AN OVERVIEW OF THE CHALLENGES FACED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY IN LESOTHO

BY

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Declaration

I, Molefi Lawrence Matsieli, truly declare that this dissertation is my own work. All ideas borrowed from other sources have been acknowledged and referenced duly.

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Abstract

Public policy implementation is central in steering government intentions to provide good governance and better service delivery. Lesotho, like all countries in the developing world, struggles to maintain an efficient policy implementation process to enhance the social and economic development of the citizenry. This deficit prevents citizens from fully benefiting from the outcomes of the expenditure of their public funds and resources invested in programs and initiatives aimed at achieving policy goals. Consequently, it is of crucial importance that policy actors understand an array of dynamics in the implementation process. Thus, this study explored the potential variables that may hinder or aid policy initiatives in order to understand the overall challenges faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho.

A review of the literature unveiled that policy implementation cannot be understood in isolation from other policy stages and so a comprehensive framework was employed. The literature further revealed that policy implementation challenges are not unique to developing countries, but are experienced even in developed countries. The theoretical framework informing the study was the Public Policy Implementation Framework, which considers various factors which affect the implementation process. The study employed an exploratory, qualitative research design. Major findings were gathered from in-depth interviews with officials from the Department of Youth in Lesotho's Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation. From the findings, it could be argued that the National Youth Policy suffers from similar challenges to implementation that most of the policies in Lesotho do. These include, but are not limited to, insufficient legislations guiding programs, inadequate resources, paternalism, multi-sectoralism, political uncertainty as well as inefficient monitoring and evaluation. Drawing from the findings, a review of the policy and other subordinating legislation frameworks such as the National Youth Council Act is recommended.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	:	All Basotho Convention
AC	:	African Charter
AU	:	African Union
AYC	:	African Youth Charter
AYDPoA	:	African Youth Decade Plan of Action
BNP	:	Basotho National Party
CYC	:	Commonwealth Youth Charter
CYP	:	Commonwealth Youth Parliament
DC	:	Democratic Congress
DYC	:	Districts Youth Council
FFYDP	:	Fourth Five Year Development Plan
GoL	:	Government of Lesotho
IYES	:	Improve Your Existing Skills
IYY	:	International Year of Youth
LCD	:	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
M & E	:	Monitoring and Evaluation
MGYSR	:	Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation
NSDP	:	National Strategic Development Plan
NYC	:	National Youth Council
NYCA	:	National Youth Council Act
NYCR	:	National Youth Council Regulations
NYDA	:	National Youth Development Agency
NYP	:	National Youth Policy
NVC	:	National Volunteer Corps

PSC	**:**	Public Service Commission
SIYB	**:**	Start and Improve Your Business
UN	**:**	United Nations
UNDP	**:**	United Nations Development Project
UNESCAP	**:**	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNESCO	**:**	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YEP	**:**	Youth Employment Promotion
WED	**:**	Women Entrepreneurship Development

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CHAPTER 1

Background

1.0.   Introduction

Policy formulation, implementation and evaluation are key aspects of the policy cycle. This study investigated challenges that are faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in Lesotho. Chapter One presents the background of the study. It outlines the research problem and clearly states the main aim of the study. Thereafter the key questions are listed. Subsequently a discussion of what motivated the researcher to undertake this study as well as the significance of undertaking such a study is explained. Lastly, this chapter provides an outline of the structure of the dissertation.

1.1. Background

In contemporary economic and political reform, the need to advance the youth has received new impetus and reached the top agenda of policy making process in the global community. In view of this fact, there is an emergent obligation to place youth issues at the center of developmental policies (Lintelo, 2011). It is therefore not surprising that the period from August 12, 2010 to August 11, 2011 was declared by the United Nations (UN) as the International Year of Youth (IYY), with an official logo and slogan "our youth, our voice" (UN, 2010). Equally, Africans have not been oblivious to this realization. For example, 2008 was declared the African Youth Year. Similarly, the African Youth Decade 2009-2018 Plan of Action (AYDPoA) declared the period 2009-2019 as the decade of youth development in Africa. In its resolve to realizing the development of African youth, AYDPoA goals aimed at establishing a benchmark of implementing and monitoring youth development policies, programs and activities in Africa (AU, 2011:3). In this context, the present study accordingly aims to investigate overall challenges faced by the government of Lesotho in the implementation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in Lesotho.

In transitional democratic Lesotho, there is a mounting recognition that for any strategy for youth development to be efficient, it must be consistent with the current

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policies and legislations. The NYP is based on the rights and freedoms envisaged in the national Constitution. As is the case in any other country, the Constitution is the uppermost law of Lesotho and if any other law is conflicting with it, that law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be annulled (GoL, 1993). Chapter II on "Protection of Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms" stipulates rights and freedoms that every Mosotho, including youth, must uphold. Section 20 confers the right to every citizen to participate in government, either directly or through democratically chosen or elected representatives. The Constitution further insists that Lesotho shall adopt policies aimed at promoting a society based on equality and justice, more particularly to promote equality of opportunity for marginalized groups [such as youth] in the society to permit them full involvement in all walks of the public domain. Section 32 of the Constitution deals more specifically with issues relating to youth, for instance, the protection of children and young persons from economic and social exploitation.

As per the Government of Lesotho (GoL) (2012:167), the National Strategic Development Plan 2012/13-2016/17 (NSDP) purports to enhance the development of youth participation through strengthening the capacity of the Youth Council to promote the interests of the youth. The NSDP is an implementation strategy for the National Vision 2020. It serves as a growth and development strategic framework envisioned to achieve the national goals of Vision 2020, by promoting the strong economic and social transformation of Lesotho.

Respectively, the Fourth Five Year Development Plan (FFYDP) outlined the government's five year plan to conduct a study on challenges that are faced by the youth. It was a long term plan that was to be effected from 1986. According to the plan, the study was to form the basis and inform the NYP to guide youth activities, and to guide the process for the establishment of a National Youth Council (NYC). However, both the policy and council were not established by the cessation period of the plan in 1991 due to a confluence of impeding factors.

Long afterwards, resolutions made by the youths who partook in the Maseru Sun Cabanas National Youth Conference of February 12, 1995 paved the way for the mainstreaming of youth affairs (GoL, 2003). A Resolutions Committee made up of 20 youth representatives, two from each of the 10 districts of the Lesotho Kingdom, was assigned the role to prepare a Youth Policy document. This committee, with the

assistance of the local consultant, drafted a report which was presented to the districts in December 1997 to further gather the public opinion regarding issues affecting the youth. In October 1998, the policy document was signed and was thereafter submitted to the Cabinet in November 1998. As is always the case, there was a policy window in this document. It was then reviewed and resulted in the final draft in 2003. In essence, the current NYP is a deliberate outcome of the Resolutions Committee.

Thus, it is deemed important to highlight that the establishment of the NYP in Lesotho was not directly influenced by any treaty or international convention. Unlike the majority of the United Nations and African Union member states whose youth policies are guided by the Commonwealth Youth Charter (CYC) (2005), UN Convention on the Rights of a Child, African Youth Charter (2006) and many more, the Lesotho NYP is nationally driven. Ansell *et al* in Horton *et al* (2012:53) emphasize that the NYP in Lesotho is a domestically-produced document rather than an outcome of transnational processes. It is therefore reasonable to argue that this policy is free from external influence and thus constitutes the government's own aspiration to enhancing the integration of the youth into the socio-economic and political development of the country (GoL, 2003). Thus, any analysis of the NYP in Lesotho has to consider this exception to the norm of influence from transnational processes, which applies to other countries on the African continent and elsewhere.

1.2. The Lesotho National Youth Policy

The primary aim of the youth policies is to develop strategies that 'help young people to make the right choices, protect them from exploitation and neglect and ensure their participation in all spheres of society' (UNESCO, 2004:6). Consequently, the Lesotho NYP is significant machinery that guides the country in its attempt to develop youth. In this policy document are intrinsic vows by government, the private sector, non-governmental organizations, youth organizations, and society at large regarding interventions and strategic plans that would have to be employed to ensure effective and efficient mainstreaming of Basotho youth development in the political and socio-economic spheres.

In focusing on the varied needs of the diverse Basotho youth, the policy is concerned with both the broad-spectrum population of youth and with specific sub-groups within that general population. It highlights common social and economic categories that

include male and female youth, youth with disabilities, employed and unemployed youth, out of and in school youth, youth in rural and urban areas, street vendors and youth at risk. The policy advances support for equally diverse and unique interventions that will provide for the holistic development of youth. The NYP seeks to intervene in issues that threaten the development of youth. Challenges which the policy explicitly proposes to address are: unemployment; health issues; mushrooming population of young people; cultural discontinuity; un-involvement in decision making; and unwillingness to mainstream youths and youth organizations. There is also an underlying assumption that education is one of the key areas the policy embarks to focus on even though it is not overtly addressed. The commendations that have effected from each of these themes are hoped to provide for program and project design. This aims to encourage the inclusion and authentic participation of youth in decision making processes, policy, program and project implementation, as well as management, hence building patriots who can meaningfully participate in the political and economic development of their country.

The Goals of the NYP are:

- To promote the dignity and self-esteem of all Lesotho youths, ensure their physical, intellectual, and moral well-being and

- To take all measures to accelerate youths' full participation in the socio-economic, cultural and political life as healthy, active and productive citizens of the nation

1.3.   Outline of the Research Problem

It was only in 2003 that Basotho youth affairs were institutionalized through the formulation of the NYP. The NYP is an effort by the government of Lesotho to address the socio-cultural, economic and political challenges facing the youth, and to set guidelines in place for practitioners to develop programs and strategies for youth development.

However, policy making alone, – 'choosing among alternatives, exploring options and deciding the appropriate course of action' (Carley, 1987:21) – is not enough. GoL (2000:4) avers that 'effective public policies are dependent upon their appropriateness and the way in which they are implemented'. Yet the challenge is that in

governmental attempts to realize policy objectives, there always exists a huge gap between the policy decision-making and its implementation. Crosby (1996:1404) attests that 'policy implementation is not a coherent, continuous process; instead, it is frequently fragmented and interrupted'. The challenges to the implementation of the NYP are not unique from challenges that face other policy implementation attempts in Lesotho in particular and in developing countries in general. These challenges may include: lack of resources such as funding, technology and human capital; change of administration or political power; policy conflict etc. (Brynard, 2005; Grindle and Thomas, 1990 & Wolman, 1981). This situation is often exacerbated by gloomy social conditions of unemployment, poverty and prostitution among the youth.

The government established the National Youth Council Act (NYCA) (2008) and the National Youth Council Regulations (NYCR) (2009) to allow for the establishment of the NYC whose mandate is to coordinate youth participation in national developmental issues that affect them; its functions; and for related matters (GoL, 2008) as well as playing a key role in the implementation of the NYP. Even so, the NYP has not been implemented as intended. There has always been a bottleneck to its implementation. This is what Egonmwan (1984:13) observed to be a 'widening of the distance between stated policy goals and the realization of such planned goals'. Therefore, the primary aim of this study is to investigate the implementation gap of the NYP. The study will analyze variables that hinder the implementation process of the NYP in Lesotho.

1.4.   Key Questions:

The key questions which this study addresses are the following:

1. Are all relevant implementing agencies capacitated to implement the National Youth Policy?

2. How independent is the National Youth Council (NYC)?

3. How are the programs set in place for the youth being monitored?

4. Is the existence of the NYP an answer to the youth problems?

5. How is politics shaping the implementation of the NYP?

1.5. Motivation and Significance of the Study

As stipulated in the National Youth Council Act (NYCA), No. 14 of 2008, the purpose of the establishment of the NYC was to coordinate the development of all the Basotho youth programs and activities. The council is also tasked with liaising with the youth regarding their participation in domestic developmental issues that affect them. It would then make sense that the NYC is the main role player in the implementation of the NYP. Ideally, the NYC was supposed to be an autonomous agency empowered to take the lead. However, the reality of the matter is that 'public policy-making and implementation in Lesotho are therefore invariably exclusive spheres and the responsibilities of the government' (Makoa, 2004:74-5). Thus, the Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR) is the key actor in the implementation of the NYP. This is in accordance with the policy which states that 'the ministry responsible for youth affairs coordinates an integrated approach with all agencies involved in youth matters' (GoL, 2003:16).

To fully resume the office, the NYC − whose composition has to consist of elected and nominated members − was supposed to be launched after its elections to the office. This was expected after its first elections which were held on March 3, 2012. However, the launch was forestalled as the new coalition government came into power after the May 12, 2012 national general elections. The major problem is the bottleneck resulting from the political squabbles over the political parties' membership or nominees into the council.

According to the NYCA (2008), Section 5(1) (g), the council shall consist of 'three representatives of Political Youth Leagues, two of whom shall be nominated by the party commanding majority in the National Assembly and one of whom shall be nominated by the opposition parties' (GoL, 2008:1392). In the political history of Lesotho, the party which formerly obtained the majority votes in the previous elections, the Democratic Congress (DC), has now become the major opposition in the current National Assembly. This is due to the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Basotho National Party (BNP) and All Basotho Convention (ABC) forming a tripartite coalition government following DC's failure to maintain the majority seats (60+1) to form a dominant single party majority government. This therefore results in difficulties in implementing Section 5 (1) of the NYCA.

The existing barriers to implementation which have arisen from the political seats challenge policy process of the NYP. Undoubtedly such a contradiction over membership was not anticipated during the formulation of the Act to regulate the policy. Makinde (2005) is of the sentiment that the failure to consider such political predicaments in policy design will lead to a direct undesirable impact on policy implementation. As such, the NYC is dysfunctional pending the court case over the political majority seats in the council.

This political battle over the membership in the NYC is just one of the challenges to the implementation of the NYP. It appears that there may be an array of issues or factors pertaining to the effectiveness of the NYC as the role player in the implementation of NYP. As a result, this hinders the NYP goals of realizing the policy's objectives of overcoming conditions that disadvantage youth.

It is in this prevailing context that the researcher, an affected and concerned Mosotho youth, undertook a study to investigate the reality of what is actually happening on the ground concerning the implementation of the NYP. A national youth policy is a tool to providing logic to youth development and understanding to the needs and problems of young people in a wider scope. In this regard, the policy needs to be implemented as per the original plan in order for it to produce the intended results. Any deviation from the planned implementation should be justified and the reasons for these deviations be spelt out.

It is in the broader political context outlined above and as a result of the concern regarding problems associated with the implementation of the NYP in Lesotho that a study of this nature was undertaken. It is envisaged that such a study could have immediate and future impacts and could also assist the Lesotho government in resolving the obstacles hindering the implementation of such a promising and forward-looking policy. The successful implementation of the recommendations made in the study will make Lesotho a source of reference for other governments with similar projects to the one which forms the subject of the present study. This is the utilitarian role of the study for both Lesotho and the broader African clientele.

1.6. Dissertation Structure

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, the background to the topic of policies concerning youth, particularly issues surrounding the implementation of the NYP in Lesotho, and the outline of the study are clearly presented. The general study aim and key research questions are set forth. Lastly, the researcher describes what the motivation to undertake the study in question was, and what contribution the study is going to make to the existing literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Firstly in this chapter, the concept of youth is explicitly defined and problematized with the view to exposing its multi-faceted nature. Emerging from this discussion, a working definition is spelt out to make it easier for the reader to have a common understanding in the context of this study. Thereafter, a review of the existing literature on the subject matter of youth policy is outlined. Broadly, the chapter discusses the challenges to implementation of youth policies and/or programs in both developing and developed countries.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the guide to writing the entire research. It determines the type of research design to be employed. The conceptual frameworks within which the research was framed in order to investigate topic under consideration in this study are clearly outlined in this chapter. The chapter begins with a discussion of policy, specifically public policy. Thereafter the implications for policy implementation are outlined. Finally a substantive discussion of the factors that affect the implementation of policies is provided.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

The research methods used to collect data for the study are discussed in this chapter. The study was guided by an exploratory research design and employed qualitative methodology in the form of semi-structured interviews in order to obtain empirical data. The purposive sampling method used in the study is explained and justified in terms of the objectives of the study. Thereafter the data analysis method is described.

Lastly the limitations and ethical considerations of the study are considered in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Presentation and Discussion of the Results

The main purpose of Chapter Five is to present and discuss the results of this study which was undertaken to provide an overview of the challenges faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho. This chapter presents the findings of the study, as they emerged from the participants. The discussion is drawn from empirical data collected during the fieldwork. The chapter is divided into two sections. Section A provides an outline of the structure of the Ministry of Youth, Gender, Sports and Recreation (MYGSR) in the GoL. Section A also describes the programs initiated by the MYGSR aimed at youth upliftment. Section B presents the data collected during the actual interviews with officials. The findings are presented according to the main themes that emerged during the interviews and the data in analyzed with reference to the reviewed literature. Conclusions regarding the implementation of the NYP are thereby extrapolated.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

In the final chapter, the broad findings of the study are summarized with the emphasis on the results obtained, the contribution made by the study, as well as any recommendations to the stakeholders involved with the NYP and suggestions for further research.

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter presented the broader context within which the present study should be understood. It introduced the background of the study in order to contextualize the issue for the reader. The outline of the research problem and key questions guiding the study were also presented. It is in this chapter that the researcher's rationale and the significance of the study were discussed. The concept "youth" was described and the dissertation structure was presented. The next chapter focuses on a review of the existing literature related to the topic in an attempt to locate the study in the broader context of policy formulation, implementation and evaluation.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

2.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature in relation to the implementation of youth policies. It embarks on a broad review of the existing literature and the policy frameworks on youth policies across the world (international, regional and local) and identifies the gaps, challenges and opportunities for harnessing the implementation process. The chapter discusses how these gaps will be filled with a particular focus on the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho.

