Youth Mainstreaming in Pacific Development

Challenges and Opportunities

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Abstract

Development outcomes are poor for young people in the Pacific and show little hope of improving without a concerted, collaborative effort. This research seeks to explore the concept and practice of youth mainstreaming (YM) and the challenges and opportunities for it in New Zealand-based development agencies as a means to achieve these better outcomes. Currently there is little scholarly literature about YM, particularly in the Pacific.

This research employs a mixed methods methodology comprising four methods: a literature review, interviews with regional stakeholders based in the Pacific, an exploratory multi-case study of three New Zealand (NZ) development agencies and a questionnaire.

The findings suggest that while youth are accounted for in the work of many NZ development agencies working in the Pacific, mainstreaming of youth perspectives is limited, often to youth-specific projects. Challenges to YM include a lack of staff knowledge and skills in YM, a lack of knowledge about youth development and limited resources. However, despite these challenges, there is willingness among New Zealand development agencies to learn about youth development and cooperate with each other. This is likely driven by the fact that youth development fits with a number of mandates, be they rights-based, community-based or focused on economic growth.

This thesis provides some recommendations to NZ development agencies about how to mainstream youth in their operations. Ultimately, the aim of this thesis is to develop industry knowledge and dialogue about youth development in the Pacific and encourage greater inclusion of youth in development initiatives in the region.

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AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CID	Council for International Development
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
GAD	Gender and Development
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NCD	Non-communicable disease
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NZ	New Zealand
NZPIDF	New Zealand Partnerships for International Development Fund
ODA	Official development assistance
PICTs	Pacific Island countries and territories
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRISM	Pacific Regional Information System
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
STI	Sexually Transmissible Infection
TOR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VET	Vocational education and training
WID	Women in Development
YM	Youth mainstreaming

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Chapter 1: Overview

1.1 Introduction

In the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2011*, UNICEF and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) state the following:

> Without a major investment in young people, they may well flounder as a generation, undermining the capacity of Pacific Island countries and territories to escape aid dependence, develop economically and, in some cases, even survive as viable societies. (UNICEF & SPC 2011, 5)

This statement reflects the poor state of youth development in the Pacific. It also highlights the importance of young people to development in the region. However, practical ways to broadly address this knowledge gap have been largely ignored in scholarly literature. Therefore, this research explores how youth are considered in New Zealand (NZ)-based development agencies' work in the Pacific. It also explores the challenges and opportunities for youth mainstreaming (YM) in these agencies as a means to addressing the situation of young people in the region.

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which takes a youth mainstreaming approach in its operations, defines YM as "the integration of young people's needs and contributions in all stages of planning, implementation and evaluation of UNESCO's programmes and activities" (UNESCO 2006, 2). Power *et al* (2009, 18) sum up the concept of YM by saying:

> Just as the rights and interests of women have been "mainstreamed" across every development domain, so, too, must young people be recognised as key stakeholders with diverse rights and interests.

The concept of YM is derived from the idea of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is based on a feminist theoretical framework that posits that the inherent inequality of underlying structures perpetuates gender inequality and that transformation of these must occur in order to achieve gender equality. As the theory of feminism underpins this research, the aims of gender mainstreaming are applicable to addressing the situation of youth. The theoretical framework of

this thesis is discussed in Chapter 2. However, as mentioned previously, academic literature on YM in the Pacific is scarce. In Chapter 3 I explore YM in a Pacific development context.

This research adopts a mixed methods approach incorporating analysis of a qualitative multi-case study and a questionnaire of the wider NZ non-government (NGO) development sector. The case study is of three key NZ development agencies that work in the Pacific: the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAP) within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) and two non-government organisations (NGO1 and NGO2). Interviews were also conducted with representatives from regional agencies (RA1, RA2) and a youth ally (YA) in Suva to provide context and background to the situation of youth in the region.

This chapter focuses on outlining the nature and scope of the research. Key terms such as 'youth', 'the Pacific' and the New Zealand aid and development sector are defined. I then outline the aims and objectives of the research project before explaining the rationale for this thesis.

1.2 No arbitrary line: defining 'youth'

The period of transition between childhood and adulthood is known as youth or adolescence. Although people are considered to be an adult at the age of 18 in NZ and many countries in the Pacific, youth is not bound by age but varies in its onset and duration according to social, cultural and economic factors. Thus, the definition of youth varies across the world.

The United Nations (UN) defines youth as those between the ages of 15 and 24 years old (UNICEF 2011; UNESCO 2006) and children as those under 18 (UN 1989). Beyond this, youth has broadly been defined as the period of transition from dependence to independence (UNICEF & SPC 2011; World Bank 2007; Jones and Wallace 1992). Many observers agree that the transition is a time of great change for a person, psychologically, physically and socially (for example, McMurray 2006 and SPC 2006).

There is no regionally agreed definition of youth in the Pacific (SPC 2006). Upper age limits in national youth policies range from 25 years in Papua New Guinea to 34 years in the Cook Islands. Socially, youth and adulthood in Pacific cultures are often determined by factors such as a person's marital status or eligibility to speak in community meetings (UNICEF *et al* 2005). It is clear then that for a definition of youth to be applicable to a Pacific context, it requires a broad age range that captures the changes in an individual's social and economic circumstances.

This thesis employs the UN definition of youth as the ages of 15 to 24 years old as this age bracket is often used for measuring statistics on youth. The term 'young people' is used interchangeably with 'youth'. However, I consider youth to be a life stage rather than a specific age bracket and advocate for the consideration and inclusion in development processes of all those experiencing this stage. Having said that, I acknowledge that not all young people have the same experience of this transition; the heterogeneity of youth is discussed in section 3.4.1.

For the purposes of this study, the Pacific is defined as the 22 Pacific Island countries and territories served by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC)[1]. I have engaged in research on youth at the regional level because I seek to avoid monographic myopia, a condition that Howe (1979), claimed afflicted the field of Pacific history. He stated "we are finding out more and more about less and less" (Howe 1979, 81) and the Pacific should be "seen in relation to [its] general background as well as in its internal complexities" (Howe 1979, 82). To counteract monographic myopia, Howe suggested research be undertaken on topics that can be seen from a regional perspective. I believe this can be applied to the field of development studies in the Pacific. Regional studies such as the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005* and *2011* (UNICEF *et al* 2005; UNICEF & SPC 2011) and *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice* (World Bank 2008) show that the issues regarding youth development are comparable across the Pacific, making it an appropriate topic for regional study.

This research is focused on NZ-based development agencies because many of them work in the Pacific and because I could access them easily. I use the term 'NZ aid and development sector' to refer to the collective group of agencies that are based in NZ and engage in aid and development work in the developing world. This includes non-government organisations (NGOs) and government agencies.

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[1] The member countries and territories of the SPC are: American Samoa, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna (http://www.spc.int/en/about-spc/members.html).

1.3 Aim of the research and research questions

The research aims to answer the following questions:

1. What is YM in a Pacific development context?
2. How are New Zealand development agencies mainstreaming youth in their policies, programmes and advocacy work?
3. What are the challenges and opportunities for YM in these agencies?
4. How could YM in New Zealand development agencies facilitate better outcomes for Pacific young people and development in general?

By answering these questions the research explores how youth are taken into account and the challenges and opportunities for YM in NZ-based Pacific development initiatives as a means to address the situation of young people in the region.

1.4 Rationale for this research

The number of young people in the global population has hit a record high and the need to recognise and include youth in international development is also growing. There are 1.8 billion youth on earth (UN 2013) and approximately 86 per cent of these live in developing countries, a greater number than ever before (World Bank 2007). UNESCO states "Just from the sheer size of this cohort, it is clear that youth must be placed at the centre of all development efforts" (UNESCO 2006, 3).

In the Pacific there are nearly two million youth aged 15 to 25, accounting for almost a fifth of the region's population (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2009). There is a youth bulge in the population of many Pacific Island countries and territories (PICTs) and in the region itself. Despite this, development outcomes for Pacific youth are poor.

1.4.1 <u>Developing youth: the case for young people</u>

1.4.1.1 Human rights

Youth development is a human rights issue. Traditional rhetoric sees young people not as full citizens with rights but as marginal to the rest of their society (Smith & Bjerke 2009). For example, Jones and Wallace (1992) argue that because of young people's dependence on adults, they cannot be granted full citizenship rights. Across the world, being young and lacking

experience is a barrier to youth realising human rights. However, the international human rights framework is based on the following premise from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

> Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth **or other status.** (UN 1948) [Emphasis added]

The need to realise the rights of children and the recognition of their need for special protection resulted in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989 (UN 1989). The CRC sets out the universal rights to which children are entitled (UN 1989). According to the website of the UN Treaty Collection, 193 parties have ratified, accepted or acceded to the CRC, including all PICTs. While the document specifically defines children as those under 18 years of age, it emphasises that all people are entitled to their rights regardless of age. Therefore, the needs of young people must be acknowledged and addressed so that they can realise their human rights.

1.4.1.2 Vital to human development

Youth exist across all spheres of society including schools, the health system, families, civil society, politics and the formal and informal workforce. Yet they are not necessarily reached by general projects that target children or those that target adults or whole communities. This means ignoring young people can have negative impacts across an economy and society. It also means involving youth in and ensuring that they are reached by development initiatives requires a targeted cross-sectoral approach involving multiple stakeholders (UNICEF 2011; World Bank 2007; Ad Hoc Working Group for Youth and the MDGs 2004). The 2007 World Development Report, titled 'Development and the Next Generation', called for significant and immediate investment in youth, particularly in education and health, and for young people to be seen as decision makers in their own right (World Bank 2007).

Involving young people in development is good practice as they have significant contributions to make and relish opportunities to do so. Youth are innovative and creative and provide unique perspectives on issues as well as practical solutions (UNICEF 2011; UN 1996). They are also very adept at mobilising their peers, making them key agents of social change (UN 1996).

Youth development is linked inextricably with the (MDGs), the blueprint for global development agreed upon by the international community in the year 2000 for completion by 2015. Addressing youth development is not only in keeping with the MDGs, it is key to achieving them (UNICEF & SPC 2011; UNESCO 2006; UNICEF *et al* 2005; Ad Hoc Group for Youth and the MDGs 2004).

In the lead-up to 2015 a new set of goals is being developed to drive the development agenda beyond the MDGs. Young people are highly engaged in the debate around this, including in the consultation process of the High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Agenda. The Report of the High-Level Panel includes youth as a cross-cutting issue and includes specific targets regarding youth education, health and employment (UN 2013).

1.4.1.3 Number crunching: the economics of youth

According to the World Bank, there is an imperative to manage the fiscal and economic risks associated with having large numbers of young people in the population. These risks include sudden increases in expenditure in education and health and the risk of long-term youth unemployment, which represents lost productivity and can foster unstable environments that are not conducive to investment and economic growth (World Bank 2007).

There is also a strong direct economic case for investing in youth. The World Bank (2007) argues that investing in capacity building in a person's early years has a significant impact on adult capabilities. Missing this opportunity can result in stunted accumulation of human and social capital for life and can lead to risky behaviour, which can manifest in an intergenerational cycle of adverse effects (World Bank 2010; World Bank 2007). High levels of investment in children in the last few decades have resulted in the current generation of young people being healthier and more educated than previous generations (World Bank 2007). These outcomes must be built upon with further investment in youth to tackle health risks that emerge in adolescence (such as sexually transmissible infections (STIs)) and to extend education beyond numeracy and literacy. Failing to do so would risk losing the gains made during childhood (UNICEF & SPC 2011; World Bank 2007).

A youth bulge is a situation in which youth outnumber both younger and older age cohorts within a certain population (UNICEF & SPC 2011). The bulge is caused by a decline in fertility rates and implies that a large proportion of the population is earning a living but with fewer

dependents than previous generations (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2009; World Bank 2008; Duncan & Voigt-Graf 2008). This provides a 'window of opportunity' as resources are freed up at the state and individual or family level for investment in human capital and infrastructure, generating an increase in savings and economic growth (Gribble & Bremner 2012; Buvinic *et al* 2009; World Bank 2007; Mason 2005). The window closes as the population begins to age and the ratio of dependents increases but it is within this window that countries may reap the 'demographic dividend' of increased productivity, improved human capital and infrastructure and greater economic growth (UN 2013; Gribble & Bremner 2012; Buvinic *et al* 2009; Mason 2005). However, having a large youth population is not a sufficient condition for realising this dividend.

To realise the demographic dividend, states must implement policies that improve the education and health of youth (Rallu & Robertson 2009). It is also recommended that states create environments that are conducive to the creation of employment opportunities; for example, implementing policies that attract foreign investment or encourage domestic savings and investment (Gribble and Bremner 2012; Buvinic *et al* 2009; Mason 2005). Thus, it is only with a significant and immediate investment in young people that countries can hope to capitalise on what the UN considers their "chief economic asset": youth (UN 1996, 10).

1.4.1.4 *Gender in youth*

Young people have particular experiences and issues regarding youth development depending on their gender. The need to concentrate on girls and young women lies across all the reasons for investing in and including young people. Adolescent girls are now a priority area for the UN because of the disadvantages they face due to poverty, gender discrimination, violence, abuse and exploitation (UNICEF 2011). Discrimination and a desire to protect girls and young women mean they often have less freedom than boys and young men in their actions and in expressing their thoughts and ideas (McMurray 2006). Girls are disproportionately affected by poor sexual and reproductive health outcomes such as unwanted pregnancy, STIs and sexual abuse and exploitation.

Gender inequality results in the perpetuation of poverty and inequality through reduced opportunities afforded to girls. It also restricts growth provided by the window of opportunity of a youthful population because it reduces women's participation in the labour force and slows the reduction in fertility rates (Buvinic *et al.* 2009). Conversely, a youth bulge provides an

opportunity to address gender inequality as fertility rates decline and women are able to build their own human capital. Lower fertility has been shown to result in higher earnings for women and better maternal and child health, which has intergenerational benefits and increases the potential for future growth (Buvinic *et al.* 2009).

Cornwall (1998) argues that gender has been feminised. Certainly, much of the literature focuses on young women and girls in relation to youth development. While this is very important, the specific needs of young men and minority genders also need to be taken into account in youth development work.

1.4.2   Background of youth development in the Pacific

The youth bulge in the Pacific has implications for development in the region because, as outlined above, outcomes for young people can have significant impacts on the wider community now and in the future. As demonstrated in the opening quote to this chapter, some consider youth development to be central to the very survival of some PICTs.

While there have been some limited gains in recent times, development outcomes are poor for young people in the Pacific. *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2011* (UNICEF & SPC 2011) explains that, like their international counterparts, Pacific youth have benefited from increased investment in the health and education of children, resulting in fewer child deaths and higher levels of education. For example, according to the SPC's Pacific Regional Information System (PRISM), youth literacy exceeds 95 per cent in 12 of the 15 PICTs evaluated (SPC 2013). Other than this, however, the 2011 report contends that little progress on youth development has been made since the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005* (UNICEF *et al* 2005), which aimed to provide a benchmark to measure progress.

Although more young people are now reaching secondary school, the quality and type of schooling available is inadequate. Left with systems that were put in place by the old colonial powers and without the resources or social will to change them, PICTs have education systems focused on white-collar skills (UNICEF & SPC 2011; UNICEF 2011; McMurray 2006; UNICEF *et al* 2005). This leads to a mismatch between what students learn and aspire to and the jobs that are available upon completion, the majority of which are in trades or the informal economy. Unfortunately, there is also a significant lack of vocational education and training (VET) in the Pacific (UNICEF & SPC 2011). Thus, many young people leave school to compete for far too

few white-collar jobs but also lack the skills and experience to engage in the trades or informal sector.

Partly as a result of these education outcomes and the lack of jobs, levels of youth unemployment and youth poverty are high in the Pacific. *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2011* (UNICEF & SPC 2011) reports that across the 12 PICTs for which data was available, approximately 25 per cent of all youth live below their country's national poverty line. Although much of the population of the region lives in rural areas, the cash economy is of great importance in the Pacific and purchasing power is of the essence, particularly for youth trying to establish their place in society (UNICEF *et al* 2005). Poverty restricts young people's opportunities for education and training and therefore employment. It also restricts their access to vital services such as health facilities and housing.

New health challenges arise when children reach adolescence, particularly around sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Pacific Island cultures are generally conservative and access to sexual and reproductive health information and services is often limited, particularly for young people (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2009; SPC 2006; UNDP *et al* 2005). As a result, Pacific youth have limited ability to keep themselves safe from unwanted pregnancy and STIs, and this is reflected in social and health outcomes. PRISM data (SPC 2013) highlights that the Pacific region has some of the highest adolescent fertility rates in the world, with over 80 births per thousand teenage girls in the Republic of the Marshall Islands and Nauru, and over 60 in the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and PNG. STI prevalence is also high while contraceptive use, including condoms, is low. With the exception of PNG, the Pacific does not yet have high levels of HIV and AIDS, but high levels of risky sexual behaviour and large numbers of youth mean the region is vulnerable to further spread of HIV (Family Planning International 2010).

Other diseases and health issues are also problematic for young Pacific people. Poor nutrition and increasingly sedentary lifestyles among youth are contributing to high levels of NCDs such as diabetes and heart disease (SPC 2009; UNDESA 2007; SPC 2006; UNDP *et al* 2005). According to the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2011* (UNICEF & SPC 2011), disease is the biggest cause of disability in the Pacific. The mental health needs of youth are severely under-served and youth suicide is a significant problem (SPC 2009; UNDESA 2007; SPC 2006).

Additionally, substance abuse, including of alcohol, drugs and tobacco, is a significant issue for youth (SPC 2006; UNICEF *et al* 2005).

1.4.3   Beyond 'youth issues'

While the issues discussed above are significant and need to be addressed, one of the reasons youth development has stagnated in the Pacific is because they are compartmentalised as stand-alone 'youth issues' and addressed as such, without acknowledging the underlying issues. Really, the youth issues are symptoms of underlying causes, which are economic and social in nature (UNICEF & SPC 2011; McMurray 2006; UNICEF *et al* 2005). This compartmentalisation marginalises young people and therefore contributes to poor outcomes.

The stagnation of youth development in the Pacific is compounded by a lack of harmonisation between organisations and government agencies on coordinated youth strategies (SPC 2009; McMurray 2006). There has also been a failure of some stakeholders to align their initiatives with regional and international mandates or national youth policies (SPC 2009). The Ad Hoc Working Group for Youth and the MDGs (2004) points out that this lack of coordination is also true of youth development efforts globally, and it leads to unsatisfactory outcomes:

> […] the global youth movement is characterized by fragmentation resulting in
> isolated actions that do not reach their full potential due to lack of resources,
> access to knowledge and information, and institutional barriers.

Furthermore, a significant theme in the literature is that youth are marginalised from decision-making processes. In many Pacific cultures there is not a culture of listening to youth; young people are expected to be silent in the presence of adults as a sign of respect and in order to gain knowledge and life skills from them (McMurray 2006; UNICEF *et al* 2005). They are also expected to defer to authority in all cases, with these traditions resulting in a 'culture of silence' for youth (World Bank 2008, 11). The report *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice* (World Bank 2008) consulted over 900 Pacific youth and found that "perhaps the biggest issue facing youth in many of these Pacific nations is the fear – and reality – of finding themselves marginalised and voiceless" (World Bank 2008, 10).

Youth declarations *Pacific Tofamamao 2015* (UNDP *et al* 2005), *Youth Visioning for Island Living* (UNESCO 2005) and the *Pacific Youth Charter* (World Bank 2006) highlight the desire of young

people to be involved in building the future of their nations and call for greater youth participation in decision-making processes. Further to this, *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice* (World Bank 2008) found evidence in all six study countries that youth want to be heard and involved, confirming that the desire to be involved is not contained to youth representatives. Youth participation is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Compartmentalisation of youth issues, lack of coordination and lack of youth participation act as significant barriers to youth development in the Pacific. This implies that a more cohesive strategy is required that looks at youth development as more than a set of youth issues. Youth mainstreaming is one such potential strategy.

1.4.4 The role of NZ development agencies

NZ development agencies have a large role to play in Pacific development as many have a focus on the region. This focus is a result of cultural and economic ties between NZ and PICTs and the recognition of the urgent needs of those countries in NZ's own region (Council for International Development No date). The NZ Aid Programme, which administers the government's official development assistance (ODA), has a strong focus on the Pacific. NZ NGOs have fallen in line with this mandate to increase their chances of securing funding from the aid programme (McGregor *et al* 2013; Banks *et al* 2012). NZ is the third largest donor in the region, disbursing US$899.3 million from 2006 to 2011 (Hayward-Jones 2013).

NGOs and civil society organisations (CSOs) have a crucial role to play in youth development. As they work in close contact with communities, they are often more accessible than government services and can form partnerships with young people and other stakeholders (Egbo 2012; Council for International Development no date).

The SPC (2009) asserts that although most governments in the Pacific have ratified the CRC and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), they do not prioritise the social aspects of these. NGOs drive social change towards achieving children's and women's rights and are also the main providers of programmes relating to youth (SPC 2009; Rallu & Robertson 2009; Ad Hoc Working Group for Youth and the MDGs 2004).

However, Duncan and Voigt-Graf (2008) point out that NGOs working with youth tend to focus on specific problems such as substance abuse, and this contributes to the isolation of

young people from mainstream development efforts. This thesis aims to encourage NZ development agencies to mainstream youth rather than compartmentalise youth issues. As a country that focuses its efforts in the Pacific, NZ could be a leader in YM in Pacific development.

1.5 Thesis overview

In this chapter I have explored how youth are represented in the international development framework and the rationale for this thesis. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework, epistemology and methodology of the research. In Chapter 3 I discuss concepts that are critical for YM: gender mainstreaming and youth participation. I then use these, my interviews with key informants in Suva and the key texts to discuss the ideal characteristics of YM in a Pacific development context.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 use this definition to address the research questions for the three case study agencies. Chapter 8 presents the findings and data analysis from the questionnaire. Chapter 9 is a discussion of the findings of all the data sources and recommendations from these. It concludes the thesis.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This is an interpretive research project using a mixed methods methodology. The following methods were employed: a literature review; interviews with key informants in Suva, Fiji; a qualitative exploratory multi-case study and a questionnaire. The multi-case study included analysis of the three case agencies' websites and documents, interviews with staff and questionnaire responses. These methods provided me with primary and secondary data that I analysed using the methods discussed in section 2.7.

In this chapter I discuss the theoretical framework, epistemology and methodology behind this thesis before explaining how the methods were used to collect the primary and secondary data. I then discuss the process of data analysis, the ethical considerations of this research and the limitations of the methodology.

2.2 Theoretical framework

This research is built on a postmodernist, feminist theoretical framework with a positive youth development lens. Postmodernism rejects the dominant paradigm of modernisation, which contends that there is a linear process that all developing countries must follow in order to achieve a goal of being Western industrialised societies (Parpart & Marchand 1995). Postmodernism rejects the notion of a universal truth and calls for the inclusion of all people in dialogue surrounding development (Kitchin & Tate 2000; Parpart & Marchand 1995). This research emphasises the inclusion of youth as a traditionally marginalised group and "seeks inter-textual relations rather than causality", which is a key tenet of postmodernism (Kitchin and Tate 2000, 16). The research seeks inter-textual relations among the identified key texts, case study agencies' websites and documents and the broader literature review in order to answer the research questions. In research, a postmodern stance lends the researcher to facilitate debate and understanding (Cousin 2005). This research does so by exploring and explaining a little known phenomenon, youth mainstreaming.

Like postmodernism, feminism challenges the status quo. It argues that there is a masculinist lens on how people see the world and that institutions and knowledge production generally favour men, creating unequal gender relations (Rao & Kelleher 2005; Kitchin & Tate 2000). Feminism seeks the renegotiation of power relations towards gender equality (McMichael 2012; Kitchin &

Tate 2000). The rise of feminism in the 1970s led to the Women in Development (WID) movement, which called for greater inclusion of women in development activities (McMichael 2012). However, this strategy was criticised for not challenging the existing structures that caused gender inequality in the first place (Jahan 1995). WID then evolved into the current paradigm of Gender and Development (GAD), which seeks to reform these structures (McMichael 2012). In research, feminism seeks freedom from repression and social change for everyone in the research process. It argues that the desires and agenda of the researcher shapes the research orientation and encourages the researcher to reflect on their own positionality and that of the researched (Kitchin & Tate 2000).

Positive youth development is a relatively new approach that arose from dissatisfaction with traditional problem-focused views and approaches to youth development (Damon 2004). Rather than taking a deficit approach to youth, positive youth development promotes the agency and capability of youth. It sees youth not as a burden on society but as an asset (Damon 2004).

2.3 Mixed methods methodology

2.3.1   Epistemology

Interpretivism sees knowledge as socially constructed and highly complex (Glesne & Peshkin 1992). As such, interpretivism assumes multiple versions of reality with no one version being considered 'the truth'. Interpretivists argue that neutrality in interpretivist research is unattainable, assuming that personal beliefs affect researchers' approach to research and the conclusions (Cousin 2005). Interpretivism is associated with qualitative research because this seeks to explore varied understandings of the world and how these are constructed (McGuirk & O'Neill 2005; Glesne & Peshkin 1992). It involves personal connection with the research participants (Glesne & Peshkin 1992).

