JAMAICAN YOUTHS ON THEIR WAY TO EMPLOYMENT

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SUBMITTED BY
Stefanie Dorotha Weck

SUPERVISOR
Bonn Juego

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
Dept. of History, International & Social Studies,
Development and International Relations

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ABSTRACT

Young people have a lot of talent, energy and motivation. They are important drivers for social change and economic development. However, they are more vulnerable to unemployment compared to adults. In Jamaica, youths are especially suffering from the lack of opportunities to find a job. Therefore, the government has set a special focus on youth employment programs and initiatives in order to better integrate them into the labor market.

This thesis is an analysis of causalities that hinder Jamaican youth to have easy access to satisfying and sustainable employment. Obstacles occur in many different areas. The social context is a significant determinant of Jamaican youth's employability. Their socialization process impacts young people's values and attitudes. This influences whether or not youths perform well at school and acquire skills which will help them to enter the labor market. School and education strongly depends on the institutional environment. Performance in school and academic achievements are a consequence from the effectiveness of institutions and the quality of teaching. This is closely correlated to the availability of financial resources and the government's ability to invest in an appropriate enabling environment. External bondages such as high debt servicing constrain the Government of Jamaica to direct more public expenditure towards better educational outcomes. This results in poor performance of student on many levels and triggers social problems such as crime and violence.

The objective of this thesis is to analyze these correlations that contribute to a situation where young people in Jamaica struggle to be absorbed by the labor market. Employment is an important factor to improve one's livelihood and to raise the productivity of a nation. Therefore, it is interesting to understand why a large number of youths in Jamaica remain unemployed, despite years of government programs on youth employment.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCA	United Nations Common Country Assessment for Jamaica
ESSJ	Economic and Social Survey Jamaica
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GT	Grounded Theory
HEART/NTA	Human Employment and Resource Training-National Training Agency Trust
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
ILOJ	International Labour Office Jamaica
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JEF	Jamaica Employers' Federation
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
JNYS	Jamaica National Youth Survey
JSIF	Jamaica Social Investment Fund
JSLC	Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions
JYEN	Jamaica Youth Employment Network
MOEYC	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Culture
MOL	Ministry of Labour
NCYD	National Centre for Youth Development
NELM	New Economics of Labor Migration
JNYS	Jamaica National Youth Service
OAS	Organization of American States
PIOJ	Planning Institute of Jamaica
PNP	People's National Party
SBA	Stand-By Arrangement
STATIN	Statistical Institute of Jamaica
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 40 years human development has progressed in many respects. The Human Development Report 2011 states that "[e]ven in economically distressed countries, people's health and education have improved greatly" (UNDP, 2011:23). The pace at which countries progress may differ and the fields of growth may vary according to individual factors that favor or slow down development in each country. Nevertheless, a lot has been achieved worldwide and life expectation, education and access to goods and services are better than they have ever been.

In spite of such optimistic trends, many obstacles remain that challenge people's lives throughout the world. One of these challenges is unemployment. Overall positive employment trends receded as a consequence of the global financial crisis. Today, the global community is on its way to slowly recover from the deep recession which led to the loss of millions of jobs. Since most people derive their income from work, employment has a strong impact on people's livelihoods and their subjective sense of well-being but also on economic development. It is considered a basic human right. Article 23 of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

> "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment."
> (UN, 1948:23.1)

Especially youths, which the United Nations defines as those between the ages of 15-24, are more affected by unemployment. Young people are not only are more vulnerable to external shocks, such as an economic crisis, they also lack experience, social networks or other qualifications that would make it easier for them to find employment. "In most regions youth were nearly three times more likely to be unemployed than adults" (ILO, 2010:17). This is particularly worrying against the background that youth represent a large proportion of the world's population. In 2010, the 1.2 billion young people in the world constituted 18 percent of the global population (UN, 2007:xv). Their energy and motivation, creativity and talent present a great potential for companies to prosper and an enormous opportunity for economic and social development.

Many policy makers know about the benefits of investing in youth. Governments target policies and educational programs at improving opportunities for young people to enter the labor market. The UN claims that „Policy makers must ensure that educational curricula prepare young people for the job market, providing them with professional, entrepreneurial and job-search skills" (UN, 2007:39), acknowledging that matching school curricula with recent workplace requirements is a difficult task.

One country that is characterized by a large number of youth in its population structure on the one hand and persisting high levels of youth unemployment on the other hand is Jamaica. Showing a median age of 24.2 years, Jamaica is a very young country (CIA, 2012). In 2003, 18 per cent of Jamaicans were between 15 and 24. Though the number of youth has been gradually decreasing over the last decade, youth remain an important demographic group in Jamaica. Already in 1985, the Government had recognized the vital role of young people in society and introduced a National Youth Policy in 1994. Consequently, the National Youth Service (NYS) was re-established in 1995 and the National Centre for Youth Development (NCYD) was set up in 2000 to act as an institutional focal point for more effective cooperation between agencies. A reviewed National Youth Policy was published in 2003, stating Jamaicans opinion that "our youth are the future" (NCYD, 2003:5). The vision of the Jamaican youth was formulated and presented in this policy as follows:

> "…Jamaican youth realising our full potential, through access to opportunities, to develop, participate and contribute as responsible citizens, to a peaceful, prosperous and caring society."(NCYD, 2003:3)

Since then, the Government of Jamaica has been making great efforts to create opportunities for young Jamaicans to realize their full potential and has engaged in building an enabling environment for them to develop and participate in social as well as economic development. Today, numerous agencies and initiatives act under the responsibility of or in collaboration with Jamaica's government.

Jamaican youths are generally doing well. Most of them are healthy, knowledgeable and educated and involved in youth programs or creative activities. However, youth unemployment rates are persistently high. In 2004, the unemployment among those aged 15-24 was 34.0 percent (UNDP, 2012:52). In 2010, the overall youth employment rate in Jamaica was estimated 28.6 percent (IDB/GOJ, 2011:49). Even though this shows an improvement, the employment situation for young people in Jamaica remains critical. This thesis is driven by the motivation to undertake an in-depth analysis of determinants for youth unemployment in Jamaica and discuss their interrelations. Such an analysis intends to contribute to a better understanding of the context in which young people face difficulties finding employment. It also helps to identify effectiveness and appropriateness of programs and initiatives that the Jamaican government has set up to improve conditions for young people to enter the labor market. Research activities and conduct of analysis were guided by one question which is formulated as follows:

1. Research Question

"Why do a substantial number of youths in Jamaican remain unemployed despite years of government programs on youth employment?"
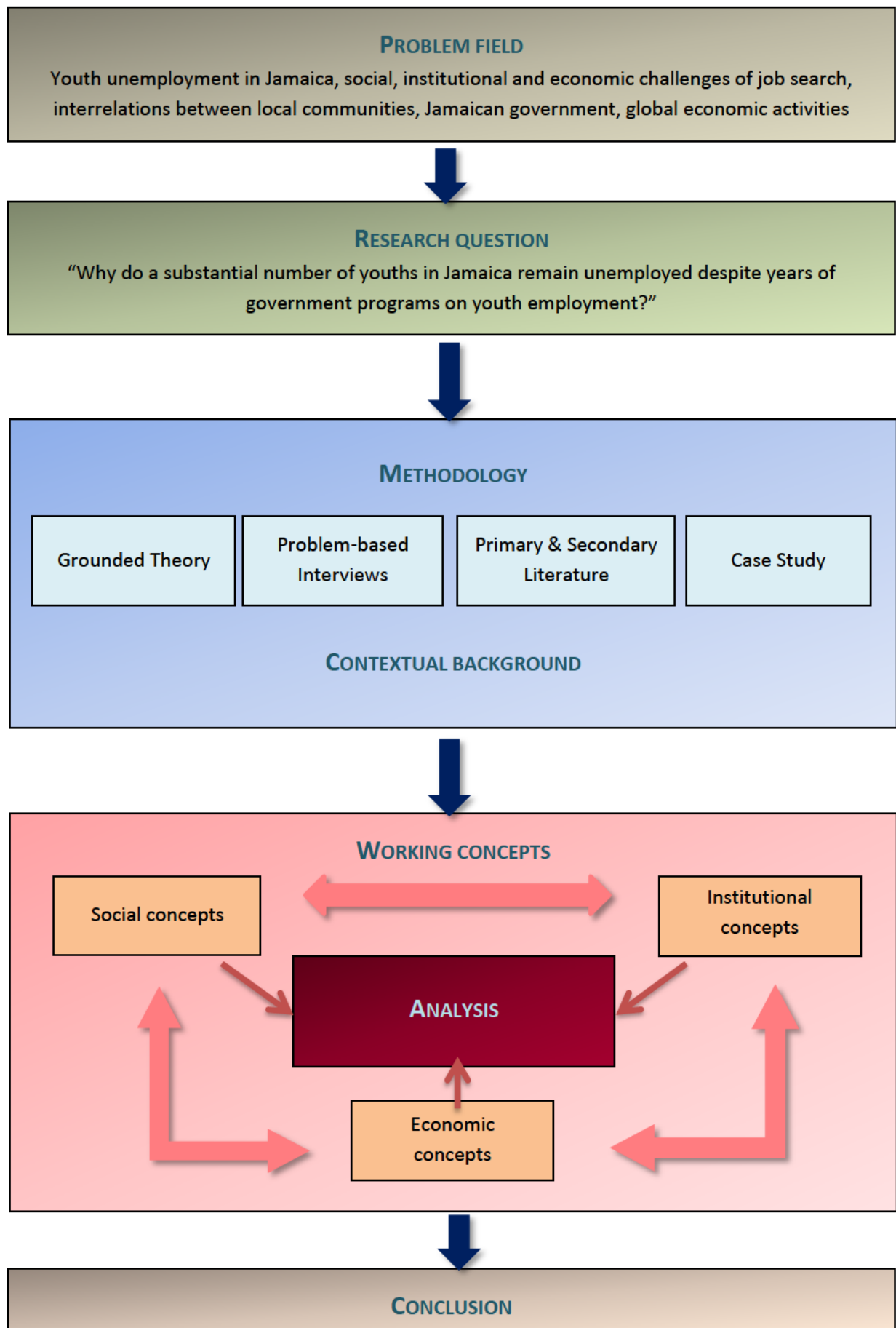
The goal of this thesis is to conduct an analysis of interrelations between various determinants for youth unemployment in Jamaica. The point of departure in this thesis is the claim that youth unemployment in Jamaica is influenced by social and cultural aspects as well as structural, institutional, political and economic factors. To arrange the analysis according to fields of interest, the author decided to focus on three central determinants and use them as working concepts for the analysis. These three focus areas and working concepts are: (i) social concepts, (ii) institutional concepts and (iii) economic concepts. Each focus area aims to shed light on employment challenges through the lens of the particular working concept.

2. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into six parts. Following this introduction, the chapter 'Methodology' briefly outlines basic assumptions, justify the use of a single case study as well as qualitative methods for research and discuss considerations on sources and literature. The following chapter 'Theoretical and Conceptual Framework' introduces the reader to the three different working concepts emphasizing the three abovementioned focus areas: social, institutional and economic aspects of youth unemployment in Jamaica. The chapter will also present the theories being applied in the analysis to support empirical findings. The chapter 'Contextual Background' comprises a section on general definitions of labor economics that are relevant for the analysis. Illustrated with real-life examples from Jamaica it will help to contextualize the issue of youth unemployment. Another section will explain why the focus is on youth. The core of this thesis is the chapter 'Analysis on Social, Institutional, and Economic Concepts'. Based on the three working concepts, each section in the chapter starts with a situational overview mapping youth unemployment in Jamaica through empirical data and specific examples. Second, in each section two relevant challenges will be identified that are further discussed in a causality and capacity analysis. Here, the author also elaborates on interrelations between the three different focus areas. The last chapter of the thesis is the 'Conclusion'. It summarizes findings and gives some recommendations for future dealing with youth unemployment in Jamaica.

The structure of the thesis is designed to center around the analysis. **Figure 1** illustrates the thesis structure, starting out from the problem field and the research question. The methodology is divided into four subgroups. Together with the contextual background, the methodology lays the ground for the conceptualization and the choice of theories. Each of the three working concepts contributes independently to the analysis but is also interrelated to other working concepts. Hence, the analysis is embedded in the interplay between individual working concepts and their interrelations.

Figure 1: Thesis structure

PROBLEM FIELD

Youth unemployment in Jamaica, social, institutional and economic challenges of job search, interrelations between local communities, Jamaican government, global economic activities

RESEARCH QUESTION

"Why do a substantial number of youths in Jamaica remain unemployed despite years of government programs on youth employment?"

METHODOLOGY

| Grounded Theory | Problem-based Interviews | Primary & Secondary Literature | Case Study |

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

WORKING CONCEPTS

Social concepts

Institutional concepts

ANALYSIS

Economic concepts

CONCLUSION

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this thesis is to discover some of the determinants that cause youth unemployment in Jamaica as well as their correlations. While discussing latent issues and conducting an analysis the researcher draws from several understandings, theories and concepts. The following chapter aims at describing the methodology underlying this work, including basic assumptions, justification for the choice of methodology and considerations on the sources.

1. Basic Assumptions

First and foremost, it is important to explain the researcher's **ontological** view that is how one perceives the "nature and structure of things per se" (Staab/Studer, 2003:2). Further, the applied **epistemological** understanding is clarified, that is how one considers the "nature, sources and limits of knowledge" (Klein, 2005).

Research is seen as a useful tool to understand the rationale behind real-life issues, hence, to understand why young people in Jamaica remain unemployed despite existing government programs targeted at creating better job opportunities. The main objective in this thesis is to analyse the unemployment situation of youth in Jamaica in terms of their social, institutional and economic environment. Accordingly, the approach that was chosen is inspired by problem-based learning. "Problem-oriented thinkers try to follow problems, not to anticipate conclusions or to presuppose an image of the world" (Poli/Seibt, 2010:vi). Consequently, the thesis explores different perspectives and identifies multiple determinants causing youth unemployment in Jamaica, instead of giving normative recommendations on how to solve the problem.

The method to explore these different perspectives is based on empirical research rather than on theoretical discussion. This is simply due to the fact that the author considers the empirical approach more suitable to examine why young Jamaicans continue to be unemployed. The issue of youth unemployment is part of their real-life experience. Challenges that they face on a daily basis and that impact their ability to find jobs are context depending issues with many layers of unique dynamics and determinants. This motivated the researcher to conduct problem-based interviews and a small survey using standardized questionnaires at the Kings Gate Skills Training Centre Kingston. It is one of the training institutions associated with the national training programs HEART Trust/ NTA and offers courses in commercial food, preparation, housekeeping, and leather craft. The survey aimed to listen to the opinion of young people heading towards employment and to draw a picture from realities on that ground. A pure theoretical analysis would neither capture the breadth of context specific determinants nor would it be appropriate to understand local challenges. Hence, generalizations

should be seen in the light of Jamaica and its uniqueness. It may not necessarily be applicable to other countries. Nevertheless, linking the Jamaican experience to a wider academic discussion helps to discover congruencies with other findings. For this reason the analysis is embedded into a more general conceptual framework.

Exploring different perspectives, which are to be achieved through the analysis of three different focus areas, should not emphasize one particular phenomenon in depth let's say only social determinants for youth unemployment in Jamaica. The multi-perspective approach rather aims at showing the broad range of determinants and analysing their dynamics or the extent of their contribution to unemployment in Jamaica. However, this multi-perspective approach also leads to a very wider scope of analysis. It examines many sub-issues that occur in each topic area which makes it necessary to find a strategy that identifies key issues, problems and capacities. For this, the author decided to conduct a causality and capacity analysis separately for each section on (i) Social Concepts, (ii) Institutional Concept, and (iii) Economic concepts. Every section starts with an overview, describing the current situation of the topic area in question. Based on this situational overview, two key challenges are selected that have a determining relevance for youth unemployment in Jamaica. First, in the causality and capacity analysis, root causes are identified that trigger youth unemployment in each thematic area. Second, important actors and their roles are uncovered. This aims at defining capacities and accountabilities on different levels. Using such a causality and capacity analysis makes it possible to highlight complexities and describe crosscutting issues and their interrelations. The challenges selected in each topic area and respective root causes are:

1. Social Concepts
   - Challenge **Identity**. Root causes: Manliness, gender socialization
   - Challenge **Capacity Development**. Root causes: Poverty, risky behavior
2. Institutional Concepts
   - Challenge **Effectiveness**. Root causes: Quality of teaching, capacity issues
   - Challenge **Budget**. Root causes: Budget cuts, dependency on donors
3. Economic Concepts
   - Challenge **Public Debts**. Root causes: Debt servicing, loss of GOJ's sovereignty
   - Challenge **Migration**. Root causes: Dependencies, brain drain

The multi-perspective approach also leaves room for incorporating various concepts and theories that are relevant during the research process. The following sections describe different methods that are being used for the analysis later on in this thesis.

Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory (GT) is a method in the field of social science that is often applied in qualitative social research. It follows a certain style of conducting research that starts out by looking at data, analysing patterns in the data and then moving to general concepts about it. With such conceptual categories in mind it becomes possible to build them into a broader theoretical context and compare them among various available theories. This approach enables researchers to 'discover theory' and to take areas into consideration that might not be covered by one specific theory. "In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence, then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept" (Glaser/Strauss, 1967:23). This strategy of comparative analysis is an alternative to the "hypothetico-deductive approach in social research" (Kelle, 2005) which is the approach of testing and verifying a theory with experimental (quantitative) data. Deducting theory from past studies bears the risk that knowledge is only gained to a certain extent and that researchers will not necessarily explore new aspects within the field of relevance. In contrast, GT rather generates new theories or refines and modifies existing ones to facilitate their usage in real-life situations and more applicable for practitioners. By doing so, GT helps researchers to show interactions and relations between certain social groups, patterns of human behavior, social processes and insights based on human experience.

When analysing the situation of Jamaican youth on their way to employment, GT is an adequate approach. As mentioned above, young people in Jamaica are challenged by many factors when searching jobs, mainly social, institutional and economic ones. This is such a broad field of research and one single theory could never capture the problem as a whole. Hence, starting out from data, creating conceptual categories and refining existing theories seems to be promising strategy. Point of departure for research then is a field of investigation rather than a hypothesis that is to be proven. This means that various aspects of youth unemployment in Jamaica will gain importance during the process of research and will not be already pre-determined from the beginning. Individual empirical insights, do not aim at verifying a hypothesis but rather contribute to enriching the newly generated theory. This approach also avoids using examples to fit them into a particular theory. It prevents a common bias that might occur when a theory is based on experimental data which makes it irrefutable. Youth unemployment in Jamaica, however, is subject to a dynamic process, continuously changing according to individual human behaviour. GT enables the researcher to make such dynamic processes visible that underlie phenomena such as youth unemployment. In the case of Jamaica, this approach led to structuring the analysis into three different working concepts and to make dynamic processes and interrelations visible that occur in a social, institutional, and economic context.

Problem-Based Interviews

In line with Grounded Theory, one technique for collecting information is the problem-based interview. Problem-based interviews are a form of qualitative research that gains knowledge through an inductive-deductive approach, generating theory from both existing theories and openness towards subjective insights. During the data collection phase, previous knowledge and assumptions serve as heuristic-analytical framework to design questions and create a dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent. The problem-based interview was also seen as a suitable method to collect information on youth unemployment in Jamaica. The researcher was inspired by previous knowledge on the economic situation of many young people in Jamaica. The researcher also had information on labor market indicators and youth employment programs. Hence, interviews were held in institutions that work on government level to enable youth finding employment. These institutions were namely the Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the International Labour Office Jamaica (ILOJ). They were chosen due to their officials' level of expertise and experience which was considered to allow a fruitful dialogue with the respondent.

In problem-based interviews, the respondent is considered the expert for his view and interpretation of reality. The interviewer tries to learn about these views during the conversation. For this, the interviewer usually follows a structured guideline to ask questions. Starting out with an opening question that aims at setting the focus on the problem field the respondent is encouraged to share his experience and individual opinion on the problem. The opening question in the interviews with the abovementioned Jamaican institutions was: "From what kind of context are youth that participate in your program?" The interviewer then acted as an active listener, asked questions to clarify statements that were not understood, or returned to a set of standardized questions that were used as reference and comparison in other interviews. Some of these standardized questions were: "What are some of the challenges that young Jamaicans face when searching a job?", "From your experience, do you think that programs address the needs in the communities?", or "How can policy makers improve in identifying needs on the ground?" Tools for conserving the obtained information were notes being taken during the interview, audio recording and post-interview minutes, so-called postscripts (Witzel, 2000). The evaluation of the information as well as the analysis of the data is a highly time-consuming and arduous task. Full transcripts of the interviews can be found in the annex. Transcripts are used to highlight points made during the interview that refer to particular pre-assumptions. Additionally, they help to reveal new aspects, terms and impressions that make it possible to develop further categories applicable for research. This was also the case with interviews conducted during research in Jamaica. Categories that came to attention during interviews were such as literacy and failed tests as entrance barriers to working life as well as

institutional shortcomings, when government programs only prepared young people to become employees instead of employers.

The objective of problem-based interviews is to examine individual concepts of reality and factors that define meaning. It seeks to learn about subjective interpretations of social processes and explanations for correlations in human behavior. The researcher tries to allocate single aspects of narratives and to classify them according to known patterns for interpretation. While conducting the interview, the researcher draws from these kinds of known patterns to formulate targeted questions and to search for phenomena that might complement or expand them. Narrative elements, in particular, allow to retain openness and to discover relevant issues during the research or to alter pre-assumptions or known patterns (Witzel, 2000). Theory then emerges from conceptualizing and building a hypothesis based on empirical data. This strategy ensures that the researcher is not biased by his or her own understanding of the problem but stays flexible to the subject-matter. Referring to the above-mentioned example, the interview with Ms. Sherrian Gray, Technical Specialist on Youth and Social Transformation in the PIOJ's Community Renewal Programme, revealed that challenges for Jamaican youths to find employment were were of social, institutional and economic nature. It induced the researcher to divide aspects of challenges into three categories which lead to the structure of this thesis.

Primary and Secondary Literature

The subject of youth unemployment has not yet been discussed very much in academia. Literature is limited and studies often focus on individual aspects of societal issues or economic events that lead to unemployment as a result rather than referring to a broader theoretical debate or discussing synergies between different academic disciplines. However, since the global economic crisis researchers have drawn more attention to the phenomenon of youth unemployment and possible consequences for development. Governments and international organizations have commissioned teams of experts to analyze the situation of youth in order to reform and design new youth employment policies. In the specific case of Jamaica there was surprisingly much literature available that addressed social, institutional and economic problems affecting young Jamaicans and their employability, though without elaborating on their interrelations. Already in 2002, National Centre for Youth Development and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture in Jamaica had conducted an study on *Youth in Jamaica: Meeting Their Development Need* and in 2006 Kerr, Bailey and Knight analyzed *The Transition of Jamaican Youth to the World of Work*.

Since the main interest for research in this thesis was to understand factors that deter Jamaican youth to find decent work, much emphasis was laid on empirical data and primary literature. With the objective to explore causes for youth unemployment on the basis of concrete numbers, events

and activities, knowledge was gained through reports, surveys and information generated by people that directly work on the matter of attention. Some of the primary literature that was used to collect information on the employment situation of youth in Jamaica was the Final Report of the *Jamaica National Youth Survey 2010*, which was published by the Government of Jamaica and the Inter-American Development Bank in 2011. Furthermore, the *Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010* by the Planning Institute of Jamaica and the *Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions 2009* by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica and Planning Institute of Jamaica were a source of research for this thesis. Empirical findings drawn from primary literature then were supplemented by secondary literature, hence, studies that had analyzed, interpreted and combined primary information with other sources. Here, the researcher had to collect many different pieces of literature each relevant to another aspect of youth unemployment. Even though, secondary literature could be found that highlighted multiple determinants of youth unemployment in Jamaica, none of it sufficiently covered the broad scope of social, institutional and economic concepts at once. Chevannes' (2002) *What You Sow Is What You Reap: Violence and the Construction of Male Identity in Jamaica* for example helped to analyze consequences of gender identity as regards to youth unemployment in Jamaica and Leslie's (2010) *Confronting the Don: The Political Economy of Gang Violence in Jamaica* was used to explain some of the security issues causing challenges to youth employment. Against the background of institutional concepts Tindigarukayo's and Chadwick's (1996) *Civil Service Reform in Jamaica* illustrated efforts to modernize Jamaica's public sector and literature on *Economic Returns to Investment in Education* by the World Bank shed light on public expenditure for the educational system. Economic concepts were clarified through Johnston's and Montecino's (2011) *Jamaica: Macroeconomic Policy, Debt and the IMF* as well as Haas' (2007) study on *Remittances, Migration and Social Development*. Useful literature to embed the topic into a more global discussion was delivered through the UNDP's (2012) *Caribbean Human Development Report 2012* and the ILO's (2010) *Global Employment Trends for Youth: Special issue on the impact of the global economic crisis on youth*.

Primary and secondary literature played a crucial role for the analysis part of this thesis. With empirical data and findings from existing studies and assessments it was possible to examine the various challenges that make it difficult for young Jamaicans to find employment. What is unique in this thesis, however, is the approach to cover such a broad scope of concepts and crosscutting issues. Therefore, the present thesis is an additional contribution to existing literature and adds interesting findings to the academic work concerned with youth unemployment.

Case Study

This thesis is designed in form of a case study in order to gain a deeper understanding of the different determinants of youth unemployment in Jamaica. According to the World Bank definition, "[a] case study is a method for learning about a complex instance, based on a comprehensive understanding of that instance obtained through extensive description and analysis of that instance taken as a whole and in its context" (Morra/Friedlander, 2009:1). Such an 'instance' can either be a function, a project, a policy, a site, an event or a region. The basic characteristic of a case study is an in-depth inquiry that requires the diligent collection of information. Especially in social science this method of qualitative research is a common tool to observe real-life situations, draw conclusions and consequently broaden the scope of methods. Hence, the use of a case study in this thesis works well with the approach of qualitative research and Grounded Theory.

The 'instance' that is at the core of attention in this thesis is the phenomenon of youth unemployment in Jamaica. With the collection of qualitative data and the discussion of root causes for youth unemployment within the different thematic areas as well as defining actors and capacities, the author analyzes the phenomenon as a whole and in its context. This process is inspired by Robert K. Yin's work which describes case study as a holistic approach investigating the real-life context of a contemporary phenomenon. He points out that boundaries between a particular phenomenon and its context are not always clear and that multiple sources can be used to give evidence (Yin, 1984:23). This justifies the approach to examine three thematic areas, according concepts and the discussion of their interrelations. Boundaries between societal and institutional issues for example are unclear regarding gender identity and the effectiveness of the educational system. Young male Jamaicans often have more difficulties finding employment due to certain expectations concerning their role and behavior. The educational system does not address this phenomenon and hence does not deliver appropriate training to improve young males' employability. The close observation of this real-life situation helps to expand the researcher's own knowledge on mechanisms, processes and power relations. By discovering specific experiences and contextual dependents regarding youth unemployment in Jamaica, it is possible to gain a more nuanced idea about reality and identify possible causes why youth unemployment remains high despite years of government programs.