Given the limited amount of literature on youth policy in Lesotho, the understanding of the overall challenges faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy is inadequate. As a result, it is true that the political, social and economic situation of the Basotho youth is quite dismal. Only studies of this nature will change the current status quo and improve the lives of the youth. The following review of literature is therefore undertaken to avoid duplication in this study of what has already been researched and also to present a thorough understanding of the current knowledge base. The literature reviews both primary and secondary sources such as dissertations, conference papers, government documents, reviewed journals and books.

However, the general view emerging from the literature review on determinants of national youth policy success and failure focuses mainly on the implementation component of the policy process. This ignores the most essential considerations in the policy cycle namely agenda setting, and policy formulation or design. Considering the latter, this study takes into account the fact that the NYP's success may be 'impeded by problems or inadequacies in one or more of the components in either formulating stage or implementation stage or in both' (Wolman, 1981:433). Thus, according to Wolman (ibid.), 'implementation studies, at least as presently conceived, can at best present only a partial explanation'. Therefore, it appears a broader comprehensive framework for understanding challenges to the policy gap is desired.

The review of the literature has unveiled some implementation challenges, which in a sense lead to the policy gap. These are as follows: lack of capacity such as professional capital and financial support; change of administration or political power;

the top-down decision making approach; unwillingness to learn from successful implementations from other countries etc. Therefore, the researcher attempted to investigate whether the Lesotho National Youth Policy suffers from the same syndromes.

The international literature reviewed is drawn from the Caribbean and Europe. Based on the literature, it could be argued that Caribbean are ideally goal-orientated with fewer, and more manageable challenges to youth policy implementation. Actually, the literature dwells more on variables that aid policy implementation instead of those that present hindrances to implementation. Thus, Lesotho can learn better practice from them. The choice of European examples is to highlight that policy problems are the same both in the developing as well as in the developed worlds.

Furthermore, the literature shows that policy problems are much more similar in developing countries, such as those in Africa. The reviewed literature from Africa will assist the Lesotho government to learn how fellow member states tackle similar challenges in similar contexts. In addition, the findings and recommendations of this research will also assist these countries to advance their implementation strategies.

To better understand the literature on implementation gaps of youth policies, the term "youth" must clearly be defined and understood. The chapter therefore begins by exploring literature on how "youth" is defined and thereafter the rest of the chapter reviews the variables to youth policy/program implementation success and failure.

2.1. Youth Concept

Youth policy analysis and conceptualization cannot be understood in isolation from the definition of "youth". However, there are competing conceptions of youth as a social group and youth as a phase in life as well as youth as a generation. Each of these notions has implications for policy. Ngai *et al* (2001) argue that youth is a socially constructed concept. It is interpreted differently in varying contexts. This means youth are a heterogeneous category in rigid evolution and that the experience of being "youth" varies largely in differing political, social, legal or economic status across regions and within countries (Curtain, 2001). This implies that there is no internationally fixed definition of the concept of youth. Ubi (2007:3) has analyzed that 'to some youth is a threat to existing status quo, while to others youths are the

hope of the future'. For example, donor agencies define youth as a specific social category that is facing risk, uncertainty and pronounced difficulties in terms of their socio-economic, political and cultural inclusion (UNESCO, 2004:6). Thus policies addressing this group direct prevention and intervention to solve looming problems such as crime, drug abuse, and teenage pregnancy (Ebata & Schulenberg, 1994).

Kemenyi and Gyima-Brempong (2013) argue that youth has traditionally been defined as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood. This is adolescence. Adolescent phase or youth as interchangeably used refer to the social, physical, and emotional processes of maturation that crop up during puberty (World Bank, 2003: XIV). Ubi (2007:2) concurs that it is the phase of life which shows that a childhood era is over and marks the beginning of a new phase of adulthood. However, even this definition is controversial as several countries define the age-cohort of adulthood differently. Horton *et al* (2012) observe that youth are considered to be adults but in the making and thus, future leaders. As a result, there is likelihood that they are excluded in decision making on the "futurity" ideology. In this sense, they are assumed to be incompetent co-partners who cannot effectively make sound decisions. While different organizations, states and youth policies define youth differently, the deficit to youth policy implementation as a consequence of the differing or wrong conceptualization of "youth" is rarely outlined.

Sharing the same sentiment to Ubi (2007:3) that youth has no "luxury" definition, Jones and Wallace (1992) assert that the definition of youth varies between cultures, and is subject to reconstruction over time. The Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA) states that prior to the materialization of multiparty democracy in Africa, the pro-independence movements fighting for the emancipation of citizens recruited young people as a crucial source of resistance in opposition to the colonial or white minority rulers. Young people were mobilized as the foot soldiers of the liberation forces. Even in Communist China, before the 1980s youth were regarded as a political force to assist the Chinese Communist Party to fortify its ruling power and to attain national independence and unity (Ngai *et al*, 2001). Currently in China, youth is regarded as those persons within the age bracket of 12 to 30, and manifested by rapid physical change, cerebral maturation and personality development (Nianhong, 1989).

Age range has been used by international organizations and institutions to standardize the categorization of youth. However, even where youth is defined in age based terms actual age ranges differ. The UN and the World Bank define youth as persons between the ages of 15 and 24 (UN, 2004). The Commonwealth Youth Parliament (CYP) (2012) considers youth as those young people between 18 and 29 years of age. According to the African Charter (AC) youth refers to every person between the ages 15 and 35. These age ranges are based on the assumption that every person falling in this bracket can efficiently participate in the nation's development and contribute to decision making alongside adults. However, the UN Convention on Child Protection regards all people up to the age of 18 as "children". Thus, someone in the age range of 15-18 can be considered a youth, a child, both, or a young person (Lintelo, 2012:4).

For policy purposes, countries' adoption of youth is guided by age. The India National Youth Policy (2012) describes youth as individuals in the country within the age-bracket of 16 to 30 years. Jamaican youth are understood to be persons between 15 and 24 years of age. According to the Jamaica National Youth Policy document (2003) this period can be explained as that stage when persons pass from the semi-independence of adolescence into the increasing independence associated with adulthood. Similarly, the Uganda National Youth Policy (2001) defines youth as all young persons, females and males, whose age cohort ranges between 12 and 30. As described in the policy document, this is a period of great emotional, physical and psychological change that requires societal support for a safe passage from adolescence to full adulthood. Youth in Estonia is defined as those people between 7 and 26. This age range guides youth policy in Estonia (Williamson, 2002). In the Netherlands, according to the Netherlands Youth Institute (NJI) (2007:3), 'the term youth is applied to children and young people from 0 up to the age of 24'.

Accordingly, this study adopts the Lesotho National Youth Policy's (2003) definition of youth. The policy defines youth as a person falling within the age group of 15 to 35 years. This definition takes into consideration social, political and economic contexts. Apart from the fact that the study focuses on Lesotho, the decision to use the 15-35 age range is informed by the fact that this is the age bracket prescribed by the AC. Lesotho is, after all, in Africa. Using the African definition of youth will make the findings of this study resonate with a number of other African countries and will avoid contradictions.

Ansell *et al* in Horton *et al* (2012) have however identified inconsistencies in Lesotho's National Youth Policy. They argue that in some cases the policy reads positive about youth, describing them as 'essential human resources' (GoL, 2003:7) while at the same time other parts of the policy portrays them as deviant with the 'tendency to become delinquents, alcoholics and drug abusers who engage in criminal activities' (GoL, 2003:7). Bendit and Wallace (2009) suggest that policies vary in their philosophies of intervention. In line with this thinking, it appears the Lesotho National Youth Policy is paradoxical in nature. Makinde (2005) speculates that the complexity of policy content negatively influences its implementation. Given that, it is pertinent to further explore challenges to the implementation of the NYP in Lesotho.

2.2. Variables to Policy Implementation

2.2.1. United Nations

The resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly on the World Programme of Action for Youth (WPAY) to the year 2000 and beyond recognized that 'young people in all countries are both a major human resource for development and key agents for social change, economic development and technological innovation' (UN, 1996:1). It is within this prevailing discourse that the assembly alerted the member states that the ways in which the problems and potentials of young people are attended to by policy would influence the current status quo of social and economic conditions as well as the well-being and livelihood of future generations. It therefore invited governments, with the support of the international community, private sectors, non-governmental organizations and the public, as well as youth organizations, in particular, to implement the Programme of Action by undertaking the relevant activities outlined therein.

While the UN community, through relative governments and interested partners has put all their effort into ensuring that the aspirations to creating an inclusive youth society be achieved, the assembly acknowledged the appalling challenges which caused the detrimental conditions (see **Box 1** below) that have made this goal more difficult to achieve in many countries.

Box 1: Factors Affecting the Inclusion of Youth (UN)

(a) 'Claims on the physical and financial resources of States, which have reduced the resources available for youth programmes and activities, particularly in heavily indebted countries;

(b) Inequities in social, economic and political conditions, including racism and xenophobia, which lead to increasing hunger, deterioration in living conditions and poverty among youth and to their marginalization as refugees, displaced persons and migrants;

(c) Increasing difficulty for young people returning from armed conflict and confrontation in integrating into the community and gaining access to education and employment;

(d) Continuing discrimination against young women and insufficient access for young women to equal opportunities in employment and education;

(e) High levels of youth unemployment, including long-term unemployment;

(f) Continuing deterioration of the global environment resulting from unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, particularly in industrialized countries, which is a matter of grave concern, aggravating poverty and imbalances;

(g) Increasing incidence of diseases, such as malaria, the human immunodeficiency virus and the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS),and other threats to health, such as substance abuse and psychotropic substance addiction, smoking and alcoholism;

(h) Inadequate opportunities for vocational education and training, especially for persons with disabilities;

(i) Changes in the role of the family as a vehicle for shared responsibility and socialization of youth;

(j) Lack of opportunity for young people to participate in the life of society and contribute to its development and well-being;

(k) Prevalence of debilitating disease, hunger and malnutrition that engulfs the life of many young people;

(l) Increasing difficulty for young people to receive family life education as a basis for forming healthy families that foster sharing of responsibility'

Source: UN (1996:5)

However, these challenges could be best absorbed or sensitized if they are at least regionally framed or country-specific. The following paragraphs discuss implementation hindrances with specific reference to identified regions down to nations' local government level.

2.2.2. Caribbean Countries

Positive behavior is what characterizes the Caribbean youth. The World Bank (2003: xiii) reports that they attend school, participate in social and cultural events, and continue to plan their personal and professional lives ahead. Most of them are said to be doing well, they do not participate in delinquent activities, engage in unlawful drug trade and abuse, or drop out of school (ibid: 1). This behavior is a mystery in Africa. The positivity of the Caribbean youth is the result of different program reforms, and actions taken by the public and private sector groups, such as government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), whose varied strategies reduce the likelihood of risky behavior. For instance, there is compelling evidence that United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP), to mention only two of the various programs, play a significant role to enrich youth development (World Bank, 2003: xvi). The latter had significant success in building a cadre of youth and professional staff eligible to work on youth issues, and provided technical support on youth programs and policy design and implementation.

By the same token, the Caribbean governments are serious about promoting a healthy youth community. In response to implementing policies and programs related to youth issues and development, the governments have created ministries or departments to coordinate youth development (Danns *et al*, 1997). A distinctive example is the Dominican Republic. The Dominican government went beyond policy level to the extent where the government is obliged to input on the program implementation processes by approving General Youth Law upon which the Secretariat of State for Youth was established (World Bank, 2003:61). The law allocates a budget of 1 percent of the national budget for the youth secretariat, and it establishes a Local Youth Initiatives Fund to be covered by 4 percent of municipal budgets (Rodriguez, 2000). These actions are indicative of the commitment and political will the policy-makers assert towards initiating and implementing interventions for youth development.

However, it should be pointed out that 'a well-formulated youth-specific policy is not the panacea' (World Bank, 2003:61), and research has demonstrated that programs and the implementation of youth policies often do not result in learning and improvement because of ineffective coordination, monitoring and evaluation (ibid). As a result, the minority of youth are still jeopardized by the policies that do not respond to their own needs but focus on those of the majority. Currently the needs of the youth are not being addressed because of policies that cater to the interests of the wider population as opposed to targeting the specific issues facing particular groups of youth. It would be in the interests of researchers and the world population to attempt to identify how best to develop policies that allow for optimum resource distribution in terms of targeting youth issues.

It was established from the literature that the Caribbean NYCs' *independence* and youth-directedness place emphasis on pushing youth agendas through policies executed to do so. Generally, the councils of Caribbean youth champion the best youth structures in the quest not only to intervene in youth problems but also to create space for youth development. Some of these youth councils face significant challenges and if it were not for the commitment of the NYCs (as illustrated in **Box 2** below), the numbers of youth issues unattended to would have increased. Some of the councils, like that of St. Lucia, have experienced a decline in financial and professional support.

Box 2: National Youth Council in the Caribbean
'National Youth Councils have been seen as significant youth structures for the expression of youth views and for taking the desires of youth to the corridors of power and decision making. NYCs have a relative long history in the region. As far back as the 1950s, young people sought to develop structures for addressing youth issues and issues of national development from the perspective of youth. The establishment of National Youth Councils was seen as an approach that would create avenues for young people. The Councils were formed with an interest to advocate on behalf of youth. They were guided strictly by youth and were often in stark opposition to governments and other agencies that maintained a paternalistic relationship with youth.

While youth interest in National Youth Councils reached its peak in the 1980s, the period of the sixties and seventies was one of political ferment in the region. Young activists were sufficiently sensitized to the political and developmental issues, which guided public opinion and policy at the time. As young people they thought it their responsibility to posit youth views on current issues. National youth leaders emerged, not because they were provided with opportunities but because they created opportunities to voice the concerns of their peers.

Significantly, very few of the National Youth Councils in the Caribbean were affiliated to the partisan political structures of the countries. The forthrightness of their leaders often placed them in stark opposition to the political status quo. However, their soundness, articulate expressions and strong personalities made them potential targets of the recruitment into political parties, which many of them pursued successfully.

It must be understood that National Youth Councils are youth structures established by youth to serve the interest of youth. They ought not to be the youth voice of any established structure working with youth. It is essential for NYCs to be independent of all external forces, working collaboratively with them but maintaining its autonomy. Through an NYC, structures working with youth should receive the perspective of youth. They should not dictate but should be dictated by the NYCs. The young people must desire to maintain that level of autonomy and independence'.

Source: Alexis (2000) in World Bank (2003:66)

2.2.3. Europe

The literature demonstrates that governments do not have to restrict the involvement of youth representatives in the development of youth policy goals. However, Williamson (2002) reports that paternalism impedes effective implementation of youth policy in some European countries. Williamson (2002) has discovered that the approaches to youth policy of the Netherlands, Finland, Estonia and Spain have the tendency to try to manage youth affairs without their actual involvement or will. With specific reference to the latter, he demonstrates that there is no national youth council to give youth a voice and responsibilities. Likewise, Williamson (2002:37) further argues that the "residual paternalism" perceived in the Netherlands leads to the

conclusion that its youth policy has a remedial and problem-oriented focus, one which has insufficiently taken account of the subjective and active concerns of young people themselves. The implication is that even a

> Well-intentioned and well-constructed any piece of youth policy, it will fail if it does not detect the hidden criteria which inform young people's responses to it. Such responses may be very different from those which had been anticipated and which had been the rational grounds for establishing the policy in the first place (Williamson, 2002:40)

The message is that for efficient implementation, youth policy must be conceptualized to be for young people, with young people and with great emphasis on an "opportunity-oriented" focus to grant them a right to construct their own future through effective participation.

The scholarship assures that the implementation gap of the national youth policy in Europe could be lessened only if youth is included in decision making. The emphasis is also placed on financial resources. Williamson (2002) argues that the very well-articulated decrees and laws for young people do not inevitably lead to effective practice unless correct structures for delivery are made available and the essential resourcing is in place. His conclusion is informed by the Estonian international report that 'the use of acts expresses or reflects the wills and wishes of the society, but not necessarily the effects' (Estonia IR: 18 in Williamson 2002:39). His line of argument is drawn from the findings that all seven countries he reviewed have been suffering from the failure to financially support youth policy. It is therefore understandable that he cautions against the claim that 'young people are the future (our future) and that they demand appropriate investment' (Williamson, 2002:40) while budgetary constraints also affect them the worst. The consequence of this is the amount of time youth leadership spend 'seeking funding at the expense of their core business of representing and advocating on behalf of young people and particular youth issues' (ibid.:41). In essence, it appears that external funding is a necessity if the visions for youth policy are to be realized.

2.3.4. General View on Africa

According to Kerr (1996) public policy fails if it does not have a relevant public. That is true for many policies formulated by African states. The UN (2011) reports that youth in Africa suffer from the inability of governments and development partners to

implement policies that are socially inclusive. According to the UN, social inclusion would be possible if policy interventions considered the varying demographics of youth such as sex, age, ethnicity, disability status or residence location. It is clear that the continent faces challenges because its policy implementation processes do not address the specific needs of the contemporary youth. Similarly, Kemenyi and Gyima-Brempong (2013) state that youth policies in Africa do not address the challenges facing youth. This leads to the public policy analysis perspective which proposes that for policies to be successfully implemented, the problem to be addressed must be clearly identified and understood to enable intervention for the specified population.

In order to address the growing problems of youth, Kemyeni and Gyima-Brempong (2013) recommend adopting economic policies with a pro-youth focus. They have found that youth is faced with multifaceted problems which include, but are not limited to, 'a lack of access to a high-quality and relevant education, high rates and long durations of unemployment and underemployment, a high incidence of chronic poverty, political disengagement, and health and environmental risks' (ibid: 27). They advocate the mainstreaming of youth policies so that their effects and actions are more effective. Kemyeni and Gyima-Brempong (2013) suggest that governments should always try to investigate how policies and actions would impact youth. Having identified unemployment to be a major threat among youth, their study therefore suggests an integration of youth and economic policies. The implication is that Africa is implementing policies that are ineffective in alleviating chronic poverty among youth. In this view, policies have to promote economic growth of the youth.

