increase. Yet, this has not been met with an expansion in higher education in Africa. Currently, tertiary gross enrolment ratios for sub-Saharan Africa is 3.6 per cent and compares poorly with other regions e.g., Arab States (14%), Asia (10.4%) and Latin America (18.4%) (UNESCO, 1998). Gross enrolment rates also differ between developed and developing countries. While developed countries report rates of around 55 per cent, developing countries report rates of 10 per cent, and the least developed countries report rates of 3 per cent. With the shift towards a knowledgebased society, Africa needs to grow its pool of skilled professionals if it is to adequately respond to development challenges, keep pace with the global economy and bridge the divide with developed countries. With critical knowledge production speeding ahead at unprecedented rates in developed countries. Africa's lag in tertiary education means that intellectual and economic marginalisation and isolation will increase even further. We also needs to be cognisant of a potential political timebomb developing, as the demographic bonus delivers unprecedented numbers of young people at our doorstep, eager for education and empowerment (Saint, 1999).

Public expenditure on higher education has declined steadily since the 1980s and remains chronically under-funded (World Bank, 2000). With many African countries already spending a significant portion of their budget on education, it is unlikely that this sector will receive a cash boost to sustain current levels, or to expand its services. The declining expenditure on higher education means that human and physical resources have deteriorated, and staff qualification, remuneration and morale are low. Ultimately the quantity and the quality of the output has been seriously compromised (World Bank, 2000, Magagula, 2003). Without the resources to cope with the demands for education, many African students who are able to secure financial means, study abroad. For the masses, however, higher education is either elusive or of low quality.

A World Bank (2000) review of Higher Education in Developing Countries asserts that 'higher education is no longer a luxury, it is essential to national social and economic development'. With half of the world's students living in developing countries, alternative ways of providing tertiary education must be sought. Distance learning offers a means to increase access to higher education and to expand tertiary enrolment at lower costs to students. It also provides a realistic alternative to the majority of Africa's students who simply cannot afford to separate education from income earning activities. Distance learning, has a rich history in Africa dating back to 1946 in South Africa, and to 1960 in Botswana, Kenya, Malawi and Zambia (Saint, 1999). There are currently over 140 public and private institution in sub-Saharan Africa that provide distance education using more traditional methods such as print

media, written assignments, and some face-to-face tutoring. However, the face of distance education is evolving through the integration of information and technology (Saint, 1999, Magagula, 2003) that is facilitating learner-centred approaches that allow for interaction between student and teacher and amongst students themselves. The reality is that access to the internet and e-mail as well as expertise and familiarity with online teaching are serious impediments to the widespread adoption of these modes of teaching. Saint (1999) and Magagula (2003) suggest pooling of resources in Africa by developing centres of excellence to expand distance learning.

Education Quality

If education is to be used as a poverty reduction strategy, of equal if not greater importance is the quality of education offered. The ability to translate education into economic or social currency will ultimately impact on poor parents' willingness to invest in the education of their children. Filmer and Pritchett (1999) assert that action can be taken to increase the demands for education by poor communities by raising the quality of schooling. Caucutt and Kumar (2003) add that the subsidization of the direct and indirect costs of education in sub-Saharan Africa as a means to improve the quality of education will ensure higher enrolment rates. Despite the universal focus on access to education, two seminal education fora, namely The Jomtien Declaration of 1990 (UNESCO, 1990) and the Dakar Framework of 2000 (UNESCO, 2000), extended the emphasis beyond access to include the quality of education rendered.

Quality education is considered to have two primary foci namely cognitive development and creative and emotional development. Comparative data on student performance using the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), reported on the poorer performance of developing countries in both literacy and numeracy (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). The former study showed that between a fifth and half of students in developing countries fell below the minimal level for functional literacy. The latter study demonstrated that less than half of students in developing countries could carry out basic computation and less than a third were able to apply basic mathematical knowledge. While great strides have been made in enrolling students in school, the translations into economic growth has not occurred and questions are now being asked about the quality and relevance of education offered to young people in Africa.

School Fees

A number of factors have impacted on the quality of education that African schools can deliver. The mass influx of children into schools in Uganda, Malawi, Tanzania and Kenya following the abolition of school fees has severely strained the existing infrastructural and human resources to deliver education of adequate quality. Corruption also cheats students of the quality of education that they deserve. Uganda's efforts to meet universal primary school access involved the provision of massive grants to districts for disbursement to schools. As a means to ensure just distribution of school funds, the government increased parent and teacher access to information on the size of the grants that schools could expect. This resulted in a 60 per cent reduction in the capture of grants at district level, from 80 per cent in 1995 to 20 per cent in 2001 (Reinikaa & Svensson, 2003).

Class Size and Time to Learn

Class sizes have also increased with wide variations between and within countries from as low as 11 per teacher to a high of 77 per teacher (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005). As an interim measure, some schools have resorted to scheduling multiple shift classes thus limiting contact time with a teacher to three to four hours in a day. In some cases, like South Africa, where rapid transformation is being effected in the education system, teacher contact time with students is being crowded out by management and supervision of large class sizes, assessment and evaluation and extra-curricular activities (HSRC, 2005). Under-qualified teachers, pedagogy consistent with rote learning rather than critical thinking, scarce and poor quality learning material, high levels of corporal punishment, and poor remuneration of teachers, also detract from the quality of education that is delivered. Teachers who provide after-hours tuition as a means to supplement their own income are a growing phenomenon across Africa. This raises questions about the quality of education that is being delivered during regular school hours.

Language and Curricula

The medium of instruction is also critical especially in the African context with the myriad of ethnic and tribal languages spoken. It is generally agreed that the greatest learning in the formative years occurs in the child's native tongue (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005), but finding teachers to match the multiple language demands of students is not easily done. Language and culture can become a source of marginalisation, but community structures such as the Ethiopian Afar Pastoralist Development Association cater for the special needs of these children by running education programmes using Afar as the medium of instruction (MTT/HEARD, 2005). The content of the curriculum also bears heavily on the quality of education. Although there is general convergence in the core components of the teaching curricula across countries, and increasing participation of parents and communities in the governance of schools, few attempts have been made to change the content of the curricula; these remain more or less intact, as they were some 40 years ago (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Over 60 per cent of school leavers in Tanzania, Malawi and Uganda felt that the school curricula were not relevant to the labour market needs (Al-Samarrai & Bennell, 2003).

ICT

The relevance of curricula is further challenged by the rapid changes that are occurring in contemporary society. In a knowledge based society, the meaning of literacy in a globalising world has shifted beyond simply reading, writing and counting, to the 'visual, spatial and analytical skills of the digital age' (United Nations, 2003). The value of ICT as a tool for education is now well established. Television and radio are widely used as a medium for distance education at the primary and secondary school levels. For example, Zambia's interactive radio instruction programme for out-of-school children and orphans is reaching 46 000 learners across 700 sites (MTT/HEARD, 2005). Although young people are better poised to benefit from these opportunities, the reality is that the digital divide is ever prevalent. While high income OECD countries have on average 120 internet hosts per thousand population, developing countries have 0.7 and the least developed countries none at all (United Nations, 2003). In 2001 it was estimated that of the 816 million

people in Africa, only 1 in 4 had access to a radio, 1 in 13 had a TV, 1 in 35 had a mobile telephone, 1 in 40 had a fixed line, 1 in 130 had a PC, 1 in 160 used the internet and 1 in 400 had pay-TV (Jensen, 1996, 2002). Ifinedo (2005) in his assessment of the e-readiness of nine African countries (Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, South Africa, Mauritius, Botswana, Egypt and Tunisisa) describes Africa's preparedness or competitiveness in relation to the global economy as poor.

Even within the EU where ICT use has leapfrogged, girls and students from working class backgrounds are less likely to become users. For developing countries, the divide is still perpetuated by the cost of accessing and maintaining hardware and software and the expense and speed of internet access. Agencies such as NEPAD are spearheading e-readiness across the continent as a social and economic development tool. As part of the work of the e-Africa Commission of NEPAD, concerted efforts are being made to promote ICT use and training in schools. The e-School's concept was launched at the 2003 Africa Summit of the World Economic Forum with the aim of transforming all African secondary schools within the next five years, and all African primary schools within the next 10 years, into information and technology hubs. In total, 600 000 schools across Africa stand to benefit from the NEPAD e-Schools network. Currently 16 countries, involving 6 secondary schools per country, are participating in demonstration projects with the objectives of providing ICT skills and knowledge to learners, to make learners health literate, to train teachers in the use of ICT as a tool to enhance teaching and learning and as a tool for school managers to ensure efficient management (NEPAD, 2005).

Non-formal Learning

The educational challenges facing developing countries are enormous. States are under pressure to simultaneously expand access and improve the quality of primary, secondary and tertiary education. They also need to cope with the backlog of children and adults who are un- and undereducated with few viable skills to compete in the labour market. There are currently 113 million children of primary school age who are not enrolled in school, 97 per cent of whom are in developing countries and three fifths of whom are girls (United Nations, 2003). It is estimated that 21 per cent of the world's population, 15 years and older, are illiterate (United Nations, 2003). While illiteracy rates reach 40 per cent for South Asian women aged 15 to 24, the corresponding figure for Europe is 2 per cent (United Nations, 2003). In sub-Saharan Africa, adult illiteracy rates reach highs of 78 per cent for men and 93 per cent for women with only Mauritius, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe reporting rates below 20 per cent (United Nations, 2003). Even taking into account the expansion in primary education, it is estimated that 107 million 15-24 year olds will be illiterate in 2015 of whom 67 million will be female (UNESCO, 2002).

Clearly the formal education sector, on its own, cannot provide skills development for the numbers of functionally illiterate young people who are in most cases already financially responsible for families. Modes of learning complementary to formal education must be considered. These include distance learning, non-formal learning and informal learning. Research on non-formal education for out-of-school youth in sub-Saharan Africa is limited, but what information there is suggests that out-of school youth have very limited access to non-formal education (Bennell, 2000). Although progress has been made by efforts of non-governmental institutions to eradicate adult illiteracy through these modes of teaching in countries such as India, Bangladesh, Egypt and Nigeria (UNESCO, 2001), they are often still regarded as

second-class or lacking credibility. However, countries such as Kenya, where free primary schooling is available, recognise the benefits of non-formal education to cater for the 1.7 million children who remain outside of the school system due to factors such as persistent poverty, migratory lifestyles and gender and geographic disparities (MTT/HEARD, 2005). Similar programmes for educationally marginalised children have been running in Namibia since 2002 (MTT/HEARD, 2005).

Literacy aside, UNESCO (2001) estimates that the educational development (defined as a combination of cognitive, social, personal and practical competencies) of most young people 15 years and older are too low for them to plan and make critical life decisions. They therefore advocate life skills training for this cohort with an emphasis on better life management. In developed countries, well established youth policies are set to ensure that this non-formal education is available to young people, to prepare them to function efficiently in a multicultural world. In developing countries, however, where resources are over-stretched to ensure basic access to education, these mandates are still being fulfilled by traditional institutions, mostly families, communities and schools. Countries such as Lesotho are making available youth empowerment opportunities for out-of-school youth to encourage a sense of belonging and to motivate them to return to education (MTT/HEARD, 2005).

Poverty

The dearth of data on young people living in poverty is exacerbated by the lack of consensus about how to measure poverty. Instruments such as the Millennium Development Goals and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) acknowledge the multi-dimensional nature of poverty that goes beyond income poverty to include access to food, education and literacy, quality healthcare, and water and sanitation. The dynamic nature of poverty among young people, driven by rapid changes in economic dependency, compounds the difficulty of estimating the numbers of young people living in poverty. Yet the lack of clear-cut measures to estimate poverty cannot obscure the millions of young people who live in extreme poverty, and who require help to exit the poverty trap. Traditional, absolute income measures estimate that 208 million young people aged 15 to 24 years live on less than US\$1 a day while 515 million young people live on less than US\$2 a day (United Nations, 2005a). Sub-Saharan Africa (60.7 million) is second only to South Asia (84.1 million) with the highest proportion of young people living on less than US\$1 a day (United Nations, 2005a). An alternative measure of poverty, namely the number of undernourished young people, produces similar estimates with sub-Saharan Africa (57.8 million) only surpassed by South Asia (39.9 million) (United Nations, 2005a).