2. Considerations on Sources and Limitations of Study

This thesis is an empirical study which relies on different methods of collecting data. Consequently, the outcomes can be subjective, inaccurate or biased. Thus, it is necessary to elaborate on data credibility and means of measuring reality.

Critics of qualitative research and problem-based interviews claim that findings are not built upon evidence-based facts. Evidence-based facts are gained through experimental methodologies, randomized control trials, and other forms of mostly quantitative investigations (Denzin/Giardina, 2010:12). In quantitative research, reliability of data is ensured through similar results achieved by multiple researchers. These results are based on universal indicators and produced in an identical study process. The quest for universality, reached through such standardized testing procedures, is not the main objective in qualitative research. The researcher as well as the research participant are rather seen as unique identities whose individual position becomes an integral part of the study process. Biases are expected, subjective notions identified and reflexivity purposefully applied while collecting, analyzing and interpreting data (Miller, 2008). The qualitative and problem-based approach is not only critical towards the politics of evidence it is also more flexible to relate to concerns of cultural context. Denzin and Giardina point out that the question of evidence is

> "a question of who has the power to control the definition of evidence, of who defines the kinds of materials that count as evidence, of who determines what methods best produce the best forms of evidence, and of whose criteria and standards are ultimately used to evaluate quality evidence." (Denzin/Giardina, 2010:12)

Experience from research in Jamaica has shown that methods that the researcher expected to produce the best form of evidence did not lead to desired results due to cultural matters. The survey conducted among students of the Kings Gate Skills Trainings Centre and was intended to shed light on personal experiences of youth as regards to their social background, their job search behavior and their prospects for the future. However, the researcher found out that students came to the training institution 30-60 minutes late, if at all –which resulted in a very poor sample of 16 returned questionnaires which cannot be considered representative. Additionally, a great number of students also did not fill in correctly the sections designed as multiple-answer matrixes. The researcher concluded that students were not familiar with that type of questioning or that the task was not explained clearly enough. This experience illustrates that criteria and standards used to evaluate quality evidence were not practicable in that particular cultural context. For the research of this thesis, problem-based interviews have proven to be the most fruitful method to collect information on youth unemployment in Jamaica.

Interviews and the questionnaire were conducted at the beginning of the research phase. That way it was possible to gain a broad picture of possible determinants for youth unemployment in Jamaica. Further empirical results were found in primary and secondary sources. The scope of information available was massive. It presented a challenge in terms of keeping the focus on the research topic or finding the right information when it was needed.

"It becomes increasingly difficult, in fact, to find the information that one needs, when one needs it, to the extent that one needs it and in the appropriate form. Although the information may be stored somewhere, all too often one does not know where; and even when one is aware of how to find the information, it is often accompanied by further information irrelevant to one's purposes. And when information is available, it is often forthcoming in the wrong form, or else its meaning is not explicitly apparent" (Poli/Seibt, 2010:vii).

The amount of information, especially as regards to empirical data, also revealed that there are many more determinants of youth unemployment that could not be taken into consideration in this thesis. Examples for such additional determinants are differences between rural and urban areas, the informal labor market and communication problems among government institutions and organizations working on youth employment issues. Due to constraints in time and pages the author was constrained to display a larger number of challenges for youth employment or to explain particular phenomena further in depth. This resulted in a more general discussion of corresponding concepts.

The last notion should be on reliability of data. The overall endeavor was to use data from government institutions and credible international organizations. However, some information was outdated or was not congruent with other sources. Additionally, webpages failed to open or did not allow access. Facing such obstacles the researcher consulted different sources for the same question to gain a result that is as unbiased as possible. Even though the researcher went to Jamaica to get information on the spot, it was not possible to verify all conclusions. However, these challenges reflect difficulties that other researchers and practitioners encounter when performing their work.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section describes the conceptual framework in which the analysis of youth unemployment in Jamaica is embedded. Our thinking is constituted by a certain framework of ideas, concepts and theories that underlie and shape contemporary debates. They influence our beliefs, world views and acceptance of knowledge (Grayling, 2010:viii). If several parties share the same view on a particular specification, a conceptualization is given.

> "A body of formally represented knowledge is based on conceptualization: the objectives, concepts, and other entities that are assumed to exist in some area of interest and the relationships that hold among them. A conceptualization is an abstract, simplified view of the world that we wish to represent for some purpose. Every knowledge base, knowledge-based system, or knowledge-level agent is committed to some conceptualization, explicitly implicitly." (Staab/Studer, 2003:3)

Lacking consensus on specifications of certain phenomena, individual views could lead to unconscious assumptions about entities and their general categories and relations. Having said this, it is essential to specify the concept of youth unemployment as well as the concepts that lay the ground for the three different thematic areas.

1. Youth Unemployment

Unemployment as concept is part of the greater discussion on economic activity of a nation. Classical economists see the labor market functioning with perfect competition where supply and demand of labor achieve on-going equilibrium. On the contrary, Keynesians claim that the labor market can be "stuck in situations of disequilibrium for long period" (Cahuc/Zylberberg, 2001:444). Governments should intervene and manage to aggregate demand through stabilization policies such as compensation for income effects. However, if wages do not display some nominal rigidity (that is, stability of wages before adjustment of price changes) such stabilization policies rather cause inflation to rise. If then real wages then display rigidity (that is, stability of wages after adjustment to price changes) the result is unemployment (ibid). More recent schools note that additional factors exist which cause unemployment, such as information asymmetries or costs for job search.

Unemployment evolves in very different ways and strikes nations in different proportions. It depends on the structural capacity or incapacity of a country to create jobs, changes in the labor force or changes in the rate of participation. As regards to less developed countries, some scholars identified underdevelopment as a source of unemployment. However, examples of rapid economic growth and persisting high levels of unemployment give evidence that development cannot be the only

determinant for fewer job opportunities. In fact, there is "the widespread tendency to underestimate the importance of social objectives in development assistance and the mistaken belief that economic growth would on its own generate employment" (Morse, 1970:2). Therefore, the multi-perspective approach in this thesis does not only analyze economic causes for youth unemployment in Jamaica but also social and institutional.

2. Social Concepts

Social concepts refer to a very broad range of concepts that relate to society as a whole, for example the structure of society or social interactions. For this analysis two working concepts have been selected which are Identity and Capacity Development.

Identity is a concept relevant for youth unemployment because it embraces matters such as self-perception, roles in society and behavioral expectations. The Scottish philosopher, economist and historian David Hume (1711-1776) refers to the human mind as system of different perceptions and calls identity "a certain highly specific substantive metaphysical view about the *nature* of the self or subject of experience, together with a correlative epistemological claim about what can be known about its nature" (Strawson, 2011:43). It embraces certain characteristics that determine who or what a person (or a thing) is and believes to be. Identity shapes attitudes and behavior and hence plays a significant role whether or not young Jamaicans find employment. Since there are so many different aspects of identity, the author decided to choose one form of identity that is the most relevant for youth unemployment in Jamaica. It is gender identity. Gender identity, as distinguished from actual biological sex, is a certain self-conception of being male or female. In every society labor is divided according to a commonly accepted value system. In Jamaica this is done along gender lines. Therefore, the concept is important to understand values, tasks and behavior that impacts young Jamaicans ability to find employment or not.

The second concept is capacity development. According to the UNDP capacity development can be seen as "the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time" (UNDP, 2009:3). Capacity development aims at enhancing sustainable change and development through local resources. This means that the capacities of individuals, (community) groups and local government institutions are strengthened in order to organize a system which 'fits' for the particular context and allows effectiveness and efficiency. Even though the UNDP definition of capacity development also includes the aspect of reforming policies and institutions to achieve transformation, in this analysis will focus mostly upon the capacity development of individuals. The

idea behind this focus is to examine what skills, knowledge and experiences young people have that help them to develop and exercise their capabilities.

3. Institutional Concepts

Institutional concepts used in this thesis refer to government activities and interventions that take place in the setting of formal institutions. Institutional politics are viewed as the "continuous struggle for power" (Gastel, 2005:4) in a rational organization aiming at efficient problem-solving. Weber's model bureaucracy gives an introducing idea of analytical tools that are "from a formal, technical point of view, the most rational" (Weber in Gastel, 2005: 3) instruments to organize collective goals. Dividing a system into different hierarchical levels and assigning clear roles, functions and responsibilities to people are supposed to facilitate efficiency. However, from a practical approach power is not static and cannot be concentrated in one particular place but is always interrelated with definitions, defining powers and argumentations which are made to support definitions. This influences outcomes of the system and the achievement of collective goals. Two working concepts have been selected to analyze the outcomes of the educational system. They are: Effectiveness and Budget.

Effectiveness in an institutional sense is a concept used to analyze outcomes of the educational system in Jamaica. It explains the system's success to inform, teach and stimulate young people in order to make them productive members of the labor force. Effectiveness is the result of certain strategies and processes that lead to the accomplishment of a particular operational goal. "Most expected outcomes will relate to the extent a unit is meeting its key operational objectives" (Troy University, 2010:2). Institutions conduct assessment to measure effectiveness and improve their planning if the outcomes do not achieve set targets. Effectiveness involves outcomes in terms of student learning, that means *what* students are learning and *how* students are learning. Another aspect is the effectiveness of expenditure on education. Human Capital Theory claims that "formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a nation" (Olaniyan/ Okemakinde, 2008:157). Human Capital Theory bases its argumentation on the belief that efficiency of workers can be increased by education. It justifies large public spending on education which, however, does not always lead to achieving the operational goal.

The concept of budget discusses the amounts of money governments spend in order to sponsor "legislative control of the executive, macroeconomic stability, allocations to strategic priorities, managerial efficiency" (World Bank, 1998:1). To ensure sound budgeting, it requires comprehensiveness and discipline, legitimacy, flexibility, predictability, contestability, honesty, information as well as transparency and accountability is required (ibid). This means that decisions

taken in terms of budget should be in line with correlating policies and stability secured through balanced short and long term expenditure. Financial management should be accurate, timely, unbiased and open to improvements. In this analysis the main focus is on public expenditure on education, meaning financial flows allocated for the purpose of education and training is a crucial component for creating job opportunities for young people.

4. Economic Concepts

Economic concepts refer to a very broad range of concepts that relate to the economy as a whole, for example economic activities of state and individuals, labor force, international trade, financing and so forth. For this analysis two working concepts have been selected which are Public Debts and Migration.

The concept of public debts refers to the option that the government is borrowing from private or international creditors to compensate fiscal deficits. "As a financial intermediary the government borrows funds (which increase its gross financial liabilities) in order to make loans to both individuals (e.g. mortgages) and institutions (e.g. investment loans for regional development)" (Chouraqui, J-C./ Jones, B./ Montador, R.B, unknown:105). In most discussions, public debt is measured in gross debt which is due to the fact that data corresponding to public debt is easier to access and more available. Also, there is a more direct link to debt servicing and debt service payments which are especially interesting when analyzing youth unemployment in Jamaica. In this analysis the concept of public debt is used assuming that the government can influence economic development as regards to promoting or deterring economic growth with fiscal policies.

> "In terms of economic theory, it is widely accepted that at moderate levels of public debt, fiscal policy may induce economic growth, with a typical Keynesian behaviour, but at high public debt levels, the expected tax increases will reduce the positive results of public spending, decreasing the investment and consumption expenses, with less employment and lower GDP growth rates" (Ferreira, 2009:2).

Public expenditure can increase productivity. However, it is important to implement fiscal constraints for public borrowing in order to keep an optimal debt-to-GDP ratio, since over-borrowing would translate into lower growth and welfare. "The economic, institutional and political environment influences the effectiveness of public spending for promoting growth and the capacity of the government to raise tax revenue or borrow to finance public goods while minimizing the cost to economic growth" (Aizenman/ Kletzer/ Pinto, 2007:1).

Migration is a concept that belongs to the group of demographic phenomena. It refers to place of residents and human movements to other places of residence. "Very generally, among all human movements, we can define those of migration as one or more movements resulting in the change of place of abode of an individual" (UN Statistical Commission/EUROSTAT, 2011:1). It considers two dimensions which are time and space. Time is seen as the duration of stay at one place or the time spent until reaching the ne place of residence. Space refers to this place of residence. Migration can be internal which means that people move to other places within the same country. International movements involve changes of place across national borders. Migration occurs in a migration system which is "defined as spatially clustered flows and counterflows of people, goods and remittances between a particular community of origin and a particular destination" (Haas, 2007:12). In this analysis, the focus will be on international migration rather than on internal migration.

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The following chapter is intended to provide the reader with some background information that will become relevant for the analysis. It aims at justifying the choice of attention and describes the motivation for this thesis. Further, various definitions that refer to the subject of employment and are most prevalent in labor economics will be explained. This will serve to clarify the use of particular terms later in the analysis and to ensure that the reader and the writer have a common understanding of things. Examples from the Jamaican setting will help to illustrate these definitions and at the same time they will introduce the reader to the youth employment situation in the country.

1. Why focus on Youth?

The UN considers young people to "possess important perspectives and opinions" (DESA, 2011) and acknowledges that young people should be able to participate and play a vital role in social and economic development with "their talents and youthful enthusiasm" (Kerr/Bailey/Knight, 2006: xi). In Jamaica as well, young people are seen as "key agents for social change, economic development, and technological innovation and [they] are a major human resource for development" (NCYD/MOEC, 2002: 6) as well. It is clear that young people in particular strive for self-improvement and are creative in finding ways to develop their own potential or to get involved within their environment. Young people are motivated to participate in global debates on social, political and economic issues, they engage in individual or group actions to form the fabric of their society. They exploit the internet to gain greater knowledge, advance their own skills or communicate with other like-minded people. Youths also contribute in volunteer activities in order to give something back to their communities, they travel and migrate to learn more about the world or find better options outside their country, and they are willing to take risks, leave family and friends or speak out their opinion when it comes to building the future.

The period of youth is a time of growing into adulthood and a transition from childhood to an independent life. They start earning their own subsistence and become productive members of a country's labor force. When young people enter the world of work for the first time in their lives they are often confronted with hard realities of the labor market: lack of open positions, competition among multiple applicants for a job, and work situations that change as a result from external influence. Young people usually lack work experience and are therefore less marketable for employers. Additionally, young employees have fewer firm-specific skills and need to familiarize themselves with work procedures. Further, young people are more vulnerable to be 'last in, first outs'. 'Last in' means that youth usually loose out when the number of open jobs is disproportionate

to the number of job seekers and when young applicants have to compete with more experienced adults. 'First out' means that for employers rather lay off young workers than older workers due to higher costs that have already been invested in the latter. Also, young people often work on temporary contracts. Hence, they are not covered by employment protection legislation and are cheaper to release. Accordingly, youth seem to be trapped in a vicious circle which complicates their job search: no work experience means no job and no job means no work experience (ILO, 2010:19).

Another reason why youth in particular face more difficulties when entering the labor market is their insufficient access to information and means. Information can either be in form of adequate knowledge where to search employment as well as the ability to rely on a broad social network useful for finding a job. Additionally, some financial buffer or provision is necessary to cover expenses during job search. Young people, who tend to have fewer financial means than adults, often rely on the support of their family. However, if young job seekers do not have such a supportive network, these young people cannot afford to be unemployed for a long time. This is especially the case when social protection mechanisms such as unemployment benefits are insufficient in a country. As a result, they are willing to take up any job that becomes available and are more likely to accept work regardless of whether or not this work fits their education, matches their skills or is experienced as satisfying work.

Young people who are unsatisfied with their employment situation, who work under inadequate conditions or give up on the job search can feel discouraged, useless and idle. This does not only incur costs to the economy and society, but also affects youth with psychological outcomes: "A lack of decent work, if experienced at an early age, threatens to compromise a person's future employment prospects and frequently leads to unsuitable labour behaviour patterns that last a lifetime" (ILO, 2010:6). Discouraged young people are underutilized resources for the labor market and valuable potential being lost for economic development. Moreover, discouragement among youth can trigger mental and health problems as well as crime, violence, conflicts and drug taking. Hence, high youth unemployment can contribute to weaker economic performance or social or political instability.

Many governments design policies and programs that aim at optimizing the potential of youth. Through targeted initiatives governments can create an enabling environment for young people and increase their opportunities to find decent employment. This in return will be beneficial for a country, as the Youth Employment Network points out:

"Accordingly, focusing and investing in youth entails not only a productive use of the labor force but also valuable long-term social gains. From an economic point of view,

investment in youth employment has the potential of boosting savings and aggregate demand while ensuring sustainability of social security systems. It is therefore a cost-effective policy for governments and societies alike." (YEN, 2011:10).

After having explained the importance of focusing on youth unemployment, it is now essential to clarify issue-related definitions and general terms. This will be undertaken in the following section.

2. Situational Background and Definitions

Jamaica is a small island nation situated in the Caribbean Sea with a land area of 10,991 km^2 (CIA, 2012). It has been inhabited since 4000 BC, first by Taino Indians who had arrived from present-day Venezuela and Guyana. After Christopher Columbus landed on the island in 1494, the Spanish settled there in the early 16th century. In 1655, the British seized the country and Jamaica became a colony under British rule. Jamaica gained independence from the United Kingdom on 6 August 1962 but remained a member of the Commonwealth. Today, it is a sovereign constitutional parliamentary democracy. At the end of 2010, Jamaica's population was estimated at 2 705 800 with a population growth rate of 0.3 percent (PIOJ, 2011:20.2). Life expectancy has increased significantly due to improvements of livelihoods and public health, showing an average of 72.2 years between the 2006 and 2008 (PIOJ, 2011:20.8). Kingston is the capital and the largest city in Jamaica.

With a Gross National Income of US$ 4,800 per capita (in 2010) Jamaica is classified as an Upper Middle Income country by the World Bank (World Bank, 2012a). Its most important economic sectors are services (mainly tourism), industry and agriculture. Remittances and the export of bauxite/ alumina also contribute significantly to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which had grown by an average of 1.3 percent per annum between 1999 and 2004 (Kerr/Bailey/Knight, 2006:1). These positive trends decelerated after the global economic crisis and Jamaica's economy contracted by an "accumulated 5.1 per cent since 2008" (PIOJ, 2011:5.1). The downturn following the global economic crisis also affected domestic economic activity and led to a decline of employed labor force by 2.7 percent in 2010 (PIOJ,

Box 1: Jamaica map

Source: The Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012

2011:21.1). Employed labor force of youth between 14-24 years of age[1] decreased in real terms from 636,200 in October 2009 to 620,200 in October 2010 (PIOJ, 2011:21.3).

At this point, it becomes essential to elaborate on labor related definitions in order to embed the issue of youth unemployment in Jamaica into the more general field of labor economics and to create a common understanding of terms used in the analysis. The author relies on definitions provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Labor economics studies dynamics and activities in the labor market. The labor market can be defined as a market "in which labour services are exchanged for wages" (Sand, 2009:2). Labor is the work done by human beings. It is one of the three major productive inputs to an economy apart from natural resources or capital. Labor is exchanged at a certain price and amount and it is determined by various decision makers. One interesting phenomenon that occurs most notably in developing economies is the existence of an informal labor market apart from the formal labor market. Here, workers often are not covered by social insurance schemes, work under indecent labor conditions and earn significantly less than workers in the formal labor market. Additionally, labor produced in the informal sector does not contribute to the GDP of one country and therefore impedes development. Even though the informal labor market plays a crucial role for Jamaica's economy, it will be disregarded further in the analysis. It would simply exceed the realm of this thesis which could not capture complexities of the informal labor market satisfactorily.

Market production is achieved through the workforce in a particular region, the so-called labor force. The labor force comprises all individuals within the population of a country that have reached a working-age (15 and above) and are 'active' persons in the labor market. They can be either employed or unemployed. In contrast, there are also 'inactive' persons in the labor market. These are the ones either discouraged, in school, or unavailable for the labor market for other reasons (YEN, 2011a:14). **Figure 2** illustrates the distribution of population by activity in the labor market as regards to youth. Definitions of activities are clarified in the following:

'Employed' and 'unemployed' young people are both part of the labor force, hence considered 'active' and able or available for work during a specific reference period. Employed youths work for pay or for profit. Young people who are on a temporary leave due to illness, holiday or training are still considered employed. Additionally, youth are considered employed when they work at least one hour as unpaid family workers for example in agriculture or another business. Last but not least, working students and young people in the army also belong to the group of employed. Unemployed youth do not have a job, but they are seeking to have one and take active steps to find employment. In the groups of 'inactive' parts of the labor force there are youth who do neither work nor study, nor

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[1] Please note that this source does not follow the UN's definition of youth being at the age 15-24 years.

actively search a job. These young people are categorized as 'discouraged'. Discouraged youth are hard to measure because they are often unknown to job centers even though they would be able and available for work. In that sense, they are unutilized resources for the labor market. Young people that are enrolled in full-time education are defined as 'In School'. They do not work and also do not look for a job, except when they work part-time in addition to their school curricula. The last category is youths inactive 'for other reasons'. They are neither students, nor working, nor searching a job. Reasons for economic inactivity can be a chronic illness (or disabilities), housework or the reception of income from other sources than pay (YEN, 2011a:14f).

Distribution of youth by primary activity is one of the indicators that are used to map the situation of youth in the

Figure 2: Distribution of youth by activity in the labor market

Youth (working age) population

% Employed

Active

% Discouraged

% Unemployed

% In School

% Other Reasons

Inactive
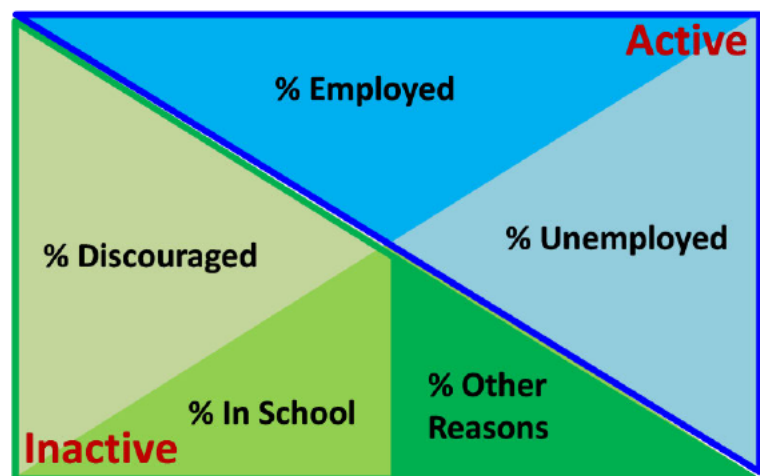
Source: YEN, Benchmarks for Youth Employment 2010, P.14.

labor market. Another indicator is the youth unemployment rate. The youth unemployment rate measures "the inability of an economy to generate employment for young persons who are not employed but are available and actively seeking work" (YEN, 2011a:12). At the beginning of research, the youth unemployment rate presented noticeable indices for malfunctions in the Jamaican context and showed that government had failed to generate employment for young people. It motivated the researcher to examine determinants impeding successful integration of young people into the labor market and re-occurs in various sections of the thesis. Educational attainment is an indicator that is important, especially in the section on institutional concepts. Here, the analysis will strongly focus on the educational system and youth engaging in school and further training. Hence, the indicator, describing the proportion of young people and their levels of educational achievement, will help to provide insights on whether or not young people are prepared for the labor market. The last indicator that is relevant for this thesis is Youth Employment by Sector. It shows the distribution of youth across the three major sectors of economy, namely agriculture, industry and services. Since the service sector is an important driver of Jamaica's economy, this indicator is an appropriate tool to highlight shortcomings in job opportunities or potential that is being exploited in this sector.

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC CONCEPTS

The following chapter offers an analysis on causalities and capacities that influence the employment situation of youth in Jamaica. The chapter is divided into three thematic areas (social, institutional and economic) those areas which were also selected as working concepts.

1. Social Concepts

The first thematic area focuses on social root causes and capacities as regards to youth unemployment in Jamaica. Jamaica is a country with a great diversity of people. Throughout history, people from all different continents came to work on the island. This was partly due to the Spanish settlement, British rule or slave trade which brought thousands of West Africans to Jamaica between the 17th and 19th century. Today, Jamaica's society is influenced by this multitude of different cultural origins. 90.9 percent of Jamaicans are of African origin, 1.3 percent has their roots in East India, 0.2 percent in China, 0.2 percent is White, and 7.3 percent are mixes races. 0.1 percent has other ancestors (CIA World Factbook, 2012). The existence of so many facets in the composition of society raises the question of how different groups define themselves. What values and experiences shape them? This is a question of identity and how certain understandings influence individuals and affect their behavior within society. The Common Country Assessment 2006-2010 (CCA) by the Government of Jamaica (GOJ) and the United Nations (UN) in 2006 notices that the "absence of an overarching national vision" (UN/GOJ, unknown:58) has led to a more individual-based value system. Particularly young people are challenged by the deterioration of a supportive environment based on a traditional agrarian social system. Values such as family or community have changed as a result of foreign penetration. Originally, the family or community played a crucial role in forming one's identity and they contributed to the socialization process. With growing influence of external forces in Jamaica, starting from colonization to today's globalization, the impact of traditional institutions was weakened and society changed towards a more individual-oriented culture. This change of values can be seen in the rise of a lower versus higher class mentality, and in the discrimination of certain groups or giving special privileges to other groups.

Change of values is also is visible when looking at increasing single parent households, decreasing abilities to solve inter-personal conflicts and in growing violence within or among communities. The CCA shows that "young persons are more likely to indulge in anti-social and aggressive behaviours, which may convert to criminal actions" (ibid:58). One of the consequences of such anti-social and criminal behavior among young persons is unemployment. Especially young male Jamaicans, who often are encouraged to develop income-generating skills, leave school early to go working or get involved with gang activities and criminal actions. As a result of their poor education or lacking

technical skills they are pushed into the informal sector which may lead to underemployment or unsustainable work arrangements. Additionally, many young Jamaican males simply do not regard education as a possible way to reach a desired goal (ibid: 27). Instead, they are prone to the concept of 'manliness' which persists in Jamaica and imposes social pressure on young males to be 'tough'. This sheds light on the issue of gender socialization and gender identity in Jamaica which also affects the employment situation of young females. By attributing specific roles to men and women, the gender division in Jamaica leads to a lower social status of women and weakens their power base in society. As a result, women suffer from higher rates of poverty and unemployment and are often exposed to domestic violence. (ibid:76) Even though young females Jamaicans perform better at school than young males, they have fewer opportunities as regards to finding a job after accomplishing education.