2.3.5. Sub-Saharan Africa

Lintelo (2011) studied the extent of roles and experiences of youth, and young people's involvement in public policy processes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although the International Labour Organization of the United Nations advocates that youth involvement must be central to policy making for youth, Lintelo's general findings indicate that youth engagement in policy making is very minimal. After analyzing the challenge of limited involvement of youth in policy making, Hakli and Kaillio (2010) argue that youth are less empowered to meaningfully participate in policy making hence they are seen as objects of policy processes. This is counter to UNESCO's

principle of advocating fair youth empowerment in order to advance their full and equal participation in all spheres of society (UNESCO, 2004). In Sub-Saharan Africa, policies are therefore done *for* youth not *with* or *by* them. However, it is not clear (as it is not referred to by either Lintelo or Hakli and Kaillio) to what extent implementation of policies for or by youth could be successful. To this end, lack of youth participation needs to be investigated to determine whether it aids or hinders implementation of youth policy.

2.3.6. South Africa

Kampala (2011) suggests that there have to be realistic youth structures established to connect the wished-for goals of youth policy at all levels of government. In order for the South African NYP to realize its objectives, Kampala highlights that the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), as a structure to fulfill the policy goals, was launched following the policy launch. It appears, however, that not all youth structures were put in place to advance the policy goals at the local government level, and this undermined policy implementation in Msunduzi Municipality. However, local government is essential for the implementation of policies through service delivery (UN-HABITAT, 2004). This undermines the policy-making process in South Africa [and indeed the rest of the transitional democracies]. This is because most policies to address social disparities are initiated at national level with little emphasis on how they can be implemented by local governments yet it is this level of government that is closest to the populace. Essentially, there has to be a youth unit, fully resourced to account for youth participation and development at people's level.

Kampala reveals that the NYDA in Pietermaritzburg was not adequately capacitated to implement the NYP in the area of his study – Msunduzi Municipality. His findings correlate with those of Chanza (2006). In her research which examined whether youth structures facilitate meaningful youth participation in the Msunduzi Municipality. Chanza recommended that municipalities show commitment to the functioning of the youth agencies by providing them with adequate resources. Both Chanza and Kampala have discovered that the municipality was understaffed and lacked financial support. In the case of financial resources, Chanza's study findings revealed that the agency depended on Mayoral Budget. The setback of this was that the mayor's office had '*too much politics*' which resulted in complexities of budget allocation to the unit

(Chanza, 2006:74). Another factor that slowed down the process of policy implementation by the Youth Advisory Programme was that 'the most decisions come from the top, from the NYDA head office in Pretoria, through the provincial office in Durban, to the NYDA in Pietermaritzburg' then to the municipal level (Kampala, 2011:85).The overall recommendation emanating from both studies is that the youth structures should be autonomous to make their own decisions and have multi-sectoral approaches that incorporate external sectors for further funding of the projects.

2.3.7. A Focus on Lesotho

Makoa (2004) warns that in order to successfully implement public policies, the government of Lesotho has to build a strong national economy, have appropriate infrastructure and availability of manpower. He also highlights the importance of securing financial capacity from foreign donors to avoid policies that are 'destined to remain a declaration of intent that may never eventually translate into programme' (ibid: 72). Similarly, Makinde (2005) confirms that Nigerian Education experienced a similar policy gap due to lack of financial resources and political constraints among other deficiencies. It is therefore correct to infer that to bridge the policy gap of the NYP as a public policy in Lesotho, there needs to be strong capacity building in order to achieve the intended goals.

Kapa (2013) argues that women and youth are largely able to put into effect their right to participate in Lesotho's national politics. He points out that the thirty-nine percent female representation in Cabinet following the 2007 general elections and twenty-seven percent representation post-2012 general elections reflect affirmative-action measures that the state has undertaken to incorporate marginalized categories into decision making processes. However, there is no evidence in Kapa's review as to whether the youth were part of the decision making process at Cabinet level at this time. Indeed, the GoL (2007) indicates that there were no ministers at youth age in the post-2007 election period; all ministers were above 35 years of age. Again, Kapa's argument contradicts with the NYP (2002:10) document which correctly states that 'the youth are the most vulnerable group when it comes to issues that pertain to politics. They are neither represented nor considered in the decision making process of this country. They are usually used as storm troopers without any role in the decision making'.

It is therefore clear that the proper implementation of the NYP in Lesotho must result in the involvement of youth in decision making. Pierce *et al* (2010) accurately state that stakeholders' participation is the core ingredient of good governance, which sensibly aids public policy implementation. Participation is an active process in which the public's opinion has an impact on the decision making and the implementation of a policy or project with a view to enhancing their social, economic and political growth (Paul, 1987). For example, lack of key stakeholders' engagement in effective decision making has been identified as the major cause of the existing crisis in world fisheries and a weakness in the fisheries project management (Pierce *et al*, 2010). Logically, in the context of poverty eradication and unemployment reduction, particularly among the youth, not only governments but researchers too must pay particular attention to the authentic participation of the beneficiaries.

The literature also shows that it is only through relevant stakeholders' partnerships that the country will be able to implement its plans. The government's major plan is to reduce the unemployment rate, more especially among the youth who constitute the majority of the population. Accordingly, the Minister of Development Planning, Dr Moeketsi Majoro, urged the private sector to contribute to the economic development of the country (Mpaki, 2014). In a way, this call to invite private sector investment clearly indicates government's willingness to address youth issues. According to the GoL (2003), due to the increasing rate of unemployment among youth, more than twenty-five thousand jobs should be created yearly. It is apparent that the partnership of the GoL and private institutions has made a difference in the lives of the youth through projects such as the Youth Employment Promotion (YEP), Start and Improve Your Business (SIYB), IT Training programs and many more. Undeniably, the country is trying to achieve the NYP goals of a rapid decrease of youth unemployment. It is evident, however, according to Dr Majoro that challenges still exist. For example, the trained youth (entrepreneurs) find it difficult to sell their products because the products often do not meet market requirements (Mpaki, 2014). This highlights the point that youth problems are very complex and thus need a critical understanding for proper intervention.

2.3. Conclusion

The review of the literature discussed in Chapter Two demonstrates the challenges that are facing youth development when implementing national youth policies and strategies, both internationally and at a more local level. The literature review was based on research in both the developed and the developing worlds. Challenges to implementation of youth policies were identified and discussed, and mechanisms to bridge them were suggested. This literature review allows for the identification of the existing policy gaps, as well as an analysis regarding how they may be remedied. The next chapter will introduce the theoretical framework which guided this research.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

3.0. Introduction

Public policy implementation is central in steering government intentions to provide good governance and better service delivery. Lesotho and the majority of the developing countries suffer immensely from a lack of an efficient policy implementation process to enhance the social and economic development of the citizenry. This deficit prevents citizens from fully benefiting from the outputs and outcomes of the state's "wasted" resources that are invested in programs and initiatives aimed at achieving policy goals. Assisting governments to build a better life for the people requires a grounded theory or framework to translate policy into practice.

In line with this philosophy, this research adopted the Public Policy Implementation Framework to understand factors that influence the implementation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in Lesotho. Literature on policy implementation is explicit that implementation must not be understood in isolation from other processes of the policy cycle. Wolman (1981), for instance, argues that policy failure repeatedly stems from design rather than from the implementation process hence the formulation process needs to be clearly considered when analyzing implementation. In the same line of argument, Anderson (1997) concurs that policy implementation is not sequential and predictable. He argues that policy does not necessarily translate into outcomes once it has been adopted. Thus, it is deemed impractical to separate policy adoption from its implementation. Accordingly, while establishing a theoretical framework within which to understand implementation, this chapter will take into consideration a review of the literature on other policy stages and concepts such as policy, public policy, agenda setting, policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation, all in relation to the concept and process of implementation. Public Policy Implementation was a tool used in this study to analyze the implementation challenges of the NYP.

3.1. Policy

"Policy" is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by a government, business, party or individual etc. Inferably, policy so defined means goal statements. Bates & Elgdredge (1980) attest that policy is a

statement of declaration that affords a guide for decision making by members of the organization charged with the responsibility of operating the organization as a system. This means that there should be actors and actions involved in pursuing these goal statements. Baldwin & Richard (1976:122) are specific in their assertion that government remains the sole actor in the 'formulation of rules, norms and prescriptions intended to govern the subsequent decisions and actions of government'. Consistent with this argument is the perception that government is central to the course of action designed to achieve a specific purpose or certain results. This ignores the crucial role that is played by individuals and interest groups in the society to put pressure on government to act or respond to public matters.

Herein, government or governmental policy replicates 'a theoretical or experiential assumption about what is required to resolve a particular issue or problem' (Tableman, 2005:1). This may mean the making of decisions that reflect values and distributing or redistributing resources based on those values. In view of this, Tableman attests that 'policy emerges from the personal and political values of individuals and political parties, framed in such a way as to engender wider support' (ibid: 4). In essence, policy could be understood as a deliberate action by politicians and bureaucrats aimed at redressing a public concern. It is a declaration and implementation of intent (Makoa, 2004; Renney in Cloete & Wissink, 2006:11). However, it is worth noting that the policy design and the carrying out or implementation processes are not automatically successive processes. This is in line with Rooyen and Fox's (2004) assertion that in most cases these two processes are concurrent, whereby the policy review, formulation or redesign may possibly occur even during the actual implementation stage.

3.2. Public Policy

Defining public policy has never been an easy task. Different scholars offer various definitions of public policy. Carr *et al* (2009) emphasize that public policy has been a critical concept among political scientists. However, consensus regarding what it actually means has never been reached. This is because of differentiations in contextual and disciplinary fields. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this study, different schools of thought are explored and a conceptual guide to understanding public policy is developed. In exploring the public policy concept, Brooks (1989:16) defines it as

'the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and actions, or inaction, is pursued by government in relation to some issue or problem'. This definition concurs with Dye's (1981) argument that public policy is 'what government chooses to do or not do.' Both definitions view public policy as being mandated and driven by the government. The implication of this, and hence the researcher's working definition, is that public policy refers to the statement of goals for a deliberate course of action by the state to address a certain public issue or need. 'Such a course of action must be manifested in laws, public statements, official regulations, or widely accepted and publicly visible patterns of behavior' (Carr *et al*, 2009:2).

Irani *et al* (2011:288) describe public policy as 'a system of laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning a given topic promulgated by a governmental entity or its representatives'. However, this does not mean that public policy is a government standalone entity. It may appear though that public policies are vertical in nature, being formulated within a single institutional structure, but in essence, they are multi-sectoral or integrated. Jenkins (1978) affirms public policy to be 'a set of interrelated decisions taken by political actors or groups of actors concerning the selection of goals and means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, in principle, be within the power of those to achieve'.

Houghton (2003) argues that only after the adoption phase of the policy process can that policy be called a public policy. It therefore means that public policy needs to be seen as being legitimate by the beneficiaries and interested groups in order to gain public acceptance before it can be implemented. This underscores the fact that public policies are the representatives of the intentions of the policy-maker with political and administrative dimensions (Zungu, 2007). Public policies are therefore outputs of a political process and require commitment or input from the administrative domain with the power to carry it out (Hanekom, 1987).

As a political phenomenon, Mettler and Soss (2004) state that public, or government policies as they are commonly known, play a decisive role in shaping democracies and political systems. Their assertion is that public policies shape the citizenry's beliefs and wants, perceptions of selves and others, and their understandings of, and

actions towards, political systems. This explanation concretizes the abstract concept of public policy by conceptualizing its roles with regard to the public. Mettler & Soss (2004) show the dynamic effects of policies on the public's capacities for civic and political engagement. They assert that government policies can play a significant role in building and distributing civil skills within the public. Mettler and Soss's underlying argument is that public policies, especially education policies, 'often aim to build *human capital* through job training, health care provision, and other public investments' (ibid. 62). Central to public policies is the service provision of resource allocation and redistribution.

3.3. Agenda Setting

Prior to the process of generating options on what to do about a public problem – policy formulation – there has to be some demands for government intervention in such problems either initiated by international and local actors or government itself (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). These issues of demand must undergo multifaceted political processes before they are critically considered for intervention or form part of the government's formal agenda (ibid.). The truism of the complex processes is based on the premise that not all issues in the public, media or other influential domains appear on the government agenda-setting for action.

It is worth highlighting that agenda-setting is a foundation of the entire policy process and its outcomes. Agenda-setting is a key role player in determining those issues that get serious attention of the decision-makers (Cobb *et al*: 1976). It is reasonable therefore to perceive it as a government's focus of attention. Kingston (1984:3) perceives agenda-setting to be 'the set of all conceivable subjects or problems to which [government] officials could be paying attention, they do in fact seriously attend to some rather than others'. The underlying relationship between agenda-setting and implementation is the notion that only those salient issues on the agenda will be mobilized for implementation. However, the more salient the issue is, the more the challenges during the implementation stage.

3.4. Policy Formulation

Cloete & Wissink (2000: 116) view policy formulation to be about 'devising policy goals and objectives; anticipating the future events; cost-benefit analysis of policy alternatives; and examining the best approaches for achieving the desired outcomes'.

This implies the approval or disapproval of potential courses of action for coping with policy problems. In this manner, policy choices that might help to resolve issues and problems identified at the agenda-setting stage are reconsidered, reformed and formalized (Howlett *et al*, 2009). Considering these definitions and the nature of this study, the following discussion focuses on the question of the relationship between policy formulation and policy implementation.

Indeed, policy formulation and policy implementation are intertwined processes of the policy cycle. According to Sandra *et al* (2003) implementation is a direct consequence of the decisions or the output of the policy formulation. Hence, Wolman (1981) provides policy-makers with a set of action questions which are necessary to be considered and appropriately attended to during the policy formulation process as a means of enhancing the chances of implementation success (ibid.:435). The first question Wolman raises is the question of whether the problem is adequately conceptualized. This stems from the fact that a policy is formulated to intervene in a social problem of the community. Therefore, once the government has acknowledged the existence of a public problem and the need to do something about it, policy-makers are expected to decide on the course of action by designing a policy (Howlett *et al*, 2009). As such, the problem needs to be clearly conceptualized because it has an effect on the nature and design of the policy intended to cope with the problem (Wolman, 1981:436). It appears though that the failure to conceptualize the problem may often result in vagueness and lack of direction throughout the whole process of formulation and implementation. This idea suggests how important it is to understand the problem for the very same reason that it has potential for affecting the direction of all succeeding stages as it is one of the early stages of the policy cycle (Mintzberg *et al*, 1976). However, it could be argued on the grounds of subjectivity that a *problem* is socially constructed and what is considered to be a problem may therefore change over time.

Equally important, once a problem is adequately identified and understood, policy-makers have to consider whether the objectives are overt and specific enough to allow a program to be designed and implemented efficiently (Wolman, 1981). In essence, vague or broad goals and objectives are condemned. Without clear objectives, Wolman assures that it is difficult to design a policy or even to administer its performance. He further insists that ambiguous or unobtainable objectives make it

impossible for a policy implementation to succeed due to the nature of the stated objectives.

Furthermore, for the policy/program to sustain its implementation, Wolman states that the question of whether the administrative structure through which the program design is to be carried out facilitates or frustrates the achievement of its objectives should be asked. Most frequently, decisions about the basic administrative structure of a program are done in the formulation stage and frequently bear heavily on the ultimate success or failure of a program. Wolman discusses the issue of the role of the bureau to which a program is assigned. He observed that 'bureaus have institutional histories, cultures and personalities which affect their ability to carry out successfully a program as intended' (ibid: 446). Lipsky (1980) shares the same sentiment. He argues that policy is rarely applied as intended. The major threat to this is the enormous power of discretion and distortion that the street level bureaucrats have. Lipsky contends that the implementing agencies have massive understated capacity to change policy to either conform to the original design of said policies or entirely follow a different agenda. In view of that, it seems that it is policy-makers' responsibility to have carefully considered this and to have thought of the mechanistic strategies they would use – either in the form of incentive or sanction – to enforce implementers to carry out policy objectives as designed. During the policy formulation stage, the aforementioned considerations must be mindfully asked or taken into consideration and attended to in order to permit a successful implementation. Failure to do so inevitably renders the entire exercise fruitless.

3.5. Public Policy Implementation

While scholarship differs in the definition of implementation, Brynard (2005) maintains that implementation is a shift from originally stated political goals to services on the ground. There is an observation that 'ultimately the literature has, in fact, come a long way in highlighting the inevitable complexity of the implementation process and the saliency of trying to understand this complexity' (Smith, 1973:202). It is in this prevailing discourse that many find it challenging to define policy implementation. Brynard (2005) observes that the confusion in an attempt to define implementation lies with the question of when implementation starts and ends, and whether there are several types of implementation. In response, Hogwood and Gunn

(1987:197) understand implementation to begin after policies are adopted. Anderson (1997:214) attests that implementation is 'what happens after a bill becomes a law'. Anderson makes it explicit that for implementation to happen, the key role-players (i.e. interest groups, beneficiaries and politicians) must be involved in order to attain policy goals. However, these scholars seem to have no stance as to when implementation ends.

Advancing the debate on implementation, Paudel (2009) observes the diverse nature of implementation in differing cultural and institutional set-ups. In relation to governance, policy implementation may be interpreted as a process of interaction between goals setting and actions geared to accomplish them (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984: xxi-xxiii). Mazmanian & Sabatier (1983:20) describe implementation as 'the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in a statute'. However, as is highlighted by Anderson (1997), Mazmanian & Sabatier note that such decisions may originate from executive or may be judicial. O'Toole (2003:266) defines policy implementation as what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something or stop doing something and the ultimate impact of these decisions and actions on the world. In a somewhat narrow understanding, Zungu (2007:35) defines implementation as the definite means of working towards the goals set in the policy by accomplishing policy objectives. Cardinal to Zungu's definition and other definitions provided is the idea that implementation is the process of "carrying out" or "fulfilling" a government decision.