The intergenerational nature of poverty means that poverty amongst youth is often linked to both childhood poverty and parental poverty (United Nations, 2005a). Poor nutrition in utero, and during early childhood, has the greatest long-term effects on cognitive and physical functioning and therefore provides the primary intervention entry, through nutrition, health, education and household security, for poverty reduction strategies. Creating socio-economic opportunities for youth as they assemble the building blocks for adulthood, present the next best intervention point to break the cycle of intergenerational and life-course poverty. Opportunities must also be created for generating sustainable livelihoods by making labour markets more receptive to poor people. This requires challenges to the overt and covert aged-based discrimination that youth face in the labour market. But the value of social security offered by social assistance grants to help young people living in chronic poverty to build the assets and resilience necessary to mitigate shocks, cannot be overemphasized. The dynamic nature of poverty amongst young people means that those barely surviving on the margins of society, are often the worst affected by shocks such as war, natural disasters and HIV/AIDS. Some cushioning must be available to them to prevent their life trajectories from being permanently sidetracked.

While the Millennium Development Goals require a definitive focus on youth, although not explicitly stated, country strategies to address poverty as described in the PRSPs do not elicit this view. A review of 31 PRSPs, the majority of which were from Africa, showed that efforts to address youth poverty were piecemeal; some believe this is largely because young people were not consulted during the design of the strategies (UNFPA, 2005). Despite the cross-cutting nature of youth poverty, few PRSPs identified youth as a special needs group. However since 2002, indications are that several African countries have placed emphasis on the development of young people (UNFPA, 2005).

Employment

One of the most tangible challenges facing youth in Africa and, for that matter, youth at a global level, and as a driver of youth poverty, is youth unemployment and underemployment. The International Labour Organisation contends that the number of unemployed youth grew steadily between 1993 (11.7 per cent) and 2003 (14.4 per cent) to a high of 88 million, comprising 47 per cent of the total unemployed population (United Nations, 2005a, ILO, 2004). The over-representation of youth, who constitute only 25 per cent of the working-age population, in the unemployment statistics, warrants urgent intervention (ILO, 2004). The situation is particularly dire for youth in developing countries where they represent a greater proportion of the working population, and are 3.8 times more likely to be unemployed that their adult counterparts (ILO, 2004).

Youth unemployment is a global phenomenon with several European countries experiencing unemployment rates close to 30 per cent among 15-24-year-olds (ILO, 2001). Lack of data makes it difficult to assess youth unemployment in Africa, and this is also complicated by varying definitions of youth and unemployment measures. Figures for Egypt (34 per cent) and Morocco (35 per cent) suggest that about a third of young people are unemployed with about half of young people in South Africa (56 per cent) in this age band being unemployed (ILO, 2001). The unemployment rates are more severe when the expanded definition of youth is considered. For example in South Africa, a recent report demonstrated that 70 per cent of young people aged 18-35 years were unemployed (Richter *et al.*, 2005). Similar figures have been quoted for Algeria.

Despite the massive expansion in women's participation in the labour market over the past thirty years, at a global level, women are more likely to be affected by unemployment with rates 20-50 per cent higher than that of males (ILO, 2001). Factors such as their limited access to education and training, mismatch between their skills and the demands of the labour market because of study choices, gender discrimination, as well as social and cultural constraints, contribute to higher rates of unemployment among women (ILO, 2001). In sub-Saharan Africa, rates of unemployment are higher among males than females, perhaps due to earlier entry into marriage by females who then report themselves to be housewives, rather than as part of the economically active population or looking for work (Okojie, 2003).

Cost of Youth Unemployment

The cost of youth unemployment has far reaching consequences for economies and for young people. It is estimated that halving the worlds youth unemployment rate could add an additional US\$2.2 to 3.5 trillion to the world economy with the greatest impact in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2004). It is known that difficulty in finding employment early in one's career may have lasting effects on lifelong employability, health and adjustment. But the greatest damage is to the self-esteem and general well-being of young people, particularly those experiencing long-term unemployment of over a year. These young people find themselves socially excluded, vulnerable, frustrated and idle, a mix of feelings that can predispose them to engage in crime, violence, substance use and other deviant activities. Unemployed youth have now become the 'street youth' in Africa, a culture without legitimate means to support their livelihood, with few alternatives but to turn to criminal behaviour (Chigunta,

2002, Chigunta *et al.*, 2005, Okojie, 2003). Another spin-off of youth unemployment is the growing involvement of African youth in gangsterism, a *modus operandi* that offers socially excluded youth a sense of belonging, power and the material resources that they seek. Studies in South Africa show that youth are disproportionately both victims and perpetrators of crime and are over-represented in prison populations, considereing the proportion of the population that they represent (Matzopoulos, 2002, Leggett, 2002). There is also growing involvement of unemployed African youth in wars across the continent, yielding power through a cocktail of drug use and guns (Chigunta, 2002, Curtain, 2000).

For women, the mix of illiteracy, semi-literacy, unemployment and underemployment are the major determinants of 'the feminization of poverty'. Women's desire to find greener pastures results in them migrating over long distances to find work, volunteering into prostitution, or being duped into trafficking across national and international borders (Aghatise, 2002; United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2002). Youth unemployment also places inordinate stress on family resources as young people rely on family and friends for support during their search for income-producing activities. Families caught in the poverty trap bear the brunt of this, and it can have intergenerational repercussions on younger siblings who may be denied access to education.

Underemployment

Unemployment rates underestimate the extent to which young people are affected by poor employment prospects. The extended transition from education to work may give a false sense of opportunities in the labour market for those countries with lower youth unemployment rates (United Nations, 2003). In addition, it is estimated that of the 550 million people in the world who work, but earn less than US\$1 a day, 25 per cent (130 million) are young people. Despite recent declines in child labour, about 59 million young people between 15 and 17 years of age are still engaged in hazardous forms of work (ILO, 2002). The demands of the labour market for flexibility means that most young people who do work, find themselves employed in low paying temporary positions, working long hours under poor conditions often with few if any protections. Due to the temporary nature of their work, young people are unlikely to be unionised, and this can create a vicious cycle of exposure to poor labour practices. According to the ILO (2001), wages in the informal sector are 44 per cent lower than that of the formal sector, yet 93 per cent of jobs in Africa are created in this sector. For most young people without the social capital to support their job search, employment often means casual work, survivalist self-employment in the informal sector, underemployment or a series of part time engagements. In fact, many young people can be seen on the streets of Africa eking out a living through petty trading of fruit, telephone cards, calculators and other such portable goods (Okojie, 2003). The World Youth Report (United Nations, 2003) has labelled this grey area between traditional employment and unemployment as the 'intermediary zone'. By traditional standards, this sector is unregulated, and often exploits the basic rights of workers.

Graduate Unemployment

On the other extreme of the continuum of employment and unemployment, a core group of young educated professionals with specialised skills are riding the crest of opportunities provided by the globalising world. Despite the generally linear trend between education and employment, with higher rates of unemployment among the

less educated, education in itself is not an absolute guarantee of employment. In South Africa, the highest growth in the unemployment rates are reported to be among tertiary graduates, rising from 6.44 per cent in 1995 to 15.37 per cent in 2002 (Bhorat., 2003). This is attributed mainly to a mismatch between the demands of the labour market and the skills, or skill deficiencies, of the job entrants. Africa's education system is staggering under the burden of increasing numbers but limited resources to improve quality and infrastructure. The result is a system that can teach only basic numeracy and literacy and has not adapted itself to the skills required by the accelerated pace and direction of the labour market (Okojie, 2003). A study among university graduates from Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe found that their training was too theoretical and that students had few opportunities to interact with the workplace during their studies (Al-Samarrai & Bennell, 2003).

While there is an increase in graduates with general training in humanities, arts, education, political and social science, there is a dearth of skilled labour in fields such as engineering and the physical sciences, for which jobs do exist. An analytic study in Ghana re-iterated this supply-demand gap, with an evident oversupply in the arts and humanities and an under-supply in more specialised fields (Boateng, 2002). Poor graduate study choices are indicative that career guidance at the school and university level is inadequate. The result is a flooding of the fields of study with less stringent entry criteria and lower infrastructural costs, which churn out graduates in these general fields. Moleke (2006) asserts that higher education in South Africa is still driven by a social demand for education, rather than the needs of the labour market.

Slow growth, stagnation and even recession in African economies means that the formal economy cannot create jobs at the levels that the growing demography of young people in developing countries demand. The rapid urbanisation of young people also means that million of African youth are arriving on the doorsteps of major African cities with the hope of finding waged or salaried employment, only to find jobs as scarce as they were back home. Most young people in Africa are in fact finding employment in the informal sector, leaving even young graduates from generalised study fields with few options but to either migrate to developed countries, where work is available, or to take what employment is available - often underutilising their skills or being underemployed. Recent estimates for Ghana show that half of its graduates live abroad (World Bank, 2005). But the 'brain drain' is not only about the availability of jobs. Moleke (2006) showed that, despite the availability of jobs in South Africa, 42.9 percent of engineers and 37.3 per cent of medical science graduates intended working abroad permanently because of dissatisfaction with working conditions in the country.

The worrying spin-off from graduate unemployment is disaffection with education, especially among poor families who have to make enormous sacrifices to educate their children, only to find little or no return on their investment. With 70 per cent of young people aged 18-35 in South Africa having never held a job, the disillusionment is understandable (Richter *et al.*, 2005). A fifth of unemployed young people in South Africa believe that they will never find a job (Richter *et al.*, 2005).

Analysts caution that the over-representation of graduates in the unemployment statistics may not be so much about education and employment *per se*, but a reflection of the willingness of young graduates with family social capital at their disposal to lengthen the job search in order to find the most appropriate employment (Curtain, 2000, ILO, 2004, National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Two

studies among graduates in Africa (Moleke, 2006), one of which was a multi-country study (Al-Samarrai & Bennell, 2003), showed that there was little evidence to support the notion of massive unemployment among graduates (only 1-5 per cent were unemployed). These studies also showed that between 80–90 per cent of graduates were working in jobs related to their fields of study, that self-employment was low, and that rates of employment were similar for male and female graduates.

Strategies to Address Youth Unemployment

There is no magic bullet to address youth unemployment because of the complexity and inter-relatedness of its educational, economic, social and global determinants. But the global commitment is substantial and a number of strategies have been proposed by organisations such as the Youth Employment Summit (YES) and the Youth Employment Network (YEN), a joint initiative of the United Nations, World Bank and the International Labour Organisation. YEN and YES emanated from the commitment of the Millennium Development Goal Summit to 'develop and implement strategies that give young people everywhere a real chance to find decent and productive work'. Four global policy priorities have been identified namely, employment creation, employability, equal access for men and women and entrepreneurship (International Labour Office, 2003).

Employment Creation

Economic analysts agree that efforts to generate employment for all citizens must address both the demand and supply side of labour. A substantial focus has to be placed on kick-starting African economies that have experienced minimal growth in the last decade, with many stagnating if not regressing. This will entail creating comprehensive, integrated and coherent macroeconomic and employment policies that will benefit young people through job creation in the formal labour market. While young people increasing look to the informal sector to find employment because of shrinking job opportunities in the formal economy, due cognizance must be given to the fact that the health of the informal sector is very much dependent on the performance of the formal economy (Egulu, 2004). In the interim, countries are introducing a number of 'stop-gap' measures to generate employment. South Africa, Senegal and Ethiopia, amongst others, have adopted labour intensive practices for infrastructural development as ways to provide income and to generate skills. Several East and Southern African countries have also instituted public works programmes to offer social protection to HIV/AIDS-affected households as well as orphans and vulnerable children (SALDRU, 2005). However, an evaluation of the Expanded Public Works Programme in South Africa demonstrated that despite the 124 808 jobs created since 1998, most jobs were temporary and did not convert into permanent employment (Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services, 2003).