Such elements of culture create problems as regards to security of person or security within communities. Communities, weakened by change of values and unstable institutions for socialization, are unable to protect its citizens or build a protective environment in which young people can develop prosperous employability. Consequently, the atmosphere of fear and aggravation that occurs in some Jamaican communities makes it difficult for individuals to advance and develop their full potential and eventually have access to freely chosen and satisfying employment. The existence of a safe and supporting environment, which provides such opportunities, is determined by another important factor: Human capacity development. Human capacity development is relevant for the question of youth unemployment in Jamaica as it refers to empowering young people from an early age on and teaching them lifelong learning skills. Skills such as logical reasoning, critical thinking, problem-solving or simply the understanding of human rights issues are necessary to build a stable foundation for future employment (ibid:81). It is strongly interrelated with economic concepts because the ability to develop human capacity often depends on one's economic background. Poor young people tend to have fewer opportunities to acquire adequate skills to adapt to the requirements of the labor market than from wealthy families.

Selected Challenges for Youth Employment

Based on this situation of Jamaica's social context, two major challenges for youth employment have been identified and were selected as working concepts to be used in the causal and capacity analysis below. These selected challenges are:

- Identity
- Capacity Development

Causal & Capacity Gap Analysis

IDENTITY is an important part of young peoples' socialization process. Their self-conception will determine attitudes and behavior, motivation and confidence. Especially the understanding of oneself in terms of gender identity influences future employment prospects for youth in Jamaican society. Young Jamaicans grow up and are socialized in an environment where the division of gender is traditionally used to assign clear tasks to male and female individuals and to regulate activities in household and society. Articulated through certain forms of stereotyping young people absorb the value of gender division and use it to construct the foundation of their own behavior. This behavior will affect their performance within communities as well as in school. It has consequences for whether they will succeed or fail in finding employment. The CCA explores impacts of gender issues in Jamaica's society and the cultural context in which they occur. The CCA states that gender issues are relevant for young people as "For young men it manifests in direct relation to their 'crews'/peers where there is strong social influence to adopt certain competitive and negative gender roles and sexual behaviours. For young and older women sex is often seen as a possibility for profitable material exchanges" (UN/GOJ, unknown:75). Therefore, one can say that young people are influenced by their immediate surroundings, by peer groups and by people who they regularly interact with.

As described above the value of family and the supportive environment of cohesive communities in Jamaica have been transforming towards a more individual-based culture which has weakened traditional institutions of socialization. This is supported by the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (JSLC) which shows an overall decline in household size and a steady increase of single-persons households. In 2009, 24.0 percent of the survey sample indicated to live in a single-person household compared to 21.1 percent in 1992. The mean number of children in one household declined from 1.2 to 1.0 in 2000 and 2009 respectively (STATIN/ PIOJ, 2010:1.4). Additionally, the JSLC reveals that especially female-headed households, which made up 45.5 percent in 2009, were in absence of a partner, 58.0 percent of those female-headed households belonged to the category "No Man, With Children" (ibid:1.6). These numbers give evidence to the breakdown and diminishing role of the extended family. Households with multi-visiting partner may be the consequence, creating unstable living arrangements for youth. This breakdown strongly influences how self-perception, roles in society and behavioral expectations are shaped. Young people tend to model behavior and create identities and definitions of their self from certain youth subcultures and peer groups. This can lead to criminal and violent behavior, especially in poorer communities where dysfunctional family settings occur. For young male Jamaicans who grow up in household lacking good role models, these young men seek guidance and positive feelings about themselves in other places. Here, so-called 'Dons' play a crucial role in Jamaica's local communities. Dons are the main figures controlling street
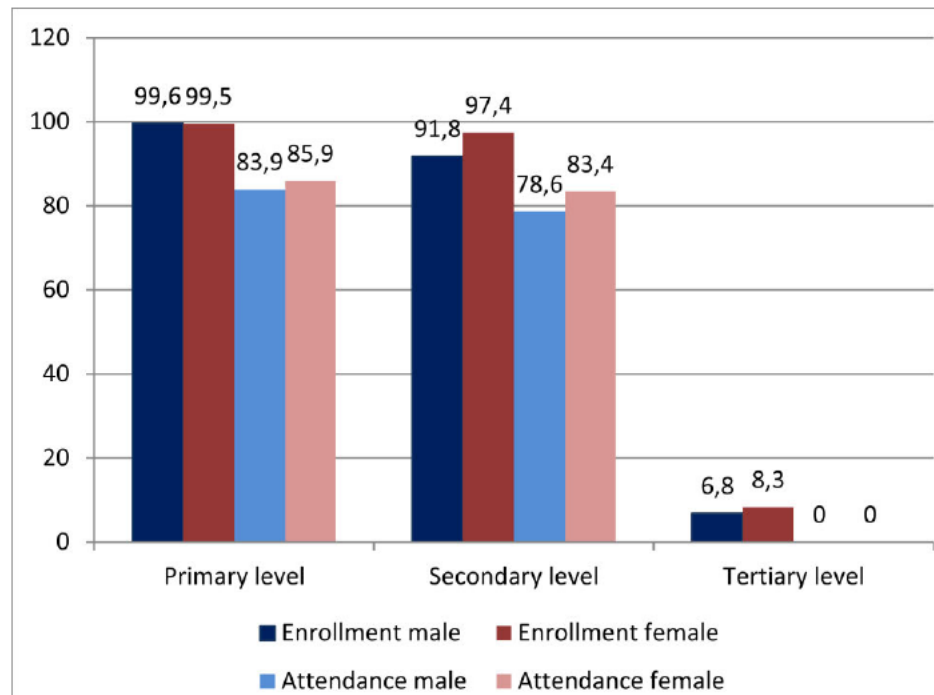
gangs and their activities. Usually they are drug lords, gun traders and gang leaders. Most of the times, they are characterized by great levels of respect and power particularly within poor and/or inner-city communities. Young male Jamaicans who are driven by the desire to be respected and to attract women are motivated to join gangs because this gives them the chance to have access to money -often through illegal activities such as drug trade or robbery. Gang membership also gives them the opportunity to obtain weapons, which are considered a symbol of protection, and the consequently rise in status and popularity. Additionally, gangs give young people structure, guidelines for behavior, symbols to relate to and forms of identification. Since every gang is characterized by a common objective (mostly committing criminal acts), an identified name, leader and visible markings, they offer youth a feeling of belonging and friendship. Studies have observed that "Initial motivations for gang membership revolve around identity, belonging, and participation in a range of group activities that at times include gang activities" (Leslie, 2010: 23f).

The form of socialization that young people experience impacts their attitudes towards skill training and consequently impacts their ability to find employment. Whether young people develop a behavior that is beneficial to their employability or creates obstacles to enter the formal job market can be analyzed with the indicator on educational attainment. This indicator gives evidence on how many young people are enrolled in an educational institution as well as what type of institution they are enrolled in. It also shows differences between male and female students in terms of educational achievement. Various studies prove that young male Jamaicans underachieve at school and perform are less successful than their female counterparts. Enrollment rates show a clear decline of males consuming formal education at higher levels. Where males took a slightly larger share of enrollment than females at primary school level, the reverse was true from the level of secondary school onwards. According to the Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010 (ESSJ), data for 2009/10 indicate a gross enrollment rate for public primary schools at 99.6 percent for boys and 99.5 percent for girls. The gross enrollment rate is the ratio of number of persons enrolled at a specific school level (not regarding their age) to the number of persons in the officially recognized age range for that level (PIOJ, 2011:22.10).[2] Attendance for the same time period was 83.9 for boys and 85.9 percent for girls. At secondary school level (Grades 7-11) the gross enrollment rate for males was 91.8 percent which was a more significant decrease than for females at 97.4 percent. The average daily attendance at school at that level was estimated 78.6 percent for males and 83.4 percent for females in 2009/10 (ibid:22.11ff). Enrollment at the tertiary level was 6.8 per cent for males and 8.3 percent for females which clearly demonstrates the intensification of differing school performance by young males and females in Jamaica (JSLC, 2009: 4.3). Data for the average daily attendance at tertiary level are not available and hence cannot be presented. **Figure 3** summarizes school enrollment and

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[2] Data on school attendance are taken from the JSLC and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture.

average daily attendance as regard to sex. Findings of the JSLC also reveal that a larger proportion of males (and poor students) visit three-year schools instead of five-year schools at the secondary level (ibid: 4.4). Learning from these figures one resumes that young Jamaican males are more likely to lack adequate qualification and school education in order to successfully enter the formal

Figure 3: School Enrollment and Attendance by Sex in %, 2009/2010

	Enrollment male	Enrollment female	Attendance male	Attendance female
Primary level	99,6	99,5	83,9	85,9
Secondary level	91,8	97,4	78,6	83,4
Tertiary level	6,8	8,3	0	0

Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010, p. 22.10 and Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions 2009, p. 4.3.

labor market. The CCA identifies male under-achievement in education as a matter of gender socialization. In Jamaican culture men are expected to be the provider of the family and they are responsible for affairs outside the domestic sphere. Drawing from the traditional association of men's work as to be heavy and physically demanding work the concept of gender identity enforces the expectation of males to be 'tough'. Already from an early age on, boys, more than girls, experience severe disciplinary practices, often executed with corporal punishment, in order to make them strong enough (Chevannes, 2002:52). This form of socialization often confronts young male Jamaicans with a lot of violence which they might translate into aggressive behavior themselves. In combination with the abovementioned peer group socialization young males in Jamaica are likely to believe that aggressive behavior leads to being respected and having identity. The correlation between gender identity and male under-achievement at school finds support in the CCA which states that "Aggressive boys were more likely to have lower ambitions, lower verbal IQ's, and lower achievement scores" (UN/GOJ, unknown:24). Lower ambitions and lower achievement scores mean early drop-outs from school for many young males. Additionally, the gender specific expectation from men to acquire income-generating skills induces young Jamaican males not to take education as an option to obtain wealth and success. They rather drop out of school early to work in the informal sector or participate in criminal activities such as enterprises based on trading narcotics, gun business

or acts of violence related to gang issues. Both these effects of gender-divided socialization in Jamaica's changing values are root causes that minimize livelihood opportunities for young males as well as their chances to successfully find employment. Hence, one of the root causes that trigger youth unemployment in Jamaica is 'manliness' because especially young men, with their behavior, attitudes and knowledge, do not fulfill the requirements for regular jobs. They are more likely to drift toward criminal activities.

For young women in Jamaica, however, the situation is different. Traditionally the women's role in society and in a family context is to exert domestic work such as cooking, cleaning the house, child care and the like (Chevannes, 2002:52). Many women have a low social status which means less access to resources and a lower power base in society. They are more vulnerable to domestic violence and sexual abuse which continues to be a commonly accepted practice in Jamaica's cultural environment. "Not always being viewed as a 'crime'" (UN/GOJ, unknown:76), the process to ally domestic violence is slow. Endeavors aiming to develop a legislative framework to protect women only advance gradually, and in many cases they remain victims of frequent crime and violence. Under such circumstances and unequal gender relations young women have to assert themselves against prevailing opinions. For them, empowerment is a crucial contributor to obtain better livelihood opportunities and employment. Education can be one of the routes to gain greater independence in a difficult environment. While young males are encouraged to 'fend' for themselves, more attention is given to the education of young females and to their acquisition of knowledge, values, and social skills. Interestingly, "If resources do not allow for the children to attend school all at the same time, girls are given the advantage over boys" (Chevannes, 2002:53). This seems to contradict experiences from other developing or emerging countries where males are usually favored over females in terms of school education. Jamaican statistics not only show higher school enrollment rates and greater levels of average daily attendance among females but also indicate that young women are more likely to continue their education on a tertiary level. However, higher enrollment rates for young female Jamaicans do not necessarily translate into better opportunities to enter the formal labor market. Oftentimes, the opposite is the case. Looking at the unemployment rate divided by gender, one finds out that the unemployment rate for women all ages is lower than for young men. According to the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN), in October 2011, the unemployment rates for Jamaican males in the age cohort from 14-19 years and 20-24 years were estimated at 39.4 percent and 22.4 percent, respectively (STATIN, 2012). For Jamaican females in the same age cohort and at the same point of time the estimated unemployment rates were 55.8 percent (ages 14-19) and 33.4 percent (ages 20-24) (ibid). Here it is important to note that higher unemployment rates among younger age cohorts occur due to their supposable school enrollment. Since young females are more likely to be enrolled in education, there is a bias. Higher unemployment rates among

female youth are not necessarily due to fewer job opportunities but due to more girls going to school. To support the argumentation that females in Jamaica suffer from higher unemployment makes it necessary to look at total unemployment rates, not divided by age group. Here data shows that almost twice as many women were unemployed compared to Jamaican men. In October 2011, the total unemployment rate in Jamaica was 9.4 percent for males and 16.9 percent for females. The difference is striking and it becomes clear that women in Jamaica face unemployment more often than their male counterparts, despite better performance and achievements at school. Hence, socialization along gender lines is identified as one of the root causes that determine unemployment for youth in Jamaica. Influencing their identity in a significant way, gender socialization shapes the opinions of what roles men and women should fulfill in society. According to those roles, young women have fewer opportunities to work.

Having explained the idea of 'manliness' and socialization along gender lines as root causes for youth unemployment in Jamaica, the following paragraph discusses capacities, roles and actors. Families have been recognized as the primary agents of socialization. Family structures are very culturally driven. They are the smallest units in society which aim to create an enabling environment. Families are responsible for assisting their youngsters to find their identity to become capable persons and to develop particular behavior that will help them succeed in their search for employment. However, families, especially from poor socio-economic communities face the challenge of limited capacity to offer their offspring the kind of support which would be adequate for them to prosper. If they do not succeed in creating a nurturing foundation of values, attitudes, knowledge and skills, young people will face obstacles while trying to find employment later in life. Communities are similarly important compared to families, though they cover a wider field of social interactions. Communities' role is to build and maintain a context where young people find guidance towards positive behavior such as the ability to resolve interpersonal conflicts with peaceful means. Poor communities with low social capital and cohesion are more threatened by gangs and other disrupting groups that destroy any supportive environment and threaten citizens with crime and violence. Another group that can be identified as important actor is the peer group. The peer group influence young Jamaicans in a very direct way. Peer groups bear the potential to demonstrate strengthening support for youth. In peer groups young people can develop their own identity and be prepared for future challenges such as job search or successful entry into the labor market. However, peer groups such as gangs can also have devastating effects on individual's lives in the long term, due to their criminal activities, drug consumption or trade and violent assaults harming others. Further, schools which are also significant actors in terms of preparing youth for the job market need to adapt curricula that are best suited for young people and their living context. This is closely interrelated with issues of institutional concepts, effectiveness and quality of teaching. If schools disregards socio-cultural circumstances and matters

of gender identity, they fail in their duty to teach young people necessary tools to succeed in the labor market, such as critical thinking, problem-solving, taking own initiative and respect towards others. The last capacity agent to be mentioned is cultural industry. In a variety of ways, young people in Jamaica express themselves in forms of music, use visual arts to communicate their concerns and they look up to successful DJs and artists. In that sense, cultural industry has an enormous potential to reach young people, transport values and portray as well as shape identity. Although data on the cultural industry is very limited and most of this sector takes place outside formalized structures, it has experienced strong growth over the last 40 years (UN/GOJ, unknown:67) and motivates young people to work for or create their own business. With its direct link to the immediate environment of young people, cultural industry often has more authority in the informal sphere than state actors. Hence, it offers opportunities on a local level to give young people employment through entrepreneurial activities. Governments often underestimated that significant role of cultural industries and do not appreciate culture and its potential to contribute to the economy. There lies great potential to use that energy from young people to combat youth unemployment in Jamaica. Until now, the government is not yet collaborating with the cultural industry to a large extend, even though they could reach, inform, and sensitize young people through that channel and within their surroundings. Cultural industry at times invokes traditional prejudices and distorts identity by promoting values such as 'gangsterism' and enforcing gender biases. However, by understanding attitudes, values and behavior of youth and how they are shaped by society, policy makers take an active role in building cultural industry an support youth to develop their potential and escape the trap of unemployment. One of Jamaica's most valuable resources is its cultural uniqueness and the ability of Jamaicans to "shift, morph and change behaviour patterns as seen fit to meet some particular needs" (Burton, unknown:11). This flexibility and ability to adapt to changing circumstances and new challenges is a great capacity which could serve to fight youth unemployment in Jamaica because it offers possibilities to create new and better employment opportunities.

CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT, seen as the process to gain and strengthen capabilities and to reach development objectives requires certain pre-conditions that allow individuals to acquire knowledge and to apply new knowledge. In Jamaica, the pre-conditions for capacity development vary greatly depending on what family context individuals come from. In poor socio-economic communities where youth unemployment is highest, young people have fewer opportunities to develop their capacities. In such communities one of the root causes that hamper capacity development is poverty. In 2009, the national poverty line in Jamaica was 16.5 percent. As can be seen in **Figure 4**, this was an increase by 4.2 percentage points, compared to the prior years when the poverty line was at 12.3 and 9.9 percent in 2008 and 2007, respectively (STATIN/ PIOJ, 2010:2.7). Reasons for this increase

after years of general decline of poverty can be the results from the global economic crisis. Rural areas show the highest levels of poverty whereas Other Tows[3] remained to record the lowest levels of poverty. Poverty affects capacity development in many ways. It not only limits resources to cover the expenses for basic

Figure 4: Prevalence of Poverty by Region, in %, 2000-2009
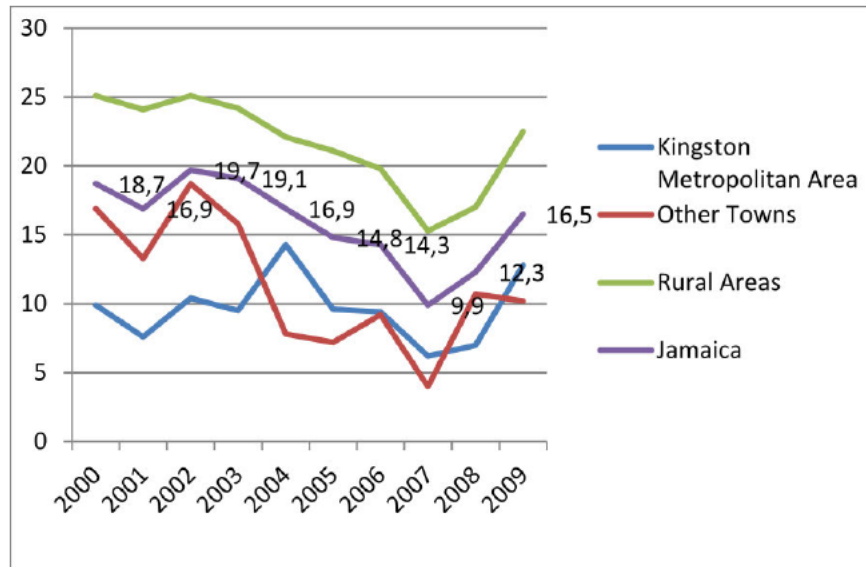
Source: STATIN/ PIOJ, Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions 2009, p.2.7

needs such as nutrition, housing and health care, it also reduces the access to knowledge and the possession of durable goods[4] which might improve quality of life and facilitate daily chores. There are different forms of poverty depending on region. Rural poverty often is related to communities living mostly from agriculture production. Often, houses do not have access to adequate sanitation systems or running water. Young people have to travel long distances to attend school, on average 9.5 km (ibid:4.6). This shows that their capacity development is depending on various external factors. Young people may either have to help with the agricultural production as well as with generating income and hence cannot acquire knowledge through the formal educational system. Rather, they are expected to work either as 'unpaid family workers' or as 'own account workers' in the informal sector. This situation diminishes their chances to gain new knowledge which could equip them with skills to find new and innovative ways to decent employment and a self-determined life. In poor urban communities the challenges for capacity development are different compared to those in rural areas. In poor urban communities individuals are often burdened with tremendous levels of stress such as high cost for housing or utilities, such as electricity, water or telephone. According to the JSLC 2009, some of the housing-related expenses apportioned 58.4 percent of the entire household consumption (STATIN/ PIOJ, 2010:V). Another factor causing stress and employment-

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[3] Other Towns are other major cities outside Kingston, not considered rural, such as Port Antonio or Ocho Rios
[4] Some selected durable goods are: Gas Stove, TV Set, Refrigerator/Freezer, Portable Radio/Cassette/CD Player, Fan, All Stereo Equipment, Washing Machine, Car/Other, Vehicle, Sewing Machine, Electric Water Heater n/Air Conditioner, Electric Stove, Solar Water Heater.

complicating conditions is the prevalence of violence that often is a day-to-day reality in poor urban communities. According to the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010, only 35.7 percent of Jamaica's citizens felt secure living in their country. The rest of respondents indicated to feel insecure due to crime (UNDP, 2012:19). By 2009, Jamaica recorded "a significant increase in reported major crimes, including robbery, breaking and entering, and larceny—increases of 43, 85, and 115 per cent, respectively" (JCSFD quoted in Leslie, 2010: 6). Murder rates in Jamaica are some of the highest in the world, with a homicide rate of 53 per 100,000 citizens in 2010 (PIOJ, 2011:24.4). Even though the ESSJ 2010 observed a decline in all major crimes in the most volatile and vulnerable communities due to social intervention programs targeted at at-risk youth, the number of young people involved in crime is strikingly in those communities. The ESSJ reveals that 52.1 percent of those arrested in 2010 were 16–25 years old (ibid:24.4). Interestingly, mostly young males are among those arrested for crime, including those of the young age of 12. This again shows the interrelation between gender identity and poverty. **Table 1** gives an overview of persons in different age groups that were arrested for selected major crimes. These major crimes are murder, shooting, robbery, breaking, larceny, and carnal abuse. If young people do not feel safe in their environment, their main concerns are about security and ways to protect themselves, instead of engaging in job search and sustainable employment. Poor urban youths live in an environment where criminal and violent activities restrict individuals' freedom to

Table 1: Age group and sex of persons arrested for selected major crimes, 2010

Age group	M	F	Total
12-15	177	-	177
16-20	835	10	845
21-25	795	6	801

Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, p. 24.5

develop one's own capabilities and acquire new knowledge. They often do not have many opportunities to develop skills that enable them to adequately handle stress or turn to persons or institutions that could provide them with support. Such circumstances can lead to emotions such as frustration and self-derogation as well as feelings of being powerless and excluded from mainstream society. The CCA 2006-2010 explains consequences of such experiences and states that social exclusion not only determines future employment perspectives for young people but also for future generation:

> "Social Exclusion can also be transmitted across generations. Characteristics such as low
> levels of education, teen pregnancy, spatial exclusion […], intermittent employment in
> low-level occupations and poor housing conditions are often trenchant and affect
> more than one generation of a family. Educational opportunity and outcomes is one
> of the major contributing factors to social exclusion. Poor educational outcomes
> often mean long-term underemployment or 'worklessness' and decreased social mobility"
> (UN/GOJ, unknown:54f).

The ability to face problems with adequate approaches of stress management, to cope with frustration or to develop understanding is an important pre-condition for being accepted by employers and hence to achieve a successful transition into the formal labor market. Inappropriate stress management as well as the absence of a supportive environment and the lack of institutions or organizations that equip young people to become mature, responsible and reasoning citizens also cause risky behaviour among young people. As discussed above, especially young male Jamaicans turn to subculture networks, join gangs and solve problems rather violently than conflict easing. For young women poverty as well as risky behavior has other consequences that limit their capacity development. Young women are especially vulnerable to violent assaults; they are victims of domestic violence and sexual abuse. The ESSJ reports that in 2010 814 young females between the ages 10 and 29 had been treated in hospitals due to sexual assault, compared to 38 males in the same age group (PIOJ, 2011:23.11). As in other Caribbean countries, in Jamaica young females are also forced to work in night clubs and serve with sex (UNDP, 2012:77). This not only defeats the dignity of young women and injures them physically as well as psychologically, it also constraints young women's capacity development tremendously. However, not only violence and sexual assaults are one of the causes that limit the opportunities for young people to gain knowledge, skills and experiences which would help them to find employment. In addition to risks that young people are combatting as part of their environment, they are also more willing to actively take risks that present a threat to personal health and safety. The consumption of inebriant substances such as alcohol or marijuana is very common among Jamaican young people which can lead to mental and health problems. Even though only 26 percent of respondents at the King Gate Skills Training Centre agreed or strongly agreed that it was difficult for young people to find employment due to involvement in criminal or drug activities, it is beyond doubt that drug consumption reduces youth's ability to become responsible and reliable employees. Additionally, the strong emphasis on gender identity in Jamaica induces young people to start sexual activity at an early age. Lack of knowledge and maturity can consequently lead to sexual risky behavior such as promiscuity or unprotected sex. Sexual risky behaviour, especially at a young age, can cause loss of creative potential and energy which would help young people finding a job later on in life. The UNDP Caribbean Human Development Report states that

> "Early sex has put young people at greater risk and made them more vulnerable to exposure to HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases, as well as teenage and unexpected pregnancy, which constrain socio-economic potential. These outcomes often lead to interpersonal conflict between partners and to depression, frustration and aggression." (UNDP, 2012:56)

Risky behaviour does not only harm young people and their capacity development in terms of possible diseases (HIV in particular). It can also cause early pregnancy or the inability to take advantage of opportunities if they present themselves to young people. Additionally, risky behaviour affects the psychological, ethical and cultural development, as well as their parenting capacities and their abilities to create a supportive and stimulating environment for generations to come. In that sense, risky behaviour by today's young people will not only determine their own capacity development but also influence the larger dimension of capacity development within local communities in the long run. Hence, another identified roots cause for challenges for capacity development is risky behaviour.

After having analysed some of the root causes that diminish young people's opportunities to find employment in terms of capacity development, a discussion on roles and capacities will follow. The Government of Jamaica is one actor that can the influence capacity development of young people. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture (MOEYC) bases its policies and programs on the philosophy that "The ever-changing global environment creates opportunities and makes demands for a society which actively develops a creative thinker-worker with the attitudes, skills and knowledge to be a controller of his environment not a victim of it" (MOEYC, 2001: White Paper). Jamaican youth will continue to struggle with unemployment, if the government does not succeed in providing options that help a society to develop creative thinker-workers. The effectiveness and quality of formal education and training by the government strongly determines whether or not young people will acquire attitudes, skills and knowledge to benefit from opportunities in the ever-changing global economy. If policies, structures and procedures are not pursued deliberately, Jamaican youth will not be able to develop and exercise their capabilities. Communities play a role because they can find strategies to build youth capacity by creating an enabling environment. Jamaican youth remain unemployed when strategies do not sufficiently "tackle the context in which violence arises, [or carve] out a space for youth to be equipped to take responsibility for resisting the recourse to violence" (UNDP 2012: 57). The last relevant actors are young people themselves. "Only when a person thinks about how to improve the present situation or how to perform an existing task in a better way can it can it be said that he or she has a strong achievement motivation" (So, 1990:39). In Jamaica, the lack of such achievement motivation is one problem that keeps youth from investing in their own capacity development which would be beneficial to their employability.

