


5-2019

The Relevance and Adequacy of Youth Development as Part of the National Development Agenda: Reflection of Malawi

Siphiwe S. Komwa
Clark University, siphiek@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://commons.clarku.edu/idce_masters_papers

 Part of the [Development Studies Commons](#), and the [International and Area Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Komwa, Siphiwe S., "The Relevance and Adequacy of Youth Development as Part of the National Development Agenda: Reflection of Malawi" (2019). *International Development, Community and Environment (IDCE)*. 230.
https://commons.clarku.edu/idce_masters_papers/230

This Research Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Papers at Clark Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in International Development, Community and Environment (IDCE) by an authorized administrator of Clark Digital Commons. For more information, please contact mkrikonis@clarku.edu, jodolan@clarku.edu.

**THE RELEVANCE AND ADEQUACY OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF
THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: REFLECTION OF MALAWI.**

SIPHIWE SALAAMA KOMWA

May 2019

A Master's Paper

Submitted to the faculty of Clark University, Worcester,
Massachusetts, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in the department of International Development, Community and
Environment.

And accepted on the recommendation of

Professor Nigel Brissett, Chief Instructor

ABSTRACT

THE RELEVANCE AND ADEQUACY OF YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AS PART OF THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: REFLECTION OF MALAWI.

SIPHIWE S. KOMWA

This study examines the relevance and adequacy of Malawi's youth development policies and programs for the country's young people. The youth of Malawi face a systemic burden including poor coordination of their policies, strategies and programs; inadequate funding; misappropriation of funds; and politicization of their programs. This hinders youth active involvement and progress of youth development. The study aims to identify the gaps that exist despite the availability of the policies and programs using a mixed method desk research drawing its findings from multiple data sources including the Malawi Ministry of Youth, Labor, Sports and Manpower Development; the Malawi Parliament particularly the youth parliament; and the Youth Net and Counselling youth organization. The study uses three lenses to answer the research question by looking at the process at which the youth policies were established, the sustainability of the youth policies and programs with the change of governments and mechanisms used to measure the successes of the youth policies and programs. Findings show that despite the existence of Malawi youth policy beginning in 1996, which aimed to empower and promote the participation of youth in key areas, there is minimal impact on youth development in actual implementation and practice.

Nigel Brissett, Ed.D.
Chief Instructor

David Bell, Ed.D.
Second Reader

ACADEMIC HISTORY

Name: Sipiwe Salaama Komwa May 19, 2019

Baccalaureate Degree: Bachelor of Social Science (Political Leadership)

Source: Catholic University of Malawi Sept. 24, 2011

Other degrees: None

Occupation and Academic Connection since date of baccalaureate degree:

Research Analyst, Office of the President and Cabinet, Malawi 2013-2016

Parliamentary Assistant Committee Clerk, Malawi 2016-2017

Teaching Assistant, Clark University, Worcester, USA 2017-2018

DEDICATION

First and foremost, I would like to dedicate this research paper to my parents and my siblings for the hidden strength that you gave me. I thank my Mom and Dad for their endless love, support and encouragement. You are the best parents in the world, and may Allah forever bless you. To my brother Josh and sister Julie, thank you for being my biggest supporters during my two years journey. I further dedicate this research paper to the youth of Malawi. May we together use our talents, voice, energy, and creativity to advance the social changes we need to see now and for many years to come.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank Professor Nigel Brissett, for his guidance and support for the past two years and throughout this study. You did provide me with insightful discussions about the research and for that I say thank you for being a fabulous advisor. I also extend my gratitude to Professor David Bell for your input to the research as my second reader. Your comments and suggestions were very instrumental in my completion of this research paper. I am also sincerely honored to thank all those that helped me with this research especially at Malawi Parliament and Youth Counselling Network. Your input made this possible for me to reach this far! Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the PEO International for awarding me with the 2018-2019 Peace International Scholarship. Thank you so much P.E.O sisters for your generosity. I also want to thank the Department of International Development, Community and Environment (IDCE) at Clark University for the partial tuition remission funding. I am also grateful to the IDCE faculty and staff for all your help and support over the past two years. Furthermore, I express my appreciation to the Southeast Asian Coalition of Central Massachusetts for providing me with an internship opportunity. Special thanks should go to the Executive Director, Anh-Vu Sawyer for your timely support and mentorship. Finally, I thank my friends for providing support and friendship that I needed during my studies at Clark. It will take more than a page to list all names here, but you are always on my mind. Special thanks go to Tasha for the beautiful memories. Zikomo mai!

Table of Contents

LIST OF ACRONYMS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	1
2.0 FRAMEWORK OF THE PAPER	3
2.1 Definition of Youth.....	4
2.2 Global intentions for youth development.....	6
2.3 Definition of youth and intention in the Malawi context.....	8
3.0. RELEVANCE AND ADEQUACY OF MALAWI'S YOUTH DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.....	11
3.1. What is the process used to establish the guiding principles for youth development?	11
3.1.1. Malawi Growth Development Strategy III (2017-2022)	13
3.1.2 Malawi National Youth Policy, 2013	17
3.1.3 The Ministry of Labor, Youth, Sports and Manpower Development (MoLYSMD)	20
3.1.4 The Malawi Youth Parliament.....	23
3.2. How sustainable are youth policies and programs with change of government leadership?	26
3.2.1. Community Technical Colleges/ Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Training	27
3.2.2. Youth Internship and Afforestation programs	29
3.2.3. Farm Input Loan Program (FILP).....	31
3.2.4. Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDEF).....	31
3.3. What are the mechanisms to measure success of youth policies and programs?.....	35
4.0 CONCLUSION.....	38
REFERENCES	41

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADC	Area Development Committee
AU	African Union
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CTC	Community Technical Colleges
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
FILP	Farm Input Loan Program
GCY&SWG	Ministries of Gender, Children, Youth and Sports Sector Working Group
KPA	Key Priority Areas
MANA	Malawi News Agency.
MBC	Malawi Broadcasting Corporation
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MEPD	Ministries of Economic Planning and Development
MGDS	Malawi Growth Development Strategy
MoYLSMD	Ministry of Youth, Labor, Sports and Manpower Development
MP	Members of Parliament
NTCs	National Technical Colleges
NYCoM	National Youth Council of Malawi
NYP	National Youth Policy
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAYE	Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Math
TVET	Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Training
TEVETA	Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Education Training
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	Malawi United Nations Development Programme
UDF	United Democratic Front

UNDAF	United Nations development Assistance Framework
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VDC	Village Development Committee
VOA	Voice of Africa
YAS	Youth and Society Association
YEDEF	Youth Enterprise Development Fund

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Population Pyramid of Malawi, 2017	9
Figure 2: Institutional Framework of National Youth Policy (NYP, 2013)	18

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The world's youth population is proportionally at its highest compared to any prior period in history, with an estimated 1.8 billion youth living today (State of World Population, 2014). Despite such high proportion, young people have been excluded from participating in decision-making that will determine their future (ibid). According to Davis (2016), report on youth/young adult engagement, the author stated that youth are effectively served when they are active participants in the decision-making since their input can influence decisions made about them. Additionally, the World Economic Forum (2016) stated that many of the global challenges such as labor market factors, future financial security, unemployment, and lower wages affect youth livelihoods. Thus, global policies are being enacted to empower and promote youth participation. For example, the historical development benchmark called the 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all United Nations Member States in 2015 were largely developed with input from youth (United Nations, 2017).

The success of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) will depend on a wide range of actors/stakeholders, including youth who will become a driving force for the implementation of the 2030 agenda. The 2030 SDGs “established that young people are drivers for the development, if they are provided with skills and opportunities needed to reach their potential, support development and contribute to peace and security” (ibid, pg. 2). Through the SDGs, youth were given a special recognition in the preamble of the 2030 agenda. This was reinforced through the inclusion of youth at the United Nations negotiation through major group systems, member states, national consultations and the United Nations’. (UN Global Survey Report 2014-2016).

Therefore, the paradigm shifts in formulation of national agenda that involves young people in Malawi is not a new concept. Malawi has one of the largest youth demographics, amounting to an estimated 47 percent of its total population (Malawi Demographic Report, 2016). The percentage of the youth population that is aged 18 and below has been considered as the greatest resource of the country (ibid), the reason being that the international community believes in the potential of the young people and their position as advocates, problem solvers and agents of social change (The State of World Population, 2014). Malawi also believes that the country needs to harness the potential and skills of its youth to further national development, and, as such, its policy makers have been developing programs and policies with these objectives.

The study will therefore examine whether Malawi's youth development policies are relevant to and adequate for the youth development of the country. It will help outline potential successes, failures and challenges that could help shape youth development discourse into the national development agenda moving forward. This study is significant for Malawi as there has been little literature available that assessed whether the guiding principles of youth development promoted through the Malawi youth policies and programs have translated into a positive transformation for the growing youth population. Despite the existence of youth policies and programs, the challenges faced by the youth are still prevailing. The study is also important as it tries to reveal the gaps that exist despite the availability of the guiding policies and programs. Furthermore, findings of the study are relevant as they could assist to review the 2013 National Youth Policy that was initially planned to take place in 2018 but has not yet been conducted.

This study could help relevant stakeholders promoting youth development decide what areas should be prioritized to ensure that projects, programs and policies are beneficial to the

Malawian youth.

To examine the adequacy and relevance of the national youth development policies and programs in Malawi, the study is framed along three sub-questions:

1. What was the process used to establish the guiding principles for youth development?
2. How sustainable are youth policies and programs with the change of government leadership or administration?
3. What are the mechanisms necessary to measure success of youth development policies and programs?