This research project is guided by interpretivism and indeed the majority of the methods employed within are qualitative, for reasons discussed below. However, a key component is the questionnaire, a quantitative method. Thus, the research incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods in a mixed methods methodology.

2.3.2   Methodology

This research employed a convergent mixed methods design with parallel databases. I collected quantitative and qualitative data, analysed it separately and then brought it together for

interpretation (Creswell & Plano Clark 2011). The two strands of data, qualitative (the Fiji interviews and case study) and quantitative (the questionnaire), were kept independent of each other, although the research questions were the same for both. I prioritised the qualitative data, which comprises the bulk of my analysis.

The reasons for choosing this methodology are varied. Firstly, including a quantitative data collection method worked well with qualitative methods to give a more complete picture of how NZ aid agencies take youth into account. The qualitative methods were to provide context and the quantitative to help me expand upon and generalise my findings. Also, having multiple, varied data sources allowed me to cross-check my findings against each other. These reasons are in line with the common reasons for choosing mixed methods methodology identified by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011).

The sequence of the four methods was as listed in the following sections: the literature review, followed by interviews of key informants in Fiji and then the case study data collection. The questionnaire was conducted last because the Council for International Development was running a survey of its members mid-way through the year and we did not want the two to clash. However, the findings of the survey, discussed in Chapter 7, imply it could have been beneficial to first conduct the survey to identify agencies that claimed to mainstream youth and choose the case study agencies accordingly.

2.4 Method 1: Literature review

To begin, I conducted a literature review on the situation of youth in the Pacific. This highlighted the major issues outlined in Chapter 1 and led me to explore theories of youth participation and YM. I then reviewed the critical literature on gender mainstreaming as a point of comparison and learning for YM. These findings are presented in Chapter 3.

Ten key texts were identified through the literature review process as providing vital insight into the situation and the needs and aspirations of youth in the Pacific. The texts included regional studies and strategies, as well as declarations from regional youth summits. I used the following criteria to choose the key texts:

- The text is written by or is about Pacific youth.
- The text is about development in general and not a particular development issue.
- The text makes recommendations for advancing youth development in the Pacific.
- Young people were consulted in writing the text.

Informed by the literature review, I devised an analytical template and examined each key text according to this template. This process identified current key priorities and recommendations for youth development in the Pacific, which informed my analysis of the case study agencies and questionnaire design.

The regional key texts on youth development in the Pacific include the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005*(UNICEF Pacific *et al* 2005) and *2011* (UNICEF & SPC 2011), *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice: Youth development through participation* (World Bank 2008), the *Pacific Youth Strategy 2010* (SPC 2006) and the *Koror Statement on Youth Empowerment for a Secure, Prosperous and Sustainable Future* (SPC 2005).

Declarations from youth summits included as key texts are: *The Suva Declaration* (SPC 2009), the *Pacific Youth Charter* (World Bank 2006), *Tofamamao Pacific 2015: Declaration of the Pacific Youth Summit for MDGs* (UNDP *et al* 2005) and *Declaration: Youth Visioning for Island Living 2005* (UNESCO 2005). Declarations constitute key texts as they highlight the priorities and wishes of Pacific young people, providing an important platform for analysing the responsiveness of development agencies to their needs.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (UN 1989) is also included as a key text even though it does not fall under the above criteria. The CRC does not specifically regard young people in the Pacific but is one of nine core international human rights treaties and relates directly to children and young people up to the age of 18. All PICTs are party to the CRC and interviews with representatives from regional organisations highlighted that development organisations in the region are often guided by it, including in work with youth over the age of 18.

2.5 Method 2: Regional agency interviews (Suva)

To provide context on the topic of youth and YM in the Pacific, I interviewed four key informants in the sector: three staff members from across two regional organisations and one

youth ally[2], all of whom are based in Suva, Fiji. The interviews were semi-structured in nature and aimed to generate knowledge of the issues in the region and the agencies' approach to youth. The role of NZ development agencies was also discussed.

Semi-structured interviews were employed because the purpose was to gather background information. Semi-structured interviews facilitate in-depth discussion but are guided by the researcher to key themes of interest to the research project (Mason 2004). In this way, "the interview can be shaped by the interviewee's own understandings as well as the researcher's interests, and unexpected themes can emerge" (Mason 2004, 1020). This form of interviewing also prioritised the interviewees' perspective of the research topic, which is particularly important in exploratory studies such as this (Meyer 2001).

As advised by Dunn (2005), I used themes and concepts that arose from the literature review to develop an interview guide. The guide allowed me to ensure all the relevant issues were covered while following the natural flow of conversation. With the consent of the participants, the interviews were recorded. Recording allowed me to remain relaxed and attentive, and to watch for physical cues, as recommended by Dunn (2005). I then transcribed the recordings verbatim, during the process of which I became familiar with the content and was able to engage with it before beginning formal data analysis. Box 2.1 is a key to the symbols used in my transcription of the interviews in Suva and in NZ. Verbal fillers have been removed from the transcriptions quoted in this thesis.

Box 2.1: Key to transcription symbols

Transcription symbols	
-	Unfinished word or sentence
/	Upwards intonation at the end of a sentence that is not a question
…	Pause
<u>Text</u>	Stress placed by speaker
Text	Speaker raises voice
Text	Emphasis added by author
( )	Speech indecipherable on recording
[…]	Intervening speech cut out in quote

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[2] 'Youth ally' is the term this informant uses to describe herself. It describes her position as an adult who supports young people in a mentoring and advocacy capacity.

I chose the two regional agencies (RA1 and RA2) because they are prominent actors in the field of Pacific development and are key stakeholders in youth development. The key informants in these agencies (RA1.0 and RA2.1 and RA2.2) were purposefully chosen on the basis of their experience in and knowledge of youth development in the region, as recommended by their colleagues with whom I had been in contact. The key informants also provided information and documents that contributed to the literature review and analytical framework of this thesis.

The youth ally (YA) has an international reputation as being a strong voice for women and minority genders through a number of civil society organisations she is involved with in the region and internationally. I chose to interview her because of the insight she could bring from her knowledge of gender, her experience as a youth activist in the past and her current status as an ally of the youth movement in Fiji. Table 2.1 is a summary of the key informants I interviewed in Suva.

Table 2.1: Summary of interviewees in Suva, Fiji

Organisation	Code	Position	Demographics
RA1	RA1.0	Youth advisor	Female, adult
RA2	RA2.1	Head of policy, advocacy and evaluation	Female, adult
	RA2.2	Officer, youth and participation	Female, youth
Not affiliated	YA	Youth ally	Female, adult

2.6 Method 3: Exploratory multi-case study of NZ agencies

An exploratory qualitative multi-case study of three NZ development agencies forms the bulk of my analysis of YM in NZ-based development initiatives.

Yin (quoted in Meyer 2001, 330-331) defines the case study as an enquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". More specifically, Meyer (2001, 329) defines organisational case studies as "detailed investigation of one or more organizations, or groups within organizations, with a view to providing an analysis of the context and processes involved in the phenomenon under study". Yin (1994) further delineates case studies as explanatory, exploratory or descriptive and either single, holistic or multiple-case.

The case study method and each type of case study has its merits and disadvantages. An exploratory multi-case study was undertaken for this research because of its suitability to the research philosophy and topic, the strength and reliability the method lends to research findings, and its flexibility.

The case study method fits with the interpretivist idea that reality is socially constructed (Baxter & Jack 2008; Cousin 2005). It aims to achieve depth of information and understanding with in-depth analysis of a few cases rather than gathering superficial information from large numbers of respondents (Cousin 2005). Thus, the careful sampling of cases to facilitate analysis is more important than the sample size, as with all qualitative methods (Bradshaw and Stratford 2005; Meyer 2001). The case study method allows the researcher to engage directly with the study participants and explore their understanding of the phenomenon and the context within which it operates.

The opportunity for contextual analysis was particularly important for this research, which seeks to examine the structures and relations in which decisions are made in relation to YM. According to Hartley, "The detailed knowledge of the organization and especially the knowledge about the *processes* underlying the behaviour and its *context* can help to specify the conditions under which behaviour can be expected to occur" (quoted in Meyer 2001, emphasis original). Thus, in-depth study of organisations was appropriate for the aim of identifying the challenges and opportunities for YM within them.

Yin (1994) and Hartley (cited in Meyer 2001) posit that a case study is appropriate when the research seeks to examine a little-known phenomenon, predominantly with 'how' and 'why' research questions. Furthermore, exploratory case studies are particularly useful when the phenomenon in question has "no clear, single set of outcomes" (Baxter and Jack 2008, 548). Because YM is not a well-known concept, even among development practitioners, an exploratory case study was suitable for the topic.

Studying multiple cases and using a variety of data sources added strength and reliability to the research results. Multi-case studies allowed exploration of the phenomenon in question within and between cases, with the goal of replicating findings across them (Yin, cited in Baxter & Jack 2008; Cousin 2005). McGuirk and O'Neill (2005) stress that qualitative methods seek to explore people's understandings rather than measuring, quantifying and making generalisations about

populations. However, through replication, multiple-case studies do support generalisability of the findings (Leonard-Barton, cited in Meyer 2001). Baxter & Jack (2008, 550) state "Overall, the evidence created from this type of study is considered robust and reliable". This is enhanced by using multiple data sources and cross-examining these to check their accuracy or reliability (Baxter & Jack 2008; Meyer 2001; Yin 1994).

Another advantage of the case study method is there are no defined requirements or parameters of case study research (Cousin 2005; Meyer 2001; Yin 1994), leaving the research design open to be tailored to the theoretical framework and research questions. A downside to this is the risk of implementing a poorly-designed case study project, which can negatively affect the validity of the study (Meyer 2001; Yin 1994). To ensure rigour in research design it is important the researcher establish documented procedures for making decisions regarding the research design, also known as a case study protocol (Yin 1994).

I designed a case study protocol to enhance rigour, support management of the cases and guide decision-making. The major decisions faced were choosing the number of cases, which cases to include, the timeframe of analysis and the data collection methods. The protocol for making these decisions is discussed subsequently.

2.6.1   Design of the case study

NZ development agencies were chosen as the unit of analysis for reasons of pragmatism and relevance to the topic. Bradshaw and Stratford (2005) and Cousin (2005) encourage the choice of cases that are practical and appropriate. I am based in Wellington and have contacts in the development sector, thus facilitating access to various NZ-based agencies. Furthermore, NZ is located in the Pacific so many development agencies focus their efforts in the region.

I decided on three case agencies: two NGOs (NGO1 and NGO2), and the NZ Aid Programme (NZAP). I included NZAP because it is the NZ Government's official aid and development programme and administers a large amount of aid to the Pacific.

In selecting NGO1 and NGO2, I consulted the membership list of the Council for International Development (CID), the national umbrella organisation for NZ aid and development agencies. I chose one child rights and development organisation (NGO1) and one organisation with a whole-of-community approach in its work (NGO2). According to CID's Code of Ethics, their

membership means NGO1 and NGO2 are committed to sustainable development and recognising the agency of the communities with whom they work (Council for International Development 2012). Therefore, the two organisations are comparable in that both approach development from this ethical stance. Additionally, both organisations are local branches of international NGOs, meaning they are driven by both local and international mandates.

The NGOs are also similar in programme area. Both have a focus on the Pacific but NGO2 also has a focus on Southeast Asia. Both support the programmes of their international counterparts in other regions of the world with fundraising. Both organisations engage in advocacy and conduct research and both have projects that are funded by MFAT.

All three case study agencies aim to reduce poverty but through different methods. Both NGOs are very different to the NZ Aid Programme, which is a government agency focused on sustainable economic development as opposed to community development. And although they implement some similar projects, the NGOs have different approaches, with NGO1 being focused on children and young people and NGO2 being more broadly focused. Including a child-focused organisation allowed comparison of the attitudes to youth with the other two organisations that don't explicitly target young people.

2.6.2   Analysis of website and agency documents

An organisation's website is its public face. It is how the organisation portrays itself to the world; displaying its work, garnering support and demonstrating transparency in its actions. The websites of the case agencies offered a wealth of information on what they do, where they work, their research and publications and, in the cases of the NGOs, how the public can support their work.

Analysis of the case agencies' websites provided significant knowledge about the agencies and yielded insight into how they wanted the public to perceive them. Thematic content analysis, discussed in section 2.8, was used to analyse the text and images on the websites. Publications and organisational documents were also sourced from the websites. These documents were analysed, also using thematic analysis. Of course, public documents do not exactly reflect internal happenings within the organisation as agencies choose what information to make available externally. However, the way an organisation chooses to present itself to the public is telling of its priorities and ethics.

Website and document analysis was bound by time and campaign. Analysis was restricted to documents published in the years 2012 and 2013 because of time constraints on the research. Only those documents pertaining to campaigns current at the time of analysis (August to October 2013) were analysed. These constraints were appropriate because the research aims to provide a snapshot of the current situation.

2.6.3 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews of 45-60 minutes were carried out with two interviewees from each agency. The aim of these interviews was to provide context to the policy and programme documents of the interviewees' agency and to provide insight into attitudes toward youth within the agency. They also provided information about internal policy and practice, which was not always forthcoming from the website and document texts.

The interviewees were identified using personal contacts of my supervisor and myself in the NZ Aid Programme and the NZ NGO sector. The interviewees from each organisation varied in their roles and responsibilities, giving insight into the phenomenon through multiple views within each organisation. Consulting multiple informants also improves the validity of the data because the researcher is able to cross-check information given by one informant against the others (Glick *et al.*, cited in Meyer 2001). Table 2.2 provides a summary of the interviewees in each case study organisation.

Table 2.2: Summary of case study interviewees

Organisation	Code	Position	Demographics
NZ Aid Programme (NZAP)	NZAP.1	Senior staff, humanitarian work and disaster management	Male, adult
	NZAP.2	Senior staff, cross-cutting issues	Male, adult
NGO1 (Child-focused)	NGO1.1	Manager, programming	Male, adult
	NGO1.2	Manager, advocacy	Female, adult
NGO2 (Whole-of-community approach)	NGO2.1	Programme officer, Pacific livelihoods programme	Male, adult
	NGO2.2	Coordinator, programme services	Female, adult

2.6.4 Questionnaire response

The interviewees from the case study NGOs completed the questionnaire discussed in section 2.7. I was able to analyse the responses along with the other case study data sources as they were identifiable whereas responses from the rest of the sector were anonymous.

2.7 Method 4: Questionnaire

To supplement the case study, I carried out a questionnaire of NZ NGOs to gather primary data from across the NZ aid and development sector. The questionnaire made use of standardised questioning in order to elucidate trends in agencies' attitudes towards and practices for youth.

Buckingham and Saunders (2004) emphasise the goal of surveys is to generalise about the population in question. The goal of this survey was to gain information from across the development sector and use this to (i) inform industry knowledge on work being done regarding youth in the Pacific and (ii) identify trends in the way that Pacific youth are taken into account and included in NZ aid and development NGOs. For these purposes, a questionnaire of a sample of the population was appropriate. It also enabled me to make some generalisations from the case study.

The population of this study is NZ-based agencies working in the Pacific but I could not hope to identify and reach all of these. Buckingham and Saunders (2005, 99) explain that careful and methodical selection of a sample can provide "remarkably accurate estimates of the parameters of the whole population". I used purposive sampling to identify the agencies to approach with the questionnaire. Purposive sampling means participants are chosen for known common characteristics (McGuirk & O'Neill 2005). In this case, these characteristics were the agencies' work in the Pacific and their membership of the Council for International Development (CID).

To encourage the target population to participate in the survey and provide the necessary information, the questionnaire was carried out in partnership with CID. The Council helped identify the target agencies, provided advice on the questionnaire and issued a letter of support to be sent with the questionnaire.

Following the recommendations of McGuirk & O'Neill (2005), the questionnaire was pre-tested by two colleagues in a Wellington-based development NGO. This process highlighted that two

respondents from the same organisation may have differing answers to the same survey questions. From discussion with the testers, the different answers highlighted different levels of knowledge of the processes within the organisation and different understandings of how youth were incorporated in these. All efforts were made to facilitate understanding of YM and to make the survey questions as specific as possible. However, it could not be avoided that there were varied understandings of YM and what the questions were asking. McGuirk and O'Neill (2005) argue that this is to be assumed when using questionnaires, particularly in analysis. I therefore proposed when disseminating the questionnaire that two or more colleagues complete it together, suggesting this would both improve the accuracy of the answers and encourage a dialogue among staff regarding the position of youth in their agency.

I set up the questionnaire using the online survey tool Google Forms. I sent the link to the survey by email to 18 agencies and 11 completed it, a response rate of 61 per cent. The implementation of the questionnaire and the results are discussed in Chapter 7.

2.8 Data analysis

Data generated from the literature review, Suva interviews and case study was analysed separately using thematic content analysis. During this process, I followed the recommendation that in qualitative research the researcher analyses data while it is being collected (Baxter & Jack 2008; Cousin 2005; Patton 2002; Glesne & Peshkin 1992). As Stake states, "analysis is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilations" (quoted in Cousin 2005, 425).

2.8.1   Thematic content analysis

Content analysis is "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (Patton 2002, 453). I began by immersing myself in the data. At the same time, I began an iterative process of data gathering and thematic coding, refining the coding as I gathered more data until I achieved a saturation of themes. Rivas (2012) terms this the zigzag approach.

I used mostly deductive coding, drawing on themes that arose in the literature on youth in the Pacific and YM (Cope 2005; Patton 2002). I then segmented the data by code under each theme, putting coded segments from all interviews together. Having coded the data and separated it into themes, I was able to compare and contrast what each informant had said and cross-check

information and ideas. It also allowed me to match the data to information and theories gathered in the literature review process.

For the case study, the key texts, broader literature review and data from the background interviews in Suva were used to devise an analytical template for analysis. The aim of the analysis was to determine the extent to which youth were taken into account in the agencies and the challenges and opportunities for YM. The data sources were analysed against each other and against the working definition of YM outlined in Chapter 3 and the template. The use of analytical templates provided consistency in the analysis and allowed me to make comparisons within and across the agencies' development initiatives in the Pacific.

The analysis and writing for the three case agencies was done separately before I carried out cross-case analysis. I then conducted cross-case analysis by comparing and contrasting the cases study agencies. Once I had the within-case analysis and across-case analysis, I was able to bring these together with the theories and suggested best practice that arose from the literature review, as recommended by Meyer (2001).

2.8.2 Questionnaire analysis

The questionnaire yielded both quantitative and qualitative data that needed different methods of analysis. The closed questions with set answers were easily quantified so I could determine how many organisations ascribed to certain activities and attitudes. The standardised nature of the closed questions also allowed me to analyse across inter-related questions. On the advice of McGuirk & O'Neill (2005) I avoided turning qualitative answers into quantitative results so as not to lose the detail and richness of the answers. Instead, I used thematic analysis to identify themes and concepts that arose from the open questions.

2.9 Ethics

Participation in the study was entirely voluntary and every effort was made to minimise inconvenience and discomfort to the participants. All interviewees were informed of the aims and methods of the research and all gave their written consent to be interviewed and have the interview taped. This follows the Human Ethics Policy of the Victoria University of Wellington. The information sheet that was given to interviewees and the consent form they signed are attached as Appendices 1 and 2.

All those who participated in the research did so confidentially. All responses collected in the course of the case study and questionnaire data collection have been kept confidential in this report. Care has been taken to avoid including identifying factors of individuals and organisation. The NZ Aid Programme is exempt from this because it is a government agency it is open to public scrutiny. However, all interviewees, including those from the NZAP, are differentiated by code names and I have not disclosed their real job titles.

With the questionnaire, I knew who had completed the surveys for the case study agencies. All other responses to the questionnaire were anonymous. Contacts in each agency were provided with an information sheet (Appendix 3) and informed consent was implied by their completion of the questionnaire. I kept the questionnaire responses anonymous because this research focuses on issues and processes, not the organisations. Also, preconceptions from prior knowledge of the organisations could have clouded my judgement.

As explained above, interpretivism assumes that personal beliefs affect researchers' approach to research and the conclusions (Cousin 2005). Feminism, which forms part of the theoretical framework of this research, also assumes this and the researcher is encouraged to reflect on their positionality (Kitchin & Tate 2000). As I am a Pacific Islander from Fiji, I acknowledge that my love for the region and my own experiences of youth development in Fiji were a factor in choosing this research topic and the methods. I am also a feminist and an advocate for sexual and reproductive health and rights. I engaged in this research project through this feminist Pacific Islander lens.

To protect the identity of participants, access to the research data is restricted to my supervisor and me. The data, which comprises audio recordings, transcriptions and questionnaire responses, is kept in a password-protected electronic location and will be deleted two years after the conclusion of the research.

2.10   Limitations and mitigation

Data collection using a questionnaire has limitations that had to be considered in choosing this method. Firstly, the depth and extent of information that can be collected is limited (McGuirk & O'Neill 2005). My questionnaire was to supplement the in-depth case study analyses and so this was less of a limitation for this study. McGuirk & O'Neill (2005) recommend combining surveys with other methods to achieve depth. Secondly, the method is reactive, which means

respondents control the information they give and can manipulate this (Buckingham & Saunders 2004). This was mitigated by keeping the responses anonymous so there was no reason for respondents to withhold information.

Another limitation of the questionnaire is the small sample size of the questionnaire (11), which limits the generalisability of the results. However, the population of NZ-based development agencies working in the Pacific is also quite small. The response rate of 61 per cent of targeted agencies is a good response rate. Thus, the responses could be seen as quite representative of the population.

On my first contact with the organisation I was often directed to somebody with an interest in youth. It is possible the agency representatives who completed the questionnaire did so because of this interest in youth or youth issues in the Pacific. Some contacts expressed great enthusiasm for the project because they perceived there to be a lack of information on the topic. As such, the questionnaire results may be biased toward a more sympathetic or knowledgeable view of youth.

2.11   Conclusion

The theoretical framework for this research is built on postmodernism and feminism with a positive youth development lens. I have been guided by interpretivism in the design and implementation of this project as I accept that are multiple understandings of the situation of youth and sought to incorporate these in my analysis.

I employed four methods in a mixed methods methodology: a literature review, interviews with regional agencies and a youth ally, an exploratory multi-case study and a questionnaire. I analysed the qualitative data generated by these methods using thematic content analysis. I brought together the qualitative and quantitative data in a convergent mixed methods design with parallel databases. The decisions made to structure the research in this way were intended to elicit the most relevant and considered data in order to better understand organisational approaches to YM.

Chapter 3: Youth Mainstreaming in the Pacific

3.1 Introduction

Having established the rationale for this thesis, the theoretical framework and the methodology, I now turn to the first research question: "What is youth mainstreaming in a Pacific development context?"

In this chapter I explore two concepts that are key to YM: gender mainstreaming and youth participation, before describing current YM initiatives in the Pacific. I then explore the characteristics of YM in a Pacific development context, drawing on the key texts, learnings from gender mainstreaming and my interviews with key informants in the Pacific.

3.2 Key concepts to YM

3.2.1   Gender mainstreaming

The concept of YM is derived from gender mainstreaming. It is therefore important to understand some of the key concepts of gender mainstreaming in order to see the applicability to a youth focused context. Of particular importance is the way gender mainstreaming seeks to challenge existing power structures, involve its focus group more heavily in decision making and address both need and inequality.

Gender mainstreaming was adopted as the main mechanism for achieving gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 (Moser & Moser 2005). It is officially defined by the UN (1997) as:

> the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

The following section outlines my learnings from gender mainstreaming relevant to an understanding of YM.

3.2.1.1 Lessons learnt from gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is grounded in a feminist theoretical framework (Rao & Kelleher 2005). As discussed above, this posits that unequal power relations are central to gender inequality and that structural and institutional change is needed to overcome this. The history of the Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches shows how important it is that the structures and institutions be challenged. The integrationist approach of WID, which involved working on gender issues within the existing development structure, was neglected in favour of agenda-setting, which seeks to transform the development agenda using a gender lens (Jahan 2005).

The concept of intersectionality is central to gender mainstreaming. This is the idea that women's experiences vary according to different identifying factors such as class, race and their position in society (Miller 2009; Porter & Sweetman 2005; Jahan 1995). It is necessary to recognise that women are a diverse group with power relations existing within the group (Porter & Sweetman 2005). To understand the complex inter- and intra-gender relations that exist in every community, development initiatives should begin with a social analysis of gender relations (Miller 2009; Dawson, quoted in Porter & Sweetman 2005).

Gender mainstreaming consists of both programmes that address women's needs and efforts to change structures that perpetuate gender inequality. Rao & Kelleher (2005), Standing (cited in Dawson 2005), Moser and Moser (2005) and Porter and Sweetman (2005) emphasise the importance of projects for women in reducing gender inequality. They argue that projects should not be disparate attempts but a coherent integrated process that includes efforts to address the underlying inequality of power relations. Programmes that address specific needs are easier to implement than equality campaigns and it is easier to illustrate outcomes from them (Rao & Kelleher 2005). One of the challenges of gender mainstreaming is the difficulty of measuring gender equality. Monitoring and evaluation of gender work is further hindered by a lack of gender-disaggregated data to provide benchmarks for progress (Jahan 2005).