Employability

On the supply side of labour, YEN and YES also propose a focus on the *employability* of young people, which requires restructuring of the education and training systems. This entails greater investment in, and re-orientation of, education systems towards the skills demands of labour markets. In this regard, countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi and Nigeria, through their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, have placed an emphasis on improving the relevance and quality of vocational training (Egulu, 2004, Okojie, 2003). This requires revision of curricula, re-training staff,

upgrading infrastructure and increasing the accessibility of vocational colleges. However, Egulu (2004) cautioned that a knee-jerk response to youth unemployment through expanding vocational training without focusing on the demands of the labour market can prove a fruitless effort.

Akoojee, Gewer and McGrath's (2005) review of vocational education and training in seven Southern African countries (Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland) speaks to the transformation that this sector is undergoing as a means to address youth unemployment and to increase employability, particularly for the informal job sector. Of course, an inherent tension in the direction the system takes, is whether to concentrate on the provision of skills to participate in the knowledge-based economy, when for many parts of Africa the notion is 'far-off' and far fetched' - or to focus on the industrial-based skills that may offer job opportunities to many more young people in Africa. While vocational training is intended to prepare students for the world of work, the lack of coherence between the education and training systems is a real hurdle. Furthermore, in countries where all phases of the education system are under stress and an international push exists for access to basic education, counterbalanced against limited resources, the piece of the pie that can be devoted to vocational training is relatively small. But reforms require resources to provide the types of infrastructure and low teacher-student ratios that could produce quality training.

Curricula are also outdated, and are often irrelevant to the needs of industry. However, curriculum reform is resulting in a growing focus on promoting the employability of students through competency based training. Access still remains a constraint, with many centres being urban-based. While vocational training is intended to impact on the skills of young people entering the informal economy, there is still limited understanding of what those skills are. But perhaps the greatest challenge facing vocational training is the low status accorded to it as part of the colonial legacy, under which academia was the chosen route towards achieving social status. The labels have stuck, for in 2003 in South Africa, most tertiary students were registered at universities (54%), followed by technikons (28%) and then technical colleges (16%) (Richter *et al.*, 2005). Kraak (2003) concluded that learners and parents tend to be prejudiced against school-based technical or college-based vocational education.

In line with the proposals of the YEN and YES campaigns, African countries are also providing incentives to employers to upgrade the skills of their existing workforce. These incentive schemes have been extended to pre-employed and unemployed young people to cater for the skills development of out-of-school and out-of-work youth. In South Africa, learnership programmes offer unskilled youth the chance of formal skills development as part of on-the-job training. National Youth Service, a long-standing concept in Africa, is also creating opportunities for unskilled youth to find a purpose, identity and belonging. Countries such as Botswana, Nigeria, Ghana and, recently, South Africa, have adopted youth service programmes with the dual goal of engendering civic participation and building the skills of young people to integrate them into the labour market.

Entrepreneurship

Self-employment, in the form of *entrepreneurship*, is no panacea for the youth unemployment problem, but it is one viable strategy that is being punted at a global

and African level. Curtain (2004) makes a distinction between opportunity-based entrepreneurial activity and necessity-based, survivalist, entrepreneurial activity. While the former type is geared towards employment generation as well as creating and tapping into new markets, the latter is a response to economic hardships and tends to proliferate in low income countries. According to the Status of Youth Report in South Africa (Richter et al., 2005), only 6 per cent of young people aged 18-35 were self-employed. What is more, many chose this option when job opportunities in the formal labour market were unavailable. The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (von Broembsen, 2003) commented on the mushrooming of survivalist microenterprises in South Africa that lead to a saturation of the same, narrow markets and tend to shut down other existing ventures. These activities detract from employment creation, economic growth and economic empowerment functions to which enterprises should be aspiring. However, King (1996), in a twenty year longitudinal study of informal traders, showed that the delineation may not be as clear cut - what appeared as subsistence activities in the 1970s turned out to be the formative stages of full-on entrepreneurial businesses.

While survivalist businesses are prevalent throughout Africa, South Africa's poor performance on self-employment is not representative of the views on the rest of the continent (Chigunta, 2005) or, in fact, of young people in the rest of the world (United Nations, 2003). Previous perceptions that African youth held negative views of selfemployment are contradicted by studies in Malawi and Zambia, in which both adults and youth expressed strong desires to be self-employed (Chigunta, 2005). Furthermore, South Africa's low total entrepreneurial activity rate of 4.3 per 100 is well below that for developing countries at 21 per 100 (Reynolds et al., 2003). Other countries in Africa, like Uganda, are above the developing country average with rates of 29 per 100. The 2003 Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Report (Reynolds et al., 2003) demonstrated that 9 out of 100 persons aged 18 to 64 are engaged in some type of self-employment, with the 18-24 group third in line. Men in the 25-34-year age group tend to dominate this sector but interest is growing among women - even though they face some gender-based barriers. African young entrepreneurs can mostly be found in the informal sector (Okojie, 2003). Contrary to popular perception, young entrepreneurs in the informal sector in Africa tend to have high education levels, perhaps because of the influx of educated job seekers from the formal into the informal market (Chigunta, 2005).

Low-cost access to ICT is also presenting a viable hub to young people for entrepreneurial activity, and this is being exploited by groups of young people in major African cities (Okojie, 2003). But the use of ICT as an income generating tool needs to shift beyond merely providing access to ICT to local people, to linking local businesses to international markets and to access information, resources and tools to grow business acumen (Curtain, 2000).

For entrepreneurship to yield meaningful job creation for young people, some prerequisites must be put in place. For one, it requires enabling legislation that may involve preferential procurement for youth enterprises and for young women in business. In fact, the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Report of 2005 demonstrated that national entrepreneurial framework conditions and active policy are necessary to enable high-expectation entrepreneurial activity to flourish – these are ventures that generate significant employment. The uptake of entrepreneurship by young people also requires substantial resource allocation through programmes that offer access to credit, and through business development training, including sustained mentorship.

Young people without assets for collateral are considered high risk investments, but the lobbying of the youth sector and the creation of special credit programmes can change these perceptions and open up opportunities. In fact, in our interviews with youth organizations, access to credit was identified as one of the challenges preventing young people from taking up entrepreneurship opportunities. Additionally, many African countries have proposed the inclusion of entrepreneurship training in their secondary school and tertiary education curricula as part of their PRSPs. While research in Botswana, Uganda and Kenya (Farstad, 2002) shows that these efforts may not necessarily result in an uptake of entrepreneurship within two years of students leaving school, it does place youth in a more informed position to engage in self-employment. Philanthropic efforts - known as social entrepreneurship - are also being made in countries such as Cameroon, South Africa, Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe and Ghana, to teach poor people how to assess the assets and the gaps in their own environment and turn them into business opportunities (World Economic Forum, 2002).

Health

The health of young people is a crucial element in, and inseparable from, their ability to receive an education, and participate in income generating activities and the structures of society. This notion is implicit in the Millennium Development Goals, several of which directly address health issues relevant to youth - while health is indirectly implicated in others. For instance, Goal 1 (eradicate extreme poverty and hunger) has two associated indicators that are health-related: reducing the prevalence of underweight children under five years of age, and reducing the proportion of the population below the minimum level of dietary energy. Additional goals, targets and indicators directly related to the health of youth include improving maternal health and combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. Others, such as achieving universal primary education, are indirectly related (for instance, educated young people are more able to make healthy lifestyle choices). Health needs to be viewed holistically. Healthy young people are more able to be successful in their studies, to be economically active, to be more attractive marriage partners, to be active in their communities and to make better parents, than young people who have poor health (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

While young people are subject to many of the health risks that pertain to the broader African population (such as the risk of TB and malaria), several aspects of health are more important for youth than at other ages. Reproductive health is an area of particular importance to this age-group. It is at this life stage that people develop secondary sexual characteristics, typically make their sexual debut, and may start to have children. Other key areas of health also impact on youth: substance use, mental health, disability, exposure to violence, and health risk behaviours; all of which are key areas of focus for youth policy.

Mortality and Injuries

Mortality rates provide some indication of the general state of health of any group, as death is the ultimate end of many diseases and risk behaviours. Worldwide, the health of young people in developing countries is improving slowly. Mortality rates of youth are beginning to decline overall, with the important exception of the toll taken by the HIV epidemic, particularly in southern Africa (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Causes of mortality show strong differences by gender. Among young men around the world, mortality is more likely to be caused by road traffic accidents, violence, war, and suicide, than among young women (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). For young African men, the picture is slightly different - while they are still more likely to die from violencerelated causes than young women, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, young men are more likely to die from HIV-related causes than any other cause (World Health Organisation, 2001). In terms of violence, mortality rates among men due to homicide, peak between the ages of 15 and 29, followed closely by the age group 30-44 years. The highest homicide rates in the world are found in Africa (Krug et al., 2002). Young women in Africa aged 10-25 have only a slightly lower risk of dying than their male counterparts, because of the high tolls taken by maternal and HIVrelated mortality among young women (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Maternal mortality accounts for 25 per cent of deaths of young women in North Africa, and 16 per cent in the rest of Africa. There are also non-fatal complications associated with pregnancy and childbirth that may affect health in the short- and/or long-term, causing such problems as obstetric fistula, uterine prolapse, anaemia, reproductive tract infections, and infertility (National Research Council, 1997). In sub-Saharan Africa, the lifetime risk of maternal death is 1 in 16. About 80 per cent of these deaths are from causes directly related to pregnancy or childbirth, such as haemorrhage, sepsis and complications of unsafe abortion. The other 20 per cent are due to conditions aggravated by, but not related to, pregnancy (such as diabetes and malaria) (World Health Organisation, 2003). Female genital cutting (FGC), a practice that still takes place in 28 African countries, increases the risk of maternal mortality and morbidity. Because of this, there has been a strong push to recognise it as a human rights issue; as a result, the practice is declining in some countries (Creel, 2001). Efforts to eradicate FGC may be most successful when alternative rites-ofpassage ceremonies are provided (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Injuries follow a similar pattern to mortality. Young people and, especially young men, are most likely to suffer injuries from road traffic accidents, violence, war, and suicide. For Africa, one important policy issue to note is that, as motorised transport within a country grows, rates of death and injury due to traffic accidents are also likely to grow. But that this is not inevitable. The use of preventive and safety measures, such as the enforcement of seat belt use, motorcycle helmets, speed limits and drunk driving laws, have led to improvements in countries in which they have been introduced (World Health Organisation, 1995).

Rates of suicide are not readily available for African countries. However, worldwide, suicide rates tend to increase with age, but there are some differences by gender and across countries. In general, men are more likely than women to succeed at committing suicide at all ages and show this increasing trend. The pattern for women differs from country to country. In some countries, suicide rates among women may peak in middle age, but particularly in developing countries and among minority groups, the peak is found among young women (Krug *et al.*, 2002). South African data shows that suicides, for both genders, increase sharply in the age group 15-19 years, and peak between the ages of 20 and 35 (Harris *et al.*, 2003), suggesting that at least in South Africa, youth may be more at risk for suicide than any other age group. There is an urgent need for more data on suicide in Africa, so that high-risk groups can be identified and preventive interventions introduced.

Reproductive Health

There are a host of reproductive health issues that may affect young people. These include HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted infections, risky sexual behaviours, sexual violence and coercion, contraceptive knowledge and use, and abortion.

