Youth Skills Training Program

End-term Evaluation

Date	Document	Authors
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QTAG | Papua New Guinea
Quality and Technical Assurance Group

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The Quality and Technical Assurance Group

The QTAG provides strategic, advisory, review and quality assurance capability and services to support the delivery of Australia's aid program in PNG. It is designed to assure both governments that the agreed development objectives are being addressed efficiently and effectively and that development outcomes are emerging.

The goal of the QTAG is to improve the quality and performance of DFAT and GoPNG programs that support stability and inclusive growth in PNG.

The objective of the QTAG is to enable DFAT and GoPNG to make more informed decisions and exercise greater accountability for the performance and quality of agreed strategies and selected projects.

The QTAG is implemented by Oxford Policy Management Australia.

Contents

Acknowledgements

The strongly participatory nature of this evaluation also entailed a complicated set of logistics. We are extremely grateful for the support of the Abt Program Manager, Lisa Kandi, and the implementing partners, in particular Robert Evah (Ginigoada) and Remmie Auwa (City Mission). As well as the logistics that were needed, there were also significant last-minute changes beyond the evaluation team's control and the partners handled them with exceptional grace and flexibility. We are grateful for the teamwork.

Thanks also to the UPNG School of Business and Public Policy, including Professor Lekshmi Pillai, for supporting the evaluation. The UPNG enumerator team went well beyond the call of duty to make possible the extensive data collection exercise, alongside their lecturing and tutoring work. We hope that the skills and experience from this exercise will be of use to them as an example in their teaching case studies, as well as in future research projects. Their professionalism and reliability was second to none and underlines a range of opportunities for investing further in locally-driven research agendas.

We are extremely grateful to the Program Team at the Australian High Commission. There would have been many simpler ways of conducting the evaluation, and yet they were willing to invest the time and resources in understanding, improving and facilitating the proposed approach. Their support was integral to successfully seeing through a less than straightforward project.

Above all, thanks to the young women and men who have shared their stories and insights through the process. We hope that the report is faithful to those experiences and perspectives and can usefully inform an increasingly effective approach to strengthening economic and social pathways for young Papua New Guineans.

List of Abbreviations and Definitions

AHC	Australian High Commission (Port Moresby)
BLST	Basic Life Skills Training
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EGIG	Economic Governance and Inclusive Growth
JSS4D	Justice Services and Stability for Development
OJT	On the Job Training
OPM	Oxford Policy Management
QTAG	Quality and Technical Assurance Group
SME	Small-Medium Enterprise
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
UYEP	Urban Youth Employment Program

Executive Summary

This evaluation covered three purposes:

- The first was to conduct an end of program evaluation which assesses the impact of City Mission, Ginigoada and the Urban Youth Employment Program (UYEP), all of which arose from a 2015 Australian Government Ministerial Commitment;
- The second purpose was to survey the landscape of Australian Government youth-related investments to assess the level of strategic coherence across sectors; and
- The third was to take the data and lessons from purposes 1 and 2 and draw them into a more strategic consideration of the Australian Government's overall approach to youth-related programming.

The importance of the inquiry was based on the universally acknowledged issues relating to the demographic bulge of young Papua New Guineans, which are not revisited in this report.

Programs that are targeting unskilled and at-risk youth in Papua New Guinea are playing a critical role in mitigating the challenges of an urbanising, relatively less educated and fast-growing youth population. In order to shift emphasis from mitigating challenges towards transforming economic and social pathways, the Australian Government should become both more nuanced and more strategic in its approach. This requires moving beyond a broad characterisation of the 'youth problem'. It involves more coherence across sectors when cross-sector interventions are targeting similar points on these pathways. It also requires identifying and acting on strategic levers that are impacting on the retention rates across all pathways.

The findings and recommendations in this report draw on semi-structured interviews and workshops with participants of City Mission and Ginigoada respectively. They also draw heavily on interviews conducted by UPNG researchers with over 400 young men and women in Port Moresby, using SenseMaker®, a qualitative-based method that produces quantitative data and – among other strengths – considerably mitigates the distortion of qualitative data that external analysis often causes.

Purpose 1 – The contribution of DFAT, through these three programs, to youth development outcomes

Overall, the urban youth surveyed place a high premium on education and skills, prioritising it conclusively over money and connections. This is an important finding of the SenseMaker® data and affirms the relevance of Australian Government investments in this space. It also indicates that there may be counter-cultural trends at work in the urbanisation process, including a greater value placed on skills than on wantok and connections.

All programs offered a chance to enter a meaningful economic and social pathway, building confidence and aspirations. They create conditions to lead participants from a position of economic and social disempowerment to a degree of work-readiness and social inclusion, emphasising persistence, perseverance, communication skills and discipline. City Mission is the strongest in this regard, primarily because of its immersive nature and length. These transferable skills seem to be important for future employability and can also mitigate the likelihood of young people falling back into lives of crime and violence.

All programs have achieved some progress in placing participants in employment. UYEP is the strongest in this regard, with Ginigoada rapidly improving. City Mission does not emphasise this as an outcome for which it is directly responsible. Nonetheless, the SenseMaker® data shows that of those without skills, only 20.7% of men and 15.7% of

women have found a way to a substantive livelihood. In contrast, 37% of men and 27.3% of women with formal skills training have found livelihood options. All three programs are constrained in contributing to this outcome by the limited job opportunities in the formal sector.

No significant differences were observed in the changes experienced by young men and women (noting also that the City Mission program is exclusively for men). The form of change may differ and may be the result of gender-specific intervention (eg *meri seif* buses), but the essential change (ie economic and social empowerment) is comparable between the two. Analysis of the SenseMaker® data, despite expectations, did not show significant disparities between men and women in the meaning they attributed to their experiences of life in Port Moresby.

Mobile outreach facilitates access to opportunities for the most vulnerable (UYEP and Ginigoada). A lack of physical mobility, especially for women, is a critical obstacle to being aware of, and then accessing, empowerment opportunities. This aspect of the Ginigoada program was consistently referenced by respondents. The more limited UYEP consultations also appeared to confirm this. City Mission, as an immersive residential experience, is approaching change differently.

Change is more significant and sustainable when staff have a sense of vocation. Empathy, commitment and personal initiative is a striking feature among front line team members, most of whom are from the communities they are working with. The passion and service orientation of many staff contributes a 'value for money' dividend that the figures do not at present capture.

An enabling framework that considers factors of duration, regulation and psycho-social support, as well as mentoring, helps maximise the impact of skills training. For a program like City Mission, the combination of the duration (18 months), the ground rules (strict but with multiple chances) and the deeply entrenched pastoral support, come together to create impact. It is critical to note that the psycho-social support is a human resource intensive component.

