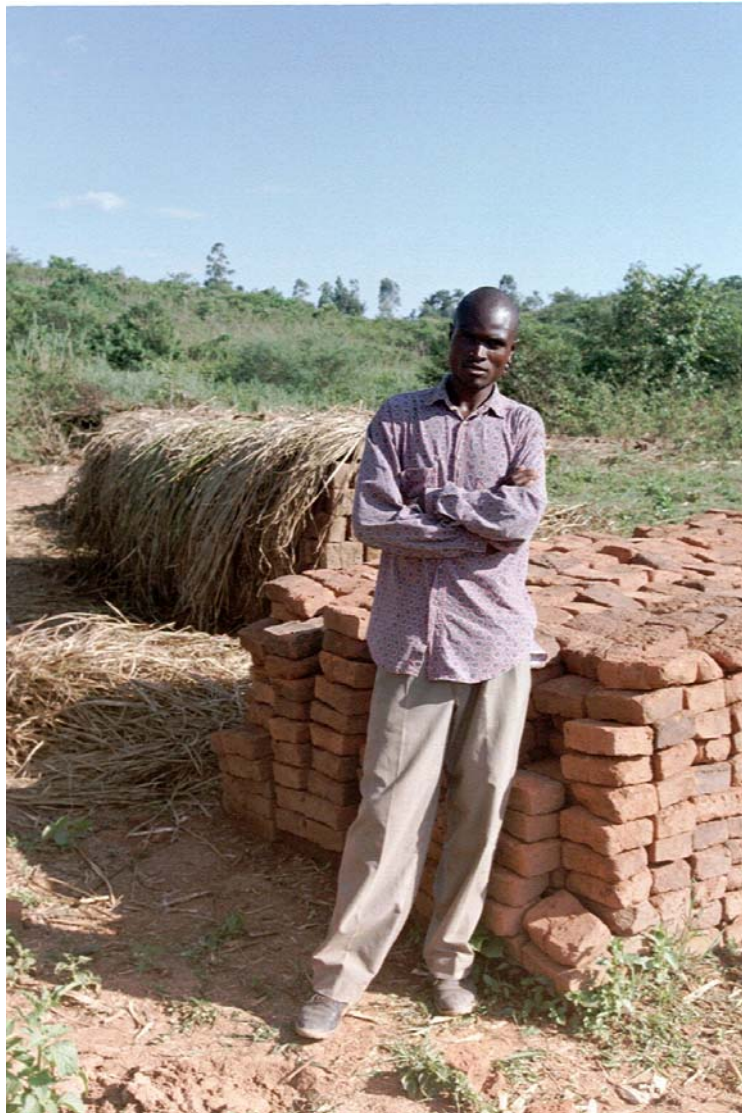# The Visibility Of Youth In Rural Development Policies In Uganda And Kenya:

A Review Of Documents With Some Observations, And A Discussion.

(July 2005- with minor corrections added in December 2005)

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this paper is to present data and key findings emerging from a review of the representation of youth in rural and other relevant crosscutting development policies and strategies of Uganda and Kenya. The review focuses on formal statements of policy and does not directly concern itself with processes of policy formulation or implementation of strategies and impact. However, the findings of the review do have implications for these other aspects of the broader policy process.

This review illustrates that youth are only occasionally visible in core NR-related policy documents and even where "youth" is mentioned within policy documents, it appears as a hollow and often residual category, lacking in meaning and context. In summary, there appears to be a fundamental contradiction between the absence of substantive discussion of youth interests and needs and the rhetorical commitment to the idea that "youth are our future" and thus central to rural development processes. It is argued that without explicit recognition of youth in mainstream statements of policy intent, it is unsurprising that there should be an absence of focus on youth in implementation strategies or assessments of impact.

A concluding discussion provides an indication as to how further theoretical and conceptual developments can help policy makers to move beyond the present impasse. Care is taken to avoid the promotion of "youth" as yet another "vulnerable group". Rather, it is argued that the use of a "life-course perspective ", which emphasizes age as a social construct, can draw attention to the dynamics of the social relationships and bring meaning to age-based identities.

It is argued that the application of a life course approach to understanding the choices and decisions of a young person that make up their livelihood strategy are highly relevant to critical issues concerning natural resource management. Examples are provided to illustrate how a life-course perspective can be utilized to gain a clearer conception of what constitutes a "livelihood" and on what basis it could be judged "sustainable".

Contents

Abbreviations used to identify policy documents

Uganda

LSSP   Land Sector Strategic Plan

NAADS   National Agricultural Advisory Services (Also appears as NAAS in some quoted local documents)

NAPY   National Action Plan on Youth

NEAP   National Environment Action Plan

NYP   National Youth Policy

PMA   Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture

PEAP   Poverty Eradication Action Plan

UFP   Uganda Forestry Policy

Kenya

EMCA   Environmental Management and Co-ordination Act

ERSWEC   Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth Employment Creation

IPRSP   Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

IPERSWEC Investment Programme for the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation

KNYP   Kenya National Youth Policy

KRDS   Kenya Rural Development Strategy

NARWS   National Assessment Report for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (

SDS PEAP   The Social Development Sector PEAP Revision Paper

UPPAP   Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Programme

Introduction

Background

Arguments that express the importance of youth in society are based on many and varied ideas and reasoning. Common among them are the truistic "youth are our future" viewpoints which are often linked to concerns over the vulnerability of youth and hence their dependency on adults. Whatever one feels of such ideas, an appreciation of the numbers alone might appear to provide sufficient basis to ensure that policy makers and practitioners around the world would take account of the lives of young people. At the turn of the 21st century, 1.7 billion people — more than one-fourth of the world's six billion people — were between the ages of 10 and 24. And when considering population distribution of less developed countries, one might imagine that the centrality of young people in issues of development and poverty eradication would be self-evident. In Kenya, for example, it is estimated that 34.4% of the population is between the ages of 10 and 24. In Uganda, the same age range makes up around 34.8% of the total population. (US Census Bureau International Data Base) The majority of these young people live in rural areas wherein reside the majority of the poor.

Population by Age and Sex: Less and More Developed Regions, 2000
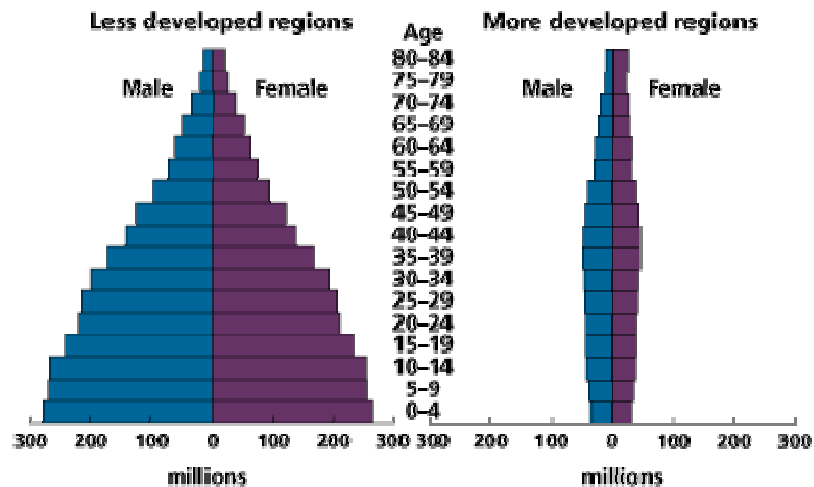
Source: United Nations Population Division, 1998.

However, sheer weight of numbers alone does not ensure visibility or recognition, let alone understanding, or representation in policy or practice. Were it otherwise, the world would be a very different place, especially for the disadvantaged and marginalised.

About The Review

The purpose of this paper is to present key findings emerging from a review of the representation of youth concerns in rural and other relevant cross-cutting development policies and strategies of Uganda and Kenya.

The review focuses on formal statements of policy and does not directly concern itself with processes of policy formulation or implementation of strategies and impact. However, the findings of the review do have implications for these other aspects of the broader policy process, and especially so in the case of more recent donor-supported "road-map" policies that have involved considerable commitment to consultation processes in their development.

The review is wide ranging in terms of the policy documents consulted in an effort to cover many of the areas of policy that inevitably touch the lives and livelihoods of young rural people. However, given the ever-changing policy context, this should be treated as an illustrative review rather than a comprehensive discussion that covers each and every relevant policy area. Neither the Health nor Education Sectors are explored, though with respect the latter, further investigation into support for formative livelihoods through non-formal education may well prove instructive.

There are ever-increasing recognised approaches to the analysis of policy, some of which are fairly sophisticated in their frameworks of analysis. Initially, it was anticipated that the material gathered would support a more complex analysis of policy arguments. For example, exploration of the objectification of "youth" as a social category, and the relationship of this to ideas of change, process and other social issues through the use of narratives, rhetoric and "persuasive discourse". Originally it was anticipated that analysis could be made to assess the extent to which such "persuasive discourse" related to the evidence base, and was supported by "knowledge". However, from an initial investigation, it quickly became apparent that the fundamental issues were less concerned with how youth were "represented" than whether they were being represented at all.

In this study, therefore, it was deemed appropriate to follow a basic approach, reminiscent on early gender analyses, and to focus on identifying the visibility (or absence) of youth-related concerns in policy and strategy documents.

The review primarily focuses on:

- Identifying the extent to which expression of the particular needs of young people are visible in current rural and related cross-cutting development policies and strategies

- Identifying the extent to which rural issues in general and NRM issues in particular are considered within national youth policies and strategies

- Discussing the implications of the findings for the future development of policy and practice to support the lives and livelihoods of rural youth.

Section One: Uganda

Poverty Eradication Action Plan, 2004/5- 2007/8 (2004)

And reference to "The Social Development Sector PEAP Revision Paper, First Draft (undated but probably 2004)

	Mention of youth (and young)	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged (groups)
PEAP	7 (8 young)	185	113	76	300	98	17 (and 8)

Background

The Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) is an emerging and changing framework used by the GOU to address the key poverty challenges. It was first developed and launched in 1997. During the process of implementation of PEAP, new challenges arose which led to the first revision of the PEAP in 2000. Further revisions were made in from November 2002 and during 2003, leading to the current plan, which covers financial year 2004/5 until 2007/8. These series of Plans explain how the Ugandan government has sought to meet its ambitious resolution of reducing the proportion of the population living in absolute poverty, which stood at 44% in 1997 to below 10% by 2017. The current version also explores the challenge of increasing inequality within the country.

Since 1997 onwards, various versions of PEAP have emphasized the need for a multi-sectoral approach, and have acknowledged the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. The original PEAP identified four main goals, often referred to as "pillars".

1. To create a framework for rapid economic growth and structural transformation

2. To ensure good governance and security

3. To increase the ability of the poor to raise incomes

4. To increase the quality of life of the poor

The most recent version of the plan has increased this number to five pillars. Whilst the new pillars make less reference to poverty, the PEAP argues they provide a more explicit framework for action in efforts to transform Uganda into a middle-income country (PEAP p.4). One noticeable trend is the re-framing of these objectives to make them more "functional" and "allow sectors to relate to various parts of the PEAP in the implementation process" (ibid.) (See text-box 1)

Text Box 1 :   Pillars and Priorities of the PEAP 2004/5- 2007/8

Economic management

    • The maintenance of macroeconomic stability

    • Fiscal consolidation

    • Boosting private investment

Production, competitiveness and incomes

    • The modernisation of agriculture

    • Preservation of the natural resource base, particularly soil and forests

    • Infrastructure including roads, electricity and railways; better maintenance, cost- reduction and private sector participation will be key to achieving improvements in the context of fiscal consolidation.

    • Enhancing private sector skills and business development.

Security, conflict-resolution and disaster-management

    • Ending rebel insurgency, by peaceful means if possible

    • Ending cattle-rustling

    • Dealing with internal displacement and abduction, which are major sources of distress in contemporary Uganda

Governance

    • Human rights and democratisation

    • The development of a better legal system

    • Transparency, accountability and the elimination of corruption

Human development

    • Primary and secondary education: with a clear focus on quality and the ultimate objective of learning, and with better targeting of public expenditure on secondary education at those who could not otherwise afford it.