Social norms around sexual initiation are different for boys and for girls almost everywhere in the developing world. Girls are expected to marry younger than men, but are discouraged from premarital sex; which may be condoned and even encouraged for young men. However, the age of marriage is increasingly being delayed, and the age of initiation into sexual activity is getting younger. As a result, more young people are reporting that their first sexual experience occurs outside of marriage. Early sexual debut may be regarded as a risk to young people's health, as

they are less likely to be able to access preventive technologies or negotiate safe sexual practices. One key issue in terms of women's health is that young women who are enrolled in school are more likely to delay their sexual debut, although the reasons for this are not well understood. It should also be noted that the same effect is not found for men (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

The greatest risk to African young people, in terms of sexual behaviour, is HIV/AIDS. It is estimated that about three-quarters of the almost 12 million HIV-positive people aged 15-24 years, live in sub-Saharan Africa. The prevalence is very much lower in North Africa (UNAIDS, 2000). Early age of sexual initiation, lack of protection, risky sexual practices, polygamy, and commercial sex work, all contribute to infection (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Women are at higher risk than men, for physiological, social and cultural reasons. Physiologically, viral load is higher in semen than in vaginal secretions; in vaginal intercourse, women have a larger surface area exposed to secretions than men; and younger women in particular are at risk because their less mature vagina and cervix have a thinner cell structure that allows the virus to pass more easily into the bloodstream (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Young women in sub-Saharan Africa are also likely to have sex with and marry older men, who are more likely to be infected than younger men. Some of these relationships are based on the exchange of sex for gifts or money, and inherent in such relationships is a power differential that makes it harder for young women to negotiate the use of condoms and safer sex practices (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Risky sexual behaviours put young people in danger, not only for HIV, but also for other sexually transmitted infections, and of unwanted pregnancy. These behaviours include having many partners, changing partners often, choosing risky partners such as commercial sex workers, and engaging in riskier sexual practices such as not using condoms. Girls in sub-Saharan Africa are perhaps most at risk, as the poverty endemic in the region makes it more likely that they will engage in sexual partnerships with older men in exchange for money, gifts or school fees (Bennell, 2000, Hallman, 2004). The power differentials in these relationships mean that the young women are less able to negotiate safe sex, or to protect themselves from violence (Luke, 2003).

Many young women in sub-Saharan Africa also report experiencing coerced sex, another worrying dimension that may lead not only to infection with an STI, but also to a range of physical, behavioural and mental health problems (such as damage to reproductive organs, unwanted pregnancy, increased risky sexual behaviour, and depression) (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Perpetrators of rape and sexual coercion are unlikely to be strangers, and most likely to be adult men in authority (such as teachers, policemen and relatives) (Brown *et al.*, 2001). Some studies (e.g., Ajuwon *et al.*, 2001) suggest that rates of sexual coercion are higher where cultural definitions of masculinity are such that young men are socialised to understand sex as an entitlement. Often, victims of sexual coercion report further victimisation by police, family or community if they attempt to report the incident (Ajuwon *et al.*, 2001). It is difficult to estimate the extent of sexual and domestic violence because of its unseen nature (African Union, 2004).

One of the key areas for policy, therefore, is programmes aimed at preventing HIV infection. Recent studies suggest that condom use, while relatively low, is increasing (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). An important area for

intervention is via education. A recent study in Uganda shows that, over time, there has been a decrease in HIV prevalence and an increase in condom use, among young people with secondary school education, compared with those with no or primary education (de Walque, 2005). This suggests that education has a role to play, but also that additional interventions need to be specifically targeted to those with no or very little education (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Expanding and strengthening voluntary counselling and testing is also playing an important role in the uptake of protective behaviours by young people (Richter *et al.*, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, contraceptive use is several times higher among sexually active 15-24 year-olds with secondary education or higher, than among those with no education (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Contraceptive use is important both for preventing sexually transmitted infections, and for preventing unwanted pregnancies that may affect both the health and the ability of (especially) the young woman to further her education and become economically active; and this also jeopardises the life chances of her child.

Abortion is another key issue in young women's reproductive health. Under safe conditions, termination of pregnancy poses few risks to women's health. A 2005 paper on abortion in South Africa reported the massive impact that enabling legislation has had on decreasing mortality resulting from unsafe abortion (Jewkes & Rees, 2005). It is estimated that between a third and half of early pregnancies are deliberately aborted (African Union, 2004). Under circumstances where only three African countries allow legal abortions (Cape Verde, South Africa and Tunisia), and where African countries have some of the most restrictive policies regarding abortion in the world, the majority of abortions take place under precarious circumstances (African Union, 2004). Many young women choose unskilled practitioners, particularly if they are unmarried, if they cannot afford the costs of a safe abortion, if they believe that their confidentiality will be better protected, and in countries where abortion is illegal. Young women may choose abortions because they wish to stay in school, because their partner is not committed to them or the child, or because they are unmarried. There is, however, a complex relationship between abortion and contraceptive use. Over time, as more young women use contraception and use it more effectively, rates of abortion tend to decrease (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

In addition, both HIV and violence may threaten youth development more broadly than implied by a narrow focus on the risk of young people themselves contracting an illness or becoming injured. Loss of caregivers may place young people at risk for mental health disorders, for dropping out of school, and for food, housing and economic insecurity (UNAIDS, 2001).

Mental Health

Studies in the United States indicate that 75 per cent of all people who will develop a mental health or substance-use disorder, will do so before the age of 24 (Kessler 2005). In African countries, some factors that place people at increased risk for the development of mental health disorders may be more prevalent than in the United States. These risk factors include HIV infection, poverty, unemployment, urbanisation, and exposure to violence, crime and other trauma (Kleintjies *et al.*, 2005). Mental health disorders are also important because of their links to other health outcomes and behaviours. For instance, depression and psychosis are both linked to suicide, and mental health problems may also be linked to risky sexual behaviour

(National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Together, these findings suggest that interventions to prevent and treat the development of mental health disorders should include children and youth as a priority focus.

Disability

In terms of disability, prevalence of disability tends to increase over the age span, so that young people are no more at risk than other age groups. The failure of the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons to bring about any real changes in the lives of African people with disabilities has prompted the declaration of an African Decade of Persons with Disabilities (1999-2009). In terms of youth, the Continental Plan of Action explicitly recognises the fact that disability may severely affect chances of gaining an education, an issue that is particularly pertinent to young people (2005). South Africa has reported some gains and some losses for disabled people in the period between 1996 and 2001 - in education, employment, income and occupation. Disability among young people in South Africa varies between 4 and 5 per cent (Richter et al., 2005). While there was slightly less access to education overall, there was an increase in completion of secondary and tertiary education, especially for disabled people from previously disadvantaged population groups. Although there was a drop in unemployment amongst people with disabilities, there were indications of improved earnings, alongside indications of job losses at higher levels and the creation of jobs at lower levels. What is more, only about half of young people who reported a disability received a disability grant.

Other Health Risk Behaviours

The World Health Organisation estimates that 70 per cent of premature deaths among adults are caused by health risk behaviours initiated in their youth (World Health Organisation, 1995). These causes of mortality include those stemming from substance use and overweight (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Given this, two policy goals are critical in youth - making sure that health risk behaviours are not initiated, *and* that health promoting behaviours (such as exercise) are initiated and maintained.

Amongst health problems caused by substance abuse, tobacco use is the most studied. Tobacco use is associated with a host of health problems in both the user and those who experience the tobacco second-hand, including heart disease, stroke, and certain forms of cancer. The children of tobacco users are more likely to be born at low weight and to suffer from allergies and asthma. These health risks apply both to smoked tobacco and to smokeless forms of tobacco, such as snuff (Henry-Edwards *et al.*, 2003). Tobacco use almost always begins before the age of 20 (Nelson *et al.*, 1995), and the epidemic is increasing amongst young people, and among women in particular (World Health Organisation, 2002a). Symptoms of dependence also develop quickly amongst young people. Amongst young people aged 12-13, two cigarettes once a week for six months are enough to develop symptoms of dependence in boys, and in girls it takes only 3 weeks for dependence to develop (DiFranza *et al.*, 2002, Gruber & Zinman, 2000, Jha & Chaloupka, 1999).

The Global Youth Tobacco Surveys of young people in school, aged 13-15 years, found that African youth are indeed smoking. In Eastern and Southern Africa, prevalence rates are 12 per cent for males and 5 per cent for females; in Western and Central Africa, 24 per cent for males and 6 per cent for females (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Clearly, since these rates have serious

implications for long-term health, youth policy needs to address this issue. For young people, the usual source of cigarettes is to buy them, and studies suggest that an effective means of reducing rates of smoking amongst young people, is to increase the cost of cigarettes and to ban the sale of cigarettes to minors (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Alcohol is also associated with serious health risk behaviours. Acute intoxication may lead to aggression, violence and injury, as well as unsafe sexual practices including the risk for HIV infection. More chronic use can lead to high blood pressure; anxiety, depression and suicide; liver disease; digestive disorders; memory problems; permanent brain injury; and certain forms of cancer (Henry-Edwards *et al.*, 2003). Data on alcohol use among African youth are sparse, but information from developing countries more broadly suggests that, as developing countries become more urban and the marketing of alcoholic products spread, drinking amongst youth in developing countries will increase and become similar to those among youth in developed countries (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

There is very little data on illicit drug use, but what is available suggests that prevalence is lower in developing countries than that in developed countries, with the possible exception of marijuana use (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005, Parry *et al.*, 2002) and, in South Africa at least, methaqualone use (Parry *et al.*, 2002). In contrast to alcohol and tobacco, young people who experiment with illicit drugs may not necessarily become addicted. But the younger they start to experiment, the more likely they are to develop a serious and persisting addiction. However, even short-term experimentation can have effects on progress in school, and impaired judgement may be associated with other risk behaviours such as unprotected sex, violence and driving while intoxicated (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Some studies suggest that obesity is on the increase in developing countries, and is linked to rates of urbanisation (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). Obesity results from both poor nutrition and lack of exercise, and carries with it substantial health risks such as high blood pressure, diabetes, certain types of cancer and osteoarthritis (World Health Organization, 2002a).

Interventions

Studies of youth around the world suggest key areas for intervention (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005). One is to recognise that rising numbers of youth attending school offers opportunities to reach large numbers of young people with health promotion programmes. Quality education, in and of itself, in good school environments (where teachers are appropriate role models, for example), may do much to reduce risk behaviours among young people and promote healthy behaviours. Policies and programmes must also recognise, however, that many young people are not in school, and that these youth also need to be the focus of interventions. Peer education is proving to be an effective tool to educate young people about the risks of HIV/AIDs. Other interventions include the importance of making family planning and sexual protection products and services available to young men and for young women, both married and unmarried, without stigma, reducing health risks of pregnancy and childbirth; and prevention of tobacco use. In fact the introduction of youth friendly health services enhances the accessibility and acceptability of health services for young people. Part of this process involves training

health care providers in adolescent and youth health to deliver services in a non-judgemental, trustworthy and non-moralistic way. The National Adolescent-Friendly Clinic Initiative (NAFCI) in South Africa is making strides in affording young people who were previously marginalized from the health system, access to health care.



Conflict, War and Violence

Wars in Africa are responsible for many deaths and injuries, as well as for the displacement of many thousands of people. In 2002 it was estimated that wars were responsible for 310 000 deaths worldwide of which 53 per cent occurred in Africa (African Union, 2004). Most wars in Africa are ethno-political and internal, rather than wars between states (Wessels, 1997). The effect of this is that most of the victims are non-combatants, women and children (Wessels, 1997).

The effects of conflicts and violence differ for young men and women. Some young men volunteer or are recruited as soldiers, but even civilian young men are more at risk than women for war- and conflict-related deaths. They may be targeted by soldiers who fear them becoming combatants, and they are also more likely to be sent out of the family home to get food, tend animals or earn money. In addition to deaths, however, many other aspects of young men and women's lives may be disrupted by conflict and war. They face injuries, the loss of caregivers and other relatives, and their schooling may be disrupted (National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005).

Many people, especially women and children, are displaced, both internally and into surrounding provinces and states. For instance, it is estimated that, as a result of the conflict in Liberia, approximately 300 000 Liberians are internally displaced, and that 320 000 are refugees in neighbouring countries - of these, 80 per cent are estimated to be women and children (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2004). Young displaced girls are regularly exposed to rape, sexual abuse and prostitution (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2004), as are young women recruited as child soldiers (Wessels, 1997). Other forms of harassment, such as robbery and intimidation, are also rife in refugee camps (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2004).

Not all the casualties among youth are among civilians. Many young people become combatants, for a variety of reasons. There are approximately 300 000 child soldiers, under the age of 18, in the world, of which half are in Africa (WHO, 2002). These include young people who are forcibly recruited and those who enlist for security. Unaccompanied young people, desperate for food or medical attention, or youth who need to support their families, may find that joining an armed group is their only option (Wessels, 1997). Young girls may join an armed group voluntarily to protect themselves against rape perpetrated by armed groups, to gain equality with men, or to escape an abusive home situation (Brett, 2002). Once young people have joined the military, they may be subjected to brutality and psychological manipulation intended to achieve high levels of obedience necessary to make them into killers (Wessels, 1997).