2.0 FRAMEWORK OF THE PAPER

This study used secondary data as the main research mechanism. The secondary data comprised of published articles on youth development gathered from news articles, scholars, researchers, and relevant institutions. To complement the secondary data the study used personal communications with individual youth and representatives from various youth organizations. The secondary data was obtained mainly from literature on similar research, particularly from the Malawi National Youth Policy, Malawi Local Government Act, Malawi Growth Strategy III, Malawi Youth Parliamentary Resolutions, Ministry of Youth, Labor, Sports and Manpower Development (MoYLSMD) and numerous news articles such as the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), Times, Guardian, and Malawi News Agency (MANA).

Additional data on policy and political decisions were obtained from various political speeches and pledges made during political campaigns, which is available in their political manifestos and the local media. Furthermore, excerpts of communications by people in authority and with youth development responsibilities were accessed, analyzed, and synthesized to answer proposed research questions outlined in the introduction section. The excerpts were accessed

through the Malawi News Papers such as the Malawi Nation and the Malawi News as well as other private television agencies including Zodiak and Times News. Furthermore, the study used observations from my own personal experiences and interactions with the youth in several youth meetings especially during the 2017 Youth Parliamentary Plenary that I attended in Lilongwe, Malawi.

This paper is structured as follows: First, different definitions of youth and their implications will be examined. Second, to better understand the role of youth in the development process, various variables for the role of youth involvement in development will be explored. The rest of the paper will then lead into a discussion of the general definition of youth and how that relates to the Malawi context. This groundwork will further lead to a discussion using each of the research sub-questions to respond to the larger research objective of this study. The aim of the study is to examine the extent to which the policies and programs are relevant and adequate for advancement of youth development.

2.1 Definition of Youth

There have been many variations in how the lives of young people have been interpreted and constructed through the global processes that interact with various local practices. Through development policies, international agreements, economic and cultural globalization, young lives have been defined and redefined in many ways. While some regard youth as a stage in life that is a transition to adulthood, others view youth as a social construction which changes depending on the context in which they are used (Nandigiri, 2012). For instance, the United Nations defines youth as persons between 15 and 24 years of age, adolescents as persons between 10-19 years and children as persons up to the age of 18 years of age (United Nations, 2011). The African Youth Charter defines youth as persons between 15 and 35 years of age (African Union, 2006). The

Republic of South Africa defines youth as persons from ages 14 to 35. (Youth Policy Factsheet, 2014). In Tanzania, a country that shares a border with Malawi, youth is defined as young women and men of the ages of 15-35 years, while the Malawi national youth policy defines youth as young women and men aged 10 to 35 years (National Youth Policy, 2013). Even though most countries in Africa are also members of the United Nations, their definition of youth is based on the African Youth Charter's (AU) definition. There is clearly inconsistency in the global development sector in the definition of youth (Besaglio et al., 2015).

On another note, the definition of youth has therefore been captured through numerical values, biological constructions as well as socio-economic status. For instance, Besaglio et al., (ibid) citing the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) revealed that youth are easily defined in relation to education and employment. Furthermore, information obtained from UNESCO website, specifies that youth "is often indicated as a person between the age where he/she may leave compulsory education, and the age at which he/she finds his/her first employment" (pg. 59). This explanation has been echoed by the World Bank who argues for youth as the "the stage during which a person moves from dependence (childhood) to independence (adulthood)" (ibid; pg.59). The two examples explain how youth can be defined through a socio-economic and biological lens respectively.

The definition of youth has been manifested differently by various countries through legislation, policy and programmatic youth documents. The definition therefore varies due to circumstances regarding socio-cultural patterns, geographical location and various policy settings (Perovic, 2016). As mentioned earlier, the reasons for embedding youth-related issues in development agenda is relative to countries. According to the United States Department of Education, youth development is defined as "the stages that all children acquire new cognitive

skills such as attitudes, competencies, values, and social skills to become successful adults (The United States Department of Education Mentoring Factsheet, 2007). This definition illustrates that youth development should include young people in all aspects of national development – economic, political, cultural, and social (Maebiru, 2013). Furthermore, it requires developing young people’s capacity “so that they can fully participate in national efforts to increase economic growth, achieve good governance, maintain and improve security and stability and achieve sustainable development” (pg. 149). Hamilton et al., (2006) define youth development in three different ways that are logically related: a *natural process* of development, *principles*, and *practices*. On the *natural process*, he mentions the growing capacity of a young person to understand and act on the environment. On the *principles*, he described the “two principles of universality or inclusiveness (all youth) and a positive orientation building on strengths (thriving)”. The *practices* term for youth development is meant to “describe a range of practices in programs, organizations, and initiatives” (pg. 1).

This study aligns its discussion with Hamilton’s definition of youth development that comprises of the process, principles, and practices. All these three elements are part of the guiding principles for youth development, which are explicitly and implicitly discussed later in the specific questions section. Additionally, the study has taken a similar approach of youth inclusiveness in national development as illustrated in Maiberu’s (2013) study discussed in the previous paragraph. This is one of the many approaches that is used in the design and implementation of youth national policy through the institutional framework which will be explained later in the paper.

2.2 Global intentions for youth development

Over the years, with the youth population estimated to reach 1.8 billion globally (OECD, 2018), governments have realized that incorporation of the youth in development is a necessity.

The reasons for youth incorporation vary from one nation to another. For example, China regards their youth as an investment – a term coined as a “demographic bonus – to economic growth”, while in some countries large proportions of young people are linked to occurrences of conflict and political violence (Cincotta, Engelman, & Anastasion, 2003). The distinction of the youth categories as either a threat or asset determines how and what guiding principles are embedded in policies and programs that frame youth development. The same distinction also determines the extent to which the youth are involved in the formulation of the youth policies and programs. Youth related issues have taken a global context as evidenced at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, whereby youth were actively involved in the development of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (United Nations Youth, 2017).

The consultation and implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are all centered on young people as a driving force for development. The consensus about their involvement is that they have the energy, are more connected than any other generation due to the advancement in technology, are critical thinkers, are leaders and are innovators (Ullmann, 2015). Additionally, the post-2015 development agenda grabbed the attention of development agencies like Plan International that called for governments to support and to seek out meaningful participation of young people in decision-making and implementation (ibid). Similarly, the 2030 SDG agenda echoed by various organizations like the Plan International reveal the importance of children, young women and men in activism. The document, which was agreed upon by various government consensus, recognizes children, young men and women as 'critical agents of change' in the SDGs platform. It is therefore clear that meaningful participation of youth is one of the most

recommended and important guiding principles for mainstreaming youth into the national development agenda.

2.3 Definition of youth and intention in the Malawi context

The Malawi Youth National Policy defines youth as persons between 10-35 years of age (Malawi National Youth Policy, 2013). The policy also defines youth as a vulnerable state with concerns, needs, challenges, and aspirations. For decades, Malawi youth have been used for their manpower. This began during the colonial period when what is now Malawi was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, thus a political unit created in 1953 as a British protectorate (Kenneth, 1955). After the Federation was dissolved in 1963, a similar approach was used by the first president of the Republic of Malawi, Dr. Hasting Kamuzu Banda, when Malawi attained independence in the 1964 (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2019). At that time, Malawi youth were involved in the country's development, especially in sectors such as construction, military, and agriculture. The same trend of regarding youth as a useful development resource tool has continued to date. In general, due to the youth population boom, the youth have a unique place in the development process of the country as they are used for their manpower and for political reasons.

The OECD (2018) states that “developing countries have the potential to realize a demographic dividend, if the right social and economic policies and investments are in place”. Malawi is a signatory of the 2013 Addis Ababa Declaration on Population and Development in Africa Beyond 2014, under the theme “Harnessing the Demographic Dividend: The Future We Want for Africa”. Through this declaration, Malawi has recognized the potential and importance of youth to boost socio-economic development (Malawi Demographic Dividend Report, 2016).

Various stakeholders including governments have devised guiding tools to ensure that the right social and economic policies and investments benefit the youth. At the national level, it appears government is attempting to mainstream youth in development discourse. For example, Malawi has framed youth related issues through a global context lens while taking a unique local approach. There are numerous reasons why youth related issues are part of Malawi’s national agenda. First, a high proportion of Malawi’s population is dominated by youth. Second, the results of the 2017 Malawi census revealed the youngest men and women at the base of pyramid. The overall estimate of a youthful population from ages 0 to 34 years revealed an estimate of 80 percent as shown in Figure 1 below. The remaining 20 percent of the population is distributed to ages above 35. (Malawi Population Pyramid, 2017). Based on the population census report and the population pyramid shown in Figure 1 below, it is therefore valid to say that Malawi is a youthful state.