Drawing from the hypothesis that implementation is a deliberate execution of government decisions; Howlett & Ramesh (2003:185) offer a precise yet controversial description of policy implementation:

> After a public problem has made its way to the policy agenda, various options have been proposed to resolve it, and a government has made some choice among those options, what remains is putting the decision into practice. This is the policy implementation stage of the policy cycle, where policy decisions are translated into action. It is defined as the process whereby programs or policies are carried out, the translation of plans into practice. While some decisions have been made on the general shape of a policy, still others are required for it to be set into motion. Funding must be allocated and personnel assigned, and rules and procedures developed, among other matters.

Given the above definition, it is evident that implementation is then seen as part of a linear process of the policy life cycle (see **Figure 1** below) to achieve the intended government or authoritative policy outcomes. Brynard (2005:9) has learned that early research of policy science assumed implementation simply as 'an administrative choice which, once policy had been legislated and the institutions mandated with administrative authority, would happen of and by itself'. Crosby (1996) perpetuates this impression driven by an "erroneous assumption" that implementation occurs automatically after a decision is directly communicated by policy-makers to the implementers. The reality is that implementation involves change over time and is influenced by context throughout. Crosby contends that the nature of policy implementation cuts across multiple sectors and interests, and thus takes place in highly open systems where inputs and outcomes are not under direct control of first the decision-makers and thereafter, the implementers. There are a multitude of variables that need to be taken into consideration to enable implementation to happen.

Figure 1: The Linear Model
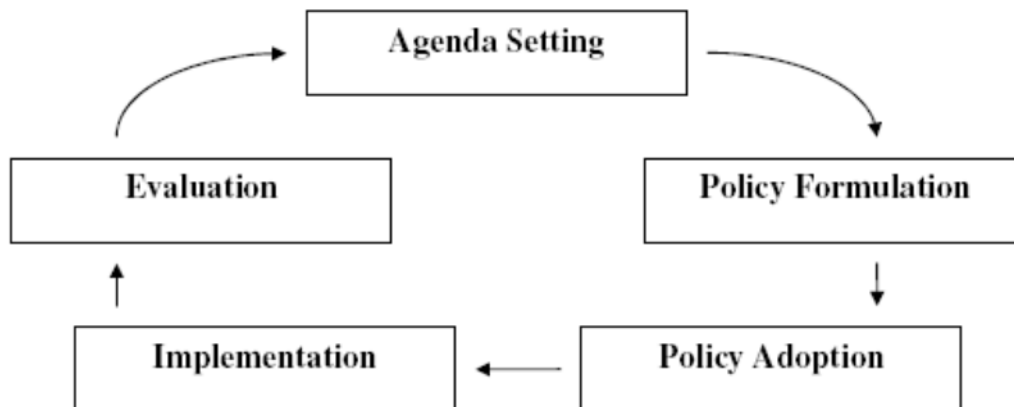
Source: Knill & Tosun (2008)

In another slightly different perspective, Wolman (1981:434) considers implementation to be the politics of administration or of the administrative process. Kampala (2011:16) states that 'implementation, necessarily, depends on how influential individuals in leadership, policy-makers and politicians perceive a

problem; and how they might unravel it'. This implies that implementation is greatly influenced by or cannot be separated from 'centrally located actors, such as politicians, top-level bureaucrats and others who are seen as most relevant to producing the desired effects' (Paudel, 2009:37). Thus, it is the translation of ideas into administrative action (Elmore, 1978:241). It is pragmatically explained as the process of converting financial, material, technical and human inputs into outputs – goods and services (Egonmwan, 1991). This definition leads to Hanekom's (1987:54) argument that implementation goes beyond the alteration of ideas into action. It involves a critical examination of whether activities are deviating or still in line with the objectives set by the policy maker.

The researcher's definition of policy implementation in this study is inspired by Cargo & DeGroff (2009); Williams (1975) and Pressman & Wildavsky (1973). The former have clearly stated that 'policy implementation reflects a complex change process where government decisions are transformed into programs, procedures, regulations, or practices aimed at social betterment' (ibid.:47). Williams (1975) regards policy implementation as a willingness to move away from a decision to program or project operations. However it is worth underlining that policy becomes program when, by authoritative action, the initial conditions are created (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973: xv). Hence, their definition of implementation would be that process which follows 'the initial setting of goals, securing of agreement, and commitment of funds' to run a public program (ibid: xiii). Ideally, from the authors in question it is understood that implementation is the translation of policy into a program or project, and thus the working definition employed by this study. Programs concretize the generalized statements of intent of policy. Policy implementation shall mean everything that happens in trying to achieve policy objectives through the intended programs.

3.6. Implementation Problem

With any formulated policy there are usually certain expectations. In the process of executing policy goals, there is also a problem or a set of problems. Implementation challenge occurs when the expected results on the affected or target beneficiaries are not accomplished over time. Shepsle and Boncheck (1997) aver that a policy failure is dependent on inefficiency, that is, policies that realize sub-optimal outcomes or negative impact constitute implementation flaw. On the contrary, 'a policy is

successful if it achieves the goals that proponents set out to achieve and attracts no criticism of any significance and/or support is virtually universal' (McConnell, 2010:351)

Kerr (1976:335) hypothesizes that implementation problem automatically occurs if the implementing agency is generally challenged in the attempt of taking action alpha under any set of conditions. This may happen from the defects not only limited to the carrying out process but may also result from shortfalls in the policy formulation. The Australian Government (2006:5) is in agreement that 'a policy initiative is more likely to achieve the best possible outcomes when the question of *how* the policy is to be implemented has been an integral part of policy design'. It is for this reason that Makinde (2005) suggests that important questions should be asked, during both the policy design and implementation, about the basic decisive variables that are essential to implementing public policy. Where implementation has not been adequately considered during formulation, problems may arise during subsequent attempts to put policy into practice. These problems may include sub-optimal delivery methods, resources not being available when required, overambitious timeframes, inappropriate skills or capability for the initiative and insufficient contingency planning (Australian Government, 2006). However, every policy is a dynamic process which engages the interaction of an array of factors that can aid or hamper policy implementation. A few of these influential factors are discussed below.

3.7. Factors Affecting Policy Implementation

3.7.1. Concept One: *Resource Allocation and Redistribution*

Wiemer and Vining (2005) state that implementation is dependent on necessary elements such as resources and authority to make decisions. It means that in order to implement any policy or program adequate resources must have been considered and put in place. This is consistent with Grindle and Thomas's (1990) empirical research which found that to implement new policy, sufficient human, technical, and financial resources must be set aside. However, Crosby (1996) has discovered that in most cases the implementing agencies are severely undersupplied with resources. Crosby outlines two important reasons why implementers are viciously resource deficient: either because adequate resources do not exist; or the resources are located in the wrong place. Crosby continues to say that such resources prerequisite to

implementation may be under the control of others, who may have equal powers and authority as those trying to carry out the policy objectives and who may be uninterested or even opposed to implementing that particular policy (ibid.:1406). Furthermore, personal resource includes adequate staff, well skilled, motivated and committed to carry out the implementation process (Brynard, 2005; Makinde, 2005 and Wolman 1981). Simply put, the absence of adequate resources will result in implementation problems or failure.

3.7.2. Concept Two: *Policy Legitimacy and Constituency Building*

It is however noted that the capacity building or the resource adequacy alone does not guarantee an implementation success. Without an underpinning legitimacy, policy effectiveness and efficiency will still suffer (Matti, 2009). For any policy to be successful it must be seen to be valid and valuable. However, Wallner (2008:423) maintains that the policy is more likely to be accepted and adhered to only if the beneficiaries have confidence in the fairness and suitability of their government – unfortunately there is a decline in public confidence which puts policy makers at unease (Hanberger, 2003:257). To acquire legitimacy by the general public, the proposed policy must be viewed as being paramount first by the key decision makers. Nevertheless, the literature reveals that legitimacy is subject to perceptions and beliefs. Therefore, it is clear that there has to be change of behavior on the side of the policy makers, technocrats, other key stakeholders as well as the public to permit implementation.

As a result, Crosby (1996) advocates the mobilization of both human and material resources as well as actions. He suggests that there should be a legitimizer or policy champion. This includes some individuals or groups of people 'with credibility, political resources, and the willingness to risk that political capital in support of the policy' (ibid.1406). Crosby defines resource mobilization as a set of action statements about how, when, where and by whom resources are to be utilized (ibid.). As a matter of fact, policy legitimization and resource mobilization build constituency for positive stakeholders' acceptance to assure that the implementation is effected and surfaces efficient outcomes.

3.7.3. Concept Three*: Stakeholders' Participation*

In most cases, resistance to policy implementation is caused by exclusion of the key stakeholders in the policy stages. Public participation is a key component of good governance (Peta *et al*, 2010). It is worth pointing out that governing in a democratic dispensation means granting citizens or key stakeholders the right to choose. This implies that the failure to include the key stakeholders in meaningful decision-making is not only undemocratic but is also a deliberate act to increase the likelihood of noncompliance. In the general policy domain, governments rely on stakeholders to support their initiatives (Richardson, 2003). However in normal circumstances, stakeholders are seldom prepared to support policies that are not apt to their substantive objectives (Wallner, 2008). Participation in policy formulation allows the people to have a greater say about what is essential to them and allows them to "own" decisions made about their lives. Initially, it is government's responsibility to optimize stakeholders' opportunities to advise on both the decided policy and its implementation (Australian Government, 2010). Ultimately, stakeholders' involvement builds trust and increases stakeholders' responsibility and adherence, which enhances legitimacy and support (Coffe as cited in Gray, 2005). However, channels for stakeholders' participation especially in developing democracies are lessened (Paudel, 2009) and thus the reason why implementation is so difficult in these worlds.

3.7.4 Concept Four: *Political Uncertainty*

A review of the literature points to political uncertainty as a disturbing behavior which threatens policy processes. Political uncertainty, which is inherent in the political process, has been described as a pervasive condition undermining policymaking and implementation (Mattozzi, 2004). It includes political reign change, military threats and domestic violence (Paudel, 2009). For the purpose of this study, political uncertainty is understood as change in political regime and administration. Bergh & de Figueiredo, Jr (2002) underline that as much as free elections are fundamental to the institutional structure of democratic governments and connect citizenry with their representatives, they create uncertainty about who the successors will be and for how long they will hold the office. As such, the literature regarding implementation has revealed that a newly elected political administration does not

only tend to go slow on the policy implementation already undertaken by the preceding administration but sometimes implements a completely different policy altogether (Mattozzi, 2004). However, it can be argued that due to the severe lack of adequate resources, extensive corruption, high demand for service delivery and political instabilities, political uncertainty is more likely in developing democracies than in developed countries (Paudel, 2009). This uncertainty also puts forth the issue of bureaucracy in the policy process.

3.7.5. Concept Five: *Policy Implementation Models*

Implementers and beneficiaries are most likely to find policies legitimate if they are always included in the policy decision making process. In most cases decision making is mainly a top down and non-participatory process, restricted to a narrow set of decision makers (Kahler in Nelson, 1989). There is no doubt that those with implementing responsibility are seen as the mere recipients of hierarchal orders regarding policy reform with little opportunity for input into the decision-making process, thus little sense of ownership of the policy decision (Crosby, 1996:1404). By the same token, Kellogg (2005) argues that it is of paramount importance to involve all the key actors not only when the strategic plan is carried out but also when it is formulated. Kellogg emphasizes that the implementation actors who have participated in the development of the plan will have a deep understanding of what the company's strategic plan is, and will ensure that it succeeds.

The argument above introduces the role of policy analysts, who have developed various approaches to policy implementation. Matland (1995) synthesizes two schools of thought effective to policy implementation, top-down and bottom-up approaches. He sees many policies failing to be implemented successfully because of the exacerbated gap in the literature, which fails to explain the conditions under which the variables that affect implementation are imperative. A further factor is the ignorance regarding the reasons that these variables should be expected to be important. Matland advocates an alternative model, the ambiguity and conflict model, as a synthesis of the top-down and bottom-up perspectives. The said model develops a theory that predicts when each of the two approaches could appropriately be employed rather than trying to advocate one at the expense of another, or in other instances, combines them concurrently. The ambiguity and conflict model presents the notion that the

factors to implementation vary depending on the degree of the policy's ambiguity and the degree of conflict. For instance, Matland has argues that the existence of conflict within the organizational structures of the policy process changes actions, and actors resort to bargaining mechanisms. This recognizes the fact that the policy process takes place in an environment of self-interested individual actors who have differing goal visions. Ideally, the bargaining process does not lead to the agreement of goals but to the agreement on actions (ibid.156). As a result, policy may fail to achieve its objectives as actors are not able to reach agreement. Due to the fact that the policy process takes place in a politically inclined environment, conflict always exists when different policy domains either view policy as directly appropriate to their interest or if they see a gap of manipulation in that policy to serve their interest. All the above factors intensify the challenges to the implementation process.

Furthermore, Matland (1995:157) espouses the view that policy ambiguity in implementation occurs when the policy goals and means are ambiguous. Matland's view regarding ambiguity is a direct reaction to the top-downers approach where goal clarity is a key independent factor that has a direct impact on policy success. Wolman (1981:438), for example, proposes that prior to policy implementation, that is, during policy formulation, policy makers would have considered whether the policy objectives are clear and specific enough to allow policy initiatives to be implemented to accomplish such set goals. It is not surprising therefore that the ambiguity of goal is perceived as a rigorous threat which makes impossible or unobtainable the design and implementations which will succeed in terms of their set objectives. Accordingly, the top-down school of thought advocates that goals be clear enough so as to translate into successful implementations. However, the ambiguity model disputes such a contention. Matland (1995:158) posits that 'one of the ways to limit conflict [to permit implementation attainability] is through ambiguity'. As the policy becomes clearer and specific, Matland (ibid.) argues that actors become 'aware of threats to their turf and act to limit the scope and range of proposed policy changes to maintain existing patterns of bureaucratic power and structure'. Under such conditions, it is clear that ambiguity is, indeed, an instrumental prerequisite for legitimacy and implementation.

On the other hand, ambiguity could also be applied to the issue of policy means. Matland is of the view that the failure to allocate resources where they are needed is

an indication of the ambiguity of means. He further elaborates that 'policy means are also ambiguous when there are uncertainties about what roles various organizations are to play in the implementation process, or when a complex environment makes it difficult to know which tools to use, how to use them, and what the effects of their use will be' (ibid.:158).

Generally, policy ambiguity has a direct impact on the implementation process. It undoubtedly limits decision makers' ability to monitor policy or program activities and prohibits them from taking into consideration the significant role that is played by the local contextual variables.

With regard to the top-down and bottom-up approaches, Elmore (1978) contends that in the former, decisions begin at the top with a clear statement of the policy-maker's intent, and proceed through a chain of progressively more specific steps to outline what is expected of implementing agencies at each level. The top-downers assume policy makers as the central actors and concentrate their attention on factors that can be maneuvered at the central level (Matland, 1995). By its nature, the top-down approach is a hierarchical approach; authority is held by higher level personnel and is restricted from junior staff (Kampala, 2011). It focuses on what ought to happen or what the policy goals are. In essence, implementation failure is liable to occur if street-level bureaucrats and the people at the bottom have a differing interpretation of goals. This method has therefore been criticized for its assumption that implementation would occur successively once the appropriate orders have been authoritatively proclaimed (Brynard, 2005) ignoring the fact that implementation is politically influenced.

On the other hand, Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:469) posit that the bottom-up approach considers the involvement of the lower levels of government and other agencies in the formulation and implementation stage of the policy. This supports Berman's (1978) argument that implementation takes place on two levels: macro-implementation level and micro-implementation level. According to Berman, the implementation problem occurs when the micro-level (local organizations, bureaucrats) reacts counter to the macro-level (central government) devised programs by developing and implementing their own programs. In simple terms, bottom-uppers view policy as being made and implemented by the target groups and service

deliverers (Matland, 1975). Macro-level actors can only influence local-level factors. This is because the contextual factors within the local implementing environment can immensely dominate rules created by the central actors (Paudel, 2009).

The bottom-up approach emerged as an alternative response to the severe limitations of the top-down approach (Sabtier, 1986). While the top-downers assume an authoritative and hierarchal approach to decision making, the bottom-uppers' approach is democratic as it has a participatory element. In keeping with the bottom-up approach, Parsons (1997) views implementation as involving negotiations and consensus building. Likewise, Lipsky (1971) postulates that the bottom-up approach permits street-level bureaucrats (professionals like nurses, doctors, engineers etc.) to participate and offer input on policy formulation and implementation, as they are the ones who will deal with the actual implementation in various environments.

3.8. Monitoring and Evaluation

The proponents of policy reform argue that the failure to monitor and evaluate the program or policy progress impedes its implementation and success. Crosby (1996) is of the view that monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of the policy should start at early stages of the policy implementation in order to put corrective measures and adjustments in place should the policy happen to produce unanticipated, unintended or unsatisfactory results. Rubin (1995) describes monitoring and evaluation as the assessment of the effectiveness, relevance, impact, sustainability, progress and related indicators of the policy or program. Ideally, the significance of program M&E is to provide feedback to policy actors on the progress of the implementation process. That is, it provides policy actors with an understanding as to what extent or degree a program is accomplishing its objectives and it calls for accountability in the utilization of development resources (Wolman, 1981).

Too often, policy makers do not respond positively to the feedback they are getting from M&E. Wolman suggests that there is a tendency to ignore or discount the feedback. He notices that the policy makers' decision to act upon the M&E's results is dependent on the willingness or ability to listen and is also dependent on whether the agency has the means of responding to the feedback. Frequently, the feedback report is presented to the policy actors (decision makers and implementing agency) in an incomprehensible jargon by the researcher or M&E consultant (Wolman, 2005).