2. Institutional Concepts

The second thematic area looks at the institutional environment in which young Jamaicans get ready for working life. Hence, it focuses on the rational organization of Jamaica's educational system. Using Weber's model of bureaucracy youth unemployment in Jamaica is analyzed as regards to powers

that define needs and instruments to make efficient problem-solving. This analysis detects root causes for inefficiency of politico-institutional measures aiming at combatting youth unemployment.

The National Development Plan *Vision 2030 Jamaica* emphasizes that the realization of the plan "will require the input of our youth who must have a sense that they are at the centre of our nation's development" (POIJ, 2010:8). Believing that every Jamaican has the ability to contribute to the accomplishment of the plan, it encourages young people's involvement in the transformation process. This transformation process into a more developed nation includes the improvement of opportunities for young people to find decent employment. The government of Jamaica has been undertaking concrete measures to put young people at the center of national development since 1985, when it drafted the National Youth Policy. With the launch of this Policy in 1994 as well as the establishment of the National Youth Service (NYS) and the National Centre for Youth Development (NCYD), the government intensified its efforts to focus on youth issues and work to "facilitate the development of an environment that optimizes the potential of each young Jamaican" (MOEYC, 2003: 3.1). After having analyzed the situation of youth in Jamaica in 2001, the Policy was reviewed to be improved. A new version of the National Policy was drafted in 2003 and intended to better address new challenges of youth development. The Policy was reviewed by the NCYD and with the support from the National Strategic Plan for Youth Development (NSPYD). The reviewed Policy articulates the common vision for youth development in Jamaica as well as it defines the framework, roles and responsibilities in order to advocate youth issues.

"The National Youth Policy represents the government of Jamaica's genuine commitment to place on the agenda, issues, programs, and projects relating to youth. It reflects the work of hundreds of organizations and thousands of individuals who have labored diligently for almost two years to produce a document, which will guide youth development programs" (POLICY, 2004: 3).

The Policy is based on principles of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Therefore, it not only reinforces rights for young people such as the 'Right to life', freedom from discrimination, freedom of expression, culture and religion, the 'Right to an identity', protection from abuse and basic healthcare and education. It also addresses the right to opportunities which optimize young people's growth and development as well as access to services and information that will enhance their development (NCYD, 2003:21). In order to promote and ensure those rights the government of Jamaica implements legal and social initiatives that aim at fostering positive youth development. The initiatives are divided into six different topic areas. One of these topic areas is "Employment and Entrepreneurship". This will be at the core of this section on institutional concepts. Strategic objectives that were identified in this topic area embrace the efforts

to (i) increase the employability of youth, (ii) increase the number of employment opportunities for youth, and (iii) foster an environment conductive to creation of opportunities for self-employment (NYCD, 2003:26). The **Box 2** displays the particular measures taken to achieve those objectives. By working with various stakeholders from the public and private sector youth should be offered opportunities to develop relevant skills, gain work experience and find jobs with the help of placement programs.

Box 2: Measures to achieve Strategic Objectives

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

1. **To increase the employability of youth**
   - Through advocacy for relevant educational and skills training opportunities in the formal and NGO sectors;
   - By promoting on the job training opportunities, work experience and placement programmes;
   - By encouraging research and planning for training and qualifications that are relevant to the job market, and;
   - By fostering direct linkages between the education and employment sectors.

2. **To increase the number of employment opportunities for youth**
   - By promoting incentives for employers who employ inexperienced youths;
   - By promoting youth innovations in the agricultural, cultural and technological industries in Jamaica

3. **To foster an environment conducive to creation of opportunities for self-employment.**
   - By advocating for the strengthening of loan programmes to facilitate access to youth friendly credit;
   - By fostering training in the areas of entrepreneurship and enterprise development for youth (in and out of school), and;
   - By promoting self-employment as a viable alternative to traditional employment.

Source: NCYD, National Youth Policy 2003, p. 30

Additionally, incentives should be given to employers to hire young people even though they might lack experience and young people should be encouraged to contribute to different Jamaican sectors with their own inventions. The third strategic objective delineates self-employment as fruitful approach to creating new employment opportunities and advocates training, youth-friendly loan programs and enterprise development to facilitate entrepreneurship. The implementation of the Policy is a multi-sectoral approach which means that mechanisms at local, regional and national level underlay the implementation process. This requires a close collaboration from all stakeholders and should allow young people to actively participate themselves to reach the goals of the Policy. The list of stakeholder encompasses more than 200 national agencies, governmental and non-governmental organizations, schools, projects, associations, and international partners. With so many agents participating in the process to create a supportive environment for young people to find employment, the problem of collaboration and communication becomes evident. Already in 1994 the Jamaican government identified the need to set up an institutional focal point which could work
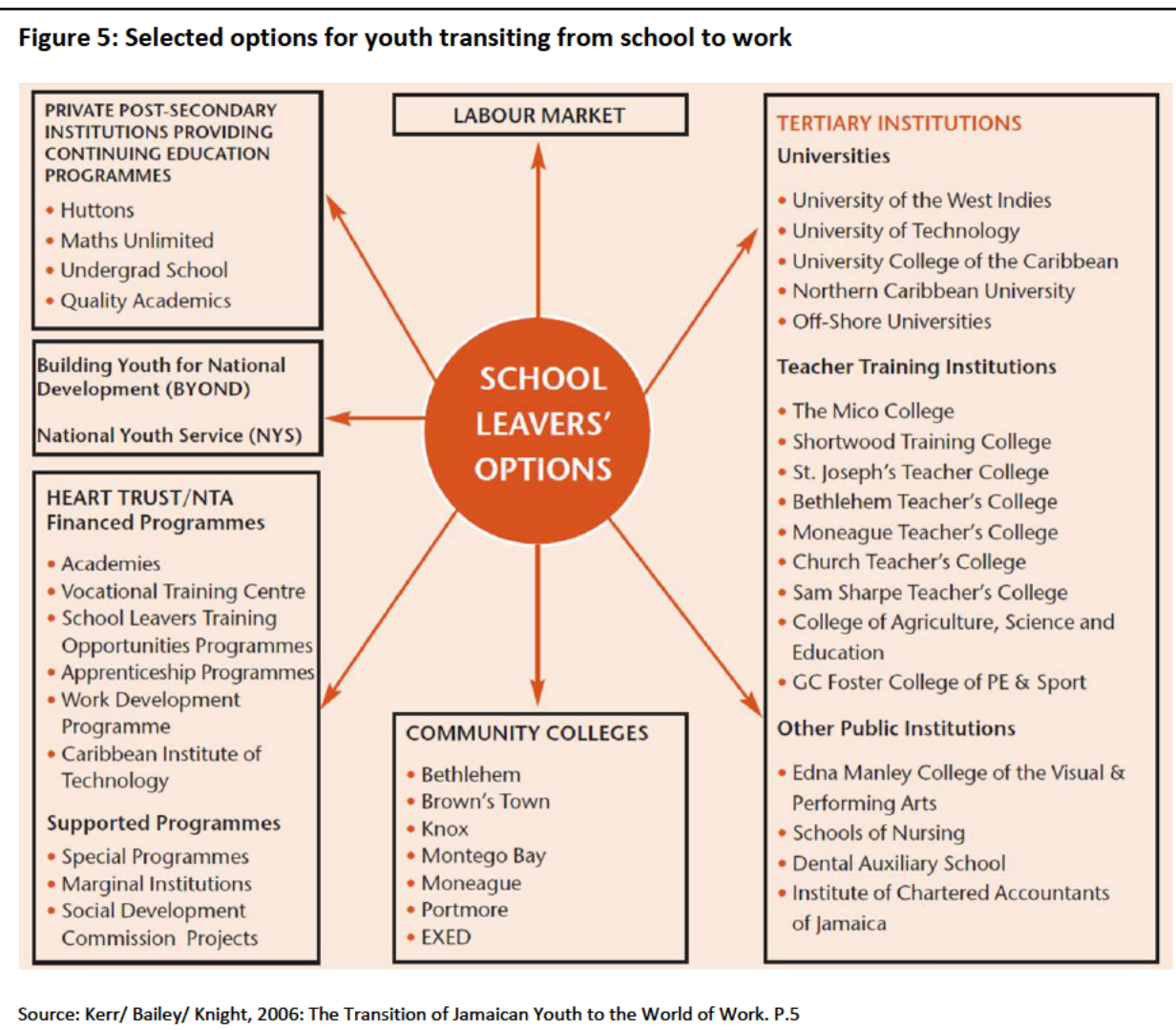
to ensure an effective coordination between the different organizations and agencies concerned with youth related programs.

For that purpose the Government of Jamaica (GOJ) established the NCYD which fulfills the role of being a center for collaboration among stakeholders. Additionally, it is a clearinghouse for information disseminating and research on issues regarding youth development. Further tasks of the NCYD include functions of policy formulation and strategic planning, program development and multi-sectoral coordination, monitoring and evaluations as well as program management, youth empowerment and participation through the National Secondary Student's Council, the Jamaica Youth Ambassadors Programme, the Jamaica Union of Tertiary Students and the National Youth Council. The NCYD also established multiple Youth Information Centres (Y.I.S.) throughout the country. These are local centers where young people can access free information, browse the internet, do job search, get help with school or job related tasks, can participate in workshop and fun activities as well as find mentors and counseling. With those services and activities the NCYD works towards its ultimate vision to act as "An interdependent, dynamic, youth – centric organization, fulfilling the needs of Jamaica's youth, empowering them to attain their maximum potential, where love of self, country and fellowman is customary, thus creating a solid foundation for the country's future" (NYCD, 2010: About the NYCD). The NCYD is partnering with the Human Employment and Resource Training Trust/ National Training Agency (HEART Trust/ NTA), a governmental Career Advancement Program which provides access to training through enterprise-based workplace experience and technical vocational and education training (TVET) institutions and programs. Additionally, HEART Trust/ NTA carries out competence assessment and offers certification at different levels. HEART Trust/ NTA is one of the main implementing agents that support Jamaican young people to successfully entering the labor market. Further partners engaging with NCYD are the Inter-American Development Bank – IDB, the Jamaica Business Development Corporation, the Jamaican Foundation for Lifelong Learning, the Korean International Cooperation – KOICA, the Labour Market Information System (LMIS), the National Youth Service, the United Nations Children Fund – UNICEF, the United Nations Population Fund-UNFPA, and the US Agency for International Development – USAID. Along with the National Youth Policy coordinated by the NCYD, the Jamaican government provides skills training and employment opportunities for youth through the National Youth Service (NYS). The NYS operates programs such as the Corps Programme, the Jamaica Values and attitudes Programme for Tertiary Students (JAMVAT) and the National Summer Employment Programme. Those programs give young Jamaicans the options to participate in training and work experience, community services, in government and private sector organizations, and positive development workshops. Young people can receive stipends for meals and transportation and back-to-school funds. As can be seen there is a magnitude of options for young people to benefit from in

order to escape the threat of unemployment. Summarizing the most important findings mentioned above,

> "The main options that are available for school leavers include entry into the labour market, enrolment in: private post-secondary institutions; the National Youth Service (NYS) programmes; HEART Trust/NTA programmes, Community Colleges and public and private tertiary institutions" (PIOJ, 2006:3).

Figure 5 summarizes the options that are available for school leavers in Jamaica.

Figure 5: Selected options for youth transiting from school to work

PRIVATE POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS PROVIDING CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAMMES
- Huttons
- Maths Unlimited
- Undergrad School
- Quality Academics

Building Youth for National Development (BYOND)

National Youth Service (NYS)

HEART TRUST/NTA Financed Programmes
- Academies
- Vocational Training Centre
- School Leavers Training Opportunities Programmes
- Apprenticeship Programmes
- Work Development Programme
- Caribbean Institute of Technology

Supported Programmes
- Special Programmes
- Marginal Institutions
- Social Development Commission Projects

LABOUR MARKET

SCHOOL LEAVERS' OPTIONS

COMMUNITY COLLEGES
- Bethlehem
- Brown's Town
- Knox
- Montego Bay
- Moneague
- Portmore
- EXED

TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS
Universities
- University of the West Indies
- University of Technology
- University College of the Caribbean
- Northern Caribbean University
- Off-Shore Universities

Teacher Training Institutions
- The Mico College
- Shortwood Training College
- St. Joseph's Teacher College
- Bethlehem Teacher's College
- Moneague Teacher's College
- Church Teacher's College
- Sam Sharpe Teacher's College
- College of Agriculture, Science and Education
- GC Foster College of PE & Sport

Other Public Institutions
- Edna Manley College of the Visual & Performing Arts
- Schools of Nursing
- Dental Auxiliary School
- Institute of Chartered Accountants of Jamaica

Source: Kerr/ Bailey/ Knight, 2006: The Transition of Jamaican Youth to the World of Work. P.5

The figure illustrates the range of different institutions, programs and services offered by multiple stakeholders that present opportunities for youths in Jamaica to develop skills and improve their employability. Having in mind those various options and the numerous stakeholders and agents involved in youth development and employment initiatives, one may pose the question how information reaches young people, what channels are used to communicate those options into the communities and how effectively trainings prepare young people to enter the labor market. Challenges such as making young people aware of their options as well as challenges when improving

and expanding programs and working in cooperation with other agents seem to impact the effectiveness of programs tremendously. Another questionable issue is the speed at which policies and programs are developed and implemented. The most recent version of the National Youth Policy dates back to 2004 and does not respond adequately to young peoples' need of today's Jamaica. As a consequence, the Jamaica National Youth Survey 2010 (JNYS) has been conducted, intending to map current the situation of young Jamaicans and address gaps within the existing Policy. Giving an in-depth analysis of young people's living and working conditions, entrepreneurial and employment opportunities as well as spirituality and values, the survey aimed to collect information that could serve the revision of the National Youth Policy. Having seen so many highly ambitious strategies to create better employment opportunities for youths in Jamaica, the research question appears to be even more urgent: why do a substantial number of Jamaican youths remain unemployed, despite years of government programs on youth employment? The PIOJ in collaboration with the ILO has identified some of the major obstacles that impede young Jamaican's access to decent employment. The main obstacles that youths in Jamaica encounter when searching a suitable job are (i) no suitable training opportunities, (ii) unsuitable general education, (iii) no education, (iv) unsuitable vocational education, and (v) not enough jobs available (PIOJ, 2006: 30). These obstacles are closely related to institutional issues and hence become relevant for the analysis in this section.

Selected Challenges for Youth Employment

Based on this situation of Jamaica's institutional context and the description of roles and responsibilities related to youth employment initiatives, two major challenges for youth employment have been identified and were selected as working concepts to be used in the causal and capacity analysis below. These selected challenges are:

- Effectiveness

- Budget

Causal & Capacity Gap Analysis

EFFECTIVENESS seen as a concept to analyze outcomes of the educational system, is used to investigate whether or not the institutional setting in Jamaica achieves the objective to prepare young people for future employment. According to Human Capital Theory, high levels of public spending on education increase productivity. However, critical discussion of Human Capital Theory and empirical experiences point out that high public expenditure on education does not necessarily lead to high quality education and effectiveness. The quality of education and its adequateness to needs in the economy and to its beneficiaries is determining economic returns and levels of growth. In Jamaica, the educational system is often criticized not to be effective. The Taskforce on Education Reform identified that "underachievement in student learning at all levels of the system as the most

critical issue" (IDB, unknown:4). The Economic and Social Survey 2010 (ESSJ) presents numbers of poor students' achievement in mathematics and literacy. "As at 2010, the level of mastery in literacy was 67.1 per cent and 41.6 per cent for numeracy" (PIOJ, 2011:22.7). Consequently, general pass rates for examinations are relatively low. The JNYS 2010 discovers that more than half of Jamaicans between the ages 15-24 had not passed any examination, namely 55 percent and less than 5 percent had passed higher examinations. **Figure 6** display the percentages of examinations passed according to different levels.

The figure shows that at all levels student learning is critical and underachievement is reflected by very low rates of students passing examinations. It gives evidence of low outcome of the educational system and the investment in human capital of Jamaican youth. Such low outcomes decrease young people's chances to find employment in the labor market. They will not be adequately prepared to fulfill required tasks by employers and increase productivity. During the interview, Ms. Sherrian Gray addresses the same problem and mentions that many of them cannot even write their own name (Transcript 1). Also Ms. Nasolo Thompson, National Project Officer Officer at the ILO Jamaica, states during the interview that young people coming out of the school system are challenged to perform

Figure 6: Examinations passed at different levels

Percentage Distribution of Highest Examination Passed
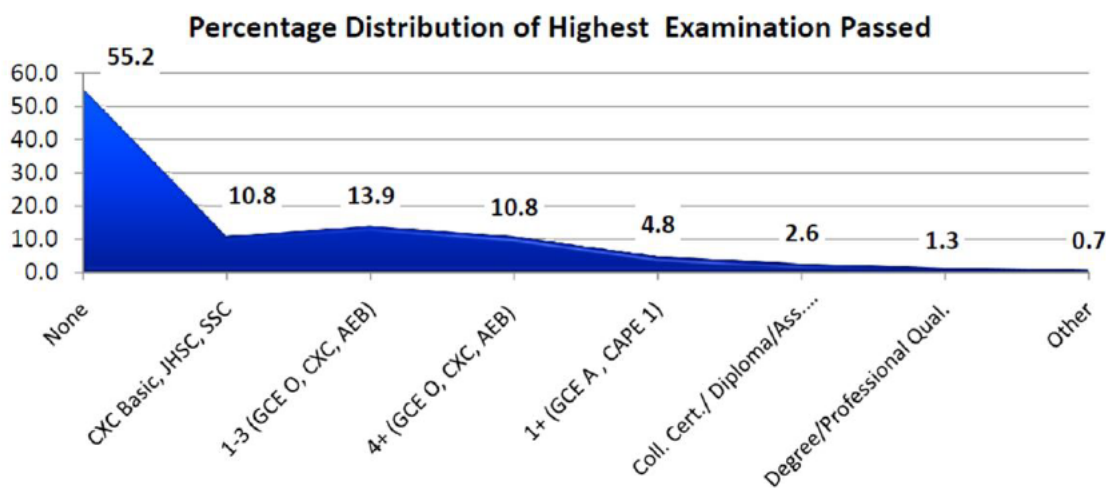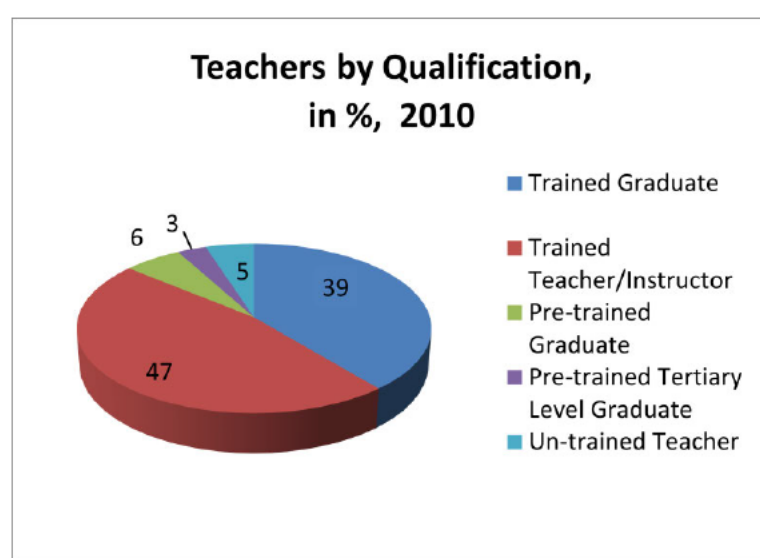
Source: Forbes/ Delatie-Budair (Statinja), Presentation Jamaica National Youth Survey 2010, Slide 16

well in basic skills such as "literacy, proficiency in English, numeracy and social soft skills, [...] interpersonal relations, conflict resolution, [and] those kind of things" (Transcript 3). Consequently, young people are not absorbable by the labor market. This is supported by findings of the Common Country Assessment 2006 - 2010 for Jamaica (CCA) which states that "Poor educational outcomes often mean long-term underemployment or 'worklessness' and decreased social mobility" (UN/GOJ, unknown:55). Causes for such low outcomes decreasing effects on the quality of education in Jamaica are absenteeism on both sides, the students' as well as the teachers' side. In addition,

teaching methods are often inappropriate particularly towards poor performance of young males and teachers are insufficiently trained. The Ministry of Education has drawn more attention to the low achievement rates of Jamaicans youths and has identified the quality of teaching as one major obstacle for successfully educating youths. Therefore, one of the root causes that are identified to cause youth unemployment is the lack of quality teaching. This is closely connected to the qualification of teachers whose task it is to prepare young people for future employment in a meaningful way. The ESSJ presents numbers that demonstrate that Jamaican teachers are often qualified at low levels. Even though the number of teachers has increased by 1.4 percent in 2009/2010 compared to the prior year, only 81.0 percent of teachers working in public secondary schools were trained (PIOJ, 2011:22.14). **Figure 7** shows the distribution of teachers by qualification.

Teachers that are not trained well enough have more difficulties to present the subject matters catching students' attention. For them it is also harder to maintain discipline among students disturbing the course of teaching. Especially young Jamaican males, due to their behavior emphasizing manliness, toughness and violence tend to show such behavior also at school. Their educational outcome is low because teachers

Figure 7: Distribution of teachers by qualification, 2010

Teachers by Qualification, in %, 2010

- Trained Graduate
- Trained Teacher/Instructor
- Pre-trained Graduate
- Pre-trained Tertiary Level Graduate
- Un-trained Teacher

39
47
6
3
5

Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010, p. 22.13

are unable to react to such behavior appropriately, sincere, creating a sense of discipline and obedience to rules. It could be easier achieved by male teachers. However, "Consistent with previous years, the teaching profession continued to be dominated by females at this level where they accounted for 89.3 per cent of the total" (PIOJ, 2011:22.10). The large number of female teachers is a contributing factor that the educational system fails to especially address and reach young males. They do not feel motivated to perform better in school. Another cultural driven aspect for male underachievement becomes clear in the interview with Ms. Nasolo Thompson who explains based on a field survey that "succeeding in the academic system was a feminine thing, so [boys] associated it with homosexuality" (Transcript 3, 12.16). This shows that in Jamaica, teaching is not designed for a particular context and is not sensitive towards socio-cultural aspects. Inexperienced teachers or such lacking appropriate pedagogical skills easily could fell overwhelmed. This again translates into low quality teaching and poor educational outcomes. It has consequences for the future employability of

young Jamaican. "Where there is a failing education system, options are narrowed and persons may become itinerant, moving in search of employment" (UN/GOJ, unknown: 59). Human Capital Theory supports this argumentation by emphasizing that education must be of high quality in order to increase "economically productive human capability" (Olaniyan/ Okemakinde, 2008:158), hence, in order to improve young peoples' employable and absorbable by the labor force.

The educational system in Jamaica seems to be ineffective also in other ways. Aiming to prepare young people for future employment, in Jamaica many different institutions and programs offer training opportunities for young people. Since in this analysis the focus is on the effectiveness of the educational system as such, the difference between regular schooling and different types of training is not particularly highlighted. It is rather important to show opportunities that are offered to young Jamaicans so as to develop skills and improve their employability. Which particular path they choose is of minor importance and not relevant in this analysis. As discovered through the survey at the Kings Gate Skills Training Centre, 87 percent of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the training would improve their skills and abilities and 60 percent stated that the training would help them find a job. As described in the above, young school leavers in Jamaica can choose from a wide range of possibilities how to continue training. Besides the major post-secondary programs such as HEART/Trust NTA and NYS programs or the Building Youth for National Development (BYOND) Project, young Jamaicans can continue education at several Community Colleges and public as well as private post-secondary and tertiary institutions. **Figure 8** displays the distribution of method of training respondents of the JNYS were receiving in 2010. **Figure 9** shows the qualification that they expect to achieve on completion of training.

Figure 8: Percentage Distribution of Method of Current Training, 2010
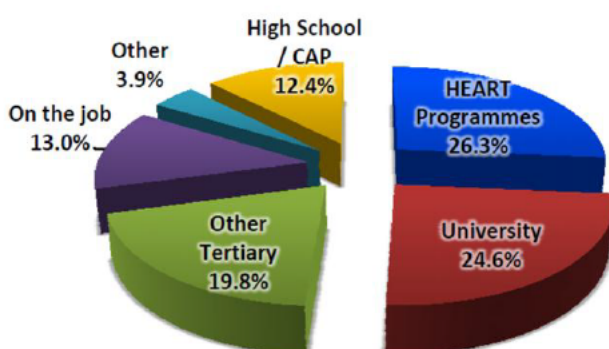
Source: IDB/GOJ, National Youth Survey 2010, Final Report, p.69

Figure 9: Percentage Distribution of Qualification Expected on Completion of Training, 2010
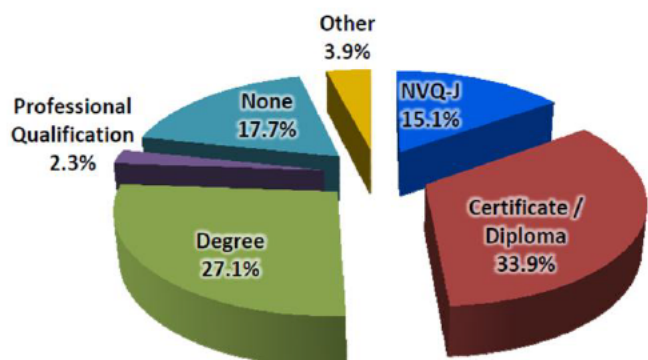
Source: IDB/GOJ, National Youth Survey 2010, Final Report, p.69

The two figures indicate that approximately 45 percent of young people receive training at university/tertiary level, while a quarter of youth is enrolled in on-the-job trainings or HEART/Trust NTA programs. These figures illustrate various possibilities for Jamaican youth to obtain a certificate

or diploma. Such an official document enables young people to prove their successful termination of training and attests acquired skills. It also helps employers to know which tasks a young person applying for a job is able to perform. Hence, a certificate or diploma facilitates young people's job search and improves their chances to find employment. From a theoretical economic perspective a formal certification reduces information asymmetries and therefore reduces costs that occur during job search. However, as shown before, a majority of young people in Jamaica does not pursue a formal training. This means that they do not only miss the chance to receive a certification at the end of their training, they also have fewer opportunities to improve their abilities in an institutional context where methods fulfill formalized standards and teachers are officially approved. The JNYS 2010 discovers that less than a third of young Jamaicans (29.8 percent) have ever been trained for a job or occupation (IDB/GOJ, 2011:64). The remaining 70.2 percent of youth in Jamaica has therefore a weaker position when it comes to applying for a job. One obstacle that keep young Jamaicans from pursuing a training is lack of financing (30.7 percent of respondents in the JNYS indicated that lack of financing was an obstacles to training; IBD/GOJ, 2011:70). Another obstacle is capacity issues by responsible training institutions. "Despite the existence of a number of Human Employment and Resource Training Trust/ National Training Agency (HEART Trust/NTA) financed and operated training opportunities island-wide, these institutions have largely been unable to fulfill the level of demand" (Kerr/Bailey/Knight, 2006:30f). Over-subscriptions for popular programs such as hospitality or food service or long waiting lists in order to register for training programs make it difficult for young Jamaicans to access suitable preparation for future employment. The HEART Trust/ NTA annual report 2007-2008 shows improvements in access to training for young people. The report indicates that the collaboration with the private sector has been intensified in order to provide more training opportunities for youth. The number of new partnering firms has been extended from 29 to 92 in the period under review. The rate of enrollment has surpassed the set target by 9.7 percent and the number of learners participating in HEART Trust/ NTA programs had increased to 107,093 (HEART Trust/NTA, 2008:17). These numbers, even though optimistic, reveal another root cause for youth unemployment in Jamaica from an institutional perspective: capacity issues. This is further explained in the following calculation: the enrollment of students in secondary level schools in real terms totaled 262,626 (PIOJ, 2011:22.12). This is the same time period as covered by the HEART rust/NTA annual report 2007-2008. In 2010, the number of students enrolled in secondary education has increased to 265,175 (PIOJ, 2011:22.12). Referring to Figure 8, one can see that only roughly 45 percent of youth who continued education in 2010, went to tertiary level institutions. This means that the rest of those young Jamaicans who pursue further education engaged in vocational or on-the-job training, hence, approximately 55 percent. Assuming that all school leavers from secondary education would like to continue with training to advance their qualification, one can compute the

number of training places necessary to absorb the number of school leavers intending to pursue a vocational or on-the-job training. If 55 percent of the 262,626 secondary school leavers in 2007-2008 would have liked to access training, 144,444 training places should have been available. HEART Trust/ NTA, however, only offered 107,093 training places. Even though, HEART Trust/NTA is not the only supplier of training opportunities it is the national training program and hence the largest and most important one. This calculation shows that the state cannot provide sufficient opportunities for young people to receive training. Looking at enrollment in secondary institutions is interesting in that regard that training programs often require a completed secondary education in order to register. Consequently, youth who cannot enroll in a training program due to capacity issues are forced to enter the labor market without training. The fact that young people face such ineffectiveness in terms of training opportunities leads to discouragement among youth and a loss of productivity for the labor force.