Purpose 2 – Cross-sector alignment of Australian Government funding

There is a limited degree of strategic and operational alignment across sectoral programs. Connections and collaboration are largely unstructured, or at least not systematic; and there is limited awareness between programs of each other's key features to foster learning. Nonetheless, there is, in fact, a high degree of complementarity across the 12 intervention points that the evaluation identified.

There is variable appetite *in practice* for a 'youth' strategy or a more strategic approach to youth-related programming. Most agree that in theory this is an area where more coherence would be valuable. However, experience of the transaction costs involved in attempting a cross-cutting Australian High Commission (AHC) strategy also raise some questions as to the opportunity cost.

The generality of the term 'youth' itself may be an obstacle to more intentional and strategic programming coherence. As an overarching demographic category, it may still make sense to situate a strategic conversation under that umbrella. However, unless it is broken down into the key intervention points along a young person's economic pathway, its imprecision lends itself to platitudes and generic concepts that, whilst possibly accurate, are not useful.

Most sectoral teams have given only limited consideration to youth-relevant implications of technological opportunities and risks with the submarine sea cable. This development will, of course, not be a silver bullet for development, but nor is it likely to be a mere incremental shift. AHC teams all recognise that it is a significant issue, but few are ahead of the curve in incorporating it strategically into programming. This can integrate

with strategies around high growth sectors – agriculture, construction, natural resources (the next LNG project is online in 2021), hospitality and tourism – and Australia-PNG business to business linkages.

Purpose 3 – Considering a more strategic cross-sector approach to youth development

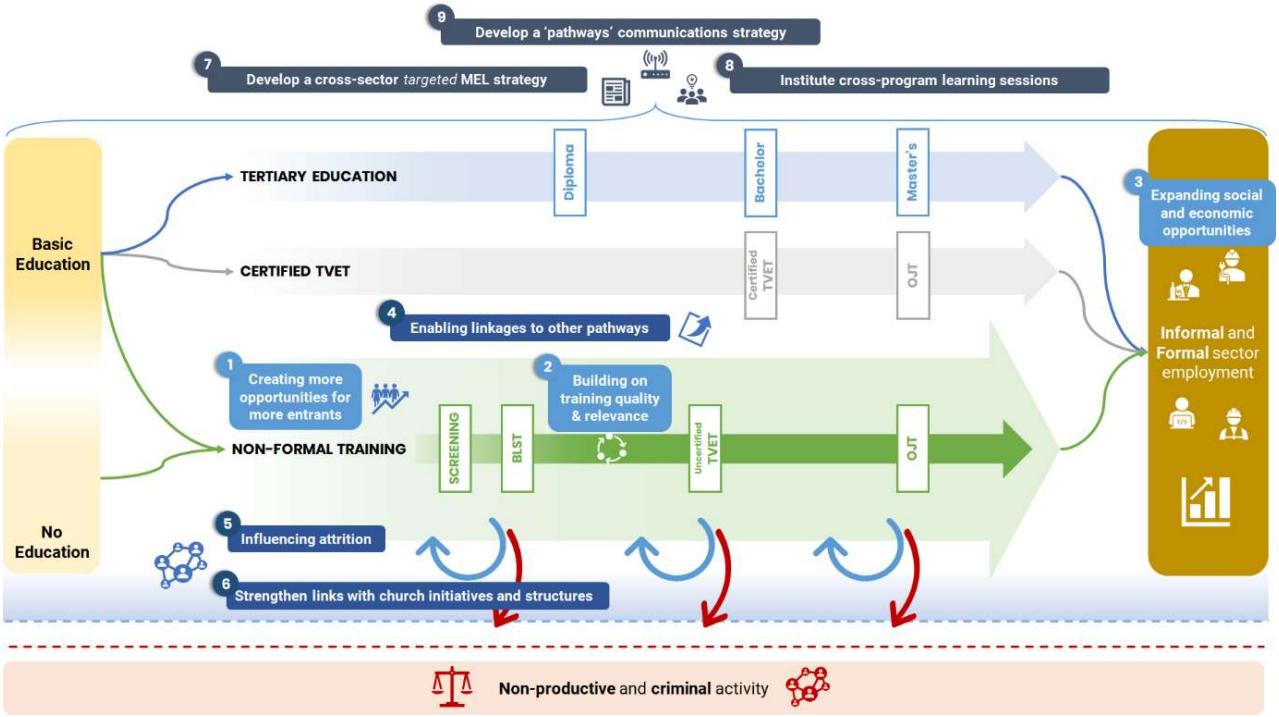
The evaluation identified three strategic domains that could provide a framework for AHC to consider next steps under this purpose.

The first strategic domain relates to the linear pathway through non-formal training. The high demand for skills training underlines the opportunity to expand the skills training market (point **1** in Figure 1 below). This of itself would only lead to increased outputs and so training quality improvement (**2**) and sharing of good practice is critical to effectiveness. Finally, to realise the full benefits of a growing cohort of better trained youth who have been through better-designed training programs, more job opportunities (**3**) are needed.

The second domain relates to the link between the non-formal training pathway, other pathways, and relevant stakeholders. Where relevant, entry points to more appropriate or relevant opportunities should be more visible to participants (**4**). It is inevitable that there will be a rate of attrition and some design elements of programming should specifically target those dropping out of programs. Closer attention to these young people can reduce the likelihood that more criminal activity results. It is also important to think laterally about programming in cultural and sporting activities that can give participants a constructive community focus (**5**). Linked to both these points is the church (**6**): its existing role in service delivery and as a community support structure uniquely places it to support participants who have dropped out of structured training pathways.

The third domain is at the overarching level. This evaluation is limited by the fact it is effectively stand-alone. These evaluations can become integrated into a longitudinal program of monitoring and evaluation that builds on data and refines the relevant questions (**7**). This MEL foundation then provides the input on which cross-program learning sessions (**8**) and a 'pathways' communication strategy can be genuinely evidence-based (**9**).

Figure 1 - Strategic levers for economic and social pathways



There are ample existing programmatic threads that the Australian Government could leverage to improve the impact of its youth-related investments. Some of these gains can be made in the short term with modest investment. At the same time, in making recommendations in this report, the evaluation team assumes that the process of refining and consolidating a more coherent and strategic approach is the work of ten years at a minimum.

Prevailing narratives around young Papua New Guineans can be despairing. In this evaluation, we encountered a very different picture. The enormity of the challenges facing young people only puts into starker relief their belief in skills as a pathway, their desire to break out of the cycles of violence and a thirst for learning and livelihood.

Introduction

This report is divided into five main sections. The first summarises the methods, which is important in this case because of the less traditional approach to gathering the data. The second gives more framing to the concept of 'skills', also drawing on international evidence. The remaining three follow the three principal purposes of the Evaluation.