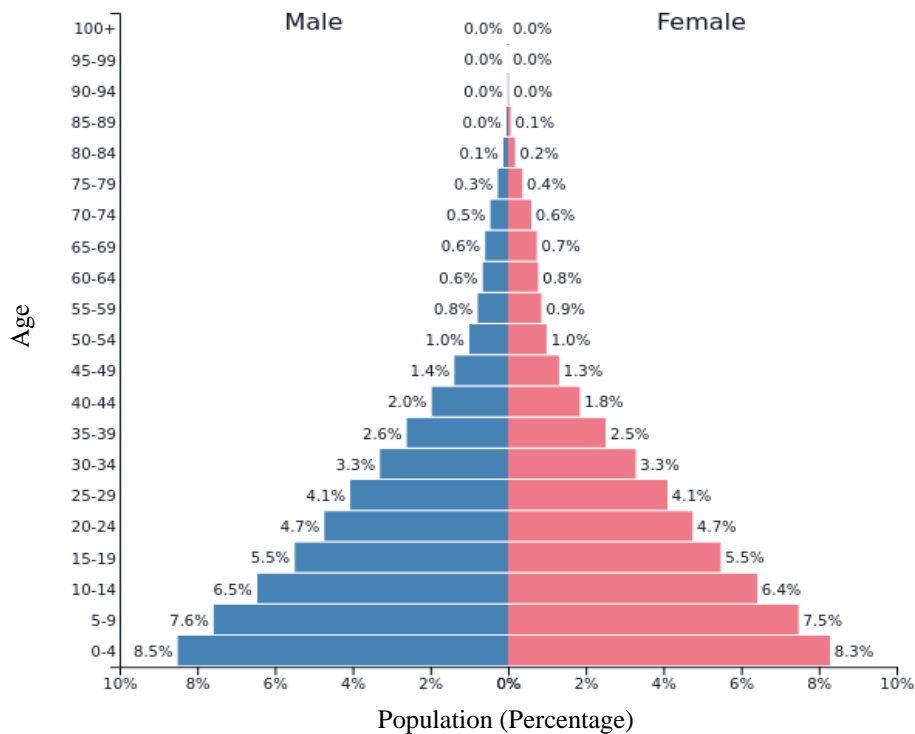


Figure 1: Population Pyramid of Malawi, 2017 (Malawi Population Pyramid, 2017)

Furthermore, Malawi is among countries with the highest unemployed youthful group (The Nation, 2012). The 2017 World Bank report on global economy estimates a 7.9 percent youth unemployment rate for the ages of 15-24 years. The Malawi News estimates that 80 percent of those completing their secondary school lack employment. According to the OECD (2018) report, there is a large disparity in educational attainment across youth groups and multiple deprivations in education, good working conditions and health. For instance, on education deprivation, the report indicated that in 2014, “49% of young people living in rural areas did not complete primary education compared to only 33% of urban youth” (ibid, 19). Due to the increase of youthful population and the challenges that the Malawi youth are experiencing, various programs have been initiated to promote youth and policy development.

The policies and programs that guide youth development in Malawi do not outline a specific definition of youth development. However, they explain how youth development can be promoted and achieved. The 2013 National Policy explains how the overall participation and involvement of the youth can help with the national development. The rationale behind such thought is that “youth are energetic, adventurous, industrious, strong, healthy, and willing to learn” (pg. 1). Generally, youth are regarded as an important human resource, full of potential, which is underutilized and at times misdirected (ibid). To ensure that such human resource is utilized to its full potential, Malawi government has set guiding principles that drive the policies and programs meant to promote youth development. Some of the guiding principles have been infused and implicitly expressed in the youth development policies and programs including the following: promotion of youth meaningful participation; capacity building; conducive political, social, cultural and economic environment; coordination and collaboration among stakeholders; inclusion of youth in leadership roles; creating a conducive platform for youth voices; reception of ideas

from youth by stakeholders and establishment of an institutional framework. The guiding principles, therefore, form part of the development initiatives that ensure youth development, which is part of the Malawi government's national development strategy.

3.0. RELEVANCE AND ADEQUACY OF MALAWI'S YOUTH DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

3.1. What is the process used to establish the guiding principles for youth development?

Youth policies in Malawi have been shaped by international agreements and protocols to which Malawi is a signatory. Within the United Nations, SDGs are among the international initiatives propelling the youth focused policies. In the process of localizing the international mechanisms to apply to the youth of Malawi, the youth development guiding principles were infused in the instruments that promote youth and national development. The programs as well as policies are implemented by the MoLYSMD that ensures that it monitors, coordinates and implements all youth related issues with various stakeholders. As indicated earlier, the establishment of youth development in the national development agenda varies among member states of the United Nations.

Since youth issues have been presented on international platforms and attracted the establishment of international approaches to youth related issues, they have become part of the international discourse. The discourse has been manifested through international treaties and protocols where sovereign states and international organizations have agreed to localize youth development related issues. Malawi is a signatory to the African Union Agenda 2063, the African Youth Charter, the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment (PAYE), the African Youth Decade Plan of Action (DPoA, 2009-2018), the SADC Youth Protocols and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, the 2013 Addis Ababa Declaration on Population, and

Development in Africa Beyond 2014, under the theme “Harnessing the Demographic Dividend: The Future We Want for Africa” among others. These protocols are among some of the motivations behind the establishment of guiding principles of youth development.

Looking at the SDGs, for instance, which have been recognized at a global scale, it is a prerequisite for countries to involve youth to ensure that the sustainable development goals are achieved. In a statement made by the UN Assistant Secretary General to Mongolian youth, he revealed how the UN is more receptive to youth’s new ideas and technological innovations to realize the SDGs and for youth to realize their own vision of development (UNDP, 2017). Malawi, which also committed to the SDGs, through the Ministries of Economic Planning and Development (MEPD) and Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology under the Development, Effectiveness and Accountability Program promoted the translation of the SDGs into three local languages: Chichewa, Tumbuka, and Yao (UN, 2018). In the process of ensuring youth involvement and participation as one of the guiding principles, the Malawi Growth Strategy III, which is a development framework, was also translated into these three local languages. The translation into the local languages is to ensure that the youth of all ages of the country are aware of the development strategies, follows up and participates in the country’s development. In a statement by the Deputy Director of MEPD, he revealed the importance of translating the two-development framework in order to involve the local population (ibid).

Despite the fact that the guiding principles are supposed to form youth development, youth have not always been considered as an investment. Maebiru (2013) revealed that most young people in the Pacific countries are viewed, for the most part, as problems rather than solutions. This interpretation and association of the young people to problems has influenced how youth development has been defined. Damon (2004), in agreement, emphasizes how the approach to

youth related issues has been dominated by problematic approaches. He revealed how youth have been regarded as “potential problems that must be straightened up before they can seriously harm themselves and others” (ibid, 14). Damon advocates for youth related issues to be treated as national development issues and not as welfare (ibid). In Malawi, governments have been encouraged to develop policies to enhance the positive potentials of youth. The process that ensures that the youth development guiding principles and tools are established to make youth into a positive force is underpinned and outlined under the following programs and initiatives:

3.1.1. Malawi Growth Development Strategy III (2017-2022)

Malawi Growth Development Strategy (MGDS) III was launched in March 2018, despite its time frame starting from 2017-2022. The development of the original MGDS I was inspired by Malawi’s Vision 2020 and other international protocols like the African Union Agenda 2063 and SDGs, among others. It was also designed based off “the country’s economic and development needs” (ibid, pg. xiii). The MGDS III has been recognized “as a national blueprint through which the Malawi Government has domesticated the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” (UN, 2018, pg. 1). The belief is that the “effective implementation of the national development strategy will directly impact on achievement of the SDGs” (ibid). Reportedly, the MGDS III was also established with the intention of putting youth at the center of the establishment and implementation of the country’s development agenda. The MGDS III was intentionally formulated to rectify the mistakes that other development policies like the Millennium Development Goals and previous MGDS, which did not explicitly include the youth in development and implementation stages.

The MGDS III considers youth development to be a cross cutting area and streamlined its key priorities into Agriculture, Water Development and Climate Change Management; Education and

Skills Development; Energy, Industry, and Tourism Development; Transport and Information and Communications Technology, infrastructure; and Health and Population. MGDS III also provides a stand-alone two paged section that covers issues of the youth under gender, youth development, persons with disability and social welfare (Manyozo, 2018). The MGDS III indeed outlines the mentioned 5 areas as Key Priority Areas (KPA) that would spur growth and remove barriers to development (MGDS III, 2017).

The intention of the strategy is to put the youth at the center of the development process and the belief is that the mainstreamed KPAs will cross cut with youth development and achieve the desired goals. In the strategy outline, youth development is in the category of “other development areas: together with issues of nutrition, financial services, gender balance, environmental management, peace security and good governance and others (ibid). Education and skills development are some of the KPAs which mentions that, among the 17.2 million population of Malawi, 20 percent are unemployed. The KPAs specifically mentions how the large population of youth are unemployed after finishing their secondary education and therefore there is untapped human capital for Malawi to transform its youth bulge into a demographic dividend (ibid). The youth constitute at least 70 percent of Malawi’s population and they have a potential of increasing economic growth and productivity. Thus, they need to be encouraged to “participate in decision making, employment creation and business development” (ibid, pg. 14). Another approach that is encouraged in the strategy particularly on education, is the change of education curriculum to match the labor market on innovation, skills development, entrepreneurship science and technology. In addition, the reform of the education system is encouraged to focus on Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) (ibid). However, Raff et al., (2015) argue that the focus on STEM takes away the voice of expression because STEM subjects do not give a platform to embrace and use people’s voice.

Instead, it perpetuates the capitalist economy that controls the labor market (ibid). Political decisions in this case determine the direction of education reform. This limits the purpose of making education and schooling part of positive transformation, advocacy, positive expression and development for the youth (ibid). If Arts is promoted in the education system for instance, students and teachers are likely able to use their voices to question certain practices in the system.

The education and skills development component of the KPA plans to improve access and equity in higher education by providing loans to students, increasing infrastructure and developing institution programs that are relevant to the needs of the nation. The nation's needs, as stipulated in the strategy, are to further economic growth. With regards to youth development in the strategy, it is among the category of "other development areas" that will cross cut the 5 KPAs. The MGDS strategy, however, does not mention how the youth participated or will participate in the design and implementation of the nation's development agenda. The only issue that is repetitive is how the human capital among the youth is untapped, the need for skills and how the youth bulge should be turned into a demographic dividend that will perpetuate the labor market. Allais (2015) revealed how skills alone are not enough hence a supplement of good policies and a conducive environment could improve the situation. Malawi has written youth policies, strategies, and programs that have been aimed to advance the skills of the youth. However, the situation on the ground is tangled with economic challenges which make the acquisition of skills alone ineffective and useless. The lack of employment and finances for start-up businesses to showcase the skills are among the challenges creating an unconducive environment to supplement the good policies.