The main actor when it comes to capacities is the government. The GOJ has a key role for designing and implementing curricula in the educational system, including national training programs. Its main responsibility is to create a link between the economy and the youth population seeking to enter the labor force and contribute to the economy. For this, the government has to identify the need of the economy and which types of employment can bring promising opportunities for young Jamaicans to find employment. If the government does not recognize circumstances and concerns of young people it is unable to tailor education suitably to prepare them for future employment. By providing national institutions and initiatives to teach relevant skills to Jamaican youth, the GOJ has the most powerful capacity to improve the situation for young people to successfully find jobs. Another important actor is the private sector. As mentioned above, private firms closely collaborate with state institutions such as HEART Trust/NTA to provide training opportunities for young Jamaican. By doing so, private sector firms not only contribute to a better understanding of what is needed in the economy and adapting curricula in order to be best appropriate. Private firms which engage within the educational system also allow young students to improve their learning process with practical experience acquired outside formal schooling. Hence, they can help to make training more effective. Jamaican youth are another actor in terms of capacity. Their behavior and motivation to acquire new skills is a determining factor to make education and job preparation effective. Even though Jamaican young people face obstacles when trying to access training, they can benefit from a wide range of possibilities to get ready for the labor market. Some of these possibilities are skills development programs offered by NGOs or church groups as well as e-learning or consulting professional counselors rather than family or friends. Hence, if Jamaican youth actively search to improve their skills development they can ameliorate their own employability or help others to do so.

BUDGET, "must encompass all the fiscal operations of government and must also force policy decisions having financial implications to be made against the background of a hard budget constraint and in competition with other demands" (World Bank, 1998: 1). In that sense, budget demonstrates an institutional challenge to successful educational outcomes. The availability and amount of financial resources determines whether or not training programs or educational initiatives can further exist or fulfill adequate requirements meeting the needs of the targeted population. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture (MOEYC) receives its funds through the Ministry of Finance which allocates certain taxes and general revenues towards education and specific educational programs, such as HEART Trust/NTA programs. Additionally, international donor agencies support the GOJ with project-related funds, agencies such as the UNESCO, the Inter-American Development Bank, Organization of American States (OAS) and other private sector agencies as well as community and faith-based organizations. The GOJ considers education and training as "overriding priority" (MOE, 2007: White Paper) which is reflected in the allocation of funds to the MOEYC. In the time period between 1996 and 2000 the Government of Jamaica allocated public expenditure to education ranging from 6.1 to 7.6 as a percentage of the national GDP. In 2009, the education expenditure was 5.8 percent of the GDP (World Bank, 2012c). That is above the level which OECD countries usually spend on education, running from 4.5 to 6.7 percent as a percentage of GDP (Cahuc/Zylberberg, 2001: 61). Public expenditure on education covers spending on instructional and non-instructional educational institutions. In that it provides for the education of students as well as services and bodies in charge of administration, curriculum development, psychological counseling, educational research or building maintenance. Through the educational system young people gain the ability to signal their specific capacities to possible future employers. Investing in primary and secondary education may not immediately translate into payoffs. However, "education is an investment that produces knowledge acquisition and increased productivity, which in turn leads to higher income" (Cahuc/Zylberberg, 2001: 60). Surely, the Theory of Human Capital by Becker (1964) rather refers to individuals and their individual choices to invest expenditures in order to improve their efficiency in the labor market. Nevertheless, the government plays a significant role in ensuring access to education through public expenditures, especially in the context of Jamaica's large cohort of young people coming from poor communities and not being able to afford education. In that sense, the GOJ, by investing in the acquisition of knowledge of its youth generation, will eventually receive returns in form of higher productivity and efficiency of the labor market. Between the years 1996 and 2000, the spending on education made up 10.6 and 14.5 percent of the Government's budget (MOE, 2007: White Paper). Though the GOJ continues to provide mostly free education in the public sector and covers for example tuitions for students at secondary level, government spending on education has decreased over the past couple of years. "For the Financial Year (FY) 2010/11, the

GOJ allocated $73.4 billion, which was 13.1 per cent of the national budget [...]. This was 2.5 per cent below the revised estimates for 2009/10" (PIOJ, 2011:22.2). These cuts in government spending on education can be explained as a consequence of the global economic crisis where to the GOJ reacted with monetary and fiscal reforms. **Figure 10** illustrates the proportions allocated to the school different levels. It refers to the overall budget on education in the Financial Year (FY) 2010/11. The figure shows that the largest proportion on spending goes to the secondary level, namely 34.4 percent. For many young Jamaicans education on secondary level is the last stage of formal schooling before they transfer to institutions training them for a particular job or acquiring skills in a specialized subject area. Therefore, the GOJ by investing particularly in education on secondary level plays a crucial role in preparing young people for their entry into the labor market and creating drivers for economic development. With the reduction of the overall spending on education, however, the government

Figure 10: Allocation of the overall budget on education according to school levels, FY 2010/11
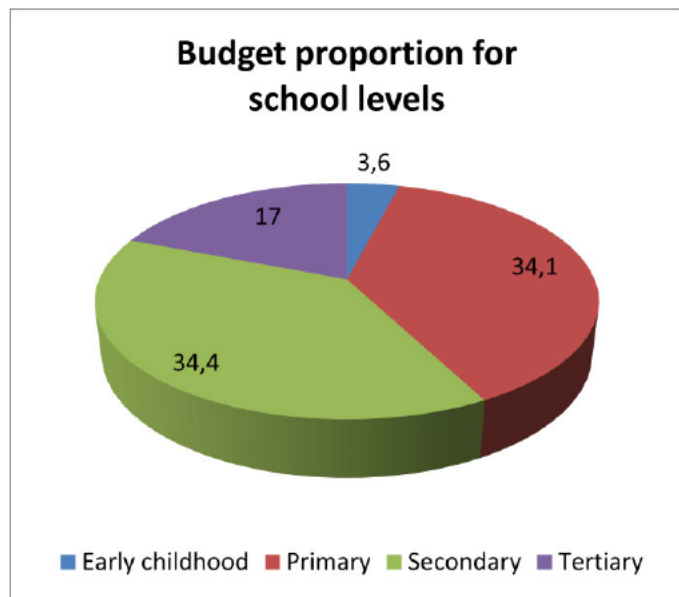
Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010, p. 22.2

runs the risk to diminish positive outcomes of the education system and to "jeopardise the Vision 2030" (Jamaica Observer, 2011). By decreasing its spending on education the government takes away important resources to guarantee quality preparation for young people's future careers and higher earnings connected to higher education. It would directly affect young people and their opportunities to find employment. Therefore, budget cuts have been identified as one root cause of budgetary challenges within the institutional context. Even though, the GOJ has prioritized education on its policy agenda and strategic planning, reductions in spending have contributed to aggravating effects on the youth unemployment situation in Jamaica.

Another issue is the efficiency of expenditures on education itself. Referring to the bureaucracy model mentioned above, bureaucratic administration, thus a system of hierarchical structures, specialization and impersonality, is "a technical necessity (to co-ordinate the subdivided tasks)" (Urban in Gastel, 2005:3). The Jamaican MOEYC's mission is to "manage an effective system of human resource development for Jamaica" (Tindigarukayo/Chadwick, 1996:13). The educational system in Jamaica and its management and structure is again rooted in Jamaica's historical

development. Initially set up to educate the small white elite (as in contrast to the black working class), the entire management of school-related issues was pooled in one central office. With political restructuring and after 1991, this management system was changed into one "administrative head office and six regional offices" (MOEYC, 2004:1). This first step to decentralize the educational system in Jamaica aimed to give more responsibility to regional offices in order to supervise school at a local level and respond quicker to problems on the ground. This being a first step towards a more effective education system, in 2007 the GOJ approached the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) to assist with the transformation of the education sector. As a result and based on studies, the GOJ introduced institutional reforms and changed "the structure and governance of Jamaica's education system [aiming] to create more accountability and autonomy throughout the sector, and [intending] to improve the overall quality of education measured by well-defined performance targets" (IDB, unknown:4). In 2010, the Education System Transformation Programme was established to improve the performance in this sector. The undertaken institutional reforms also included a ministry modernization process with the following issues being tackled: (i) the implementation of a more developed Information and Communication Technology system with the goal to facilitate online registration and completing registration processes, (ii) drafting standards for licensing to improve capacity building among teachers and training providers for teachers in service, and (iii) the establishment of the National College for Educational Leadership (PIOJ, 2011:22.7). These reforms have a direct effect on young people and their future employment opportunities. The root cause identified in this section is the lack of modernization. Antiquated structures and obsolescent management systems decelerate processes. In contrast, standardized procedures and the use of modern communication technology not only facilitate quicker operations but are also less money consuming. The ESSJ reveals that 75.3 percent of government expenditure was allocated to recurrent disbursements (PIOJ, 2011:22.2). Mr. Machel Stewart, Poverty Programme Advisor at UNDP Jamaica, responds in the interview as regards to challenges when implementing programs. "as usual one of them is institutional arrangements, bureaucracy, we work with implementing agencies which are usually attached to a government department, so that's one, the bureaucracy of getting everything, the procurement done, bureaucracies of getting consultants hired" (Transcript 2). He additionally explains that the UNDP supports the government to develop a harmonized framework for data statistics to make data measurement more accurate and data sharing between different ministries more consistent. These experiences reveal a reality which shows that large percentages of expenditures are not being used efficiently. Heavy bureaucracy and time-consuming procedures also cause high expenditure on operational processes in the educational system. Consequently, this money cannot be invested in providing better training opportunities for young people through modernized school equipment or better quality teaching. After the global economic crisis, budgets

were cut through fiscal and monetary reforms and the different ministries were „called upon to be more efficient, more frugal" (Jamaica Observer, 2011). However, if the management system is not modernized well enough, there will not be many possibilities to be more efficient. This will result in higher number of students not getting access to education as well as decreasing quality of teaching. The finding backs the theoretical assumption that bureaucracy is the most rational instrument to organize collective goals only to a certain extend. The idea to assign clear roles and responsibilities to be efficient can only be achieved when the institutional context is modern and directly responding to occurring needs.

During the interview with Ms. Nasolo Thompson another point was raised which demonstrates a challenge for youth employment programs and projects as regards to budgeting: the collaboration with other organizations and agencies and the dependency on donors for particular initiatives. The Government of Jamaica for instance engaged with UNICEF for a 30-month to implement to develop more NCYD'S Youth Information Centres island wide between 2007 and 2008. Other international donor agencies and NGOs contributed to the project to ensure sustainability (NYCD, 2010). Such projects that help young people on the ground to search jobs, write applications and obtain other important information to find employment are heavily relying on donors in order to continue operating. Ms Nasolo Thompson explains in the interview that donors have a significant involvement in how funds should be spent. If a project does not fulfill certain parameters or requirements that a donor is expecting to be fulfilled, they might not pay and hence, the project would lack necessary financial resources to keep running. Some agencies have more flexibility but other agencies have stricter rules about how the money should be used. Ms. Thompson emphasizes that "really where the money comes from is key" (Transcript 3). This shows that local practitioners face constraints enforced by external actors when designing projects. They cannot react to what is needed on the ground but rather have to fulfill expectation of donors. Additionally, the problem arises that projects may not be sustainable and will have to be terminated after funding has been ceased. So, another root cause for budgetary challenges to youth employment in an institutional context is the dependency on donors. Young people involved in training projects funded by international donors, engage, acquire skills and are being prepared for the labor market as long as the program is running. However, if the project ends, youth cannot longer seek such services. In so far, international collaboration on youth employment programs is a fruitful approach to create better opportunities for youth to enter the labor market, but if implemented without further considerations on how to maintain services, it leads to fewer opportunities for youth to increase their employability.

After some of the root causes for youth unemployment in terms of budget have been explained, this paragraph discusses important roles and capacities. First, the Government of Jamaica is an actor of

major importance when it comes to improving budget distribution, budget efficiency and budget sustainability. It should be acknowledged that the GOJ is aware of the benefits that education brings to young people and that education will prepare them future. The government may also be well aware of the fact that there is a positive relation between education and economic growth and that better educated workers contribute to better economic return. However, the practical experience shows that resources used are not distributed in the most efficient way. The modernization of the MOEYC is an important step to cut down costs for lengthy processes and re-organize funding to make it available in more efficient ways. Another influential actor is the international community or more precisely international donors and partners. With funds and loans for example by the UNESCO, the IADB, the OAS or the IMF, the Government of Jamaica has a wider scope to operate and to create policies and implement programs aiming to support young people to escape the trap of unemployment. However, collaboration with international donors or partners brings certain dependencies and constraints. Especially loans by the IMF and debt services as well as structural adjustments that are a precondition to receiving loans, demonstrate a tremendous burden to Jamaica. As a result, institutions and initiatives that are targeted to creating job opportunities for young Jamaicans suffer from shortage of funding due to the need to comply with conditions made by members of the international community.

3. Economic Concepts

The third thematic area focuses on youth unemployment in Jamaica's economic context. Economic concepts are used as regards to economic development. According to Streeten "the objective of the development effort is to provide all human beings with the opportunity for a full life" (Dutt/ Ros, 2008:3). Such opportunities for a full life also include perspectives to gain decent employment in order to be self-sustainable and also to become productive members of the labor force. Theories of economic development help to analyze economic issues and their effects to enable or impede young Jamaica's opportunities to find employment. Economic development is closely correlated to issues analyzed earlier in this thesis in terms of social and institutional concepts.

Jamaica is classified as an upper middle income country by the World Bank. In 2010, Jamaica's GDP was at USD 14,252,029,782 (World Bank, 2012). The service sector is the largest contributor to Jamaica's GDP. Service industries accounted for an estimated 81.5 percent contribution to the national GDP in 2010 (PIOJ, 2011:5.5). Services are also the island's most employment generating sector and accounted for 64.4 percent of total employment in 2010 (ibid:XIV). The JNYS survey 2010 confirms this stark emphasis on services by illustrating that more than a half of young Jamaicans had received training to become either *Craft and Related Trades Workers* or *Service Workers and Shop and Market Sales Workers*, 28.6 and 28.0 percent respectively (IDB/GOJ, 2011:64). Goods producing

industries made up 23.6 percent of the 2010 GDP. Most of Jamaica's foreign exchange is received from remittances and tourism, approximately 15 and 10 percent of GDP respectively (CIA World Factbook, 2012). The export of aluminum and bauxite is another important contributor to Jamaica's economy, comprising about 10 percent of Jamaica's GDP. Even though, the total inflows of remittances increased by USD 115.9 million and export earnings for bauxite and aluminum rose by 14.3 percent between 2009 and 2010, the overall economy of Jamaica contracted by 1.2 percent in the same time of reference. "Both the Good-producing and Service Industries declined by 1.7 percent and 1.5 percent, respectively" (PIOJ, 2011:XI). This is due to the effects of the global economic crisis and resulting developmental challenges. **Figure 11** shows the curve of Jamaica's GDP between 2005 and 2010. It illustrates positive annual development of the GDP before 2008 and following the global economic crisis negative effects on economic growth until 2010. The ESSJ identifies as one of the

reasons the "weak external demands and private financial flows" (ibid:VI). Prior to the global crisis, commodity prices in Jamaica had risen sharply between 2006 and 2008 and severe natural disasters such as the Hurricane Gustav in 2008 and Tropical Storm Nicole in 2010 deteriorated Jamaica's economic situation and increased the pressure on Jamaica to undertake macroeconomic changes. As a

Figure 11: Total GDP at Basic Prices, 2005-2010
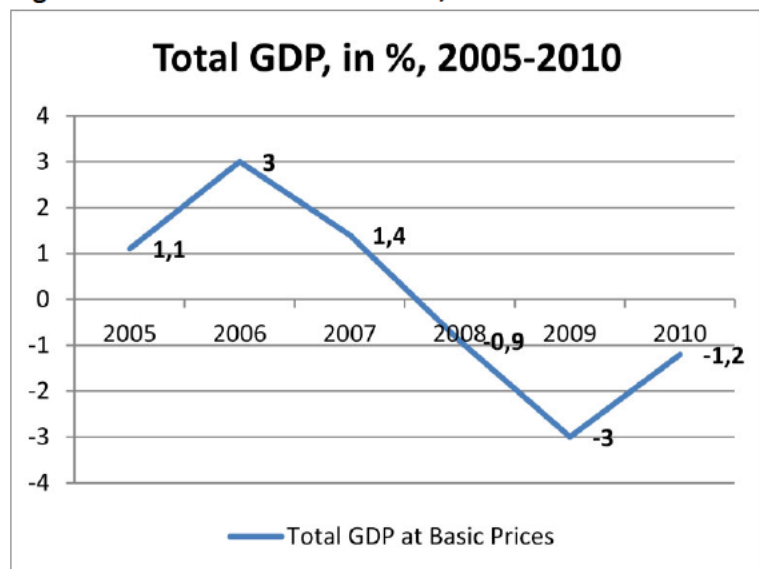
Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica, 2011, p.5.3.

result of such downturns for Jamaica's economic development, the GOJ had to turn to the IMF in order to borrow financial supplies. In February 2010, Jamaica entered a 27-month Stand-By Arrangement (SBA) by the IMF over USD 1.2 billion (IMF, 2010). The SBA aims to combat Jamaica`s economic development challenges in terms of (I) growth, (ii) inflation, (iii) balance of payments, (iv) tax reform, (v) public sector reforms, and (vi) financial sector reforms (IMF, 2010). Additionally, Jamaica receives Official Development Assistance (ODA) by numerous multilateral and bilateral partners such as the IDB, the World Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank. Such grants and loans are intended to "[maintain] macroeconomic stability, [promote] social well-being, and [foster] an enabling environment for private sector development" (PIOJ, 2011:IX). Most of newly approved ODA is directed to the Administrative sector to support the reform of government`s policies. Jamaica`s weak macroeconomic performance has made it necessary to rely on foreign assistance and

arrangements to borrow loans. Especially the events between 2008 and 2010 have impacted the country with various challenges leading to negative economic development. Jamaica`s imports, which showed an increase in 2010, outweighed exports leading to a trade deficit of USD 3 866.4 million (ibid:6.4). Even though the exchange rate showed a nominal appreciation of 4.2 percent between 2009 and 2010 and interest rates declined, Jamaica suffered from higher domestic prices for food and fuel due to the international rise in grains and oil prices (ibid:6.8).

The negative development of Jamaica`s economy as a result from the crisis has deteriorating effects on the employment situation in the country. The largest absolute decrease of employed labor force recorded the construction industry which experienced a decline of employed persons by 6.7 percent (ibid.XII). Also in the Tourism industry the annual employment shrunk and Hotels and Restaurants employed 4450 persons less in 2010 compared to 2009 (ibid:17.8). This becomes an important issue against the background that many young people in Jamaica are being trained and employed in the service sector. Even though, the Jamaican economy is slowly recovering from the, the effects of poor economic performance hit young people the hardest also in a long term. As a consequence from limited employment opportunities especially for well-educated young Jamaicans, many young people migrate to the United States, Canada or Great Britain. The participation in the GOJ`s Overseas Employment Programme rose by 8.3 percent in 2010, compared to 2009. Despite of the small size of the island, Jamaica is well known in the world thanks to its large diaspora. Many Jamaicans leave for economic reasons. They often have the chance to earn more money with jobs in foreign countries and hence are able support their families from abroad. "Large numbers of Jamaican households have one or more members abroad in North America or the United Kingdom, while many others contain returned migrants" (Glennie/ Chappell, 2010). In that sense, migration has two effects in terms of economic development in Jamaica. On one hand, remittances contribute to Jamaica's economic development. On the other hand, Jamaica faces the challenge to lose its professional class and valuable capacities for national development, since mostly skilled and well educated Jamaicans leave the country. It shows that Jamaica lacks sufficient incentives to attract young people to become productive members of the labor force. However, the issue of migration also gives evidence for Jamaica`s strong outcomes of the tertiary education level and that Jamaica's highly trained professionals are able to succeed in the international arena. How does this correspond with the lack of quality and ineffectiveness of Jamaica`s educational system analyzed in the previous section?

Again it reveals the issue of poverty and raises the point of what opportunities do individuals have to receive support engaging in training. Young people from wealthy families have better chances to obtain a high quality education than youth from an economically poor background. With that in

mind, one understands that young Jamaicans from wealthy families have greater opportunities to find employment, if not in Jamaica, then abroad.

Selected Challenges for Youth Employment

Based on this situation of Jamaica's economic activities and development, two major challenges for youth employment have been identified and were selected as working concepts to be used in the causal and capacity analysis below. These selected challenges are:

- Public Debts

- Migration

Causal & Capacity Gap Analysis

PUBLIC DEBTS, used as a concept that considers public expenditure as a government action to increase productivity, refers to government borrowing to compensate fiscal deficits. With a debt-to-GDP ratio at 129.3 percent in fiscal year 2009/2010, Jamaica continues to be one of the most indebted countries in the world (Johnston/ Montecino, 2011:2). The results of such enormous public debt are high costs for debt servicing and the need to mobilize extensive levels of revenue to repay debts as well as very high interest rates. Actually, Jamaica's debt could be manageable, if the interest rates did not present such a heavy burden. Interest rates have shown a significant increase since the 1990s when Jamaica started to change the composition of its debts. Relying more heavily on external creditors before the early 1990s, Jamaica performed a marked shift towards a more domestic and private oriented creditor reliance in the following years. Consequently, government's interest payments have risen from 8.1 percent of GDP in 1997/1998 to 17.0 percent in 2009/2010 (Ibid:5). Debt servicing consumes large proportions of Jamaica's public capital expenditure. The GOJ is obliged to dedicate valuable resources to creditor arrangements which could be spent otherwise in order to improve education, health care or measure to stimulate economic growth. **Figure 12** illustrates the development of interest payments in relation to Jamaica's capital expenditure. It gives clear evidence that the compensation for high interest rates has been causing stagnation of public investment in social and economic development over the last decades. Driven by the need to reduce the high extent of indebtedness Jamaica's government is dictated by constraints in economic planning. Managing debts rather than investing in social and economic development deeply impacts the lives of young people on their way to employment: "[The] chronic lack of public investment in economic and social infrastructure […] is a serious impediment to achieving sustained productivity increases and growth in human capital" (Johnston/ Montecino, 2011:4). Earlier in this thesis, it was discussed how cuts in educational budget demonstrate a challenges to providing adequate training opportunities and high quality teaching which would positively affect Jamaican youths' employability. The Ministry of Education mentions the burden of debt servicing in its White Paper and summarizes

expenditure on education for the period between 1996 and 2000 as follows: "the budgetary allocation to education has fluctuated between 10.6 and 14.5 percent of the Government's budget with debt servicing and 20.2 to 29.5 percent without debt servicing" (MOEYC, 2001).