Under **Purpose 1**, we evaluate the three programs falling under the now completed 2015 Ministerial Commitment. This is an evaluation of the end of the funding under the Ministerial Commitment. We discuss the key strengths and design principles, also noting some of the ongoing areas for improvement. The following section explores **Purpose 2**, covering both a description of what we observed in terms of strategic and operational alignment across the sectoral programs, and a relatively brief analysis of the existing landscape and appetite for change. The final section delves into the strategic focus of **Purpose 3**. Here we depart from a sequential treatment of the key evaluation questions and integrate them into a structured presentation of key principles to guide strategy formulation and options for moving forward.

Findings and recommendations for the programs are included under Purpose 1. Purpose 2 and 3 both have findings, but link to each other and so recommendations for AHC are consolidated at the end of the Purpose 3 discussion.

We would note at the outset that the quality of the evaluation process was significantly enhanced by the substantial and substantive contribution of UPNG Researchers. Often reviews and evaluations draw on national thematic experts, which can also be valuable. However, the QTAG team's experience in this case also highlighted that national technical M&E capability is at present under-utilised.

Snapshot of the three programs

	Target	Duration	Graduated	DFAT funding (AUD)
City Mission Est 1993	18-25 year olds, Port Moresby, Madang, Lae	18 months residential with possible On the Job Training (OJT) thereafter	~175 p.a	1,450,766
Ginigoada Est 2002	Children and youth, Port Moresby, Central Province and Lae	Initial 2-4 week mobile training with possible registration for external skills training and OJT	~10,000 p.a	2,187,809
UYEP Est 2010	16-35 year olds, Port Moresby	Training (20 days) - Youth Job Corps (variable) or OJT (5 months)	~18,000 since 2010	14,796,000

				(/ 37,003,700)[1]

Background to the Evaluation

Funding arrangements

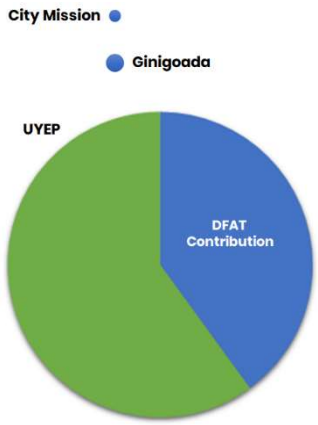
City Mission signed a Grant Deed through the *Strongim Pipol Strongim Nation* program in 2015 with the manager of SPSN, AECOM. A deed of novation was subsequently signed with Abt Associates on 1 July 2016. The grant under both contracts was for PGK 3,222,580. In May 2018, DFAT agreed to a transition phase (Jul 2018 – Jun 2019) to continue activities implemented under the Ministerial Commitment and City Mission was granted PGK 1,695,516.

Ginigoada was subject to a Grant Deed under the SPSN program, managed by AECOM, in November 2015. A deed of novation was subsequently signed with Abt Associates on 1 July 2016. The grant under both contracts is for PGK 5,820,000. In May 2018, DFAT agreed to a transition phase (Jul 2018 – Jun 2019) to continue activities implemented under the ministerial commitment and Ginigoada was granted PGK 1,596,672. As well as Australian Government funding, it has received support from the National Capital District Commission (NCDC), Exxon Mobil, Sisters of Mercy, Digicel and the CPL Group.

In June 2019, both Ginigoada and City Mission were granted an extension to fully expense final tranches by 31 December 2019.

The **Urban Youth Employment Program**, delivered through the World Bank and originally envisaged as a five-year project ending in 2016, was extended to 2018 with additional funding of USD 10.8 million from the Australian Government. This funding represented a 60% increase in project funding, which had been initially supported by an IDA loan of USD 14.1 million, USD 1.58 million from the PNG Government and NCDC, and USD 530,000 from the Korean Trust Fund.

Figure 2 - Relative quantum of DFAT funding



Existing review material

There are two key studies that this evaluation builds on: the 2017 mid-term evaluation of the same three programs falling under the Ministerial Commitment and the 2018 UYEP Impact Evaluation.

The **mid-term evaluation** (PNG Governance Facility, 2017) assessed the programs against the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) criteria. In view of the specific ToR for this evaluation, the findings from that evaluation regarding effectiveness and sustainability are most relevant. Regarding effectiveness, the evaluation found strengths and positive stories, but the limitations at that point in M&E meant that conclusive judgments were difficult. Regarding two angles of sustainability: i) there was a clearer sense at that point that the programs were heavily donor reliant and not sustainable operationally; ii) the evaluation had a limited evidence base for assessing the sustainability of the impact on young people beyond their participation in the program.

Overall, the evaluation identified six priorities to address: **i)** overall program design; **ii)** training and mentorship; **iii)** establishing clearer pathways and increasing learning and sharing; **iv)** improved monitoring and evaluation; **v)** strengthening sustainability; **vi)** linking with relevant cross-sector programs.

[1] Oanda exchange rate as at 01 January 2016

Recommendations have only been implemented to a limited extent and this current evaluation agrees implicitly or explicitly with them all.

The **UYEP Impact Evaluation** (Hoy & Naidoo, 2019) challenged conclusions in the existing literature that active labour market programs, of which UYEP is an example, (a) have limited impact and (b) are not supported by cost-benefit analyses. The study found that UYEP both demonstrates an impact in and of itself and, importantly, a statistically significant greater impact compared with Labour Intensive Public Works programs. Assuming the findings are sound, the study suggests that UYEP's three-pronged approach can explain this: the combination of (i) the subsidised wage (ii) training and (iii) job matching – rarely if at all combined in comparable programs (Hoy & Naidoo, 2019, p. 20f).

On this central question of the impact evaluation, the argument is persuasive and the QTAG team has kept this in mind during interviews and analysis.

Summary of Methods

UYEP has been the subject of a detailed impact evaluation. Given limited resources, City Mission and Ginigoada do not have the same baseline data to allow for a similar methodology or direct comparison with the UYEP results. As a result, we designed the end of program evaluation to allow for different perspectives on the questions to surface and for us to make well informed and nuanced – rather than conclusive – judgments around the evaluation questions. The methods are presented in more detail in Annex 3.

This innovative mixed-method approach had three branches as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - Evaluation methods

The method varied from the finalised evaluation plan in two main respects. First, a follow up workshop was deferred. Second, there was less than anticipated engagement from UYEP and as a result significantly less data available to evaluate that program. As indicated above, however, there has been a separate impact evaluation of UYEP which informs the findings and sits alongside the other programs.

The **analysis** from each of the branches was integrated into this initial draft of findings and recommendations. This draws on the independent analysis of all the evaluation team, including a Sensemaking consultation with the enumerators, as well as internal quality assurance from Oxford Policy Management (OPM). The SenseMaker® findings were

discussed in two online workshops, the first with all enumerators and the second with the research coordinator, team leader and ThinkClarity.