The strategy also encouraged an inter-sectoral approach in its design and implementation. In this regard a diverse range of key stakeholders were involved including the three arms of government (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary), the Civil Society Organizations (CSO), the

private sector, development partners, and faith-based organizations. There is no mention of the inclusion of youth especially as stakeholders in the strategy. This observation questions how and at what point will the youth be drivers of the strategy especially in the decision making and not only as product of the labor market. Looking at the intentions behind the establishment of the MGDS that guide the development agenda of Malawi, it is not a surprise that programs that have been developed for the youth have a labor market atmosphere to them. The aim is to encourage youth to venture into entrepreneurship even though the conditions on the ground are not conducive. For instance, as stipulated under the financial services in the MGDS III strategy, the interest rates in banks are very high and Malawi is one of the countries with the highest interest rates in the world.

Gough (2016) mentions how most youth-led startups have a short life span and crumble down because of lack of support from institutions and due to a huge burden that most youth especially in Sub-Saharan Africa have. Gough mentions unemployment as one of such burdens. He further mentions that even with some young people venturing into small-scale entrepreneurship, particularly farming, and the environment at which such small-scale businesses thrive is contextual. The environment could produce policies which are a push or a burden. Most small-scale businesses in the Global South have a limited lifespan due to the competition between young entrepreneurs with established big companies (ibid).

The strategy has however birthed programs that have youth empowerment or participation as a central theme and which are also among the guiding principles for youth development. Some of the programs are the establishment of Community Technical Colleges, Youth Enterprise development Fund (YEDEF) loans, Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Training (TVET) programs, afforestation programs, and establishment of internship programme for the youth to

work in areas of agriculture, Information and Communication Technology, manufacturing and small-scale mining. These programs will be explained in detail under section 3.2 on sustainability of youth development instruments.

3.1.2 Malawi National Youth Policy, 2013

The 2013 National Youth Policy (NYP) was established in 2013 after its 2006 predecessor. The rationale of the establishment of the NYP was drawn on the premise that youth need protection from harming themselves. The overall objective of this policy is to provide a framework that guides youth development and implementation of all youth programs that contribute to the welfare improvement of the youth in Malawi (ibid).

The interpretation of youth from the NYP is also flexible and is not restrictive to the ages between 10 and 35 years only. It mentions how “youth offers an array of skills, experience, capacity and problems” and therefore “youth represent a vast human resource potential which, if properly prepared and tapped, can contribute positively to their personal and national development. If neglected, youth will be a missed opportunity” (ibid, pg. V). Therefore, programs like the TVET, internships, and tree planting were established to make use of such potential. On the other hand, there have been reports suggesting that political parties have also tapped into the same youth potential by making use of the youth’s energy to promote violence to opponents during political campaigns (VOA News, 2019).

Just like the MGDS III, the NYP is also influenced by international commitments that Malawi is a signatory. The African Youth Charter, the Commonwealth PAYE, the African Youth Decade Plan of Action (DPoA, 2009-2218) and the SADC Youth Protocols are among such commitments. For better execution and fulfillment of its goals, the 2013 revised NYP established a National Technical Working Group within the Ministries of Gender, Children, Youth and Sports

Sector Working Group (GCY&SWG). The Technical Working Group on Youth, Youth Technical Committees were created to serve as coordination structures at the district levels and the MoLYSMD as the secretariat of coordination meetings. Through the National Youth Council of Malawi (NYCoM) that was established in 1996, it also ensures that the programs contribute towards youth empowerment and development through the promotion and coordination of activities of youth organizations (Youth Policy Factsheet, 2014). The coordination flow is displayed in figure 2 below as the institutional framework.

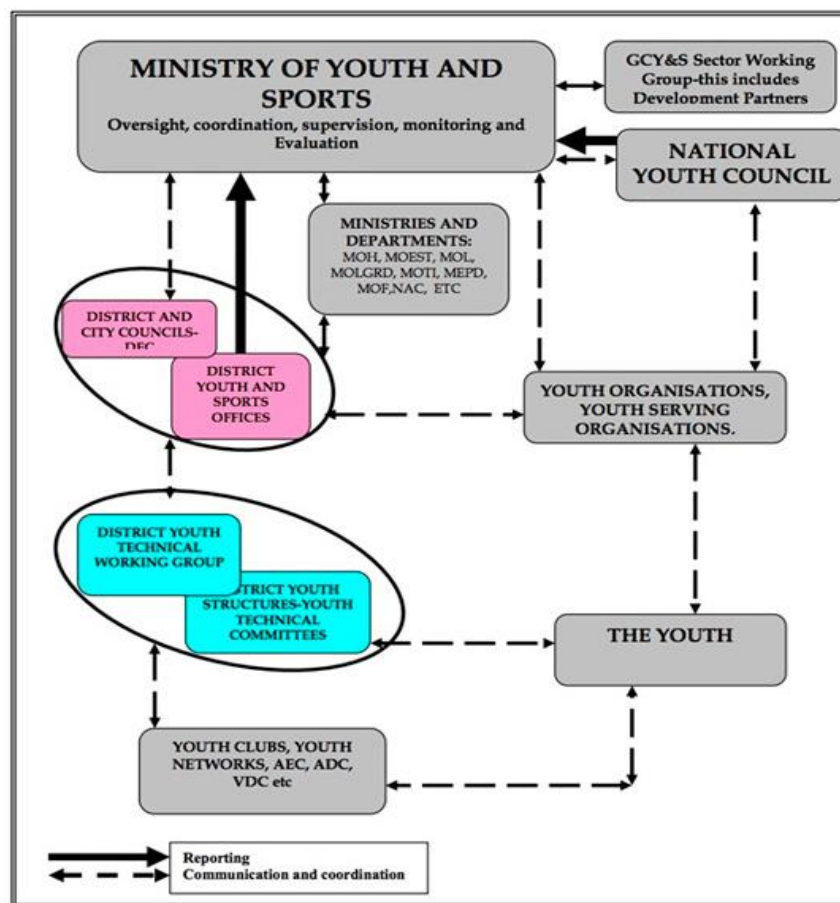


Figure 2: Institutional Framework of National Youth Policy (NYP, 2013).

The framework shows that communication and coordination is initiated by the MoLYSMD as the coordinator and conducts oversight and monitoring and evaluation. The GCY &SWG and NYCoM are also responsible for interacting with MoLYSMD, youth organizations and the youth.

Other ministries and departments also interact with MoLYSMD. The interaction and flow of information goes up and down and is shared between district youth clubs, technical working groups and city councils. The framework's coordination flow makes the assumption that there is communication and coordination within the technical working groups, other youth structures and all relevant stakeholders. However, evidence has shown that youth in the Area Development Committee (ADC) and in district councils do not have voting powers and are passive participants (Youth Parliament, 2018; CLGF, 2017). Furthermore, the youth have bemoaned that they are not considered mature enough by stakeholders and thus not given the platform to make any relevant decisions. Additionally, the lack of infrastructure (youth centers) and understaffing of the district councils makes coordination and the planned realization of the NYP institutional framework difficult to execute (Youth Parliament, 2018).

The NYP priority areas include the following: Youth Participation and Leadership; Youth Economic Empowerment; National Youth Service; Education for Youth; Youth in Science, Technology and Environment; Youth and Health and Nutrition; and Social Services, Sports, Recreation and Culture. Manyozo (2018; pg. 1) revealed that

“The Nationwide youth consultations on Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II, III and UNDAF 2017–2011 Agenda, and the Malawi Youth Status Report 2016: Adolescent and Youth Situation, mentions education, health, employment, protection against violence and abuse, and youth leadership and participation among the key issues that the youth identified as priorities and issues that affect them”.

However, in my observation, the NYP priority areas target mostly the sports aspect especially towards or during the political campaign and election period. I have also noticed that not much is done on capacity building to promote leadership skills that the youth desperately need.

The NYP was also formulated to promote “active involvement of the youth in decision-making and national development programs and policy debates, youth participation and program implementation in the best interest of the youth” (ibid, pg. 4). On paper, the NYP does a great job promoting the guiding principles of youth participation, coordination and collaboration, youth empowerment and reception of youth ideas. However, on the ground, the process of ensuring that the guiding principles are implemented and embedded in the policy falls short. This is due to the improper coordination of programs, lack of workers, finances and champions of youth programs as well as misappropriation of funds which will be explained in detail under the sustainability of policies in section 3. 2.

3.1.3 The Ministry of Labor, Youth, Sports and Manpower Development (MoLYSMD)

The Ministry aims to promote youth development by ensuring that youth potential is realized, and youth are able to actively participate in their community, personal and national development. The Ministry also wants to ensure that youth are empowered through the promotion of sports and other recreational activities (MoLYSMD website). The Ministry’s mission is to “coordinate, plan, implement, monitor and evaluate youth programs as well as develop, direct, promote and control all sporting activities through youth empowerment and mass participation in order to have a healthy and productive citizen” (ibid).