Women's participation in development initiatives is a necessary component of gender mainstreaming. However, it is insufficient as women must be able to effect change through their involvement (Moser & Moser 2005). Participation by the whole community is also important because gender mainstreaming should also include working with men rather than demonising

and marginalising them from gender equality efforts (Porter & Sweetman 2005). However, it is still sometimes necessary to work solely with women or a segment of women, such as young women (Miller 2009).

For successful gender equality work, it is important that the organisational culture reflects the aims of gender equality (Miller 2009; Moser & Moser 2005). However, Moser and Moser (2005) point out that gender inequality prevails in many organisations as those who traditionally hold power are unwilling to give it up. They argue there needs to be a balance between gender mainstreaming being the responsibility of all staff, which can result in nobody taking responsibility, and having a dedicated gender unit, which can be perceived as top-down. All staff should be trained in gender mainstreaming and this should be ongoing (Dawson 2005; Moser & Moser 2005). Within organisations, champions of the gender agenda have proven to be important drivers of gender mainstreaming (Porter & Sweetman 2005; Rao & Kelleher 2005).

Although some contend that gender mainstreaming has achieved little since Beijing in 1995 (Porter & Sweetman 2005), Jahan (2005) considers there have been some significant achievements, including increased awareness of gender issues, recognition that women have the knowledge and perspective to contribute to development and greater participation by women.

From this analysis of critical literature on gender mainstreaming, I conclude that learnings for YM include: the need to challenge power structures that perpetuate inequality; agenda-setting is preferable to integrationist mainstreaming; intersectionality must be acknowledged; there is a need for both youth-specific projects and efforts to reduce inequality; disaggregated data is necessary; participation and a supportive organisational culture are crucial.

3.2.2   Youth participation

Child participation and youth participation are concepts that exist because of a desire for the increased inclusion of children and youth in society. They are based on the premise that young people are active agents with the capacity to contribute. This understanding, especially in the Pacific, is in contrast to traditional views of young people.

3.2.2.1 *The agency and capacity of youth*

As discussed in Chapter 1, the traditional view of youth often sees them as lesser beings than adults. Golombeck (2006) asserts that traditional views of young people portray them as

marginal aspects of society without agency or citizenship of their own. She points out that children are often treated as 'human becomings' rather than human beings in their own right. The same applies to youth, who are often held up as the future of their nation or the leaders of tomorrow as if their efforts and the rights and responsibilities they hold as youth right now do not count (Power *et al* 2009).

However, there is a recent shift in attitudes from a more negative, future-focused view to a positive view of young people as agents (Bell and Payne 2012; Damon 2004). The increasing importance being given to youth in the global development agenda reflects a growing recognition of the agency and potential of children and youth.

Agency can be defined as:

> an individual's own capacities, competencies and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives (Robson *et al*, quoted in Bell & Payne 2012, 1028).

Youth participation assumes young people have the capacity or ability to take part in activities and decision-making.

3.2.2.2 *Defining youth participation*
Youth participation is related to the movement towards participatory development. The goal of participatory development is to include and involve people in development processes to reduce inequality and improve sustainability (Cornwall 1998; Guijt & Shah 1998). In particular, participatory development aims to include socially and economically marginalised people in decision-making (Guijt & Shah 1998).

The UN Department of Economics and Social Policy defines youth participation as the "process whereby young people influence, and share control and responsibility over decisions, plans and resources, which affect them" (quoted in World Bank 2008, 107). McMurray (2006) extends this definition to include decisions and discussion that not only affect young people but also their families and communities.

According to the NZ Ministry of Youth Development (2009), the principles of youth participation include young people:

- being informed

- having an impact on outcomes

- organising themselves

- making decisions or being involved in decision-making processes

- being involved in follow-up.

Hart's Ladder of Participation (Figure 3.1, page 39) is widely used as a gauge of youth participation (Power *et al* 2009; Shier 2001). It is modelled on Arnstein's 1969 ladder of participation and ranks degrees of young people's participation and non-participation in projects. According to Hart's Ladder, young people's participation can be categorised into eight levels that range from non-participation to sharing decision-making with adults (Hart 1992). I refer to the ladder in later chapters to investigate levels of participation engaged in by the case study agencies.

3.2.2.3 *The importance of youth participation*

Young people in the Pacific want to be involved, as is highlighted by various youth declarations. *Pacific Tofamamao 2015* (UNDP et al 2005), *Youth Visioning for Island Living* (UNICEF 2005) and *the Pacific Youth Charter* (World Bank 2006) show the desire of young people to be involved in development and call for greater youth participation in decision-making processes. UNICEF *et al* (2005) emphasise that these calls need to be followed through.

Youth participation is a right supported by the international human rights frameworks. Declarations received from various youth forums highlight the fact that young people across the Pacific are calling for the realisation of this right. Participation is enshrined in the CRC, particularly in Articles 12 and 13 which affirm children's right to freedom of expression (Checkoway 2011; World Bank 2008; UNICEF *et al* 2005; Shier 2001; Hart 1992). However, in the Pacific, as in other parts of the world, CRC Articles 12 to 14 are contentious and often ignored (McMurray 2006; Shier 2001).

Figure 3.1: Hart's Ladder of Participation (Hart 1992, 8)
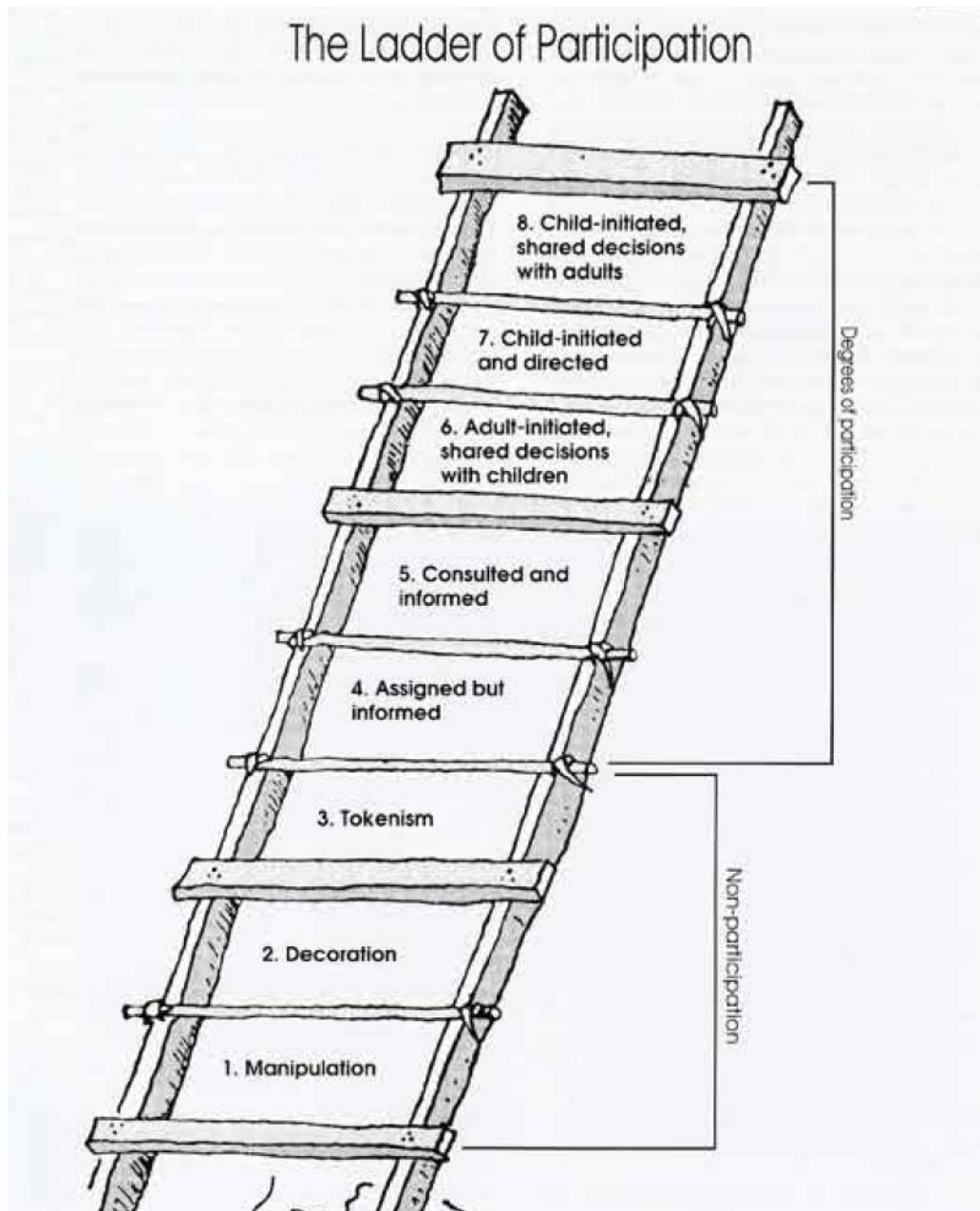
The culture of silence discussed in section 1.4.3 acts as a barrier because community leaders often see youth participation as conflicting with tradition (McMurray 2006). It also causes a lack of confidence among youth as to their ability to affect change (SPC 2009), inhibiting their motivation for participation (Checkoway 2011). Youth participation in development initiatives can help change attitudes by demonstrating young people can be active and useful contributors.

By including youth in their activities, development agencies can also help address a lack of resources and mechanisms for engaging youth, highlighted by *The Suva Declaration* (SPC 2009).

Theis (2007) contends that the youth movement in the Pacific is largely driven by development agencies and, as explained in section 1.4.4, NGOs have a large part to play in youth development. Hence, by engaging youth in participatory processes NGOs can provide the platforms that young people are calling for. UNICEF *et al* (2005) also point out that youth participation increases the effectiveness of interventions as they are tailored to the needs and wants of youth and are more likely to address root causes of issues.

At the individual level, youth participation is important for personal development as it fosters skills and attitudes such as employment skills and self-esteem (Ministry of Youth Development 2009; Hart 2008; UNICEF *et al* 2005). These skills and attitudes feed back into youth development by helping address the barriers of unemployment and a lack of confidence.

3.2.2.4 Critiquing youth participation

There is a debate between instrumental and empowerment views of participation (Mohan 2008; Guijt & Shah 1998). The former see it as a means to an end and the latter see participation as an end in itself. However, it is not necessary to see these two as competing outcomes. Rather, if outcomes of youth participation are fed back into decision-making and used to inform initiatives, it can contribute to real change for young people as well as giving them skills and a platform for engagement.

Other critiques of participatory development are also relevant to youth participation. For example, disagreements often focus on what constitutes participation. Hart's analysis is particularly useful in that it highlights what does not constitute participation (Shier 2001). Tokenism can be particularly damaging. This is when young people are made to believe that they are being meaningfully consulted but their views are not actually being taken into account (Hart 1992). When this happens, young people lose interest and are less likely to engage or re-engage in the activity (Ministry of Youth Development 2009). McMurray (2006) points out that participation must be viewed as effective by those youth involved. UNICEF *et al* (2005) call for meaningful youth consultation and inclusion in planning, including letting youth set the agenda. In practice, however, 'meaningful' consultation is up for interpretation and is usually decided upon by the implementers of programmes rather than the beneficiaries.

Another issue with youth participation is the need to include diverse youth voices in participatory processes. Checkoway (2011) argues the most active youth are not representative of

their peers because those of lower socio-economic groups are not as active in formal processes. Hart (1992) acknowledged that facilitators need to work particularly hard to include poor children. Therefore, it is important for NGOs to ensure that youth representation is more democratic, which could help mitigate the problem of representation (McMurray 2006).

Egbo (2012) and Hart (2008) claim that child and youth participation are used as tools to turn young people into "compliant subjects of the state and producers/consumers within the global market" (Hart 2008, 410). Egbo goes further to say this can lead to adults' responsibilities being transferred to young people. Many of the sources I consulted on youth participation do mention that a benefit of youth participation is increased participation in democratic processes (Checkoway 2011; Ministry of Youth Development 2009; Shier 2001; Hart 1992) and the conveyance of citizenship principles (Ministry of Youth Development 2009; Golombeck 2006; Shier 2001). However, Smith and Bjerke (2009) point out that children can simultaneously require nurturing, protecting, supporting and regulating from adults *and* exercise agency.

Youth participation is central to the concept of YM. As highlighted above, proactive youth participation has a number of benefits for development agencies, particularly enabling them to more effectively meet the needs of young people in the Pacific. YM facilitates youth participation by ensuring young people are taken into account by development agencies.

3.2.2.5 *Youth participation and YM*

To mainstream youth, it is vital that agencies engage youth in participatory exercises in order to be sure their needs and aspirations are being met. This may involve holding participatory exercises exclusively for youth as well as ensuring youth voices are represented in community consultations. In both instances, care must be taken to include diverse youth voices, taking into account hierarchies between and within generations.

Because participation is crucial to mainstreaming, YM in government and development agencies provides an opportunity to facilitate youth participation in the Pacific. Given the hierarchical nature of Pacific societies, it is likely the imperative at first will lie with adults to initiate intergenerational partnerships with Pacific youth. Theis (2007) confirms this. Checkoway and Gutierrez (2006) conclude that quality youth participation does not necessarily need to be youth-led but can also be initiated by adults. Youth-led NGOs and clubs do exist in the Pacific though

and McMurray (2006) suggests these should operate in partnership with established NGOs with a strong mandate for youth activities.

YM can then contribute to creating a culture of youth engagement. This means making it standard practice for young people to be involved (not just considered) at all levels of designing and implementing youth programmes (World Bank 2008). It is a major recommendation of *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice* (World Bank 2008). Creating such a culture of engagement would require convincing community leaders and elders of the importance of youth in order to gain intergenerational cooperation. This can be achieved through training and raising awareness among older generations (World Bank 2008; McMurray 2006).

3.3 Current YM initiatives in the Pacific

YM is currently initiated in the Pacific by the SPC and in Solomon Islands with the attempted mainstreaming of the Solomon Islands National Youth Policy.

The SPC's *Human Development Programme Strategic Plan – 2008-2012* includes YM in its agenda and commits to the *Pacific Youth Strategy 2010*. The aims of the plan include more effective youth policy and to undertake research and data collection on youth (SPC 2008). According to a report in the Fiji Times of 2 November 2013, the Human Development Programme continues to be guided by this plan as the unit undergoes a restructure (SPC 2013a).

Solomon Islands adopted a mainstreaming approach in implementing the Solomon Islands National Youth Policy (SINYP). RA1.0 shared with me an unpublished report of the 2010 summit that was conducted on mainstreaming the SINYP. The main themes of the report include the need for all stakeholders to be familiar with the SINYP, to place youth at the centre of their work and to work together in implementing it. The summit also included a recommendation that donors align their funding to support youth development initiatives. A similar report on a provincial YM summit showed there is a commitment to ensuring rural youth benefit from the SINYP. The recommendations of this report included better partnership, increased support and resources for Provisional Youth Councils and youth initiatives, improved monitoring of the SINYP and capacity building of youth workers.

However, RA1.0 explained there have been significant barriers to implementing the outcomes and recommendations of the Solomon Islands summits. They are now considering going back to the drawing board with YM. She said:

> We had sort of a plan that looked <u>great</u> and that, you know, Ministry of Labour would do this and Agriculture would do that, but then, when it came to the follow through the people that they sent to the meeting were about 90 per cent not high enough to sort of make those decisions for the ministries. […] then it sort of fell by the wayside because they tried to do that same activity at the provincial level […] and now they've sort of reached a point where they've got all these expectations that things are gonna be mainstreamed and <u>no money</u>, […] so it now needs to go back up to the national level so when I was in Solomons in May, they were talking about now needing to sort of reinvigorate the whole mainstreaming process.

The interviews with stakeholders highlighted that while YM is included in the policies of some agencies and governments in the Pacific, the practical implementation of such policies are still developing. Greater attention needs to be placed on understanding what YM is and how best to achieve it.

3.4 Characterising YM in a Pacific development context

For a working definition of YM, I adapted the UN definition of gender mainstreaming to youth, being sure to include gender sensitivities:

> Youth mainstreaming is a strategy for making young women's and young men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that young women and young men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender-informed age equality.

I used the diagram below (Figure 3.2, page 44) to illustrate this definition and prompt discussion with my interviewees.

To characterise YM in a Pacific context, I drew on the recommendations from key texts, the learnings from gender mainstreaming and my interviews with key informants in Suva. These

sources allowed me to identify the factors that YM in a Pacific context might include. These factors are discussed below.

Figure 3.2: Basic steps of YM (Zia & Rehman 2011, un-paginated)
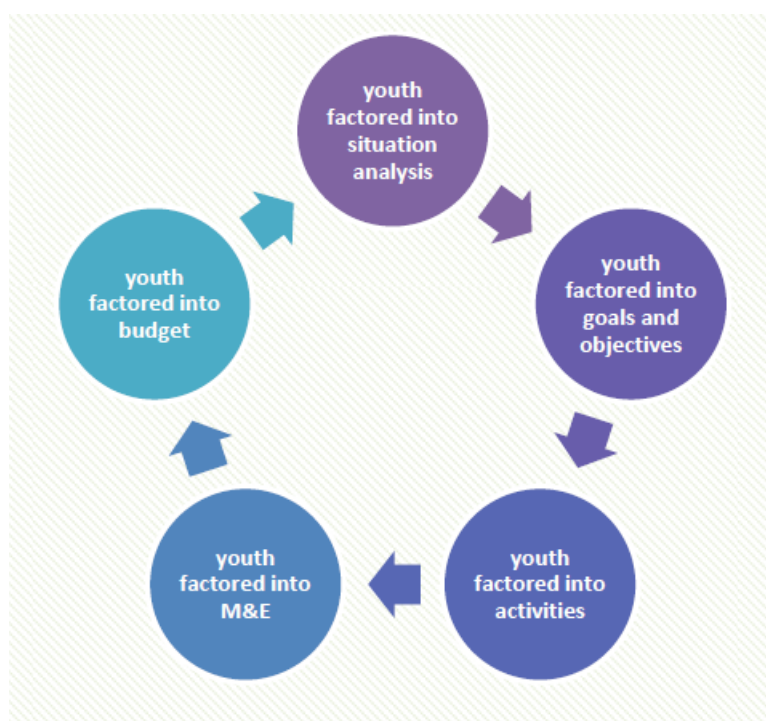
3.4.1   Defining youth and intersectionality

The interviewees in Suva echoed my literature review findings of a wide definition of youth that varies across the Pacific. They stressed the implications this has for how representative youth advocates are of the broad spectrum of youth. RA2.1, head of policy, advocacy and evaluation in RA2, said:

> The definition of youth goes up quite…to 30 years, 35 in some countries. So you can imagine that the youth reps tend to be <u>men</u> in their thirties which are not gonna be at all amenable to representing the interests of a 15 year old girl, or boy.

YA, the youth ally, explained that there are hierarchies and power relations within youth to consider. She said:

> And that can be very dodgy when you're in a room with <u>much</u> younger – the power play. And then when you're in a situation like ours where you have gendered hierarchies…then you're doing that as well. Then you have young <u>males,</u> who may feel…<u>far</u> more empowered in a space than young women. […] My concern about

> categories such as youth is the same as my concern about kind of hegemonising concepts of women. […] There can be power hierarchies within the movement, you know?

YA went on to make a case for having a clear definition of youth and introduced the concept of ageing out, which is when a young person is considered to no longer be a youth. In youth organisations, this may be regulated by age limits on people's participation. YA pointed out that this allows for new, younger youth representatives to continuously be brought in, saying:

> I *like* the aged out concept/ And I <u>actually</u> really more got that from the Youth Coalition on SRHR [sexual and reproductive health and rights]. I *love* this group and I love 'em because…they are very explicit in that. Like, they say once you are past 28 I think is their cut-off then you'll become an ally. Regardless of whether it's going to stop the work or whatever. You age out. And then somebody else- it means that the space is continually, quite clearly defined, on who comes in. And there's a continual kind of succession planning that they do.

However, there is a danger of attaching age limits to the people with which organisations work. RA1.0 pointed out that youth over the age of 18 are sometimes de-prioritised because they are technically adults. She argued that reaching the age of 18 does not necessarily mean that youth are adults in the sense of being independent. She stated:

> It's only if young people, children have all these rights *then* you can say "We can stop working at 18 because they've got their rights and in <u>theory</u> they should be able to look after themselves" but the reality is that everybody knows that children don't have all these rights and so it therefore <u>remains</u> our responsibility to continue to see that transition through. And if we stop at 18, we're just letting the ball drop and, you know, it <u>is</u> our responsibility – we're looking at rights, we're not defined by age just because it's an age, it's not about that, it's about a transition to independence.

This statement correlates with the definition of youth established in section 1.2. It also demonstrates the importance of recognising the rights of children and youth and working for the realisation of these at all ages.

The Suva Declaration (SPC 2009) calls on stakeholders to identify and target vulnerable groups of young people in participatory efforts as they are marginalised from development and service

delivery. These groups include school dropouts, youth in rural areas and outer islands, disabled young people, those in squatter settlements, HIV positive youth and youth offenders. Similarly, UNICEF *et al* (2005, 39) consider young women, sexual minorities, disabled youth and "youth who are different" to be the marginalised segments of youth most in need of attention.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, including young people who are poor can be challenging as, although they may want to be involved, they are restricted by the lack of resources. Speaking of some young lesbian women she works with in Fiji, YA stated:

> How are they gonna <u>fund</u> their own work as a youth advocate? They want to do it in a big strong way but they're dealing with day-to-day problems. Every <u>day</u> they're trying to work out, you know, where they're gonna live, how they're gonna eat… and things like free school <u>matter</u>. Because…you know?

It is important that organisations working in the Pacific ensure their definition of youth is flexible and culturally-informed. They should acknowledge the diversity and intersectionality of youth and make special efforts to include marginalised sections of young people.

3.4.2   The transformative nature of mainstreaming and youth participation

To achieve the goal of age equality, YM efforts should be transformative in nature. That is, they should address underlying power differentials that contribute to the marginalisation of youth. The following excerpt highlights this:

> KB   Gender mainstreaming comes from a feminist framework so the idea is
>   that we change the underlying power structures. So how do you feel
>   about that in relation to youth?
> RA1.0   Definitely the same objective. We're trying to change, bring a focus on
>   youth in other sectorss and that goes right up the chain of command to
>   the people at the top.

From gender mainstreaming, it is clear that to achieve change in power differentials there needs to be a coherent, integrated mix of programmes directed at youth as well as activities that aim to change attitudes to do with youth. For example, income generation programmes or specialist health services for youth are vital but so too are activities that sensitise elders to the importance of young people and the significance of their voice.

In a Pacific context, fostering a culture of youth participation is a particularly important transformative outcome of mainstreaming. While young Pacific Islanders respect and value their culture, the key texts show that many want to overcome aspects of culture that act as a barrier to their participation. *The Suva Declaration* identifies tradition and culture as a barrier to youth participation. UNICEF *et al* (2005) point out that authoritarian parenting methods, which are common in the Pacific, promote rebellion and risky behaviour and suppress initiative and leadership.

Inequality in intergenerational relations can be reduced and intergenerational partnership fostered by creating awareness of the value of youth and their contributions among leaders and in the community. RA1.0 explained how empowered youth can help overcome negative views of youth and contribute to more equal gender relations in their communities:

> I think youth get given a bad rap all the time, that they're problems and they're annoying and they're lazy and they just don't do things that they're told to do and their agency and their voice is just not considered very highly. And actually, youth really are the backbone of any village. […] so they do all this work in the village but when it comes to making a decision, it's the old, the old *men* that make the decision. […] But there *have* been- I mean I know some young people, some of the youth, young workers in Fiji who've gone back to their village and tried to get their villages to listen to young people and they have a seat in the village decision-making body and they've changed things. So there completely is the potential for change and not breaking down any cultural protocols and it can all happen. It's just a recognition of the contribution that young people can give and, you know, appreciated and built into their normal traditional processes.

Including youth in broader community projects is crucial to fostering a culture of youth participation. In doing so, it is important to have a clear understanding of power differentials. RA2.1 said:

> People have to be really- just as they'd have to really understand gender dynamics and how to gender mainstream, they would have to have their eyes open to youth, youth dynamics and youth, you know, what is going on, what is the age discrimination, what is the discrimination within the youth? Is the youth representative a 35 year-old man and can you actually get some younger- can you get an 18 year-old boy or a 16 year-old girl and a 22 year-old girl to come and also be involved in the project.

Thus, just as gender analysis is important for gender mainstreaming, so is analysis of age relations necessary for YM. This statement also demonstrates the need to include diverse youth voices in their representation.