Figure 12: Interest Payments and Capital Expenditure, Percent of Total Expenditure, 1992-2010
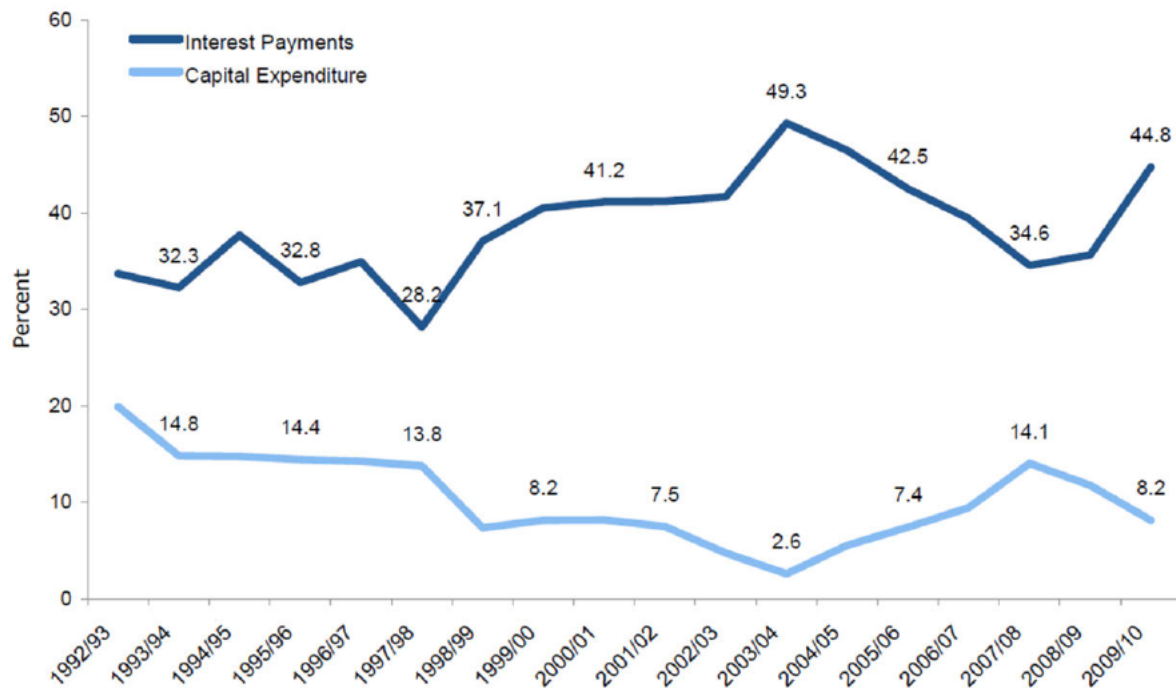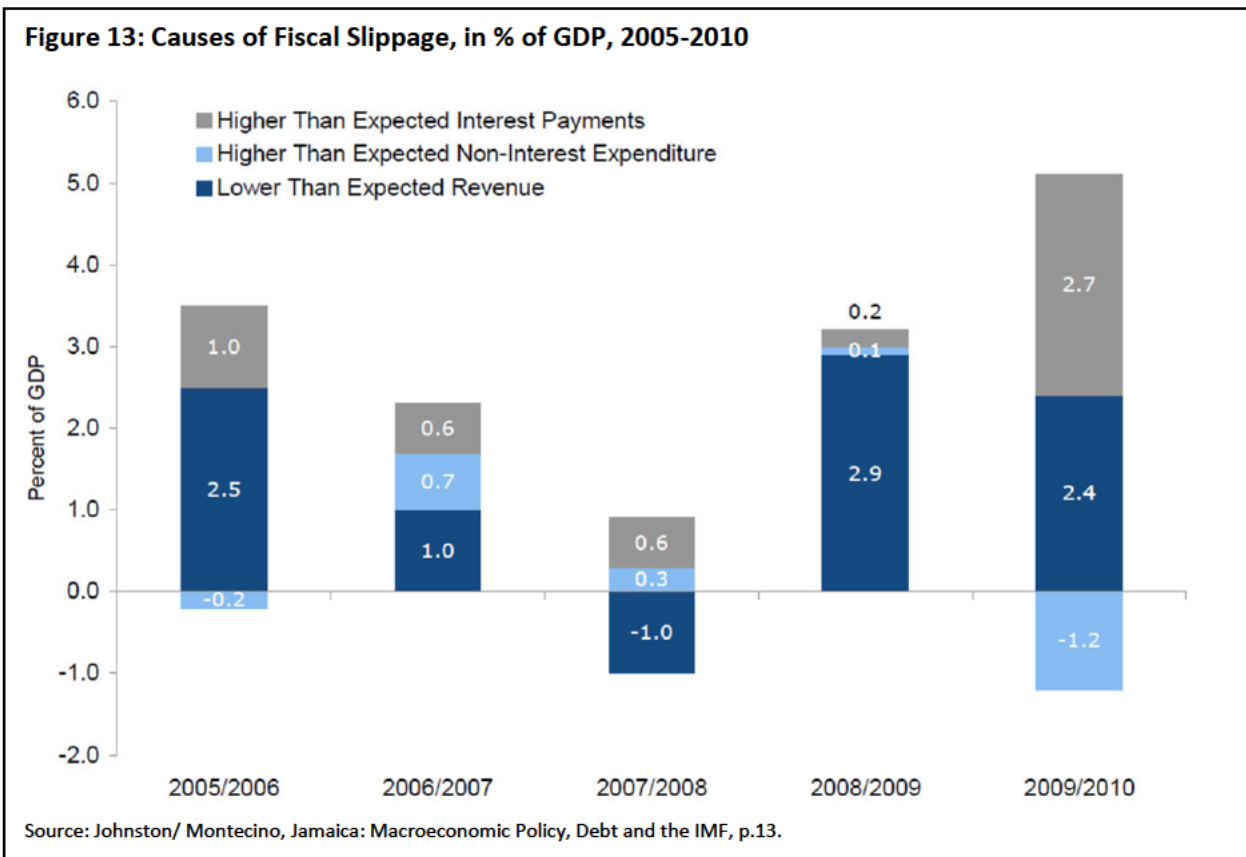

Source: Johnston/ Montecino, Jamaica: Macroeconomic Policy, Debt and the IMF, p.4.

Having said this, debt servicing can be identified as one of the root causes for youth unemployment in Jamaica's economic context. The pressure of debt servicing limits the government's capacity to integrate young people into the labor market. Therefore, Streeten's theoretical assumption is not fulfilled. Development efforts are weakened by external factors.

Borrowing arrangements, for example with the IMF, are bond to various macroeconomic adjustments. Aiming to ameliorate the country's economic performance, the IMF has attached conditions to the SBA. The Jamaican government is obliged to undertake a public sector reform, raise the productivity of public spending and reform the financial sector (IMF, 2010). Such conditions undermine the sovereignty of the Jamaican government in its economic planning and in its design of a fiscal strategy. "The embarrassing fact is that the government of Jamaica no longer even drafts its own budget without the assistance of foreign consultants assigned by the lending agencies, and always in the shadows of some existing or impending loan agreement" (Levitt, 2005:138). Focusing on pro-cyclical polies the IMF program follows an approach aiming to reduce fiscal deficit by raising taxes and tightening expenditure. However, the GOJ already has been much disciplined with public expenditure. As can be seen in Figure 13, non-interest expenditure continuously decreased from

2006 to 2010. In the past years, budget deficits were caused by higher than expected interest payments and lower than expected revenues.

Figure 13: Causes of Fiscal Slippage, in % of GDP, 2005-2010

Source: Johnston/ Montecino, Jamaica: Macroeconomic Policy, Debt and the IMF, p.13.

The IMF also limited the GOJ's ability to increase public sector salaries which led to a wage freeze since 2009 (PIOJ, 2011:21.13). Rejecting "any retroactive payments for teachers" (IMF in Johnston/ Montecino, 2011:17), the IMF complicated negotiations to sign an agreement between Jamaican Teachers Association and the government. Frustration among teachers escalated triggering unrest and lower motivations to exert quality teaching. Additionally, "[t]he head of the National Education Trust of Jamaica, Paul Matalo, also warned that the IMF agreement restricted the Government's ability to build new schools" (Johnston/ Montecino, 2011:17). When bondages and conditions by creditors control public spending in such a significant way, this translates into visible effects for young people's employment. All this said it is clear that bondages and conditions made by a creditor impact the creation of an enabling environment for Jamaican youth to find employment.

Another example that can be enlisted is the conditionality of the IMF program to liquidate Air Jamaica. The postulation to divest the airline forced the government to lay off 1,800 workers (Johnston/ Montecino, 2011:19). This contributed to an increase of unemployment among Jamaican youth and removed opportunities to create jobs in the future. Hence, as a result from debt pressure "the Government is essentially giving up on stimulating the economy, despite depressed demand and

high unemployment" (ibid:15). Following these examples, another root cause for youth unemployment in economic terms is the loss of sovereignty of the Jamaican government.

Having analyzed public debts as some of the causalities for youth unemployment, it is important to identify main actors and capacities. Creditors have a vital role in deepening or easing Jamaica's public debts situation. First, they have a powerful position with their ability to define the size of interest rates. Their business understanding and decision-making determines, whether or not Jamaica is able to manage its debts or if it suffers from the burden of indebtedness and has financial resources available to integrate young people into the labor market. Ideally, if creditors offered loans at interest rates and maturities that allowed the Jamaican government to design a pro-growth fiscal strategy, it would contribute to an overall economic development and to an improvement of employment opportunities for young people. Second, creditors such as the IMF or the World Bank can take significant influence in Jamaica's domestic policy making by binding loans to conditional ties. If measures do not include prospects for development-oriented spending and creating employment opportunities young people cannot benefit on their way to. Another important actor is the Government of Jamaica. The GOJ is not in a powerful position in as much as its creditors. Even if the government wanted to invest public spending in economic and social infrastructure, it loses its authority to the bondage of debt arrangements. In that sense, the GOJ is stuck in a situation of stagnation unable fight youth unemployment sustainably. However, the government can find alternative channels to cope with fiscal deficit. As shown above, Jamaica also receives Official Development from other international partners. That way, the government can accumulate necessary resources to create an enabling environment for young people to get ready for the labor market. Youth in Jamaica were identified as important actors in previous parts of this analysis. As regards to public debts they cannot contribute significantly to an improvement of their employment situation. They are rather trapped in a system where institutions on many levels struggle with limited resources to prepare them for a successful transition into the world of work. If Jamaican youth do not succeed in finding employment in this particular system, they will try to move into a different system where they expect better chances to be hired. This raises the point of migration.

MIGRATION is seen as the flow of people moving abroad and sending back financial support to individuals in their home countries. It is a concept relevant for this thesis not only in terms of economic opportunities but also due to its interrelation with social and institutional issues. Limited job opportunities in Jamaica, especially for high skilled workers, induce many Jamaicans to migrate to other countries in the world to search employment. Migration is an interesting option particularly for young people who often hope to have better employment opportunities abroad. 73 percent of respondents of at the Kings Gate Skills Training Centre indicated that they would like to work abroad

at completion of their training. To analyze causalities and capacities related to migration, the concept has to be seen embedded in a broader framework of development theory and the human capability approach. It is not sufficient to only focus on (gross) income indicators. Rather, non-economic issues such as social, cultural and political impacts of migration also play an important role for understanding why a large number of young people in Jamaica remain unemployed. Different theoretical approaches assume that migration can either help to improve economic development through free movement of labor or returns from transfer of capital (developmentalist and neoclassical views), or weaken local economies through increasing dependency, inequalities or brain drain (historical structural and dependency view). Other approaches such as the more recent new economics of labor migration (NELM) consider "both positive and negative development" (Haas, 2007:6). According to NELM, in many developing countries the markets are imperfect in terms of credit and risk. Only elite groups have access to capital and insurance and poor people need to develop alternative strategies to overcome such market constraints. As regards to youth employment, the labor market is imperfect because young people face constraints in accessing employment and do neither have sufficient capital nor insurance to obtain a suitable job. Migration then can be a strategy to improve one's own livelihood by moving into more developed regions to obtain employment. This is based on the theoretical concept of human capability which conceives development as "the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Haas, 2007:2). Hence, young people can develop their own human capabilities, including higher skills and employability, by expanding their real freedom through migration. The most common countries that Jamaicans move to when they migrate are the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. In 2008, approximately 637,000 Jamaicans lived in the United States and 150,000 in the United Kingdom. In Canada the number of Jamaican foreign born living in the country was at 123,500 in 2006 (Glennie/ Chappell, 2010). The positive effects stemming from successful employment abroad, and in particular in the three countries U.S., U.K. and Canada, is also reflected in the share of remittance inflows coming from these countries. Remittances are understood as the money transfers being sent from workers living abroad to their home countries. In the case of Jamaica, "Total remittance inflows were US$ 1 906.2 million" in 2010 (PIOJ, 2011:6.9). This represented a 6.5 percent increase relative to 2009 and gives evidence of the crucial role that migration plays for Jamaica's economy. **Figure 14** illustrates the countries from which remittances flow into Jamaica. The figure shows that more than a half of all remittances being transferred to Jamaica are sent from the United States and that remittances from United Kingdom and Canada are twice as much as from all remaining countries. Looking at remittances, one can understand that migration not only improves one's own livelihood but also contributes to a maximization of capital or risk-sharing within one household or a wider societal context. In that sense, migration has positive effects helping to achieve

greater development of particular communities generate growth through remittances that aim at increasing income and investing in productive enterprises. Consequently, this also has effects for unemployed youth in Jamaica. The Remittance Survey Project 2010 by the Bank of Jamaica finds out that most of remittances are intended to support either unemployed or people running their own business, 24.3 and 12.1

Figure 14: Share of remittance inflows by source of country, 2010

Source: PIOJ, Economic and Social Survey Jamaica 2010, p. 6.10

percent respectively. The third largest group of remittance recipients is students with a percentage of 5.7 (Henry, 2010:24). The high importance of remittances for Jamaica's economy not only shows that migration is one option for young people to improve their own employment situation by going abroad but remittances being sent from family members working outside Jamaica also help to support those remaining in the home country to ameliorate their working life (or not working life). Hence, such private transfers not only present assistance for Jamaican youth to survive in times of unemployment or to have financial backup when spending more time to search an appropriate job. Remittances also enable young Jamaicans to engage in education and consequently improve their employability. However, there is also a flipside to remittances. Critiques argue that migrant remittances "create an artificial and temporary improvement in livelihoods and establish a dangerous dependency on external revenues" (Birks and Sinclair in Haas, 2007:9). This means that wealth and higher levels of development can only be maintained as long as support from outside the country keeps persisting. Even though the Bank of Jamaica discovers in its survey that many respondents have been receiving money for a long time, 19.4 percent for more than 10 years[5] (Henry, 2010:23), there is a realistic danger that flows of external revenues decrease when bonds between sender and recipient weaken. Again, the Remittance Survey Project supports this by stating that 49.2 percent of respondents agree or strongly agree on the statement: "without money from abroad it would be difficult to survive" (Henry, 2010:25). Therefore, remittances are not a sustainable source of income and young people building their livelihoods on external revenues will face severe problems to support themselves once financial flows stop. It will confront them with the necessity to generate their own income which can translate into new challenges to find employment. Drawing from the abovementioned, one of the root causes impedes youth employment in Jamaica to

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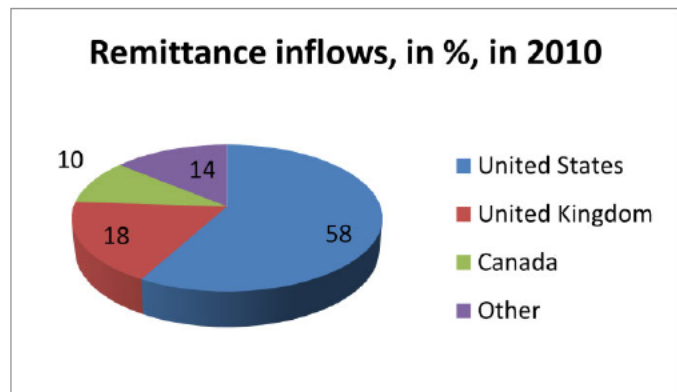
[5] The other respondents indicated the reception of remittances as follows: 6-10 years: 17.4%; 3-5 years: 25.0%; 1-3 years: 23.0%; Less than 1 year: 9.8% (Henry, 2010:23).

in terms of migration is dependencies. Migration and remittances in particular increase opportunities for young Jamaicans to find jobs or acquire additional skills. However, if dependencies weaken young Jamaicans' ability to take decisions independently from external factors, these dependencies can lead to lacks in self-reliance and motivation. Self-reliance and motivation, though, are an important precondition to successfully combat unemployment. Dependencies on external resources and inflows of remittances also create inequalities within or among communities. Households having someone to support them from outside are in a more advantageous position to increase wealth and opportunities compared to household that cannot benefit from such support. The JSLC finds out that some communities demonstrate a "generally above-average pace of development" (STATIN/ PIOJ, 2010:VI) especially in those communities receiving remittances. However, the survey also observes that a large proportion of households receiving remittances are from wealthier communities. In 2009, 49.3 percent of households in the wealthiest quintile received remittances, whereas in the poorest quintile only 32.2 percent of households were recipients of remittances (STATIN/ PIOJ, 2010:2.6). This asserts that migration in Jamaica is mostly a phenomenon among highly trained and skilled professionals from wealthy backgrounds. The noticeable concentration of Jamaicans in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada, gives evidence that the diaspora living outside Jamaica features relevant levels of education and economic potential for participating in the labor force of the guest countries. The large share of mostly well-educated Jamaicans immigrating to more developed countries also reveals another challenge for youth employment in Jamaica: even though local universities in Jamaica perform at levels of international standards and enable young Jamaicans to compete on global labor markets, there are no sufficient incentives in Jamaica to keep those young people in the country. Rather, limited opportunities to find jobs on the island induce youth to use their skills abroad. "Recent approximations indicate that over 80 per cent of Jamaicans with tertiary level education and living outside of Jamaica were trained in Jamaica" (IOM, 2010). It brings to the attention the problem of 'brain drain' which shall be another root cause for youth unemployment in Jamaica in terms of migration. According to theoretical approaches criticizing migration, "migration provokes the withdrawal of human capital and the breakdown if traditional, stable village communities and their economics" (Haas, 2007:4f). Young, able-bodied people depart from their home communities and by doing so contribute to an increase in inequality and a loss of productive human capacity. Less critical theoretical assumptions claim that 'brain drain' can also translate into 'brain gain'. That is, when those stayed behind are being motivated to pursue education as a consequence of prospects to move abroad. Additionally, high skilled workers abroad often are expected to return as entrepreneurs and investors that contribute to economic development through innovative thinking and transnational operating or to invest in enterprises and entrepreneurial activities in their home communities or. However, Ms. Nasolo Thompson points out

during the interview that the Jamaican education system is more likely to train Jamaican youth to be employees rather than employers (Transcript 3). She says that in order to be a successful entrepreneur, young people need to have entrepreneurial spirit, be creative and know about processes of production. The Jamaican education system, however, barely focuses on fostering such entrepreneurial spirit. This unfolds further challenges for Jamaican youth to overcome unemployment within the Jamaican context and motivates youth to leave the country: shortcomings in the Jamaican institutional landscape. The interrelation between economic concepts, such as migration, and institutional concepts, such as ineffectiveness of the educational system become obvious. "[M]any developing countries now face mass unemployment among the highly skilled, which is often the partial result of misguided education policies […], which do not reflect the true skill and knowledge needs of developing economies" (Haas, 2007:22). As a result, if educational policies are not reflecting the needs of one country to achieve economic development, highly educated young people cannot see their future in that country. It causes further brain drain. In the last couple of years, the GOJ has undertaken many efforts to create better employment opportunities for youth and stimulate entrepreneurial spirit through targeted programs. However, the large share of high skilled young Jamaicans going abroad shows that incentives are not yet catchy enough and the environment in Jamaica is not yet adequate in order to allow a substantial number of Jamaican youth to create their own business or become successful employers, able to offer employment to others.

Having analyzed causalities of youth unemployment in terms of migrations, the government is seen as one main actor. The GOJ has the capacity to create an environment for young Jamaicans to find employment. Work arrangements with other nations such as the United States or Canada are fruitful and give young people opportunities to work. However, if migration is a result of lacking jobs options in Jamaica, the government does not fulfill its responsibility to find the right strategies to educate people responding to the local economic landscape. This includes a wrong focus on curricula that do not activate entrepreneurial spirit so that young people could become employers instead of employees. Young people also play a vital role. They are actors that, first of all, seek to combat youth unemployment through channels available to them. If they have better chances to find a job abroad they do not only improve their own livelihoods but can also support others back in their home country. However, when mostly high skilled professionals migrate they contribute to a loss of valuable resources for the Jamaican labor market. It is not necessarily the case that migrating young Jamaicans neglect their responsibility to help building Jamaica's economy, especially when they are sending remittances or plan to return one day. Though, without doubt those workers will be missed as a driving force to bring the country growth and prosperity and create better employment opportunities for other fellow Jamaicans in the future.

CONCLUSION

Young people are key agents for social change: As the researcher pointed out, they are important drivers for economic development, and with their motivation and energy they are a valuable human resource able to contribute a lot to the prosperity of a country. In Jamaica, a large proportion of the population is under the age of 25 which means that there is a lot of potential, talent and youthful enthusiasm for the country available. One of the major challenges that impede the full development of this potential is youth unemployment. High numbers of young Jamaicans searching a job or working under unsatisfying conditions make it difficult for individuals as well as for society as a whole to concentrate on the improvement of livelihoods. Youth unemployment threatens to turn their motivation and energy into discouragement, shifts of values, interpersonal conflicts, underutilized potential, poorer economic performance, and many more. The Government of Jamaica is aware of the problem and is actively taking measures to combat youth unemployment with targeted training programs, initiatives to create better employment opportunities for youth and policy reforms that aim at making the formal educational system more appropriate to the needs of young people as well as the economy.

Challenges that make it difficult for young Jamaicans to find employment have been identified within the context of three thematic areas. Social, institutional and economic aspects influence the ability of young people to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes that help them to enter the labor market successfully. Challenges in these three categories weaken the employability of youth and significantly influence the course of young Jamaican's future path. The following is a brief summary of the main challenges for youth employment that were detected in each thematic area:

First, in the social context youth unemployment was identified as a result of identity issues and matters of capacity development. Jamaican society is strongly divided along gender lines and tasks. Responsibilities and behavior is influenced by certain understandings of how men or female should perform. Jamaican youth grow up in an environment where men are expected to fulfill an income generating role and are able to comply with hard work. For that reason, young Jamaican men have lower achievements rates at school compared to their female counterparts. They rather go and work even though they have not acquired adequate preparation to obtain high-skilled employment. Additionally, young male Jamaicans who are discouraged with their job situation and come from poorer communities tend to get involved in criminal activities and violent behavior. Such attitudes and the lack of appropriate training weaken their chances to be absorbed by the formal labor market. Young Jamaican women perform better at school and show higher attendance rates. Nevertheless, in the end they are more vulnerable to unemployment than young males. This is

closely connected to their role according to which they are expected to take over domestic tasks and to cultivate social skills. Even though values have been shifting over the years and more young people are receiving education and training, youth unemployment is still triggered by such socialization processes and inherited cultural patterns as well as socio-economic conditions. Jamaican youth from poor communities were identified to have fewer opportunities to gain decent employment. They suffer from stress because they cannot easily afford substantial basic utilities, they tend to engage in more risky (sexual) behavior causing higher threats to health and independency and they have a weaker position when accessing education due to financial constraints.

What can be learned from this? Jamaica's social context is very culturally driven which impacts youth employment in a significant way. Initiatives to create better employment opportunities for young Jamaicans should acknowledge this socio-cultural influence, increase participation and involvement of young people in the process of identifying needs and adapt strategies of training according to the local environment and its necessities.

Second, in the institutional context youth unemployment was identified to be a result of inefficiency and budget constraints. The educational system in Jamaica is organized in a bureaucratic manner which aims at achieving collective goals in the most effective way. The major goal of the educational system in Jamaica is to prepare young people for the job market. However, low quality of teaching and capacity shortcomings hamper the implementation of effective measures. A large number of young Jamaicans do not pass examinations, do not obtain certification and lack basic skills such as literacy or numeracy which are prerequisites for being absorbed by the labor market. This is due to educational curricula that are not designed appropriately to motivate young people to perform better at school. Teachers as well often lack adequate qualification. Additionally, training institutions in Jamaica are not able to absorb all young Jamaicans into their programs. Consequently, there are fewer training opportunities especially for those who cannot afford private education or youths have to wait for a longer time to access training. Those Jamaican youths who did not have the chance to be part of a training program have to enter the labor market without adequate skills. It reduces their options to find long-term, decent employment because they do not fulfill the requirement demanded by employers. Additionally, budget constraints make it difficult to improve methods of teaching and to invest in the expansion of training opportunities. Even though public expenditure on education makes up a rather large proportion of the national GDP, the spending is not used effectively. High costs for bureaucratic procedures and an education system that only started to undertake a modernization process, swallow financial resources that could be better used for improving young Jamaican's employability.

What can be learned from this? Jamaica's educational system is based on a bureaucratic organization that makes it difficult to be flexible towards occurring needs. A modernization process is urgently necessary in order to make financial resources available. Thereby, the quality of teaching could be improved. Teachers should be prepared adequately to cope with difficult students' behavior.

Third, in the economic context youth unemployment in Jamaica was identified to be a result from public debts and migration. The country is highly indebted and forced to rely on borrowing from other countries and international organizations. This causes various liabilities as well as constraints for Jamaica's government. High debt serving costs swallow large proportions of the national spending. Money directed to comply with creditor arrangements cannot be used to run or improve initiatives aiming to integrate young people into the labor market. Additionally, creditors often link loans to conditions such as policy reforms or expenditure cuts. It weakens the GOJ's sovereignty and its power to take decisions as regards to economic planning or public spending. Such constraints lead to frustration and impede the delivery of quality teaching. Another finding reveals that many of well-educated young people who do not find employment in Jamaica move abroad to work there. Remittances are one of the largest contributions to Jamaica's economy. However, migrating Jamaicans are often well-educated professionals. By leaving the country they draw off valuable resources for economic development. It is a result of misguided focus of education policies which do not reflect the needs of the local economy. Increased training of young people to be employers instead of employees would help to create new job opportunities. Hence, this requires entrepreneurial spirit which is not being cultivated in Jamaica.

What can we learn from this? The Jamaican government is motivated and ambitious to improve the employment situation for young people in the country. They have designed many different programs and initiatives to prepare the Jamaican youth for future jobs but many challenges make it difficult for those measures to bring about significant change. The government should continue its course to focus on youth and assess their needs as well as the needs of the economy. The atmosphere in Jamaica is vibrant and positive. The Jamaican government as well as Jamaican citizens are all working together and doing their best to reach the optimal result which could be possibly achieved under such circumstances. Maybe it is a question of time. At the moment, the Government of Jamaica is taking active steps to survey Jamaican youth and review the national youth policy. Maybe this will help to design new strategies and combat youth unemployment in Jamaica eventually.

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APPENDIX

Transcript 1:

Ms. Sherrian Gray, Technical Specialist on Youth and Social Transformation, Community Renewal Programme, the Planning Institute of Jamaica

Kingston, Jamaica: 7 November 2011.

SW: So, what is actually the program on?

SG: uhm, the CEAP?Alright, the … programme is a program that started from the post Tivali. I don't know if you know what the … is. Or if you have heard about it.

SW. hmh, yeah….

SG:so what it is is is that ared forces, military forces went into Tivali to collect the then known don of the area. What's his name. dudus.

SW: yeah, I think I saw his building yesterday

SG: alright, so, what happened is that the program came about because when the armed forces went in they came about that there were a lot of developmental challenges that we found with tivali gardens. Uhm, in essence he was …, he basically dealt with health care, educational needs,

SW: yeah, I heard he would pay foir the people to go toi the doctor.

SG: right. Everything for them. So, and as well as he had his enforcesrs. Who then would provide security for the … who lived there. With all of this said he basically was the don for the area , he controlled that … .so, when it is that we … national security… and then we went and then we got him because of the exiditaion treaty and they send out, the US send out exidiation request for him because he is also a drug dealer and a trafficer. And when we went and got him there were a lot of needs that …ministry of national security could not resolve

SW: mhm

SG: so, planning institute got the go ahead from the prime minister then … to develop drafts, something that would would deal with these developmental challenges

SW: mhm.