    • Improving health outcomes: this will be the joint achievement of several sectors

    • Increasing people's ability to plan the size of their families

    • Community empowerment including adult literacy

    (Adapted from PEAP, 2004, p.5-6)

The PEAP aims to provide a comprehensive framework for overall development within Uganda. As an example of this centrality, the PMA (discussed elsewhere) was prepared within the PEAP framework. However, more recently, criticisms have been made arguing that PEAP failed to acknowledge potentially critical role of agriculture in the alleviation and eradication of poverty. The Guidelines for Mainstreaming Environment and Natural Resource (ENR) issues in the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (2003), for example, argues that ENR issues have still not been "adequately covered and still remain almost invisible within PEAP" (p.3)

Despite these criticisms, PEAP, which freely acknowledges that many of the poorest households depend heavily on their own agricultural production, offers considerable discussion on the issue of poverty within the rural sector. For example,

> "Self-employment within agriculture remains the largest single income source, although its share has fallen over time. In 1997, its average share in incomes was over 50%; this remained the case for the poorest 40% of households in 1999-2000." (PEAP p.22) and

> "Because of the country's geographical position and strong (though vulnerable) natural resource base, one of the main forms of industrialisation will be value-addition by processing agricultural products. For this to happen, the country's farmers need to understand the technical and quality requirements of commercial production. The incomes generated as a result will represent a crucial infusion into rural areas, where most poor people in Uganda live." (PEAP, p.1)

Significantly, however, PEAP also observes that non-agricultural enterprises have become an increasingly important as a "route out of poverty" (PEAP p.2) and now provide an average share of about 15% of rural incomes (PEAP p.22)

Social Representation

PEAP notes "Government is committed to serving all citizens of Uganda irrespective of ethnic background, sex, or religious beliefs. This fundamental commitment will underlie all Government policies in the PEAP". (PEAP p.8) However, chapter 2, which discusses the meaning and measurement of Poverty, also poses the question "who are the poor?" (PEAP Section 2.2 p.18) Here PEAP reaffirms the fact that the largest group of poor households in Uganda has consistently been those in agriculture.

PEAP recognises Gender as one of three cross-cutting issues that arise under all pillars, the others being HIV/Aids and the Environment. (PEAP p.6) It draws attention to the on-going consultations of the "gender sector working group" and its role in the policy review process. (PEAP p.3) PEAP offers a fairly sophisticated approach in representing the interests and needs of women. It states, "It is too simple to say that women are poorer than men. However, there are specific groups of women who are particularly likely to be poor, and there are some dimensions of poverty in which women are generally at a disadvantage." (PEAP p. 19) whilst at the same time arguing that "removing constraints caused by HIV/AIDS, Environment and above all gender inequalities is key to achieving Uganda's poverty eradication goals. (PEAP p.4)

PEAP also identifies a range of other vulnerable groups.

"Government through various social policies and programmes for dis-
advantaged groups like, women, widows, the youth, the elderly, neglected
children and orphans, people with disabilities, the displaced and refugees are
central to poverty reduction initiatives over the PEAP period." (PEAP p.29)

 Interestingly, youth are not included in a similar list presented in an earlier table
(PEAP p.21) PEAP's identification of a limited range of vulnerable groups has
recently been raised in the Social Development Sector PEAP revision paper which, in
turn, proposes a rather lengthier list of categories. (See Text Box 3) It is too soon to
know whether these proposals will be incorporated into new versions of PEAP.

Text Box 2 : *Identification of "Disadvantaged Groups" in PEAP*

Orphans and other vulnerable children
> *"About 14% of children below 18 have lost at least one parent, and 3%
> have lost both. For children aged 6-17, as many as 20% have lost at least
> one parent mostly as a result of HIV and conflict… Government's strategy
> for orphans and other vulnerable children has identified other vulnerable
> groups of children as: those who are living on their own including the
> estimated 10,000 street children living in the municipalities of Uganda"*

The elderly
> *"In some cases, the elderly are relatively vulnerable. In particular…female
> widows are relatively likely to be poor."*

The disabled
> *"Disabled people suffer relative income poverty in addition to the reduction
> in their quality of life caused by their disability, the social stigma
> sometimes experienced, and more limited access to services. "*

The chronically ill

The displaced
(PEAP p.20-21)

There are six mentions of "youth" within the main text of PEAP". Of these, three are
of the general "women, youth and disabled" variety that have no specific reference to
youth issues. There is no mention of the lives or livelihoods of rural youth.

Other references to youth within PEAP generally associate youth with social
problems. For example, PEAP notes Juvenile crime (especially economic crime) is
on the increase.

> "Two categories are of particular importance: defilement and economic crime.
> Defilement cases reported have risen by 87.9% over the period of 5 years,
> contributing to a 95% increase in youth charged with capital crimes.
> Defilement is related to poverty, armed conflict, orphan hood and 'street
> children'.
>
> Economic crime among young people is often a reflection of poverty and
> domestic problems. A study by Save the Children, UK10 argues, "physical
> and emotional deprivation is a factor behind juvenile crime (especially

theft)…and needs to be addressed in terms of general poverty alleviation…"
(PEAP p.120)

Four of eight references to "the young" relate specifically to their being an "at risk category" with respect to HIV/AIDS.

"By killing primarily young adults, AIDS does more than destroy the human capital; it also deprives their children of the requirements (parents' care, knowledge, and capacity to finance education) to become economically productive adults. This weakening of the mechanism through which human capital is transmitted across generations becomes apparent only after a long time lag, and it is progressively cumulative in its effects " (PEAP p.xxiii)

There are many similar references to "children" in PEAP that relate to their care, protection and maintenance as dependents. (e.g. PEAP p.176). Issues discussed centre around education, vulnerability in the context of HIV/AIDS, orphans and street children, (e.g. PEAP p.150ff), and other health issues. There is also a more specific discussion of the need to respond to the effect of the conflict in the north on children (e.g. reintegration of children abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army). PEAP notes that the legal framework for children's rights in Uganda is embedded in the Children's Statute, 1996. This consolidates the law relating to children and covers parents' responsibilities, local authority support (including provision for a family and children's court) and the treatment of children charged with offences.

However, three other references indicate the possibility of adopting a rather different perspective of young people. One discussion concerns the raft of "affirmative action" measures implemented in an effort to widen effective representation at the local level. Drawing attention to the process of decentralisation in Uganda, guided by the Local Government Statute of 1993, the 1995 Constitution and the 1997 Local Government Act, it notes the "legal requirement that 30% of the Parliament and Local Councils is comprised of women representatives in addition to provision for representatives of youth and people with disabilities." (PEAP p.135) Unfortunately there is no discussion of the effectiveness of such provision, or its role in poverty alleviation.

The two further anecdotal examples seem to affirm a rather more positive view of young people. Within a broader discussion of local government it is noted "Project-based experience has shown that children can participate actively in community decisions. These experiences will be used to encourage greater participation by children". (PEAP p.135) However, we are not told what these "project experiences are"

And finally, within a discussion on the Fisheries sector we read

"A key feature of the new fisheries co-management approach is the formation of legally empowered community Beach Management Units (BMUs) at fish landing sites for fisheries planning and management. BMUs explicitly involve women, young people and the poor in decision-making structures and processes to ensure their interests are included in the management and sustainable use of the resources, thereby reducing the vulnerability of poorer stakeholders within fisheries communities". (PEAP p.79)

Again, there is no explanation as to why this explicit involvement had been sought, or to what effect.

Finally, the patchy recognition of youth within the main text of PEAP is reflected in the appended "Policy Matrices" that spell out, in some considerable detail, the various target and policy actions of PEAP. (p.223-239). There is no mention of youth here, rural or otherwise, and thus no specifically youth-related output to measure, to monitor or to which to report.

***Text Box 3** : Identification of Vulnerable groups in SDS PEAP Revision Paper*

Vulnerable Group	Key Mediating factors for vulnerability
Women	• Lack of rights/ control over major productive assets • Traditional roles ascribed by society
Widows	• Land/property grabbed by relatives and in-laws • Burden of orphans • Many sons sharing and fragmenting land
Youth	• Limited access to productive assets • Inadequate education or vocational skills • Early marriages • Ignorance and lack of information • Traditional roles ascribed by society (female youth)
Elderly	• Lack of productive assets • Inability to exploit available resources • Lack a social support network • Burden of looking after orphans
Neglected Children	• Being part of large families • Lack of social support and social protection mechanisms • Being physically disabled
Orphans	• Lack of basic necessities- food, housing, clothing • Staying in large families with limited parental case • Living with HIV/AIDS • No support for health and education • Lack of productive assets
Persons with Disabilities	• Discrimination in households and Community • Lack of ownership of key assets like land • Taxation • Inability to engage in income generation
Displaced Refugees	• Exclusion from accessing social services • Lack of basic necessities
Retrenches	• Lack of jobs and skills for self-employment • Lack of income • Delayed payment of severance packages
Nomadic Pastoralists	• Lack of land • Lack of social services • Lack of water

(SDS PEAP p.24)

National Environment Action Plan (1995)

	Mention of youth (and young)	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups
NEAP	7	11	27	12	17	0	3 1 ref to "lower income groups"

Background

Uganda's National Environment Action Plan (NEAP) is set against the backdrop of the degradation of the environment and depletion of the country's natural resources. (NEAP p. xii) NEAP is described as "a framework for addressing the above problems as well as a strategy for integrating environmental issues into the national socio-economic planning and development process" and aims to offer "practical solutions and options in the areas of policy, legislation, institutional reforms and new investments with the view of promoting sustainable socioeconomic development by changing peoples ways of utilizing and conserving natural resources." (ibid)

Social representation

The introduction of the NEAP notes that "Despite the country's high natural resource potential, factors such as poverty, population growth, unpalatable economic policies, the desire for a steady increase in per capita income, and other pressures of the development process are putting severe strain on the environment and natural resources". (NEAP p. xii.) And emphasizes the need to promote "sustainable socioeconomic development by changing peoples ways of utilizing and conserving natural resources." (ibid)

In general, however, the Plan is vague with respect to which people in particular need to change their ways of utilising natural resources. Written prior to more recent influential poverty-focused policies and strategies, it is perhaps not surprising that references to poverty and related issues are limited. Interestingly, the one clear instance of how the language of social policy concern has been integrated throughout the document is that of gender which is recognised as an important "cross-sectoral policy".

The Plan offers a fairly detailed rationale justifying the need for inclusion of gender issues and this, in turn, is supported by the identification of gender-focused strategies. These are indicated in text box 4 below.

Elsewhere the report mentions the need for gender "awakening objectives" and of the need to increase access to opportunities for women, and enhancing their participation (NEAP p.179)

In contrast there is little explicit recognition of the particular interests or needs of younger people within the Plan. As commonly found elsewhere, the lives of younger people are frequently associated with that of women, and thus to all intents and

purposes placed under the stewardship of adults. The following quotation illustrates this tendency.

> "Effective involvement of women and youth in natural resource policy formulation, planning, decision making, management and programme implementation management is essential and should be encouraged" (NEAP p.66)

Another point worth noting is the interchangeability of the terms "youth" and "children" within the document that takes place without any apparent change in meaning. For example, we read of

> "Disadvantaged groups, particularly women, children and disabled" (NEAP p.86)

> "Disadvantaged groups, such as women, the aging and the youth". (p. NEAP 166)

Whilst distinguishing youth from children may be problematic, within the NEAP it is clear that both terms are treated as residual categories whose meaning is mostly derived from the preceding reference to "women"- their carers. There is no explanation for the identification of youth or children as a "disadvantaged group"

__Text Box 4__: __NEAP's commitment to integration of gender__

"In general, attitudes and assumptions within the household and society are often faulty and tend to ignore the different roles and responsibilities of women and men. For example, not all households headed by a male are better managed than those headed by a female and both can have just as much impact (either positive or negative) on the environment. The exclusion of women from natural resource management activities (including training and extension) has partially contributed to the lack of behavioral change with regard to environmental degradation.

Objective:
To integrate gender concerns in environmental policy planning, decisions making and implementation at all levels to ensure sustainable social and economic development.

Strategies are to:

(i)   Integrate gender concerns in existing and proposed policies and programmes;

(ii)   Collect gender desegregated information related to the environment including the human factors;

(iii)   Include gender roles and analysis in environmental management training programmes at all levels;

(iii)   Facilitate participation of both men and women in formal and informal education, training, public awareness campaigns and decision making in environmental and natural resource management;

(v)   Establish an institutional mechanism to review existing and proposed programmes to integrate gender issues

                                                      (NEAP p.83)

As is the case with other NRM policy documents under review, environmental issues are framed by the concerns of intergenerational sustainability. The introduction refers to "Uganda's commitment to development planning which is environmentally sustainable and which brings benefits of a better life for this generation and those to come." (NEAP p.xvii)

Elsewhere in the report we read "Sustainable economic growth for the present and future generations is not feasible unless there is corresponding sound use and management of the environment and resources. This requires that society fully understands the full range of social and economic benefits accruing from the environment. " (NEAP p.127)

One might reasonably argue that the prior need is to fully understand how the social and economic benefits accruing from the environment are distributed within "society" on the basis of its varied users and uses. With the exception of its treatment of gender issues, such sensitivity is basically absent from the NEAP. The report does note that

> "The environment of human settlements is a basic factor governing the health, and the quality of life of the people who live in them. The effect is more pronounced on those who spend most of their time in and around the home, such as infants, young children and the elderly. " (NEAP p.54)

But goes little further than this.

Ironically, the NEAP by virtue of its explanation of the composition of "the District Environment Committee" does provide a clear strategy whereby the youth are provided the opportunity to participate in environmental issues at the local level.