Child soldiers can be helped to reintegrate into society, through processes that involve psychological healing, as well as returning to school or entering vocational training, thus enabling the young person to make a living (Wessels, 1997). While demobilisation and reintegration are possible, conflict fighting – particularly at young ages while one's identity is yet being formed – may leave lasting scars. Prevention should be a top priority, with nations agreeing not to recruit people below the age of 18 years, doing everything possible to build economic security in Africa, and to prevent conflicts through peaceful means.

Aside from child soldiering, wars and conflicts have other effects on youth. Schools may be destroyed, or children may be prevented from attending school (Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, 2004). Young people caught up in conflict situations are also at very high risk of contracting HIV, for a variety of reasons including high levels of sexual violence, disruptions in the ability to communicate prevention messages and supply protective products, and the strain on health care systems. For instance, in Sierra Leone, 62 per cent of rural health units were not able to deliver services in the immediate aftermath of the war in that country (UNICEF, 2003).

Even in non-conflict situations, African youth may be exposed to high levels of community violence. The consequences of this include mental health and behavioural disorders, and the possibility of young people themselves being caught up in cycles of crime and violence as perpetrators (Sampson *et al.*, 1994; Ward *et al.*, 2001). A great deal of community violence is linked to crime and poverty, and so efforts to combat poverty and increase youth employment are key to ending cycles of crime and violence. Although there are few examples from the African continent, studies in the developed world also suggest that poor communities with high crime rates may also have higher rates of child abuse, child maltreatment and domestic violence (Coulton *et al.*, 1995; Sampson 1992; Sampson 1993).

Youth Participation

Youth participation in society has most often been viewed in terms of civic engagement, but this approach has recently broadened to include a wider appreciation of their role in civil society. In part this reflects a shift from dominant approaches in Western countries that have focused primarily on the voting behaviour, volunteerism and other types of political socialisation such as civic education in schools amongst Western youth. It also seems to reflect a shift from a preoccupation with adolescents amongst academics to a much broader and newer concern with youth (La Cava & Lyttle, 2003, National Research Council & Institutes of Medicine, 2005), (Mokwena, 2005).

Flowing from the World Programme of Action for Youth, the United Nations *World Youth Report 2005* identifies four core approaches to the intersection of youth and politics. They include:

- Global youth movements and organisations linked to international organisations such as the Global Youth Action Network
- Nationalist youth movements such as the Malawi Young Pioneers
- International youth cooperation projects such as a GTZ-Zambia project
- Social and cultural spaces such as streets, shops and bars that give rise to urban youth cultures
- Voluntary associations such as choir groups
- Combinations of the above

According to the World Youth Report (United Nations, 2005a), the four different approaches to the relationship of youth to politics in civil society can be characterized by the different terms they use to refer to young people, namely 'generations', 'adolescents', 'youth' and 'children'. Each contributes to an overall understanding of youth civic engagement.

The first approach analyses youth participation in politics from a *generational* perspective that emerged in the 1960s in response to student uprisings of the time. It has also been used in relation to nationalist and radical movements in developing countries and tensions between older and younger generations in newly-independent countries. Here the analysis of age cohorts involved large-scale social changes, and revolutions were significant. Differences between and within generations are discussed within an overall framework that emphasises ways in which new generations contribute to the political reproduction of their societies and the social class background of such youth and students – often middle to upper middle class.

The second approach sees youth in terms of them 'becoming' adults as part of the life cycle (Grant *et al.*, 2005). *Adolescence* is seen as a key stage of development. The role of political socialisation is essential to their development and identity formation as adults. In contrast with the generational approach, it lays greater stress on the role of family relations, education, peer learning and experience than on broad social contexts or conditions under which political development or socialisation takes place. The approach emphasises public interventions that will assist in shaping their political formation within formal education institutions (civic education) as well as outside them.

The third approach takes as its point of departure a critique of the former approach that adolescence and youth is a stage in life. *Youth cultural studies* were strongest in the 1970s, and were based in sociology and anthropology. Social context, the role of the state and related institutions are seen as critical in political socialisation. The process of socialisation is seen as deeply political. The 'agency' of youth, particularly in social and cultural practices and expressions, is the main focus of this approach (Honwana & de Boeck, 2005).

The fourth approach is concerned with *children's rights and citizenship*. It focuses on legal definitions of youth, legal contexts and instruments for the realisation of rights at global, national and local levels, and limitations on these rights. It also rejects the idea of youth as 'adolescents' or 'adults-in-the-making', places strong emphasis on agency of young people and promotes an enabling legal, political and cultural environment.

Recent studies within these approaches have all drawn attention to the significance and impact of globalisation and information and communication technologies on youth cultures, the differences between developed and developing countries, and the diversity of contexts within developing countries.

Methodologies

However, varying methodologies have been employed within these different approaches. Grant *et al.*, (2005), for example, examined the results of large-scale surveys of youth participation in social and political arenas, which showed that these studies tend to focus on health and economic indicators and pay little or not attention to political or civic participation, or cross-national quantitative data on the practice of citizenship among young people in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East (Grant *et al.*, 2005). In addition, there are limitations in the content of such surveys. They generally 'derive from traditional Western understandings of the subject, in particular the relationship of the individual to the nation-state and of the individual to the community' (Grant *et al.*, 2005). Despite these limitations, the results discussed reveal typical preoccupations of research on youth civic engagement: youth participation in formal politics, activism, civic participation, social inclusion, the role of formal schooling, non-formal programmes for the formation of citizenship, work and citizenship, opportunities for military or national service, the media and citizenship.

As an example, research using a youth cultural studies methodology, employing both anthropology and sociology, showed that in urban East Africa, participation in global music culture 'provides a means of both defining and confronting powerful sources of oppression'. Embracing this oppressive power as a means of self-identification, thus provides a direct means of countering that oppression (Weiss, 2005). The formation of a Youth Association focused principally on song and choral performances can be a new strategy of self-definition that circumvents attempts to monopolise identity through state-centred clientelism (Durham, 2005). Youth street culture can be linked to urban and broader social violence in complex generational and gendered cultural assertions, as manifested in the shifta, bul faale and shege of post-colonial Addis Ababa, Dakar and Kinshasa (Biaya, 2005). In this account, Mamadou Diouf (2005) sees African youth as having lost their privileged place in nationalist discourse, their place at the centre of reconstruction efforts and as now bypassing public spaces and 'creating alternative spaces that make African cities at times ungovernable...'. The street, shops, cafes, and bars have become the new spaces of socialisation, selfdefinition and assertion (Mkandawire, 2002).

Youth Participation in the Media-driven Culture

The United Nations' World Youth Report (2005a) makes much of both enhancing youth participation and the new media-driven youth culture. It lists five new concerns: young people in a globalizing world, youth and ICT, HIV/AIDS and young people, youth and conflict and intergenerational relations. The report discusses these five new concerns in terms of three main themes: youth in a global economy, youth in civil society, and youth at risk. The report stresses the connections between the three themes and in particular their common link to globalization. But one of the key contributions of the report is its view that 'While there is still enormous diversity among young people worldwide, the processes of urbanisation and globalization and rapid advances in information and communication technology have arguably contributed to the emergence of a new global media-driven youth culture'. These trends, the report argues, have had an impact on young people's socialization and on youth activism and other forms of civic engagement. The theme 'Youth in Civil Society' accordingly focuses on global, transnational media-driven youth culture and concerns relating to the environment, leisure, participation in decision-making, intergenerational relations and ICT. Although some have argued, and it remains true that the large majority of youth in Africa do not have access to information and communication technologies, and no simple conclusions can be drawn, there is nevertheless an engagement by African youth with global culture.

The implications of this media-driven youth culture for youth in Africa are explored in Brad Weiss's (2005) account of how urban east African youth confront the pain of oppression through appropriation of and identification in the post-colonial context with global hip-hop and rap music. In an examination of a donor-driven civic education programme in Malawi, Harri Englund (n.d.) also showed how contemporary transnational governance is resulting in the pacification of youth, thus muting youth's critical response to government policies and practices.

International Youth Cooperation

International agencies have engaged youth in various projects. While there is inadequate documentation to indicate the impact of such projects on youth participation, the net effect would appear to be greater civic participation, knowledge sharing and networking as well as awareness of the political, social and environmental issues that confront societies, particularly in a developing context. An example of a youth project, somewhat different in focus from that described by Englund (n.d.),' is that achieved by German-Zambian Cooperation for 'the Promotion of Social, Political and Economical Participation of Youth through the International Volunteer Services in Zambia (Mueller, 2004). The goals of the project are to:

- Strengthen the participation of young people in shaping their living environment at local level in selected districts in the Southern, Northwest and Eastern provinces,
- Improve the exchange of information and cooperation between the nongovernmental organisation and public sector youth structures,
- Strengthen the participatory processes of policy development and implementation that concern young people,
- Strengthen executing organisations by developing a diversified structure of executing organisations for implementing the project.

Target groups are adolescents and young adults aged 14-25 years, mainly from poor and socially disadvantaged population groups, who have formed youth groups or who have been contacted and organised by youth organizations offering specific activities. The Ministry for Sport, Youth and Child Development is the political host and youth organizations and civil-society actors are the project's executing organisations. The principal activity of the project is the organisation of pilot projects of national and international youth exchanges in cooperation with Service Civil International, the Youth Association of Zambia and the Contact Youth Trust Association. These pilot projects take the form of work camps bringing together some 10-20 Zambian and German youth at any one time to work, study and live together for 2-4 weeks. The work camps are based on self-organisation and self-management. The volunteers live under simple conditions and prepare their own food. Study and work topics are multifaceted and have included anti-racism, north-south issues, solidarity, poverty reduction; integration of disabled people; social disadvantaged people's rights; children, youth and the elderly; gender issues; ecology, environment, agriculture; sustainable development; art, culture and heritage; alternative living communities; peace education and anti-militarism, nonviolence and conflict resolution; HIV/AIDS and public health; human rights and globalization.

Given the marginalized role of young girls and women, programmes focusing on increasing young women's participation in youth activities are especially important. A commissioned paper for the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003 mapped youth projects in sub-Saharan Africa dealing with gender (Mitchell, 2003). The papers showed that these projects can be organized into five theme areas: girls' education, gender-based violence, masculinity, gender and HIV/AIDS and girls' participation and IT (Mitchell, 2003). These five entry points range from programmes and projects, outside of the school environment, that specially target the voices of girls and young women to those that position boys and young men as central to the girls' education project. Most of these have been organized through UNICEF (2002) in diverse countries such as Namibia, Nigeria, Somalia and Uganda

International Drive for Youth Participation

In this context of an increasing emphasis on youth in international fora, ways to involve youth has become a critical issue. The importance of youth participation in decision-making and the need to listen to youth and engage them in the process of strengthening participatory democracy, as their involvement can lead to better decisions and outcomes, is viewed as an essential strategy for ensuring young people's optimal development (United Nations, 2003).

A review of youth participation widely acknowledges the importance of youth participation not only in international conferences, but in a range of grassroots activities (Cockburn, 2000) so as to effectively represent their views on issues related to violence, physical insecurity, psychosocial hardships and a range of socioeconomic development problems, particularly the lack of education (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2005). Young people in this review overwhelmingly viewed education as key to ensuring their physical protection, psychosocial well-being and economic and social stability by providing an alternative to violence in the immediate- and the long-term.

Much of youth participation also revolves around the concept of empowerment. Enabling youth to influence their own futures must occur by taking account of the contexts in which they live, work and play. A number of these contexts were identified as critical to meaningful participation by youth in determining their own future. These include:

- ICTs
- Employment
- Health and population
- Hunger, poverty and debt
- Human settlements and the environment
- Social integration
- Culture of peace
- Youth policy, participation and rights
- Young women and girls
- Youth, Sports and Leisure Time Activities
- Implementation and Monitoring

National Youth Policies must therefore consider and develop strategies of how youth can play a more significant role in each of these areas. Involving youth in developing and determining these strategies is an inherent part of the empowerment process, especially in a context where youth as social actors, agents and citizens are not really 'full' members of society in that they cannot vote, nor are they heard and often are spoken for.