SG: uhm, in doing it as out first response what they realized is that because here are so many communities in jamaica that are like tivali. Yet they may not be that they have a don like that but they have the same kind of challenges a wider program was then thought needed to be developed, hence the community entrepreneurial programme which is a consultated program I was involved in a draft in a draft … as well. And we drafted something and we said we work in a hundred communities across jamaica about a … of them in the Kngstin, st andrew and st cathrin urban area or urban periphery. Those in the rural areas are mostly under the rural periphery

SW: there are not so many dons

SG: right, right. So, this program has …components physical infrasturecture, governance, uhm, security, youth development and social transformation and entrepreneurship. Which is social economic development of… what it's also called inside here. So, those are the components that we thought needed to be addressed and then deal with. Uhm. But, part of the program is that we are also going to implement. We will implement the things that need to fill that gap. But one of the things is that there are millions (???) of programs operating in kingston and st cathrin. All across the island but but with funders from privat sector funders to IDPs Invest development partners (??) but there is really no coordinating framework that could capture everything. So, what it is is that we had said okay, this program is also going to have to tackle part of this which is looking at what happens at each community level, what are all the things that have been measured to reduce duplication of efforts make sure that we target things that need to be targeted is that if we need to target youth between the age oof 15 to 24 specifically who actually have that don. Seperat from maybe other programs that have been more wider reaching –uhm- and another level in government they are doing other things they are revising the social safety net the social protection issues those things are being done at other levels and other line (??) ministries. But in here we`'re actually actual program delivery. So, it's really to enhance social service delivery at a community level. Basically.

SW: and how do they, for example talking about entrepreneurship, what kind of programs do you have there, maybe also in that Tivoli area or in general?

SG: in Tivoli you have a merit of programs that have started, it's not so much Tivoli. Tivoli I think you have the one social intervention progam is the citizen security and justice program that is the one underneath the ministiry of national security, that's an IDB funded project and it's a loan, right.

SW: hmh, ok.

SG: now, uh, csjp, for short, works in uuuh, well, it was 31, but I was told by the program manager recently that they want to move it up to 50. …to him. Uhm, I don't think they can manage the 50 because what they do is they actually operate on the ground. –literally. I was a part of that program as well, so I can tell you

SW: and on the ground means with the kids and the young people.

SG: with the kids and the young people, with the older persons, with those who are gunmen. With everybody. So they deliver on the ground. Unlike some other programs that might do a kind of like a contract, subcontract…. That actually deliver.

SW: so, what is your personal experience form working with the kids, what are some of the main challneges that they face in daily life?

SG: uhm, daily life

SW: maybe also as regards to employment, to finding a job.

SG: Alright, alright. You are asking a whole lot there. Let me answer it this way. Alright, the kids in Jamaica and especially those in the inner city they face numerous problem. One of the main ones is that they can't find employement because they are not literate. Right, they're basically what we can call functional literate where they can at least maybe write their name and maybe recognize their name. but that's as far as it goes. Okay. So if we (youed) to them, so you want to go and give them a

job it becomes very difficult. So, when I was at … I can tell you what we used to do. We used to find employemnet for them and we would go to maybe one of the restaurants and we would ask if they could hire them. The kids cannot pass the basic entrance test because they can not recognize what's on the paper. So, basically what this tells you is that they fudged through school. What we than had to do is put them to (meida) classes, literacy and numeracy. Basic stuff. At the community level within a community center setting and put teachers there that would then get them through to that level where they could at least be certified as being literate. For those who have problem with … because one of the basic things in jamaica for you to have to be hired you need to have at least 3 CASCs(???), maths, english and another subject. So, if you don't have that you're not gonna get employed, off the bat.

SW: Do you know the rate, how many actually pass that?

SG: The rates are dismale (???)(in the first couple of years of doing it. Now the rates are up to about 70-80 and we now have kids who through the scholarship programm undernmeath the (7:43-47) CS3PM…and national security … …like the whole Let's see, the last one that I was part of… we had about 300 to 400 kids all together and about half of them were… education and about … out of that number you had about 10 that were that were going to medicine that we funded. So, you have, there are improvements that have been done but it's still very hard for them to move forward and one of the things that our education system on a whole drives kids towards being employed not being employers. So, the issue of entrepreneurship Is gonna be very difficult to get them to move from the point "okay, I need to get a job" to actually being a job creator and a wealth creator. What has happened that you have other programs like, uhm, I don't know if you have heard about Air –Agency for Inner city renewal. By Dr Henry Morgan. He is in charge of… he has a programme, you can ask Sonia to maybe introduce you to him, because I think his porgamme is probably very successful. He has what I think one of them is green houses in trench town. Right, now, uhm, the issue of entrepreneurship (9:10???) so, people are trying to …???. You have degree programmes being set up in agricultural entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship a whole whole stuff different in terms of entrepreneurship. But it's basically to encourage people to start being business operators and not depending on a job being created because the reality is that it's not gonna happen. So, if you don't tratify that nieche you're gonna have some issues in terms of your self survival.

SW: What is done to encourage this? Are there special school or entrepreneurship programs?

SG: ya, you have inititally at the University of the west indies which is a longer standing university had started to do programs in entrepreneurship, so what has happened is that other universities, other university groupings have started to put in the same kind of things, we have university, college caribbean… it's called UCC for short, that much I can tell you

SW: UCC

SG: Yeah, they have now a degree in social entrepreneurship.

SW: but they are all already well educated, the kids, they're all university level

SG: yeah, they are university level. One onf the things cuz I did my masters in agricultural entrepreneurship, you're actually encouraged to go and implement at a community and micro level. So, I suspect the same occurs for them at that level and it's to find persons and assist them to draft business plans and actually implement the business, let the business run and you basically help them

along the way. So, you have that. Uhm, you have the youth programme which I think is a private sector entity as well. They also have been trying to push the issue of entrepreneurship and I think the YES programme which was youth entrepreneurship something that the prime minister had endorsed was also done by another private sector entity. That also pushed the same entrepreneurship which were to take the kids that were leaving household and then had the desire to go to university and then get them to do and start their own business.

SW: and is that work at the community level, do they go in there?

SG: uhm, well, they were supposed to, whether they have actually or not, that I don't know. It is something that I'm supposed to be working with them here, so I just got some documents this morning actually was looking at it ok, lets see if they actually did what they were supposed to do. I don't know that. I don't think any assement has been done as to how they have been movin forward. But one of the things that this programme has that are really encouragin is that people are to work in partnerships. Don't work alone because you're not gonna get that kind of impact . If someone did something and has learned certain lessons and they did it better than you could have then just piggy bag on what they're doing, have a kind of partnership and move forward. So, I know the youth and the yes programme are supposed to work with this CSGPN Lewy?? and a couple of other entities that are already existing in government service.

SW: so, they're working partnerships between the different organisations and they partner

SG: yes, they are. Uhm, typically, you asked me some questions. The education factor is one thing with a young child, the next issue is a matter of parenting and aprenting control. Uhm, parents, years ago when our population structure started to change I was told (12:38???) to have younger parents, I don't think persons were very conscisous as it comes to consequences of what that would mean and the fact that many parents were also migrating leaving a lot of what we call "barrial" children. Uhm, nobody took that into consideration either. So, what we have here is later, are several kids who have been brought up and it's like they exist in a different kind of valid scheme. That word exists in jamaica. And basically the TV brought them up. Or the streets brought them up. And you then have to find a way to resocialize them. Now, there are many programmes that have been tried or are being tried that is supposed to impact on the childrens lives. I can speak of CSGP because it had the greatest impact, I worked with them. So, I know that uhm, usc (?? 13:31) has various programmes and it has also been successful. Uhm, but in terms of, when we're talking about a cohecy program that would tackle every part of a childs life that has never been done. Uhm, I was in one that came the closest which was JA style which was a USAID funded programme but we did not do every component because were stationed at the ministry of health and obviously if you're stationed at thte ministry of health that's not gonna be the focus. CSGP what I refer to is a ministry of national security programme. It has a security background and a security field. It is for violence prevention. So, there is really not one programme that says okay lets look at the overall development of a human being –and lets just sort out everything for that human being. That doesn't exist in jamaica.

SW: how do you think, uhm, you you said you worked in the communities, so you worked on the ground and you know pretty well what's going on. Are there any attempts to also include young people and let them participate in for example the program design?

SG: uhm… it depends on which agency. ??? you said. What ofd the main problems is that the government of jamaica has not really….(pause) drafted a program whole as whole. I think the closest

that came to it was the YES program. Uhm, all the programs are gonna have –depends on the funder- there will be some level of youth pariticpation in it. It does not necessarily dictate that it will go through. Underneath the child care and protection act which we recognize a child from 0 to 18 which takes in the ban 15 to 18 which will be classified as youth under the UN…uhm… any program that a child is to be involved in must have the child's …must participate in the development of the plan. That is within the law. And that is something that they try to enforce but again, the enforcement of that legislation is problematic because the person who is supposed to be one of the main implementors also has to be the regulator and monitor of it which is the child development agency. You can't do both through us. I just said that to them in our report that I …. It don't work that way. So, I don't know if the government is going to be addressing it. I know they want to do changes within the legislation but I'm not quite sure if they are tackling that. It might not be possible right now because we have some fiscal restraints. So… but it is encouraged in the last… I can tell you from… 2004 , it was enacted in 2004. so think about from 2004 to now 2011, there has been a lot of changes and a lot of kids have been… you have youth parliament now, we have youth embassadors, what are the things we have? I think we have them on committees and councils. I know when I had worked at GCSL (??) I had encouraged youth participation on the CDCs –Community Development committees and any kind of government strucuture for them to have a voice and to activly participate and to have a voting right. So, I know that some of these things have happened in some of the communities and I know for CSGPs there's a thrust also and officers that we employed from communities are all youth. So, they are encouraged to be part of the system and so forth, so yeah…

SW: that's nice. Could you actually even connect me to one of those young people that are actively involved in …

SG: yeah, I can. I have ..

SW: or I just write you an email

SG: yeah Mann

SW: yeah, I ask Angie, because that's easier for you

SW: yeah, that's probably easier. Very nice. Maybe one last question, because you said in terms of working with the UN. How do you think that they actually really …uhm… how do they find the need here in this particular context. How well can they actually with their …recognize what is needed here.

SG: Oh, you mean in terms of identification of like problem that needs to be addressed.

SW: yeah, exactly, because they sit somewhere else, right and you live here in the reality

SG: uhm…alright…every now and then …I have to be diplomatic…every now and then, the UN gets it right. Every now and then. It's not every area. Uhm, but some programs, and I know when it comes to youth it's a big problem, people can't fully identify what it is that is required. So youth programs usually run a far far gammacal way. And also, let me tell you, I won't worry the UN because even in Jamaica really since the child care and protection act in 2004 it's really just now that people actually recognize the need to actually have children participation and recognize that they are gonna be the next generation of leaders and persons who are gonna run this country. It really… and it is the fault also of the country. So, I can't really expect the UN to have an idea, when the country itself doesn't have an idea as to where it wants to go. And I've said that from from the beginning: Any organisation

that I've worked with said "WE must know what we want". Because when funder come along they will fund something that they think will work they will take another example from elsewhere in the world, they will modify it here but that doesn't mean it's something that we really require that we really need and I mean, being a Jamaican and having to negotiate with funders, you know, these are your needs for your logframe and these are our needs. How do we get the two to come together. It's difficult. It's difficult and I had a difficult job when I was at national security work. That are some of the challenges. The UN sometimes, as I said, gets it right. Jamaica is a different kind of society. Uhm, it's not so easy to pinpoint what the needs are. Some things might seem obvious but they are not really the needs they are what was manifested, the symtopms are still there, that need to be treated. So, one… to me… and this is one things I've seen working in the field for what…about 7 or 8 years, our problem is a developmental one. We put things to place and we don't monitor and then go back, modify and change, we put things in place and then we leave it. A nd then when it starting to break down those structures then we start to have these problems. You know, when people were migrating in ??? and they let their children behind, what's gonna happen to those kids who may have an elderly parent, grandmother or something looking after them. You're gonna have a problem, because they're gonna grow without having the void of a familiar context around them. And the community did not respond in the kind of way they needed to. Because everyone has more demands in terms of work and a whole else of other things. So, we should re-read it, we should have started to tackle things ??? within the state within civil society bodies but I think most persons now are seeing that, you know, the partnership is necessary. The questions is how is the partnership done between civil society, faith based, the government. Those need to be sorted out a little bit more. We have examples of some that work well and I think we should really doublicate them.

SW: which one is the one doing well?

SG: uhm, you have like the "dispute resolution foundation". They are an NGO and they basically, the have, uh, we call it subvention, they get it from the minstry of justice, so they do mediation on behalf of the ministry of justice, they are trying to expand their portfolio to other aspects as well. Uhm, you have the peace mamnagement initiative which works with the ministry of national security. They also do, uhm, coalition for the rights of the child, they work well with the child development agency. They don't get the subvention, they get funding through UNICEF, so UNICEF basically gives them the money and they do that. You have the Roving care system as well, you have the possiblity program, they used to get money from the ministry of youth but ministry of youth cut its budget, so they got cut, but I understand from them they they are supposed to get money from the child development agency because they have shifted their focus… so, there are numerous one that work, I think I think it's a matter of beefing up and then maybe put things as a struggle management system in the NGOs because they are after all NGOs and you know it's quite a bit of volunteer work to keep them up and running, cuz people have other jobs but uhm, you have them, you have those that work there is another one, I can't remember the name. the name of her organisation Dr. Beverly Scott, she operates in St…???... she operates a center and she has support not only from CSGP but also child development AG as well as the member of parliament??? So, she also does work and she deals with uhm, there's a school ??? she 's a clinical ??? She gives, uhm, technical support to that program. So, there are, there are. There are that one that work.

SW: that's a nice ending. Very positive.

SG: Listen, I had, I recently had to do, be part of a study for USAid on child justice assessement in the region and I used to think Jamaica was dismal until I went to the rest of the Caribbean. And then I went "Oh, we are further ahead, thank god," so when I saw that threre is actually worse and their populations are much smaller than ours –we are actually not as bad as we think. I think the things is that our resources are drying up rightly so, with recession, with a whole lot of other ??? cuz it's for other countries we need to be smarter how we use the resources we have and I think is a crucial problem. And Jamaica needs to starte out having a whole government restructured and when we do that then we will resolve other things. I don't think it's necessarily a reduction in government expenditure. In terms of staffing, it's just a matter of how the staff does their work. ??? and getting that kind of mindeset to change. Maybe it might work.

SW: How can that mindset happen

SG: it started already now. With some infusion of the younger persons it's just that uhm, you have younger and older persons in our system and uhm, it's either that you need to retire older persons or whatever. I know that in the national security we started to retire persons . so, those who were in the retirement age and those who were maybe five years to retirement age we asked them the question you want to take early retirement and they said yes. So, we said okay, so those older persons actually come back as consultants. They are just there to make sure that the system works. But that is something national security was doing when I was there. I don't know if other government entities would do the same thing. We had a ??? ath that time that belived in succesion planning because he was a business man so he came with that thrustand that is what we were doing. So, it can be done, but changes not occur quickly, it takes a little time SW: but it's a question of time and then it maybe happens.

SG: exactly, it's a matter of time.

SW: Thank you very much for the interview.

Transcript 2:

Mr. Machel Stewart (MS), Poverty Programme Advisor at UNDP Jamaica

Kingston, Jamaica: 11 November 2011.

SW: Yes, just to explain a little bit. I am a German student doing development and international relations have worked with the ILO before and there I worked with the Youth Employment Network. So, youth employment was my topic an we also worked with Jamaica. So; i am writing on about youth employment in Jamaica. But would like to understand better the context in which young people try to find employment and what challenges they face. So, I think i was actually quite interesting when Kacy told me about the poverty eradication campaign for example. You know, you work on other features that make part of the context that young people are from. So, could you maybe explain m a bit more in detail what the poverty eradication campaign is about?

MS: Ok, alright, let me back focus again. We have several units here at UNDP, we are in the poverty reduction unit. You now the use the word poverty reduction rather than eradication, different mindsets, different background, it's not something I believe that can be eradicated but something

which can be reduced. Both in terms of the amount of people living in poverty and in terms of what poverty entity, living in poverty entity is. If you could ad vision our world, I am gonna go side by …. where the poorest person in the world lived like at a average suburban identity in the united states four bedroom house, two car garage, kids and garden, if that person is considered poor and everybody else i the world lives like bill gates, then that's not so much of a problem. So that's how we are trying to do, we are trying to say a rising tight lifts our ships. So, when we are talking bout reducing poverty e are talking about both, the normal persons who experience poverty and the ???quality of life.

In Jamaica, UNDP we have recognized that one of the issues which constraints poverty reduction efforts in jamaica is just a lack of fiscal resources on the part of the government and a lack of capacity among those who are poor to change their own lives. So let me deal i those in order??? poverty as you know has many dimensions . There is the physical state of being poor, lead to your infrastructure, your sanitary facility, access to electricity, access just to water, your basic needs. There are also other manifestations looking at your social welfare in terms of access to education, good quality education and then life opportunities following that. In the grant scheme of things, if you are born poor, and you don't get some sort of transformational opportunity, you live and die poor, you go to poor quality schools, you'll have poor levels of health, you probably only interact with fellow persons that also live in poverty, you marry somebody else who lives in poverty, your children will become poor etc. if government has in place some social protection mechanisms, basic healthcare being free, basic education being free but also insuring that the quality of both, education and healthcare is at an efficient level, to ensure that persons will be able to escape poverty. So, if you are able to get good health and be properly educated and you have a good nutrition, then it probably is that your educational outcome will be different. you'll be able to improve your education, you'll be able to get higher paid jobs, you'll able to escape. That's the theory. Now, in jamaicas context because of debt, government mismanagement, etc we don't have adequate healthcare or education. For the members of the poor. The social protection mechanisms we have, conditional cash transfers, the funding from violent?? (4:43) from them are at subsistence level and oftentimes can't allow for some to access high quality education etc. in terms of geographic location, poverty is highest in rural areas and then found in pockets of urban areas. But the levels of school and hospitals available in these areas are lower than what's found in urban areas or suburban areas. So, right, when you map geographical areas in terms of levels of poverty, and you map that again in terms of resources that the government provides, education, healthcare, water, etc. you find at lower levels f poverty are associated with lower levels of service provision. So we are trying to help the government identify fiscal space in order to improve the services delivered to these areas. So we have helped them with the jamaica debt exchange, we were an intergovernmental partner in getting the government to repair some of his high cost debt in favor of lower costs that basically extend the repayment …??? so thats one thing. We also help them to implement the current conditionalized associated with many of the international agencies, so, the IMF, the world bank and the IADB have conditionalities which they attached to their financing, and until you accomplish these conditionalities you cant access it. But we have programs which assist the government in implementing some of these conditionalities where that be the discouraged ?? responsibility framework on legislation, the technical...

SW: how does the collaboration with the government look like on a daily basis? How well does it work?

MS: cooperation is not so much the issue, we have very good relationships we cooperate very good, uhm, the issue has to do with the pace of implementation. They themselves, again because of their fiscal space, suffer from a capacity issue in terms of their asortic ?? capacity. They sometimes do not have sufficient staff to do what is needed to get this completed, sometimes they cannot identify where consultants are needed, they have a problem identifying sufficient consultants to get the work done. Uhm, and then it competes in general, there is not a dedicated project to...?? so it competes with their regular day to day housekeeping responsibility. And if you think about it, if you have a job an if you read the comportances of your job (7:40) that you have so much only have an amount of time that anything else is going to limit your amount of time that you have on your regular assets. You are going to choose the regular assets. So, we have those issues. But in terms of willingness, in terms o understand what needs to be done, there is clear understanding on that. Its just implementation pace at itself that is slow. So that's looking at the government side n terms of what we an do because it is the government in terms of their policy network, in terms of their fiscal space. On the other side of it getting people in their own in need capacities. What we have now is a project working rural youth. Its called the rural youth employment project ...for short. We have it on our website as well. Basically with this rural youth project what we do is working with young people in rural areas to develop businesses based on agriculture and agro-processing. So, what we d with this project, we provide them with the training in various areas o agriculture, in various crops, in various aspects of animal husbandry

SW: they happen in the communities?

MS: it happens in the communities, it happens on the actual farm, it happens in the actual facilities, though some of the agro-processing like juice manufacturing etc. we need to bring them into the institutional home of the project, the centre for research council where we actually do retrain in hands on with test-equipment, etc. Yeah, the … (9:09) that's one plan, that's training them. The other plan has to do with making community owned, ahh, community owned, but commercially operated pulse harvest facilities. Ahhm, whether these are punnet processing facilities or these are meat processing facilities. Goat houses, etc. And these facilities are now put in the communities so that the youth are able to access them for the post harvest production.

SW: So this is again focusing youth?

MS: Its youth, all that Im telling about is youth. Ahhm, Im gonna divert to say that why we are focus on youth. It's a matter that it's the youth most able or most nimble in adjust their live chances. Its not everything possible, its much harder to work with those who are past the youth age, who are already existent in the state. So we can work with the generations upcoming. then its a easier task. Plus there is a high over representation of youth in unemployment and poverty and finally there is a relationship the ability to keep your youth engaged and sated ? and satisfied and peace and harmony in society. Idle hands do idle things. Uhm, plus when you looking at technology and the ability to move from one step to the other (10:43) you notify that youth are more embracing new technology and new ways of doing things than other in the population. So we are working with the youth.

The other thing we are trying to do is to even as we do that integrated within the projects is a plan to have some pile up youth selected a small subset of six or seven who we will give full support in terms of business access, marketing etc. for them to commercialize their enterprises. So, they can move from their subsistence selling on the corner or selling down the street to link them to tourism industry and agro-processing industry. The idea be that these will be a demonstration who will then

utilize their knowledge that they have gained to help the other youth the come up the same development path. So, those are the two main aspects of poverty reduction that we are actually doing.

Uhm, we do, the third element that's related to poverty reduction what's matter directly related to it and that is looking at improving Jamaica's data management and its use of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. Why is it important? It is important because we need to know who are the poor, where are they found, what are their needs and what can be done to help them. So we want to move towards a more evidence based policies (12:23) so, we support the national statistical office statin in developing a harmonized framework of data statistics, so when we get data from the ministry of health and we get data from the ministry of education, data from the ministry of national security, data from the ministry of social security, we can be sure that the data is ..roast ??, accurate and is measured in the same thing. So they are all using the same ruler, line or markation. So that is what we are focusing on. That's in terms of development on the evidence side. And then in terms of monitoring and evaluation we are helping the government to establish various. M&E frameworks looking at the national development plan, vision 2030, uhm doing assessments and evaluations who we can learn lessons of plants farm??? And using them to incorporate them into their programs

SW: so what measures so far do you use to identify the needs of the young people?

MS: well, what we are working on basically we have some older data, some poverty mapping which was done way back in 2002 that's almost ten years now. We use information from our –there's an annual document that's been produced, there's two document, one is the economic and social survey and we have another one called the survey of living conditions also produced by the … I'm not sure if you have seen that one. That's the Jamaica survey of living conditions

Most of literature we use of …agency (13:58) and we use them …I have another copy here, yes it's n old copy from 2006.

SW: is it possible to get one of those, for example of the living conditions survey?

MS: you know the planning institute of Jamaica, they produce them and they're on sale there.

SW: ok

MS: right, they produce this an essj, the economic and social survey. But these are the bibles of development workers in Jamaica because these are worldwide known recognized publications. This has been going on for 20 years. 22 years now actually and so it has data tracking back to jamaica's living conditions. Here this speaks about consumption, health education, housing. Everything. So, those are what we use. And even though we use them we recognize that there is a flaw in terms of uniform interrogating. So you can use it to see what's happening in the housing sector, what's happening in education sector, what's happening in the health sector. But it's much harder to pull out interrelationships between health education and housing. So, I couldn't look at this and say which parishes or which communities are very low as health care and education. Cuz I would not compare and see …data point…etc. uhm…we use these and then we also have discussion with government panels and stakeholders. And at this point, 90-99% of what we do is with the government, we work with NGOs at this point not because we have anything against NGOs it's just that in terms of efficiency and efficacy with the limited funds that we have in that sense that we are working with the government in areas that they are already working, what this unit does partly is

that we look to see what are all initiatives that are offered by various donors, various agencies, the government itself and we can come in as leverage point or point of interconnectingness to bring these barriers of these things together. So that we move from a situation what the literature will tell you about development across silos. Stranded little project with no relationship, so what we try to do is try to be a bridge between these silos. So, almost everything we do is value adding to something someone else is doing. So that we can maximize the effort.

And then, strange enough, I have found myself handling, bundling donor coordination in Jamaica. So, that's another part of what we do here as well. So, that is pretty much what we do.

SW: ok. that sounds very interesting and it's very broad. Do you actually already have evaluations rural youth employment project

MS: we don't have any evaluation yet, because it's just, it's been operating for round about 18 months.

SW: so what are there some of the challenges of implementation?

MS: okay, challenges of implementation, uhm, as usual one of them is institutional arrangements, bureaucracy, we work with implementing agencies which are usually attached to a government department, so that's one, the bureaucracy of getting everything, the procurement done, bureaucracies of getting consultants hired

Other challenges we have is keep the youth interested in what we are doing. Identifying suitable trainers

SW: how do you manage that to keep the youth interested?

MS: well, all sorts of, what we did was handpick those who showed the most dedication in terms of preparing for it. Cuz we asked them to prepare and assisted them to prepare a business plan. What we said was, okay you want to become a member of this project, you might as well decide that you wanna do it through groups rather than individuals, we said, okay, easy, the matter is you prepare a business plan. We get them a consultant to assist them to do the preparations for a business plan and then those business plans were given to review board that looked through it and found those are the ones suitable and then the persons on the ground also told us who showed the most attitude towards (Spirit) (18:33) committed, you have to commit a lot of time, you have to commit some kind of leadership etc…dedication. And so we chose those who showed the most dedication. The other thing was that we made an requirement to them that at the end of the day, whatever knowledge and funding they obtained will remain in the communities for their use but that it had to be, they recognized for them to any point they had to show that it is economic supporting, so if you put up a facility in a community to process honey , they have to know that at the end of the day the facility will remain in the community and operate there and we allow it to operate there but more important that they have to pay to use it as an economic post-cost… ensure so that it can be sustainable. You can't just give it to them and say they can use it without paying the bills

So, once they know that now then they recognize that they have to be committed for this to benefit fto them. We also provide them with good training, we also we are even going as far as to provide them with ?? literacy training at little cost to them. And what we have also been doing is to get additional funders, other agencies, other ongoing programs to provide liquid and non-liquid

contributions. So, they've gotten scholarships to go to some small scholarship, small training programs. Community members have donated long leases of land , 20 years and they know, okay we are landless youth, have nothing to do except standing at the corner but here it is, a community member has seen our potential and has bought into this idea and has given us land to use.

The other thing we do is we have community workshops which is very important thing where we get the senior is a community to buy into the idea and monitor and mentor the youth, so we get the shop keepers, business owners. So we get into the communities, we say we want to work with youth and we require you to just mentor, if you see them not going to the right around training courses, if you see them not working or pulling their weed on the palm, speak to them, you are their elders, you are their community leaders, they look up to you. Got this community workshops, bought in, give them leadership training, group dynamics training. So what we're trying to do is give them as much of a head start or a contribution to their sustainability as we possibly could. Yes, we're gonna have some drop out, so far we have not experienced much of that.

SW: Okay. Well, then thank you very much for the interview.