> "The DEC will be composed of RCV[1] Councillors as decided by the DRC. Relevant heads of government departments (depending on the environmental problems in the district), representatives of non governmental organizations, women's and youth groups representatives, and the private sector will be ex-officio members. However, the composition will specifically be determined by the districts themselves." (NEAP p.123-4)

The justification for this measure is not explained.

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[1] Resistance Council; V is 5 and refers to the district level.

Land Sector Strategic Plan 2001-2011 (2001)

	Mention of youth	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups
LSSP	1 (as young women)	6	45	27	67	16	34

Background

The Land Sector Strategic Plan is described as "the operational, institutional and financial framework for the implementation of sector wide reforms and land management including the implementation of the Land Act." developed through a process of research, analysis and consultation with national, district and sub-county level stakeholders. (LSSP p.i)

The LSPP is informed by both the PEAP and PMA and thus it is not surprising that poverty issues are highlighted in the document. It notes that the land sector impacts on poverty in three main ways: through unequal land distribution, through land tenure insecurity, and through inequitable systems and processes. (LSSP p.12-13)

Social representation

The LSSP affirms a commitment to "Provide equal opportunities for a safe and healthy life for all, promote social integration, gender equality and support disadvantaged groups in human settlement development." (LSSP p.3.) With reference to the Rio Declaration (Agenda 21), it also asserts the commitment to achieve sustainable development that "Meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (ibid).

Despite the presence of these inclusive statements, social policy concerns generally focus on poverty, gender and women. Whilst reference is made to "the poor" and "vulnerable groups", these terms are mostly used in a fairly non-explicit manner in the strategy.

For example,

> The protection of vulnerable groups - women, children, the disabled, and others - features prominently as a desired outcome of the LSSP, in concurrence with a broader positive effect on poverty. (LSSP p.20)

Significantly, poverty and vulnerability are often associated with either "women" in the text. Indeed it is in this direction where the document is most explicit with respect to recognition of beneficiaries and their needs.

The discussion is informed with reference to the concept of "gender", which is recognized as a "cross-cutting issue" for all sector policies and programmes. The LSSP draws attention to the "The National Gender Policy (1997) which,

> "emphasises the necessity of equal participation of women and men in economic, political, civil and social development. It notes the gender disparity in access to and control over economically significant resources and benefits. In this sense, the land sector is particularly important due to very high disparity between male and female land ownership" (LSSP p.6)

The strategy talks of "gender equity", "gender responsiveness", "gender balance" "gender bias", "gender discrimination", the need for "gender -disaggregated data" and of "mainstreaming gender issues" (e.g. LSSP p.36 and see text box 5)

Text Box 5: LSSP on gender and women's land rights

"The gender structure of land rights in Uganda varies across the country but in general is highly unequal, with women's rights generally limited to access while men are more likely to have ownership rights, and women's rights being less secure than those of men. Evidence shows that, particularly for rural women, this inequality of access to the key productive asset is a fundamental determinant of poverty and social disadvantage. Without secure rights to land, women's ability and incentives to participate in income-expanding economic activity are reduced4. The need to strengthen women's land rights in order to achieve poverty reduction is recognised in the PEAP and the PMA. Not only do women have weaker land rights, but there is a traditional cultural bias against women's involvement in decision making on land issues. Many people continue to regard land as a 'man's issue'. Recent legislative changes have introduced minimum quotas for women's representation on various land sector decision-making bodies. However, the land sector remains dominated by men at all levels."

(LSSP p.15)

The existence of child-headed households is acknowledged. (LSSP p.15) However, the only explicit mention of young people as users of land is to note that rights of family members have been strengthened under the Land Act 1998, and specifically that "spouses and children must consent to transactions in land where they usually live" whereas for orphans the "Land Committee should give its consent." (LSSP p.2)

The only mention of youth within the 81-page document is that the LSSP "will pursue an outreach policy to encourage more young women into the land sector professions." (LSSP p.36)

In summary, despite recognition of the central role of land in poverty eradication issues, and reference to the need for "intergenerational sustainability", the LSSP offers no explicit discussion of the particular needs of young people. The invisibility of youth is made all the more noticeable from the fairly extensive and sophisticated discussion of gender issues within the strategy, Whilst children are identified as a "vulnerable group", and the existence of child-headed households noted, there is no recognition of the agency of youth, nor of their contribution to social or economic life.

Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (2000)

	Mention of youth (and young)	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged (groups)
PMA pop	2 (1 young)	8	8	1	9	11	3
PMA Full	18 (1 young)	11	65	51	Over 200	Over 100	14

Background

The PMA is the Uganda government's framework for "modernising agriculture". It describes itself as

> "a strategic and operational framework for effectively transforming the livelihoods of the majority of the subsistence farmers in Uganda through reforming institutional and organisational structures and changing the type and methods of service delivery in the agriculture sector." (PMA Full p.1)

Its emphasis is on providing an enabling framework within which commercial agriculture can thrive wherein "ordinary people" will have the opportunity to move away from subsistence agriculture. The underlying rationale is that more and better commercial agriculture means that rural poverty can start to be eradicated.

The focus on Poverty issues within the PMA is clear from the start. The executive summary to the PMA identifies it as "is part of the Government of Uganda's broader strategy of poverty eradication contained in the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) of 1997" and draws attention to the objectives of " directly increasing the ability of the poor to raise incomes; and directly increasing the quality of life of the poor. (PMA Full p.vi). Reference is made to the fact the PMA is based upon the "poor people's perspectives that are contained in various poverty studies in Uganda, especially the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Project (UPPAP) which was carried out in 67 communities in 9 pilot districts of Uganda." (ibid.)

Two versions of the PMA were reviewed. The PMA Full refers to the formal complete document. The "popular version" is an illustrated abridged version, designed to explain the purpose of the PMA to a wider Ugandan audience.

Social Representation

The rhetoric of poverty alleviation permeates both the Full and Popular versions of the PMA. There is considerable emphasis on understanding the "the perspectives of poor farmers", and Chapter 2 of the PMA Full offers both a conceptual discussion of poverty (i.e. its complexity and multi-dimensionality) as well as a more practical exploration of potential alleviation strategies.

The discussion on poverty is largely framed with reference to the broad identifying category of "poor farmers" (though in Chapter 4, entitled "Vision, mission and strategy", this is largely replaced with the use of "subsistence farmer".) At times, the focus on "farmers" appears rather narrow. For example, the statements such as "Poor farmers stated that poverty was due to low production" (PMA Full p.11) and, "The main target beneficiaries of the PMA interventions are the subsistence farmers who constitute the majority of the poor in rural areas". (PMA Full p.29) do not recognise other critical elements of rural livelihood strategies.

On the other hand, emphasis on livelihoods approaches, do provide a broader context for understanding.

> "Over 85 percent of Uganda's population live in rural areas where agriculture is the major contributor to their livelihoods. From the poor household's perspective, improving their agriculture-based livelihoods means transforming agriculture by enhancing their capital assets – natural, physical, financial, human and social. The interventions in this document are, therefore, intended to augment the poor farmers' capital assets, thus improving their livelihoods in a sustainable manner". (PMA Full vi.)

The report also makes frequent mention of "improving" and "transforming" livelihoods, albeit in a "sustainable" manner (e.g. NAADS Full pp. vi, 1,2,8, 29, 64). However, no explicit recognition of the process by which livelihoods are established in the first place is made within the PMA.

Whilst much of the discussion is focused on "the poor", the PMA also offers a more detailed deconstruction of various "vulnerable groups", as shown in text box 6 below. However, of these, it is discussion of women that is most extensive within the PMA.

Text Box 6: "Who are the most vulnerable to poverty?"

- *"Women. Many women have limited economic opportunities due to their role in society and their relationships with men.*

- *Widows and female-headed households.*

- *Male youth. They are disaffected due to the lack of opportunities for financial gain and consequently, social well-being.*

- *Households with large families.*

- *People dependent on a relatively vulnerable source of income. This group includes fishermen, nomads and small-scale farmers who rely on growing one low-value crop for sale.*

- *Casual labourers.*

Others. Orphans and neglected children, the disabled, socially isolated, the sick and others. "

(Adapted from PMA full p.8)

The PMA notes "women lag behind men in terms of education level and income earnings. Women have limited economic opportunities due to their societal roles and responsibilities, their low social status, relationships with men, lack of ownership and access to productive assets, low participation in decision making, and high workload." (PMA Full p.9) In explaining its position with respect women, the PMA makes explicit reference to the National Gender Policy, which was formulated in 1997 under the auspices of the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MOGLSD). Noting that its "overall goal is to mainstream gender issues and concerns into the national development process in order to improve the social, legal, political, economic and cultural conditions of the people of Uganda, particularly women" the PMA asserts that it "will ensure that gender concerns are routinely and adequately addressed in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all interventions and institutions. " (PMA Full p.38)

The significance of gender analysis in shaping and informing the discussion of women within the PMA can be seen through references to the "division of labour" and the "reproductive" and "community activities", "subordinate roles" and "intra-household benefits". At times the discussion is both focused and sustained.

> "Given the gender inequalities in Uganda, operationalizing the PMA will require special considerations to gender issues. All interventions must be gender-responsive and gender-focused such that both men and women are included. Therefore, intervention planning and implementation should carefully consider men's and women's participation, roles and responsibilities and workloads, as well as control of, and access to, resources and existing power relations that may prohibit participation and benefit. Gender analyses are suggested in order to identify enabling factors that will ensure that information is provided to, and utilised by, both men and women." (PMA Full, p.9)

From an academic point of view the gendered discussion offered within the PMA is fairly rudimentary and almost exclusively focused on women, and clearly at adults in any case. On the other hand, the PMA discussion does provide a useful example of the extent to which social development concerns, backed by a workable framework, can help shape sectoral policy.

With respect to the other categories on the hotchpotch list there is little, if any, further discussion in the chapter or elsewhere. Certainly the rather controversial identification of male youth as "disaffected due to lack of opportunities for financial gain" is not justified or explained within the document.

In the Full PMA document, youth are mentioned 18 times. Of these 8 are of the "women and youth" variety, indicating their continued association as categories of disadvantage. However, among these, is included a significant criticism of the 1998 Land Act

> "There is a general perception that in its current form, it does not address the issue of land ownership and inheritance by women and youth. Given the central role that women and youth play in agricultural production, government will endeavour to resolve this issue as soon as possible." (PMA Full p.40.)

However, no indication as to how this issue is to be resolved is provided.
All remaining mentions, take place in the context of a discussion of the need for improved agricultural education, which encompasses education at primary, secondary, tertiary as well as non-formal levels

"Currently, there is no agricultural education policy. The absence of such a policy means that agriculture is not accorded due status as a business or a profession, and there is no strategic mobilisation of resources for such education. The Ministry of Education and Sport is responsible for formal agriculture education."
(Full PMA p.61)

Discussion here is clearly shaped by livelihood approaches:

"The human capital of all stakeholders – pupils, parents, farmers, local government, implementers, researchers - must be developed in order to transform agriculture and consequently eradicate poverty. This can be achieved through informal education, such as efficient extension (Section 6.3) and more formal or targeted interventions in the education sector". (ibid)

The PMA offers a three-pronged strategy:

"Agricultural education should first effect change of attitude towards agriculture by demonstrating that agriculture is an enterprise that can generate profits and enable one to eradicate poverty on a sustainable basis. Second, agricultural education must enable beneficiaries to acquire knowledge and skills that enhance their capacity to produce, manage, process, market, distribute, regulate and sustainable use resources professionally. Third, agricultural education must be delivered in such a way that the participants are empowered and motivated to apply the knowledge and skills acquired. (PMA p.61-2)

At the Primary and Secondary School levels the PMA talks of the need to ensure integration of vocational skills, including the reintroduction of a broad, well-packaged agriculture component into the primary schools curriculum to provide practical knowledge and skills for young people, arguing "This may better equip them for engagement in the agricultural sector either through their own efforts or by passing the information and skills learnt onto other household members." (PMA Full p.62)

The PMA also emphasises the importance of informal agriculture education to be delivered to youth through the district Agricultural Development Centres (ADCs) as well as through established farmer's, women's and youth groups. It suggests

"Reestablishment of voluntary youth clubs, as in the past, or vocational training courses through district ADCs or outreach programmes would foster attitude changes as well as deliver and demonstrate simple skills training in sustainable methods, marketing and processing. As a result, youth may become empowered to be pro-active, rather than complacent, in improving their livelihoods." (PMA Full p..64)

This focus on youth groups is a reflection of the broader PMA policy, later to inform the strategy of NAADS. The PMA states that the institutional arrangements for farmer participation in the National Agricultural Advisory Services

 "Will be rooted in village level farmer common interest groups which will form the building bricks for a hierarchy of federated farmer fora. The grass-root farmer common interest groups will be formed by the farmers themselves along lines that may, among other things, reflect special interests, gender, and farmer type. The NAAS will therefore spearhead the formation of all-

embracing farmers' fora bringing together the variously constituted farmer groups at village, parish, sub-county, district, zonal and national levels…This implies a strong role for the NAAS in building the capacity of the farmers in agenda setting and the management of activities and resources." (PMA Full p.58-9)

The shorter popular version of the PMA mentions youth twice in almost identical phrases:

"PMA aims at having a modernised agriculture by 2017 and it will:
i) create opportunities for the poor; including women, youths and other disadvantaged groups" (PMA popular version p.3 and similarly on p.10)

It also includes eight references to children though these, as in the Full PMA, emphasise their status as dependents rather than agents of change. However, within an anecdotal discussion of the importance of "community planning meetings" we are informed;

"During one community meeting in Iganga, men and women observed that although they all worked together in the maize fields they did not share equally the benefits from selling the maize. It was usually the men who decided on who gets what. The result of this was that children started their own small gardens to earn extra money, mostly for school requirements such as pens, pencils and books, while the women sold off some of the maize for home consumption in order to meet their pressing domestic needs… After the meeting men resolved to involve their wives and children in planning how the income for maize could be spent. ". (PMA popular version p.14)

There is no further discussion of this case. What is instructive here is not only the clear example of "children" engaging in natural resource management as a means to enhance their human capital through continued schooling, but also the fact that the significance of this excellent illustration of the importance of NRM in the lives of the young appears to be entirely lost within the PMA itself.