Conclusion

Youth civic and political participation can and does take varying forms in different contexts. Recent discussion in the anthropological literature has centred on media-driven youth cultures, whereas UN-inspired approaches have drawn attention not only to these aspects, but also to the importance of youth participation, the priority for national governments of youth civic engagement and the different possibilities for doing so. Seeing youth not only as victims but also as agents who shape society even as they are being shaped by it is a critical component of new approaches to youth involvement in the mainstream of society where they rightfully belong.

Culture and Youth

It is impossible to determine one particular impact of globalization on culture as globalization takes place within "...different spatial-historical contexts, providing it with very different meaning and implications in different parts of the world" (United Nations, 2003). What is not in dispute is that globalization changes cultures (aside from other aspects of societies) in a continuous process, nor is the change unidirectional. Cultures are dynamic and absorb and assimilate various aspects of global culture which, in turn, changes the nature of globalization itself. As culture is an ensemble of linguistic, stylistic, religious and a whole host of other practices, it constitutes a way of being for a given social community (Heaven & Tubridy, 2003). It is the language through which societies learn to read the world and to interpret the meaning of reality. However, globalization also has the power to dominate cultures through economic and military power and can be a threat to cultural diversity as it tends to present one world view.

As part of society, youth, more than any other group, are involved in a dynamic interaction with these forces of change. Their unique status of being, as neither a child nor an adult, allows youth to occupy a space where alternatives to traditional notions of culture are taken up. Often, societies view such experimentation with concern, believing that youth are turning away from their traditions. This is true only in part, as just as adults take on the role of custodians of culture, they too at one stage experimented with change. In fact, it is through interaction with these globalizing influences that youth apply a criticality to their own traditions and help shape and modify them to suit a changing era. Cultural traditions then adapt to meet the changes imposed upon it, but in turn have an impact on these modifying influences in dynamic tension.

This does not mean that youth are passive recipients of globalization influences. In fact, youth regard the globe as an arena for social action. Youth are most adept at using ICT in diverse ways, and many youth perceptions, experiences and interactions are driven through ICT. Globalization of culture means that people borrow from other cultures, and youth more so than others. This is evident in the modes of dress, language, music, fashion and so on. The globalization of culture has created a generational consciousness that has leaped over class distinctions and created new markets, such as clothing, accessories, and leisure time activities targeted especially at youth. Globalization has also encouraged social activism. Much of this is true for youth in general, but especially for youth in industrialized contexts. However, contradictions also exist between ICT experiences and the reality of everyday lives especially for youth living in resource poor environments, and youth have a need to reconcile these differences through finding culturally valid meanings in local culture. ICT then has a powerful socializing influence on youth values (aside from parents and schools) which are both unifying and diversifying. Youth, thus have their own cultural agency, i.e., they are not merely responsive to adult concerns, but socialize themselves and one another (Bucholtz, 2002).

Globalization and Identity

While identity structures the way people understand themselves and their world, through socializing influences that prescribe particular behaviours, identity itself is also shaped by individuals biological and social development (Heaven & Tubridy,

2003). Individuals relate to others in particular ways, which include culture-specific ways of being masculine or feminine. There are multiple identities that shape an individual's identity and thus an individual's identity is always a multi-dimensional conglomerate of many identities. More importantly, identity negotiation is a dynamic process which includes local and globalizing influences. Arnett (2002) describes the impact on youth in term of identity formation. He describes four consequences of globalization. Most commonly, a bicultural identity emerges from local and globalizing cultural influence. As globalizing influences are often difficult to separate from local influences, the bicultural identity is more akin to a hybrid identity, with part of the identity rooted in local culture and part in awareness of their relation to a global culture. The potential for identity confusion increases when some youth are unable to identify with either a local or a global culture. Arnett (2002) refers to the process whereby youth eschew particular local cultural expressions – in language, dress, observance of customs etc., in favour of global culture as culture shedding, that is, unlearning aspects of ones own culture. Some choose to participate in cultures where like-minded persons prefer to have an identity untainted by globalization. Traditionalists would in fact argue for putting distance between local and global cultures and various societies have taken steps to try and enforce or exclude the influences of global cultures- usually through controlling the media by emphasizing cultural distance or the dissimilarities between cultures. Most societies seek to find a balance between globalizing influences and local culture. It is these elements that often give rise to growing concern about the effects of globalization.

Globalization and Participation

In most cultures, youth are not fully integrated members of the global or local cultures, either economically or socially. While youth strive to be recognised as important role players in shaping society, continued perceptions of youth as being in the process of socialization (not a child but not yet adult) hampers their ability to be fully functional within their contexts. So long as youth are considered to be in transition to be the future, their role and influence on current practices tends to be minimized. A new emerging trend is to emphasize life long learning. While this notion may be laudable in itself, it does tend to further postpone the acceptance of youth as important agents of social change. In fact, most youth, especially within developing country contexts, are excluded on the basis that they are youth or on the basis that they are not part involved in driving and shaping the economy, other than as consumers. Through globalization, youth have developed a generational consciousness whereby they see similarities between their aspirations and that of youth globally, particularly in the context of material and economic advancement. It is this generational consciousness that fuels new markets, and among youth in industrialized countries, encourages a frenzied consumerism. Youth in developing contexts do not have access to the same resources. They face greater disillusionment because even though they have better access to education, economic difficulties and reduced employment prospects may create feelings of hopelessness about the future. Societies which have systems of authority and control that make little or no allowance for youth to participate in a meaningful way in the economic and social life of the community are more likely to be marginalised and paradoxically more open to globalization influences.

Strategies for Shaping Globalization Influences amongst Youth

- Create a national youth policy that recognizes and mainstreams youth as important partners in shaping economic growth within society.
- Encourage social integration of youth through income generating strategies and to help to become entrepreneurs.
- Help youth use elements of globalization, such as ICT to promote new cultural forms that link the past to the future.
- Youth should constitute the vanguard of promoting cultural heritage, but this should be done on the basis of youth perspectives and appropriation of local culture. Local cultural values and traditions can be promoted if youth are allowed to re-present them in a format acceptable to youth though dance, music, plays and so on, in language and in forms to which youth are able to relate.
- Promote cultural exchange programmes to mitigate the perception and influence of homogenous cultures.
- Promote local culture in school by ensuring curricula represents local cultural influences as being as important as globalizing influences.



Youth Policy

The drive for the development of national youth policies as a framework for youth development dates back to 1969. At this time the UN General Assembly resolved that more co-ordinated approaches were required to meet the needs of young people and that youth and youth organisations must be afforded the opportunity to participate in the development and implementation of youth development plans (United Nations, 1969a). That resolution emanated from a report of the UN Secretary General (United Nations, 1969b) that outlined the rationale for, and content of, national youth policies, and provided guidelines for their development. The report also stressed the importance of integrating national youth policies into the general objectives of development for the country (United Nations, 1969b).

The history of youth policy development is punctuated with a plethora of such initiatives at the global and regional levels, in Africa as well. The International Youth Year (1985) served as a rallying point for an assessment of the status of youth policies and the production of guidelines for such policies. The Youth Policy initiatives demonstrate that willingness to assist youth existed, but that the translation of actions was limited by the lack of policy frameworks and implementation plans. Ten years on, at the launch of the World Programme of Action for Youth to 2000 and Beyond, the UN continued advocating for the development of integrated youth policies that were cross-sectoral in nature and supported by youth participation. That call was reiterated by the World Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth as outlined in the Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programmes (1998).

UN Statistics for 2000 (United Nations, 2001) indicate that off the 189 UN Member States, 155 had formulated a national youth policy (82%), 168 (89%) had a designated national youth co-ordinating mechanism (ministry, department, council or committee) and 116 (51%) had a national youth programme of action. The majority of the 53 African countries indicated that some if not all three criteria were in existence in the respective countries. However, the report cautions that such statistics do not allow for an assessment of the effectiveness of any of the three strategies (United Nations, 2001).

The International Council on National Youth Policy (2005) indicated that only about 30 per cent of the above policies are cross-sectoral in nature, and 70 per cent are restricted to the Ministry responsible for Youth. The report also suggested that only about a third of countries with cross-sectoral policies encouraged active youth participation in the national youth policy process. For the other two thirds, the policy process was controlled by government. Similarly, only about a third of national youth councils and committees allowed for independent participation by the youth non-governmental sector. What is more, for two thirds of countries, the national programmes of action for youth, are not linked to the implementation of the national youth policy, neither are systems established to evaluate the effectiveness of the national youth policy. So, while aspirational statements on how to cope with youth problems are plentiful, little detail is available on action plans or, in fact, how to evaluate their implementation (ICNYP, 2005).

Policy Guidelines

The various guidelines for youth policy development provided by the UN and other agencies (ICNYP, 2001, 2005) suggest some key criteria that the development and content of national youth policies should encompass. These include:

- The development of a national youth policy should be informed by *extensive consultation* with youth people.
- The policy should cater for the *active participation* of young people in governance and decision-making in issues concerning youth and the society as a whole.
- The policy should be *cross-sectoral* in nature, taking into consideration the interrelatedness of the challenges facing youth.
- Mechanisms to address youth challenges should be framed within the *national development* framework of the country.
- The policy should provide guidelines on the *definition of youth* adopted, as well as specific *subgroups* that maybe targeted for development.
- The policy should advocate *equal opportunities* for men and women.
- A *baseline evaluation* or situation analysis should inform the policy on the major challenges facing youth people.
- The policy should identify *priority issues* for youth development, such as employment, education and health.
- The policy should be adopted by parliament and enacted into *law*.
- A *national youth coordinating mechanism* should be set up as part of the governmental structure and should provide a platform for youth *non-governmental organisations* to participate in youth development.
- The policy should outline a *national programme of action* that is *time bound*.
- The programme of action should be connected to an *implementation* and *evaluation* strategy, for which *indicators* should be outlined.
- Such a programme of action must be accompanied by *adequate* and *sustained* budgetary allocation.

Methods

Time limitations and difficulties in accessing information on youth policies in Africa, constrained the extent to which youth policies could be evaluated in this report. However, the analysis detailed below - a combined result of policies reviewed (South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Sierra Leone and Tanzania) and data gathered through the interviews conducted (South Africa, Malawi, Rwanda, Senegal, Namibia, Zambia, Madagascar, Central African Republic, Angola, Somalia, Cameroon, Libya and Togo) - provide some indication on the state of youth policy development in Africa. Inconsistencies amongst data sources, namely the UN Report (2001), the African Union Report (2004), country policy documents and interviews conducted, also hampered interpretations (see Appendix I). It light of the dearth of information and the difficulty of accessing documents, NEPAD's intention to create a clearinghouse for youth information (NEPAD, 2004) would greatly facilitate assessment in African countries.

National Youth Policies in Africa

Several challenges have constrained the development of youth policies in African countries over the last 40 years. These include multiple pressing priorities, conflict and war, political constraints that impinge on the development of an active civil society - a pre-requisite for implementing effective cross-sectoral national youth policies - and alternative visions for youth (ICNYP, 2005). For example, the Arab Council of Ministers of Youth and Sports, and the Conference of Ministers of Youth and Sport of French-speaking Communities have adopted a sustained focus on youth and sport rather than on youth policy issues (ICNYP, 2005).

Comprehensive Policies

During the late 1990s, youth policy development in Africa underwent a paradigm shift. The international focus on youth has brought about a change in the approach towards young people - from a problem-fixing approach to an assertion that young people are an asset and resource for sustained social and economic development. Additionally, the human rights perspective has become entrenched in country policies, and asserts both the rights and responsibilities of youth to promote their own development. Policies developed in the late 1990s (Malawi, 1996, South Africa, 1997), and in the new millennium (Kenya, 2002, Sierra Leone, 2003), reflect this new genre in policy development. While policy development in these countries has largely followed the international guidelines outlined above, with some setting international benchmarks (e.g., South Africa), many African countries in reality still do not have dedicated youth policies or youth councils (e.g., Angola, Somalia, Cameroon, Togo and Libya). What is more, according to the African Union (2004), youth policies in 17 countries are still a part of population and health policies. Even though some countries, such as Namibia, developed youth policies in the early 1990s, youth organisations regard them as outdated and non-specific. Zambia, for example, has undertaken extensive consultation to revise its 1994 youth policy, yet it remains in draft form. Youth organisations assert that political will is lacking to implement the revised policy.