The MoLYSMD is also responsible for ensuring that all government departments and stakeholders align their objectives and activities with youth development, promote capacity building of youth workers and formulate and review youth policy (ibid). In the 2004-2009 achievements report, the Ministry reported to have promoted youth development through economic empowerment especially on entrepreneurial and vocational skills. The report also mentioned youth participation and leadership as its achievement and that youth were able to

participate in decision making processes at community and national levels. The NYP framework explained and shown in figure 2 above, reveals the exact stage at which youth take part in decision making processes. Their participation is at the local levels, the bottom levels through the Village Development Committee (VDC) and the ADC and in youth clubs through youth organizations as stipulated in the framework.

The deliberations of the second meeting of youth parliament (2018) raised various concerns regarding the Ministry's operation especially on youth development. The youth parliamentarians wished the Ministry could employ more youth workers and extension workers in district councils to coordinate youth development work, particularly in rural areas. They further wished that district councils be sensitized on the need to involve the youth in their operations which has been problematic as youth are regarded as immature and have less experience. The youth also wished they had voting powers in development projects at the district council as the current situation leaves them only as spectators or passive participants. Furthermore, the resolutions from the youth parliamentary deliberations included the need for youth development issues to take priority and the need to review the 2010 Local Government Act that only permits two youth members to represent the youth in the district council (Youth Parliament, 2018; Malawi News Agency, 2016).

From my observations, the district councils' lack of reception to youth's ideas could be derived from the way the NYP has framed youth, which reveals them as having problematic behavior that needs to be controlled. Furthermore, the way youth empowering messages are structured states that youth need to be prepped to "prepare them for adult jobs" (Youth Ministry, n.d). The goal of the Ministry and how the message is delivered contradicts with the guiding principles.

In its 2009-2012 report on achievements, MoLYSMD reported the rehabilitation of youth development centers, facilitation of youth centers and provision of leadership and management skills to the youth leaders. A plea was however made in 2018 to construct more youth centers and revamp the bases that were used by the Malawi Young Pioneers during the one-party era (Youth Parliament Resolutions, 2018). Despite the fact that the MoLYSMD is responsible for coordination of youth related issues with other stakeholders, the youth parliamentary meeting noted that there is poor coordination between youth clubs, youth networks and youth parliament. They also noted that despite the availability of youth champions, they lack skills and resources to reach out to other youth and clubs. The resolution was that government through the Ministry of Youth should employ some initiatives to ensure coordination and availability of resources for promoting youth development.

In a personal communication that I had with one of the youth workers from one youth organization, he revealed that they lack resources to reach out to more youth in the district, hence the need for more support from government. He further said,

“You know, the organization would be very effective if we had a good amount of resources but now we even face resistance sometimes from members of the community when we teach the youth of their rights. They think we are teaching them to be rude. There is a lot we can do to sensitize the community, teach the youth, but we need more coordination with government and other youth organizations”.

Some youth Members of Parliament (MPs) that I had personal communications with were also not fully impressed with the work of the MoLYSMD arguing that they focus a lot of their efforts on sports. Evidence has shown that towards the general elections period, there are a lot of politically sponsored sporting activities than there are in other areas of youth development like leadership. In general, the MoLYSMD is an institution that could do better if it enacts on its commitments. Their

focus on sports was much appreciated decades ago, but currently youth are interested in seeing themselves making the decisions and not as passive beneficiaries. Maebiru (2013) in her concluding remarks for the development future of Pacific countries youth, revealed how there is a need for a paradigm shift in addressing youth development. Maebiru pointed out how youth issues are complex and multi-faceted, hence the need for creative, innovative approaches to addressing them by both the private and public sectors. Maebiru said, “Gone are the days when we look at sports and entertainment as youth development activities” (pg. 151). Furthermore, ensuring that youth are given the platform to offer something to national development creates a win-win situation for youth and national development (ibid).

3.1.4 The Malawi Youth Parliament

Malawi established the Youth Parliament in 2012 following the United Nations resolution to grant the youth a platform for voicing their concerns and partaking in the processes of forming the national development agenda. The introduction of the Malawi Youth Parliament is in recognition of Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and Article 11 of the Youth Charter of the African Union. The aim of the Youth Parliament is to ensure that young people play a constructive role in the development of the country by giving the “youth a platform to voice their views and concerns on critical issues affecting their lives with the assurance that government and concerned organizations would be alerted on the challenges they face and address them” (Voice of Africa, 2017). Msiska (2012) defines the initiative of youth parliament as a “place for young people in governance, where their voices can be heard, influence change and their recommendations can be taken on board” (pg.1). He further mentions that “youth parliamentarians have a responsibility to their fellow youth to deliberate and pass motions that enhance engagement of young people” (ibid). The presence of Youth

Parliament alone, however, is not enough to achieve youth development, thus the need for a “comprehensive and integrated youth agenda that could champion legislative, allocation of resources and skills building,” among others (ibid).

My experience and observations while working with the youth parliamentarians is that they would want their top resolutions to be discussed by the legislators through parliament and action been taken regarding their concerns. However, there are no fixed mechanisms to bring or include the youth parliament’s resolutions to the attention of the Members of Parliament (MPs) in the main house. I have also noted that since the 2012 youth parliamentary meeting, only one meeting took place in 2017, which was largely attributed to financial constraints. There is no fixed budget for the youth parliamentary meetings. The youth parliamentarians also noted in their resolutions that “stakeholders working in the area of youth empowerment should take deliberate initiatives aimed at encouraging the youth to stand for political offices once they attain the eligible age of 21 years as Member of Parliament and 35 years as a presidential candidate. They further requested government to ensure a conducive political environment for the youth to vie for political offices (Youth Parliament Resolution, 2018).

However, the current political environment and system is already a deterrent for youth’s active political participation. Most political campaigns during elections are run on handouts and gifts and not on issue-based campaigns. The situation is a barrier for most youth that do not have the financial capability and muscle to compete with well-established old timer politicians. The 2016 Political Parties Bill was passed in December 2017 by Parliament to prohibit luring of voters with handouts. My observation in the current 2019 unofficial campaign period shows that nothing has changed on the ground and political parties still lure people by distributing items like t-shirts, caps and wrappers, among others.

Furthermore, the youth face systematic barriers in vying for political positions due to the nomination fee that is attached to their participation by the Malawi Electoral Commission. The 2019 nomination fee for presidential candidates was an equivalent of \$2,700, \$700 for male Members of Parliament (MPs) aspirants and \$350 for female MP aspirants (MBC News, 2018). Yet, some aspirant candidates including one youthful independent presidential candidate, Rasta Chikomeni Chirwa, failed to pay the nomination fee and challenged the system in court for its discriminatory policies against poor people and youth vying for leadership positions (Times News, 2019). The Youth Parliament creates a great opportunity for youth to bring out the issues that concern them on an official platform and to relevant officials. Despite the platform, however, the financial constraints to promote capacity building and leadership skills hinder their productive participation. The systematic barriers in political positions hinder and affect the process of promoting the guiding principles to youth development.

In conclusion, the process to establish the guiding principles for youth development has faced a lot of constraints ranging from systematic, financial and lack of infrastructure, among others. The institution and policies that promote the guiding principles are inefficient and ineffective to implement and operate on the ground. The policies and institutions relevant to advance the process could be more productive if the challenges mentioned are addressed. The youth development instruments, policies and institutions are available, but the process is not reflective of what the youth find to be most important. The process is failing to empower the youth to be independent to advance youth and national development. The process has failed to utilize the human resource potential and skills that the youth possess due to un conducive political, economic, social and cultural environments.

3.2. How sustainable are youth policies and programs with change of government leadership?

The sustainability of most youth related programs has been questioned over the years considering that most of the funds for implementation are not locally generated. Instead, external financing is sourced from international institutions through loan, grants and other means. Malawi largely depends on donor aid to support its development work and operations. The World Bank indicated that almost 60 percent to 80 percent of Malawi's development budget is financed by external sources (World Bank, 2013). The Business Report (2019) reported that the government has cut down the 2018/19 fiscal budget due to lack of internal revenues. The government expected an amount of 82.3 million US dollars from the World Bank which have not been disbursed, hence the budget cut down. The external aid is also determined by the type of government administration and agreements made with the donor institution.

For instance, a 2008 development project to construct a youth center in one of the districts in the Northern Region, Mzuzu, has experienced some unanticipated challenges due to funding. The project was initially planned to be funded through the Chinese Government in 2008, but as of 2019, the Ministry responsible for the youth reported that the money will be sourced locally (The Nation Online, 2019). Youth and Society (YAS) found evidence that the construction of the Mzuzu youth center has been used as a political tool since 2008. Towards the 2009 general elections and recently in the 2019 campaign period, the construction of the youth center has resurfaced (ibid). Other evidence revealed that in the 2011/2012 fiscal year, an amount of MK 300 million (equivalent of \$400,000 as of April, 2019) was allocated by the government for the ground-breaking ceremony of the same youth center, but no structure since then was constructed (ibid). This shows that the sustainability of programs mostly remains relevant when governments are using them for political purposes. It also shows that since the promises and programs have no fixed

structure to monitor them, it is hard for relevant governance institutions and the youth themselves to hold governments and authorities accountable.

In the current 2014-2019 period of the Democratic Progressive party regime, various programs for the youth have been introduced. Among them are the construction of technical community colleges, the Malawi Youth Afforestation program Scheme, and internships for fresh graduates. The afforestation and internship programs were introduced in the previous 2018/2019 financial year. Some sectors of the community, the opposition and other Civil Society Organizations have questioned the timing of the initiatives and claim they are only political (Zodiak Online, 2019). Francois et al., (2012), Kanyongolo et al., (2006), and Lwanda (2006) have all argued that due to the “big man” syndrome in Malawi, the President’s discretionary powers are extended to the “control of over bureaucratic positions, powers to allocate rents (including foreign aid), public services and to determine policies and their beneficiaries” (Khomba and Trew (2019) pg.7). The ‘big man syndrome’ promotes submission to authorities and a concept that does not question the person in charge with the assumptions that they know everything. It is therefore not surprising that with change of government, comes new policies and youth programs without questions or justifications. Below are some programs that have changed or are likely to change with the change of governments/ leadership.