Inevitably, should there be no discussion of the implication of these findings, the incapability of policy actors to make sense of this information may cause them to shelve it. Similarly, it could be argued that most of the developing countries may fail to respond to the feedback because of the lack of capacity (financial resources, skills, technology etc.) should it be suggested that the implementation status quo needs improvement. As one might expect, no matter how well the policy or program is drafted on paper, it cannot produce positive outcomes with less costs and time if there is no M&E and efficient response during the implementation process.

3.9. Conclusion

Chapter Three pronounced Public Policy Implementation as the theoretical framework adopted by the researcher. This chapter offered a view of the overlapping requirements (of which most are related to and influenced by others) both in the formulation and implementation stages of the policy process that are inescapable and necessary for policy implementation and policy success in general. It also discussed, in relation to implementation, other policy life stages such as agenda-setting and policy monitoring and evaluation. It is reasonable that this theory has been employed in this study because it is allows the researcher to address the objectives of the study. It sets the hypothetical framework to justify whether the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho undergoes the same challenges as theorized by the proponents of the policy implementation studies. The following chapter will discuss the methodological approaches employed to investigate the implementation of the NYP in Lesotho Kingdom through the eyes of the bureau in the department of youth affairs.

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

4.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the research design which guided the study, the actual research methods and the ethical issues that had to be considered before and during the data collection are described. Firstly, the type of design and methodology employed in the study are identified and discussed in detail. Thereafter the procedures and methods that were used to collect the required data are explained. The sample and sampling procedures are also described in this section for the benefit of the reader and as conventional practice in the research community. Subsequently, the data analysis method is explained and finally the limitations as well as the ethical considerations encountered in the study are addressed.

4.1. Research Design

Durrheim (1999:31) describes research design as 'a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research'. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:29) aver that research designs are plans that guide the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. They further affirm that a research design incorporates the purpose of the research, the research methods or techniques used to collect data, methodology informing the research and the context or situation within which the research is carried out. Conceived in this manner, the research design is like a route planner for the researcher. Burns & Grove (2001:223) add that designing a study helps researchers to plan and implement the study in a way that will help them obtain the intended results, thus increasing the chances of obtaining information that could be associated with the real situation. The present study can be considered applied research. Accordingly, applied research is conducted in order to resolve specific, practical questions; for policy formulation, administration and understanding of a phenomenon (Ranjit, 2005). In line with the aforementioned, this applied research used the explanatory design to identify and analyze potential factors that contribute to the bottleneck in the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho.

4.1.1. Exploratory Research Design

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:39) hold the view that the purpose of a research project is reflected in the types of conclusions the researcher aims to draw or the goals of the research. The way in which researchers develop research designs is primarily affected by whether the research question is descriptive or exploratory (De Vaus, 2001). Exploratory research, on one hand, is an investigation into a problem or situation which provides insights to the researcher. De Vaus adds that exploratory design focuses on "why" questions. In an attempt to answer the "why" questions, *causal* explanations are developed – where *causal* explanations illustrate a phenomenon being affected by a certain factor (De Vaus, 2001:2). Exploratory research designs detail how the researcher plans to collect information and where he is going to look for this information. This information could be gained by using a variety of methods such as group discussions, experiments, pilot studies or other tactics (Polit & Hungler, 1995). This study employed mainly interviews as a method although other data sets were used to supplement this method.

Contextually, in light of the research objectives, the researcher's study was an exploratory design. It explored the policy gaps of the NYP. Through this design, the researcher attempted to identify new knowledge, new insights, new understandings and new meanings, and explored factors related to the topic (Brink & Wood, 1998:312 in Pretorius, 2008).

4.2. Methodology and Methods

Methodological doctrines require that the most suitable methodology, methods and instruments should constantly be selected when research is being conducted (Gardner, 1978). To begin with, a research methodology, as described by Dawson (2002:14) is 'the philosophy or the general principle which guides a research'. Dawson also defines it as the overall approach to studying a research topic and includes issues such as the constraints, dilemmas and ethical choices within the research. Maselesele (2010:29) states that a research methodology 'defines what the activity of research is, how it progresses and what constitutes success'. There are several kinds of research methodologies such as quantitative and qualitative approaches. This study employed the latter because of its relevance and strengths as discussed in the section below.

4.2.1. Qualitative Methodology

This research employed qualitative methodology to collect data. Central to understanding a qualitative study is the ideology that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their environment (Merriam, 2002). Consequently, qualitative researchers are interested in understanding interpretations or meaning people attach to their experience of the social world and how those people make sense of that world at a particular point in time and in a particular context (Bhekie, 2002). Exploring people's thoughts and feelings through qualitative study is always significant in the exploratory stages of a new research project. The study findings can provide a starting point when little or no preliminary research has been done on the subject matter. The literature concerning qualitative study also stipulates that qualitative research is largely used where small segments of the population are of specific interest to a researcher. Babbie & Mouton (2001:646) define qualitative research as the generic research which takes its departure point as the insiders' perspective on social action, describing and understanding without predicting or explaining a phenomenon.

4.2.2. Methods of Data Collection

In qualitative inquiry, "method" is referred to as the techniques, tools, or procedures used to generate data (Kaplan, 1964). According to Babbie & Mouton (2001:270) qualitative methods of data collection comprise literature reviews, observation, semi-structured interviewing and in-depth interviews. Attempting to obtain the insights of the participants regarding the challenges that are faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho, this study used secondary sources and interviews as methods of data collection. Camara *et al* (2011:25) describe 'interviewing as a set of techniques for generating data from individuals and/or groups utilizing structured, semi-structured, or unstructured questioning formats'. Schostak (2006) depicts interviews as a data collection technique that permits the researcher to gain an opinion of the participants' concerns, experiences, interests, values, beliefs, knowledge and ways of seeing, thinking and acting. Gray (2004:213) concurs with this view, stating that 'an interview is a conversation between people in which one person has the role of researcher'.

In this study, literature reviews and semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used as instruments to gather in-depth understanding of variables that aid or hamper the implementation of the NYP. Such in-depth, detailed accounts are usually necessary 'to determine the appropriate questions to ask in an evaluation, and to identify the situational and contextual conditions under which a policy, programme or project works or fails to work' (UK Government, 2003:9).

Initially, the literature from both international and local documents that have a focus on youth issues, especially those related to the NYP, was critically reviewed. The NYP and other relevant government documents were also reviewed in order to gain an understanding of the government's vision and strategic plan for implementing the policy in question. Relevant internet and print texts such as journal articles, books and dissertations were also engaged to inform the analysis of the study. This was done in order to gauge how others have addressed issues similar to the one which formed the focus of this study.

Subsequently, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to collect data because they granted an opportunity for the researcher to elucidate questions and probe the participants' views (Opie, 2004) on the matter of the policy's implementation. The interviews also enabled the researcher to follow-up new ideas that surfaced during the interview process. The semi-structured interview format, as opposed to a formal, rigid interview, allowed the participants to express themselves in a more relaxed manner and they were able to stress areas they perceive to be imperative. In order to build rapport and to enable flexibility, participants were allowed to choose the medium of interview from the two official languages of Lesotho, namely Sesotho and English. All the interviews were primarily in Sesotho, with a degree of code mixing as English was also utilized to maintain the meaning and value of some technical concepts which could not be better explained in the chosen interview language.

It was the researcher's intention to record the interviews in order to keep an accurate verbatim record of what participants would be saying. However only two out of the four interviewees granted the researcher permission to record their interviews, of which, only one was successful [meaning that it was complete and clearly audible

when recorded]. The rationale behind voice recording as observed by Dawson (2002:66) was to allow the researcher to:

- Concentrate on listening to what the participants say

- Maintain eye contact

- Have a complete record of the interview for analysis, including what is said and interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee

- Have plenty of useful quotations for report.

The other two interviews were transcribed. The need for transcribed interviews was due to the interviewees' discomfort at being recorded despite the outline of the consent letter which prescribed terms and conditions regarding the use of such recorded interviews. However, this reluctance to be recorded turned out to be a blessing in disguise for the researcher. The moment the researcher jotted something down, the interviewees seemed to be encouraged to express even more in the belief that note-taking acknowledged an important point that they were saying. The researcher was therefore able to acquire even more information in the transcribed interviews than in the recorded ones.

4.3. Research Location

According to Dawson (2002:15) the location of study refers to the place where the data is collected. Data was collected in the Youth Department, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation in Maseru, Lesotho. All the participants were interviewed in their offices which are located within the department at Post Office Building in Kingsway Street, Maseru. This worked to the advantage of the researcher in terms of travelling expenses and time consumption.

4.4. Sampling Strategy

Sampling is an imperative part of research because the nature of conclusions that can be drawn from the research depends directly upon whom the research was conducted (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:274). Sibanda (2005) articulates that sampling is about determining who the participants of the study will be. Streubert and Carpenter (1995) stress that those participants should be people who have experience and thus qualify to participate in the study. However, Coyne (1996) argues that sampling is an

extremely multifaceted issue in qualitative research as there are many variations of qualitative sampling described in the literature.

Nonetheless, this study employed purposive research based on the researcher's judgment on who could best provide the relevant information about the NYP. Patton (1990) posits that this kind of study is popular in qualitative research. Purposive sampling represents a group of different non-probability sampling techniques. The purposive sampling technique permitted the researcher to select those participants that have the most adequate knowledge on the subject matter and were in the best position to answer the research questions. The choice of only participants with the requisite information was influenced by Babbie (2001) who argues that the selection of participants in purposive research has to be selected based on the membership of the target population or on their specialist knowledge of the research issue. Brynard and Harekom (2006:55) describe a population as 'a group in the universe as those who conform to a set of specification' and see sample as part of that population. Babbie (2001:97) argues that a purposive study is convenient to those research studies that do not require representativeness of the population. Thus, data collected in this research was transferable rather than generalized.

4.5. Sample

A sample is a group or groups of individuals selected as participants from a population (Gray, 2004). In qualitative research, the sample depends on the collection of data, and when particular ideas or themes in the study were expressed repetitively.

In the government of Lesotho's ministries, the youth affairs are institutionalized within the MGYSR. The NYP in particular, as well as the NYC, is the property of the Department of Youth within the ministry. The researcher intended to interview five participants, all of whom were officers in the department. However, only four were available to participate. Those who were interviewed are: the Department of Youth director; the National Youth Council coordinator; the Youth Employment Promotion officer and the National Volunteer Corps Project administrator.

The rich information that needed to be collected could not be elicited from any personnel other than these selected participants by virtue of them being informed about issues pertaining to the NYP and programs developed to realize its objectives.

The selection of the specific participants was fundamentally justified on the grounds of their positions within the department. Therefore the researcher's choice to include them in the sample was mandatory as they deal directly with youth and youth issues. Furthermore, the sample of four is consistent with Gray's (2004) argument that in qualitative research the sample of people should be small and purposive. That is, the prevailing number is reasonable because 'the sample size is not as important as the analysis and the availability of sufficient information' (Huberman & Miles, 1994:27).

4.6. Validity

Validity is a concept of crucial importance in understanding issues of measurement in scientific research (Gray, 2004). According to Pretorius (2003), research validity should be concerned with accuracy and trustworthiness of scientific findings. A valid study should demonstrate that which actually exists and a valid instrument should measure what it is supposed to measure (Brink 1991). In qualitative research validity may be increased through triangulation, which is the use of two or more data collection methods in a study (Cohen *et al*, 2007). In this study, content validity was enhanced by comparing the findings of the interviews with those of the preliminary literature. In addition, the questions that were asked during the data collection process were in line with the conceptual framework of the research.

In essence, while keeping with the semi-structured interviews, the issue of validity was directly addressed by making sure that the question content focused on the research objectives. As also advocated by Arksey and Knight (1999), the researcher strengthened validity by:

- Using interview techniques that build rapport and trust, thus giving participants the scope to express themselves

- Prompting participants to exemplify and expand on their initial responses

- Ensuring that the interview process sufficiently explores the subject matter in depth

4.7. Reliability

Reliability is the degree of consistency or dependability with which the instrument measures the attributes it is designed to measure (Bush, 2002). Therefore reliability is concerned with the consistency, stability, and the repeatability of the participants' accounts as well as the researcher's ability to record information accurately (Brink, 1996:118). According to Wellington (2004) reliability refers to the extent to which a data gathering instrument produces similar results across a range of settings. However, Gray (2004:93) argues that there might be differences found in traits between the prevailing groups or individuals but he contends that those would be expected to be based on real differences between the individuals and would not be due to inconsistencies in the measuring instrument. The study was guided by these conceptions of reliability measures.

4.8. Data Analysis

Rugg & Petre (2007) argue that the manner in which data is analyzed is more often than not determined by the overall context and purpose of the researcher's study. This means that, in a general sense, there is no absolute way of analyzing data. Mouton (1996:111) defines data analysis as the process of 'identifying patterns and themes in the data and drawing certain conclusions from them'. Terre Blanche & Durrheim (2001:41) add that data analysis aims at transforming information or data into an answer to the original research question.

Since this study is qualitative in nature, methods of analysis were also qualitative. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001:461) 'qualitative data analysis is primarily an inductive process of organizing the data into categories and identifying patterns (relationships) among the categories'. For qualitative data, Dawson (2002:11) posits that the researcher might analyze as the research progresses, continually refining and reorganizing in light of the emerging results. This indeed holds true for this study. In the interview process, the researcher would reorganize the order of questions and ask new questions to follow up on pertinent ideas that emerged in the conversation.

Usually qualitative data analysis consists of content, thematic, comparative, and discourse analysis (Dawson, 2002). This range implies that there is no one single or correct way of analyzing qualitative data (Cohen *et al*, 2007). Qualitative data

analysis is therefore a very personal process where a researcher can choose how to analyze data but procedures are offered, nonetheless. This study applied content analysis to analyze the in-depth interviews and literature reviews. According to Palmquist (1993) as cited by Babbie and Mouton (2001:491), content analysis 'examines words or phrases within a wide range of texts, including books, book chapters, essays, interviews and speeches as well as informal conversation and headlines'. Accordingly, notes that were taken and the recorded interviews were transcribed before they were analyzed.

The researcher had established the prior content categorization based on themes and concepts but also utilized the content categories that emerged while working through the transcripts. The data collected from the semi-structured interviews and the literature review were analyzed to determine whether the National Youth Policy in Lesotho echoes the sentiments of both international and national literature on youth policy challenges and coping mechanisms. Further analysis entailed suggesting potential implementation strategies that are likely to be effective and sustainable for the implementation of the NYP. The overall analysis was based on the determinants of policy failure and success.

4.9. Limitations

Limitations to this study are based on methodological and practical technicalities. These are enumerated and discussed below.

Human Instrument

Since the researcher in the current study was the primary instrument for collecting and analyzing data, and judgmental when it came to the selection of the participants, Merriam (2002) would argue that this was a shortcoming on its own with biases that might have impacted on the study. This was averted by abiding by the rules and ethics that govern research.

Timing

The timing of the data collection for the study was not appropriate. The interviews were conducted from 30 December 2013 to 02 January 2014. These were the rush days immediately after Christmas and New Year's holidays. Consequently, as much

as participants wanted to grant optimum time for the interviews, they incidentally had to attend to some office logistics or staff meetings. As a result, some of the questions and/or data to be provided were compromised due to a shortage of time in which to address them with the participants. However, an attempt was made during the interviews to prioritize those questions which addressed the primary focus of the study.

Nonexistence of the National Youth Council (NYC)

Ideally, it would have been fundamentally important to have interviewed the members of the NYC as they are invested power by the NYCA 2008 to coordinate youth affairs via the implementation of the NYP. Unfortunately no one could be contacted as the Council seems to be nullified pending the court case regarding political membership in the Council. The interviews with the Council representatives, more especially from political youth leaders or youth organizations, could have enriched the data by offering a different viewpoint to that of the department officials.

Recording Failure

During one of the two interviews for which permission to record was granted, the researcher only noticed at the end of the interview that the recording was interrupted and thus had failed. However, data was not affected as the researcher had been taking down important notes on various issues discussed.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues are a chief concern in social science research. Mollet (2011) concurs that research involving human participants is required to show respect for ethical issues. Gray (2004:58) expands that 'the ethics of the research concern the appropriateness of the researcher's behavior in relation to the subjects of the research or those who are affected by it'. Such social science research must concern itself with moral integrity to ensure that research process and findings are trustworthy and valid (Biber, 2005).

It is obligatory at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), School of Social Sciences, that a researcher conducting a study involving humans should apply for ethical clearance. This is in line with the UKZN Research Ethics Policy. Section one

describes the pursuit of knowledge to be the pursuit of truth. It advocates for research to be carried out with honesty and integrity; safe and responsible methods; and fairness and equity for the participants. In keeping with such prescribed ethics of conducting fair research, participants were provided with an informed consent letter. The letter clearly stipulated that participation in the study is voluntary, and also affirmed confidentiality of the information provided. Having read, understood, and consented to participate in the study, a declaration form was made available to be signed by respective participants.

4.11. Conclusion

The primary purpose of the methodology chapter was to outline how the entire study was conducted. This was deemed necessary in order to give the reader the context within which the study was conducted and how the researcher actually went about collecting the data. The chapter presented an overview of the research design and methodology, as well as the sampling method employed. Also reviewed in this chapter was the issue of the validity and reliability of the research findings. Ethical issues were also considered. The following chapter will present the research findings.

CHAPTER 5

Research Findings and Discussion

5.0. Introduction

Chapter Four focused on the research design and methodology as well the ethical issues that were considered in the study. The main purpose of Chapter Five is to present and discuss the results of this study which was undertaken with the view to investigate the challenges faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in Lesotho. It draws from empirical data collected during fieldwork but also makes reference to existing literature. To a larger degree, the findings reveal that the implementation of the NYP is not only flawed in the implementation stage but also in other policy stages, more particularly during policy formulation as well as the monitoring and evaluation stages. The chapter is divided into two sections: Section A and Section B. Section A begins by describing the structure and the units in the Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR), and generally demonstrates their relevance in relation to the data collected. Section A also explores projects and programs that the Department of Youth as the role player initiates in order to implement the NYP. As illustrated in Chapter Three, this research generally conceptualizes policy implementation as the translation of policy into projects and programs operations.