Attitudes to youth need to be changed at all levels of decision-making, including at government level. RA1.0 said:

> I do think that information is a key *thing* and part of that is by having participation structures that feed into government structures. So that they actually have contact with young people. <u>Where</u> I saw that leaders' attitudes had been *changed most* was where they'd had *real* contact with young people and the understanding of their issues. […] I think the key is in having structures and having a structure where youth represent youth in the country and that voice, there's a place in the <u>government</u> that listens to young people.

RA2 uses Hart's Ladder of Participation as a gauge for its participatory practices. RA2.2 explained what they strive for:

> What <u>we</u> mean by participation is, as you know, the Ladder of Participation, and we try very <u>consciously</u> to engage in the middle to upper rungs. And that is cross-cutting in most of our programming […] we do capacity development from the beginning so that [youth] can participate in all aspects of our programming.

Two of the interviewees made comments that were in line with Theis' (2007) proposition that youth organisation in the Pacific is not generally driven by young people themselves. RA2.1 stated:

> [The Pacific] is a place where there's an expectation that older people will organise things for young people. And there's less of a culture of young people organising for themselves, into groups.

YA suggested that this model of adult-led youth initiatives needs to change. She said:

> We're having this workshop, on young people but, it's really older people who are facilitating, and younger people who are, you know, who are participants […] And that's <u>still</u> very much a big part of the model. I think there are changes/ I think

> those like [RA1.0] and others have been pushing for a while, for changes. But I
> think it's very much a Pacific model.

The key texts also support Theis' proposition. *The Suva Declaration* says young people's shyness and quietness, often seen as a sign of respect for adults, is a barrier to youth development. It calls for stakeholders to invest in capacity building for young people to engage in development and to "involve young people as meaningful participants throughout project cycles from beginning to end" (SPC 2009, 5). Similarly, *The State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005* (UNICEF *et al* 2005, xi) call for stakeholders to "help young people help themselves". Thus, projects that build young people's self-esteem and skills are important. RA2.2 explained:

> What <u>we</u> have discovered is essentially you can't expect young people to come to
> high level meetings like [clicks fingers] totally prepared to give answers that will
> feed into major documents or have adults listen to them as serious people so it
> requires more time, more investment but the payoff is incredible so, it is *worth it*
> but it has done in a way that both <u>empowers</u> the young people there but also, you
> know, sort of at the end of the day does feed into that larger conversation. I think
> that's the tricky bit perhaps.

In sum, the aim of YM should be transformative: to reduce age inequality by addressing power differentials. Attitudes to youth need to change and youth participation is a very important strategy for doing this, as well as providing platforms for youth voices and fostering skills and self-esteem. Young people should be supported in engaging with development processes as the culture in the Pacific is not one of youth organising themselves.

3.4.3   Organisational culture

A supportive organisational culture is vital to the success of mainstreaming (Miller 2009; Moser & Moser 2005). Within this lies the importance of champions of the mainstreaming cause. The interviewees from both regional agencies concurred with this. RA2.1 said:

> There's a lot of different groups and needs and issues that need to get addressed.
> So unless there is a commitment, to youth, it can fall below. [...] So it needs a
> constant championing, and to be brought out, and to be advocated for.

RA1.0 spoke about how individual champions across organisations can leverage power in their own agencies to help others. She explained that champions in other agencies with which she

works drive the youth cause in their own organisations and also lobby for youth with other organisations.

Organisations should therefore encourage champions of youth. This will ensure youth are prioritised within their agency and across agencies, facilitating YM more widely.

3.4.4   Addressing gender inequality

Gender must be considered in all activities, including those regarding youth development. Furthermore, gender inequality is a significant concern for young people in the Pacific and their development.

The Koror Statement (SPC 2005) and *Pacific Tofamamao 2015* (UNDP *et al* 2005) advocate for the protection of young women and the facilitation of their participation at all levels of society. *Pacific Tofamamao* calls for the sensitisation of male leaders to the importance of women's participation. *PYS2010* (SPC 2006) calls for the elimination of gender discrimination and the collection of disaggregated data on young women's participation, as well as gender mainstreaming in the implementation of the Strategy and national youth policies. *The Suva Declaration* stresses that the lack of women's participation and gender equality policies is a barrier to governance, peace and security.

State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005 argues gender discrimination exacerbates all other underlying factors contributing to poor outcomes for youth. It says the right to non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is included in the Convention on the Rights of the Child as well as the UN Charter of Human Rights. *The Suva Declaration* also calls for an end to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.

Gender must be mainstreamed in activities for youth in the Pacific in order to address gender inequality and because it is an issue that is of concern for young people.

3.4.5   Addressing other significant issues for youth

As discussed in Chapter 1, education, unemployment and health issues plague youth development in the Pacific. There are also environmental issues, particularly the ever-present threat of climate change.

The environment is a recurring theme in the key texts. A number of these point out the significant lack of environmental knowledge among Pacific young people (UNICEF & SPC 2011SPC 2009; UNDP *et al* 2005). *Pacific Tofamamao 2015* argues that the lack of awareness among youth is due to a lack of environmental data. *The Suva Declaration* argues this contributes to the challenge of changing attitudes to the environment and calls for climate change to be mainstreamed and young people to be supported in their environmental advocacy.

Youth Visioning for Island Living (UNICEF 2005) highlights a number of key environmental issues of concern to youth in Small Island Developing States. It calls for skills training for youth in environmental preservation and emergency response and the engagement of youth as environmental advocates. *Pacific Tofamamao* calls for data collection on youth environmental involvement and impact and for youth to be involved in decision-making and sustainability campaigns regarding the environment.

RA1.0's experiences corresponded with the key texts. She spoke of the large numbers of youth environmentalists and stressed the importance of assisting them to take part in environmental activities by helping them link with formalised networks and therefore gain funding. She explained that young people are becoming increasingly acknowledged, as is their ability to contribute to activities, especially ones to do with the environment.

All the interviewees highlighted the issue of employment. RA2.1 referred to the relationship between education and youth unemployment and the issue features as a key pillar in RA1.0's Youth Development Framework. YA questioned the fact that this issue seems to just now be dominating the development agenda. She said:

> Suddenly there's all this talk around unemployment and young people. *Now, hello*, we've known this is an issue for God knows how long. […]*You didn't do your provisioning* as social actors *as the state* […] And then now suddenly you're afraid? What, because there's a whole lot of young people, who want to know how they're going to feed themselves and their families. And suddenly, you're interested. As a <u>development</u> agenda. <u>Not</u> through a rights-based agenda.

This statement shows the importance of acknowledging the rights of young people and providing for their needs, rather than trying to catch up on something such as youth

unemployment only when it becomes an economic issue. RA1.0 also argued the current paradigm is not helping youth, particularly the focus on economic growth. She said:

> Donors are a <u>really</u> conventional lot, they're pretty old-school I think when they're thinking around youth and they're very much still on the conservative approach of just focusing on <u>broad</u> economic development and you get the economy going and then, you know obviously that's gonna provide more opportunities for youth but, that is not <u>all</u> that youth is and we've been doing that for the last 40 years and it's not sufficient and it doesn't account for a <u>huge</u> population of youth now, who are <u>not gonna</u> wait for another 15 years to trickle down. So I've <u>had</u> this discussion just a couple of weeks ago with AusAID and I think we need to keep saying that that's not gonna work, not gonna work. It's not <u>sufficient</u>, anyway.

Youth development is also hindered by a lack of age-disaggregated data and research on youth. Globally, there is a paucity of data on the situation of young people and their needs (UN 1996). *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2005* provides an important benchmark for measuring progress on youth development in the region but there is a significant need for better data on young people and further indicators for measurement (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2006). *PYS2010* calls for youth databases on a national and regional level. *The Suva Declaration* calls for youth-focused research and documentation of this and for building the capacity of young people as researchers.

YM efforts should address education, unemployment, health and environmental issues. They should also contribute to the collection of data about youth in the Pacific.

3.4.6   Partnership, collaboration and integration

Partnership and collaboration allows stakeholders to pool knowledge and resources and avoid duplication, thus increasing efficiency (UNICEF 2011; SPC 2006). It is also necessary to ensure that underlying factors and their symptoms are addressed and to foster ownership among stakeholders (UNICEF *et al* 2005). *The Pacific Youth Charter* (World Bank 2006) contends that consistency in partnership and collaboration is important.

According to RA1.0, all PICTs have a national youth policy. These are usually developed in partnership with young people and other stakeholders and set out national priorities regarding youth and strategies to promote youth development (UNICEF 2011). *Pacific Tofamamao 2015* stresses that integrated national youth policies are vital to achieving the MDGs. As youth

development cuts across sectors, partnership is needed among government departments to implement youth policy. Unfortunately, RA1.0's experience is that this is not the case. She said:

> I went to the Ministry of Labour to talk about youth employment and they said "Oh you need to go to the Department of Youth" and I'm like "Well, no, I'm talking about employment" [Laughs]. And that came up all the way around and in every country it's like that and departments of youth in every government are like the lowest priority government ministry or department, they don't get many resources and when you look at their youth policies they say what's needed for youth but they're <u>way</u> too ambitious for one department to do and they <u>never</u> get the resources to implement it. So, it simply has to be done in other sectors.

Thus, regional agencies and NGOs have a role to play in creating multi-sectoral approaches to youth development. NGOs also play a crucial role in implementing youth policies and strategies and *PYS2010* stresses the importance of partnership between NGOs and government agencies to facilitate this. It also calls on NGOs to feed back into policy with their grassroots knowledge.

3.5 Conclusion

YM is the process of taking into account and including young women and young men in all stages of policy-making, programming and activities. The ultimate goal is age equality. Achieving transformative outcomes for youth requires social change, which takes both time and a concerted effort. Partnerships and collaboration in this effort is very important, as is a multi-sectoral approach.

YM should also contribute to other development outcomes prioritised by and for youth in the Pacific, such as addressing gender inequality and other significant issues for youth, including climate change, unemployment, education, health and gathering age-disaggregated data. At all times the diversity of youth needs to be acknowledged and taken into account and care taken to work with those segments of the youth population that are often marginalised.

Chapter 4: The NZ Aid Programme

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first of the three case study agencies, the NZ Aid Programme (NZAP). I explore the way youth are taken into account in NZAP by analysing the agency's website and published documents and interviews and personal communication with two staff members. The interviewees for this case study are represented by the codes NZAP.1 and NZAP.2. NZAP.1 (adult, male) is a senior staff member in the agency's humanitarian work and disaster management team. NZAP.2 (adult, male) is a senior staff member in the cross-cutting issues team.

In this chapter I begin with a brief overview of the NZAP before presenting the findings and data analysis for the case study. I address the following subsidiary research questions in turn:

1. How are youth mainstreamed in the policies, programmes and advocacy work of NZAP?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for YM in NZAP?
3. How could YM in NZAP facilitate better outcomes for beneficiaries of the organisation's programmes?

4.2 Overview of MFAT

The NZ Aid Programme is an agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). NZAP's vision is "Development that delivers" and its mission is "Supporting sustainable development in developing countries, in order to reduce poverty and to contribute to a more secure, equitable and prosperous world" (MFAT 2012a, 5). The agency is mandated by the NZ Cabinet Office to focus on sustainable economic development and, geographically, the Pacific (MFAT 2011).

The NZ Aid Programme Strategic Plan 2012-2015 (MFAT 2012a, 8) outlines five key strategic themes that underpin its work:

- o   improved economic well-being
- o   improved human development outcomes
- o   improved resilience and recovery from emergencies
- o   improved governance, security and conditions for peace
- o   improved development outcomes through strategic partnerships with others.

A number of cross-cutting issues, also Cabinet-mandated, are mainstreamed across this work. Cross-cutting is explained in the strategic plan as follows:

> These include the environment (notably climate change), gender and human rights. These cross-cutting issues will be taken into account in the mandatory processes for the design, implementation and evaluation of development initiatives in order to ensure good development outcomes and to manage any associated risks. (MFAT 2012a, 8)

According to its website, approximately 65 per cent of NZAP's expenditure over 2012–2015 will be spent in the Pacific. Funds are dispensed through bilateral or multilateral agreements with partner governments, support to regional agencies and grants to NGOs and the private sector to undertake projects. The NZ Partnerships for International Development Fund (NZPIDF) is the main channel of funding for NGOs (NZAP Website).

4.3 Data analysis and findings

4.3.1   Mainstreaming of youth

4.3.1.1 NZAP *defining young people*

According to both interviewees, the NZAP does not have a particular definition of youth. Scholarships information on the website defines young people as those who are 24 and under and mature-aged as "25+".

The data shows the agency recognises the demographics of the youth bulge in the Pacific and its implications. The International Development Policy Statement (MFAT 2011, 5) and the website note that the region has "an increasingly educated and youthful population". Furthermore, two of the country profiles featured on the website (PNG and Solomon Islands) highlight that 40 per cent of the population is less than 15 years old.

The segmentation of society by age varies across the data sources and sometimes includes youth. The Policy and Strategies for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Risk Reduction (MFAT 2012e) states "women, men, girls and boys", whereas the evaluation of the Cook Islands Education Sector Partnership (Scott & Newport 2012, 18), citing UNESCO, breaks it down as "children, youth and adults". The Terms of Reference (TOR) for the evaluation of the

Bougainville Healthy Communities Project, available on MFAT's website, specifies "women, men, youth and children" as stakeholders in the community. The first example highlights gender differences among children by specifying "girls and boys" whereas the other two do not acknowledge gender differences for children and youth.

4.3.1.2 Attitudes and organisational culture

Both interviewees highlighted that youth are becoming more visible in their work within the aid programme. As well as being increasingly visible in the interviewees' work, youth are also seen as a development issue in the agency. Eight out of twelve country profiles featured on its website mention young people, all of them in relation to education, employment and/or demographics.

In the data youth are highly represented in text that relates to crime. The only strategic theme that mentions youth in the sector priorities is that of "Improved governance, security and conditions for peace" (MFAT 2012b). This text advocates a need to work with youth. The TOR for an evaluation of police work funded under the NZAP, available on the website, specifies that "Training and support activities will include prosecutions, **youth**, alcohol, road safety, operational emergency response, community policing" (emphasis added). Simply listing 'youth' as an area for police training implies the whole age group is considered a threat to the law.

The agency and importance of young people as development actors was recognised by the interviewees. For example, NZAP.1 said "I mean they're agents for change without a doubt. Absolutely! […] I mean young people make things happen". He had also been strongly influenced by Sam Johnson[3], founder of the Student Volunteer Army, and cited his opinion on the agency of youth, saying "young people <u>know</u> exactly what they're doing, they just have to be channelled in the right way".

This statement is an example of how a young person, Sam Johnson, is shaping the thoughts of and the discourse used by a senior staff member in the NZ Aid Programme.

In 2012 a young NZAP staff member participated in the 6th World Youth Congress and this was written about extensively in the Development Stories page of the website. The article (June 2012)

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[3] Sam Johnson founded the Student Volunteer Army (SVA) following the September 2010 and February 2011 Christchurch earthquakes. The SVA mobilised and coordinated thousands of young people to conduct clean-up operations around Christchurch and Johnson is now well known as a social entrepreneur and activist.

explained that "The World Youth Congress is built on the premise that young people can and should be centrally involved in policy discussions and actions to address sustainable development issues".

In NZ the agency has sponsored the Youth Enterprise Scheme (YES) since 2011 to "encourage young people to think about developing sustainable business solutions to address development issues" (Website). The 2012 award winners met Prime Minister John Key and Amanda Ellis, Deputy Secretary, International Development, and featured in the *Year in Review 2012* (MFAT 2012d) and in an issue of the NZAP e-newsletter, NewZAID (December 2012).

Other successful NZ youth are also celebrated on NZAP's website, including other winners of YES and a young woman who achieved second place in an international essay competition. In one segment about a winning team of YES, NewZAID reported their project involved "a student-initiated connection with a school in Tanzania" (May 2012). This specification of the connection as 'student-initiated' implies the agency recognises and values the initiative of the students.

At the top management levels, there is no obvious experience with young people on the Leadership Team. One of five members of the International Development Advisory and Selection Panel has had experience as a Director for Save the Children NZ.

4.3.1.3 *Youth participation*
NZAP encourages full community participation in projects it supports. Youth participation in community consultations is on a case-by-case basis as determined by the implementing partner. NZAP.2 explained this, stating:

> The expectation would be that an activity <u>design</u> would include full participation, especially of people who are affected or who are key stakeholders. Where that would include <u>youth</u>, that should include youth. We would need to assess and report on the level to which that happens… So it also depends on if youth are organised and visible. However for the NZ Aid Programme this is difficult because we are not necessarily operational on the ground, we work with partners, whether it be government partners or NGOs. So the requirement would be on <u>them</u> to do that. Now whether that actually happens or not would be variable.

This position was also confirmed by NZAP.1. I knew from an interviewee in another agency that a disaster risk reduction project funded by the NZAP included a youth representative on each village committee so I asked NZAP.1 where the directive for this came from:

> NZAP.1   I think in the contract that we had with them we specified that they needed to represent the communities that they were going to work with. I don't think we specifically stated what they would be. But we wanted them to be able to demonstrate that all sort of sectors were covered.
>
> KB   "They" being the NGO partners?
>
> NZAP.1   Those being the NGO partners with their partners in-country.
>
> KB   Oh right. So that would have been them identifying young people as a-
>
> NZAP.1   Yep, as a particular group, yep.

The same approach is taken for the TORs that NZAP issues for independent reviews of programmes. Youth were specified as key stakeholders in the TOR for the 2012 evaluation of the Bougainville Health Communities Project and youth engagement featured strongly in the consultations and in the evaluator's recommendations for the project. However, the NZAP did not specify a need for youth consultation for the 2012 evaluation of the Cook Islands Education Sector Partnership. Scott and Newport (2012) explained that youth engagement in this evaluation was restricted by time constraints that stopped them from gaining parental permission to hold formal discussions with students. However, this limitation was not seen to be "significant" and limited consultation with young people was undertaken through informal conversations in the community. The discrepancies between the TORs for the two projects and the extent of youth consultation undertaken highlight perhaps a current lack of commitment to ensuring youth participation is incorporated in the implementation and monitoring and evaluation of NZAP's programmes.

However, both interviewees identified a need for more youth participation. For example, in regards to disaster risk management, NZAP.1 stated:

> In a <u>way</u>, there's a multilateral or global <u>framework</u>, for this sort of work, they have said that these groups need to be consulted. It's up now for […] specific representatives to now stand up and say "We've got the mandate to speak, so now we can, you know, we've got that mana, we can stand up now and talk". So I think it is very, very much in their best interests […] in the disaster risk type of

work, you know, you couldn't afford not to I think speak specifically to young people, 'cause their understanding for example, I mean it sounds basic but they're much more savvy using IT work/ I mean, using, you know, mobile phones for passing on warnings and things like that, which is becoming an increasingly big thing/ And yeah I just think we'd be crazy not to, to specifically identify them.

NZAP.2 agreed and outlined a gendered perspective on youth engagement:

If the case that you're <u>making</u> is that there should be a more concentrated, effort, a focus on participation and making sure that young people are included, I would agree. This should be included in any context analysis. […] My observation is that young women are better organised than young men, but we do refer to gender analysis which should take the relations between women and men into account.

From the statements above it can be seen that the interviewees consider youth participation in activities rests at least in part with young people themselves. The interviewees expect that youth should organise themselves and project their agenda in order to be engaged. This attitude was also visible in the workshop the NZAP youth representative at the 6th World Youth Congress conducted. According to the Development Stories (June 2012), the workshop looked at:

youth development challenges in the Pacific [and] ways in which youth can play an increased role in the sustainable development of their communities and how to overcome some of the barriers, resource limitations, and attitudes that limit the mobilization of youth groups.

NZAP's funding of the Ola Fou Youth Development Programme shows the organisation is facilitating the mobilisation of youth. Ola Fou trains young people to identify development issues in their communities and to create projects to address these. An issue of NewZAID (July 2013) listed the aims of the programme as:

- to involve young people as agents of positive change in their communities and
- promote positive youth development as a default approach to working with young people in the Pacific.

However, RA2.1 in Suva had a conflicting view of NZAP's commitment to youth participation. She said:

> In our sense of being able to <u>fund</u> things like youth participation, we wouldn't even think to go to NZAid for that. You know, only if it's in the core <u>areas</u> that they've identified. You know, education or water and sanitation or *health* or things that have an economic... But if we were looking to, say, do youth and media or anything like that, I wouldn't even waste my time going to NZAid.

This is reflected in the Aid Programme Sector Priorities (MFAT 2012b), where youth participation is mentioned only under Safe and Secure Communities as an "enabler of growth". For this, a key intervention is "Strengthening democratic systems including transparent and accountable decision-making processes" and one of the points to achieve this is to "increase participation of women and youth in relevant public and private sectors" (MFAT 2012b, 29). Another is to "strengthen leadership skills (including for youth and women)". The mention of youth only in Safe and Secure Communities implies that youth are seen as threats to this target. In contrast, women are mentioned throughout the document and their participation is clearly considered important in all interventions.

4.3.1.4 *Addressing gender inequality*

Gender, along with environmental issues and human rights, is a cross-cutting issue that is mainstreamed across the aid programme. This means it is integrated across all the policies, programmes and activities of the organisation. According to the Gender Analysis Guideline, available on the website, the approach taken is Gender and Development (GAD). The collection of sex-disaggregated data is prioritised and disaggregation of data by age is encouraged "where appropriate" (MFAT 2011a).

NZAP also undertakes targeted programmes for women. NZAP.2 explained this approach, stating:

> It is about integrating the cross-cutting issue across all activities, programmes and policies and also specific targeting. So for example, we integrate gender equality across the whole of the NZ Aid Programme's programmes and policies. But integration also requires targeting, especially in the area of women's empowerment which often needs targeted support.

He went on to stress the importance of considering men and boys in gender analysis:

> Mainstreaming gender would also include, has to include boys and <u>men</u>. For example if you look in Polynesia, the boys are not performing well in schools, compared to girls; there are especially youth issues and employment issues for boys, especially with increased urbanisation.

Several documents are available on the website to help partner organisations undertake gender analysis in their activities. These are called Gender Equality Knowledge Notes and include the Gender Analysis Guideline, Sustainable Economic Development and Gender Equality, Tourism and Gender Equality, Agriculture and Gender Equality and Humanitarian Relief and Gender Equality.

Women's employment is often considered in documents that address gender equality. An example of a targeted programme for young women that also has an employment component is the MFAT-funded Sistas Savve project in Solomon Islands. This project features in the *Year in Review 2012* (MFAT 2012d) and in two e-newsletters, which signifies it is quite important to the agency.

4.3.1.5 Addressing other significant issues for youth

The agency addresses environmental issues, particularly climate change, and human rights by mainstreaming them as cross-cutting issues in the same way that gender is integrated across all policies, programmes and activities. The issues of importance to youth of employment, education and health are also addressed through projects and bilateral assistance.

Youth unemployment is seen as a significant issue and appears multiple times in the NZAP data. It is listed as a challenge in four country profiles: Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. It is generally recognised that youth unemployment is due to a lack of employment opportunities, rather than a fault of young people themselves. "Improving pathways to employment" is a key intervention of Education and Training, one of NZAP's enablers of growth (MFAT 2012b). Opportunities for young women are also prioritised, as explained by NZAP.2:

> One of our priority areas is women's economic empowerment so looking at the education, training, employment opportunities for young women is a key part of

that. It's not something that we've targeted directly, in terms of a youth issue, but there's <u>definitely</u> issues there for young women. Also disabled women and young disabled women as well.

Examples of projects that NZAP supports in the area of economic opportunities for youth are Sistas Savve and NGO2's livelihoods project in Tonga and Samoa.

Education is a core focus of NZAP because it is seen as a means to economic productivity. The following text from four different data sources relates education to productivity and growth:

- Education and training is fundamental to ensuring people have the skills and ability to contribute fully to sustainable economic growth and social cohesion for their countries (MFAT 2012b).

- Good quality basic education establishes foundation skills, such as literacy, speaking skills (vitally important in societies with an oral tradition, as in the Pacific), numeracy, reasoning and social skills. Effective schooling provides youth with skills to be productive and creative workers (MFAT 2011).

- Education is a fundamental building block for developing the knowledge and skills to contribute to sustainable economic growth and encourage social cohesion (MFAT 2012c).

- Education is fundamental to ensuring that people have the basic skills and ability to fully contribute to sustainable economic growth and leadership for their countries (Website).

Only the second quote (MFAT 2011) notes the value of education for young people themselves, as opposed to just focusing on the value to society and the economy.

Although they don't mention youth directly, the improved health outcomes that NZAP aims for are highly relevant to young people. Specifically, these outcomes are "Reduced prevalence of non-communicable diseases" and "Improved sexual and reproductive health and reduced child and maternal mortality" (MFAT 2012a).