3.2.1. Community Technical Colleges/ Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Training

The establishment of Community Technical Colleges (CTC) is one of the campaign promises of the 2014 general elections made by the current administration, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (DPP Manifesto, 2014). In their manifesto, the DPP mentioned how they saw that youth were marginalized and sidelined in the making of development policies. Their

approach to ensuring that youth are equipped with knowledge and skills to promote their active participation in the social, cultural and economic development of the country was the establishment of the CTC, which were launched in 2015 (ibid). The aim of establishing the CTC was to ensure that unskilled and unemployed youth were taken care of which would reduce the unemployment rate especially among the youth. Furthermore, the CTCs were established with the aim of ensuring that community participation in development projects are strengthened, as a way of helping out prospective entrepreneurs from the communities and linking the graduates from the institution to financial lending institutions (TVET Times, 2018). Since the launch, 12 CTCs have been constructed across the country with 6 in the Southern Region and 4 in the Central Region and 2 in the Northern Region of the country. My personal communication with “John”, one of the beneficiaries from Mponela CTC, revealed that there is lower intake of students at CTCs and reportedly only a handful students are enrolled in each course. The 2017 graduation for the CTCs had only 697 students from the 10 community colleges, which shows a small fraction of the largely Malawian youthful population with access to the CTCs (Nyasa Times, 2017).

The CTC is under the Technical Entrepreneurial and Vocational Education Training Association (TEVETA) that promotes the TVET courses at the national level and provides certification. TEVETA also aims at ensuring that entrepreneurship is promoted among the youth and that graduates should be able to start their own businesses. Other donors like the European Union and China donated to advance technical courses on renewable energy and construction of five more CTC respectively. (ibid). CTCs also require a small tuition fee compared to the National Technical Colleges (NTCs). The likelihood of the CTCs to be sustainable is high because they are incorporated into the TVET programs which exist through the government administration and are not considered political. TVET has proper structure, infrastructure and relationship with various

donors like the EU and China, among others. The CTCs, which also currently have infrastructure in 12 districts where more than 10 are under construction, are also likely to be sustained because they are across the country and have structures on the ground. The CTCs could also likely be sustained because their tuition fee is less compared to the NTCs. The CTCs are also implemented by the government through the MoLYSMD. However, the challenge that could likely deter the sustainability of the CTCs is that the MoLYSMD has already been challenged by coordination among stakeholders. Furthermore, considering the economic challenges of the country, the private sector should be encouraged to get involved in order to sustain the program.

3.2.2. Youth Internship and Afforestation programs

The Internship program that was introduced in July 2018 aims to target fresh graduates' in order for them to acquire practical experience in the areas of Agriculture, Information and Communication Technology, Manufacturing and Small-Scale Mining. The government, through the MoLYSMD, targeted fresh graduates from accredited institutions to utilize the internship opportunity from September 2018 to June 2019 in government departments, local councils, parastatals as well as the private sector (Malawi News Agency, 2018; Malawi Broadcasting Corporation 2018). The Ministry's goal is to reduce the unemployment rate among the youth (The Nation, 2018) and employ 5,000 youth. In the 2018/2019 fiscal year, an amount of 4.8 billion Kwacha (equivalent of \$6.4 million) was allocated for the internship program (MANA online, 2019; Nation News, 2019; UNDP, 2018).

In the same 2018/19 fiscal year, another 5 billion Kwacha (equivalent of \$6.6 million) was allocated to the Malawi Youth Afforestation Program Scheme (The Nation News, 2019). The 2018 financial statement only noted that 1.5 billion Kwacha (equivalent of \$2 million) would be used for the program to employ 10,000 youth (UNDP, 2018). In all the recent youth programs that were

introduced and budgeted in the 2018/19 fiscal year, the UNDP analysis report (ibid) questioned the timing of the initiative, the unlikely chances of the private sector taking an active role due to major energy issues and further questioned the likelihood of achieving intended goals. The Nation News and Times News (2019) found evidence that as of February 2019, only five districts out of Malawi's 28 have started with the program. The program that is set to end in April of 2019 has received numerous questions from the community members and attracted the attention of the Parliamentary Committee of Public Accounts on how the money was appropriated (ibid). The questions have arisen because only a few months is remaining for the next government to be formed.

Many have argued that the probability of success is low in most politically motivated programs. In the 4th meeting of the second youth parliament (2018), the youth noted that the internship program is a good initiative, but they do not see it being sustained. They proposed the “need for a Youth Internship Policy to guide the implementation of the Youth Internship Program by Government” (ibid, pg. 18). Furthermore, they proposed the need for a policy on youth employment and guidelines for foreign companies to employ local people, particularly the youth. The second parliamentary meeting resolutions (2012) also pointed out that government should “introduce mandatory retirement for those employees that have reached the retirement age to ensure upward mobility of youth. The current retirement age in Malawi is 60 years. In addition, government should develop flexible employment rules that will enable youth to get employment” (ibid). These resolutions were put in place to ensure that youth have a place in the civil service that is full of workers that have reached retirement age.

Looking at the internship and afforestation programs, their chance of sustainability past the change of government is very minimal. The reason being that there are numerous questions with

regards to how the funds have been used. Furthermore, the timing of the programs is also questionable since it is towards the elections, and if the leadership is maintained, the purpose of the programs which is to woo the youth support will have already been achieved. Similarly, if the leadership will change, they might not sustain it because no proper structures have been implemented to oversee its operations or finances. Another reason for the program to fail is that the MoLYSMD already showed the lack of space in civil service for the interns and invited the private sector to be involved. Furthermore, the afforestation program has not materialized as it depends on the five months of the rainy season which is already towards the end. Additionally, the 2019 May general elections could bring in a new administration that may chose not to continue with the program. With the current struggling economy that the country is facing, it is unlikely that the next fiscal budget would target the youth through the afforestation program.

3.2.3. Farm Input Loan Program (FILP)

In 2013, another program under Farm Input Loan Program (FILP) was introduced by the People's Party regime that ruled from 2012-2014. After the party lost the 2014 general elections, the new administration which is currently the incumbent discontinued the program. FILP was aimed at providing farming inputs to farmers during the farming season. Zodiak Online (2017) found that many beneficiaries from FILP did not pay back their loans and the financial burden is still on the government and taxpayers.

3.2.4. Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDEF)

The YEDEF loans were introduced during the 2009 election year by the then President under the DPP. The fund was managed under the Malawi Rural Development Fund with the aim of providing funds to youth for start-up businesses. The fund was dissolved in 2013 after another

administration under the People's Party took over following the death of the then president Dr. Bingu Wa Mutharika in 2012.

The Nation News (2016) established that just like the FILP case above, the loans that were dispersed by YEDEF were not fully recovered and that the Ministry responsible for youth planned to forego the loans. The decision was seen as a political decision by most sectors of the community including the Opposition Malawi Congress Party (MCP) which categorized the situation as "unfortunate" (ibid). YEDEF was accused as an initiative that was politically influenced and benefitted youth that had some ties with the then ruling party, DPP. The decision to forego the loans was thus seen as a political move since the current administration (DPP) was responsible for the loans under the late president's regime. The Youth and Society (YAS) sought for financial audit of the YEDEF loans in 2013 as they felt they were not used as planned (Malawi News Agency, 2013).

Youth Parliamentarians in their 2012 sitting in Lilongwe, came up with a motion on economic development and expressed their concerns on the operations of YEDEF. In their resolutions, they proposed that government should avoid politicization of the YEDEF by making sure that the loans are administered without regard to political affiliation. To curb such politicization of loans, the youth parliamentarians proposed to government for the need to establish modalities to lower the interest rates to relax collateral demand. As revealed under the MGDS III in section 3.1.1 above, Malawi is one of the countries that has the highest interest rates for loans contributing to lower investments and lower survival of small business. The YEDEF program just like the FILP was not sustained because it was a political tool not widely received across the country as it was allegedly based on political affiliation.

It is a fact that the Government of Malawi largely depends on donor money for most of its development projects, a fact which has been acknowledged by government authorities (Aljazeera, 2014). The borrowing levels of governments has been an issue that has been raised by various sectors of the community and Parliamentary Committees (The Nation Online, 2018). The argument is that the money that is borrowed from external financial institutions does not translate into development on the ground. Borrowed money does not facilitate sustainability of programs and particularly politically motivated programs.

Evidence of misappropriation of public money in the government coffers has been present since the one-party era and more rampant recently. By the end of the United Democratic Front (UDF) Administration from 1994 to 2004, finances were reportedly misused from the education, health and other sectors by public servants and politicians (Ng'ambi, 2010). The end of the DPP regime from 2004 to 2012 also revealed a substantial amount of public funds misappropriated with no evidence of audit (The Guardian, 2011). Misuse of funds in projects and programs has persisted in almost all government administrations with the International Monetary Fund suspending lending to the UDF and DPP regimes due to corruption (Dionne, 2014; Resnick, 2012).

Similarly, the 2012-2014 PP administration which was a caretaker government after the death of the president Dr. Bingu wa Mutharika in 2012 reported to have misused an equivalent of \$30 million in the famous cash-gate syndicate (The Guardian, 2014). Some of the funds were misused in the name of establishing the youth program as is currently the case with the internships and afforestation programs that some sectors fear will face the same fate. The misappropriation of funds affects most of the development operations in a largely donor dependent country like Malawi.