At each stage of the SenseMaker® process, the Research Coordinator and five enumerators from UPNG all played a central role. This collaboration was invaluable in harnessing their professionalism, research expertise, contextual understanding and testing of emerging findings.

Participation, gender and inclusion in the methods

We used these methods specifically for their participatory and inclusive nature. The workshops allowed for a combination of small group and whole group discussion, in English and/or Tok Pisin. Stories were captured from all participants, not only from those prepared to speak in the whole group, and the use of physical and visual representation did not limit participation to verbal-linguistic styles (no writing or reading skills were required).

The Sensemaker® approach is designed to orient the data around participants' personal experiences and then the meaning that they themselves make of it (not as interpreted by third party analysis), and enumerators were both male (4) and female (2). In debriefing the process, enumerators described feedback from respondents who 'felt respected' and 'comfortable' in sharing their stories. More quantitative survey methods are often regarded by respondents as treating them as data points, rather than valuing them for their lived experience.

The semi-structured interviews kept interview ratios as low as possible to maximise input and included a mixture of men and women from different levels of hierarchy, and national and sub-national origin. We are confident that the resulting data reflects an approach that is as inclusive as feasible with the resources available.

Figure 4 – SenseMaker® data collection by UPNG enumerators

Demographics of semi-structured interviews (see full list at Annex 4)

Figure 5 - Women and men informants

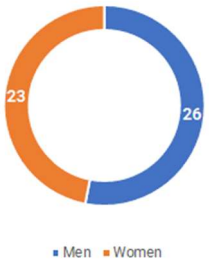
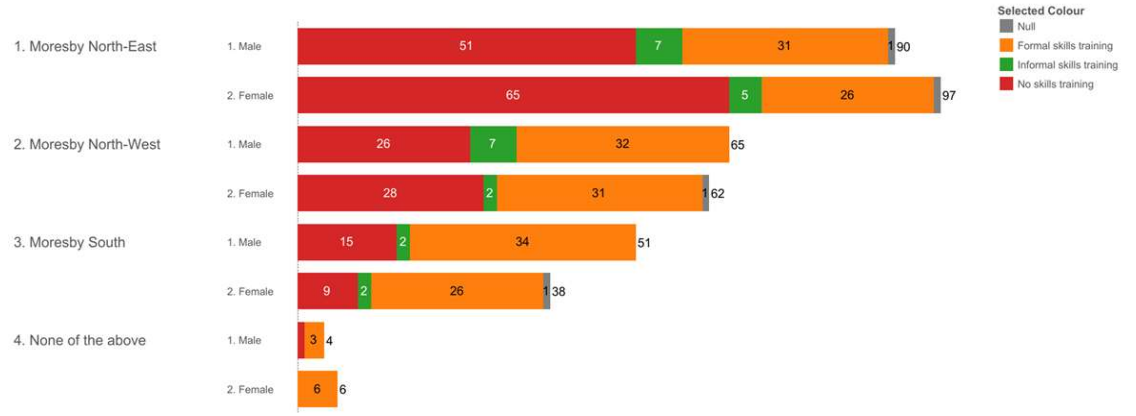


Figure 6 - Papua New Guinean key informants

Demographics of SenseMaker® respondents

Figure 7 - Responses by skills training and sex

Figure 8 - Responses by area of Port Moresby and sex



Skills Frameworks

The many dimensions of skills

Skills are acquired capabilities and are multidimensional in nature. Broadly speaking, skills are defined as the ability to do something well. Knowledge, technical competencies, attitudes, and values form important components of skills (World Bank, 2018).

Greene (2013) defines skills as 'personal qualities' with three broad features. Skills are: '*productive of value'* (they enhance productivity); *'expandable'* (skills can be enhanced by training); and '*socially determined'* (access to skills training depends on a range of social factors).

He explains that the specific definition of 'what skills are' varies depending on the disciplinary perspective from which it is studied. For example, in economics, skills are viewed as a key component of human capital and defined in instrumental terms as technical competencies which promote employability or productivity. Psychologists focus on the attitudinal component of skills, often focusing on the processes by which skills are acquired by individuals. For sociologists, the emphasis is on the idea that skills are socially constructed and on how an individual's position in society and power relations shape the acquisition and use of skill. Therefore, a multidimensional view of skills considers all these different aspects of skills and emphasises the point that skills are not only instrumentally valuable, but also intrinsically important.

Going further, scholars like Greene (2013) consider that genuine skills enhancement is not about instrumental preoccupation with employability for specific job roles. Rather, they are geared towards social and economic mobility in a changing context. They engender a more just, equal and fair society. Major international bodies, notably the UN, have espoused these broader, more comprehensive and 'holistic' approaches to skills, which highlight the different dimensions of skills (UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training, 2018); (UNICEF, 2018). These approaches also point to the social embeddedness and contextual nature of skills. Social institutions, economic relations and cultural factors all impact on the dynamics of skills development.

The World Bank's World Development Report 2018 (World Bank Group, 2018) outlines the multidimensionality of skills. The report categorises skills into three broad groups. It is the dynamic combination of these three skills sets that is essential for individuals to maximise their potential, namely:

- **Cognitive skills:** these are skills for learning and can include *foundational skills,* such as literacy, numeracy or *high order skills* such as adaptive learning.
- **Technical skills:** these are *job-specific or task-oriented skills*, which enable a person to perform a job effectively, without supervision. These skills require mastery over knowledge and the application of knowledge to perform specific tasks.
- **Socio-emotional skills:** these are *behaviours, attitudes and values* which enable us to navigate and interpret social situations effectively. These skills are often referred to as transferable skills or transversal skills; they are cross-cutting and can be applied to an individual's personal and professional life. For example, empathy, respect for diversity and communication skills are good examples of socio-emotional skills.

UNICEF has also recently been developing a global skills framework, with a focus on understanding the key skills sets that adolescents need today - and will need in the future - to maximise their potential. UNICEF's global framework specifically emphasises the importance of transferable skills or cross-cutting skills, which can be applied to both personal and professional contexts. It classifies transferable skills into four key categories which include:

- **Skills for learning,** which include: cognitive skills such as literacy or numeracy, which serve as the foundation for acquiring new skills.
- **Skills for employability and entrepreneurship,** which include a combination of jorb-specific skills and socio-emotional skills (such as team work, decision-making skills and negotiation skills) which enhance employability.
- **Skills for personal empowerment,** which include skills that enable an individual to exercise agency and make choices; for example, communication skills and self-management skills.
- **Skills for active citizenship,** which include socio-emotional skills such as empathy and respect for diversity, which enable an individual to participate and contribute to the community.

These different skills sets are highlighted in the Figure 9 below (Life Skills and Citizenship Education Initiative, 2018):

All three programs in this evaluation define skills in multidimensional terms. They seek to impart a combination of skills but do so in different ways. **City Mission** defines itself as a rehabilitation program. It provides a combination of technical skills training and training in a range of attitudinal and behavioural skills (based on a strong grounding in religious and spiritual values), through an intensive, 18-month residential program.