NZAP.2 recognised the interlinking of education, employment and health issues. He said:

One is Polynesia and understanding the links between boys not achieving in schools, and therefore employment or unemployment. And then link back to

violence and also responsible behaviour in terms of reproductive health. The other one is in conflict or post-conflict areas. So, in places like Bougainville, what happens when there's conflict, young <u>men</u> have got a status because they've got weapons, but when that conflict goes and or peace comes, what do those young men do, they've got no status. So, there's often a move to criminality. A key gender and youth issue has got to be reproductive health. So you know you've got education, you've got employment, you've gotta have reproductive health.

Issues of importance to youth, including the environment, employment, education and health are addressed by NZAP. The links between the issues and to underlying factors is acknowledged.

4.3.1.6 *Partnership and alignment*

Partnership underpins the whole approach of NZAP; the fifth strategic theme is "Improved development outcomes through strategic partnerships with others" (MFAT 2012a, 8). According to its website, the agency partners with the following parties: partner governments, NGOs, NZ state sector agencies, multilateral agencies, the private sector, Pacific regional agencies, other donors and universities and research bodies.

NZAP also encourages partnership between the above parties. The NZPIDF requires agencies seeking funding to partner with other organisations. The data showed evidence that the agency encourages collaboration where organisations are working with youth. This is demonstrated in the following feedback (italicised) from NZAP to the evaluator of the Bougainville Health Communities Project.

> Currently Care International has been working with youth specifically on HIV and SRH, but they will be exiting in some Districts (e.g. Buka)' pg.23 *Yes, BHCP and CARE should share and collaborate. However this has been asked for over a year now. Did the Evaluator explore why this has not been happening?* (Whelan 2012, 97)

However, the excerpt also shows that collaboration between partners can be elusive. NZAP.1 also highlighted this issue in regards to needs assessment and evaluation of partners. He stated:

> And the trouble is, different partners have different ways of collecting information. And they ask different questions and we've been <u>trying</u> for a number of years to try and get a collective agreement across agencies and national disaster offices

around what a simple needs assessment looks like, so that they're asking the same sort of questions, there's nothing worse than people asking different questions of the same people.

Partnership with other donors to provide direct assistance to partner governments is having some positive outcomes for young people in the Pacific. The evaluation of the Cook Islands Education Sector Partnership concluded that "to some extent the combined sources of funding targeted to achieving key goals of education provision have been efficient" (Scott & Newport 2012, 40).

NGOs and CSOs are seen as useful partners by the NZAP, which states in the International Development Policy Statement that "NZ aims to channel more aid through NZ development NGOs to support partnerships in developing countries, particularly in the Pacific" (MFAT 2011, 12). As a government agency, NZAP is uniquely placed to speak to the role of NGOs and CSOs in development and with youth. For example, the Policy Statement also says "[CSOs] can also help address violence against women and mitigate the triggers of violence, including issues such as youth unemployment and insecure land rights" (MFAT 2011, 9). NZAP.1 stated:

> Oh I think they have a <u>significant</u> role. Because NGOs, you know, they invariably represent people who often don't have such a good voice/ They work at the grassroots so they've got partnerships across the Pacific/ NGOs are full of volunteers who are often young people taking a gap year or people who are passionate and idealistic and want to change the world. And NGOs have really <u>strong</u> connections in the Pacific with churches, who are very influential. They have strong connections with government agencies and local authorities and I think they could really have a strong advocacy role if they choose to. […] I think groups of young people should <u>align</u> themselves with <u>existing</u> agencies – and I think that part of the trouble is there are so many agencies – rather than setting up new ones in a way, unless it's absolutely a new niche one. But, I would align themselves with an agency that you share some kind of issues with and maybe offer a youth perspective to the programmes that they already <u>have</u>.

This statement shows the importance NZAP.1 places on NGOs and the value he perceives in having young staff and a youth perspective. It also highlights the role NGOs have in including youth in development processes.

Policy coherence is a priority for NZAP and for MFAT, as declared in the Statement of Intent (MFAT 2012). However, neither of the interviewees demonstrated knowledge of National Youth Policies or declarations from youth summits so I am unsure as to the extent of alignment with these.

4.3.1.7 *YM in NZAP*

Youth is not mainstreamed in NZAP. This is shown in the following statement of NZAP.1's:

> Currently in the Aid Programme, gender and the environment is mainstreamed/ So through <u>all</u> of our programmes. We are also looking at how risk reduction can be integrated through all of our development. But at this stage, youth is not.

Although youth participation is encouraged, it is not prioritised and is not consistent in the implementation and evaluation of programme. This can be seen in the differences between the reports for the evaluation of the Cook Islands Education Sector Partnership (Scott & Newport 2012) and the evaluation of the Bougainville Healthy Community Project (Whelan 2012).

However, aspects of NZAP's work are in line with the principles of YM in Pacific development that are outlined in Chapter 3. These include:

- a flexible, culturally-informed definition of youth
- a positive attitude to youth centred on recognising their agency, particularly among interviewees but also demonstrated in the support of projects such as Ola Fou and livelihoods programmes
- providing opportunities for young staff members to engage in youth development forums
- addressing cross-cutting issues for youth, including gender inequality, climate change, education, employment and health issues such as NCDs and sexual and reproductive health
- encouraging partnership among development actors, including those working on youth issues, such as in Bougainville.

Challenges exist to mainstreaming youth across NZAP but there are also opportunities for greater incorporation of young people into its work.

4.3.2   Challenges and opportunities for YM

4.3.2.1 Challenges for YM

The data analysis highlighted a number of challenges to mainstreaming youth in NZAP. These include the capacity to mainstream, lack of prioritisation of youth, lack of knowledge of the evidence for youth development and a perceived lag in realising benefits from investing in youth.

According to NZAP.2, the agency previously had six cross-cutting issues but decided to reduce this to three. He explained:

> It's quite a complicated thing for activity managers if they have to take into account a whole lot of cross-cutting issues. However in the NZ Aid Programme we have three cabinet-mandated, it's mandatory to make sure that those cross-cutting issues are integrated across programmes and practice and policy as well.

This shows there is limited capacity to mainstream more issues beyond the current three. The limitation lies with the ability of staff to consider multiple streams in activities.

Youth is not prioritised in the agency and there is no focal point for youth. NZAP.1 said:

> I mean I think our focus has been on <u>gender</u> and the environment because we know we can't pick off everything. I guess we saw those, initially, as being the more critical issues, perhaps because there's more written about it and there's more evidence and that kind of thing and because we <u>don't</u> have a person responsible for youth.

This quote also demonstrates the lack of knowledge of the evidence for youth development. As explained in Chapter 1, there is a strong case for investing in youth and some organisations, including international agencies, afford similar priority to youth as they do for women.

The benefits from investing in youth do not yield immediate results. NZAP.1 said "working with youth is a bit like that too, it's investing in the future but most governments are just focusing on right now".

These factors pose significant challenges to YM in NZAP. To overcome these would require championing of the youth cause, education of management on the economic and social benefits of youth development and a change in attitudes towards youth.

4.3.2.2 Opportunities for YM

Despite the challenges there are opportunities for mainstreaming youth in NZAP. These include the increasing prominence of youth in the agency's work, streaming youth within an existing cross-cutting issue and aligning youth development with the aims of the agency.

Both interviewees attested to the increased visibility of youth. They saw this at conferences and in the community, through other groups and through the mobilisation of youth themselves. NZAP.1 compared the increasing prominence of youth to that of elderly people and people with disabilities. Increased visibility can translate into higher prioritisation of groups. For example, as explained by NZAP.2, "disability primarily comes under human rights as a cross-cutting issue".

This statement also shows the organisation is willing to stream segments of the population through other cross-cutting issues. As youth development is a human rights issue, as shown in section 1.4.1, it could also be mainstreamed through the cross-cutting issue of human rights. Doing so would overcome the challenge of introducing another cross-cutting issue.

The economic imperative of youth development, also addressed in section 1.4.1, fits with NZAP's focus on economic development. NZAP.1 stated:

> Everything that we <u>do</u> is predicated on the idea that we want to support communities to be more sustainable- we want to do ourselves out of a job, which is why the emphasis on economic development. I guess, if we were going to specifically invest in youth work, or I mean youth-related things, then it would need to demonstrate <u>that</u> sort of return.

There is therefore an opportunity to mainstream youth if the economic benefits of their development are realised. Youth development is also in line with NZAP's key strategic theme of improved governance, security and conditions for peace. The data showed the agency already recognises the link between crime and violence among youth and underlying issues such as the lack of employment opportunities. This could provide a further opportunity to prioritise youth within the agency.

4.3.3   Potential outcomes of YM

NZAP administers a large amount of aid to the Pacific through multiple channels and across sectors. Addressing youth as a cross-cutting issue like gender, climate change and human rights could result in a more coherent approach to youth development among NZAP and its partners. Youth could also be streamed through one of these cross-cutting issues in the manner that disability is through human rights. This would at least improve the visibility of young people as agents and rights-bearers among NZAP's staff and partners. It would perhaps also lead to a greater inclusion of youth in participatory processes.

Linking youth to funding would help facilitate youth development. According to the guidelines of the NZPIDF, projects need to take the cross-cutting issues into account to be considered for funding. It is also possible that funding channelled through regional organisations could be targeted at youth, particularly with the need to include all sectors of communities and the growing recognition of youth within the agency alluded to by the interviewees. For example, NZAP.1 said:

> We've got to try and cover the full array, we can't afford not to. And that might be establishing better, stronger links with [taps paper] your Pacific Youth Council and things through our programme and with SPC, I mean we don't, you know, our funding is, untagged but that doesn't mean to say that we can't occasionally suggest that it might go towards a particular activity or something.

In this way, the benefits of YM could be magnified through the partnerships that NZAP fosters in the Pacific.

4.4 Conclusion

Mainstreaming is a familiar concept for the NZ Aid Programme as the three cross-cutting issues of gender, climate change and human rights are effectively mainstreamed across the organisation. Youth are becoming more visible in the agency's work in the Pacific but they are not taken into account in all its work.

Challenges to YM centre on limited capacity to mainstream more issues and lack of knowledge of the importance of investing in youth. However, the increasing prominence of youth within the agency and the key strategic themes of economic growth and security provide opportunities

for youth to be mainstreamed. Doing so could provide significant benefits for the beneficiaries of NZAP funding and the wider Pacific community.

Chapter 5: NGO1

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the way youth are taken into account in the second case study agency, NGO1. To do this, I analyse the agency's website and published documents, interviews and personal communication with two staff members and their responses to the questionnaire. The interviewees for this case study are represented by the codes NGO1.1 and NGO1.2. NGO1.1 (adult, male) is in charge of programming and is responsible for sourcing funding for the agency's projects. NGO1.2 (adult, female) manages the agency's advocacy efforts.

In this chapter I begin with a brief overview of NGO1 before presenting the findings and data analysis for the case study. I address the following subsidiary research questions in turn:

1. How are youth mainstreamed in the policies, programmes and advocacy work of NGO1?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for YM in NGO1?
3. How could YM in NGO1 facilitate better outcomes for beneficiaries of the organisation's programmes?

5.2 Overview of NGO1

NGO1 is a child rights and development organisation that has been operating in NZ for approximately 40 years. It is a branch of an international organisation and exists mainly to fundraise for the international organisation and to advocate in NZ for the rights of children domestically and internationally. The core focus areas for NGO1 include human rights, child survival and development, education, HIV & AIDS, child protection and climate change. Geographically, the organisation has a focus on the Pacific region but also supports the international organisation with funding for projects and emergency responses in other regions.

NGO1 and its affiliated international organisation take a rights-based approach to development. They are mandated by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Their work is also underpinned by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The management structure of NGO1 is headed by a board of trustees, which oversees the performance of the organisation. The board is kept informed by the Executive Director and a management team who are responsible for managing the operations of the organisation.

Gender is a central component of NGO1's work and forwarding the equality of women and girls is prioritised. The agency does not have a gender policy but it is guided by the international organisation's gender policy and its action plan on gender equality.

NGO1 also works with and for youth, including those over the age of 18. This is despite being a child-focused organisation that is mandated by the CRC, which explicitly focuses on those under the age of 18.

NGO1 is a member of the Council for International Development (CID). As outlined in section 2.6.1, this means the agency is committed to CID's Code of Ethics, which includes the principles of sustainable development, participatory development and recognising the agency and dignity of aid recipients. The Code also stipulates that "issues of justice and peace, human rights and a sustainable environment cannot be considered separately from development issues" (Council for International Development 2012).

5.3 Data analysis and findings

5.3.1 Mainstreaming of youth

5.3.1.1 NGO1 *defining young people*

Children are the first priority of NGO1 but there is overlap between this definition (up to 18, as per the CRC) and the technical definition of youth as the ages of 15 to 24. There is no set definition of youth within the organisation, while children are generally defined as those under the age of 18.

An exception to this is a statistic quoted in Document 3 that defines children as those between zero and 15 years of age. Indeed, while NGO1 aims to ensure "special care and protection" for those under 18 (NGO1 Website), it seems to prioritise those under 15 when it comes to protection from exploitation and abuse. However, there is focus on the CRC and it is emphasised in multiple data sources that this regards people under the age of 18.

Definitions of youth within the agency are flexible and culturally informed. Various age ranges are used to refer to young people and youth in documents and project descriptions. These age ranges include 13 to 18 years (NGO1 Website), 15 to 20 years (NGO1 Website) and 15 to 24 years (Document 4). For the latter project, participants in fact ranged from 14 to 26 years of age, which shows the organisation takes a flexible approach to defining youth and allows those who

self-identify as youth to participate in activities when they would otherwise be excluded. Both interviewees stated there is no specific definition of youth in the agency and highlighted the fact that definitions of youth vary between countries and depend on cultural factors, particularly marriage. NGO1.2 made a statement that affirms the definitional flexibility and self-identification in projects that is demonstrated in Document 4:

> I guess we've never taken a <u>strict</u> line on what youth is. And <u>part</u> of that is because of our work in the Pacific, because youth I think in the Pacific context is different. […] It wouldn't bother me if they were over 18. If <u>they</u> considered themselves to be, young.

NGO1.1 also emphasised that she tries to get a broad range of youth advocates who represent the different facets of youth but that this is difficult. She said:

> The young people that we work with are <u>not</u> a fair representation <u>of</u> youth in New Zealand I don't think/ Because we <u>tend</u> to attract well educated, privileged- not <u>all</u> the time, we try and get a good geographical spread/ And I think we do that quite well 'cause that's quite, relatively easy to target. We get a <u>lot</u> more girls than boys so we <u>try</u> and get more boys involved but it <u>tends</u> to be a girls' thing.

This shows the intersectionality of youth is recognised but that it can be difficult to include a broad cross-section of the age group in activities.

5.3.1.2 *Attitudes and organisational culture*

The attitude towards young people is very positive in NGO1's public discourse and among the interviewees. In particular, the agency of young people is recognised and child and youth participation valued. In no data source is it implied that young people are the cause of certain development issues or that they are a development issue.

Four factors that facilitate the inclusion of youth in the organisation were identified in the questionnaire:

- We have an organisational culture that is supportive of youth.
- We believe that we cannot undertake programmes for youth without consulting young people themselves.
- We value the perspectives of young people in the communities we work in.

- We have one or more people who champion the cause of youth.

There are many young people among the staff of the organisation and in the questionnaire it was indicated that one form of youth participation in the agency is young staff members' views and contributions are respected and considered. NGO1.2 explained the number of young staff members in the organisation has increased since she began working there, mainly among fundraising and communications staff. She believes this has brought a different dynamic and creativity to the office.

However, young people are not represented in and don't participate in the management of the organisation. NGO1.2 stated "the senior staff, the decision-makers are all still really old". There is also no youth representation on the Board and there remain resource and attitudinal constraints to achieving this. NGO1.2 explained:

> I think there would be a problem in terms of our capacity to…mentor and resource that person efficiently. […] there's quite a lot of training to give to that person/ And, models that have worked well is if a board member takes that young person under their wing and mentors them through that process. And there hasn't been…I've asked a few board members what they thought about it and there's hasn't been…the general reaction is not positive. [Chuckles] […] But they don't see how amazing these young people are/ […] as the Board sort of tends to see the good work that they're doing they may see more value in terms of how they can help our organisation internally/ […] we wondered more about an advisory group/ So, a lot of different agencies, so, UNESCO, for example has a youth advisory group and, I think the Ministry of Youth and Development do as well and so we've worked with them with our ambassadors.

This statement highlights that the lack of youth participation in decision-making is due in part to a lack of capacity to mentor young people in decision-making positions. It is also partly because decision-makers do not recognise the capacity of young people to contribute to management, despite the confidence that staff members such as NGO1.2 hold in them. However, NGO1.2 has noted the practice of including youth in decision-making in other agencies and is trying to implement this in NGO1.

The discouraging attitude in the highest echelons of management is significant, despite the fact that the Board does not engage in the day-to-day management of NGO1. The code of ethics for

the Board specifies that it is responsible for the organisation bringing "maximum benefit to […] its key constituents, children" (Document 2, 1). As discussed below, the interviews, website and other documents of NGO1 stress how important it is for young people to be consulted and involved in decision-making. Therefore, there appears to be a discrepancy between the attitudes of management and the principles of the organisation.

There was a future focus in a number of documents, including policy documents (Document 5), reports of youth consultations (Document 4), advocacy material (Document 1; YouTube video on NGO1 Website) and the website. However, this did not detract from the focus on young people as agents in the present. NGO1.2 explained:

> I don't <u>like</u> it, when young people are <u>just</u> referred to as basically evolving adults [laughs] and I feel the same way about <u>children</u>, not just youth. I think children are often seen as sort of a, a lesser person that hasn't developed into someone who can…participate properly in society/ […] It's kind of…in a crude kind of almost <u>marketing</u> way, it's a way to…influence <u>adults</u>, to feel justified in listening to young people/ So, it's a strategy almost to make people feel <u>guilty</u> […] I think children and young people are people who are living <u>now</u> and that, that's important too. It's not necessarily something that they're <u>getting</u> to, it's that ( ) part of the process. I mean, that's essentially what the [CRC] is all about.

The agency of young people is recognised among the interviewees and there is generally a positive attitude to youth within the organisation. An exception to this is the attitude among board members.

5.3.1.3 Youth participation

NGO1 presents participation as a right and engages young people in participatory exercises. Documents 1, 3 and 4 stress the importance of child and youth participation as a right laid out in the CRC. Multiple references on NGO1 Website also highlight the benefits of participation, including in decision-making, to young people and communities. Document 5, the gender policy for NGO1's affiliated international organisation, does not specifically refer to child or youth participation but describes taking a "participatory approach to programme development" that includes boys and girls in "the definition of their own priorities" and delivering on these (Document 5; Document 6).

The organisation includes youth in many of its domestic advocacy projects. The advocacy team runs a youth programme, which encourages young New Zealanders to reach out to other young people on children's rights and other issues such as climate change. This centres on a group of about ten youth advocates chosen annually on the basis of merit, as well as a mailing list that provides people with opportunities to advocate on behalf of children. The organisation also runs an annual workshop for young people to learn about child rights and other issues and how to "take action" (NGO1 Website). In 2013, this workshop was aimed at helping young people participate in one of NGO1's main awareness and fundraising campaign.

Is participation in activities 'genuine' if the aim of the activity is to forward the goal of the organisation or, ultimately, make it money? According to Hart's ladder (Hart 1992), being informed is key to child participation. A large part of NGO1's activities is educating NZ young people on children's rights and the issues that young people face in other parts of the world, particularly the Pacific. This is done by creating learning modules for school teachers, making information directed at young people available on NGO1 Website and holding the annual workshop. Thus, while the activities in which youth take part are adult-initiated, this can be classed as participation as the young people are informed and in some cases consulted.

Further to this, NGO1.2 acknowledged the risk of exploiting young people to achieve the organisation's own ends and is wary of doing so. She stated:

> So, whilst I see the power of young people as agents of <u>change</u>, the other issue is to be careful that we're not <u>using</u> young people to get our message across in fact, we're giving something <u>back</u> to young people and we're really <u>working</u> with young people.

This demonstrates that NGO1.2 is very aware of what constitutes participation and strives to ensure that young people get maximum benefit from activities. As well as being informed about issues, young people at the workshops also gain skills in advocacy and communications (NGO1 Website; NGO1.2).

NGO1 recently undertook a consultation process to gain the views of young people in the lead up to the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (also known as Rio+20) and disseminate these to stakeholders representing NZ at the conference. The process incorporated face-to-face group consultation sessions in the major cities and an online survey. It highlighted

issues that were important to NZ youth, which included addressing problems faced by youth in the Pacific (Document 4).

In programming, NGO1.1 is also aware of what constitutes participation and why it is important. In a personal communication following our conversation, he stated:

> Seeking the voices, opinions and participation of young people not only realises their rights, but provides valuable input and contributes to the success of development projects and programmes. If the opinions and participation of young people are sought, and their needs are met, the outcomes of projects and programmes are most often sustainable and the affects [sic] long lasting, and those young people are in turn more likely to seek the opinions and participation of young people in the future.

However, youth participation is not very evident in the organisation's programmes in the Pacific. In answer to question 10 of the questionnaire (*In which of the following areas are youth taken into account?*), the only option chosen was "Only regarding youth-specific programmes". When I asked if young people were generally involved in the implementation of projects, NGO1.1 said:

> Er, in the implementation, um [clears throat]…..<u>involved</u> ah, would <u>definitely</u> depend on the project type. Some projects do have a youth <u>implementation</u> side and there will be a youth <u>focus</u>…and some, this water project for example and from the community side we're establishing water committees if they're not already established and that'll be a good gender balance, men and women, but there's been <u>no</u> mention of a youth member on the water committee…which is quite a good point [laughing] actually 'cause ah … we did a disaster simulation exercise in Vanuatu and we're just back from that and they had community disaster <u>committees</u> with ten to fifteen people and I was very pleased to see that on each of the committees, they had a youth representative, which I thought was good. So <u>that</u> made me think actually "well hang on, maybe we should be having youth reps on our water committees you know" 'cause that would- well, why not?

This response shows youth are not mainstreamed in NGO1's programmes. It illustrates that NGO1.1 does not automatically consider and include youth in project design, despite his positive statements about participation. In a follow-up communication, NGO1.1 said:

> Challenges [to youth participation] would include addressing of cultural issues in cultures where children and young people do not traditionally have a voice or are not encouraged or expected to participate in activities or decisions affecting communities.

This is a significant challenge that has contributed to the culture of silence in the Pacific, explained in section 1.4.3. However, it is not applicable in all situations, as can be seen by NGO1.1's statement about including youth representatives on the water committees.

5.3.1.4 *Addressing gender inequality*

Gender inequality is addressed in NGO1 through programming and advocacy, although there was not consensus between the interviewees about gender mainstreaming in the agency. NGO1.1 advised me that the organisation mainstreams gender in programming according to the gender policy of the international organisation. Examples that he gave of this were maintaining a "good gender balance" on community water committees and gathering gender-disaggregated data. He explained that data is also disaggregated by age but only so far as to distinguish between children under five and those over five years of age.

The gender policy of the international organisation takes gender mainstreaming as mandated by the Beijing Platform of Action and defined by ECOSOC, as presented in this thesis in section 3.2.1 (Document 5; Document 3). The policy considers gender equality to be a pre-condition for development, particularly achieving the MDGs. However, NGO1.2 emphasised that NGO1 itself does not have a gender policy and does not mainstream gender. She explained:

> I would argue that it's not. [Laughs] [Gender is] not mainstreamed at all. […] we have one programme staff person, who's [NGO1.1] […] And then I have the international advocacy hat on/ But apart from that there aren't any sort of other programme-type people so, we wouldn't even be close to having someone who would work on gender within our organisation […] it's definitely a really big part of our programmes/ And I would say of our advocacy work too 'cause, I have a strong interest in gender work/ So, a lot of the campaigns I've done have been on, um, women's issues. […] So, yeah I think there's a strong element of gender, in our <u>work</u>, but not in our, work<u>place</u>. Not internally.

NGO1.2's reference to a gender focal point contrasts with the international gender policy, which stipulates that all staff are "individually responsible" for contributing to the implementation of

the policy in their work (Document 5; Document 6). The policy also emphasises that all focus areas are "designed to contribute to gender equality", and this includes advocacy (Document 5; Document 1).

However, the excerpt above also highlights that despite NGO1 not having its own gender policy, gender is incorporated in its work in a number of ways. For example, the website and teaching documents of the organisation incorporate gender by discussing the ways in which certain issues impact upon girls and women, including in the Pacific. The organisation is also a member of a group of NZ-based NGOs that work together to advocate for the rights of women and girls in the Pacific. Within this group NGO1 maintains a role as an advocate for girls as well as women and for working with "boys <u>and</u> young men as well" (NGO1.2).

5.3.1.5 *Addressing other significant issues for youth*

NGO1 also addresses issues of education, the environment and, indirectly, unemployment. These are significant issues for young people in the Pacific. Education is addressed through programming and advocacy while environmental issues, particularly climate change, are addressed mainly through advocacy. Although the organisation doesn't directly address youth unemployment, the issue comes up in the data and, according to NGO1.1, is indirectly addressed through the community water programme.