Apart from the cash-gate syndicate which criminalized and seized property of some civil servants, no tangible decisions or guidelines have been laid to safeguard public funds meant for development. It is due to such fears that the second youth parliamentary meeting (2018) requested government limit its borrowing so that future generations do not inherit the burden. They also requested that borrowed funds be used for projects and programs that will generate maximum benefits for future generations and generate economic value with long lasting impact. Furthermore, the youth proposed the need for structures that are more youth friendly to incorporate youth in the processes that scrutinizes government proposals and implementation of borrowed funds. The youth parliamentarians also requested the need for relevant stakeholders like CSOs, media and Parliament to do their oversight responsibilities and ensure that borrowed funds are appropriately used.

In general, the sustainability of youth related programs for years has proved to be futile due to governments' political motives, external borrowing to fund such programs and misuse of funds by each government administration. It is known that each incoming political party makes a habit of creating its own signature through the establishment of youth programs. Through such competitions, there is less motive and intentions of assessing the success and use of funds as each party strives to create its own signature to be remembered with. Charles et al., (2014) articulated that youth engagement and participation is influenced by state and citizen power relations, thus the need to take a critical consciousness lens promoted by Freire (1967; 1973). In their argument, there are no appropriate frameworks for youth engagement that are empowering and sustainable, thus "the need for constant critical assessment of changing political landscape in the Caribbean territories to determine whether youth development strategies facilitate the development of critical consciousness" (pg. 36). The same is almost relatable to Malawi where most of the frameworks

for true youth empowerment and participation have made little change even with the change of political administrations.

3.3. What are the mechanisms to measure success of youth policies and programs?

The challenges that the Malawian youth face are interconnected. Youth issues have been of interest to almost all government departments and other stakeholders. Mechanisms to measure the success of youth policies and programs are not clearly stipulated in most youth programs. For instance, the NYP institutional Framework (figure 2) has faced financial, staff and coordination challenges for its proper implementation. The failure to properly implement it makes it also a challenge to measure how the policy is positively making an impact on the ground through the stakeholders. Since the NYP is stipulated in the national development strategies and through acts of parliaments, the successes of the policy are well known towards the review of the policy that takes place after 5 years. Another mechanism to measure the success of NYP is through the stakeholders like youth organizations, youth clubs, local councils and others. However, evidence has shown that there is lack of proper coordination among stakeholders, understaffing in institutions meant to implement the NYP framework and lack of financial muscle for most of the stakeholders, hence failure to execute their duties.

The OECD (2018) recommended the following to improve the institutional framework and governance of youth policies:

1. Strengthen the vertical and horizontal co-ordination framework for youth policy.
2. Ensure adequate human resources by increasing the number of qualified and trained staff at district and national levels.
3. Support the MoLYSMD's capacity to mobilize resources and improve the transparency of youth programs.

4. Develop a more comprehensive information system on youth programs to improve their monitoring and evaluation.
5. Strengthen youth empowerment by increasing their direct participation in policy making.

It has been established in section 3.1.3 that the mechanism set by the MoLYSMD to coordinate and implement the NYP is not working.

Looking at the youth programs, and in this case the internship and afforestation programs, there are no mechanisms that have been put on the ground to measure their successes. Since the programs planned to employ 5,000 and 10,000 youth respectively, the numbers could have been used to justify the successes but currently only a few beneficiaries have benefitted from the programs. The other programs like FILP and YEDEF which were birthed in the previous government administrations of 2012 and 2014 did not have proper mechanisms to measure the outcomes because they were political tools. Many youth and other sectors of the community complained of how the said programs were politicized and targeted only their party followers. In that case, evidence of the aftermath of such programs revealed that no more than half of the loans were paid. Follow-up with beneficiaries also shows that the programs were unsuccessful.

Looking at the CTCs which are also under the TVET programs, a personal communication from one of the beneficiaries of the program, revealed that all of the graduates from the college secured jobs. This could be the case because the colleges had the lowest enrollment rates and did not surpass 200 students in total. In that case, job security as a mechanism for the success of the program reveals positive outcomes from the CTC program. On the other hand, the same job security could also mean that it is currently easy because the pioneer of the program who is the

incumbent president would want to leave a positive legacy on the program he birthed, hence much attention and availability of required resources for its success.

In general, the lack of proper coordination and finances has affected the mechanism that would be effective to measure the successes of the youth programs and policies. Furthermore, since most youth programs are politically motivated, there is less or no follow up on their implementation since parties do not want their pioneer programs to appear as failure programs.

Another field that government is very much interested in and has dedicated a lot of effort and financial resources to is the reduction of unemployment through the implementation of the TVET program and youth entrepreneurship especially in rural areas. The TEVET is also a system that was employed by government to improve the employment outcomes especially among the youth.

To ensure the success of the technical and vocational training, surveys are conducted especially among the graduates from the NTCs. Despite the fact that the OECD 2018 report revealed that the enrollment number has increased and that 80% of the youth are shown to be satisfied with the courses, there are concerns of unemployment, lack of access to loans, lack of trained teachers, incentives, low enrollment rate and unmarketable courses. The report further found that 87 percent of applications to NTCs are rejected which puts the youth at a disadvantage. The 2018 OECD report further mentioned that “despite the existing policies to improve the situation of youth such as the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) III (2017-2022) and the adoption of the National Youth Policy (2013), the MoLYSMD lacks both human and financial resources to leverage partnerships and manage policy co-ordination across stakeholders. The financial constraints also make it hard for coordination of the youth programs.

Overall, the key policies like the NYP and MGDS III that guide the youth development are 5-year term policies and rarely do they get funds within the period to be reviewed to see what is

working and what is not. Hence, problems associated with the policies will likely be learned only towards the end of the stated 5-year period. This does not make the mechanisms very effective to improve the youth development situation. Furthermore, with the “big man” syndrome that leaves too much power concentrated in the leadership, measuring of the successes of the programs is a challenge, since authorities are not courageous enough to reveal the actual situation to the “big man”. This is so because most programs are affected by party politics, and they are made to reflect the success of the leadership or administration implementing the initiative. Furthermore, Malawi has good policies and programs meant for the youth; however, the mechanisms on incorporating the youth are not clear which makes stakeholders work under the assumptions that youth are incorporated in the design and implementation of development agendas. It is, however, dangerous to work under “assumptions” as that leaves out the actual needs of beneficiaries. Booth et al., (2006) reveal that Malawi has multiple policy documents which are most aligned to the “big men” who align key initiatives to their personal politics to maximize their personal enrichment.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Malawi has policies and programs that are relevant to youth development. However, the policies and programs are mostly paper commitments with little and at times no impact or positive outcomes on improving the youth development. There are a lot of challenges that have hindered the achievement of youth development through the available youth policies and programs, including the following:

- the lack of active involvement of the youth in the design and implementation of the policies and programs
- systemic challenges that hinder youth leadership in decision making positions
- not enough coordination and support between stakeholders

- lack of youth centers and workers in both urban and rural areas
- youth voices not taken seriously
- misappropriation of funds
- politicization of the policies and programs

The youth guiding principles which have been embedded in the youth policies and programs have proved to be lacking in their implementation to meet the priority areas of the youth. The three lenses, namely the process of establishing the youth development guiding principles, the sustainability of the youth policies and programs with the changes in government administration and the mechanisms used to measure the successes of the policies and programs were used to examine the relevance and adequacy of youth policies and programs for national development. The process that establishes the guiding principles and which is embedded in policies and programs has failed to empower the youth and advance youth development. Furthermore, the youth programs and policies have proved to lack sustenance because of some of the problems indicated in the first paragraph, but mostly due to the misappropriation of funds and politicization of programs.

Additionally, the mechanism employed to measure the success of the policies and programs has been affected by the same improper coordination, political motives making it hard to track them. Furthermore, due to the “big man” syndrome, too much power is given to the presidents and people of authority to allocate and direct programs. It is rare that the president or higher authorities get criticized for how they direct the programs, making the mechanisms ineffective. Other mechanisms are implemented depending on the financial availability and take a longer time period to be reviewed and evaluated, leading to ineffectiveness and failure.

Through the findings, this study recommends that youth should be involved from the design and implementation of the policies and programs related to youth development. Furthermore, there is need for construction of more youth structures at the local levels and ensuring that the structures have the human and financial resources. Additionally, proper measures need to be put in place to monitor and measure the impact of youth policies and programs, hence the need for a structured monitoring and evaluation system. The design of youth policies and programs should not be driven by political ambitions but the needs of the youth to promote sustainability.