Youth Participation

Youth consultation and participation has become the cornerstone of the contemporary youth policy development process. Countries such as South Africa, Kenya, Malawi and, recently, Zambia, have engaged in extensive collaboration with youth and other stakeholders to inform policy development. This has taken the form of provincial youth summits, youth hearings, written submissions and stakeholder meetings. Furthermore, the creation of youth councils and commissions has offered a platform for youth to become actively involved in decision making and governance. Some countries, such as Senegal, have introduced a youth quota in parliament However, youth organisations question the value of such institutions as they are regarded by young people as token platforms to satisfy the rhetoric at the global level. In theory youth are participating in governance, they claim, but the reality is that their participation is not meaningful, nor does it carry much weight in influencing policy and programmatic decisions. Others hold little regard for the national youth councils, which are seen as the lobbying point of political organisations trying to foster reconciliation in post-conflict situations. The level of democracy in the country or the lack thereof heavily influences the extent to which young people feel safe to voice their issues. Some youth organisations interpret the lack of dialogue with government as being due to the fact that young people are regarded as a threat or opponent, rather

than an ally of national development. Despite the global and continental efforts to promote youth participation, one of the consistent messages of the interviews with youth organisations and from the youth consultation in Bamako, Mail, even for those with substantial reported consultation in the respective youth policies, was the need to actively involve youth in decision-making and governance.

Participation will require greater political support, as youth organisations believe that there is limited buy-in from older counterparts, to the value that youth can add to the decision making process (e.g., Senegal, Namibia and Zambia). The NEPAD Strategic Framework (2004) also acknowledges the 'generation gap' that prevents the voices of young people from being heard when institutions such as the African Union and NEPAD are run by people well beyond their youth. Youth organisations (e.g., in Namibia, Madagascar, Angola, Rwanda, and South Africa) suggested that this process can be supported through general development (to alleviate high levels of illiteracy and lack of knowledge), and leadership training for young people that will empower them with technical skills and confidence to participate in governance. In fact youth leadership training is one of the key steps in the youth policy development process (ICNYP, 2001, 2005). Youth organisations also cite access to information and awareness creation of young people's right to be involved in governance and the structures available to them to participate, as steps that can be taken to promote youth participation. On the other hand, some organisations assert that despite the availability of opportunities for youth to be involved in the political and economic development of the country, young people are, in fact, reluctant to take up these roles.

Institutional Provisions

Some countries have put the weight of the legislature behind youth development by enacting the formation of youth councils as law (e.g., Malawi, South Africa and Kenya), and by parliament adopting the national youth policy. Other countries have also created Inter-Ministerial Committees (e.g., Kenya, South Africa) and youth focal points in governmental departments, to ensure a cross-sectoral approach to youth development (e.g., South Africa, Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone and Tanzania). Yet the translation of these political and institutional commitments into programmes that have tangible effects on the lives of young people are yet to be measured. On the other hand, the lack of political will is cited by some youth organisations as the reason for the non-existence of policies in some countries, for the lack of funding, and for the poor implementation of policies. Youth organisations also suggest that the creation of a Ministry with the sole mandate of youth will greatly facilitate youth development. In line with the thinking of NEPAD's Strategic Framework (2004), youth organisations also believe that the creation of a Youth Commission within AU structures would greatly facilitate a continental focus on youth. The role of non-governmental organisations is also outlined in these policies. Youth organisations in Cameroon, Togo and Libya, have made urgent calls for greater interaction between the government and civil society.

Definition of Youth

While all policies reviewed seem to provide age-based definitions of youth, they also acknowledged the multiple transitions that youth undergo and how these can influence the timing of these transitions. As such, policies stress the inclusivity of the definition. In practice, though, governmental departments do not always adhere to the policy definition of youth, hence creating confusion and overlap in programme foci (for example, as occurs in South Africa). For cost-effective programme development

and implementation, there is a need for consensus on, and consistent application of, the definition of youth within countries. Policies also recognise subgroups of young people such as young women, rural youth, disabled youth and out-of-school youth, all of whom are earmarked for accelerated development. However, Bennell (2000) concluded, in a review of policies and programmes to improve youth livelihoods in sub-Saharan Africa, that there was a lack of information on the needs and characteristics of disadvantaged youth and that poor selection procedures resulted in programmes not reaching these target group. Gender sensitivity is evident in these policies with an emphasis on gender-specific issues such as pregnancy and female genital mutilation, as well as the need to close gender gaps.

Priority Target Areas

Policies identify priority issues for youth, some based on surveys conducted with young people. However the International Council on National Youth Policy (ICNYP, 2005) cautions that these situational analyses are not always used to draft national youth policies. The key target areas identified include: education, employment, empowerment and participation, health, sport and recreation, arts and culture, environment, and science and technology. There is much concordance with both global (World Programme of Action for Youth to the year 2000 and Beyond as discussed in the World Youth Reports, United Nations, 2003, 2005) and continentalwide priorities (Strategic Framework for NEPAD Youth Programme, 2004). These priorities are intended to form the basis of action plans to implement policy decisions. However, interviews with youth leaders and youth organisation did not reveal a consistent pattern for youth priority areas, with the exception of employment and education, which were identified as continental-wide priorities. Context seemed to play an important role - in terms of the prevailing conditions in the country and the organisation/youth leader's area of expertise. For example, countries caught in the ravages of war, violence and autocracy, tended to identify peace, security, democracy and governance as priority areas for youth development. Participants at the Pan-African Youth Forum in Bamako, Mali also placed a significant thrust on promoting human rights and peace and security in the region. Furthermore, they identified the conservation of Africa's natural resources and the protection of cultural heritage and values as a priority for youth development. What analyses do, is give credibility to the process of conducting a situational analysis that will help identify local priorities for youth development.

Implementation and Evaluation

The available literature did not allow for an assessment of the degree to which action plans are time bound, budgeted, and implemented, or their impact on changing young people's life circumstances. Review of youth programmes in sub-Saharan Africa show that they tend to be small scale projects that are limited in scope and have small numbers of beneficiaries (African Union, 2004, Bennell, 2000). A global review of national youth policies (ICNYP, 2005) that included South Africa and Kenya, suggested that insufficient budgetary allocation had been made for the medium- and long-term sustainability of youth policies, and that contemporary youth policies lacked measurable indicators to evaluate their impact. Similar assertions, of insufficient funding, were intimated in the interviews conducted with Malawi, Rwanda, Angola, Somala and Zambia. As more and more African countries adopt comprehensive, integrated and cross-sectoral youth policies, greater focus needs to be given to resource allocation, to move the policy agenda beyond rhetoric to

implementation and wide-scale impact. This is the intent of the Strategic Framework for NEPAD Youth Programme (2004) - to translate the pronouncements of goodwill into tangible actions for young people. NEPAD (2004) has declared 2005-2015 as the Decade of African Youth, and is in the process of outlining a 10-year action plan to achieve the objectives of the framework.

Outlook for the Future

Africa is a continent of paradoxes for young people. For some, it is brimming with hope of a bright future, young and old working hand in hand to build a new Africa. For others, the hope has faded through the relentless effects of war, violence, corruption and injustice.

Despite the plethora of challenges facing young people in Africa, the birth of democracy on the continent and the increased focus on young people by governmental and non-governmental structures has fostered hope for the future. The establishment of continental structures, such as NEPAD, and the new leadership styles and critical thinking espoused, serve as a source of inspiration for young people. They are encouraged by concerted efforts to increase school enrollment, by the latitude and support that they are receiving from governments to pursue entrepreneurial opportunities, and by the way gender disparities are being tackled systematically. Youth empowerment is also affording them the confidence to participate in and find creative solutions for issues concerning their lives.

Yet for those countries still caught up in the vestiges of autocracy, war and violence, the future isn't bright. Youth are discouraged by poor governance, insecurity and coercive policies. For some, this pessimism stems from the high levels of youth unemployment, non-existent educational opportunities, and the general malaise of the political, social and economic system. The disillusionment created by corruption, injustice, tokenism and materialism motivates many young people to escape Africa, even when they know they will experience hardships in other countries.

Vision for the Pan-African Youth Charter

Youth Organisations and youth leaders commented on their vision for the Pan-African Youth Charter. While some organisations indicated that the Charter would provide a policy framework to guide youth development at a country level, others expressed the hope that it would also serve as a tool to advance youth development at a continental level. Respondents felt that in becoming a legally binding document, the Charter would highlight the importance of youth issues and ensure meaningful participation of young people in decision-making and governance. Most organisations cautioned, however, that the development of the Charter should be accompanied by adequate awareness creation, participation, as well as clear strategies for implementation, lest it turn into yet another propaganda tool.

Conclusion

Why focus on Youth?

Young people make up the largest and fastest growing proportion of Africa's general population. With the view that sustainable developments rests on an investment in human capital development, the demographic bonus of young people offers an opportunity to renew Africa's social and economic capital. Youth possess the energy, creativity, flexibility and adaptability to interact with the globalising world and provides a recipe for steady, sustained growth and development.

The lives of young people across the world are subject to a number of contradictions. Young people of today are the best educated ever in human history, yet millions of youth remain illiterate. Health technology and access to healthcare has improved tremendously, yet HIV/AIDS is exacting its greatest toll on young people. Economies in developed countries are expanding, yet unemployment is highest among young people. Democratic governance has increased yet millions of youth are social excluded and marginalised.

The challenges facing youth in Africa must be contextualized within the continent's continued struggle for poverty reduction and sustainable growth. Africa has the highest population growth rate yet the lowest life expectancy; total fertility rates are highest in the world yet contraceptive use is the lowest. Africa also reports the highest crude mortality rate and infant mortality rates, and maternal mortality rates poorly against other regions. Africa is home to the fastest growing urban population with a larger percentage of urban populations living in slums. Poverty in Africa is all too pervasive with half of the population living below the poverty line.

Contemporary youth place a great deal of emphasis on autonomy and independence, and young people in Africa are no different. However, there is a mismatch between their expectations and the reality of their experiences as they move into adulthood. As a consequence millions of young people find themselves without recognized purpose or productive usage of their time. History bears testament to how this un-channelled energy can become a breeding ground for rebellion and civil strife.

The world's commitment to young people is clear and is ably outlined in the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond. Africa's history is also marked by efforts to promote youth development. The extent to which member states have delivered on these commitments remains in question. Despite multiple youth-related interventions, African youth do not get the priority that they deserve. Hence they seem to be sorely in need of reasons to imagine a fulfilling future as the many challenges facing Africa have seriously disoriented them. The newly found optimism that the establishment of the African Union brings must filter through to the continent's youth. To achieve this, young people need a new frame of reference; one which entrenches their value as an important sector of the African society. As a guide and a framework to facilitate accelerated implementation of comprehensive and effective youth policies and strategies and to empower youth to take advantage of these provisions, the African Union proposed the development of a Pan-African Youth Charter.

Such a Charter must be imbued with a youth development perspective that regards young people as a resource with a definitive contribution to make to the present and to future development. Youth Development, that is a positive integrated approach, is

premised on holistic development that tends to the needs for skills development at the emotional, physical, spiritual, social and economic levels. This approach also acknowledges the heterogeneity of young people and that youth needs should be viewed on a continuum. Youth as one stage in the life cycle cannot be separate from the life-long process of human development, nor can it be distanced from community and national development. One of the key principles of youth development is the promotion of young people's involvement, engagement and active participation in their own development and that of society at large.

Education and Skills Development

Access to primary schooling has improved dramatically, especially for girls. However, some countries in Africa still lag far behind this norm and male participation in school has lost some ground. At current rates of growth, sub-Saharan Africa is unlikely to reach the goal of universal primary school education by 2015. The bulk of the deficit from universal primary education occurs among the poor, Incentives such as abolishing school fees, conditional grants and school nutrition programmes have to be created for poor parents to send their children to school.