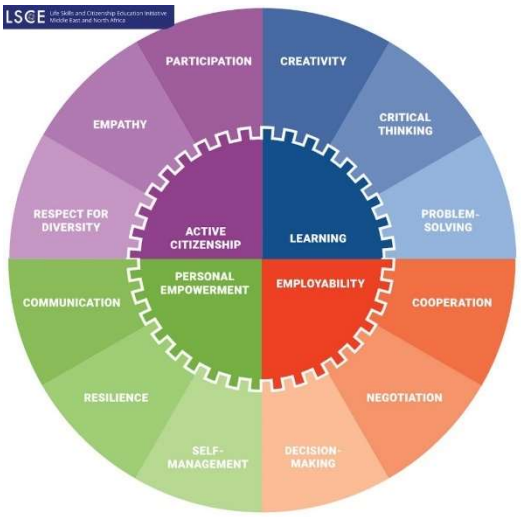


Figure 9 - UNICEF upcoming global skills framework (Life Skills and Citizenship Education Initiative, 2018)

Ginigoada defines itself as a skills training program which prepares youth for work or future training. This is a short-term program which is typically of two-week duration and seeks to provide youth with information to help them make informed choices about the future. Religious values also play an important implicit role in shaping attitudes and behaviours.

UYEP sees itself as a skills training program with a focus on connecting unemployed youth to employment opportunities. It focuses on providing training, counselling, and mentorship to youth – with a focus on developing a combination of technical skills and socio-emotional skills. Unlike the first two programs, the training has no religious or spiritual focus.

The multidimensionality of skills and the skills frameworks mentioned in this section also help frame the Australian Government's youth programming across sectors. As discussed below, other sectoral programs also define skills in multidimensional terms. For example, the gender programs focus on developing a combination of skills for personal empowerment and skills for employment; and the Bougainville program sits more neatly on the second model, with a focus on skills for active citizenship and skills for personal empowerment. A multidimensional skills framework is important in considering a strategic approach across sectors.

Aspirations and development

Aspiration is a motivating force that drives individuals to strive towards a better future. The term 'aspiration' implies setting goals and targets and working towards achieving them. Over the last decade or so, there has been an emerging body of literature on the theme of aspirations and development (Appadurai 2004; Ray 2003; Bernard et al, 2014).

All three programs under evaluation have a strong focus on instilling the 'capacity to aspire' in the minds of young people and widening the 'aspirations window' of young people. In interviews with front line staff implementing the three programs, a key indicator of change included behavioural change, attitudinal change and aspirations for a better future. This is explored further in the following section.

The anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2004) describes aspiration as a largely positive, transformative force with both intrinsic and instrumental value. He makes two key points which are relevant for this evaluation. First, he describes aspiration as a 'navigational capacity', which determines the choices that individuals make about the future. Second, he describes how aspirations emerge in a social context and an individual's 'capacity to aspire' is shaped by the social environment to which he/she belongs. Appadurai argues that young people who are from socially disadvantaged groups, with limited access to information and role models, tend to have lower aspirations and expectations of the future, compared to those who have had the privilege of being exposed to mentors and role models. Youth from

the latter group tend not only to aspire highly; they also tend to have the navigational tools needed (through social networks and mentors) to realise their aspirations.

Debraj Ray (2003), like Appadurai, also argues that aspirations emerge out of a social context. He uses the term 'aspirations window' to refer to an individual's cognitive and social world. He argues that this context frames the choices and aspirations that people have. Ray (2003) defines poverty itself as 'a state of failed aspirations' and asserts that poverty 'stifles dreams' and prevents young people from attaining them (Ray 2003:1).

> *'I love my job as it gives me a sense of satisfaction and fulfilment. Every day I meet young women who come up to me and tell me that I am an inspiration for them. This makes me very happy, especially because I never dreamed that I would have a career at this stage in my life.'*
>
> Female program participant

Appadurai takes this point a step further by highlighting the role of aspiration as a navigational tool, or a map, which can help lead the poor out of poverty. Appadurai makes a strong case for development programs to help instil the 'capacity to aspire' in the minds of people and he believes that this capacity will enable people to find a pathway out of poverty. A study by Bernard et al (2014) finds that it is indeed possible to shape people's aspirations and future goals in specific ways, through specific development interventions. Bernard et al (2014) report on the results of randomised control trial experiments in Ethiopia, which demonstrate how watching a documentary in which people from similar backgrounds had succeeded in agriculture or setting up business, independently without help from the government, induced a significant change in the behaviour of viewers in a six-month period. These interventions gave young people role models (from within their peer group) and motivated them to take initiative in specific ways, influencing their aspirations. This, in turn, led more people to take initiative and to establish new livelihood pathways.

Purpose 1 – Assessing City Mission, Ginigoada and UYEP Outcomes

Purpose 1 | Establish for the program a validated analysis of DFAT's contribution towards youth development outcomes in PNG – *what has happened through the program so far?*

Summary of findings

1. Overall, the urban youth surveyed place a high premium on education and skills, prioritising it conclusively over money and connections.
2. All programs offer a meaningful opportunity to enter an economic and social pathway, building confidence and aspirations.
3. All programs have achieved some progress in placing participants in employment, but results are limited and further research is needed to determine any displacement effect.
4. Though the form of economic and social empowerment can differ between men and women, the baseline disempowerment and the progress through the programs is comparable.
5. Mobile outreach is a key feature that facilitates access to opportunities for the most vulnerable.
6. Change is more significant and sustainable when staff have a sense of vocation.

7. An enabling framework that considers factors of duration, regulation, and psycho-social support, as well as mentoring, will maximise the impact of skills training for the most at-risk young women and men.

Introduction

Both City Mission and Ginigoada have made progress since the mid-term evaluation in terms of their monitoring and reporting. At the same time, there is still some lack of clarity as to the integrated program logic that guides the programs, flowing partly from the origins of the investment in the Ministerial Commitment.

In particular, the reporting has not systematically addressed the assumptions behind the program logic. This becomes important as we analyse the levers for improving the programs. As a result, below we have taken the approach of inferring an integrated program logic, including the assumptions, that enables us more systematically to evaluate the programs.

For the clarity of the flow, we have slightly re-ordered the treatment of the key evaluation questions in this chapter.

Contextual insights from the SenseMaker® data

Before moving to the programs, themselves, we present some of the insights that the SenseMaker® data surfaced around the perspectives of respondents. These relate to various aspects of the evaluation, and we introduce them initially at this point to serve as useful background to the analysis and findings that follow. **The full SenseMaker® analysis is included in a separate document submitted alongside this report.**

We have discussed the role of aspiration in the skills space in the previous section. In this regard, there is an extremely optimistic aspiration among those who were surveyed. The data strongly indicates that there is a desire for skills training and that this is prioritised well above both 'connections' and, to a lesser extent, 'money' (see Figure 12). 40% of the non-skilled respondents surveyed strongly want skills training, compared with the 16% who indicated a strong preference for money alone.