Section B could be regarded as the core section for it presents and discusses the findings of the data collected from the interviews with the staff from the Department of Youth under the MGYSR. The following officials participated in the study: the Department of Youth director; the National Youth Council coordinator; the National Volunteer Corps Project administrator and the Youth Employment Promotion officer. Data collected from these participants is mainly organized according to the themes or concepts developed in the theoretical framework, which broadly analyzed factors that affect public policy implementation. These themes are also influenced by the literature on policy analysis with regard to the determinants of policy failure and success. In addition, the two common and fundamental interview questions are also used to classify data presented. The first question aimed to uncover what each participant's unit does in relation to youth and youth issues, while the second question investigated the policy or legislative frameworks that guide such a unit or the

programs run with the aim of realizing the NYP objectives to holistically develop youth. Below is the report on each of the two sections enumerated above.

5.1. Section A: Structure and Units in the Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation

5.1.1. Structure of the MGYSR

Among the twenty-two ministries in the GoL, the MGYSR is tasked with the responsibility for all youth affairs. It focuses mainly on the creation of programs specifically designed to address the cumulative social, political and economic challenges that young people and children are facing. This ministry consists of three departments: Gender, Youth and Sports [and Recreation]. The Minister of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation is the chief decision maker followed by the Principal Secretary (PS). Like any other department, the Youth Department has its own Director who reports to the PS. By virtue of this structure, youth matters fall directly under the Youth Department. Thus, it is logical that the findings presented in this chapter are of data collected from the Department of Youth. The NYP is the supreme policy framework that governs and directs the department. All other policies could be said to be strategic plans to achieving the objectives of the NYP.

The Youth Department has the following units: National Youth Council (NYC), National Volunteer Corps (NVC) and the Youth Employment Promotion (YEP). Under the Director of the Youth Department are the three coordinators, one for each unit listed above, and the subordinate officials. The units mentioned above are role players in the implementation of the NYP and the development of youth at large. For this reason, the researcher found it relevant to interview the representatives of each of the three units as well as the director of the department.

5.1.2. Units in the Department of Youth

The implementation of the NYP occurs through projects that include the NVC and the YEP– which also have multi-programs.

The National Volunteer Corps (NVC)

NVC is the partnership project of the GoL and the UNDP. It aims at placing unemployed graduates in different sectors like Government Ministries; Private Sectors such as Banks, Tripate and CustomIT; NGOs like UNDP, WHO, Kick4life

and Special Olympics to give them job experience for a period of 12 months (The Youth Department Director and NVC administrator). This makes the NVC one of the most important units in providing opportunities for the youth of Lesotho.

Youth Employment Promotion (YEP)

According to the YEP officer, YEP is the project which promotes entrepreneurship. In other words, this is the unit that introduces the youth to the business sector and capacitates them in this area. During the interview, the officer stated:

YEP helps Basotho to start their own businesses and helps those who already have small businesses to improve. We accommodate individuals, groups and organizations. But as you notice that this office is based in the Youth Department, we are very biased. Priority is given to youth. There are many programs running under this project. I could pinpoint IT trainings that run at Districts Centers. There is WED (Women Entrepreneurship Development), IEYS (Improve Your Existing Skills) and SIYB (Start and Improve Your Business).

These programs give trainings and workshops about how to start and improve businesses. People are trained as to how to write business proposals. In these programs we are in partnership with our local banks. There is a newly signed Memorandum of Understanding between the department and the banks. After people are trained, they write proposals to the banks for loans and we role play by motivating their proposals to the bank institutions.

Thus, the YEP unit is relevant to this study for its programs are strategic to implementing the NYP goal of eradicating poverty through job creation and skills development.

National Youth Council (NYC)

The NYC Unit deals with the NYC issues. Accordingly, the NYC is supposed to be in place as an apex body to coordinate all activities of the youth in the country and cordially advise the minister of youth affairs on youth matters. However, as indicated previously, the NYC is currently embattled in a legal dispute regarding the political affiliation of the leadership and is therefore not currently officially in existence.

5.2. Section B: Implementation Challenges

5.2.1. Policy and Legislation guiding programs

Sephula (2011) emphasizes the importance of policy and legislation to guide programs. He opines that such legislation offers a background and guidelines for project planning, execution and assessment. In line with this thinking, all the projects under the Department of Youth seem to be steered by the NYP. The NVC administrator avowed that their project is guided by the NYP on the basis that even though they are helping all graduates to gain experience, they are extremely biased. She averred that priority is given to those who are under 35 years of age. From this perspective, it certainly seems that the NYP has to be a guiding tool for youth development. It appears that the holistic development of youth and the achievement of the broader outcomes of the policy could be maintained if there are bounding guidelines across all the stakeholders. This conclusive assertion was drawn from the NVC project administrator's attempt to answer the question as to what extent she would consider the NVC project successful. This is what she said:

It is successful because it has gone beyond accommodating more than the targeted number of applicants. Nonetheless, this program only introduces youth to work experience but this does not guarantee employment sustainability. Only if volunteers would be all absorbed after gaining experience... I think there must be a policy that forces every government ministry to employ a certain percentage of youth each year. Also, the companies and businesses which employ a certain percentage of youth must be subsidized.

The NVC project administrator's statement above implies that policy or legislation which enforces subsidies would encourage employing institutions to hire [more] youth. While still putting focus on the NVC project, there must be legislation that addresses the legal issues pertaining to the volunteers and their terms and conditions at the work place. Asked if there are any legislative frameworks that protect the rights of the volunteers, such as the one for maternity leave, the NVC project administrator was clear that there is no such framework. She indicated:

There are only guidelines which even tamper with the human rights. There is no specific policy that outlines the terms or working conditions of the volunteers at their placed jobs. For you have said, we don't know what must happen should a pregnant

intern's time to go for maternity leave arrives. Will she still be paid? Will she be awarded certificate to have volunteered even though she hasn't completed the expected months at work? What about those who may get accidents at workplace? Who covers them? These and many other questions need to be addressed by a clear policy. I therefore suggest we get some staff to help us deal with policy and legal matters, someone to assist in finance, Human Resource and Information Officer. But the problem is that we always suggest but no action taken.

It is evident from the NVC project administrator's sentiments that the nonexistence of specific legislations governing volunteers' terms and conditions at the workplace results in some apprehension in the department. In addition, the absence of the above stated Human Resource and Information Officer justifies why there is this gap and thus indicates the inappropriateness in the implementation of the NVC project.

Similarly, the YEP official linked the failure of entrepreneurs to accomplish their goals, as contained/outlined in their business plans, to the absence of a clear legislation that gives detail in relation to surety from the ministry to the banks. As a result, the banks only loan less money than asked for by the entrepreneurs. However, it seems the GoL and the banks are in the process of overcoming this deficiency. In the meantime, this lack of funding inhibits the entrepreneur's progress in achieving the optimal outcome. The unfortunate implication for the policy context is that policy success is judged on the basis of achieving or exceeding the maximum accomplishment of the initial goals (Cairney & Rutter, 2014). In this instance, the goals of the NYP are unfortunately not being met.

Likewise, the NYC as the youth structural body takes its departure from the NYP. The NYC coordinator described the NYP as a general document that focuses on youth development. She remarked:

You will be aware that its last section illustrates that for the youth issues and activities to be effective there has to be an apex body to regulate such activities. Hence why the GoL established the NYC to coordinate the holistic development of youth at grass-hood level, be it educational, health...and everything.

Emanating from the discussion above, it could be concluded that the NYP is central to youth issues. However, it appears that there has to be a legal framework that spells out

the legal *dos and don'ts* of the volunteers or their rights in general. Furthermore, there must be clear frameworks guiding the co-partners in the development of youth.

5.2.2. Stakeholders' Participation

In a general sense, the most vulnerable category in Lesotho is the youth (GoL, 2003). Policy frameworks and program initiatives aimed at the youth are therefore integral to bridging the gap of youth unemployment and their lack of involvement in decision making. As such, the NYP is deeply invested in promoting effective youth participation in decision making in the country, more particularly with regard to the issues that affect them. Realistically, the youth play a minimal role when it comes to matters pertaining to participation. Should they, by any chance, be given opportunity to participate in the decision making process of the country, their voice is always advisory. They cannot deliberately influence the decision making. The researcher's findings disclosed that the youth merely perform the ceremonial duties of "advising" the Minister of Youth. In practical terms, nothing actually emanates from this advisory capacity.

Section 8 (1) (a) of the NYCA outlines the function of the NYC as solely to advise the minister on programs relating to the development of youth. This was also attested to by one of the participants who stated that the youth or the NYC does not have a voice in decision making. However, she believed that '*there is always a starting point*'. She stated that the NYC Unit has '*to start at this point where the NYC has only to advise the minister to make decisions and by so doing, they* [youth] *grow*'. She was clear that the NYCA could only be amended after the role of the youth has grown. Ironically, she affirmed the youth's seclusion by adding that it will be only be in the future when the Unit decides how they incorporate youth into the decision making of the country. She further insisted that it would not be wise to just let the youth be on their own right at the beginning. By acknowledging that the youth's voice is currently only advisory, both the NYCA document and the participant revealed that there is no room for youth in authoritative decision making. This explicates that the mission to achieve the NYP goals through the involvement of the youth via their own view is at this stage not occurring. The youth opinion is subject to oppression by the decision maker – the minister.

King *et al* (1998) establish that in order to accomplish the set goals, policy beneficiaries must have effective participation which is authentic. According to them, authentic participation has been defined by activists as the ability and the opportunity to have a great impact to influence the decision (ibid: 320). The minister's failure to engage the youth in deliberate decision making is not only undermining the democratic systems but also impeding the implementation of the NYP by excluding the youth from involvement in an open and real engagement in decision making. This is a reflection of paternalism – managing youth affairs without incorporating their own voice.

As a consequence, the youth masses have no chance to change the status quo. The findings further exposed the symbolic or ghost NYC. The participants pointed out that the council, which was not even launched after its first appointment, was put on hold and thus dysfunctional (see Chapter One for further details). The subsequent effect of this is the mushrooming of many voices trying to address youth issues and concerns. As a result, the central government fails to take into account the collective concerns of the youth. This was supported by one of the participants who affirmed the nonexistence of the NYC. He maintained that '*there is no NYC. That is why it is sometimes difficult to have the common understanding of the challenges nationwide, because there is no collective body that would link the department with the masses*'. Ideally, the symbolic nature of the council gives the minister in charge of youth affairs a reason to exclude youth perspective and their power to impact the outcome of any decision making. This, as will be further discussed, has resulted in the NYP not being considered valid and desirable.

Taking a cue from King *et al*'s (1998) "authentic participation", it is worth highlighting that the proper NYP implementation would allow continuous youth participation in the policy process throughout all the policy stages – from the initiation stage of the policy, programs and strategies aimed at achieving the policy goals, to the policy and program reformulation. However a critical analysis of the results reveals flaws in some policy stages.

With regard to which stages the youth is granted decision making opportunities, the findings divulge that in the formulation of policies and initiation of programs, youth participation is either limited or non-existent. When asked whether the youth

participated in the formulation of the NYP (2003), the NYC coordinator noted that *'their participation could have been optimal had the NYC existed'*. This response invoked another critical question namely who then was responsible for youth matters if the supposed body was not in place at the time. It appeared that the ministry had absolute power to coordinate youth affairs. Nonetheless, despite the nonexistence of the NYC, it cannot be disputed that mechanisms were put in place to incorporate youth in the formulation of the policy as is demonstrated by the coordinator's response: *'it was while the government was coordinating the youth affairs when it found a need to involve youth and, youths from different organizations took part in the policy formulation'*. This was through the Resolutions Committee (see Chapter One).

As the literature has shown, it would be pseudo politics to include the concerned parties only in the formulation stage of a policy. It is apparent from the literature on policy formulation that key stakeholders must be considered throughout the policy process. However the destabilization of the NYC makes it difficult for the youth to decide on how the designed NYP should be implemented nationally. This could be detected from one of the participant's response that *'youth is expressing their views through their organizational structures and different associations in their communities. However, for them to be recognized nationally they had to have one big voice. And that would be through the NYC. So its absence suppresses youth collective opinion'*. Invariably, the mission to include youth in the decision making at national level is now diluted.

This suppression of youth at national level will not cease to occur if youth remains silent. The director suggested that the youth should take a stand and voice out their concerns. However, it is impossible for them to meaningfully participate in decision making if they are not empowered. Therefore she recommended that the unit will hold workshops and seminars that will capacitate the youth to efficiently participate in the entire process. This recommendation is found to be in line with what the NYP document finds as a reason for youth involvement in decision making. It reasonably contends that youth 'are neither represented nor considered in decision-making processes of the country though they are future leaders of the country. They are not given training in leadership skills, but are expected to be good leaders of tomorrow' (GoL, 2003:10). The proposed workshops and seminars would therefore aid in capacitating youth with leadership skills.

Furthermore, during the implementation of the NYP through projects and operational programs, the youth play a tokenistic role. They appear to have been given an opportunity to choose which programs to implement, but in fact they are channeled towards particular initiatives or simply have no choice. The research findings revealed that most programs are donor-orientated. The youth have no say on the kind of programs to be run for them. It is a top-down authoritative voice from the funding agencies as to what youth should do or how they should participate. This weakens the ability and opportunity for youth to frame their own programs suiting their current needs. As a result, participation is discouraged and thus the challenge to implementation becomes inevitable.

The tokenism is further detected when the YEP officer pointed out that as far as WED is concerned, young women like any other entrepreneurs, are free to come to the department and ask for empowerment assistance on the areas of their choice, either through their organizations or individually. The question would be whether the channels are actually created for them and whether they on the other hand, are utilizing these channels appropriately. However, the officer additionally argued that programs under this unit are the direct result of the ministry's initiative to capitalize on the expos that are held by different institutions and NGOs. This simply means that the youth do not decide on the programs but only have to fit in with those that government finds more valuable.

Accordingly, in the framing and/or reframing process, the youth play no role in reformulating projects. The NVC project administrator conceded the fact that the review or redesign of the NVC is exclusive to UNDP. She enlightened the researcher thus, '*to tell you the truth, UNDP has its own policy makers*'. That is, the NVC is framed by those specialists, not the youth as is generally assumed.

5.2.3. Multi-Sectoralism

Logically, it may generally appear that all the relevant stakeholders' participation is unadulterated, obligatory and extols the virtues of harnessing implementation. Multifaceted implementations that seek to include a variety of key role players have been evidently more successful (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2003). However, in the context of this research, multi-sectoralism is found to be hazardous. The findings of this research revealed that it is such an interdependence that hinders, rather than

facilitates, the proper implementation of the NYP objectives. The objective of the policy is to ensure that 'the type of education and training provided in the country is compatible with and responsive to the needs of youth and, hence of the nation as a whole' (GoL, 2003:12). Even so, the director did mention that the other challenge to the policy implementation is that the Ministry of Youth does not control all the activities of the youth. Some of the issues that affect the youth are beyond the control of Youth Department or the ministry at large. She illustrated, '*for instance, to your question as to how the MGYSR can close the gap between education provided and the skills that are needed by the job market, the department does not have that say as it is the Ministry of Education and Training's responsibility to deal with school curriculum matters'.* Put simply, it would be less challenging for the Department of Youth to achieve this aforementioned objective if the implementation of this policy was not multi-sectoral.

The underlying challenge for many stakeholders is the intra-politics whose conflict inhibits the progress of the policy or project. With reference to the NVC project, the poor working relationships between the NVC unit, or the Department of Youth at large, and other relevant institutions is fundamental to the ineffectiveness of the project implementation and, to some extent, discourages funders. One of the participants illustrated this cross-sectoral tension thus:

For you may know that the issues of public employment in Lesotho are done by Public Service Commission (PSC), the Commission also wants to hijack this project. They want to be the one to place volunteers. The major challenge here is that PSC deals with the employment of public servants at large but we are concerned about inexperienced graduates most of whom are youth.

Additionally, some of the companies do not cooperate well enough with the department. The administrator revealed their shock at times when they only '*hear from the applicants/volunteers that it's now been a month or three at home following the dismissal'.* This point of non-cooperation leads to the department's failure to achieve a number of placements within a certain period of time. The department has always appealed to companies to inform the NVC unit to intervene if they encounter any problems with the interns before they can be dismissed from work. However, it is

noted that only a few companies are noncompliant while the majority generally have a good memorandum of understanding with the unit.

With regard to a related theme, the barrier inherent to the multi-sectoral players in the implementation of the NYP, in a broad sense, was also discovered by the question of how the NYC unit aims to combat the issue of unemployment. It could be concluded from the NYC coordinator that interdependence can be a problem should other players not make an input in the creation of jobs to safeguard the youth's means of subsistence and the right to work. The coordinator stated that:

The NYC is not independent. It's a multi-sectoral body that has to work with other sectors to combating all challenges that are facing youth. But as we learn from other countries we see that NYCs are independent. However, it is very unfortunate that the NYC is within a big ministry. We have the Department of Youth, Department of Gender and the Department of Sports. And within the Department of Youth itself there are many programs which the NYC has to overlook. The intention is that we have to expose youth through trainings. We are not only concentrated on graduates. In our first year [after inauguration], *we have to capacitate them to have a clear vision and to understand the objectives of the NYC. The ministry's intention is to create youth projects through the advice of this council. But unemployment is huge threat that could not be tackled by the youth department alone. However, we are advancing youth self-employment. We have projects like Start and Improve Your Business* (NYC coordinator).

Generally, multi-sectoralism demonstrates difficulties for the Department of Youth to achieve policy goals. Nevertheless, it must be clearly understood that multi-sectoralism is not discouraged outright. The point is that if the working relations across sectors are not strong or positive, then it is correct to argue that multi-sectoralism may become irrelevant or a barrier. In a more specific sense, it is obvious that the department's co-partners have different priorities or have their own operational strategies of attempting to intervene in the problems of the youth. For that reason, multi-sectoralism challenges the effective implementation of the NYP in Lesotho.