If education is to be used as a poverty reduction strategy, of equal if not greater importance is the quality of education offered. Factors such as burgeoning class sizes, strained infrastructure, limited teaching time, under-qualified teachers, rote learning, scarce and poor quality learning material, and poor remuneration of teachers have detracted from the quality of education that can delivered. The content of the curricula is also not keeping pace with the needs of the labour market nor has information, communication and technology been incorporated as part of schooling. Africa's ereadiness compares poorly to the global economy. However, the e-Schools programme of NEPAD is attempting to promote ICT use and training in schools.

Lasting effects of education are best achieved when a minimal threshold of schooling is attained. Despite increasing demands for secondary education, the decline from primary schooling to secondary school is dramatic. Gender gaps also seem to widen at the secondary school level. Demands for higher education have also not been met as public expenditure on higher education has declined and remains chronically underfunded. Ultimately the quantity and the quality of the output has been seriously compromised. Distance learning, using the benefits of information and technology, offers a means to increase access to higher education. To meet the educational challenges of Africa, complementary modes of learning such as distance learning, non-formal learning and informal learning must be considered.

Poverty

Despite the difficulty to measure poverty among young people, because of its dynamic nature, income measures show that young people in sub-Saharan Africa are only second to South Asia in the extent to they are living in extreme poverty and hunger. The intergenerational nature of poverty means that poverty amongst youth is often linked to both childhood poverty and parental poverty. After poverty reduction strategies directed at early childhood, creating socio-economic opportunities for youth presents the next best intervention point to break the cycle of intergenerational and life-course poverty. But the value of social security offered by social assistance grants to help young people living in chronic poverty to build the assets and resilience necessary to mitigate shocks, cannot be overemphasized. The cross cutting nature of

youth poverty also requires a sustained focus on youth in the poverty reduction strategies of countries.

Employment

One of the most tangible challenges facing youth in Africa is youth unemployment and underemployment. Youth in developing countries are 3.8 times more likely to be unemployed that their adult counterparts. Despite the massive expansion in women's participation in the labour market, women are more likely to be affected by unemployment. Unemployment rates underestimate the extent to which young people are affected by poor employment prospects. Most young people who do work, are employed in low paying temporary positions, working long hours under poor conditions often with few if any protections. Graduate unemployment too has increased because of the mismatch between the demands of the labour market and the skills, or skill deficiencies, of the job entrants. Many young graduates are seeking employment in developed countries or taking on jobs where their skills are underutilized. The worrying spin-off is the disaffection and disillusionment with education.

The Youth Employment Network has proposed four strategies as part of the global push to cope with youth unemployment. They advocate macroeconomic policies that create jobs in the formal labour market, enhancing the employability of young people through a focus on skills development (such as vocational training), offering equal access to young women and men in the job market and promoting entrepreneurship opportunities for young people.

Health

The health of young people is a crucial element in, and inseparable from, their ability to receive an education, and participate in income generating activities and the structures of society. There is no doubt that the greatest threat to young people's health in Africa is HIV/AIDs. It is now the leading cause of mortality among young men and women in sub-Saharan Africa. Women are at higher risk than men for contracting HIV, for physiological, social and cultural reasons. One of the key areas for policy, therefore, is programmes aimed at preventing HIV infection. Condom use, while relatively low, is increasing among educated young people. This suggests that education has a role to play, but also that additional interventions need to be specifically targeted to those with no or very little education. Expanding and strengthening voluntary counselling and testing is also playing an important role in the uptake of protective behaviours by young people.

Maternal morbidity and mortality is also high among young women mainly because of the complications associated with pregnancy and childbirth. Abortion is another key issue in young women's reproductive health. Under safe conditions, termination of pregnancy poses few risks to women's health but in the African context with some of the most restrictive policies; the majority of abortions take place under precarious circumstances. Female genital cutting also increases the risk of maternal mortality and morbidity but there is a strong push to recognise it as a human rights issue; as a result, the practice is declining in some African countries.

The World Health Organisation estimates that 70 per cent of premature deaths among adults are caused by health risk behaviours initiated in their youth. Health promotion interventions including legislative measures are required to curb the growth in

tobacco, alcohol and drug use. Efforts are also required to promote healthier eating habits and increased participation in exercise to mitigate the health effects of obesity. The rising numbers of youth attending school offers opportunities to reach large numbers of young people with health promotion programmes. Peer education is also proving to be an effective tool to educate young people about the risks of HIV/AIDs. Other interventions include the importance of making family planning and sexual protection products and services available to young men and for young women, both married and unmarried, without stigma in youth friendly environments.

Conflict, War and Violence

Wars in Africa are responsible for many deaths and injuries, as well as for the displacement of many thousands of people. Some young men volunteer or are recruited as soldiers, but even civilian young men are more at risk than women for war- and conflict-related deaths. Young displaced girls are regularly exposed to rape, sexual abuse and prostitution. Young people also become combatants, for a variety of reasons. Child soldiers can be helped to reintegrate into society, through psychological support, as well as returning to school or entering vocational training, thus enabling the young person to make a living. Because of the lasting scars, prevention should be a top priority, with nations agreeing not to recruit people below the age of 18 years and using peaceful means to resolve conflict. Even in non-conflict situations, African youth may be exposed to high levels of community violence which is linked to crime and poverty. Efforts to combat poverty and increase youth employment are key to ending cycles of crime and violence.

Youth Participation

Youth civic and political participation can and does take different forms in different contexts. Recent discussion in the anthropological literature has centred on media-driven youth cultures, whereas UN-inspired approaches have drawn attention not only to these aspects, but also to the importance of youth participation, the priority for national governments of youth civic engagement and the different possibilities for doing so. Seeing youth not only as victims but also as agents who shape society even as they are being shaped by it is a critical component of new approaches to youth involvement in the mainstream of society where they rightfully belong.

Youth Culture

The pervasiveness of globalization is influencing the ways in which young people are preserving and valuing African cultures and traditions. It is impossible to determine one particular impact of globalization on culture as globalization takes place within different spatial-historical contexts. Cultures are dynamic and absorb and assimilate various aspects of global culture which, in turn, changes the nature of globalization itself. As culture is an ensemble of linguistic, stylistic, religious and a whole host of other practices, it constitutes a way of being for a given social community. Through their interaction with these globalizing influences, youth apply a criticality to their own traditions and help shape and modify them to suit a changing era. Globalization of culture means that people borrow from other cultures, and youth more so than others. The globalization of culture has created a generational consciousness that has leaped over class distinctions and created new markets, such as clothing, accessories, and leisure time activities targeted especially at youth. Globalization has also encouraged social activism.

ICT offers youth a way to interact with the globalizing world. However, contradictions also exist between ICT experiences and the reality of everyday lives especially for youth living in resource poor environments. Youth need to reconcile these differences through finding culturally valid meanings in local culture. Most societies do in fact seek to find a balance between globalizing influences and local culture. As the vanguards of promoting cultural heritage, youth should be afforded the platforms to re-present local cultural values and traditions in a format acceptable to youth – though dance, music, plays and so on, in language and in forms to which youth are able to relate. Additionally school curricula should be geared towards promoting local culture by ensuring that curricula represents local cultural influences as being as important as globalizing influences.

Youth Policy

The history of youth policy development is punctuated with a plethora of initiatives at the global and regional levels to kick start youth development. The Youth Policy initiatives over the past four decades demonstrate that willingness to assist youth exists, but that the translation of actions was limited by the lack of policy frameworks and implementation plans. Challenges such as multiple pressing priorities, conflict and war, political constraints that impinge on the development of an active civil society and alternative visions for youth constrained youth policy development.

The international focus on youth has brought about a paradigm shift in the approach towards young people - from a problem-fixing approach to an assertion that young people are an asset and resource for sustained social and economic development. Additionally, the human rights perspective has become entrenched in country policies. Policies developed in the late 1990s and in the new millennium reflect this new genre in policy development — of comprehensive, cross-sectoral policies with extensive youth consultation and engagement. While policy development in some countries has largely followed the international guidelines, many African countries in reality still do not have dedicated youth policies or youth councils.

Despite the global and continental efforts to promote youth participation, one of the consistent messages of the interviews with youth organisations was the need to actively involve youth in decision-making and governance. Participation will require greater political support, as youth organisations believe that there is limited buy-in from older counterparts, to the value that youth can add to the decision making process. Youth organisations suggested that this process can be supported through general development and leadership training for young people as well as through access to information and awareness creation of the right to be involved in governance and the structures available to them to participate.

Some countries have put the weight of the legislature behind youth development by enacting the formation of youth councils as law and by parliament adopting the national youth policy. On the other hand, the lack of political will is cited by some youth organisations as the reason for the non-existence of policies in some countries, for the lack of funding, and for the poor implementation of policies. Youth organisations also suggest that the creation of a Ministry with the sole mandate of youth will greatly facilitate youth development.

Policies identified the following key target areas for your development: education, employment, empowerment and participation, health, sport and recreation, arts and culture, environment, and science and technology. However, insufficient budgetary

allocation hampers implementation of action plans and the lack of measurable indicators makes it difficult to evaluate the impact of such policies.

Outlook for the Future and the Pan-African Youth Charter

Africa remains a continent of paradoxes for young people. For some, it is brimming with hope of a bright future, young and old working hand in hand to build a new Africa. For others, the hope has faded through the relentless effects of war, violence, corruption and injustice.

Youth organisations and youth leaders are optimistic that a Pan-African Youth Charter would provide a policy framework to guide youth development at a country level and to advance youth development at a continental level. However, most organisations cautioned, that the development of the Charter should be accompanied by adequate awareness creation, participation, as well as clear strategies for implementation, lest it turn into yet another propaganda tool.

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Appendix I

Table 2: Availability of National Youth Policies in African Countries

Source	United Nations ¹			African Union ²		
Country	Formulation of National Policy	National youth coordinating mechanism	National youth programme of action	Existence of Policies	Youth Policy located on-line	Interviews Conducted
Algeria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy		
Angola	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet		Yes
Benin	Yes	No	No	No		
Botswana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet	Yes	
Burkino Faso	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population and health policies		
Burundi	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Cameroon	Yes	Yes	No	No		Yes
Cape Verde	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within population and health policies		
Central African Republic	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		Yes
Chad	Yes	Yes	No	No		
Comoros	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Congo	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Côte d'Ivoire	Yes	Yes	No	No		
Democratic Republic of Congo	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Djibuti	Yes	Yes	No	excluded		
Egypt	Yes	Yes	Yes	n.a.		
Equatorial Guinea	No data	No data	No data	Not yet		
Eritrea	No data	No data	No data	Operate within health policy		
Ethopia	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Gabon	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within health policy		
Gambia	Yes	Yes	No	Yes (1998)		
Ghana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population and health policies		
Guinea	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet		

Guinea-Bissau	No	Yes	No	Not yet		
Kenya	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (2003)	Yes	
Liberia	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within population and health policies		
Lesotho	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet		
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	No	Yes	No	n.a.		Yes
Madagascar	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		Yes
Malawi	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy	Yes	Yes
Mali	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		
Morocco	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within health policy		
Mozambique	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy		
Mauritania	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within population policy		
Mauritius	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within health policy		
Namibia	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within health policy		Yes
Niger	Yes	Yes	Yes	do		
Nigeria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population and health policies		
Rwanda	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet		Yes
Sao Tomé and Principe	No	Yes	No	Not yet		
Senegal	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy		Yes
Seychelles	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet		
Sierra Leone	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not yet	Yes	
Somalia	No data	No data	No data	Not yet		Yes
South Africa	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy	Yes	Yes
Sudan	Yes	Yes	No	Not yet		
Swaziland	Yes	Yes	Yes	No		
Togo	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within population policy		Yes
Tunisa	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within health policy		
Uganda	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
United Republic of Tanzania	Yes	Yes	Yes	Operate within population policy	Yes	
Zambia	Yes	Yes	No	Operate within population policy	Yes	Yes
Zimbabwe	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		

¹ United Nations. (2001). *Implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth 2000 and beyond.* Report of the Secretary General (A/56/180). United Nations ² African Union. (2004). *The State of the African Population* - Report 2004. African Union.