This is further underlined by reading together the importance of 'faith' (over 'money and 'prestige', Figure 10) and the belief that they should get their values from 'church' (over 'wantok' and 'family', Figure 12).

Figure 10 - Men should be concerned with...

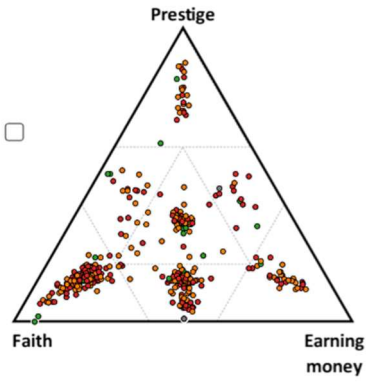


Figure 12 - Youth in PNG need:

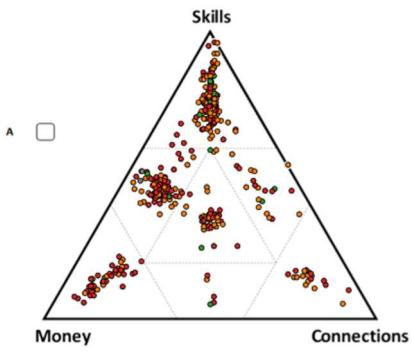
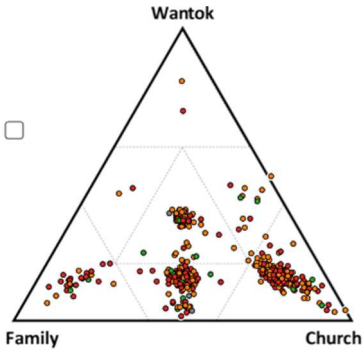


Figure 11 - Youth in PNG should get their values from...

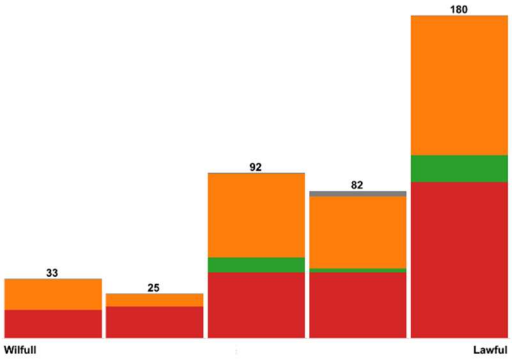


In the perception of respondents, 'lawful' living is more important than 'wilful' living (Figure 13), and in the qualitative debrief with enumerators, they indicated that where people are involved in crime, it is out of necessity – not because they believe that it is right or even

permissible. Furthermore, there is a strong sense that the way young people behave is because they are 'brought up that way' not because they are 'born that way'.

This provides a strong counterpoint to narratives, particularly those held by external commentators, that at-risk youth in PNG are a lost cause and that wantok preferences, corruption and violence are insurmountable. These findings from the evaluation project a picture of the youth landscape that is starkly different: it finds that there are strong positive aspirations amongst youth and that corruption and violence are rational economic choices, not moral preferences.

Figure 13 - The correct way to live is to be...



We have high confidence in these findings because they are based on the way respondents interpreted a true experience that they chose to describe, rather than on a learned or adopted narrative they have heard but don't necessarily believe. One indication of this is that the respondents were willing to be honest about their own criminal activity – a swathe of the narratives of life in Port Moresby relate to perpetration and/or victimhood of crime.

These narratives also support our contention that crime is not pursued out of some sort of civic immorality; and that it is one option available, and often taken, in full recognition it is wrong and with a strong desire for alternatives. It also maps well with the stories of those who have progressed from being heavily involved in criminal activity to being gainfully and lawfully employed.

Evaluation question 1(a): What are the significant changes that the participants are experiencing during their participation in the program? Why are these changes significant? Have the changes been different for young men and women and, if so, how?

Evaluation question 1(b): To what extent and in what way has the program contributed to these changes?[2]

Evaluation question 1(d): Have the programs achieved their individual program objectives?

The significant changes from the programs

City mission

The City Mission *At Risk Youth* training program is 'an 18-month rehabilitation and vocational skills training program for disadvantaged youths who come … with the hope of gaining skills and a new direction for their lives' (2018 Jul-Dec Report). The training is for men only. The training combines life skills and behavioural change, with first steps in technical skills training. This is followed by job placements for 3-6 months and then a transition program to find employment. The training takes place at the Mirigeda Farm near Port Moresby (45 acres, trainee capacity 168), the Suambu plantation in Lae (155 acres, trainee capacity ~150) and the Hululan Plantation in Madang (trainee capacity ~60).

There is a relatively high rate of drop-outs from those who are enrolled – for Jul-Dec 2018, 30% at Mirigeda, 42% at Suambu and 77% at the nascent Madang operation. The door is left open for those who drop out. The numbers who complete the employment component of

[2] In order to feed into reflection under Purpose 3, the Evaluation Team added '…and in what way' to the question.

the program are relatively low and the program does not have data on the numbers who are retained in employment.

To understand the effectiveness of City Mission, it is important to understand what it sees as its own strengths and objectives. This is not sufficiently captured in the documented program logic, the elements of which are not complete, particularly in relation to the assumptions. Based on stakeholder interviews and the workshops with participants, we infer the following integrated program logic for City Mission:

Table 1 - City Mission Program Logic

Inputs	The program provides trainers, mentors, equipment and meets participants' material needs for the duration of their participation; and
Assumption	***if** there is an appropriate residential site, relevant materials and staff are qualified (technically and socially) to facilitate the training; then*
Activity	Participants are provided with basic life skills training and a base of technical skills training; and
Assumption	***if** the program establishes a framework that combines community fellowship, pastoral and spiritual encouragement and a tight set of rules, incorporating multiple 'chances'; then* ***if** this immersive experience is of a significant habit-forming period (12 months+); then…*
Output	The young men will graduate with a sense of belonging, dignity, self-worth and a foundation of basic skills and discipline;
Assumption	*If there are sufficient opportunities available for further training and/or sustainable formal and informal employment opportunities; then…*
Intermediate outcome	Participation by youth in education and training pathways leads to increased employment and more positive lifestyles. The cycle of street violence and crime among disadvantaged and disenfranchised youth is broken.