5.2.4. Political Uncertainty

The National Youth Council Act (NYCA) of 2008 clearly stipulates the term of tenure of the office of the NYC as being three years. Section 6(1) states that all the Council members, except ex-officio members, 'shall hold office for a period of three years from the date of appointment, election or nomination' (GoL, 2008:1393). This section does not take into account the realities of the changing political systems that "naturally" [shall] influence the nature and terms of tenure of the NYC. Speaking on whether this section should be reframed, the NYC coordinator suggested a supplementary clause that would outline what is supposed to happen if there is unexpected change in political reign. Simply, she recommended that the NYCA must anticipate change. She added that the supplementary clause must specifically address what should happen to the political membership in the Council if there is change in government which might inevitably necessitate change in the original plan. This view emanates from the notion that the NYC encountered red-tape after its election into the office as a result of the unexpected outcome of the national general elections of 2012, and the unanticipated form of government as a consequence of that. The views of the coordinator were:

...the country went for the general elections. The elections brought the type of government that was not anticipated by the NYCA. Although the National Constitution anticipated such, we did not anticipate that. General elections resulted in the tripartite coalition that we are under its rule now (the NYC Coordinator).

The tripartite coalition, which forms the central government, affected the state and functioning of the NYC. The director confirmed the nonexistent and dysfunctional state of the council following the court case over the political seats in the council. The NYC coordinator explained this political disturbance which led some members of the council to launch a case:

There is a clause in the NYCA which gave us challenge –Section 5 (g). It is the very same clause that took us to court. This is how it happened. The clause frames the political membership of the council to have three representatives of Political Party Youth Leagues, two of whom shall be nominated by the party commanding majority in the National Assembly and one of whom shall be nominated by the opposition parties. By the time we were given two representatives from the party commanding majority at

that time, it was under the LCD rule (Lesotho Congress for Democracy). Immediately after we received these two LCD representatives, there was a split in government. LCD broke down into two factions of which DC (Democratic Congress) also emerged. The fact is, those representatives we were given by LCD crossed to the newly born DC which became the government. And you have to grasp this because it is the reason we were in Court... As it was like that, the country went for the general elections which resulted in the tripartite coalition government formed by ABC (All Basotho Conventions), LCD and BNP (Basotho National Party).

By virtue of its composition, it could be assumed that the NYC political representation would have to change. The question would then become how, if members were still serving their three year tenure of office. It is here that the contradiction became discernible. However, the coordinator justified this by claiming that the clause should not apply in a retrospective manner. She elaborated:

Let's say somebody from UK arrives, reads the NYCA and say, with reference to this section [5(1) (g)] let me see three political party representatives, two from the party commanding majority in the Assembly. Will we have them? No. We only have those from the recent minority (DC) who were nominated in here lawfully under the majority government which was LCD by then. That is why they were dismissed from the Council following the confusion as to who they were now. Then they went to launch a court case. Although I do not have judgment, but this section doesn't apply in a retrospective, it applies now. Meaning should I now say I want to see someone who represents the people with disabilities, I want to hear him/her saying here I am representing the impaired people. If I want to see political representatives from the current majority in the Assembly, I want them stand. This is because the intention behind this political structural set up is to make sure that those two link the government (majority) and the council. But if ever they were still in here representing DC, they would not be reporting to the government but rather to the opposition or minority.

The gist of the above quotation is to unveil the uncertainty that the NYCA did not anticipate which broadly prohibits the establishment and activeness of the council. More specifically, the current situation of the uncertainty in leadership prevents the council from implementing the NYP. The political instability within the council is a

deliberate consequence of the policy makers' failure to realize that political unrest may occur in the near future either following the structural formation of the membership or as a result of the NYCA, which does not take into account alternative political scenarios. For that reason, there is a need, as also proposed by the NYC coordinator, for the NYCA loopholes to be addressed as soon as the council is reinstated or inaugurated.

It was not anticipated that the inclusion of the political structures in the council would severely immobilize the normal functioning (to work towards achieving the youth-good and not towards any political party's mandate, which in some cases blunders the youth interest) of the council or politicize it instead of serving the youth agendas. The NYC coordinator established that the council's bottleneck is caused by party politics and the people who politicize it to their own benefit. However, she conceded that politics is central to any structural body and thus will continue to have a drastic impact on the council, its functioning, as well as the policy and its implementation. Her perception is based on the reality that unfortunately political affiliation sabotages the council. In her personal point of view, she thought that out of 33 members of the council, the trio from the political parties would not have enough power to overrule the rest of the council. Nevertheless, as a person who directly deals with the NYC issues, she found it logical that politics has excessive influence. She contended that even those members of the council who represent other youth structures such as an association of students or an association of youth in business, are too affiliated to some political parties. Thus politics in general could not be avoided, even though their impact is not desirable to the common good of the youth masses. Political influence is therefore a constraint that alters the intended operational duties of the council and obstructs effective implementation of the policy.

Furthermore, research (Mattozzi, 2004 and Makinde, 2005) has also revealed a diaspora tendency of new political power to abandon the strategic plans of the predecessor. One of the participants showed concern about the Vision 2020 games which were held for under-17 age group youths every year when schools were closed in December under the previous government. The participant admitted that those games were not only building the national teams' development but also reduced drug and alcohol abuse as well as crimes committed by young people. However, such games under the new government have never been hosted. It is claimed that such

games were not hosted [in 2013] because '*they belonged to 'Malepono'* (sic.) (The former Minister of Sports under the LCD/DC government). This suggests that it could have been wise to insist on legally binding frameworks for the implementation of the National Strategic Plan 2012/13 – 2016/17 through Vision 2020 to prevent irrational decisions by the successors.

5.2.5. Capacity (Resource Efficiency)

Lack of funding, budget-cuts and insufficient staff were commonly cited factors that are deemed to hinder the efficient implementation of the NYP. All the participants were of the same opinion that the implementation of the NYP through the designed programs and projects would be more meaningful if there were adequate resources. One of the participants expressed her suspicion that the youth does not seem to be considered as a group that needs close attention within the GoL. If this assertion is accepted, then it is permissible to put forth the view that it is contradictory of the government to vow for "youth development" while its actions do not reflect so. This is inferred from the worrying fact that the little budget the Department of Youth does get is always jeopardized. The participant who divulged this contended that in most cases the youth budget is always diverted to other ministries or departments which may be running out of financial resources. From her point of view, this is a clear indication that the youth has never been the government's priority hence youth is not taken seriously. In a way, this shows that the NYP is not a legitimate structure, thus resulting in a wavering political will from the decision makers to support its initiatives.

Commenting on the same issue of funding, the NVC administrator revealed that despite the impressive attempts by the GoL as well as the UNDP – as the key donor of NVC, the project is always under budget. As much as she acknowledged these funders for their good contribution, specifically because they pay employees, the problem of being understaffed still exacerbates the situation. She linked this overwhelming limitation with lack of sufficient funds. She mentioned, '*the project or the department as a whole is understaffed because there is no money to pay staff. That is why you will find that we are also using interns as our staff. This becomes a challenge when they leave us for their permanent jobs*'. Thus, it is axiomatic that an

insufficient number of staff necessary to carry a heavy workload or pursue different attention-seeking tasks leads to program failure.

Nevertheless, whether staffed or understaffed, human resource needs to be motivated to do public work effectively. Wolman (1981:451) asserts that the size of the staff is not the only benchmark of staff as a resource. He further highlights the need to boost the morale of the staff and their competence by providing on-going training to enhance a program's success. Understanding the shortage of staff the Department of Youth is facing, one would think that at least those employees in place would have the necessary skills and knowledge to competently perform the work that could otherwise be done by a larger number of staff, however it is different within this department. '*The department is understaffed. The worst part is that inadequate staff the ministry has is unskilled*' (YEP officer). The problem noted with this challenge is that staffing continuously changes across different ministries and within different ministry departments thus resulting in a lack of continuity. One of the participants highlighted that she previously worked for the Ministry of Finance but due to the shortage of staff in the Department of Youth, she had to be redeployed. This may mean that her qualifications, skills and experiences might apply better in the former sector than in her new placement. Nonetheless, this would not be a problem if the redeployed staff were sent to training courses to expand on and develop their existing knowledge and ensure their quick adaptability with the new work. However such training is rarely, if ever, availed to the subordinate staff. One of the officials argued that:

The management likes to attend workshops which would be attended by us. When they come back they don't report to us. This is ironic as to how they would expect us to implement changes which we are not fully aware of and the strategies or procedures that have to be properly followed to make such implementations successful. This is very sad. If it happens that we attend workshops, we report back but unfortunately they just file those reports without considering the recommendations that would improve the programs and projects.

The problem of not engaging and developing staff capacity must be understood not only as demotivating to staff but also as discouraging them from complying with the managerial changes. A lack of compliance results in poor capacity and constituency building, which is integral to ideal implementation of policy.

Responding to challenges that the NYC unit is facing, the NYC Coordinator also recommended external funders. She put it thus:

Other main problem lies with finances. We have to have strong budgets. The government doesn't have adequate financial resources, but with little that we are having we will try to do our best. We have started to attract foreign donors. As soon as we kick starting, we are going to have a lot of trainings that are not going to be sponsored by government. Different agencies are going to finance such trainings based on youth participation. And we are also heartedly out talking to various NGOs to support us.

Unfortunately, programs that are externally funded do change the nature of policy objectives. Afande (2013) would argue that donor agencies tend to redirect the locally set program objectives to satisfy their own career concerns. Speaking on the challenges that the ministry faces in achieving the intended goals of the policy, the director criticized the impact donors have on the planned programs:

Programs seem to be donor-orientated. The youth and/or the department have no say on the kind of program to be run for youth. It is a top-down approach from the funding agencies unto the department. International donors just tell the department, let alone the youth masses, to implement AIDS program for example. This is despite whether such a program had been done before. As a result, we have the repetition of programs which end up becoming monotonous and thus discouraging youth participation.

The quotation above, which unveils both the financial variable to policy failure and also participation, as well as the approach to decision making and implementation, shows the negative impact of donor assistance. The director further explained:

Some of these programs that are imposed become unsuccessful. Imagine forcing the implementation of Hospital (medical) Male Circumcision against the Traditional Circumcision that is done at the initiation schools (lebollo). We once experienced an enormous challenge where the Hospital Circumcision Campaign failed in one of the very deep rural areas where "lebollo" is paramount to every male person. I think in such cases, approach must differ. Instead, the appropriate initiative would have been aiming at equipping the initiation schools with medical and safe-from-infection way

of circumcising graduands than trying to make them turn against their cultural belief and practice.

In addition, Afande (2013) contends that variables for failure are those episodes that constrain appropriate implementation. In this sense, inadequate infrastructure and facilities may hinder the smooth implementation of any policy. The YEP officer identified lack of transport as one of the hindrances the YEP Unit is facing. As a result of this, the Unit fails to reach areas where the demand for empowerment is most pressing, especially in the remote areas of the country. The lack of transport could also be associated with lack of managerial capacity to coordinate the available resources. As a consequence, there is a dislocation of the department's transport due to the high rate of corruption or misuse of funds and other resources. With regard to the latter, it could be established from the participants that tenders are awarded on the basis of nepotism and favoritism to incompetent agencies who at the end fail to deliver at par. All these issues signify the resource inefficiency the department is suffering from.

5.2.6. Monitoring and Evaluation

In the current dispensation which Brynard (2005) would deem democracy and service delivery, many governments are under immense pressure to produce considerable results for the citizenry. The question would be how the governments achieve this. As observed in Chapter Three, Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) is the criterion that supports the improvement in performance and accomplishment of expected outcomes (Ciolan, 2007). M&E is therefore a significant managerial process which is a prerequisite for Lesotho's MGYSR to attain the success of the NYP through the initiated programs. In this regard, the existence of the Policy Advisor in the Department of Youth is an overt indication that the ministry intends to generate feedback on whether the policy still meets the necessary requirements of the youth as the target group.

Nonetheless, the participants were of the view that there is a necessity to review the policy. The officer for the YEP nit affirmed the fact that the NYP has devastating loopholes and thus suggested a methodological review (sic.). In the same vein, the director was concerned that there has to be a policy reform, not only to maintain consistency with the set goals and objectives, but also to enable the "new" policy to

answer to the needs of the modern Basotho youth living in the global world. She argued that '*the National Youth Policy needs to be reviewed. It has to be a tool to address the contemporary issues and meet the international standard...*' However, one of the participants raised a suspicion that even the "new" policy is doomed to fail unless there is drastic change in the government's mode of operation. He supported his assertion by arguing that since they have only been told that the policy is under review and were not involved in the decision to review, it seems that the review is not consultative hence it would be flawed again. He also proposed the need to have a policy Strategic Plan to guide implementation.

On the other hand, there is mounting evidence that M&E and project reviews are indeed conducted. This was confirmed by the NVC project administrator because of the fact that they '*submit reports periodically, assumption is that the project review has to be continuous. And also for it is extended, this implies the review had been done and it was found worthy to extend the project's number of years*'. In this last point, she was referring to the point she made earlier that the NVC project has been running after its set period of time. She clarified that '*the project was planned to run for the period of four years starting from 2009 to 2012*'. Since the researcher's interview with the administrator took place in the early days of 2014, this indicates that the impact value of the project was evaluated (impact evaluation) and thus the need to extend the operational years of the project was identified and implemented.

Conversely, it could be concluded from Cloete (2009) that an effective M&E is one where the authority learns from its feedback and uses that information to make changes or adjustments. However in the case of the NVC project, some of the commendations are not considered as indicated below:

The major problem is that we as the street-level bureaucrats often write reports about the challenges we are facing in the implementation process of this project and suggest solutions to both the government and the UNDP but it appears to us that our report documents might be just shelved as you hardly see changes as per our reports' recommendations (One of the participants).

From the above citation, it can be assumed that the process monitoring and evaluation of the programs in the youth unit is inadequate due to the fact that the decision makers are unable to learn from the feedback provided by the "M&E agents" – the bureau.

This tendency of the decision-makers not to consider the "voice" of the bureaucracy surely indicates the top-down stereotype. The top-downers believe that the bureau must accord with the goals and plans embodied in an authoritative decision (Paudel, 2009) and not share any ideas. The likely behavior, as a consequence of this approach, is that the NVC staff as the street-level bureaucrats will silently resent change from coordinating, monitoring and evaluating programs, or should they coordinate and evaluate programs they will not report back to their authorities, and thus not comply with any changes counter to theirs. In essence, the decision-makers' failure to learn does hinder the policy progress. Learning from M&E would inform all the policy actors on how to make the NVC project and other programs, or the NYP in general, work better to transform the youth candidates as the sole beneficiaries.

In addition, the meaningful M&E of the NVC would also suggest the monitoring and close supervision of the volunteers at their placed institutions. Contrary to this directive, some volunteers' progress and performance seem not to be coordinated, as was highlighted by the administrator:

We always recommend hosting organizations to assign mentors to our applicants. However, in some instances, our applicants report to us that no one is assigned to supervise them. This becomes a challenge as you may find that such volunteers are now serving organizations as messengers instead of performing duties that they are supposed to be doing in order to gain the required experience for their careers or professional fields.

Again, proper monitoring would prevent volunteers from being misused by their superiors. The director condemned the companies that are exploiting youth. She reiterated that the placed interns are made to multi-task. She insisted, '*you will find that the employees are now shifting their whole work to the interns*'. Cogently, should there be good co-ordination, such a malpractice would be controlled.

Answering whether it is still within their jurisdiction to monitor or make follow-ups on the "experienced" trainees, she pinpointed that the primary aim of their project or office is to see that they have placed as many volunteers as they can. She maintained, '*indeed, the project is growing. We targeted to have placed 300 interns by the end of December 2012. But let me tell you. 660 volunteers have been placed by September*

2013'. According to her, it is considered a success to them if a volunteer gets a permanent job.

On the part of YEP, M&E of programs have been conducted by both co-partners, the GoL and the UNDP. The YEP officer established that '*the ministry has to monitor and evaluate the programs and to report back to the UNDP- which also will have to do its own M&E based on the reports*'. However, he contended that in order to improve the programs, '*there has to be a close supervision and consistent follow-ups to the trained persons or groups as to how profitably they are using the acquired skills and the loans they are given by the banks*'. In essence, it could be concluded that M&E is carried out, but the question lies with how efficiently it is conducted. This question arises because the officer was outspoken about the unacceptable tendency not to report. He stated that '*UNDP and other donors need reports but sometimes the ministry does not send reports*'. He further stated, '*this is despite the officers' tireless efforts to compile lengthy reports to the ministry and this hampers the programs' development or improvement*'. Therefore this proves a significant inefficiency of the M&E.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter presented and discussed the data as collected from the Department of Youth in the Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR), which was the research focus area for this study. It initially integrated the research findings with other concepts which emerged from the theoretical framework and the review of the literature discussed in the previous chapters. It further provided a thorough analysis of the collected data by interpreting and discussing these findings in line with the research questions listed in Chapter One. From the analysis point of view, it is worth concluding that policy studies on the implementation challenges should not be limited to the implementation stage, but must also consider other stages of the policy cycle. Section A in Chapter Five first described the structure of the MGYSR, the Department of Youth and the programs under this department – that are ideally meant to develop youth by striving to achieve the NYP objectives. It also demonstrated the hierarchy of the officials in the ministry but mainly focused on the youth department officials who participated in the study. Section B of this chapter presented and analyzed the findings regarding the implementation challenges of the NYP. Generally,

data was categorized and interpreted under the following key themes that were developed from the theoretical framework and the interview questions: Policy and legislative frameworks guiding programs; Stakeholders' participation; Multi-Sectoralism; Political uncertainty; Capacity or Resource efficiency; and Monitoring and Evaluation. Through this exercise, the chapter has succeeded in presenting, interpreting/analyzing and discussing the findings of the study in line with the research questions and research objectives presented in Chapter One.