NAADS Core Document 2000, and
NAADS Programme Implementation Manual, 2001

	Mention of youth (and young)	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged (groups)
NAADS Core	3	0	30	26	47	31	1
NAADS Manual	4	0	19	26	34	20	0

Background

The National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS), a key component of the PMA, designed "to focus on increasing farmers' access to improved knowledge, technologies and information. Situated within the broader PMA context it also espouses an explicit commitment to the government's poverty alleviation efforts. As with the PMA, NAADS policies and strategies are stated to have emerged from a process whereby the Ugandan Government "worked in concert with donor agencies" and "consulted widely with key stakeholders, most notably the district authorities, NGOs, private sector and farmers". (NAADS Core p.vi)

The Minister for Agriculture, Animal Industries and Fisheries, in the foreword explains

"The philosophical underpinning for the NAADS design is the need to empower farmers – particularly the poor and women – to demand and control agricultural advisory services. In addition, it is grounded into the overarching Government policies of decentralization, liberalization, privatization and increased participation of the people in decision-making. The programme is designed to enhance the efficiency and sustainability of service delivery and – hence increase the availability of advisory and information services to farmers. (NAADS Core p. vi)

Two documents are reviewed here: the NAADS Core Document that explains the policy and the Implementation Manual, published a year later, that explains in more detail the operational strategy.

Social Representation

In both NAADS documents, considerable emphasis is placed on meeting the particular importance of targeting agricultural advisory services to women who constitute the major farming population. NAADS Core document notes, "women – particularly widows and female - headed households – have the highest vulnerability to poverty ahead of male youth and households with large families." (NAADS Core p.6)

> ### _Text Box 7:_ _Gender mainstreaming in NAADS_
>
> Fortunately, there is a strong national policy framework and high-level political commitment to mainstreaming of gender issues and consensus into the national socio-economic development agenda in Uganda. The National Action Plan for Women emphasizes the need for equal opportunity for males and females, equal right and affirmative action to close gender gaps in all sectors including the agricultural sector. The PMA, which embodies the policy, framework and strategy for transforming the agricultural sector, has superseded the 1993 Gender Policy for the agricultural sector which embodies a state-led approach to gender mainstreaming. The PMA reconciles the 1993 Gender Policy for the agricultural sector with recent economic reforms and poverty eradication programs. Particular to the agricultural sector are privatisation, market liberalization and decentralization. With respect to gender, the PMA recognizes that:
>
> - Persistent gender disparities hamper agricultural productivity, economic efficiency and growth
>
> - Public policy can make a difference in closing the gender gap through public sector investments in advisory services among others.
>
> There are, therefore, no hindrances to mainstreaming gender in the design and implementation of the NAADS. In doing so recognition has to be made of the shortcomings in past extension programs. In the NAADS all interventions will be gender-responsive and gender-focused such that both men and women are included.
>
> (NAADS Core Document, Section 1.7.3 p.6-7)

The NAADS manual identifies mainstreaming of gender issues into the policy framework and integration of gender concerns into implementation plans as a key principle. (NAADS Manual p.8) It provides examples as to how it intends to achieve this.

> "Communities will choose the appropriate time of day for workshops with specific flexibility for women, so as to accommodate women's time constraints." (NAADS manual p.39)

> "The M&E processes will be guided by persons competent in gender mainstreaming and poverty targeting. In all M&E surveys equal numbers of men and women will be interviewed." (NAADS manual p. 58)

As in other policy documents youth are most commonly recognized as a "bolt-on" category to women.

> "The ineffective participation of the women and youth in meaningful economic activities, the increasing rate of urban migration and the general effect of ill health, particularly HIV/AIDS, further hinders economic productivity." (NAADS Core p.1)

> NAADS emphasises that farmers groups should integrate equity concerns for gender, youths, and active people with disabilities. Special efforts will be

made to increase the proportions of these groups in various activities of the programme. (NAADS manual p.14)

Sub-Counties and Districts must indicate and commit minimum levels of funding for services targeted at marginalized groups especially women and youth. (NAADS manual p.17)

There is, however, no discussion of the basis of the marginality of youth, its effect on the NR sector, or substantive discussion as to how this may be overcome.

NAADS does provide examples of seeking to include youth within its more general strategies. For example, it insists "workshops will be publicised through media/local community channels e.g. road and village posters and notices, to ensure that groups that who do not usually participate in community level meetings such as women, poor households and youth are reached". (NAADS manual p.39)

However, ironically, the NAADS core document provides the most explicit and possibly strategic commitment to ensure that youth should be at the heart of their activities. This concerns the development of farmers' forums, through which service needs it is expected that local service needs will be articulated.

The NAADS Core document notes that there are two main ways in which individual farmers can participate in NAADS:

* As members of a Farmers Institution that can be a named party to a service contract; and

* As residents of a Village, Parish or Sub-county where a service provider has a contract with the Sub-county to provide advisory services to all farmers that seek advisory services in a specified area and/or farmer category. (NAADS Core p.16)

It further notes that for any farmer group or institution to be represented on the Sub-county Farmers' Forum, they should have:

* A defined membership of individuals or households who are engaged in agricultural activities and contributing either in cash or in kind to group activities and existence;

* Objectives which include aspects related to agriculture and livelihoods; and

* Democratically elected leaders. (ibid)

And significantly, the NAADS core document notes

"For a Farmers Forum to be recognised as a representative body of farmers for NAADS purposes within the Sub-county, it should be:

* Made up of representatives of farmers groups or institutions; and

* Have at least 30% of the groups represented being women's groups, 20% youth groups, and 5% disabled groups." (ibid)

Whilst this approach echoes the provisions made for representation of "marginalized groups" within the local government system, the rationale for incorporating this as critical element of the NAADS strategy is not made clear. There is no discussion of the actual meaning of "youth group", no consideration of the challenges that youth (or even disabled farmers for that matter) as a disadvantaged category might have in forming registered groups, nor any indication as to the particular contribution youth might bring to the process. Impressions from the field suggest that NAADS, in practice, have either been unable or perhaps unwilling to implement this policy. But this still begs the question as to why or how this commitment was agreed to in the first place,

The Uganda Forestry Policy, Ministry of Water Lands and Environment, 2001

	Mention of youth (and young)	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged (groups)
Forestry Policy	6	1	10	7	8	4	6

Background

The Uganda Forestry Policy is explicitly related to the concerns of poverty reduction and sustainability, and acknowledges both the PEAP and PMA as the providing the broader context for this policy. Mention is also made of the 1997 Gender policy. (p.1)

The draft policy, formulation of which was heavily supported by donor agencies, emerged from a lengthy consultation process at national, district and local levels during 1996-7. This was followed-up with further consultations on the draft policy in 1999. It is described as an inclusive and sector wide policy with a view to enable "a wider range of types of ownership, access and management of forest resources" (UFP, Foreword)

Social representation

Whilst the policy draws attention to the importance of farm forestry (UFP p.5) and local forest communities (UFP p.10). It also variously identifies "Gender and equity" as a guiding principle for the forest sector (UFP p.13) and a "key element of support" (UFP p.25) and notes that "the active participation and affirmative action of all women and men, young people and the elderly, and vulnerable or disadvantaged groups should be integrated into forest sector development" (UFP p.13) However, there is no further explanation beyond a brief discussion relating to tenure issues.

> "Typically men are more interested in trees as sources of construction materials or cash income, while women's interests are more in the supply of firewood and the contribution of forestry to food production, Women are disadvantaged in security of tenure, in many cases they cannot inherit land and are rarely involved in decision-making over natural resource management or the management of household income…" (p.8)

The 10 policy statements are framed in terms of sub-sector issues (e.g. forestry on government land, watershed management, urban forestry etc.). And whilst there is some recognition of social concerns, this is achieved through "listy" and "bolt-on" statements such as;

> "Encourage equitable access to processing and marketing opportunities for different social groups, especially women and poor and vulnerable groups" (UFP p.18)

> "Adequate representation and participation of women, men and vulnerable groups" (ibid)

Only later in the policy document are young people recognized, and this is achieved through insertion of "youth" to expand statements made previously with respect to women and the poor/marginalized as illustrated in the following quotation.

> "The government will ensure that women, youth and poor people are particular beneficiaries in the development of the forestry sector. It recognizes that these are sections of society that are often marginalized in development processes…this will include efforts to:
>
> - Increase security of tenure over forest resources for women and youth;
>
> - Encourage active participation of women and youth in decision making, resource management and sharing of benefits." (UFP p.28)

There is no mention of "youth" without women. Hence the statement identifying "The use of women and youth groups to plant trees in urban areas" (UFP p.21) appears little more than tokenistic.

National Youth Policy (NYP) 2001

The National Action Plan on Youth (NAPY) 2002

<u>Background</u>

Deliberations on the National Youth Policy began in 1997 and culminated in the publication of a policy document by the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development in 2001. The NYP is a brief document extending to 17-18 pages in A4 format. Large sections of the NYP policy consist of little more than a series of bullet points with little or no further explanation. In style, and content it is very similar to the Kenya youth policy, published a year later, and reviewed below.

The NYP was followed in 2002, by the publication of the more substantive 5-year National Action Plan on Youth. No mention is made of PEAP or PMA in the NYP. The Government's "Poverty Reduction Strategy" is mentioned in passing in the NAPY, but again, no mention is made of more specific rural development policies.

Text Box 8*: NYP "Priority areas"*

The Policy identifies 8 priority areas of action that, in turn, make up the basis for the National Action Plan.

These are
- Education, training and capacity building
- Employment and enterprise development
- Youth involvement, participation and leadership
- Youth and Health
- Management, coordination and partnerships
- Youth society and culture
- Recreation, sports and leisure
- Environment Conservation

(NYP p. 20 f)

The Policy provides a brief historical background on youth development in Uganda before moving on to a "situation analysis", understanding of which had been based on a literature review of youth policies and programmes, consultation with stakeholders and the convening of planning workshops. (NYP p.5) It is worth noting that no primary data collection activities are mentioned as having been undertaken in preparation for the policy, and there is no mention of use of UPPAP data.

The general position of the NYP is stated as follows

> "The policy recognizes the large number, strategic importance and immense potential in the youth for the development of the country. It however notes that youth have only been inadequately involved and their resources less harnessed in the socio-economic development… and advocates for mobilization of resources to promote youth participation and integration into the mainstream of national development." (NYP p. 13-14)

The policy states that it does "not look at youth as a homogenous group with clear cut age brackets but rather as a process of change…"(NYP p.12) and considers "youth and child to be mutually inclusive at some stage of their lives" (ibid) However, the policy does in fact define youth as "all young persons; female and male aged 12 to 30 years." (ibid.)

The brief situation analysis by and large paints a fairly gloomy picture. It argues "poverty, unemployment and underemployment are the main problems affecting the youth" (NYP p.6), and points to weaknesses in the current education and training programmes to support their needs (NYP p.7-8). It also highlights issues of HIV/AIDS and, more generally, reproductive health (NYP 8-9) amongst other issues.

The Policy states it is not intended to "substitute sectoral plans, but to prioritise public actions through comprehensive and multi-sectoral responses" (NYP p.15) and identifies a gender equity, youth empowerment and participation inter alia as broad principles that underlie the policy. Despite this lack of sectoral focus, rural youth are identified as one of 22 categories of "priority target groups" and within the document contrasts between rural and urban settings are made. For example, the policy mentions

- "Skewedness of education and training institutions in favour of urban areas" (NYP p.8 and NAPY p.8) and

- "Most Ugandan youth especially the rural youth and those out of school have not had the blessing or opportunity to experienced panned and programmed physical activities" (NYP 9-10)

In its discussion of strategic and priority areas, the Policy expresses the need to

- Support implementation of the 1998 Land Act to increase access, ownership and rights of youth while acknowledging the adoption of modern agricultural knowledge

- Provide youth who are farmers with market information and agricultural extension services (NYP p.22)

This theme of NRM and rural issues is expanded upon in the National Action Plan on Youth in a discussion of the rationale of its programme on employment and enterprise development. (NAPY p.11-12) and 3 of the 5 Strategic Objectives identified focus on rural and NR issues.