Transcript 3:

Ms. Nasolo Thompson (NS), National Project Officer at the International Labour Office Jamaica

Kingston, Jamaica: 14 November 2011.

SW: So, I know that youth employment and entrepreneurship is not quite child labor. Yet, uhm, what I think is very interesting to look at is also the context, where they are coming from like what are challenges in their communities, where would they turn to or also informal sector. Issues like that. Do you work with that? Or maybe just tell me about your work.

NT: Okay well, what we do is, this is an ILO project, it's funded by the European Union, and our focus is the elimination of child labor through education. Jamaica is a signatory to the …convention on child labor and on minimum age on employment. So just through a, you know, international relations perspective, we are obliged to work towards these kind of goals and the ILO, well actually the MDG have set the target of elimination of child labor through education until 2014 or something. To which we are actively working. Our main role and as I'm sure you are familiar with we have been worked with this before is that we are a facilitatory agency. We don't actually implement on the ground, we collaborate with various partners, we help them to make the decisions on how to resolve these issues. So, in our project we work with NGOs, we work with the various government agencies, ministry of labor, ministry of education, and the police force, you know, child development agency, the ministry of health, a bunch of different stakeholders. And we see, you know, what is the best way that we can assist them to make you know problematic and institutional and legislative reforms in order to work towards this elimination of child labor through education goal. so, for example with the ministry of education we help them to develop a curriculum with a child labor focus, a curriculum that can be inserted in the overall curriculum to raise awareness for child labor and children and help them make better decisions. So, when it comes to your topic area of now the background and where they are living and that kind of thing – I know that you are leaving today but I can push you on the phone to somebody who can help you a lot with that because she works in the community with the

kids, I only can give you my kind of administrative kind of standpoint which is very she is on the ground, she's in the trenches kind of thing.

Uhm, just to uhm, so, okay, so what we see a lot in Jamaica happening in terms of child labor specifically is that it has a very long history, the culture is long. It's a long historical culture going right back to the plantations you know slavery this kind of things, so, uhm, children working in very familial, it's multigenerational, community, you know very specific in terms of the type of labor that they do. …if you have for example a community that focuses a lot on fishery for example tend to have the children involved in fishery related child labor kind of thing versus agricultural type of labor whatever, this kind of things. Uhm, there's a parallel kind of relationship between or corolla kind of relationship between child labor and education. Uhm, we've in this just and this is not backed by any research that I'm currently aware of, this is just sort of in your work you hear you see. There's been over the last, maybe 50 years, there's been a shift, very dramatic shift in the sources of income that Jamaicans, you know, poorer people have been able to access and the corresponding shift in their attitudes towards education. So, whereas before, 50 years before, education as very much an elite thing, right? So, for example my grandfather who is Jamaican went to I think he finished school at primary school, right? So he was really, he was one of these self made men read a thousand books and he, through his own self education he managed to achieve a lot but his real focus was that his kids should definitely go to secondary and where possible to tertiary institutions and obviously that carried down the line. But you have a lot of people who are saying to themselves we are going through the education system and we will not be able to get jobs, right? Which comes back to the youth unemployment issue. It's a huge problem, right? But the youth employment issue is not simply that they are going to school and are not able to get jobs because it's not just an absorptive issue. Right, so, the economy and the labor market cannot absorb them is one part of it right but another part is what can they, what skills do they are going to bring to the table that makes them absorbable. And you find that a lot of them leaving school have no certification, I think it's 70 percent have no certification at all. So, they don't achieve any certification from high school, so, uhm, a lot of the skills necessary to be absorbable by the formal work space are lacking. Literacy, proficiency in English, numeracy and social soft skills, you know, interpersonal relations, conflict resolution, those kind of things are definitely… uhm …it's a challenge of many people coming out the school system. And parts of it is the weight that the families or the parents place on education. Because historically, if you went to school, just even high school, you could get a job. So, there was a goal. But then, when you mass produce these tons of educated people, the pool of what …so, let me be clear, 50 years ago when you went to high school and you got a job in a bank then you were good. Now, a thousand people go to high school, there is not a thousand jobs in the bank, so you're leaving and then what Now you need a first degree to get a teller in the bank, okay? You need a masters degree to be a a second grade teller, I'm exaggerating, so, uhm, it's … because people look at it and say, boy, you know tertiary education is private, it's subsidized by the government but it's private, so you need to have money in order to pay for it and it's very expensive. Even for families that have parents who are working. Alright? It's very expensive. Because we have an increasing working poor. There…you know the global economic crisis is definitely an impact of that. People's disposable income has really shrunk, uhm, so, they would definitely finding it difficult, so now the question becomes what is the value of education in this particular context? If I can earn money and survive doing things that do not require formal education, then I'm going to pursue that. This is what we see happening quite often, so we have the situation where the parents or the family or whoever says, yeah it's important that you go to school, it's important but on X day you need to come out of school to do 1,2,3,4,5. Right?

Because we need to do this for the family. So, uhm, it's very common for children not to go to school on a Friday, very very common for a number of reasons: if it's an agricultural environment, then they are helping their parents to get everything together, to go to the market on Saturday, ok? If they are in an urban setting then they are traders, then they are helping their families prepare in order to trade what is there, what was brought by the people from the rural areas to trade it on the markets, because just because you produce it doesn't mean you trade it. Right? Or at least to the third part because there is also the intermediary. So, there is… that's very common uhm, but then there's also a lot of stress. You know, you have a lot of research coming out about this stress levels that people are encountering are very very high.

SW: Even in Jamaica.

NT: yes, they are very very high, because they deal with a lot of social pressure. You have, you know, financially really really difficult, you know, uhm, cost of living is very high, our –how should I put this? Our recorded inflation is still in the double digits and…uhm… so there is a lot of issues that people are facing, there is, uh, social instability, organized crime is very significant, to a lot of people in a lot of communities and then you have the corresponding sort of facilitory issues such as migration which are really really significant. Because, when you have the primary bread winner who tends to be also the primary care giver migrating then you have the situation where the kids and whomever else are not getting the kind of attention that they actually would have gotten historically, and so you have about a generation and a half pushing to generation. many many people were not really raised by their parents, right, it's shifting now somewhat, there was a huge exodus between the 60s and the 70s and rte kids stayed here and they were raised by you know by the neighbor looking on them occasionally. And so, it's within that context that you have a very difficult sort of social landscape that people live in. it's really really difficult. And they find ways and ways to kind of cope with that (10:03). And uhm, it's my impression based on, you know just years living here, that the value of the education system can provide has diminished over the years. So, uhm, it's a problem. But child labor is not just a function of access to education because you can have access and chose not to adequately engage with it in order to achieve, okay? Because of course you can earn money running drugs or all kind of different things.

SW: does that actually also happen that you know, young people, when they are smart and they get some sort of education, that they can actually use that knowledge to earn more money in like the drug business? they learn methods, they learn…

NT: yeah, possibly. I mean, more ..once…five, function of you know how much money, you know your economic status. You know what I mean. But at the same time, the choices that people that people make are limited to how many they have. Right? So, I don't know how much, I mean how much business knowledge you can gain going to –through 18- going to high school. Seriously, I really don't know if you gonna get a lot. And just reflecting, just looking at myself, and what I knew when I was going to high school versus what I know now… so, I don't know. But uhm, you know I think there are also a lot of other issues like masculinity, you know identity issues, what is considered masculine, what is considered not masculine versus not feminine. Is going to school considered a masculine activity or not. I know there was somebody doing some field survey, It was a very small survey, but they were getting some feedback that boys felt that their speaking standard english which is a pre-condition to succeeding in the academic system was a feminine thing, so they associated it with homosexuality (12:16) so they wanted to speak their pattowa as a demonstration of their

masculinity. Okay, but that has implications because it means that when you come to the formal education system as well as the formal labor market you know your skills set, when it comes to that your english is somewhat… diminished. So, there is all kind of things going on that impact … which I way, you know, when you said everyone is pushing for entrepreneurship I raised my eyebrow because entrepreneurship requires innovation. Okay? And innovations cultivated. Yet you have spark of innovation that just happen because you have, boy, you know, someone sees a gap in the market any says, oh well, I really need to…I don't know what… you know… I have like 10 yachts and I have to have a yacht facility, you know what I'm saying, right? But more often or not innovation is something that's cultivated. You know you train people to be innovative, uhm, and you train them to see opportunities, to look for, uhm, things to take risk, those kind of things. Yeah, uhm, and entrepreneurship really definitely rests on innovation and success of innovation, especially at this time in our sort of global history we look at what is needed in the labor market, what is being successful, where entrepreurship has been really successful, even on a small scale. It's pretty sophisticated. You know, and it's not to say that uhm that these people are not, I mean, the formal education system doesn't necessarily prepare you for that type of thinking.

SW: that's a very interesting point. Yeah, it's good that you mention that. So, then what do you think, then should the government do to provide jobs for those who cannot be entrepreneurs?

NT: wha… that's a tough question. That is a tough question. Uhm, you know, the government is quite forth thinking in a lot of ways and in a lot of areas and they do labor market trending and to see, you know, what's gonna be needed in the next 5 to 10 years. But I don't necessarily think that.. you know, it's a much more, as I'm sure you're aware, there is a big gap between what happens in academia and between what happens, you now, in reality. And so there is a lot of solid research and you know, recommendations on what should be done. You know but on the ground that's a whole different story. So, they need to definitely, you know, look at global trends, you know we need to position ourselves as a country to take advantage of what's happening in terms of outsourcing and all those kind of things, I mean, I know, outsourcing is kind of old head but there are other things that are coming and that we need to be aware of 'em but you know, you need to be ahead of the curve to take advantage of it in 10 years. You can't in 10 years say, I'm gonna do it now because then it's over. (15:42)

SW: okay… so, you are working with the ILO and these kind of international organizations here in Jamaica. How do you actually think, for example, just looking at global trends, and the whole what is given as tools from international organizations, how well do you think does that actually help here on the ground or how do you think should they actually better identify the needs?

NT: well, I don't really know, uhm, there are a lot of tools that are given but there are so many layers because you have the tool, right, and you can even implement the tool but then can you sustain the implementation of the tool, is one point? And then, does anybody want the tool, is the next point? Because for example, I mean, you have to think of HEART/ NTA, and you know HEART is, I think it's 20, 30 years old now, I'm not sure exactly. What they are continuing to train people in is not necessarily what people can do in terms of work. So they do try to keep up the labor market, the local labor market, they're train a lot of people in customer service, and they train a lot of people in all kind of different areas, in computing, and uhm data entry, all kind of different things, right? But, you know, what data entry facilities do we have here that are going to absorb those people with those data entry skills?

For example, okay. We are not necessarily attracting people from overseas…to entry companies here or…And even when they do, do they have the recommended skills…the tools. Well, You know Jamaica is a income country…compared to….Ahm I just don´t know

SW: So let me explain. I´m trying to be a bit critical. Having some offices, you know, in Geneve or New York and they tell this little country of what to do. I rather want to hear from the Country Office: We need actually something else.

NT: Ahm, It depends, You see. That is very much a function of your funding. Right? How flexible you are. How flexible you are in your Country Office is very much a function of how flexible you are. If your money is coming from a donor, it depends which donor, where is where your money is coming from…So, for example you have money from, say, the US Department of Labor or the US Government, okay? The US Government every four years have major…because they have a new president, okay? So for example there is…activities the US Government provides with their money. You will find nothing that has to do with…organization. You find nothing that has to do with abortion. You find nothing that has to do with whatever, for example, okay? So, if you are in a country that requires any of those things, you have to be very creative to be able to use the funds…the issue in your country. Because I´m telling you the interior agency, the UN, it has, how to say? It has a significant, how to say? A significant involvement in the decision of how funds are made…want to…the project plans…want to…..But we do not determent the parameters of how the money is spent. All right? So if the EU for example says: You did not…..So we…not gonna pay….So can we be more nimble on the ground. You know one of the big issues with the UN system…trying very hard to do it through a UN-form, is just bureaucracy, You know. It is just like a super heavy bureaucracy. And we are just not nimble. We are just not let on our feet. You can´t just up and decide…something happened. There are some agencies that have more flexibility……They get their money in a different way, they get….so they have more control….different thing, right? Where the money comes from is the key, key, key, key, you know. Where the money comes from and what other rules are there of how to spent the money makes a huge difference. Huge. In fact it is all.

SW: That sounds rather frustrating.

NT: Well I mean, you know, I mean, okay, take my situation: I´m also, we have to work with partners, right? We can not make human natural decisions and say, this is how we think it is supposed to work. Now the fact that I have ex…. Experience and… is totally relevant. At the end of the day I precisely dissolve into the organization, right? I represent the ILO, which is an UN-agency and we have constituents. And if we do not consult….encourage our constituents we have a major infinancial crisis….not even….. We need to make sure, and it is very time-consuming. You can not just say: This is a great idea and everybody agree that it is a great idea and then go through. No, no, no. Like, let me give you an example: Right now we are doing some training with the Jamaica…force on….. We are talking about this now, I think it´s going a year, and we are just starting … because a lot of people consults it, right? And this, I okay, is just the beginning parts of it, okay. Everyone…and agree and how we gonna move forward. Than we said, okay, we decided we gonna start with doing a baseline research in order to asses and to make sure what we gonna do is something based on a substantial…Okay, do the research. The report must be submitted……The report needs to be approved, by various people. Not myself, I just write commends. It needs to be approved and in the proposed training program….. must be considered not just by myself and what my input might be, but by the ….Office in…because they have oversight for us. By the office in Geneva because they have

direct responsibility. And the Reason Office in Peru, because they have done some… in Brazil and……on child labor. So they are…..we have experience……..And that´s a three month process. That´s a three month process and because, I mean it is not number one priority, you know they get the e-mail and think: Okay I will get back to it and put out this file and that file and this file, so. But then you get a good result in the end, you know. And you know at the end of the day, your partners are involved, they agree, there is some amount of sustainability because they feel ownership of it, right? And it´s … of what is required. It is a very delectate balance between the Government and the non-government. You, know the UN signs agreements with the Governments, right? And we execute primarily through Government agencies. We have a little money…NGOs, no problem. But our agreements are with Governments. So if the Government and Jamaica is an excellent example of this, has a position on an issue that the NGOs differ drastically on, you have a small problem. So for example take…Supporting activities with men have sex with men, to prevent increased rates of …..okay? Alright, no problem, we know we need to….gay men, because…there is a big issuer. There are a lot of men live a double life….so they have wives, girlfriends and kids….both sides of the fence and then ….one community is….with the other. And on the one hand you have a Government that says: We do not engage at that lever with the gay community, right? We just not gonna do it. For whatever reason, no problem, so, okay. And then you have the donor, who says: No, no, no we not giving the money to do this, right? We don´t support this for whatever reason, okay? Or, or, okay because of signly agreement with the Government as well, right? And now we are the three of us…. Of the same level….we need to negotiate how we gonna get this done…….You don´t care who exactly they are, right? They are at risk, okay? And so you are able to resolve, those kind of things, but it is a very delicate balance between what the Government….because the Government has to maintain a particular position internationally, right? So if I stand……we are just a little project, alright. …when you are over what is the relationship between the Government and the Jamaican ILO. That is much more important than what happens right now right here in your project… It´s a bunch of stuff. And it is big and wide and it´s frustrating.

SW: But also a bit fun, bit exciting.

NT: A little bit, yeah, I mean, you know I, when I went to university, my, my, I grew up in a sort of, you know UN-world, right? And so I was like: Yes that´s what I wanna do, I wanna help the world, you know? But nobody told me, nobody. So if this is what you wanna do, I´m telling you it´s 99 percent administration, okay?

SW: I worked one year there. I´m like, I was also motivated like that but you know, I start considering it again.

NT: I´m not even gonna. Okay 90, be generous, it´s 90 percent administration, so if you wanna go out in the field, this is not for you. This is not for you. Of course depending on which agency. If you working with, ahm, a disaster…agency, you gonna be out there, but even then….regulation……you have….you have corruption to deal with. I mean it´s …It´s very heavy administrative. So if you wanna go, ahm, save the world and be out there helping people, this is not the way to do it.

SW: Alright, that´s a statement I´m taking from Jamaica home.

NT: Yeah, you know if you were out. I mean, you can take time, you can go out, you know, and you can go into this community and into that community….right? You not gonna be interacting with the stakeholders that way, you know, but you gonna do it through intermediary agencies and you can

have a….but you not gonna be like in the thick of it, you know? And that´s like, as I say…..bodies out, then you´re in the thick of it, but otherwise, you know?

SW: Cool, then I, I think I have a lot to digest

NT: It is not as easy as people think it is, you know. It´s a mindset….a mind set. And it´s very, and the thing is historically. You now back in the history of, ahm, education in the western world, right. It was designed for two things. One to take the kids of the street and two to create, ahm, a suitable labor market for industry to be able to utilize. That was the purpose of it, right? It wasn´t really designed to, you know, kind of spark innovated thinking or, you know, a university level perhaps, right? But most people…university, okay? And so, and even now most universities, at first degree level, it´s really just about getting a job, it´s not really about, it´s just getting skills in order getting a job. It is not really about, you know, the …of the thought-process or, you know the analysis or the investigation. It is at the master or doctor-level…by no problem, very few people go that far. I mean globally, you know what I mean. So it´s a tricky, tricky thing to say you wanna spark…you know, without…If you want to have…in fifteen years, the ones enduring in grade one, right? So that´s age five or so…80 percent of the whole thing is already fixed, alright? So you have to have a system where you are allowed to think freely. And let them be creative and let their minds go and then resolve problems on their own. It´s an entire cultural shift, that we just have made, you know? And which is, you know, one of the reasons why we don´t have time….not really. There is lots of other issues but one big issue is that, it´s our mindsets. You have to be ….and just have to go there and think: Yeah I can do it. And I´m going against the….And I´m not just gonna look for a job and take a risk and …So even if, even if you have a situation where you say, look, I, I make….I need you to make the…Okay? In order for you to make a …. You need to at least understand how much…you´ll need, alright? How you gonna form the material….keep it safe, how you gonna ship it. There is a lot….to make one…So, I don´t know, it´s a much, much harder than as it look.

SW: Okay, interesting.

NT: Much harder, so. You know, but at the same time we are a very creative bunch. But we are only creative in specific areas.

SW: Which is?

NT: Okay, let´s say….creative in specific areas. We´re creative across the….You know we are actually very good at things like, ahm, small skill. There is a lot of, ahm economics, economics in the Caribbean.

SW: I have met very, very well educated Jamaicans.

NT:…. Things like the music and that kind of thing and there are a lot of areas of success, but it´s not documented. So you not really, you don´t get so much…. Good luck with your pieces. I don´t know what conclusion you can possible reach.

SW: I will see.

NT: But, yeah, it´s hard, you know. I hope someone…we need to help them. We need to help them. There are a lot of people who really need us….future. I mean, what are we gonna give them? ….I mean what? I just don´t know. ...the whole culture is….I mean it´s…., you know? It´s a good thing, in

many communities…..Many women have children with multiple different partners. Okay, no problem you may say, but….raise all the eight, or six or four children on their own and none of these partners are providing anything substantial…to this children. So, when she´s out to work, who is gonna supervise them? My neighbor, for example, her daughter is seven and they have some kind of, there is some kind of…test ….and they are starting to prepare right now for it, it is a year from now. And so over this week her school is saying, oh they gonna be doing the test, to help, you know the preparation for this assessment. Now, she has a fulltime job and she is a single mother and every night she is there with her daughter going over the material…the child is seven, okay? If you have four kids, right? Or five kids or six kids and, you know, you are working day, working night, you are not working, you don´t have any kind of formal environment,…for you just sit down with all five of them or four of them prepare them for these test….if they don´t pass the test they´re not going into the next grade. They are not going to a good school. They´re not gonna get a good job. And it´s significant what is happening at grade four, so, you know.

SW: Well, you´re doing your best. Thank you very much for the interview.

Questionnaire Kings Gate Skills Training Centre

A. Questions on the training programme: *(please fill in or tick what applies to you)*

1. What is the title of your training programme?

_____

2. Why did you choose Kings Gate Skills Training Centre?

O   a. Because they offer the training I like
O   b. Because someone recommended it to me
O   c. Because friends or family member also go/went here
O   d. Because I was allocated to this Training Centre
O   e. Because the Training Centre is close to where I live
O   f. Because I did not get accepted to another Training Centre
O   g. Other: _____

3. I believe the training will help me to...

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. improve use my skills and abilities	O	O	O	O
b. find a job	O	O	O	O
c. gain more self-confidence	O	O	O	O
d. earn lots of money	O	O	O	O
e. teach my knowledge to others	O	O	O	O
f. give something back to my community	O	O	O	O

g. Other: _____

4. I believe that after this training I will have very good chances to find employment?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O

5. How do you afford the training

O   a. I work apart from the training to afford it
O   b. I get financial supported from my family
O   c. I have a scholarship
O   d. I took a loan to afford the training
O   e. I saved up money to afford the training
O   f. Other: _____

6. What does your family think of your training?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. They think it will help me to find a job	O	O	O	O
b. They think it will help me to improve my character	O	O	O	O
c. They think it will help me to provide for a family	O	O	O	O
d. They are proud for my achievements during the training	O	O	O	O
e. They think the training keeps me away me from helping at home	O	O	O	O
f. They think it is too expensive	O	O	O	O

7. What would you like to do after finishing this programme?

- O   a. I would like to work for a big company
- O   b. I would like to work in my community
- O   c. I would like to work for my family's business
- O   d. I would like to start my own business
- O   e. I would like to continue studies
-     f. I would like to work abroad
- O   g. Other: _____

B. Questions on youth employment: *(please fill in and tick what applies to you)*

8 To whom would you go to get information on open jobs?

- O   a. Online research
- O   b. Newspaper
- O   c. TV or radio advertisement
- O   d. I would directly contact a person in a company that I would like to work in
- O   e. A family member or friend
- O   f. A teacher
- O   g. A government agency that focuses on employment services
- O   h. A non-governmental organization that focuses on employment
- O   i. Someone who comes into my community and talks about job opportunities
- O   j. Someone in church
- O   k. Other: _____

9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
The security of working for someone else overweighs the benefits of running my own business	O	O	O	O
Starting a business is much more desirable than other careers (career opportunities) I might have	O	O	O	O

10. I believe that when someone works hard they can easily find employment?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O

11. Why, in your opinion, is it difficult for young people to find a job?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. Because their education is not good enough	O	O	O	O
b. Because there are no jobs available in the field they wish to work	O	O	O	O
c. Because it is difficult to find information on open job	O	O	O	O
d. Because it is very complicated to apply for a job	O	O	O	O
e. Because they have to stay home with the family	O	O	O	O
f. Because they are involved in drug or crime activities	O	O	O	O

12. I believe that young people who come from a poor community have more trouble finding a job?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
O	O	O	O

13. What should the government do to make it easier for young people to find a job?

_____

_____

14. What do you do in your free time?

- O   a. I spend time with family and friends
- O   b. I work as:
- O   c. I do sports
- O   d. I am involved in a club at my training institution
- O   e. I am involved in a church group
- O   f. Other: _____

13. What is your dream for your future?

_____

_____

_____

14. How old are you? _____

15. What parish or area in Kingston are you from? _____

Thank you very much for filling in the questionnaire!

Results Kings Gate Skills Training Centre

1 What is the title of your training programme?	HK	HK/H	FoodPrep	99	Total		
Count of n	7	5	1	2	15		
	47%	33%	7%	13%	100%		
2 Why did you choose Kings Gate Skills Training Centre?	a	b	c	d	e	f	Total
Count of n	11	3	1	0	2	0	15
	73%	20%	7%	0%	13%	0%	100%

3. I believe the training will help me to…

3a. improve use my skills and abilities	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	3	10	2	15
	0%	0%	20%	67%	13%	100%
3b. find a job	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	1	3	6	5	15
	0%	7%	20%	40%	33%	100%
3c. gain more self-confidence	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	4	4	7	15
	0%	0%	27%	27%	47%	100%
3d. earn lots of money	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	4	3	8	15
	0%	0%	27%	20%	53%	100%
3e. share my knowledge with others	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	5	4	6	15
	0%	0%	33%	27%	40%	100%
3f. give something back to my community	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	1	6	2	6	15
	0%	7%	40%	13%	40%	100%

4. Very good chance of finding employment after training	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	5	10	0	15
	0%	0%	33%	67%	0%	100%

5 How are you paying for your training?	a	b	c	d	e	Total
Count of n	2	4	3	2	1	15
	13%	27%	20%	13%	7%	100%

6. What does your family think of your training?

6a. They think it will help me to find a job	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	5	9	1	15
	0%	0%	33%	60%	7%	100%
6b. They think it will help me to improve my character	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	3	6	6	15
	0%	0%	20%	40%	40%	100%
6c. They think it will help me to provide for my family	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	1	0	3	5	6	15
	7%	0%	20%	33%	40%	100%
6d. They are proud of my achievements during the training	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	1	7	7	15
	0%	0%	7%	47%	47%	100%
6e. training keeps me away me from helping at home	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	5	1	1	0	8	15
	33%	7%	7%	0%	53%	100%
6f. They think it is too expensive	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	4	1	2	0	8	15
	27%	7%	13%	0%	53%	100%

7. What would you like to do after finishing this programme?	a	b	c	d	e	f	Total
Count of n	3	0	0	2	5	11	15

	20%	0%	0%	13%	33%	73%	100%		
8. To whom would you go to get information on job offers?	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
Count of n	5	7	2	4	3	2	9	1	4	2
	33%	47%	13%	27%	20%	13%	60%	7%	27%	13%

9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

9a. Security of working for someone outweighs own business	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	2	3	3	2	5	15
	13%	20%	20%	13%	33%	100%
9b. Own business more desirable than other careers	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	2	5	4	4	15
	0%	13%	33%	27%	27%	100%

10 When someone works hard they can find employment easily?	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	4	3	3	5	0	15
	27%	20%	20%	33%	0%	100%

11. Why, in your opinion, is it difficult for young people to find a job?

11a. Because their education is not good enough	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	0	7	8	0	15
	0%	0%	47%	53%	0%	100%
11b. no jobs available in the field they wish to work	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	1	5	5	4	15
	0%	7%	33%	33%	27%	100%
11c. Because it is difficult to find information on available jobs	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	3	1	1	3	7	15
	20%	7%	7%	20%	47%	100%
11d. Because it is very complicated to apply for a job	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	2	2	2	2	7	15
	13%	13%	13%	13%	47%	100%

11e. Because they have to stay home with the family	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	4	2	3	0	6	15
	27%	13%	20%	0%	40%	100%
11f. Because they are involved in drug or criminal activities	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	2	2	2	2	7	15
	13%	13%	13%	13%	47%	100%

12 From a poor community, more trouble finding a job?	1	2	3	4	99	Total
Count of n	0	4	7	4	0	15
	0%	27%	47%	27%	0%	100%

14. What do you do in your free time?	a	b	c	d	e	Total
Count of n	5	2	0	3	3	15
	33%	13%	0%	20%	20%	100%