REFERENCES

- Allais, Stephanie. “*Livelihoods and skills. Education and International Development: An Introduction*”, London: Bloomsbury, (2015); 237-256.
- BBC News Africa. “*Malawi’s president Mutharika and the police food scandal*”. 4th July, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44714224>
- Bersaglio, Brock., Enns, Charis and Kepe, Thembela. “*Youth under construction: The United Nations’ representations of youth in the global conversation on the post-2015 development agenda*”. Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d’études du développement, (2015); 36(1), 57-71.
- Billimoria Jeroo. “*Why young people are key to achieving the SDGs*”. The World Economic Forum. 26th September, 2016.
- Booth David, Cammack Diana, Harrigan Jane, Kanyongolo Edge, Mataure Mike and Naomi Ngwira. “*Drivers of Change and Development in Malawi*”, ODI Working Paper 261, 2006.
- Cincotta, Richard P., Robert Engelman, & Daniele Anastasion. “*The security demographic: Population and civil conflict after the cold war*”. Washington, D.C.: Population Action International, 2003.
- Chaima Witness. “*MEC releases nomination fees for 2019 election candidates*”. Malawi Broadcasting News (MBC). 18th July, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.mbc.mw/index.php/news/sports/item/6632-mec-releases-nomination-fees-for-2019-election-candidates>
- Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF). “*Malawi: Call to youth*” 26th September, 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www.clgf.org.uk/whats-new/news/malawi-call-to-youth/>
- Charles Henry and Charles Madgerie Jameson. “*Youthscapes’ of Development in the Caribbean and Latin America*”. Social and Economic Studies Vol. 63, No. 3/4, Special Issue on Youth. September/December, 2014; 23-57.
- Damon, William. “*What is Positive Youth Development?*” The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 2004: 591(1), 13 – 24. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716203260092>
- Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Manifesto. “*Towards a people-centered government*”, February 2014. Malawi
- Davis, Cliff. “*Human Service Collaborative - Youth/Young Adult Engagement*”. Final Report – v.3. 29th July, 2016.
- Global Survey Report on the United Nations’ Work on Youth. *Youth-swap outcomes, 2014-2016*. Overview, Country Spotlights & Key Lessons Learned. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/development/desa/youth/wp-content/uploads/sites/21/2018/02/Global-Survey-Report-on-Youth-SWAP.pdf>

- Factsheet: South Africa youth policy.” *Definition of youth*”. 24th October, 2014. Retrieved from: <http://www.youthpolicy.org/factsheets/country/south-africa/>
- Freire, Paulo. “*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*”. Bloomsbury Academy, 1967.
- Freire Paulo. “*Education for Critical Consciousness*”. Bloomsbury Academy, 1973.
- Hamilton, Stephen, Mary Hamilton, and Karen Pittman. “*Principles for Youth Development*” in the Youth Development Handbook: Coming of Age in American Communities, 2004. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452232560.n1>
- Kenneth Kirkwood, “*British Central Africa: Politics Under Federation*,” The Analysis, (298) pp. 130-41. March 1955. Retrieved from: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/000271625630600115?casa_token=sx_rvL78ee0A_AAAA%3A18241dG99_Tz0bNYh-qf_n-gOv8jftBTCCSw_It8N_cV7XTpLe9IisfhUC89RnXDyibupISX0c&
- Kim Yi Dionne. “*Donor dependence, donor withdrawal: implications of Malawi’s Cash-gate scandal*”, 2014. Retrieved from: <https://www.aiddata.org/blog/donor-dependence-donor-withdrawal-implications-of-malawis-cashgate-scandal>.
- Khomba Daniel Chris & Trew Alex. “*Aid and Growth in Malawi*,” [Discussion Paper Series, Department of Economics](#) 201612, Department of Economics, University of St. Andrews, 2016. (Revised 01 Feb 2019),
- Lwanda John L.C. “*Kwacha: The Violence of Money in Malawi’s Politics, 1954-2004*”. Journal of Southern African Studies, 2006: 32(3), 525-544.
- Malawi Demographic Report, 2016. National Statistical Office Zomba, Malawi
- Maebiru, Rose. “*Young People Creating the Future Today: Youth Development in the Pacific*.” Politics, Development and Security in Oceania, edited by David Hegarty and Darrell Tryon, ANU Press, 2013, pp. 147–152. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt18z.19 .
- Manyozo, J. Chimwemwe. “*Youth in Malawi and Growth Development Strategy III*”. Medium. 14th March, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://medium.com/@chimwemwejohnpaulmanyozo/youth-in-the-malawi-growth-and-development-strategy-iii-1c41c505759e>
- Masina Lameck. “*Political Violence Mars Malawi Electoral Run-up*”. Voice of Africa (VOA). 1st February, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.voanews.com/a/political-violence-mars-malawi-election-run-up/4768255.html>
- Masina Lameck. “Malawi celebrate 50 years independence” Aljazeera. 6th July 2014. – Retrieved from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/06/malawi-celebrates-50-years-independence-201461584719773907.html>

- Malawi Youth Parliament, “*Youth Parliamentary Resolution*”. Lilongwe, Malawi. August 2018.
- “Malawi Growth Development Strategy (MGDS) III 2017-2022”. Building a Productive, Competitive and Resilient Nation. Lilongwe, Malawi.
- Matekenya Zenac. “*Youths demand for Yedef Audit*”. AllAfrica, Malawi News Agency (MANA). 25th June, 2013. Retrieved from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201306260339.html>
- Malawi United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). “*Budget Analysis: Brief on Budget Statement (Financial year 2018-2019)*”. 24th May, 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.mw.undp.org/content/dam/malawi/docs/diat/Budget%20Analysis%202018-19.pdf>
- Malawi News Agency (MANA) Online. “2018-2019 Budget Statement: Full text”. Retrieved from: <http://www.manaonline.gov.mw/index.php/religion/item/9043-2018-2019-budget-statement-full-text>
- Malawi Population Pyramid, 2017. PopulationPyramid.net. Retrieved from: <https://www.populationpyramid.net/malawi/2017/>
- Malawi Youth Parliament. “*Youth Parliamentary Resolutions*”. January 2018.
- Malawi Youth Parliament. “*Youth Parliamentary Resolutions*”. 28-31st August, 2018.
- Mande Alick. “*Mutharika pledges more jobs for youth, community colleges graduate trainees*”. Nyasa Times. 2nd August, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.nyasatimes.com/mutharika-pledges-jobs-youthcommunity-colleges-graduate-trainees/>
- Mapondera Godfrey. “*Malawi official Jailed for nine years over ‘cash-gate’ scandal*”. The Guardian. 11th November, 2014. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/nov/11/malawi-official-jailed-cashgate-scandal-aid>
- Ministry of Labor, Youth, Sports and Manpower Development. Available at http://www.malawi.gov.mw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18&Itemid=87
- Mwale Joseph. “*Twists, turns in Mzuzu Youth Centre Project*”. The Nation. 18th February, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://mwnation.com/twists-turns-in-mzuzu-youth-centre-project/>
- Msiska Barwani. “*Youth Add their Voices to the National Youth Policy Review-SRHR Component*”. 15th April, 2013. Retrieved from: <https://mbaks.wordpress.com/2013/04/>
- Nation Online. “*Youth Unemployment a big challenge in Malawi*”. The Nation. 11th September, 2012. Retrieved from: <https://mwnation.com/youth-unemployment-a-big-challenge-in-malawi/>
- Nandigiri, Rishita. “*Standpoint: The politics of being “young”: is a “youth” category really necessary for “development”?*” Feminist Africa 17. African Gender Institute All Africa House, University of Cape Town, 2012.

- Ng'ambi Francis. *“Effective delivery of public education services”*. A review by Afrimap and Open society for Southern Africa. Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, 2010.
- Nyale Enelles. *“Borrowing worries Budget and Financial Committee”*. The Nation News. 20th April, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://mwnation.com/borrowing-worries-budget-finance-committee/>
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Centre. *“Youth Well-being Policy Review of Malawi”*. EU-OECD Youth Inclusion Project, Paris, 2018.
- Perovic, Bojana. *“Defining Youth in Contemporary National Legal and Policy Frameworks Across Europe. European Union, Council of Europe”*. 2016. Retrieved from: <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/youth-knowledge-and-policy>
- Phiri Albert. *“Malawi cuts budget as revenue drops”*. Business Report, 11th March 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/international/malawi-cuts-budget-as-revenues-drop-19795486>
- Raff, Jeremy and Gant, Ty. *“We rock the mic: spoken word poetry as a youth development tool”*. In Rice, Karen M., and Marc V. Felizzi, (eds.) *Global Youth: Understanding Challenges, Identifying Solutions, Offering Hope*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015.
- Sabola Yamikani. *“Youth Activist Calls for Local Government Act Amendment”*. AllAfrica, Malawi News Agency (MANA). 26th April, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201604261300.html>
- Tambala Pilirani. *“K5 Billion FILP Loan Unrecovered”*. Zodiak Online. 31st October, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://zodiakmalawi.com/business-news/k5-billion-filp-loan-unrecovered>
- Tevet Times Newsletter, Vol. 15. *“Promoting skills for sustainable economic development.”* October 2017-March 2018.
- The Commonwealth. *“Malawi: History”*. Commonwealth Secretariat, 2019. Retrieved from: <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/malawi/history>.
- The World Bank. *“Open development and aid management in Malawi”*. 14th November 2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2013/11/14/open-development-and-aid-management-in-Malawi>
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). *“The State of World Population, 2014”*. The power of 1.8 Billion, 2014. Available at <https://www.unfpa.org/swop-2014>
- The Times Group. *“Redefining the role of youth in Malawi Politics”*. 9th August, 2016. Retrieved from: <http://www.times.mw/redefining-role-of-youth-in-malawi-politics/>
- Ullman Maribel. *“Five Reasons the success of the SDGs Depends on Youth Engagement”*. Plan International. August, 2015.

United Nations, Malawi. “*Malawi translates SDGs and National development strategy into local languages*”. 3rd August, 2018. Retrieved from: <https://mw.one.un.org/malawi-translates-sdgs-and-national-development-strategy-into-local-languages/>

United Nations Youth, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. “*Youth development links to sustainable development*”. 24th October, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/youth/news/2017/10/youth-development-links-to-sustainable-development/>

United Nations. Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development
A/RES/70/1

Xu, Haoliang. “*The Role of youth in making the sustainable development goals a reality in Mongolia*”. United Nations. 22nd February, 2017.

Zodiak Online. “*Opposition Questions Government on MK5 Billion Tree Planting Funding*”. 13th March, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.zodiakmalawi.com/top-stories/opposition-questions-govt-on-k5-bn-tree-planting-funding>