> "Strategic Objective 4: Access, ownership and rights of youth to productive resources, especially land, supported and promoted." (NAPY p.14) However, all ten strategic actions that follow this objective refer exclusively to enhancing youth access to financial services. (NAPY p.14-15)

> Strategic Objective 5: "information and extension services on farming practices and marketing for youth who are farmers provided". The strategic actions listed under this objective highlight skills centers and youth mobilisers, and also farming and marketing systems as the information services they aim to make more "relevant and appropriate to the needs and requirements of the youth" (NAPY p.15)

Emphasis in the NYP is also placed on the environmental conservation. (p.26), which is a theme expanded upon in the NAPY as follows

> "Youth involvement in environmental degradation as a result of trying to earn an income through uncontrollable charcoal burning, brick making, swamp destruction etc. has had a negative effect on sustainable environmental management. Environmental deterioration is one of the concerns of young people worldwide. The question is less on the need to conserve the environment but rather to manage it in a sustainable manner. The involvement of youth in environmental and development decision-making is critical to the implementation of policies for sustainable development". (NAPY p.30)

The strategy then goes on the advocate for integration of environment education in to the school curriculum, the initiation of programmes to promote participation by youth in planting, forestry, combating desertification and other sound environmental protection practices, and the spread of environmental friendly technologies through training of youth (ibid.)

However, it is worthwhile drawing attention to the ambivalence with which the policy addresses "youth" the subjects of its policy, even in statements that relate specifically to rural lives and NRM. For example,

> With respect to the " trend of rural-urban migration by the youth" the document states "Most of the youth fail to get jobs and end up in urban slums and streets. They engage in unproductive and anti social activities like prostitution, thuggery and drug and substance abuse. They increase pressure on the few urban facilities and amenities." (NAPY p.6)

With respect to poverty, unemployment and productivity the following major causes listed include:

- Lack of access to resources like land and capital;

- Lack of focus by existing programmes on the informal sector and agriculture…

- Negative attitudes by the Youth towards work especially in agriculture" (NAPY p.6)

Further "the youth in nomadic and pastoral communities experience unique conditions such as lack of education and health facilities and engage in cattle rustling which warrant special attention". (NAPY p.10)

And "Youth involvement in environmental degradation in their efforts to earn a living through uncontrollable charcoal building, brick making and wetland destruction etc. has had a negative effect on sustainable environment management". (NAPY p.11)

It is not only rural youth though who are singled out for what appears to be moral chastisement.

"The urban youth are also experiencing a lot of influence from Western culture through the media and are continuously and inappropriately exposed to pornographic materials, This coupled with changing family structures, disruptions etc. challenge

traditional control on behaviour of youth". (p.10) And notes the rather alarming figure that 63% of prison inmates are youth.

Both the NYP and NAPY identify increasing youth involvement in decision making, leadership and development programmes as a priority area for action. (e.g. NAPY p.2)

> "Trend analysis of youth involvement and participation in leadership and decision making since independence, shows that the youth were mostly marginalized and their involvement seen only as beneficiaries of programmes and service rather than active participants in the development process. (NAPY p.15)

Laudable as this commitment is, both the Policy and Plan focus almost exclusively on the problems and challenges facing youth, some of which are placed fairly and squarely on the failure within the PIPs environment (e.g. failure of the education system to provide vocational skills), whilst others, as identified above, are attributed to youth themselves. What is not strongly advanced in either document is a clear position identifying the positive agency of youth. For the most part youth are regarded as dependents, adults in the making. Their possible contribution is seemingly predicated on future investment and support through intervention. Their agency, when acknowledged, is most commonly associated with negative outcomes (as in the case with environmental issues and in the case of HIV/AIDS). Youth are variously "at-risk" or risky! No mention is made of the present contribution of youth through peer support processes, and the only mention of this possibility occurs in NAPY within in a discussion of the need to develop "youth skill centers" (internet cafes, libraries career information centres). Here NAPY identifies the need to "introduce and promote idea of peer-to-peer learning" as a strategic action (NAPY p.10)

The limited recognition of the agency of youth is common within policy discourses elsewhere. However, in Uganda, it has a particular resonance in view of the longstanding commitment to ensure youth representation at all levels of government through provisions made in the1995 Constitution, the Local Government Act (1997) and the national Youth Council Statute (1993).

The Constitution affirms, "The state shall ensure gender balance and fair representation of marginalized peoples in all constitutional and other bodies" (The 1995 Constitution, objective vi). More specifically, taking forward a principle already established within the National Resistance Movement, the constitution provides for youth representation in parliament.

Text Box 9: **_Youth and the Composition of Parliament_**

78. (1) Parliament shall consist of-

    (a) members directly elected to represent constituencies;
    (b) one woman representative for every district
    (c) such numbers of representatives of the army, youth, workers, persons with disabilities and other groups as Parliament may determine; and
    (d) the Vice-President and Ministers, who, if not already elected members of Parliament, shall be ex-official members of Parliament without the right to vote on any issue requiring a vote in Parliament.

                                  (The Constitution of Uganda 1995)

The Local Government Act operationalises the constitutional commitment to democracy at every level through a the system of Local Councils (LCs) that frames opportunities for citizen participation and representation, from village level up to municipal and district levels. The system specifically provides for reserved seats for women, youth and disabled at each level to ensure that different sections of society are represented, although the exact election procedures are different at various levels.

In addition, Uganda also operates a system of National Youth Councils at national, district and sub-country level. The council structure was established to operate "as a voice for the youth" through The National Youth Council Statute of 1993. Government through the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development , directly funds the NYC. It operates as a parallel structure to local government; so, for example, youth representatives on the district council are only ex-officio members of the youth council, even though elected through them. Not surprisingly, this provides the setting for considerable confusion and conflict.

The NYP not only recognizes the existence of both these policies, but also advocates for their review and harmonization. This is an issue also taken up within NAPY which notes that despite the existence of the National Youth Council, "participation or representation of the youth in development organizations, committees or other decision making bodies is still very limited" (NAPY p.16) It is unclear, however, whether this should be read as a criticism of the Youth Councils per se, of which concerns over its "political nature" is but one of many. The point made here is that past commitments by the National Resistance Movement government to ensure the inclusion of youth through these major policies have not, for whatever reasons, provided the basis of a clear or full discussion of youth representation issues within the NYP itself. However, this is a topic that takes us beyond the scope of the present review

Section Two: Kenya

**Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, (IPRSP)
Government of Kenya, 2000 – 2003 (2001)**

**Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment
Creation 2003-7 (ERSWEC), Ministry of Planning and National
Development (2003)**

**Investment Programme for the Economic Recovery Strategy
for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-7 (IPERSWEC),
Ministry of Planning and National Development (2004)**

	Mention of youth	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups
IPRSP	0	10	36	10	142	100	11
ERSWEC	5	14	4	1	69	40	6
IPERSWEC	12	56	4	23	173	58	14

Background

The three papers are part of a suite of policy documents that have recently emerged as the basis for Kenya's Poverty Reduction Strategy.

> ***Text Box 10**: **Basic components and policy objectives of Kenya's Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy (IPRSP)***
>
> • To facilitate sustained and rapid economic growth;
>
> • To improve governance and security;
>
> • To increase the ability of the poor to raise their incomes;
>
> • To improve the quality of life of the poor; and
>
> • To improve equity and participation.
>
> (IPRSP, p.1-2)

The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper is described as a "national planning framework upon which detailed sectoral priorities, programmes and allocations will be developed within hard budget constraints determined by projections of economic performance." (IPRSP p.2) Though it has a 3-year planning horizon, it outlines the policies, reforms and programmes that the Kenyan government adopted in their efforts to meet the objectives described in text box 10. The Moi government subsequently undertook wider consultations as further work on the Poverty

Reduction Strategy, including a series of donor-funded participatory poverty assessment. The process resulted in a further Poverty Reduction report, though this was never formally submitted to the IMF.

The Economic Recovery Strategy is a product of the new government in Kenya. It describes the key policy actions "necessary to spur the recovery of the Kenyan economy". Whilst it is clearly set within the context of the earlier poverty reduction strategy process, as reflected in the title, the Economic Strategy seeks to set a rather broader, cross-sectoral and more positive agenda than that of the IPRSP. By so doing, the document seems to reflect the optimistic tone of the immediate post-Moi era.(e.g. ERSWEC p.xiii)

The Economic Recovery Strategy is described as being based on four "pillars", namely:
- Rapid economic growth in an environment of macro economic stability.
- Strengthening of institutions of governance.
- Rehabilitation and expansion of physical infrastructure.
- Investment in the human capital of the poor.   (ERSWEC p.ix-x)

The Investment Programme is the third document in the series. It presents a set of priorities of government actions designed to meet the medium-term objectives of the Economic Recovery Strategy. By so doing, it attempts to make operational "the intentions of the ERS by spelling out priority programs, identifying key activities within each program, providing budgetary estimates and financing gaps within the overall resource envelop, laying out the implementation timetable, and committing to a set of monitorable targets." (IPERSWEC p.1)

Social Representation

In the IPRSP, there is no mention of youth at all. Children are mentioned, but are only recognised as vulnerable and/or dependent categories: For example as school children (IPRSP p.18) or in the familiar form of a residual category as "women and children". By contrast, the Paper highlights "gender mainstreaming" as a cross-cutting issue to arise from its consultative process. (e.g. IPRSP p.2) The report also draws attention to wider policy initiatives.

> "It is recognized that women in Kenya face discrimination before law and suffer from lack of legal protection, notably in their rights and control over resources. The Government will therefore review and release the National Gender Policy and set in motion necessary steps to implement its recommendations. The objective of this Policy is to guide mainstreaming of gender in all areas of development. In regard to the land rights, the newly appointed Land Law Commission will address this issue." (p. IPRSP 33)

More specifically, the impact of poverty on rural women is also emphasised

> "Studies in Kenya indicate that women are more vulnerable to poverty than men. For instance, 69% of the active female population work as subsistence farmers compared to 43% of men. Given that subsistence farmers are among the very poor, this relative dependence of women upon subsistence farming explains the extreme vulnerability of women. These problems are most severe in arid and semi-arid areas where women spend a great portion of

their time searching for water and fuel. The release of women's productive potential is pivotal to breaking the cycle of poverty so that they can share fully in the benefits of development and in the products of their own labour." (IPRSP p.4)

ISPRP identifies the following strategies to meet the needs of rural women

- Undertaking affirmative action in agriculture by facilitating participation of women (IPRSP p.21)

- Improving the technology development and transfer system through participatory group extension, private sector participation and farmer training with increasing focus on women farmers (IPRSP p.21)

- Government is aware that women, especially poor women, suffer from discrimination in respect of land rights. (IPRSP p.23)

Despite its poverty focus, ERSWEC is unusually vague with respect its categorisation of "the poor". However, in contrast to the earlier IPRSP youth are acknowledged. Indeed, their mention within the first paragraph of both the executive summary and repeated on page 1 is both unambiguous and forceful

"The number of people openly unemployed currently stands at over 2 million or 14.6 per cent of the labour force, with the youth accounting for 45 percent of the total." (ERSWEC p. viii and again on p.1) However, the only further discussion of youth concerns the fairly specific issue of Conflicts among Kenyan pastoralists and the proliferation of arms and the rising commercialization of cattle rustling. The report indicates that the government will seek to address this problem "through a mechanism that incorporates clan elders, the youth, and women's movements." Though no further details are given (ERSWEC p.39)

Strangely, discussion of gender and women-related issues has all but disappeared from this report. With reference to the earlier Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) surveys carried out in the 1990s, the report observes "the poor attribute their poverty to natural calamities, and traditions and cultural beliefs that deny women access to productive assets." (ERSWEC p.1) Further, the only reference to gender relates to disparities in education attainment within the Arid and Semi-Arid Areas. (ERSWEC p.31)

Section 6.2 (ERSWEC p. 23-25) deals with Agriculture and Fishing as "Productive Sectors". Drawing upon the Kenya Rural Development Strategy, this section lists a range of planned interventions, among them cooperative development, irrigation development, improving access to credit. Promoting dairy goats etc. However, no mention is made of specific categories of rural users or beneficiaries within this section.