5.3.1.6 *Partnership and alignment*

NGO1's major partner is its affiliate in the Pacific. NGO1.1 explained that the affiliate directs NGO1 on issues to advocate for and projects to fundraise for and help implement. Projects the organisation helps implement must align with the funding requirements of the NZ Aid Programme (NZAP), specifically the Partnerships Fund.

The Pacific affiliate of NGO1 is a large, well-regarded agency that is an authority on child and youth issues in the Pacific. Research that it has published includes formative reports on Pacific youth. This means NGO1 is in a good position to be aware of the issues facing youth in the Pacific and to contribute to alleviating these. This close directive partnership also means that NGO1 is not duplicating the assessment or programming efforts of its affiliate in the Pacific, which is a more efficient use of the resources of NGO1 and NZAP.

Through this partnership, NGO1 aligns its projects with the policies of the countries it works in, including National Youth Policies. NGO1.1 stated:

> So we try and <u>align</u> as much as possible with government <u>plans</u> or government strategies. Again, we try and make sure it's what the government wants and [NGO] country office work very closely with government ministries so when they're considering an implementation plan it always has to be aligned with a government strategy or a <u>policy</u>.

This is consistent with the recommendations of the regional organisations outlined in Chapter 1.

NGO1 is more involved with external partners in its domestic advocacy work. Past and present partners on youth issues include UNESCO, the NZ Ministry of Youth Development, UN Youth and 350.org. When referring to the latter, NGO1.2 highlighted the group's large youth supporter base was of significance to NGO1.

5.3.1.7 YM in NGO1

The interviewees demonstrated an understanding of YM that is consistent with the working definition used in this thesis. NGO1.2 stated:

> I mean, if you asked me "Is Pacific <u>youth</u> mainstreamed in [NGO1]'s <u>international</u> advocacy work?" I would say no. Because Pacific youth issues, we don't consider them in all of our different advocacy projects or campaigns. So, but then, you know, we do where it sort of <u>fits</u>.

NGO1.1, in considering the YM project cycle (Figure 3.2, Zia & Rehman 2011) identified areas in which youth could be better involved:

> I'd say <u>that</u> the most important ones for me are that – factored into monitoring and evaluation and factored into goals and objectives. For me these are probably ones that are overlooked and probably the most important.

Aspects of NGO1's work in line with the principles of YM include:
- a flexible, culturally-informed definition of youth
- recognising the diversity of youth and attempting to include a range of demographics and world view

- a positive attitude to youth centred on recognising their agency

- engaging young people in advocacy work and ensuring this participation is informed and not exploitative

- consulting youth on issues of domestic and international development

- addressing cross-cutting issues for youth, including gender inequality, climate change, education and employment

- partnering with a regional organisation that is knowledgeable about youth development in the Pacific

- aligning projects with national youth policies and other government strategies.

However, these alone do not constitute YM and there are challenges to achieving this in NGO1.

5.3.2 Challenges and opportunities for YM

5.3.2.1 Challenges for YM

The data analysis highlighted the following challenges to mainstreaming youth in NGO1. These include cultural barriers to youth participation but mainly centre around the attitudes, skills and knowledge of staff and decision-makers.

As NGO1.2 explained, there are very few programmatic staff and this restricts the agency's ability to mainstream gender. This means the capacity for other types of mainstreaming is also low.

Youth participation, which is central to YM, is not implemented in the agency's international programmes. This is partly due to cultural barriers to youth participation. As well as this, NGO1.1 had not considered including youth on water management committees. This suggests another barrier lack of staff knowledge of youth participation methods.

Indeed, the respondent to the questionnaire claimed that a lack of knowledge of and skills in YM is a challenge to mainstreaming youth in the agency. The respondent also said there was a lack of knowledge of issues relating to youth and youth development in the agency. NGO1.2 pointed out she does not have skills specifically in youth work and said she feels this is a challenge.

A major challenge to YM is the lack of recognition of youth agency among Board members. These decision-makers also lack the capacity and willingness to mentor youth into decision-making positions.

5.3.2.2 Opportunities for YM

A number of opportunities for YM also exist in NGO1. They mostly regard opportunities to increase the participation of young people by learning from other agencies, expanding on their youth programme and changing the attitudes of decision-makers.

The right to participation, as laid out in the CRC, is highly prioritised in written documents and by the interviewees. The value of youth participation to organisations and communities is recognised in the agency and this represents an opportunity to YM.

A challenge to this was the attitude of the board. However, NGO1.2 said including the board members in youth participatory processes has had the effect of motivating them and inspiring them to see the value of including youth. Continuing with this could lead to greater youth participation. The championing of youth done by NGO1.2 is in itself another opportunity for YM.

There was a clear willingness by both the interviewees to learn from others. Both referenced activities that involved youth participation; NGO1.1 noted the youth representatives on water committees in Vanuatu and NGO1.2 talked about other agencies' youth advisory committees. This is an opportunity because they recognised these models as good practice and expressed interest in replicating them in NGO1.

According to NGO1.2, the domestic youth programme she oversees is seen as a strength of the organisation and there are opportunities for building on this. As demonstrated by this youth programme, NGO1 implements youth consultation and participation well in NZ and this could be translated to its work in the Pacific.

5.3.3   Potential outcomes of YM

The main purpose of NGO1 is advocacy work and fundraising for its affiliated international organisation. Therefore, the potential for YM in the organisation to have the most impact for Pacific youth lies in its advocacy work in NZ. For example, incorporating Pacific youth into

NGO1's work with NZ youth could encourage greater advocacy on the issue here. NGO1.2 said:

> So, at this [annual workshop for youth], the focus was on [the campaign] and a lot of it was around children and was about extreme poverty. However, one of the most successful talks that we had was we invited someone who's just done a research project on teen pregnancy in Samoa/ Which obviously is a youth issue […] and it was really well liked. […] So I would say that when we're working with young people in New Zealand, a lot of the things that they tend to like to work on are issues that affect young people elsewhere. In the Pacific or the rest of the world.

The agency already engages in youth-specific advocacy with the government but YM, as defined in this thesis, would see youth being included in other advocacy as well. The inclusion of youth in NGO1's advocacy efforts aimed at the NZ government could encourage staff in the NZ Aid Programme and politicians to consider the needs and rights of youth when considering those of children. Furthermore, the NGO is well-regarded for its work with children and young people and could influence other development agencies to mainstream youth or at least include them more.

Where NGO1 is involved in programming, mainstreaming would lead to better youth participation. It was clear NGO1.1 did not consider youth at every level of programming but when he did he saw no reason not to include them. Increased youth participation would benefit young beneficiaries in the ways discussed in section 3.2.2 and help address the cultural barriers to youth participation NGO1.1 identified.

5.4 Conclusion

NGO1 undertakes limited work in the Pacific and youth are not highly represented in this. However, the data from the website, documents and interviews showed significant knowledge of youth issues in the Pacific. Youth are very much included in the agency's domestic work.

The main challenges to YM lie in the limited willingness and capacity of decision-makers and staff to include youth in development processes. However, there are opportunities to overcome these challenges by learning from other agencies, expanding on their youth programme and changing the attitudes of decision-makers.

YM in NGO1 would lead to improved outcomes for young beneficiaries of their projects and the communities they work in. This could have a greater impact if NGO1 were to influence politicians and other development agencies towards YM.

Chapter 6: NGO2

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the way youth are taken into account in the third case study agency, NGO2. I analyse the agency's website and published documents, interviews with two staff members and their responses to the questionnaire. The interviewees for this case study are represented by the codes NGO2.1 and NGO2.2. NGO2.1 (adult, male) is the programme officer for the Pacific livelihoods programme and NGO2.2 (adult, female) is coordinator of programme services.

In this chapter I begin with a brief overview of NGO2 before presenting the findings and data analysis for the case study. I address the following subsidiary research questions in turn:

1. How are youth mainstreamed in the policies, programmes and advocacy work of NGO2?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for YM in NGO2?
3. How could YM in NGO2 facilitate better outcomes for beneficiaries of the organisation's programmes?

6.2 Overview of NGO2

NGO2 is a development organisation that takes a whole-of-community approach to its overarching aim of ending poverty and injustice in the world. The organisation has four goals: economic justice, the provision of essential services, upholding rights in crisis situations and gender justice. Its approach is a combination of rights-based and needs-based and it works on many issues, including but not limited to climate change, education, HIV and AIDS, livelihoods, the Millennium Development Goals, peace building and conflict reduction and water. According to the organisation's website, gender equality "underpins all [NGO2]'s work".

NGO2 is an NZ-based branch of a large international organisation and works by partnering with local organisations to conduct projects in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. According to NGO2's 2013 review, 81 per cent of development programme money was spent in the Pacific in the 2011-2012 financial year (Document 7, 6). This was up from 66 per cent in 2010-2011 (Document 6, 6). The organisation also supports its international affiliate by fundraising for emergency responses in Africa and the Middle East. Like NGO1, NGO2 is a member of CID.

According to the questionnaire, NGO2 is currently running ten projects in the Pacific, two of which are for youth. These projects come under the areas of education, employment/livelihood, leadership/capacity building, environmental sustainability, gender equality and entrepreneurship. The organisation is managed by a board of trustees that oversees the management of the agency.

6.3 Data analysis and findings

6.3.1 Mainstreaming of youth

6.3.1.1 NGO2 defining young people

NGO2 does not have a set definition of youth or children and age ranges quoted for statistical purposes vary in published documents. To demonstrate that a country has a "young population", the website authors quote the percentage of the population that is under 15 years old. The website quotes the percentage of youth for two countries: Fiji, for which youth is defined as the ages of 15 to 29, and Vanuatu, defined as those between 15 and 24. NGO2.2 said she thought the organisation's child protection policy covers those under the age of 16 although I was unable to verify this as the policy was not complete at the time of writing this thesis.

References to children, youth and young people in Document 10, a report on climate change finance, demonstrate how the organisation defines the terms. On page 39, the authors state that "children less than 18 years-of-age make up more than 40 per cent of most Pacific Island populations". They then go on to refer to this demographic as "young people". Later, on page 42, the authors mention "young people" and then state "more than half the Pacific population is under the age of 25". Youth are identified in the document as a distinct group of actors in the climate change movement. However, the authors make multiple references to the experiences and contributions of "men, women and children" without referring to youth. This implies the authors consider it necessary to distinguish between children and adults but not youth. NGO2.2 said "I think that we focus either on children or on adults but youth is actually an age that is not that well covered I would say".

Thus, the organisation sees youth as a distinct development stakeholder but not as an age group distinct enough from children and adults to be mentioned. The same goes for elderly people, who are also mentioned in Document 10. However, by including all young people in the term 'children' but differentiating between men and women and not boys and girls, the authors disregard the gendered experiences of young people.

However, the organisation demonstrates an understanding of the intersectionality of youth. Document 10 states urban youth have "privileged access to information" about climate change (Document 10, 34). Rural youth, particularly those in remote areas, are seen as particularly marginalised and are the focus of many of NGO2's programmes involving young people. Other segments of youth that are recognised as marginalised include young mothers and young men in PNG.

In sum, NGO2 considers 'children' to be those under 18 years of age, with those under 16 requiring special protection. The definition of 'youth' varies between countries and the term 'young people' is used to refer to both children and youth. Youth are not considered homogenous and the organisation identifies and reaches out to marginalised young people.

6.3.1.2 A whole-of-community approach

NGO2 takes a whole-of-community approach to development, including for projects with young people. The mandate of the organisation is to alleviate poverty and suffering for all, making no mention of a focus on children or youth. However, NGO2 works by targeting the most vulnerable and marginalised segments of the community and it considers youth to be such. Women are also considered to be vulnerable and marginalised and youth and women are often referred to together (Document 9; Document 10; NGO2.2).

Youth are often referred to in relation to their family or community. In the website and documents aimed at donors, the direct contribution of young people to their families and communities is stressed. Variations of the statement "contribute to their families and communities" appear multiple times in the data, including in quotes from young people. The statements use one of the words "contribute", "support" or "help" combined with one of or both "community/ies" and "family/ies". The indirect contribution of the projects to families and communities is also often highlighted in statements such as "families and communities also benefit from" (Website) and "the impact [the project] has had on his young students and their communities" (Website). This shows donors how youth programmes contribute to wider community development.

The focus on youth in the community also demonstrates an understanding of how young people fit into the community in the Pacific. NGO2.1, who is a Pacific Islander, explained his view of youth in the Pacific, stating:

I mean, this concept of layers eh? Spheres. What I mean by that is a young boy or girl…then you have this sphere [indicating sphere with hands] of the family unit as the inner sphere- just like the onion eh? Then you'll have okay, the peer groups, the friends, <u>very</u> influential, highly influential, that's the layer outside the family and then – I mean, I'm talking about the Pacific context – as you move out from the family you would have your church or your <u>village</u> council, or your youth group from school and, even you have your government as another layer. Even technical staff, for instance, farming, Ministry of Agriculture, who are those people who hold the decision-making in that.

The consideration of young people as they relate to the family and wider community is reflected in the work of NGO2 and its partners in the livelihood programme. NGO2.1 highlighted the intergenerational approach that is taken in these projects:

Basically what you do is, you go out and you get to speak with the head of the household, the father, speak with the head of the village, the customary head of the village, which is the high chief. And you <u>talk</u> about this inspirational approach to agriculture.

This approach was also evident in a television news segment about one of the organisation's partners and their work with youth in Vanuatu, where they also work with parents.

6.3.1.3 Youth participation

NGO2 encourages youth participation and it is implemented in projects by the organisation's partners. The questionnaire response illustrated that youth are taken into account in NGO2 only in regards to youth-specific programmes but within this they are taken into account in the needs assessment, programme planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation.

The questionnaire respondent answered "Yes" to Question 11 (*Does your organisation actively seek to include youth in participatory processes?*). However, the one method of youth participation that was identified in the questionnaire was "Youth are involved in decision-making (are on the board or council of the organisation)". No young people are identifiable on the Board of Trustees section of the website, which lists the trustees with a brief biography and a photo.

When I asked NGO2.2 if youth are included in participatory processes she said:

> Definitely. Definitely. […] I'm not sure that we will put it specifically as a focus. It would rather be that we will have a community assessment for example, and that we will make sure that all parts of the communities are being represented.

However, NGO2.2 went on to stress it can be difficult engaging youth or conducting projects specifically for youth unless the whole community is on board. She stated:

> And, I think also it depends very much on the country's culture/ If we know that we are launching a new programme, and that there are risks that it might not really be accepted, and that, given that we are risk averse, then I'm not sure that we really focus on the youth/ **Because, uh, they are probably not the easiest targets**, or it could be that they are really enthusiastic and that the older ones will say that "we are more important than them", so I think wherever we go we have to try and balance, as we were mentioning before that youth are often identified as a source of problems/ So I'm not sure we will really focus first on the youth, if it's a first programme and a first partnership, because of the fact that it will be difficult to get the community's participation and support to this kind of programme. And that's why I think that with Vanuatu we didn't focus on the youth for the first programme, and that we made it as a <u>new</u> programme, because we already have the community and the partner's <u>support</u>, and understanding […] that's the first step, and now it's possible to develop more on that.

This tactic corresponds with the whole-of-community approach NGO2 takes in its work. The text in bold relates to an earlier statement of NGO2.2 about youth in which she said "it's a bit difficult to get their interests and their focus and to make sure that they are part of a movement".

In the organisation's climate change advocacy efforts it recognises youth and children as environmental actors and advocates for their participation in climate change processes. This was particularly evident in Document 10, which highlighted the lack of youth engagement in formal consultation processes around climate change and emphasised the need for this. At least one youth leader was consulted for the report, and was quoted talking about this issue. The report included youth with women "and marginalised groups" and also highlighted the need to get perspectives of children. NGO2.2 also stressed the important role that young people have to play:

> I think when you manage to get youths' interests, their enthusiasm and commitment can be really high. And I think that they have an important role to play, however I think that in the Pacific or PNG, youth is not considered to be very capable/ And that's why I think they are not really yet at this stage involved in any policy making/ And that's, I think it's…the people's point of view have to change, in order to understand that youth are as capable as adults.

In NGO2's projects, it is the partners that drive the youth focus. They also determine the level and methods of youth participation. NGO2.1 stated:

> [Samoa partner] and [Tonga partner] the way they approach young people is through the village council, where they get access to young people and set up a youth group that represents that village. So they do training on how to do, or how to write up a constitution for the youth and you know how in the villages they have churches with their own youth group so [Tonga partner] actually targets to establish a village- meaning do away with the denominations, have just one youth group with popular election every three years. So they have to elect the president, the treasurer and the assistants these too, so these are the key positions so that's the constitution having the democratic process in place for young people and then they come under the overall structure of the village council.

This approach is in line with recommendations on democratic youth participation outlined in Chapter 3. According to the website, NGO2 also encourages participation based on peer-to-peer interaction. For example, the young women's leadership programme in Fiji has a peer-to-peer element.

NGO2 also includes young people in some of its work in NZ. According to the website, the organisation worked with a Pacific Island youth leader on a climate change petition that she initiated. This represents the highest rung on Hart's ladder: child-initiated, shared decisions with adults (Hart 1992, 8). The organisation has also published a "Young people's action guide" about the global food system (Document 4) and a specifically school-tailored segment of its largest fundraising and awareness-raising campaign was launched in 2012 (Document 7). These initiatives further show that NGO2 recognises and values the capacity of children and youth to advocate for and effect change.

6.3.1.4 Attitudes and organisational culture

The agency's representation of youth in the Pacific varies across and within the data sources. The vulnerability of young people is a strong theme but so is their agency and capability. Passive language is generally used when describing the situation of youth in the region. For example, words and phrases such as "young people are forced to", "falling into", "falling victim", "drift to urban areas", "often turn to" and "place them at increased risk" are used in relation to rural-urban migration, poverty, crime, substance abuse and early pregnancy. This is usually prefaced by a description of the lack of educational and employment opportunities to illustrate that this is the root cause of these issues. This discourse was also evident in the two television segments about NGO2's work in Vanuatu.

However, in some cases young people are described as causing problems. On the website "disaffected youth" are identified as a cause of conflict in Melanesian countries. A quote on the website from a manager of one rural training centre explains that without the centre, the village youth would be "creating problems". NGO2.1 stated:

> Then you start your conversation around how you want to <u>help</u> their own children, there are so many just hanging around, maybe they have a witness, the trouble they have caused. They can actually be a nuisance. I mean, they <u>understand</u> that.

There is a strong future focus in the website and in documents directed at donors. Statements such as "Giving back to the future", "An uncertain future" and "Training for a brighter future" are used as headings for sections about the livelihoods programme. Requests for donations to the livelihoods programme often refer to "bright" or "brighter" futures for young people. One request promises to "give [youth] their futures back". References to the future also often appear in quotes from youth, which feature a lot in these data sources. Using multiple quotes from young people implies the organisation values their voice and that they consider the public also value it.

Within the organisation itself, many young people are taken on as interns but programming staff members are generally older. NGO2.2 explained the role of youth in the organisation:

> Practically I think there's also a lot of youth because, ah, they are cheap and they-cheap labour [laughs]. So I'm not sure that they are here to be listened to their voices. Um, that I mean, that's not the main [laughs] criteria. However, and I'm not

sure that they participate in the programme definition/ Not yet. Here in [NGO2], we have more- in the programme team, I'm clearly the youngest. Very clearly. I would say that the programmes are not defined by...youth...in [NGO2]. However, in other [branches], probably. I know that there's lots of turnover as well.

This statement shows young staff members or interns do not have input into programming and are not considered useful in this manner. It also highlights the issue of retaining young people long enough to engage them.

Three factors that facilitate the inclusion of youth in the organisation were identified in the questionnaire:

- We believe that we cannot undertake programmes for youth without consulting young people themselves.
- We value the perspectives of young people in the communities we work in.
- We have one or more people who champion the cause of youth.

The attitudes to youth are very positive in NGO2, their agency is recognised and their contributions valued. Unfortunately this is not reflected in the internal operations of the agency but translates into the inclusion of youth in their external activities.

6.3.1.5 Addressing gender inequality

The gender policy of NGO2's affiliated international organisation, which is the basis of NGO2's gender policy, describes an "organisational commitment to gender equality" (Document 11). It states that the organisation considers women and girls in "all aspects of our programme and ways of working" and also prioritises projects for women. Although the term "gender mainstreaming" is never used, these are characteristics of this phenomenon, as described in Chapter 3. According to the questionnaire, NGO2's priority areas regarding gender are the elimination of violence against women and women's leadership. The attainment of gender disaggregated data is also prioritised.

Women are prioritised because they are seen as a vulnerable and marginalised segment of the population. For example, NGO2.2 stated "In PNG it's mostly women. Because they are more discriminated against than youth". In the website section on MDGs in the Pacific, gender inequality, along with poor education, is described as "wasting the talents" of Pacific people.

Several of the projects described on NGO2's website focus on women and many others explain how women and girls specifically benefit from the project. For example, the description for a water and sanitation project in PNG outlines how the project reduces the burden for women and girls, who usually bear the responsibility for collecting water and caring for children who suffer from water-borne diseases. The research reports Document 9 and Document 10 consider women at all states of their analyses, although they do not differentiate between boys and girls when referring to children.

Girls and young women are specifically considered in some cases. References to gender equality often refer to "women and girls" and young women are specifically considered and included in the livelihoods programme. Without being prompted about gender, NGO2.1 told me about the inclusion of two young women in the project in Vanuatu. He went on to explain the impact this has on gender equality in the community and how the success with the first two young women has spurred NGO2 and the partner further:

> So the conversation go <u>beyond</u> the course. It's about doing things in an innovative way, that create impact that people can see with these tangible impact. And that can help <u>inform</u> discussions, push discussions <u>further</u> than the usual (…) that they're used to before. It's about girls <u>owning</u>, having access and ownership of land. […] So all these conversations start in the <u>rural</u> area and I think we are quite excited with the developments that happening there. So, sort of pushed, um to the [partner] asked them to start looking at having a policy of 50:50 – 50 boys, 50 girls because the first intake was only two girls and then there were 13 boys. So they worked towards that.

NGO2 also supports a leadership programme in Fiji for young women aged 14 to 25. The programme helps young women develop personally and is also having transformative effects in the community. A 19 year-old participant quoted on the website explained that because of the course she was able to change her father's "old-fashioned" views of women and now actively advocates for women's rights and issues in groups that she is involved in.

A notable exception to the special mentions of girls and young women is on the website. There is no mention of girls or young women on the web pages about gender-based violence and basic rights and facts and statistics on "Women in the Developing World".

6.3.1.6 Addressing other significant issues for youth

NGO2 addresses the lack of economic opportunities for young people, environmental issues and the conflict between tradition and modernity that young people face. The organisation also acknowledges the poor state of education systems in the Pacific, although it doesn't directly address formal education. Sexual and reproductive health features in some projects but the specific issues youth face in this field and their role in the projects are not mentioned.

The situation of Pacific young people features prominently in NGO2's advocacy to regional bodies and states. For example, in a news item about the 2012 Pacific Islands Forum on the organisation's website, three factors are used to highlight the reality of poverty in the Pacific: the lack of basic services, the lack of "formal employment opportunities" for young people and the fact that one third of Pacific Islanders cannot meet their basic needs. This indicates that NGO2 considers the lack of jobs for young people to be a high priority in advancing development in the Pacific.

The organisation's livelihoods programme in Vanuatu and Tonga target young people who have been "forced out" of the formal education system due to high fees, lack of resources in schools and a focus on academic achievement (Document 3; Document 5; Website). NGO2.1 described how the system can fail those who are not academically inclined, saying:

> Out there, whoever's got the brain will be the one that everyone put their focus on and then forget the others, let the others go back to the farms, where they come from, just go and plant something and that's <u>it</u>.

Further to this, a description of the Vanuatu project on the website explains that even for those who do complete their schooling, they return to their homes where there are few jobs and where their skills are mismatched to the subsistence lifestyle.

The livelihoods programme aligns with recommendations that more vocational education and training (VET) is needed in the Pacific. However, NGO2 does not engage in work that seeks to reform the education systems. In Document 3 and on the website the livelihoods projects are described as a "second chance", implying the formal education system should be the first choice for children.

Environmental issues and HIV and AIDS are addressed by NGO2 mainly through its research and advocacy work. Climate change is one of the main issues the organisation works on and it does this through advocating at forums such as UN climate negotiations and its membership of a global campaign that represents multiple NGOs (Website). HIV and AIDS, along with other sexual and reproductive health issues, is identified as an issue facing young people in the Pacific on youth-focused pages of the website. However, the particular vulnerabilities of youth to HIV and AIDS and their role in combating it are not mentioned in web pages devoted to the topic. Another web page describing a project which aims to educate people about sexual and reproductive health also makes no mention of youth.

6.3.1.7 *Partnership and alignment*

Participatory development underpins NGO2's partnership approach. The organisation partners with local organisations in-country and aims to establish long-term relationships. NGO2 emphasises its capacity-building role in the partnerships (Document 7; Website) and the communities they work with provide a ten per cent contribution to all projects, implying community buy-in and contributing to the sustainability of projects (Document 7). According to NGO2.2, the parties sign a letter of agreement setting out the terms of the partnership.