How City Mission contributes to changes

The interviews with staff at City Mission all painted a picture of the reality for young men who apply for the program. This covered not only skills, but also social elements, including social isolation from their home communities. They have no experience of needing to look after themselves, or of the impact that their self-care can have on other people and their job prospects. Many struggle with sitting and doing one thing for even a few hours. As well as this passivity, there is a survival instinct to soften – one staff respondent estimated it takes about a month for participants to feel that they don't need to search for food every day. The ethnographic portraits in Annex 1 offer a fuller insight into how participants experience the program.

Overlaid on this tenuous foundation is generally a non-existent skill set. In basic skills terms, the ChildFund research on literacy and numeracy in Central, Madang and Morobe gives further colour to this picture (ChildFund, 2018) – for example, 4% of children correctly read all 20 frequently used words in Tok Pisin. Nonetheless, there is a resilience and underlying sense of enterprise that can lead some young men to engage, in some cases walking the Kokoda trail just *to apply* for the program.

> *'I got bus from Madang to Lae, then boat from Lae to Oro, then walked the Kokoda track to Port Moresby. I killed a snake and ate it along the way.'*
>
> Skills training applicant

To highlight the reality, one respondent described an experience of interviewing applicants. He noticed a couple of young men with a suspicious demeanour waiting to be interviewed. He pulled both aside and invited them for tea and food. Both revealed they had guns under their jackets and were planning to hold up the centre. He talked with them further and

ultimately put them both on the list. Three years later, one became a General Manager for a business.

Anecdotes of this nature speak to another design element of the program; that it is largely staffed by people who come from similar communities who can empathise meaningfully with, and earn the respect and trust of, the young men. A corollary of this is the emotional commitment of many of the staff, whose roles tend to take on a strong pastoral component. Words like 'heart' were repeated in multiple interviews. Participants will seek support at all hours and staff will regularly offer it. In Madang, the previous General Manager and his wife have gone further and set up a trainee institute for girls with their own resources. Interestingly, at the sub-national level, the consultation with the District Advisors echoed the importance of this very intentional, contextual mentoring mentality. And this process takes time.

All the interviews with staff at City Mission echoed a similar theme that underlined the spiritual component of the program. The workshop with program participants began with an exercise in small groups to create a human sculpture representing the program. All six groups oriented their sculpture around a spiritual dimension of the program. This was further underlined later in the workshop when small groups shared three key strengths. All six groups referenced spiritual aspects of the program.

The stricter dimension of the nurturing environment is the framework of rules and routine around the experience: including 6am starts, devotion time morning and evening (as one member underlined, with no compulsion to engage, just to turn up!), expectations around personal hygiene and presentation, and application to task during the day. This helps form new habits for participants, in particular those that will be essential for reliability in maintaining employment down the track. One staff member described success in modest but stark terms – if he sees one of the young men sitting under a tree at 10.30 in the morning doing nothing, he will work to explain why that will make it difficult for him to hold down a job in the long term. If the young man gets the point, that's a success.

> *'The City Mission program tries and puts things in perspective. It aims to develop you as a person, by training you to constantly cope with and adapt to changing circumstances. I found the first three months of the program, where I had to adapt to an entirely new routine, particularly challenging. This is when you see your real colour, your character as you are. The program breaks you down.'*
>
> Former participant

For this breaking of habits, City Mission has concluded that taking people out of their context is important. So the immersive, residential nature of the program is not an arbitrary choice but a very deliberate design choice that facilitates these objectives around habits of behaviour and spirituality.

The design of the program is realistic, but it is a rupture for the young men that not everyone can absorb all components of the program at the first attempt. They have a system of three strikes for failing to comply with the expectations, and even where participants ultimately drop out, there is an opportunity to re-apply. No-one is a lost cause. One staff member described a participant who after three years finally graduated from the 18 month program – 'I didn't expect to see him up there!'.

What are the changes?

All this creates conditions wherein the evaluation team concluded that **socio-emotional skills** development is the emphasis of the observable changes. This is described by the staff, in existing documentation, and by the participants themselves. Self-confidence emerges, including a new mindset and the 'capacity to aspire'. It becomes a chance at building a life; as one respondent put it, 'not a second chance, but a first chance'. This in itself can be impactful. One staff member described a participant who was, like many,

alienated from his community. Following the program, he had the confidence to return to his community and work in the local school; integrated and earning a livelihood.

In relation to **cognitive and technical skills**, City Mission's ambition is more modest. It is not to certificate level and the vocational training only begins after participants are comfortable in the day to day rhythm of the program and a foundation of numeracy and literacy training. One staff respondent described it as taking participants from 'I can do nothing' to 'I can do this'. Another described woodwork training not as training to be a carpenter but being able to 'build a wooden thing'. Nonetheless, there is a preparedness by the end of the training to take that next step towards a more certified skill. Overall, it is not just about the shift in attitudes and the offer of skills, but the understanding that links those elements to sustainable livelihoods.

Ginigoada

Ginigoada's modality is mobile training programs, delivering training that covers various modules: Young Life (for children 3-14 years old), Young Skills, Life and Business Skills, Financial Literacy Skills, Health Skills, Adult Literacy Skills and Skills for Life. The training duration ranges from 2 weeks to 1 month. Participants can then register for both further vocational skills training with partnering external providers and on-the-job training (OJT). There is a significant volume, but the conversion rate from enrolment to job placements is low: from an enrolment of ~12,000 in 2018, to graduation of ~9,500, to further skills training for ~1,000, to OJT for ~500, to jobs for ~150 (1% of graduates). These figures are imprecise, partly because the most recent reporting does not fully disaggregate between OJT and permanent placements.

Ginigoada seems to have made more progress articulating a program logic, and has progressed since the mid-term evaluation. Nonetheless, the documentation available to the evaluation team still did not include a comprehensive program logic and objectives are framed slightly differently in each quarterly or six-monthly report. In the latest, there are individual program logic elements that applied to each of the training modules available, but no M&E framework. Below is the integrated logic that we inferred from key informant consultations in relation to the program as a whole.

Table 2 - Ginigoada program logic

Inputs	The program has a number of mobile buses, and trainers who are available to reach out to the community; and
Assumption	***if** these buses are serviced, relevant training materials are available and trainers are qualified (technically and socially) to deliver the training; then*
Activity	Participants are provided with basic life skills training and a base of technical skills training; and
Assumption	***if** the training is of sufficient quality to transfer knowledge, skills and attitudes lessons; then*
Output	The young women and men will graduate with greater confidence and a foundation of basic skills and discipline; strengthened, encouraged and empowered towards betterment of their personal life.
Assumption	*If there are sufficient opportunities available for further training and/or sustainable formal and informal employment opportunities; then…*
Intermediate outcome	Fewer young people will be engaged in illegal, criminal or antisocial activity. Young people will have more positive lifestyles. They will utilise their training towards (a) further training opportunities (b) entry into formal employment and (c) income generation.