Drawing upon the findings of a 1999 survey of small to medium enterprises the ERSWEC suggests, "Policy and programme attention or priority should increasingly be targeted towards rural-based enterprises, which account for 65.6 per cent of total micro and small-scale enterprises. One important spin-off of focusing policy interaction on the rural based MSEs is the advantage of stabilizing migration and

hence reducing stress on urban environment and infrastructure." (ERSWEC p.27) Again, however, there is no identification of who are expected to be the prime beneficiaries of such a strategy.

IPERSWEC builds directly upon ERSWEC and, not surprisingly, is broadly similar in its treatment of poverty and rural development. However, it is clearer in its recognition of women, children and youth as "special groups in employment" for whom particular measures are needed (IPERSWEC p.54-5) Discussion of Children focuses on child labour and on this point the main strategy offered to address this problem is "school enrolment, retention, and reintegration of working children back to school". (IPERSWEC p.55)

Discussion of women and youth are fairly detailed and are quoted at length in the text boxes 11a and 11b below. The discussion on "women" is clearly shaped by recognition, if not an understanding, of gender as a critical concept. Considerable emphasis is placed in describing the basis of women's strategic disadvantages. The discussion of youth is particularly interesting in that whilst the common reference to social problems is still apparent (crimes, drugs etc.) there is also some recognition of wider causality (here unemployment) that may lead to further social disorder. Further, the identification of measures such as career guidance, mentoring and counseling, whilst providing a list that is perhaps paternalistic in tone, indicates some recognition that social relationships may lie at the heart of useful intervention strategies.

__Text Box 11a__: Discussion of women and gender in IPERSWEC

Gender disparities in employment opportunities have remained wide in many sectors of the economy. Though women constitute the majority in the labour force their participation remains low relative to those of men. For example, in 1998/99 Labour Force Survey, women participation rate was 72.6 percent compared to 74.7, percent for men (sic). Factors contributing to these disparities in employment opportunities include negative social attitudes towards women; inadequate capacity on the part of many women in terms of their knowledge and skills; in access to productive resources; and lack of gender responsive policies and programmes. This has led to increased unemployment, underemployment, poverty and powerlessness among many Kenyan women.

To reduce the marginalization of women, the Government policy is to remove barriers and promote the education and training in order improve their effective participation in the labour market. Measures will be put in place to assist women to gain access to more productive resources. These will be through intense sensitization campaigns among key decision-makers in policy and programme implementation positions in various sectors. The Government will further strengthen units of gender issues in various line ministries.

Government will also institute measures that will prepare and encourage women to compete for all jobs through other appropriate policies and instruments such as promotion of equal employment opportunities and removing limiting clauses of employment related laws that inhibit their effective participation in labour market.

(IPERSWEC p.54-5)

Text Box 11a*: Discussion of youth in IPERSWEC*

The majority of the unemployed are the youth aged 16-39 yrs. The Government appreciates that the problems of increased youth unemployment have been accentuated amidst depressed economy. Lack of skills, assets and access to credit facilities has rendered self-employment difficult for the youth hence leading to high crimes, street begging and drugs. In response the Government is in collaboration with stakeholder developing programmes such as creation and sustention of a revolving youth fund for promotion of self-employment. Other measures will include providing mechanisms to manage transition from school to work, career guidance, industrial attachment, mentoring and couching (sic); and rendering business counseling advisory services.

(IPERSWEC p.55)

There is no explicit discussion of rural youth, even though IPERSWEC acknowledges that agriculture alone provides 62 per cent of overall employment, (IPERSWEC p.23). By contrast, the section entitled "agriculture, livestock and the environment" does include a sub-heading titled "Gender" under which it states

> "Due to traditional roles and male rural urban migration, smallholder farmers are predominantly women who provide 75 percent of the labour for small-scale agriculture. They are however constrained in their access to land, credit, information and markets. As part of its constitutional review, the government is reviewing the laws of succession, which greatly affect gender land imbalances. It will also work to identify mechanisms to increase women's access to credit, information and input and output markets". (IPERSWEC p.57)

Kenya Rural Development Strategy, 2002

	Mention of youth	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups
KRDS	6	11	28	11	43	36	9

Background

The KDRS describes itself as "the road map (process and product) to assist government, private sector, religious groups, non-governmental organisations, local communities, community-based organisations and the development partners in defining interventions to improve the well-being of the rural peoples". (KRDS front page) And argues that "deterioration of the rural economy calls for a critical evaluation of past rural development efforts and the need for alternative shared vision and strategy for inclusive rural development." (p3)

Text Box 12: _The principal components and objectives of KRDS:_

  a. Increase agricultural productivity;

  b. Expand farm and non-farm income earnings and food security;

  c. Reduce disease and ignorance; and

  d. Achieve sustainable natural resource management.

<div align="right">(KRDS p.9)</div>

As with the PMA in Uganda, the document draws attention to the fact that it "was prepared through a highly consultative process" made possible through considerable donor support.(KRDS p.1) The KRDS, which takes 15 years as its planning horizon, is multi-sectoral in approach. Whilst it acknowledges agriculture as the "key enterprise" of the rural economy it also aims to encompass " other rural activities are non-farm activities including: artisan activities, tourism, quarrying, mining, forestry, fishing and small-scale trading and manufacturing." Arguing that they have not yet received the attention they deserve. (KRDS p.3, 8 and passim) The KRDS also acknowledges the important influence of changes taking place within the wider policy environment, in particular the PRSP. In chapter 1 the importance or a revitalized rural sector in alleviating poverty, reducing risk and vulnerability is emphasized throughout.

The KRDS also states
> "The pillar to the vision set out in the strategy is sustainability. Cognizant of this, the vision of the KRDS is therefore "Sustainable livelihoods for all."… Kenya recognizes the need for consistent growth while conserving natural resources for future generations. Proper management and utilization of

natural resources and protection of the environment are essential in attaining sustainable livelihoods." (KRDS p.8)

Discussion of youth lives and livelihood within the KRDS is very limited, and certainly far less than that of women, with whom they are, in any case, commonly associated.

"Groups such as women, the youth and people living in ASAL areas have often been left out of the decision-making process despite the key role they play in agriculture and rural development." (KRDS p.23)

However, they do receive separate recognition within a sub-section of a broader discussion on physical infrastructure and social service.

Text Box 13 *: Discussion of gender and youth under "Rural Sector Physical Infrastructure and Social Services"- a comparison*

4.42 Promotion of gender equity

Activities that create awareness on imbalances in gender roles and responsibilities will be promoted. Modalities that will increase women's access to productive resources (land, credit, management) and social services (health, education) for women will be developed. Increased women participation/ representation in decision-making and management will be promoted. Mainstreaming gender in rural development issues that focus on appropriate technology packages, policy and extension methodology, access to credit, and favouring participation of women in all other development issues will be given priority.

4.43 Participation of the youth in the rural economy

The rural economy must be made buoyant through an enabling environment, appropriate technologies and information that make agriculture and rural life attractive and profitable to the youth. Awareness creation on investment opportunities for the youth in the rural areas will be undertaken.

KRDS p.41

Here the contrast between the treatment of women and youth is instructive. The discussion of women is clearly gender-informed. Note, for example reference to "gender roles and responsibilities", "access to resources", participation and, the relatively new 'buzz word' "mainstreaming". By comparison, the section on youth is not framed by an equivalent conceptual concern. Further, the emphasis on making agricultural life "attractive and profitable for youth" seems to focus on sensitising youth of investment possibilities, rather than sensitising policy makers and practitioner as to the particular needs of those who in the process of establishing their livelihoods.

References to children variously refer to their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS and educational attendance. There is passing recognition of the contribution young people make to the rural economy. For example, "in some cases, children are withdrawn from school in order to search for fuel wood and collection of water". (KRDS p.25). But generally, Children are represented as dependents or victims with little, if any, agency to shape their own future or contribute in their own right.

National Assessment Report for the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, 2002

The Environmental Management And Co-Ordination Act, 1999

	Mention of youth	Child and children	Mention of women	Gender	Poverty	The Poor	Vulnerable/ disadvantaged groups
NASWS	12	22	24	7	62	7	5
EMCA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Background

The National Assessment Report focuses on the main achievements, constraints and challenges encountered at the national level in the implementation of Agenda 21 since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992.

The assessment report is set in the context of two major policy developments undertaken following the RIO summit. Firstly, a cross-sectoral National Environmental Action Plan (NEAP) that was adopted in June 1994. [2]This was later followed by the enactment of an umbrella law for the management of environment (EMCA) that in 1999 established the legal and institutional framework for the management of the environment in Kenya.

Social Representation

The Assessment notes "Commitment and genuine participation of all social groups, including women and the youth is critical to the implementation of Agenda 21 and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals" (NARWS p.40.) There is considerable discussion of women within the Assessment, with reference made to a range of supporting policy initiatives, including the "Platform for Action for Improving the Welfare of Women in Kenya". The discussion of women and sustainable development (NARWS p.41) is clearly informed by gender considerations. Whilst the discussion is not particularly detailed, elsewhere in the Assessment women are associated with the poverty agenda (e.g. NARWS p.10 and 13).

The Assessment, in line with EMCA (see text box 14) draws attention to generational issues in the following manner: "Preservation and sustainable use of natural resources are cornerstones of policies that ensure resources are available to improve the quality of life of present and future generations." (NARWS p.10) However,

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[2] A new NEAP is in the process of development which, according to the National Director of NEMA. will " follow a bottom-up approach, taking into consideration the existing major national development frameworks and policies including the Poverty Eradication Plan, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and the recent Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation". (Reference for this quotation and further details see http://www.nema.go.ke/neap.htm)

discussion of youth is actually subsumed under the heading "Children and Youth" and, in effect, merges these two categories. See details in the text box 15.

Text Box 14** : **Principles of Environmental Management And Coordination Act

(5) In exercising the jurisdiction conferred upon it under subsection (3), the High Court shall be guided by the following principles of sustainable development;

(a) The principle of public participation in the development of policies, plans and processes for the management of the environment;

(b) The cultural and social principle traditionally applied by any community in Kenya for the management of the environment or natural resources in so far as the same are relevant and are not repugnant to justice and morality or inconsistent with any written law;

(c) The principle of international co-operation in the management of environmental resources shared by two or more states;

(d) The principles of intergenerational and intragenerational equity;

(e) The polluter-pays principle; and

(f) The pre-cautionary principle.

<div align="right">(EMCA, 1999)</div>

__Text Box 15__: Achievements noted in Assessment with respect to Children/Youth and women

4.1 Children and Youth
Kenya is a signatory to various international treaties, which seek to enhance the status and role of children and youth in development. For example, the UN Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The country also recognizes the role of children and youth and has involved them in local, national and international activities such as the World Youth on Climate Change, the UNEP Youth Agenda, sports and other economic, social and cultural activities. Additionally, they have been involved in policy and legislation formulation and implementation, notably, the Children's Rights Act, which was recently enacted by Parliament.

4.1.1 Achievements
Kenya has:
- Enacted the Children's Act;
- Initiated a National Youth Development Programme;
- Intensified public awareness campaign on the rights of children;
- Established a Rapid Response Centre for Children in Distress;
- Undertaken promotion of small and medium scale enterprises for economic empowerment of the youth;
- Development of rehabilitation programmes for street children, in partnership with various nongovernmental and religious organizations;
- Formulation a non-discriminatory education policy to ensure provision of education for children and youth, through formal, informal and non-formal educational programmes.

4.2 Women in Sustainable Development
In recognition of women's contribution to development, the international community has endorsed several conventions and plans of action for the full, equal and beneficial integration of women in all development activities. Governments and the international community have also endeavored to improve women's livelihoods by addressing key policy reforms in areas like water, health, nutrition and alternative energy sources. Kenya is a signatory to various international treaties, conventions and agreements for the advancement of women. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action for the Advancement of the Status of Women in Kenya.

4.2.1 Achievements
Kenya has made remarkable progress in mainstreaming gender in development, planning and in translating international provisions into national policies and programmes. Achievements made in this connection include:
- Formulation and implementation of the National Policy on Gender and Development;
- Implementing gender mainstreaming strategy in socio-economic development and environmental management;
- Formulating domestic violence and equality bills for the protection of women against violence and promotion of equality of opportunities for all persons;
- Promoting women self-help groups including the establishment of Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO);Intensified gender capacity building initiatives at the national and local community levels in partnership with the development partners.

(NARWS p.40)

Kenya National Youth Policy 2002

<u>Background</u>

The Kenya National Youth Policy is the responsibility of the Department of Social Services, which is located within the Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports. It is stated that the policy emerged in 2002 from a donor supported consultative process that included youth forums and workshops. However, in both form and content the KNYP is very similar to the Ugandan version reviewed above. The Kenya version is also constructed around a series of bullet pointed lists; in many cases almost exactly the same points as offered in the Ugandan youth policy! It is also a relatively brief document, of just 23 pages A4 in length, and offers little in the way of explanation on key issues.