Partnerships are usually managed by key people in each agency. NGO2.1 stressed the importance of this form of relationship management but his statements also highlighted that it can result in knowledge not being passed on to others in NGO2. Although NGO2.1 is a key part of the livelihoods programme, he was not aware of some of the aspects relating to the project in Samoa. This is highlighted in the following excerpt:

NGO2.1	Our partner in Samoa is very much involved around <u>mothers</u>.
KB	Do they have a focus on young mothers or young women at all?
NGO2.1	Um…that's- our programme in Samoa, I have not been really, get to travel there because, it's quite an old partner and we have someone here who's doing the travelling so I don't really have the full- I've only been there once in all this time. So I would not be in a position to actually answer that question […] this person is actually the link there. I went there once and […] I just had to advise through <u>her</u>. But I don't really get to have that detailed knowledge of what's happening with that partnership.

This excerpt also highlights that NGO2.1 is not aware of how the partner incorporates young people in its work. This implies youth engagement is not a priority area for him in his work.

Further to this, the partners provide the direction on including young people in their work, as explained above. Youth are mentioned in nine out of the 15 Pacific partner profiles on NGO2's website. Four of these relate to keeping peace or tackling crime, all of which are in PNG, three relate to livelihoods and one is centred on young women's leadership.

The partners also determine the data that is collected through the programmes. The collection of age-disaggregated data is dependent on the partner having this on hand through their monitoring and evaluation, rather than due to a targeted goal of gaining it (NGO2.1).

The partners are chosen for various reasons, but not for their focus on youth. According to NGO2.1, credibility and a good record of achieving outcomes were factors in choosing the youth-focused organisations in Tonga and Vanuatu. For Tonga, NGO2 was also drawn to them by an endorsement from the partner in Samoa. This demonstrates that NGO2's partners' networks are utilised, which is in line with the recommendations on partnership and coordination outlined in Chapter 3.

NGO2 provides direction through particular policies, to which the partners are asked to agree and adhere. These are set out in the letter of agreement and will include the gender policy and the child protection policy when they are complete. These policies have been provided by NGO2's affiliated international organisation and NGO2 is in the process of adapting them to their own context. NGO2 also has input into things such as the ratio of young women to young men, such as in the Vanuatu example given by NGO2.1 in section 6.3.1.5.

Texts that inform the livelihoods programme are the *Pacific Youth Strategy 2010* (SPC 2006) and the *Pacific Youth in Agriculture Strategy*. The organisation's work is aligned where possible with national youth policies and declarations from regional conference are taken into consideration. NGO2.2 stated:

> Yes I think we do try to check, first if there are [national youth policies], and, if they
> are we make sure that our programmes align with them. And if we feel that there
> are gaps, we could try to, maybe, work on the gaps that are not covered by these
> kind of policies. […] What I know is that we are aware of the summits and the

declarations and all that because we do <u>share</u> them/ And, it <u>can</u> be the opportunity to, well, give us new programme ideas or to, for example <u>change</u> one activity in our programme, that's quite common. Or to rework the programme or to decide that we want to focus on this.

NGO2 tries to align with national youth policies and uses declarations from youth summits to provide inspiration. It engages in strong long-term partnerships with in-country organisations and the prerogative for youth participation lies with these partners.

6.3.1.8 YM in NGO2

Many aspects of NGO2's work are in line with the principles of YM in Pacific development outlined in Chapter 3. This is particularly relevant for the organisation's livelihood programme, which is targeted at youth in two out of three countries. There is also evidence that youth is unconsciously mainstreamed in other areas because they are considered vulnerable. For example, NGO2.2 stated:

> I think anywhere there <u>will</u> indirectly be a focus on youth, because as I mentioned to you they are a most vulnerable population so, if they are targeted and identified as such then there will be a focus yeah.

NGO 2.2 also demonstrated an understanding of the need for the organisation's work to be transformative and reduce discrimination against youth by working with the community. She said:

> I think if you only target the youth, it makes- because the thing is it's like everything, if you want to work on gender you cannot target only women. 'Cause you cannot work on violence against women if you only speak to women. So, I think it's the same, if you want to reduce the discrimination against youth, you have to make sure that entire community is taken as a whole and that youth have fit in it. And that the community understands the challenges that youth would face, and that the youth also understand the elders' or youngers' point of view and so I think it's- for me, for my understanding, it's always better to not start any programme with a direct focus on one group and exclude the other ones.

This transformative attitude is important for achieving lasting outcomes for youth in the Pacific.

Other aspects of NGO2's work that are in line with the principles of YM include:

- a flexible, culturally-informed definition of youth
- an approach to youth that involves projects specifically for youth and actively seeking to include youth in whole-of-community participatory processes
- encouraging youth and child participation in projects and advocating this to other organisations
- including young people in public advocacy efforts
- working with elders on youth projects, including parents and community leaders
- a positive attitude to youth that recognises their capability and agency while also acknowledging the issues that youth are associated with in their communities
- acknowledging and explaining through the website and public documents that these issues are symptomatic of underlying issues, particularly poor education systems and a lack of employment opportunities
- addressing cross-cutting issues for youth, including gender inequality, climate change, employment and changing community structures
- partnering with local organisations and utilising their networks to find other organisations doing similar work, thus improving efficiency and reducing duplication
- aligning projects with national youth policies and other government strategies and taking into account declarations from regional meetings.

Challenges remain to fully mainstreaming youth in the organisation and these are discussed below.

6.3.2 Challenges and opportunities for YM

6.3.2.1 Challenges for YM

The data analysis highlighted a number of challenges to mainstreaming youth in NGO2, including challenges in the field and within the agency.

The questionnaire response identified one challenge to mainstreaming youth in NGO2: "Youth are only targeted via specific programmes". NGO2.2 also gave me the impression that youth are not always considered in projects that are not youth-focused. For example, she stated "I think in PNG we'll probably not focus on youth right now because there are other priorities".

It is difficult to garner community support for youth-focused programmes until a relationship has been established between the community and NGO2 and its partner organisation. This challenge is compounded because, as the interviewees pointed out, it can be difficult to engage young people in community movements. This is partly due to push-back from the community and partly to do with motivating youth.

Young people within the organisation, such as interns, are not engaged in the management of the organisation or in directing programmes. There is a lack of capacity to engage youth further. NGO2.2 stated:

> So I'm not sure that the youth stays long enough to actually build on their knowledge and on their enthusiasm to really promote youth oriented programmes. But I think they should be. Especially in the bigger [branches], who have more tools and more income and can do broader projects than we can.

Excluding young staff from programming and decision-making is a challenge in itself. It is reinforced by the challenge of the lack of resources to mentor and support them.

6.3.2.2 Opportunities for YM

Opportunities for YM also exist, especially regarding taking youth into account in projects that are not specifically for youth.

Youth are seen as a vulnerable segment of communities. This fits with NGO2's mandate and has resulted in young people being taken into account in projects that are not youth specific. Another opportunity is that projects that are not youth specific, such as water and sanitation projects, are often implemented through schools. This provides an opportunity to consider young people in these projects.

In addition to this, the youth specific programmes, especially the livelihoods programme, are considered to be very successful. The respondent wrote "We are at the process of learning from these target specific programmes to inform our other programmes". This shows the success of the youth-specific programmes is being used to feed back into other areas.

6.3.3 Potential outcomes of YM

NGO2 conducts a significant amount of work in the Pacific with its partner organisations. Although programming, including participatory processes, is mostly determined by the partners, NGO2 can influence this through letters of agreement and the support it gives them. Mainstreaming youth would include youth in capacity building processes and this could include skills such as youth participation. For example, the livelihoods programme in Samoa does not have a youth focus because the partner focuses on women, particularly mothers. NGO2 could work with the partner to ensure that the specific needs of young women are taken into account and that the programme is accessible to them.

As discussed above, youth are incorporated into some of NGO2's projects because of their perceived vulnerability. YM would mean this is done in all projects, including in places where youth may not be considered as vulnerable or marginalised as other segments of the population. This would benefit youth and their input could strengthen the programmes, further enhancing the benefits to the community.

Data from the organisation's many projects in the Pacific and its research could contribute significantly to knowledge on the situation of youth in the Pacific. For example, if NGO2 encouraged and supported all its partners to collect age-disaggregated data from all the projects this would generate a large amount of data about rates of youth participation and the like.

As discussed in section 6.3.1.4, the portrayal of Pacific youth in television news and talk show segments about the NGO2's work was in line with the organisation's portrayal of youth on its website and in the documents. This implies the agency is able to shape public discourse on particular issues. Greater inclusion of youth in NGO2's advocacy and awareness work in NZ could result in more support from the public and the government for youth development work in the Pacific.

6.4 Conclusion

NGO2's livelihoods programme in Vanuatu and Tonga is an excellent example of a youth-focused project that addresses the needs of youth and fosters positive attitudes among the project facilitators and the community to achieve transformative outcomes for youth. However, young people are only taken into account where it concerns projects specifically for youth or where youth are considered particularly vulnerable.

Other challenges are posed by having to gain the support of the whole community before working with youth and the difficulty of including youth in community projects. This challenge has been overcome by the livelihoods programme in Tonga and Vanuatu, providing an opportunity for YM with an example of best practice. If youth were mainstreamed in NGO2's work, especially work with other partners, and included in the organisation's operations, outcomes would be improved for partner organisations, project beneficiaries and communities.

Chapter 7: Wider NZ NGO Sector

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the data analysis and findings of my survey of the wider NZ NGO sector. The aim of the questionnaire was to gather primary data about youth in development from across the aid and development sector. The target population was aid and development agencies conducting work in the Pacific. For sampling purposes, I sought responses from members of the Council for International Development (CID). In the following sections I discuss the characteristics of the respondents, how youth are considered among the agencies, youth participation, attitudes to youth and challenges and opportunities for YM.

7.2 Overview of respondents

The questionnaire was distributed to 18 member organisations of CID (out of 46 members). Staff at CID helped me identify member agencies that fit my criteria of being members of CID and working in the Pacific. I rang each agency to establish a contact person and sent the contacts the information sheet (Appendix 3) and link to the online survey form via email. I followed up with a reminder two weeks later.

Of the 18 contacts who received the link, 11 completed the questionnaire, a response rate of 61 per cent. Two contacts advised me they were unable to complete the survey because their organisation's activities were not applicable to the questions asked. It is possible this is also a reason for other agencies not responding to the survey.

I received responses from agencies that varied widely in their age, size and engagement in the Pacific. Table 8.1 is a summary of the characteristics of these organisations.

Table 8.1: Summary of questionnaire respondents' characteristics

	Average	Minimum	Maximum
Years since agency established	59	17	100
Number of paid staff	25	0	110
Number of women as paid staff	13	0	60
Number of youth as paid staff	3	0	14
Number of projects involved with in the Pacific	8	1	30
Number of projects for youth involved with in the Pacific	3	0	12

Most agencies declared they had a focus on young people in some way. This is represented in Figure 8.1.

**Figure 8.1:** Focus of questionnaire respondents
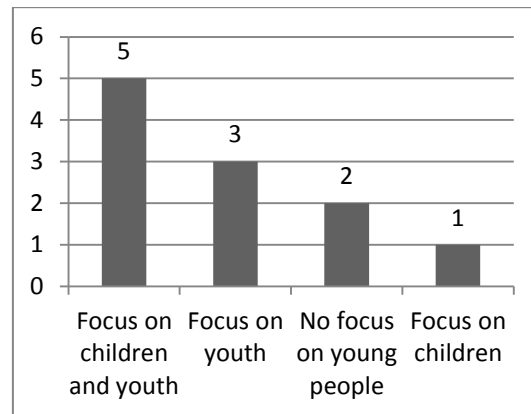
The focus on young people, including youth, supports the proposition in section 1.4.4 that NZ development agencies have a significant role to play in youth development in the Pacific.

7.3 Results and analysis

### 7.3.1   Youth in the work of NZ-based development agencies

Eight organisations were involved in some way with projects for youth in the Pacific. Figure 8.2 shows the different areas under which their projects fall. The most common area of projects for youth was education, with seven agencies identifying this as an area under which their Pacific youth programmes fall. Three major issues identified in this thesis were well covered: education, employment and gender equality. However, environmental sustainability and health issues such as sexual and reproductive health and rights and healthy lifestyles were not being addressed by many agencies.

Figure 8.2: Number of organisations engaging in project areas for youth in the Pacific
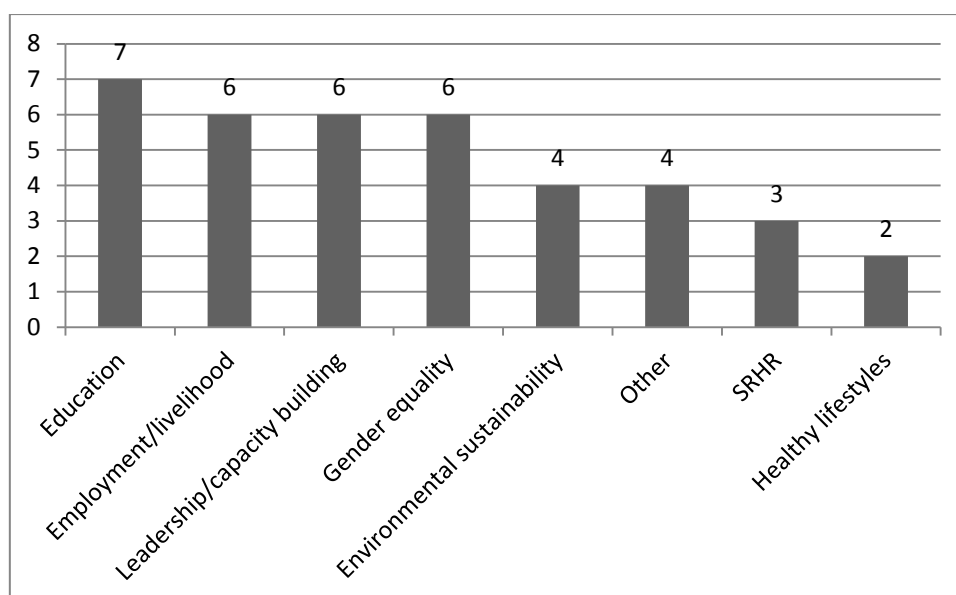
Youth were taken into account in policy and programming in many of the responding agencies and six agencies said youth were mainstreamed across all policies and programmes. Figure 8.3 shows the number of agencies that reported taking youth into account at each programme stage.

Figure 8.3: Number of agencies taking youth into account in programme stages
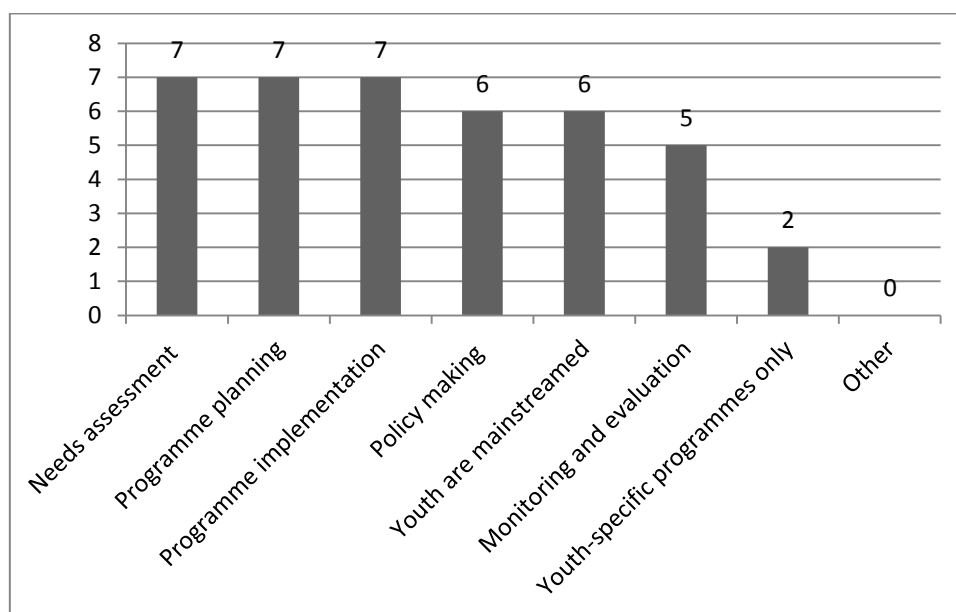
Three of the six organisations that claimed to mainstream youth also chose the following options:

- Needs assessment for programming

- Programme planning

- Programme implementation

- Policy making (internal policies)

- Monitoring and evaluation

This combination of choices indicates the definition of YM in these organisations is in line with my definition of it as taking youth into account in design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Furthermore, three of the mainstreaming organisations said all staff considered youth in their work and two said they had more than one person responsible for youth. Spreading out the responsibility for youth implies these organisations consider it important for all staff to be involved in mainstreaming. This is the recommendation of Dawson (2005) and Moser & Moser (2005) for gender mainstreaming.

Of the organisations that didn't claim to mainstream youth, only one had more than one person responsible for youth while two had one person responsible for youth and two stated no staff explicitly handled youth.

Of the mainstreaming organisations, one had a focus on youth, three had a focus on children and youth and two did not have a focus on young people at all. The mainstreaming of youth in organisations without a focus on young people is very positive as it implies they consider youth in their activities, which are likely not youth-focused.

7.3.2 Youth participation

Nine organisations stated they actively seek to include youth in participatory processes. The most common method of youth participation employed was the consultation of youth in community engagement or outreach, with ten organisations identifying this as a method. This is in keeping with recommendations on including youth in community projects and fostering a culture of youth participation discussed in Chapter 3. Table 8.2 shows the methods of youth participation employed by the organisations.

Table 8.2: Methods of youth participation

Method of youth participation	No. orgs
Youth are consulted in community engagement/outreach	10
Youth are taken on as volunteers/interns	9
Young staff members' views and contributions are respected and considered	7
Youth are employed as staff	5
Youth are involved in decision-making (are on the board or council of the organisation)	4
Other	0

While many agencies took youth on as volunteers or interns, few employed young people as staff and even fewer involved youth in decision-making. Employing youth to work for free and not including them in decision-making processes imply the organisations do not consider young people to be as capable as adults and they do not value their contributions as highly.

Where youth were included in the agencies a number of factors facilitated their involvement. All 11 organisations declared they valued the perspectives of young people in the communities in which they worked. Table 8.3 shows the number of organisations that identified the suggested factors facilitating the inclusion of youth.

Table 8.3: Factors facilitating the inclusion of youth

Factors that facilitate the inclusion of youth	No. orgs
We value the perspectives of young people in the communities we work in	11
We believe that we cannot undertake programmes for youth without consulting young people themselves	8
We have an organisational culture that is supportive of youth	7
We have one or more people who champion the cause of youth	7
Young people (including children) are prioritised	2
Other	0

Across the NZ development sector attitudes towards youth appeared very positive, particularly towards youth in external communities. However, the agencies appeared less enthusiastic about involving youth in their internal operations.

7.3.3 Challenges to YM

The lack of positive organisational culture towards youth internally is a challenge to YM. Table 8.4 shows other challenges identified by the respondents. The main challenge was lacking knowledge and skills in YM, identified by seven organisations.

Interestingly, three of the agencies that identified this challenge declared earlier that youth were mainstreamed. This discrepancy implies that although the agencies said they mainstream youth, they were not confident in their ability to do so.

Table 8.4: Challenges to YM

Challenge	No. orgs
There is a lack of knowledge of and skills in YM	7
There is a lack of knowledge of issues relating to youth and youth development	4
Other	4
Youth are not a priority area for us	3
There is a lack of will in the organisation	0
Young people are not capable of contributing to the development process	0

The respondents that chose "Other" stated the following:
- "Funding constraints"
- "Lack of resources"
- "Youth are only targeted via specific programmes"
- "N/A"

These responses show that challenges to YM centre on the capacity of staff and the focus and resources of the agencies. This is in line with the learnings from gender mainstreaming that staff need to have the capacity and resources to engage in mainstreaming.

7.3.4   Opportunities for YM

Six agencies identified ways their challenges could be overcome. A strong theme was learning about youth development. Respondents stated they needed education about youth development, youth rights and needs and "the possibilities offered by improving our understanding of youth issues". Other suggestions included encouraging dialogue "to ensure that young people's voices are heard", expanding and improving existing youth strategies and considering a youth policy.

Learning sources about youth development and YM identified by the agencies included experts, other organisations and internal youth programmes. If learning documents or sharing networks were made available to these agencies, opportunities for YM would be unlocked through better understanding of the need to focus on youth development and greater capacity for youth work.

7.4 Conclusion

The questionnaire respondents represented a cross-section of agencies in the NZ aid and development sector. The responses indicate that many agencies conduct projects for youth in the Pacific, including on the significant issues for youth identified in this thesis: gender, education, employment and the environment. Health issues, however, were not well covered. The data shows many agencies engage youth in participatory processes when working with communities but they do not include youth much in their internal operations, especially in decision-making roles.

Youth are mainstreamed across the policies and programmes of six of the 11 responding agencies. The respondents identified significant challenges to YM, especially regarding the capacity of staff in mainstreaming youth and the lack of priority and resources afforded to youth. The agencies highlighted practical solutions for overcoming these challenges. The solutions highlighted that NZ-based aid and development agencies require more information about youth development and this could open many doors for YM.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

Young people in the Pacific region need to be involved in development initiatives. They have consistently called for this and, as the opening quote of this thesis points out, if the current situation is not addressed there will be dire consequences. These include economic, social and health consequences as well as a generation or more of Pacific Islanders who are not able fully to realise their human rights.

This research has explored the challenges and opportunities for YM in NZ-based Pacific development initiatives as one means to addressing the situation of young people in the region. The organisational case studies and questionnaire highlight that mainstreaming of youth is presently limited in NZ development agencies but that many engage in elements I consider essential to YM in a Pacific development context.

In this chapter I discuss the four research questions of this thesis and integrate the data from the previously separate sources. I then suggest some recommendations for NZ development agencies and further research and make a few concluding remarks.

8.2 Discussion

8.2.1 <u>What is youth mainstreaming?</u>

The first objective of this research was to answer the research question "What is YM in a Pacific development context?" In Chapter 3 I established the following working definition of YM based on the UN definition of gender mainstreaming:

> Youth mainstreaming is a strategy for making young women's and young men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that young women and young men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender-informed age equality.

I then identified some key characteristics of this in a Pacific context by drawing on the recommendations from key texts, the learnings from gender mainstreaming and the interviews with key informants in Suva.

When I discussed the working definition of YM with the key informants in Suva, 'age equality' was a contentious topic. Informant RA2.2 said:

> When you say *age equality*, it almost sounds like there are two <u>groups</u> of ages that need to be in an equitable position but, you can't, <u>have</u> that conversation here because in traditional senses, in legislative senses, that definition of youth is very…<u>flexible</u>, let's say.

However, RA1.0, in a personal communication following the interview, wrote:

> I think there is equality in the *value* of contributions from different ages (e.g. a 5 year old's perspective is no less important than a 30 year old's perspective), different ages bring different qualities to decision-making and development processes. I spoke yesterday about 'abilities' and that perhaps a 24 year old would not have the same managerial ability or experience to carry out the job of Minister of Health for example – but in terms of 'value', a 24 year old would have contributions to make – equal in value – as those made by the older Minister of Health.

So I maintain that the end goal of YM should be age equality, where age equality refers to people of every age being recognised as having the same value as well as the same rights and opportunities. Age equality need not refer to only two groups, for example adults and youth, but the whole spectrum of age, just as gender equality does not only refer to men and women but also to minority genders.

I also maintain that, in addition to the above definition, the key components of YM in a Pacific development context are:
- a flexible, culturally-informed definition of youth
- a positive attitude and organisational culture towards youth
- youth participation
- addressing gender equality
- addressing other significant issues for youth

- partnership between development agencies and alignment with youth policies and youth declarations.

From the experiences of current YM efforts in the Pacific, especially Solomon Islands, it can be seen that partnership within and between agencies is incredibly important. YM also needs commitment at the highest levels and sufficient resourcing of youth development efforts.

8.2.2   Youth mainstreaming in NZ-based development agencies

In answer to the second research question, "How are NZ development agencies mainstreaming youth in their policies, programmes and advocacy work?", I advance four responses:

8.2.2.1 *Defining youth and intersectionality*

If youth is acknowledged as the period of transition from dependence to independence, as defined in section 1.2 and by RA1.0 in 3.4.1, those designing and implementing activities for or involving youth should be mindful of the particular social, cultural, political and economic factors that determine this phase in that locality. Development policies and programmes should take into consideration the fact that cultural, social and economic factors – not simply age – determine who is thought to be and thinks of themselves as youth.

It is important that intersectionality among youth also be acknowledged. In categorising 'youth', it must be acknowledged that those within this group are not only defined by their age, but also such factors as their gender, class, religion and other identifying characteristics. Furthermore, intergenerational differences also exist within youth; for example, there is a big difference between a 15 year-old in high school and a 24 year-old out of school youth.