In the following chapter, which is the last chapter of this study, the summary of the findings will be presented and recommendations will be made to assist the government of Lesotho (especially the Department of Youth) in mapping the way forward. The chapter will also synthesize the key discussion points in the study, thereby reiterating the focus and significance of the research.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions and Recommendations

6.0. Conclusions

This dissertation set out a constructive framework to investigate the challenges faced in the implementation of the National Youth Policy (NYP) in Lesotho. In order to highlight the significance of research problem, the key concepts were theorized. Firstly, this research adopted the definition of youth as outlined by the National Youth Policy document. It unpacked youth as those Basotho individuals with the age cohort between 15 and 35. This discussion put into context the social, psychological, political, economic and environmental realities of the Basotho youth. Secondly, the implementation of the NYP was broadly understood as the translation of the policy statement into operational projects and programs.

Furthermore, the determinants of policy failure and success were analyzed in order to determine the potential hindrances to the efficient implementation of the policy in question. The following overlapping variables were discussed as prime ingredients for the implementation process: policy and legislative frameworks guiding programs, stakeholders' participation, multi-sectoralism, political uncertainty, capacity, constituency building, legitimacy, policy implementation models as well as monitoring and evaluation. The validity of the findings of the current study is that they are in line with the preliminary research conducted by other scholars on policy implementation (Wolman, 1981; Crosby, 1996; Makinde, 2005 & Paudel, 2009).

It is imperative to underscore that the aforementioned literature provided the researcher with the hypothetical framework to guide an understanding of the policy gap or the bottleneck of the National Youth Policy of the Lesotho Kingdom. The review of the literature from both the developed and developing countries intended to illustrate the point that implementation phenomena are of global concern and perhaps the government of Lesotho (GoL) can learn from the approach of other countries in attempting to overcome challenges and advancing the implementation process. It is pertinent to mention that while identifying weaknesses that the GoL needs to address, this study did not mean to judge the government as being incompetent. On the contrary, the discussion of the findings instead tried to suggest significant ways of

improving the implementation process (as will also be briefly demonstrated in the recommendations to follow).

The findings of this study have shown that there is a need, not only to analyze the public policy implementation challenges during the implementation stage of the policy process, but rather to analyze policy throughout the policy life cycle. As argued in this dissertation, each stage is indispensable to implementation and is thus essential for consideration. Furthermore, it has been discovered that procedures to permit proper implementation of the NYP were also fraudulent in other policy stages such as agenda setting and formulation, as well as the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) stages, where the youth seem to be playing a tokenistic role. To begin with, it is naïve to acknowledge the youth's involvement in the formulation of projects and programs to realize policy goals while their voice in reality actually does not influence any decision-making. The study found that in both the National Volunteer Corps (NVC) project and the Youth Employment Promotions (YEP) project, the youth have no role, or they rather have a very minimal role, to framing and reframing programs as well as monitoring them. This objectionable monopoly was affirmed not only by the participants but also within the NYP document which deceptively outlines that the youth voice shall be advisory to the minister (GoL, 2008:1395).

Despite the fact that the suppression of the youth's authenticity is unjust and undemocratic, the researcher had actually anticipated nothing less. The findings validate those of Ansell *et al* (nd.) that the Lesotho NYP understands youth as the future leaders. In essence, a future leader is a decision-maker in the making. Nonetheless, the research findings have discovered that it is not through a deliberate effort that the youth is marginalized. It is almost an entrenched understanding that by considering them to be future leaders, the youth *will grow* and thus be able to take independent decisions in the future. This is, however, totally against the principles of good governance and has been found during the course of this research to be against the effective policy/program implementation that advocates authentic participation of the citizens, especially those that are directly affected.

In as much as stakeholders' authentic participation is recommended, the findings have unveiled a decisive challenge with multi-sectoral involvement in the implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho. It is noted that the Ministry of Gender and

Youth, Sports and Recreation (MGYSR) is crippled in an attempt to best achieve the policy goals because of its interdependence with other government ministries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the corporate sector, for whom the youth and youth issues may not occupy the top of their agenda setting. It is important, however, to understand the line of argument of this research; it has little intention to contest the truism that multi-sectoralism can facilitate implementation. Instead this study took issue with the idea that there has to be a common spirit and good relationships between and amongst all the relevant stakeholders in order to attain a resource-inclined multi-sectoralism as opposed to a hindrance-orientated one.

With regard to capacity, the literature review and the implementation theory showed that resource efficiency is a pillar of the successful implementation of any policy. It has been demonstrated that human and financial resources are necessary for the implementation of projects and programs to achieve policy objectives. However, the research findings revealed inadequate resources such as insufficient and untrained staff, dislocation and misuse of resources such as transport, budget-cuts, and manipulation of the distributed funds as the major challenges to the implementation of the NYP. The findings further revealed that the deficiency of the above resources results not only from ineffective managerial capacity to coordinate the existing resources but also from the NYP not being regarded as legitimate.

Accordingly, the preliminary findings extrapolated from the literature review suggested that policy is found legitimate if its objectives are sound, valid and desired (Makinde, 2005 and Crosby, 1996). Correspondingly, the current study suggested an ideal review of the NYP so that it can address contemporary youth problems. This, according to the findings, would not only be a mechanism to internationally standardize this policy but also to ensure its social acceptance. M&E process is central to generate feedback for the GoL's decision-makers and core partners such as the UNDP. However, it is found that the M&E of the policy suffers from the tendency of the decision-makers (government) not to consider the feedback compiled by the Department of Youth's bureaucracy. This would indicate that the failure to learn from the experiences on the ground prohibits implementation progress.

Once again, it is entirely reasonable to presume that the implementation process of this policy is subject to failure without the communal voice of the youth at national

level. This is because of the ambiguity of the clauses contained within the National Youth Council Act (NYCA) of 2008 regarding the composition of the National Youth Council (NYC) and the tenure of office of this council. Considering the findings, the ambiguity or policy window in the Act has resulted in a situation where a "national voice" of the youth had to be put on hold. Bearing in mind that this policy window is unintentional, the political authorities use it to their advantage. The findings uncovered the fact that this window is brought about by political uncertainty –which in this case is the outcome of the 2012 national general elections, which resulted in the formation of the new coalition government.

The consequent effect of the prevailing status quo of political uncertainty could not be ignored. The findings revealed that the long term strategic plans for youth development have been negatively affected since the new political dispensation assumed power. The Vision 2020 Games, which formerly had been hosted yearly, were not held the very first year that the new dispensation took power and this exemplifies how multi-projects may be discontinued as they are perceived to be the legacy of the past political administration. Overall, the findings of this study disclosed uncertainty, with its complex dynamics, as the major threat to the implementation process.

Accepting the impairments of the policy implementation does not dispute the efforts that are put in place to realize the goals and objectives of the NYP. This research acknowledges the mounting evidence of efficiency-directedness towards achieving the sustainable development of youth through the policy goals. The formulation and adoption of sub-policy frameworks such as the National Youth Council Act of 2008 and National Youth Council Regulations of 2009; the establishment of youth structures such as the National Youth Council and the District Youth Councils; the initiation and implementation of youth projects; the existence of the policy advisor in the youth unit, to mention but a few, are all symbolic of the political will and strategic plan to implement the policy. However, this study has primarily sought to focus more on the challenges and to advocate that a radical intervention should be opted in order to attain optimal "perfection" of the policy implementation.

Thus, the findings suggest that an array of potential interventions should be incorporated to improve the effectiveness of the implementation process of the

National Youth Policy in Lesotho. Firstly, the policy needs to be legitimized. It is the responsibility of the MGYSR, the youth organizations as well as the interest groups to build a constituency for support through mobilizing political parties, different ministries and relative structures, especially donors and the Cabinet – as the prime decision-maker of the country – and for them to understand the salience of the NYP and thus the need to support it. Without sufficient support, the NYP will continuously suffer. Secondly, authentic participation of the stakeholders is essential. Most importantly, the youth as the target beneficiaries must be engaged in all the policy development stages, hence improving their ability to influence decision-making. This will ideally discourage the projects and initiatives which are top-down in nature. Therefore, this research suggested strong teamwork and networking of relevant partners to direct the overall implementation process. While it may seem necessary for stakeholders to collaborate, it is worth emphasizing that inter- and intra- politics which impede the effective implementation of the policy must be discouraged. All structures must work together to resolve the existing conflicts and backlogs.

Hypothetically, the adequately mobilized constituencies will deliberately accept and own the policy, thereby creating a conducive environment (social, political, economic, technical and administrative) for effective implementation. Simply put, the managerial force of the Department of Youth must ensure that the enabling factors for the implementation of the NYP are in place. These include acquiring a fair share of the government budget, securing foreign aid and building the capacity of the implementing agency (street-level bureaucracy of the department). Capacity building of the officials entails allowing them to attend and participate in quality and on-going training workshops. This remark supports Burke *et al*'s (2012) argument that capacity building of staff is an essential element of implementation which enhances the achievement of the desired outcomes. Similarly, the NYC needs to be reinstated and empowered to advance the agendas of the youth at national level.

6.1. Recommendations for policy Development

Legislative Frameworks

1) There must be an ideal review of the National Youth Policy in order for the policy to reach the international standard and address contemporary issues

2) The National Youth Council Act of 2008 must also be redefined to anticipate change in political reigns or change in government systems

3) In addition, legislative frameworks that guide strategies for the holistic development of youth must be clearly spelled out. The following are thus a suggested few:

   i. Memorandum of Understanding between the Department and the private companies and organizations that contribute to skills development and other means of support to the youth

   ii. Provision of subsidies or the reduction of revenue tax for the companies that employ an outlined percentage of the youth (as had been done with those that input in sports)

   iii. A legislative framework that binds every ministry to set aside a certain portion of their budget for youth program developments (as has been done for Education and eradication of HIV/AIDS enhancements)

6.2. Recommendations for Further Research

Further research is recommended as follows:

a) While the present study has focused on the perceptions of the Department of Youth officials, future research should be based on the interest groups and the beneficiaries themselves: youth masses, different youth organizations, and members of the National Youth Council as well as the District Youth Councils.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Informed Consent Letter

Dear Participant

My name is **Molefi Matsieli** (*208524249*). I am a Masters candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. The title of my research is: **An Overview of the Challenges Faced in the Implementation of the National Youth Policy in Lesotho**. The aim of the study is to investigate the policy gap of the National Youth Policy (NYP). I am interested in interviewing you so as to share your experiences and observations on the subject matter.

Please note that:

- The information that you provide will be used for scholarly research only.

- Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have a choice to participate, not to participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.

- Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study.

- The interview will take about 30 minutes.

- The record as well as other items associated with the interview will be held in a password-protected file accessible only to myself and my supervisors. After a period of 5 years, in line with the rules of the university, it will be disposed by shredding and burning.

- If you agree to participate please sign the declaration attached to this statement (a separate sheet will be provided for signatures)

I can be contacted at: School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban. Email: molefimatsieli@gmail.com; Cell: 078 659 3666. My supervisor is **Dr Bheki Mngomezulu** who is located at the School of Social Sciences, Howard College Campus, Durban of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Contact details: email mngomezulub@ukzn.ac.zaPhone number: 031 260 3834.

The Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee contact details are as follows: Ms Phumelele Ximba, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Research Office, Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za,Phone number +27312603587.

Thank you for your contribution to this research.

DECLARATION

I…………………………………………………………………… (*Full names of participant*) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT   **DATE**

…………………………………………   …………………

Appendix 2

The Gate Keeper's Letter

Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation
6th Floor Post Bank Building
P.O. Box 729
Maseru

Tel: (266) 22325764/58534623

Ref: MGYSR/YOUTH/6   23rd December, 2013

Mr. Molefi
Lithabaneng Ha Kepi
P.O. Box 769
Teyateyaneng 200
Lesotho

Dear Sir

RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY

This serves as a proof that you are allowed to conduct a research within the Youth Department. The Officers responsible for the units to be interviewed will also be available to share the knowledge and experience on the subject matter. The time and date that is most suitable for you is welcome since in January all heads of the units will be available, therefore, you will arrange with them the time and date that is suitable for the interview.

I am hopeful that after you completed your dissertation, you will make some arrangements to present your findings and recommendations to the department since we are reviewing the National Youth Policy in the next financial year. We believe that your study in turn will be beneficial to us. We wish you good luck.

Thank You

Matseliso Letsie

(Acting Director Youth)

MINISTRY OF GENDER &
YOUTH, SPORT & RECREATION
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY
P.O. BOX 729

2013 -12- 2 3

LEKALA TEKA-TEKANO LE BACHA
LIPAPALI LE BOITHAPOLLO
MASERU LESOTHO

Interview Questions for the Youth Department Director

1. What is the ministry's intention with the National Youth Policy?

2. Could you briefly give me the historical background of the NYP

   - When was it thought about?

   - Who initiated it?

   - Why was there a gap between the initiation time and the establishment of the document?

3. Could you please take me through the processes that were involved in the formulation of this policy

   - Who were involved in the process?

   - What were their roles?

   - Were there any problems encountered during this process? If so, what were they?

4. Does the policy still serve its purpose? Why do you say so?

5. The policy is set to identify the innovative ways of creating employment among the youth. Tell me of any community project that is run to realize this objective

   - To what extent can you say this project is successful?

   - Probably there are also some limitations. Could you share them with me?

6. Is there an external agency that monitors this program or is it monitored and evaluated by the ministry?

   - What capacity does this M&E team has (e.g. experience and resources)?

7. The major problem with youth unemployment is inexperience, which results from the mismatch our education institutions provide and the kind of skills the

job market requires. How do you work with the ministry of education to close this gap?

8. One of the core issues the policy intends to address is the seclusion of the youth in decision making of the country. What channels are created to bridge this gap?

9. How effectively does our youth utilize these opportunities?

10. Is there any relationship between the National Youth Council (NYC) and the National Youth Policy (NYP)?

11. To what extent can we say the NYC is functional or active?

12. How autonomous is this council? That is

    -   Does it have its own budget to initiate programs? [If not] why?

    -   Can you think of the scenario where the council or youth opinions were considered in the decision making of the ministry?

13. As I indicated in the beginning, my study investigates the implementation gap of the NYP. Can you summarize challenges that the ministry faces in achieving the intended goals of the policy.

Appendix 4

Youth Employment Promotion Officer

1. Could you please tell me about your office and how it relates to youth

2. Which policy framework guides the operation of Youth Employment Promotion?

3. Who actually initiates programs?

4. Why is Information Technology (IT) given priority within youth programs?

5. What role do young women play within Women Entrepreneurship Development (WED)?

6. What do you think could be done to improve these two programs?

7. What other roles does UNDP play in these programs other than funding?

8. Do you have any follow ups as to how the trained youth utilize the skills/certificates acquired?

9. I am aware that the District Youth Councils are primary implementers of some of your programs at ground level. Do you work directly with them or you go through the National Youth Council?

10. What agency monitors and evaluates your projects, giving specific reference to WED and IT program at Youth Centers?

11. Could you say you are well capacitated to realize your plans about youth emancipation?

12. What are other general challenges the department faces in the implementation of youth programs?

Appendix 5

National Volunteer Cops Project Administrator

1. Could you please tell me about your office and how it relates to youth

2. For how long is the Volunteer Corps Project hoped to run, and do you see it growing?

3. Is there any policy framework that guides the good deeds of this office to economically develop youth?

4. Whose idea is the Volunteer Corps Project?

5. What role did the youth play in framing this project?

6. Most posts need more than one year job experience but your program is set to give youth graduates one year experience. How does the project intervene in the problem of inexperience?

7. How do you deal with the issue of favoritism and nepotism when making selections of the applicants?

8. Who monitors the volunteers at their placements?

9. What kind of follow ups do you make on the trained or "experienced" youth?

10. Could you say you are well capacitated to realize your plans to advance youth development?

11. Where does the project get its funding? And can you say that resource(s) is reliable to sustain the project?

12. Are there any legislative frameworks that give right to the volunteers (e.g. maternity leave etc.)?

13. How are the working relations between the department and the companies, organizations and other governmental ministries where you have placed volunteers?

14. What are other general challenges does the department face with regard to the National Volunteer Corps Project?

15. How often is this project reviewed?

Appendix 6

National Youth Council Coordinator

1. Why should there be a National Youth Council (NYC)?

2. What policy and legislative frameworks regulate its establishment?

3. Is there any relationship between the NYC and the National Youth Policy (NYP)?

4. The NYP was formulated in 2003 to mainstream youth issues and the NYC Act to regulate the formulation of the NYC was established in 2008. Why was there this gap if ever the policy was meant to be implemented from its time of establishment?

5. What role did the youth play in the establishment of both the policy and the Council?

6. To start with, does the NYC exist?

7. If yes, when was it inaugurated or launched?

8. By virtue of its nature, how autonomous is the Council envisioned to be?

i. Will/does it have its own budget to initiate its own programmes [if not why]?

ii. To what extent can its opinion affect the Minister's decision making pertaining youth matters?

9. Is there a political membership in the structure of the NYC? If so, how is it framed?

10. Did the NYCA anticipate the current type of government (tripartite coalition government)?

11. Relating from either the policy or political point of view, what is the idea behind the political membership in the Council?

12. According to the NYC Act 2008, the party commanding majority in the parliament shall have two representatives in the Council while there has to be

one representative from opposition parties. What was the intention of the decision makers regarding this structural set-up?

13. How do politics affect the Council and its functioning?

14. How does your office or the Council itself aim to combat the issue of unemployment?

15. How does the youth utilize the opportunities and channels created to bridge the gap of exclusion in the decision making?

16. Are there any other challenges towards launching and functioning of the NYC other than the prevailing political squabbles or membership?