The KNYP aims to provide "broad-based strategies that can be used to give the youth meaningful opportunities to reach their maximum potential", which it regards as "key resources that can be tapped for the benefit of the whole country". (KNYP p.4) and seeks to provide a "broad framework within which all stakeholders, including the private and public sector, civil society among others, can contribute to youth development". (ibid) It describes itself as being written in the context of existing sectoral policies, national development plans, international policies and charters to which Kenya is a signatory. There are, however, but passing references to other policy documents. (KNYP p.4)

In a discussion of the background and rationale of the policy the KNYP observes that Youth problems have been worsening in spite of the "remarkable increase" in the number of agencies dealing with matters that affect the youth. The KNYP identifies a wide-range of factors in an effort to explain this state of affairs, with "unclear and uncoordinated programmes" listed amongst them. Not surprisingly, the document argues that the KNYP should be seen as a "vehicle for prioritizing public actions through comprehensive and multi-sectoral response". (KNYP p.8)

Text Box 15: *Constraints identified in KNYP as hampering effectiveness of past youth programmes*

i. Pressure from the high population growth.

ii. Lack of appropriate skills.

iii. Unclear and uncoordinated youth policies and programmes. While a number of Government Ministries and Youth organisations have their own youth programmes and sectoral youth policies, lack of a national definition of youth and effective youth co-ordination mechanisms have negatively affected the development of youth work.

iv. Resource Constraints. Most of the youth programmes in the Government and non- governmental agencies are poorly funded and equipped hence efforts to diversify and increase youth programmes in Kenya have been limited.

v. Low status given to youth. Existing structures and prevailing attitudes do not provide an enabling environment for youth participation in decision-making, planning and implementation processes.

(KNYP p.6)

The KNYP identifies a wide and fairly disparate range of "issues impinging on the youth", although on closer inspection the issue of crime appears to reflect adult concerns of "youth impinging on society" as anything else. (See text box 16)

Text Box 16 : _"Issues impinging on the youth"_

3.1   Unemployment and Underemployment

3.2   Health Related Problems

        The HIV/AIDS pandemic is more prevalent among the youth under 30 years of age. Available statistics show that 33% of the infected persons are the youth.

3.3   Increasing School and College Drop Out rates

3.4   Crime and Deviant Behaviour
        Involvement of youth in criminal activities is noted to be on the increase. Many of the youth remain idle even after formal education for long periods of time. As a consequence, they try their hands in all openings, legal or illegal, with some ending up with deviant behaviour.

3.5   Limited Sports and Recreation Facilities

3.6   Abuse and Exploitation
        Due to their vulnerability, the youth are exposed to different kinds of abuse and exploitation such as sexual, child labour and other forms of economic

3.7   Limited Participation and Lack of Opportunities
        Despite their numerical superiority, youth are least represented in political and economic spheres due to societal attitudes, socio- cultural and economic barriers, and lack of proper organisation.

3.8   Limited and Poor Housing

3.9   Limited Access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT)

                              (Adapted from KNYP p. 7-8)

The KNYP, echoing the Ugandan NYP, is set broadly within the context of good governance issues (KNYP p.9), and this is reflected in its objectives, and discussion of the rights and responsibilities of Kenyan youth, as well as the obligations of others (e.g. parents, the state to youth) (KNYP p.10-12). In addition, the policy emphasizes "affirmative action for the youth as strategy for participation and empowerment" and throughout emphasizes their agency, rather than focus on their dependency. For example

> "The process of involving the youth in planning, implementation, and evaluation, brings about a strong sense of belonging and ownership that essentially (sic) leading to sustainability and immense benefits of the programmes." (KNYP p.18 and ff)

Text Box 17: _Goal and Objectives of the KNYP_

The overall goal of the policy is to promote youth participation in democratic processes as well as in community and civic affairs and ensuring that youth programmes engage the youth and are youth centred.

The Objectives of the policy are:

i.   To sensitise national policy makers on the need to identify and mainstream youth issues in national development.

ii.   To identify ways of empowering the youth in order to exploit their potential.

iii. To promote a culture of volunteerism among the youth;

iv.   To explore and suggest ways of engaging the youth in the process of economic development;

v.   To identify constraints that hinder the Kenyan youth from realising their potential;

vi.   To propose ways of mentoring the youth to be just and morally upright citizens;

vii. To promote ethos of honest hard work and productivity; among the youth.

(KNYP p.9-10)

The policy defines a Kenyan Youth as one aged between 15 – 30 years and offers a broad and inclusive discussion. It also recognises a number of broad "priority target groups", including "youth with disability", "street youth", "youth infected with HIV/AIDs", "female youth", "the unemployed youth" and "out of school youth". (KNYP p.19-21)

There is, however, no recognition of rural youth. Indeed, rural is only mentioned on three occasions in the main text: namely, the limited availability of ICT[3] in rural areas, and also the limited health services. The third reference to rural occurs within a section on employment, wherein the KNYP expresses the need "to encourage the establishment of Agricultural production and cottage industries in rural areas to promote the informal sector employment," (KNYP p.13) There are no further references to rural living or agriculture although there is a section on "the environment". This focuses specifically upon the problems of degradation and the consequent need "to involve the youth in environmental issues such as tree planting, cleaning campaigns, drainage clearance, bio-diversity conservation, wildlife preservation campaigns and agro-forestry activities" (KNYP p.17) However, no explanation is offered as to why such issues should be of particular interest to youth.

In summary, the lives and livelihoods of rural young people are, more or less invisible, in the KNYP. There is no explicit recognition of rural poverty, or the particular challenges facing young people in trying to establish livelihoods in the NR

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[3] Information & Communication Technology

sector. From the perspective of the rural sector at least, not easy to see where this "vehicle for prioritising public actions" is actually heading.

Discussion

Youth Representation In Policy Process

"The problems of young people as well as their visions and aspirations are an essential element of the challenges Uganda and future generations are facing today. The capacity of society is based on, upon other elements, its ability to effectively incorporate the contributions of youth in building the country" (NAPY p.1)

This extensive review has shown that, for the most part, youth are only occasionally visible in NR-related policy documents from Uganda and Kenya. When youth are mentioned within policy, this is often in the form of unexpected and "in passing" comments, with little supporting discussion to provide a meaningful sense of context. Further, reflection on key policy arguments has shown that in definition of the

problems and discussions of scope, extent and causation, little recognition is made of the lives or livelihoods of rural youth. Clearly, without explicit recognition of youth in mainstream statements of policy intent, it is unsurprising that there is an absence of focus on youth in implementation strategies or assessments of impact.

But on what basis might this lack of "visibility" be considered a real issue? Is there a danger of imposing "western" values about children and young people on other regions? Whilst the influence on donor thinking is readily apparent in the two national youth policies, the occasional references to youth that do appear in NR-related documents seem to reflect genuine local concerns that often lie at the heart of rural development policy and practice.

So whilst the infrequent mentions of youth do not relate to inconsequential matters, their ad hoc and piecemeal treatment falls far short from providing any considered basis for the development of more substantive policies and strategies to deal with these issues. I would therefore argue that concerns over the lack of visibility of youth, emerge primarily from this contradiction between their stated importance and a failure to explain this in a clear and coherent fashion.

There are a number of interwoven issues that help to explain the uncertain manner in which youth are currently reflected in rural development policy. Some of these concern the complexity of the rural development policy context itself. However, others lead to more academic issues concerning the meaning of youth itself. In the paragraphs that follow, I shall outline some of these issues and, and whilst avoiding the slide into sterile semantics, will argue the need for the establishment of a more robust conceptual framework to assist in the mainstreaming of youth concerns through the development of new policy approaches.

Categorising Youth

Leaving side, for now, the national Youth Policy documents, the review has found that there is considerable uncertainty and ambiguity as to the meaning of youth. The reasons for this are many and varied. In most of the policy documents reviewed it is commonplace for "youth" to be mentioned without any definition at all, suggesting it is regarded as an unproblematic category whose meaning is either self-evident or unimportant. On the latter point, it is worth noting the frequency with which youth is simply treated as a residual "bolt-on" term to the phrase "women and…" On other occasions the review observed that "children" and "youth" are used interchangeably without any suggestion of a change of meaning.

In many respects, youth are treated as yet another example of a "disadvantaged or vulnerable group" to add to the list of those with special needs or interests. There is, inevitably, an implicit suggestion of their dependency and this, in turn, is reflected in the very infrequent recognition that young people have independent agency. Or rather, and more specifically, agency of a positive nature, for when the agency of youth is realised, it is invariably portrayed in a negative manner.

And here we get to the heart of one of the critical issues regarding the contextualisation of youth within development discourse; namely that the use of the term appears to reflect a fundamental ambivalence in attitudes towards young people. On the one hand, youth are gloriously identified as "our future", an attribution that is perhaps most clearly reflected in discussions of sustainable development

within the broader context of environment policy and practice. On the other hand, youth are recognised as a feature of the present, and the "here and now" challenges of policy and practice. However, the manner in which they are portrayed within policy, and hence their role in linking us to the future, varies considerably. They are at one and the same time victims and villains, but only rarely cast in the mould of heroes.

As victims they are variously regarded as among the chronically poor (rural youth), the economically at risk (rural-urban migrants) and socially vulnerable (street children, young people with HIV/Aids). As villains they are variously regarded as causes of environmental damage (rural youth), urban crime (rural-urban migrants and street children) and sexual promiscuity (young people with HIV/Aids). But either way, such images invariably associate young people with problems and crises.

Not surprisingly, therefore, discussions of youth in policy seem often to reassert the importance of "stewardship by adults". This, as discussed above, is reflected in a denial of the positive agency of young people, the reliance on moralistic rhetoric (rather than evidence) in discussions where youth are identified as exerting a negative agency, and their crass essentialisation as a "vulnerable group". By such means, the interests and concerns of the lives of young people, are inevitably marginalized further from the mainstream development concerns, rather than brought more clearly into critical focus. And, as the review has shown, this can no more clearly be seen than in the context of natural resource management. What then might be done to challenge this marginalizing tendency? What possibilities are there to establish the counter-narratives that throw more light on the normal condition of young men and women; on those who are not "at risk", a risk to others or, in other ways, associated with crisis? For surely, it is by moving in this direction that we can understand more clearly the real connection between young people, and their opportunities, choices and actions, with a positive future?

Rethinking Youth

An obvious way forward, from what might be considered as the present state of impasse, is to enhance the evidence base upon which policies and strategies are being developed. This review has shown that the ability to incorporate the particular needs and interests of rural youth into development policy is currently severely undermined by a lack of understanding of what young people do; especially the role they play in processes of natural resource management, and more generally in the rural economy. In drawing attention to the need for better understanding, it is not my intention naively to promote a unilinear model of policy development based on the rational assimilation of more "hard data". (Policy processes are, for many reasons, far more complex than this.) Rather, it is my view that what is required is not simply more information about more youth, but new ways of understanding youth. There is, I would argue, a clear need for a conceptual leap forward to lead us away from simply labelling what young people "are" (dependents, unformed adults, vulnerable, people between the ages of 12-30 etc.) to enable us to investigate more fully what they do.

Despite having a clear idea as to what is needed and why, I am presently less confident as to how this might be achieved, though in the notes that follow I offer some tentative suggestions of possible ways forward.

In the review of policy documents, as well as observing the form and manner in which youth were represented, the way in which women, their needs and interests

were included was also noted. Not surprisingly, the review found that there was a considerable contrast in the treatment of both social categories, with much more attention given to women than that of youth. However, more significant than frequency of citation, or column inches, was the fact that discussions of women were usually shaped and framed with reference to the concept of gender. Admittedly, in certain documents, "women" and "gender" at times appeared to be in danger of being conflated. However, elsewhere, it was apparent that gender analysis had helped clarify critical development issues in such a manner as to assist in the formulation of meaningful policies and strategies that took account of women's needs. Clearly, the notion of "gender, by drawing attention to the manner in which roles are socially constructed was, in itself, a major conceptual advance. But to this has been added portfolio of additional concepts and ideas, such as the differentiation between practical and strategic needs, disaggregation of the household etc. that has generally enhanced the ability of policy makers and practitioners to reflect critically upon the respective developmental needs of women and men, and shape their ideas accordingly

By contrast, no such conceptual sophistication is found supporting discussions of "youth", and these remain bounded by definitions based on chronological age, and often "essentialised" though normative and naturalistic expectations. Additionally, the frequent misrepresentation of youth as a "group" rather than a category only serves to confuse matters further. However, is it possible to achieve a similar conceptual restructuring and repositioning of youth related issues as benefited "women" with the "discovery" of gender?

Here the answer is not straightforward. Certainly, there is no obvious "off the peg" theory or concept that can simply be inserted into current development discourse. On the other hand I do personally feel that there are potentially valuable ideas that, with further refinement, can be used to place discussions of youth in rural development policy and practice on an intellectually more robust footing.

Life Course And Livelihoods

The first idea worth considering is that of "life-course". The life course perspective builds upon the basic premise that human development and ageing are life long processes. Analysis of these life-long processes can be based upon the following core propositions.

- Individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take
- Human lives are embedded in and shaped by historical context: individual choices and actions are informed by the constraints and opportunities of "the time of their lives"
- The impact and value of a life transition, or major personal experience, is contingent on when it occurs in a person's life.
- The timing of life transitions is shaped by social expectations concerning age, a fundamental principle of social organisation that interlinks the lives of individuals, and individuals with family and wider social institutions.

The notion of the life course does not relate to any particular age category. Rather, it provides a broad framework through which age can be considered as socially constructed rather than biologically determined. From this perspective, therefore,

"youth" can be approached as a socially constructed notion, the meanings of which are shaped by the particular context.

A central aspect of the life-course perspective being offered here is the emphasis on process. It is ironic that discussions of development areso often bogged down in staid and static categorisations, (for example "the poor") where a more dynamic idea, suggestive of process would appear to be more helpful. Recent and increasing academic interest in distinguishing chronic and transient poverty would therefore appear to provide a helpful move in this direction. However, other concepts as firmly embedded at the heart of development discourse appear thus far to have gone unchallenged. Take for example the notion of a livelihood as it commonly appears in much of the literature. Whilst a livelihood is invariably associated with dynamic processes of capital accumulation, the notion of livelihood itself is usually treated as something with no clear beginning or end. It is something that can be "enhanced" or "strengthened", but there is little consideration as to how they come into being, or for that matter stop! To an extent, such issues are made more obscure through the commonplace use of "sustainable livelihoods", which suggests a process that extends beyond a single human life span.

Whilst there is a place for notions that provide the basis for longer term modelling and analysis of development processes, it is essential that these do not obscure the importance of understanding shorter-term processes. Yet this is what appears to have happened with respect to livelihoods. We are not born with a livelihood. Rather, they emerge from our interaction with the world into which we are born, and shaped by the opportunities we find, decisions we make and the actions we take.

By "applying" the notion of life course to livelihood has the benefit of immediately framing the discussion in human terms. A livelihood can now be considered in career-type terms. We can, for example, look to understand how changes in livelihood strategies relate to other life-course transitions. From this perspective, investigation of livelihoods of young people becomes of particular significance since it enables us to explore the processes by which new livelihoods are conceived and realised. Livelihoods of older people take on a new significance, since they will help explain the manner by which assets are passed on from one livelihood to another.

Reflections on the life course, and its emphasis on age as a social construction, can also assist in ensuring that attempts to gain new understanding of livelihoods do not get bogged down in the normative views of age-based categories. For example, it would help us to see beyond categories such as "school children" and "school drop outs" and focus instead on "school to work transitions".

Further, research carried out by the project, and reported elsewhere, shows that the early livelihood strategies of young people are often based upon short-term and small scale activities. The widely established opinion of rural development policy makers and practitioners is that long-term investment in natural resources management is a necessary condition to the achievement of "sustainable rural livelihoods". When contrasted against this benchmark, development professionals often dismiss the activities of rural youth as either unimportant or self-evidently un-sustainable. The use of non-natural resources such as sand capture and brick making is quickly labeled as examples of environmentally damaging behaviour. Such evidence is invariably taken as an indication of a lack of seriousness of youth, lack of competence or both.

However, by taking a closer look at the social relationships that define youth-hood locally it is possible to challenge such criticisms. The reality is that in most settings

young people do not have the same access and control over resources as adults, and are unlikely to have the opportunity to undertake, except as dependents, the same long-term enterprises as their parents. The livelihood opportunities initially available to young people are often temporary, marginal and inexpensive. It should come as no surprise that their livelihood strategies reflect this. In other words, it is usually adults who define the "space" available to livelihoods for youth.

Maybe it is correct that the various activities that may constitute the totality of a formative livelihood are seldom sustained, and might not even be sustainable in the long run. However, this does not mean that these activities are without value, either financial or as a learning experience. In approaching such livelihoods we need to bear in mind the fact that we are looking at a process and that it is inappropriate to rely on "snapshot" judgements of what is good or bad. Analysis of change over time brings with it methodological challenges that cannot be discussed here. But a first step is to recognise the need to learn more, and not simply to use naïve notions of sustainability to dismiss out of hand the critical, if tentative, steps that young people make in establishing their livelihoods. The agency of young people should be recognised as being of central, rather than of marginal importance to rural development policy and practice.

At this point, however, it is useful to consider whether it is more appropriate to talk of investigating youth livelihoods or formative livelihoods, or does it not matter? My feeling is that it does matter, but that the particular path we take should depend on the context. For example, in the midst of discussions pertaining to more technical issues of natural resource management, it may be more appropriate to pursue arguments relating to formative livelihoods. Such an entry point will lead inevitably to an understanding of the lives and livelihood strategies of young people. However, pursuing this path avoids the danger of imposing preconceived or normative ideas as to what youth are, what they can or cannot, or should or should not do.

Do "Youth" Have Strategic Interests And Needs?

The move towards a life course perspective and an understanding of age as a socially constructed does not mean that age based categories are no longer relevant in policy or practice. They are still relevant because such categorisations reflect the local principles of social organisation and construction of social identify. It is these principles that shape any "comparative advantage" that youth may hold over adults when it comes to undertaking various activities and enterprises. And it is these that will lead young people to evaluate opportunity and risk differently from their parents and other adults.

How then, can we establish a framework for discussing the interests and needs of young people? Again, on this point, something may be learnt from developments in gender analysis.

At the heart of the challenge in "defining" youth lies a paradox. Youth is at one and the same time about being and becoming. The sense of being a youth is shaped by a complex process of social and self-definition, influenced in no small part by the accepted formulations in policies and practices. The process of becoming, likewise, emerges from a complex interplay between individual choice and available opportunity. And it is here that simplistic notions of youth, defined by chronological age, are so unhelpful. Access to and control of assets and resources is a major factor

in shaping any process of becoming. Differential distribution of these assets invariably results in the same process taking longer for some rather than others. The poor youth may, in the eyes of the eyes of the community, remain a youth longer than his rich friend of the same birth age since the latter has the resources to marry at an earlier age.

The idea of youth as both being and becoming is very challenging, but has the benefit of bringing us closer to the people and processes about which policy makers and practitioners are concerned. Young people do not spend all their time and effort into trying to become adults, but wish to have fulfilled lives as youth. At the same time, young people also strive to take their place in the world as fully responsible human beings.

It is therefore possible that policy makers and practitioners should be seeking to respond to two sets of needs. On the one hand, are the interests and needs that young people have by virtue of being young people; adapting Moser's gender terminology[4] we may refer to these as "practical". (e.g. access to improved land management practices) On the other hand, age, like gender, is a universal social construct, even though values and meanings vary greatly from place to place and change over time. Many feminist theorists point to the universal subordination of women as the basis for the relevance of the notion of women's "strategic" gender interests and needs. Does not a similar sense of universal hierarchy exist between "adulthood" and "youth-hood" as between "male " and "female"?

Male and Adult	Female and Youth
Nurture	Nature
Dominant	Subservient
Knowing	Unknowing
Providing	Depending

If so, the interests needs that emerge from young people's unequal relationship with adulthood might be considered as "strategic needs", but possibly expressed as the needs that young people will need to meet in order to become "adult". (e.g. access to land) This is a tentative proposal that will require further consideration.

However, intellectually appealing though such challenges may appear, it should be remembered that a feminist constituency, prepared to operate on a political as well as intellectual basis, largely drove transformation of focus from "women" to "gender and development". Even if academics may now recognise the need for a similar conceptual progression through further analysis of the structure, social roles and relationships in and around the "the life course", where is the constituency to drive this agenda? Whereas feminists could identify a single "common enemy", they were able to shape a common identify for themselves by so doing. The situation with respect the life-course is far more complex in that, in many situations, youth are joined with elders as similarly marginalized from the mainstream on the basis of "their age". Whilst youth and elders may share a common enemy, they would make unlikely and uneasy bedfellows in any social movement.

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[4] Moser, C (1993) <u>Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training.</u> London; Routledge

Sustainability And Generations

> *"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term." (Chambers and Conway 1992[5], p.7-8)*

A common viewpoint is that sustainability is linked to a process of inter-generational exchange. Whilst there is some difference in emphasis, most agencies closely follow the early formulation of Chambers and Conway or echo the earlier definition offered in the Brundtland Report that: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED[6], 1987 p.43)

From this perspective, one would assume that understanding of the ways by which assets and opportunities are passed from generation to generation would be critical to sustaining the idea of "sustainable livelihoods". However, to all intents and purposes, to date very little effort has been made to explore the processes whereby this occurs. Again, this is a context where lack of theoretical or conceptual clarity may be holding us back from more useful insights and understandings. For example, the emphasis on "generation" is in itself problematic. Whilst the term is not without analytical value, following Mannheim, the more particular meaning of 'generation' is a group of people brought together not just by their sharing the same age range but also by sharing similar, important, experiences. It is hard to see how "generation" in this sense assists the formulation of renewable natural resource policy or practice.

However, through an alternative approach, based on a life-course perspective that draws attention to the centrality of social relations, it is possible to consider how assets are passed from adults to children and from elders to adults, and the nature of the negotiations that take place around these transfers. Instead of being stuck with the relatively meaningless category "generation", we should move the focus of policy makers and practitioners to the meaningful processes of intergenerational exchange, for it is through exploring the latter that the issues of sustainability, as they relate to real lives and livelihoods, can best be understood.

Summary; Representing Young Lives And Livelihoods In Rural Policy

When embarking on this review of policies focused on NRM and rural development, there was no intention or expectation that the resulting discussion would move so firmly towards a critique of the conceptual basis through which "youth" are presently conceived. Rather, it was anticipated that attention would mostly consist of a

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[5] Chambers R and Conway G (1992) "Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st. century", IDS Discussion Paper 296, IDS, Brighton

[6] WCED (World Commission On Environment And Development) (1987) <u>Our Common Future</u>. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

comparative evaluation of recognisable differences in strategies and possibly outcomes. However, the uncertain invisibility of youth within the documents suggested the need for an altogether different approach.

Exploration of the manner in which women were represented in the documents reviewed was particularly helpful in drawing attention to the importance that gender analysis has had in framing and shaping policy approaches and strategies. By comparison, it was noted that even where "youth" was mentioned within policy documents, it appeared as a hollow and often residual category, lacking in meaning and context. There appeared a fundamental contradiction between this state of affairs and the rhetorical commitment to the idea that "youth are our future" and central to rural development processes. Whilst, passing anecdotal references served to indicate a more positive agency, for the most part the lives of the young were associated with crises and problems, partial explanations of which were frequently offered in moralising terms.

In this discussion, I have attempted to provide some indication as to how further theoretical and conceptual developments may assist in moving beyond what I feel is the present impasse. By so doing, it has been my intention to avoid the promotion of "youth" as yet another "vulnerable group". Indeed, to have done so would simply have taken us further down the confusing pathway of staid categorisation. Rather, with reference to what I have termed "life-course analysis", I have attempted to re-emphasise age as a social construction, and to draw attention to the dynamics of the social relationships that bring meaning to age-based identities.

Thus far, this direction of the argument does not relate directly to the issues and concerns of enhancing natural resource management. However, with reference to key concepts within the discourse of rural development, in particular the notion of a "sustainable livelihood" I have tried to demonstrate this connection. I have argued that through the application of life course approaches to understanding the choices and decisions of a young person that makes up their livelihood strategy and how these are shaped by social relations, we would gain a clearer conception of what constitutes a "livelihood" and on what basis it could be judged "sustainable".

Just as gender has assisted in bringing issues of women into the "mainstream" of policy and practice, I have also argued that life-course analysis approaches may do likewise for discussion of youth. A focus on formative livelihoods, for example, draws attention to the fact that it is possible to examine how new livelihoods come into being, and this enables us to see more clearly the pathways by which people may enter into natural resource management as a central aspect of their livelihood strategy. Any discussion of "new entrants" into farming will inevitably require that we look to understand the lives of young people. However, in many policy contexts, this livelihoods approach may well prove the more successful strategy by which the full contribution of young people to rural development can be seen.

Finally, it should be noted that the policy context of rural development is extremely complex. In Uganda and Kenya a young rural persons life is shaped by a plethora of sectoral as well as crosscutting policies, most of which barely recognise their existence. Despite the presence of National Youth Policies in both countries, representation of rural youth in these is at best minimal. There are therefore, huge challenges to be faced in the policy process.

Whilst further conceptual development along the lines outlined above may assist future policy formulation, more searching questions need to be asked concerning the consultative and participatory processes through which, it is claimed, the current

portfolio of policies have been developed. Despite the existence of statutory representation of youth in all levels of government in Uganda, comparison between policies here with those of emerging from the post-Moi government in Kenya do not appear significantly different. The basis for establishing a constituency through which the particular interests and needs of young people may be clearly articulated to inform and, if necessary, to challenge the well-meaning, albeit largely misinformed policy makers, therefore remains uncertain. Certainly, this is not a task for academics.

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