None of the case study agencies had a strict definition of youth and most of the interviewees displayed an understanding of the complexity of youth and defining youth in the Pacific context. The NGOs generally allowed participants to self-identify as youth for inclusion in their activities. NGO1 made special efforts to try and get a clear cross-section of youth among its domestic youth representatives.

As explained by YA in section 3.4.1, there is a case to be made for having a clear definition of youth. However, this is only appropriate if young people are making the decisions themselves. NZ agencies are not the parties to be making the definitions as they cannot identify with being a

youth in the Pacific. Therefore, the case study agencies' use of flexible, culturally-informed definitions of youth is appropriate and is a component of YM adhered to well in NZ development agencies.

8.2.2.2 Attitudes to youth and organisational culture

The case study and questionnaire showed the attitude to youth among NZ development agencies is generally very positive. The agency of youth was very much recognised, especially among case study interviewees, many of whom acknowledged the significant role youth have to play in development. All the questionnaire respondents said their agency valued the perspectives of young people in the communities with which they work.

Of the NGOs, only NGO2 displayed a slight tendency towards seeing youth as issues but in the data the interviewees and authors were quick to explain that many youth issues are manifestations of underlying problems. In NZAP steering documents there was a clear focus on youth and their relation to crime but the organisation also acknowledges there are underlying issues causing young people to engage in crimes. Acknowledging underlying issues does not mean NZ development agencies do not compartmentalise youth issues or in itself constitute YM. It means youth are not demonised, which contributes to a positive organisational attitude, and it focuses the organisation on the real social and economic issues needing to be addressed. This follows the recommendations of UNICEF & SPC (2011), McMurray (2006) and UNICEF *et al* (2005).

Youth are considered and included in the operations of many NZ development agencies. Most of the organisations surveyed are involved in projects for youth in the Pacific. From the questionnaire I was unable to find out whether these projects compartmentalised youth or youth issues. Many claimed to consider youth in a number of stages of the programme cycle and six said youth are mainstreamed. Some of the projects of the case study agencies are having transformative effects for youth and are not compartmentalising youth issues because they address underlying issues. For example, the Ola Fou Programme and Sistas Savve discussed in Chapter 4, and NGO2's livelihoods programme discussed in Chapter 6, address livelihoods and equip youth with skills that empower them to address issues in their communities and increase their standing in them. It is positive that projects such as these exist but future research on the transformative nature of projects for youth would be useful.

Despite the positive attitude to youth, there was a significant lack of young staff members' input into programming and decision-making in all the case study agencies. This was also reflected in the questionnaire as only four organisations said youth are involved in decision-making (are on the board or council of the organisation). One of these four was NGO2 and I found no evidence to support this claim. The lack of youth in decision-making bodies may be partly due to current power holders being unwilling to relinquish power, which Moser and Moser (2005) pointed out is sometimes the case with gender mainstreaming.

A prevailing attitude among the interviewees from NZ and Suva was that young people need to get adults on side in order to achieve their objectives. Although NGO1 and NGO2 definitely recognised the rights of children and youth, they had a tendency to present a future-focused view of youth in their texts. NGO1.2 pointed out that this portrayal of young people helps get adults on board. Indeed, adults control the resources. This is demonstrated in NZ development agencies by the fact that few young people are engaged in decision-making in them. It is demonstrated in regional agencies by the example given by RA1.0 of youth getting funding for climate change activities and at the official level in the Pacific by the example of the failure to mainstream the Solomon Islands National Youth Policy. Until young people are recognised as human beings and not just "human becomings" as pointed out by Golombeck (2006) and Power *et al* (2009) there will be a need to convince adults of the need to work with and for youth.

8.2.2.3 *Youth participation*

The implementation of youth participation varies widely across NZ development agencies. The case study illustrated that the case study agencies generally leave decisions to do with youth participation to their partner organisations. The study also showed these agencies encourage their partners to include all groups in participatory processes. There are examples of this approach translating into youth participation at the decision of the partner, such as the NZAP-funded disaster simulation project in Vanuatu. Ten of the questionnaire respondents said they consult youth when they carry out community consultations.

The practicality of including all stakeholders in participatory development was a common theme, including in both the regional agencies. RA1.0 stated:

> I mean, people say "Oh, you've got to have everyone involved in consultation" but,
> in reality it's really hard […] you can't have *everyone* in this room at the same time,

you know, so you've gotta kind of have a process where you <u>do</u> sort of, listen to <u>them</u> and you listen to <u>them</u> and you-

NGO2.2 implied that youth participation might only be possible where the whole community is involved because of traditional practices of not including youth. She explained that youth projects are sometimes resented by other segments of the community and, as such, it is important to first work with the whole community to build a relationship. NGO2 is well placed to speak to this as the livelihoods programme in Tonga and Vanuatu aligns with many of the recommendations highlighted in Chapters 1 and 3, including intergenerational cooperation and making youth representation democratic.

NGO1 struggled with implementing youth participation in its projects in the Pacific, partly due to cultural barriers such as young people not traditionally being encouraged to partake in decision-making processes. The lack of youth participation in NGO1's work in the Pacific was despite a strong focus on the CRC and the right of participation laid out within.

Both case study NGOs include youth in their advocacy and awareness-raising raising efforts in NZ. NZAP also reaches out to young people through the Youth Enterprise Scheme. The efforts addressed in the data were on the upper rungs of Hart's Ladder, including consulting and informing (level 5), adult-initiated with decision shared with children (level 6) and child-initiated and directed (level 7). Therefore, they constitute participation.

Both case study NGOs identified these three factors as facilitating youth participation:
- We have an organisational culture that is supportive of youth.
- We believe that we cannot undertake programmes for youth without consulting young people themselves.
- We value the perspectives of young people in the communities we work in.

These were also the most popular factors in the questionnaire, along with having one or more people who champion the cause of youth.

This research shows the responsibility of youth participation in the Pacific may lie with adults, as Theis (2007) contends. RA2.1 and YA confirmed that the model of youth participation in the Pacific is adult-initiated and facilitated. RA2.2 and YA pointed out that youth need to be

mentored in order to participate in high-level meetings. However, YA explained that young people should be able to direct this process, saying:

> There's donors who want to give them capacity building but [the youth group] wants to do its own work, within the collective. [...] They don't <u>want</u> the capacity building but they've been told they can't get funding unless they take on? Capacity building.

NZAP and NGO2 considered that the initiative should come from youth to organise themselves and approach the agencies to get involved in their work. This attitude is in line with McMurray's (2006) suggestion that youth groups operate in partnership with established NGOs, a stance that NZAP.1 also took. It does not, however, fit with the current model where youth do not tend to organise themselves and require mentoring to enable them to engage in development processes. Therefore, it is important that development agencies proactively engage young people in participatory activities.

8.2.2.4 Addressing gender inequality

As argued in sections 1.4.1 and 3.2.1, it is important that gender be mainstreamed in all initiatives in the Pacific, including youth development initiatives. While YM efforts should seek to address age inequality, so too should they be always mindful of gender inequality and seek to address the underlying power structures that contribute to it. This follows the UN (1997) definition of gender mainstreaming and is in keeping with the feminist theoretical framework that underpins gender mainstreaming (Rao & Kelleher 2005) and this thesis. YM should address discrimination against girls, women and sexual minorities and consider the gendered impacts of programmes on boys and men. This recommendation comes from many of the key texts and the findings of the case study.

Gender is mainstreamed in NZAP and NGO2 and both these agencies conduct projects specifically for women as well as gender equality efforts. NGO1 does not conduct projects specifically for women or explicitly mainstream gender but it is a large part of its work. Six organisations in the questionnaire have projects for youth in the Pacific that come under 'gender equality' and five have a gender mainstreaming policy. These results from the case study and questionnaire suggest that gender equality, including for youth, is being addressed in the Pacific by NZ development agencies.

8.2.2.5 Addressing other significant issues for youth

This thesis has focused on four other significant issues for youth arising in the literature on youth in the Pacific: education, employment, climate change and health. The research shows education and employment are the issues best addressed by NZ development agencies in the Pacific.

NZAP covers all four issues and both case study NGOs address climate change and, to some extent, education. NGO2 also addresses employment through its livelihoods programme in Vanuatu and Tonga. The questionnaire results showed education and employment/livelihoods are the most catered-for themes in the wider NZ NGO sector, along with gender equality and leadership/capacity building.

The focus on leadership training and capacity building is very positive for youth as it contributes to age equality. RA2.2 and YA explained that mentoring and training is important to build young people's ability to participate in development processes, mobilise their peers and advocate for their rights, including youth participation (section 3.4.2). RA1.0 explained that empowered youth have had significant effects on intergenerational partnership and including young people in decision-making processes in their communities. In this way, NZ development agencies are likely having transformative impacts for youth in the Pacific through these projects.

Environmental sustainability and health issues such as SRHR and healthy lifestyles are not being addressed in projects for youth in many agencies. However, environmental sustainability and healthy lifestyles featured strongly in youth declarations as issues that youth wished to work on. Leadership and capacity building discussed above can help young people better organise and engage in activities to address these issues. SRHR, although not addressed in many youth declarations, was identified as a significant health issue in other literature (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2009; SPC 2006; UNDP *et al* 2005) and by NZAP.2. Therefore, more NGOs working with youth should consider addressing SRHR.

The collection of age-disaggregated data is not a priority for any of the case study agencies, including NGO1, which has a focus on young people. They all collect sex-disaggregated data and if they also collected age-disaggregated data it would contribute to much-needed data on youth (UNICEF & SPC 2011; SPC 2006).

8.2.2.6 Partnership, collaboration and integration

The literature highlighted that barriers to youth development in the Pacific include a lack of partnership and collaboration among stakeholders (SPC 2009; McMurray 2006) and a lack of alignment with national, regional and international mandates on youth (SPC 2009).

All the case agencies worked in partnership to implement their programmes in the Pacific. NGO1 mainly partnered with its affiliate organisation for the Pacific region. NZAP and NGO2 worked with multiple partners, both Pacific and NZ-based, to implement projects. It is good to see this partnership model as it improves efficiency (UNICEF 2011; SPC 2006). With regards to partnering with youth, the interviewees from NZAP expressed a willingness to work with youth organisations such as the Pacific Youth Council to fill gaps in NZAP's participatory processes. NGO2 partnered with youth-specific organisations for its livelihoods programme. Partnering with or consulting youth organisations facilitates youth participation, allowing development initiatives to better address the rights and needs of youth (UNICEF *et al* 2005), even if they are not youth-focused.

The case study NGOs both made efforts to align their work with national youth policies but this was not evident in NZAP. NZ is committed to the Cairns Compact on Strengthening Development Cooperation, which acknowledges that PICTs should take leadership on their own development (MFAT No date). NZAP should therefore align its work with national youth policies as they are national policies developed by PICTs outlining their priorities and strategies on youth.

Youth declarations and regional documents on youth were not implemented by the case study agencies but the NGOs acknowledged them and used them for inspiration or, in the case of NGO1, advocacy. According to the questionnaire, no agencies used youth declarations in their work. Five agencies used the *Pacific Youth Strategy 2010*, four used the *State of the Pacific Youth Report 2011* and two used *Giving South Pacific Youth a Voice*. For youth to be mainstreamed in NZ development agencies there needs to be greater awareness of and alignment with these youth declarations and regional documents.

8.2.3   Challenges and opportunities for YM

The aim of this research and the third research question is to explore the challenges and opportunities for YM in NZ-based development agencies. Several challenges and opportunities to YM in NZ-based development agencies have become apparent in this thesis.

8.2.3.1 Challenges for YM

The first significant challenge to YM is constraints on resources, including funding, personnel and time. This was apparent in the interviews with RA1, NZAP and NGO1, from the questionnaire responses and from the experiences of current YM initiatives in the Pacific. RA1.0 stated:

> We don't have much capacity, no different to any other organisation really, apart from organisations like the Commonwealth Youth Programme, but that's a programme, and they just focus on youth […] but we didn't <u>have</u> a youth advisor for about 18 months before I arrived so when I arrived there was no money.

This statement indicates that mainstreaming youth requires funding beyond the salary of a youth advisor. It also implies that having a focus on youth facilitates capacity for youth work within the organisation. It is possible this has contributed to the compartmentalisation of youth development, by causing only a few youth-specific organisations or programmes to work on youth.

A lack of resources was also identified as a barrier to engaging young people in decision-making in the case study NGOs. Interviewees in both case study NGOs specifically referred to being unable to conduct capacity building to enable young people to contribute in this way. Inability to mentor young people is a challenge to YM as it means young staff members are not engaged in decision making or programme direction, which reduces the youth perspective on activities. Getting a youth perspective can also be hindered where decision-makers do not recognise the abilities of youth, as was the case in NGO1. Both NGO1.2 and RA1.0 spoke about the need to have decision-makers engage with youth in order for them to understand the need for their inclusion. Such engagement presents a potential solution to increasing youth participation in decision-making.

A lack of knowledge about and skills in youth development and YM is another considerable challenge to YM. This issue was highlighted through the questionnaire. There is also a lack of

prioritisation of youth with all the development agencies having many other groups and issues to consider. NZAP and NGO2 mentioned the difficulties of mainstreaming multiple issues or segments of the population, particularly when conducting participatory exercises. Challenges to youth participation in the case study NGOs, particularly relating to attitudes to youth in the community, mean it is not carried out in initial phases of projects. Youth are particularly at risk of being de-prioritised in participatory exercises given these challenges and the lack of knowledge about youth development.

Fostering working partnerships for youth work has its challenges, including for the regional agencies. Pooling resources is beneficial, as discussed in section 3.4.6, but these resources must come from somewhere and need to be administered by a particular partner. RA1.0 stated "the issues around turf and who's taking the lead and who's getting the glory and who's getting the money always come in". NZAP found through the evaluation of the Bougainville Health Communities projects (Whelan 2012) that although they had been advocating for collaboration between two NGOs for years, this had not come about. This lack of partnership is a significant challenge for YM and youth development. Further research to explore the challenges to partnership among development agencies would be useful to help overcome this.

8.2.3.2 Opportunities for YM

The most immediate opportunity for YM is that the case for youth development, explained in section 1.4, fits with various mandates, including ones focused on economic growth and those on human rights. RA2.2 stated:

> I would emphasise that I think NGOs and UN agencies have mandates and, so, they try to operate within honouring their mandates so maybe in some cases you don't necessarily see youth as a large component in some of the work. But, having said that, all the NGOs that I have worked with – perhaps because of my own perspective on youth – do, I think, include youth. […] And so, I think there's this emphasis on youth here in the Pacific, perhaps because that is the largest stakeholder or the largest demographic that they have to engage with.

RA2.2's observations corroborate NGO2's experience of youth being brought into a number of projects because of their perceived vulnerability. It may also be the reason why six questionnaire respondents reported mainstreaming youth, including two that do not have a focus on young people. NGO2 is not mandated to work for young people and yet youth were better

mainstreamed within NGO2 than in NGO1, which is mandated to work for children. Engaging youth is clearly an important component of a whole-of-community approach.

Another opportunity is that organisations can include youth in existing programmes without having to invest in specific youth projects. RA1.0's view is:

> The <u>thing is,</u> that donors don't have money for youth programmes to do…<u>this</u>: a youth employment programme and a youth health programme, so, I'm trying to influence donors to talk about what they already fund for employment in countries around income generation and employment services…to help them have a youth focus that actually responds to these outcome areas. And then we can resource through these area. I've spoken to several donors now and *none* of them say there's money for a youth programme. *But* they will consider looking at where they can have a focus but, it's not gonna happen naturally unless we actually <u>make</u> it a commitment that donors will not give money unless there <u>is</u> a youth focus in something that is being developed. [...] if we can get people to talk more about mainstreaming and that it comes out in different sectors, that would definitely help, I mean if you have an NGO working in the area of environment come into the Pacific and saying "We'll do an environment thing", "But you've got to have a youth focus"…that's <u>great</u>.

This statement shows donors in the Pacific are willing to stream youth into their existing operations. It also explains how mainstreaming can have a wider impact in more sectors. There is potential for this to be implemented through NZ development agencies. For example, NGO2 includes youth in some projects that are not youth specific and NZAP.1 suggested that NZAP could ring-fence funds for youth development in their aid.

Other opportunities include a willingness to learn about youth development and YM and alignment with the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Many agencies seem willing to learn about youth issues and YM, including all the case study agencies. Eight respondents in the questionnaire said the CRC informed their agency's work. The alignment of activities with the CRC is an opportunity to appeal to agencies to realise child and youth participation as a right and implement it.

8.2.4   Potential outcomes of YM

The final research question for this thesis is "How could YM in NZ development agencies facilitate better outcomes for Pacific young people and development in general?" Jahan (2005) highlights that outcomes from gender mainstreaming include increased awareness of gender issues, recognition that women have the knowledge and perspective to contribute to development and greater participation by women. YM, as defined in this thesis, could result in these outcomes for youth in NZ development agencies in which it is implemented. This research has found other outcomes, discussed below, could be achieved through NZ agencies' partners in the Pacific and their domestic work.

In all three case studies, programming is the imperative of the in-country partners, not the NZ-based organisation. This includes elements such as youth participation and the collection of age-disaggregated data. However, the NZ agencies have some say over the implementation of programmes, particularly through funding requirements and capacity building activities. In mainstreaming youth, NZ agencies could make a youth focus a requirement for funding, as suggested by RA1.0, and include youth development and youth participation in capacity building for their partners. YM in NZ development agencies would then have a positive impact in the Pacific through their in-country partners and all these partners' projects, not only those funded by NZ agencies.

YM could help address the problem of the lack of resources for youth development in the Pacific. NZAP and a number of NZ NGOs surveyed in this thesis already implement or support projects for youth in the region. Mainstreaming youth in existing projects that are not focused on young people, as suggested by RA1.0, would contribute to youth development without placing as much pressure on limited resources. It would also help address the lack of resources and mechanisms for youth participation highlighted by *The Suva Declaration*.

YM could help address the lack of data and information available about the Pacific's youth population. In mainstreaming youth in their operations, agencies should make an effort to maintain age-disaggregated data resulting from evaluation of their needs analysis, expenditure, participation and outcomes. With some partnership among agencies, this would contribute to a better picture of the needs and situation of youth in the region and the progress being made on these.

In NZ, the greater inclusion of youth in NGO's advocacy efforts could benefit youth in the Pacific. Their advocacy may result in increased support from the public and from politicians, leading to more funding for youth development from donations and aid.

8.3 Recommendations for NZ development agencies and further research

This thesis has highlighted a number of things NZ-based development agencies can do to mainstream a youth perspective in their activities. These recommendations are:

- Seek knowledge about and train staff on youth development and YM.
- Include youth in existing programmes. This requires fewer resources than establishing a project specifically for youth.
- Collaborate with other agencies and share best practice on youth development and youth participation.
- Encourage partner organisations to mainstream youth by building their capacity to work with youth and youth organisations.
- Consult national youth councils, youth ministries or other prominent youth organisations in-country.
- Build relationships with communities before trying to implement projects that focus on youth.
- Initiate engagement with youth as this is the model in the Pacific.
- Mentor young people to engage in development processes, including mentoring youth within the organisation to take decision-making roles.
- Engage youth advisors to sit on NGO boards.
- Facilitate opportunities for adult decision-makers to engage with youth.
- Collect age-disaggregated data.

These recommendations are based on analysis of the work of regional and NZ agencies and experiences of their staff and the challenges and opportunities to YM identified in this thesis.

My main recommendation for further research is to identify agencies that claim to mainstream youth and work with these agencies. This would facilitate a strengths-based approach in learning from how agencies perceive youth mainstreaming and facilitate it in their work. Further research to explore the challenges to partnership among development agencies would also be useful as collaboration appears to be more easily said than done.

8.4 Conclusion

This research has explored how youth are taken into account in NZ-based development agencies and the opportunities and challenges for YM. It has found that youth were considered in a number of agencies and some aspects of YM were implemented well. These aspects included the use of flexible, culturally-informed definitions of youth, a positive attitude to youth in the communities in which they work, youth participation in these communities, addressing gender inequality and other issues of importance to youth and partnership with in-country organisations. Aspects of YM that could be improved upon included attitudes to youth within the organisation and including young people in decision-making, partnering with other development agencies and aligning with youth declarations and regional documents.

Challenges for YM include resource constraints, a lack of knowledge on youth development and YM and challenges to youth participation and interagency cooperation. However, opportunity lies in the fact that youth fit with numerous development mandates, youth can be included in existing programmes for less cost and NZ development agencies are willing to learn about youth and YM. Implementing YM could result in improved outcomes for youth in the Pacific and for development in the region. I hope this thesis will contribute to industry knowledge and dialogue about youth development in the Pacific and encourage greater inclusion of youth in development initiatives in the region.

Appendix 1: Information Sheet – Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet for a Study of YM in NZ Development Agencies

Researcher: Kesaya Baba

School: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Faculty of Science, Victoria University of Wellington, NZ

Kia ora,

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project I am undertaking is examining the extent to which NZ development agencies mainstream youth in their work in the Pacific. The project has been approved by the Victoria University Ethics Committee.

I am conducting a qualitative case study of three development agencies based in NZ and am inviting staff at different levels of these organisations to participate in semi-structured interviews of approximately 45 minutes to an hour. The interviews will constitute the majority of the data and will be supplemented by an analysis of your organisation's documents and publications, as well as data from a questionnaire that has been distributed to members of the Council for International Development that work in the Pacific.

The interview can take place when and where you feel comfortable. I will tape-record the interview and you may request that the recorder be turned off at any point in the interview without having to give reasons. You will also have an opportunity to review the transcript of your interview before it is used for analysis purposes.

Responses collected will form the basis of my research project, one to two academic articles and a thesis report on a confidential basis. It will not be possible for you to be identified

personally and efforts will be made to hide the identity of your organisation. All material collected will be kept confidential. The only people whowill see the research material will be my supervisor, Senior LecturerDr Sara Kindon, and I. The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals. Data collected will be destroyed two years after the end of the project.

Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you may do so without question at any time before the data analysis is complete. Just let me know within one week after the interviews.

Thank you very much for your time. This research will contribute to industry knowledge on how NZ development agencies approach youth in their Pacific development initiatives. Should you be interested, you will have the opportunity to receive feedback in the form of a summary of the findings of the research.

If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at babakesa@myvuw.ac.nz. You may also contact my supervisor, Sara Kindon, at the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences at Victoria University, P O Box 600, Wellington, phone +64 4 463 6194, email: sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz.

Signed,
Kesaya Baba

Appendix 2: Consent Form – Interviews

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of project: YM in Pacific Development Initiatives: Challenges and Opportunities

This consent form outlines my rights as a participant in the above research project being conducted by Kesaya Baba, Masters Student in Development Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

    I understand that:

- My participation is entirely voluntary and I agree to participate in an interview for the purpose of this research. I may choose to decline to answer any questions asked in the interview.

- The interview will be audio-recorded, on the understanding that the tape recording of interviews will be electronically wiped and any related notes destroyed two years after completion of the project.

- I may request to have the tape turned off at any point in the interview and will have an opportunity to check the transcript of my interview before it is used in research.

- I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project within one week of the interview. Any data that has been collected will be destroyed upon withdrawal.

- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor and will be reported only in a non-attributable form. I consent to information or opinions which I have given being reported in this way.

Name of participant: _____

Signature: _____   Date: _____

☐ I would like to be sent a summary of the findings of this research.

☐ I would like to be notified of any publications that result from this research.

My email address is: _____

Appendix 3: Information Sheet – Questionnaire

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet for a Study of YM in NZ Development Agencies

Researcher: Kesaya Baba

School: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Faculty of Science, Victoria University of Wellington, NZ

Kia ora,

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project I am undertaking is examining the extent to which NZ development agencies mainstream youth in their work in the Pacific. The project has been approved by the Victoria University Ethics Committee.

I am writing to request your input to this research by way of a questionnaire. The questionnaire comprises 20 questions and should only take about 30 minutes to complete. You have been identified as a useful contributor as your organisation is a member of the Council for International Development and conducts work in the Pacific.

Responses to the questionnaire will be anonymous and will be reported on an anonymous basis. They will contribute to my research project, one to two academic articles and a thesis report. It will not be possible for you to be identified personally and efforts will be made to hide the identity of your organisation. All material collected will be kept confidential. The only people who will see the research material will be my supervisor, Senior Lecturer Dr Sara Kindon, and I. The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. It is intended that one or more articles will be submitted for publication in scholarly journals. Data collected will be destroyed two years after the end of the project.

Thank you very much for your time. This research will contribute to industry knowledge on how NZ development agencies approach youth in their Pacific development initiatives. Should you

be interested, a summary of the findings of the research will be made available to you via the CID website and e-newsletter.

If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at babakesa@myvuw.ac.nz. You may also contact my supervisor, Sara Kindon, at the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences at Victoria University, P O Box 600, Wellington, phone +64 4 463 6194, email: sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz.

Kind regards,

Kesaya Baba

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