How Ginigoada contributes to changes

Ginigoada is targeting a similar demographic to City Mission, with similar elements and some key differences. It is similarly for at-risk youth, though at Ginigoada the definition of at-risk is wider than at City Mission. The latter definitively concentrates on the most marginalised and uneducated, to all intents and purposes starting at zero. The evaluation team found a wider array of baseline skill sets at Ginigoada, including participants with tertiary level education who feel that practical skills training is potentially as useful to them as the training they receive at University.

A key feature of Ginigoada is the mobility of the outreach, which is centred around mobile buses. This removes a small but significant barrier to engagement in economic pathways for most people in this demographic and especially for participants with a disability and women. We interviewed at greater length one of the participants with a disability and he strongly underlined this dimension.

Ginigoada is placing an increasing emphasis on linkages to On the Job Training (OJT). There is one dedicated staff member whose role is to connect the trainees with placements. Last year 119 people were linked with placements. This was the first time this had happened, and it was largely a result of the individual appointed to this role – her predecessor did not have the same success. This highlights the point made in the earlier section on City Mission; that the success of these interventions depends on specific individuals and their commitment to the program. The long-standing link with the Port Moresby Chamber of Commerce continues to play an important role and the pro-active work of the OJT staff member leverages the potential of this will. Management described how this led to an overspend on the OJT line of the budget, in an effort to respond to the level of demand. It is important to note that the OJT Manager in Ginigoada also has a proactive approach to disability placement, working steadily to dispel misconceptions around the capacity of women and men with disabilities to fulfil roles effectively.

Whilst there is little evidence of learning and adaptation in Ginigoada's reporting, in discussion with managers it is clear that it is happening. The trainers are clearly proactive in eliciting feedback from participants and responding to it. The effectiveness of this can be further supported.

What are the changes?

Similarly to City Mission, though to a lesser extent (not surprisingly, given the shorter timeframes involved), the significant changes participants experience at Ginigoada centre around **socio-emotional** skills. In the workshop with Ginigoada, small groups homed in on concepts like 'confidence' and 'hope' in describing the strengths of the program. It provides a foothold into a pathway. As with the other programs, the limited translation of this into ongoing employment opportunities means many participants are stuck in the foothold which is unsustainable.

The **technical and cognitive** skills component of Ginigoada varies in terms of the depth of change that it offers. On the one hand, schemes such as the women's bus driver training (as distinct from the *meri seif* buses themselves, which are also a great success) have had a significant impact for those women, as well as unintended consequences (discussed below) around community perception of the role of women. The evaluation team noted that one feature of this is that the training, empowering in and of itself, is also servicing a tangible and salient need for bus drivers. Much of the other skills training, though useful, is less directly referable to specific opportunities.

The more general skills training also can have important impacts. One participant, through the financial literacy training and mentoring, was able to see that the PGK 240 a fortnight she was earning as a *haus meri* paled against the potential PGK 60 a day she could earn selling pancakes on the street which, in fact, she would also much prefer as an occupation.

This sort of example was illuminating in respect of the potential of the program. At present, our impression is that it is not widely representative of participants' experiences.

The mobility of Ginigoada's outreach is a huge strength in terms of access and at the same time presents challenges in terms of managing the capacity of the program to absorb participants. Whereas City Mission and UYEP can more stably control the intakes, when a mobile bus arrives in a location it is a much more delicate social challenge to try and limit the participants. This means class sizes can sometimes reach beyond 100 participants. In pedagogical terms, especially for such a short program, this can seriously undermine effectiveness. It lends itself to high output, but limited guarantees can be made around quality of outcomes, especially for skills training where there are limited material resources and the practical component is central – eg CPR training only has one mannequin, which is unlikely to afford sufficient practice for 100 people to reliably absorb the skill.

Overall, the skills component is important, because it can also expose participants to the possibilities that exist and, for some, it is the foothold they need to further opportunities. At the same time, the changes at this level are modest.

There is ongoing reflection internally as to what knowledge is most important. For example, it was surprising to the management that the health training was so enthusiastically received, and they are now exploring how to build on this. In particular, the training on cervical cancer was enlightening for several participants and, following one training session, six women went for pap smears. As a result, they were diagnosed far earlier than would have otherwise been the case. For these short Mobile Bus programs, there is perhaps more potential in the knowledge component than the skills component. This also links with some of the complex challenges that the consultations with the AHC teams raised. For example, programs such as Ginigoada's could be vehicles for addressing some of the health literacy elements that are serious obstacles identified in the discussion with the Health team.

Urban Youth Employment Program

As outlined above, engagement in this evaluation was not an immediate priority for UYEP. As a result, the feedback was limited to three consultations (total five respondents) of the UYEP management. The recent impact evaluation of the program rigorously examines the employment outcomes, finding that the combination of training, job matching, and subsidised placements all contributed to the improved outcomes for those participating in the program, when compared with a control group.

The existing UYEP data supports key findings from the consultations with City Mission and Ginigoada and the collection of SenseMaker® data. They are finding a similarly high level of demand for their programs at the entry point, and an ongoing challenge in building relationships in the business community to find placements for participants who complete the program. As noted above, the impact evaluation is inconclusive as to the displacement effect of the program in terms of overall employment in the formal sector. Qualitative data collected by UYEP reinforces a similar message on the aspiration of young people; that they are looking for every opportunity to find lawful, productive activity (World Bank, 2015).

There are some inconsistencies in the interpretation of UYEP results. Two of the UYEP respondents specifically highlighted UYEP's capacity to provide labour for the FIFA World Cup as a success. However, the impact evaluation had found this same group experienced worse outcomes than other participants who had followed the normal UYEP trajectory. There may be key strengths in both that can be leveraged in different ways as programming evolves.

A key distinguishing feature of the UYEP program is it that is explicitly secular in its approach, which is required by the World Bank. UYEP respondents consider that the results speak for themselves and demonstrate that this element is not fundamental to success in the skills training space. We will pick up this discussion under Purpose three.

Overall, we are not in a position to contribute in depth to evaluating UYEP, beyond what is already covered in the impact evaluation.

Broader program outcomes

Evaluation question 1(d): Have the programs achieved their individual program objectives?

In the workshops, we invited participants to put themselves back in the position they were in before joining the program and describe their life experience. This was captured as an audio recording, except where individual participants chose not to have their views recorded. We then similarly asked them to describe their experience of life having been through the program. The synthesis of themes that emerged from these stories is outlined in Annex 2.

These stories tend to confirm the findings outlined above for City Mission, with a strong weighting towards behaviour and aspirational development through the program – starting points like 'life in darkness', 'no direction', 'no hope', 'felt unwanted', changing to descriptions such as 'seeing light in my life', 'confident about myself', 'taught to take care of my family', 'new life'.

There were fewer participants in the Ginigoada workshop who had actually been through the program and several of them chose not to have their stories recorded. Descriptions of the program that emerged in the session also tended to support the changes that are experienced through the program.

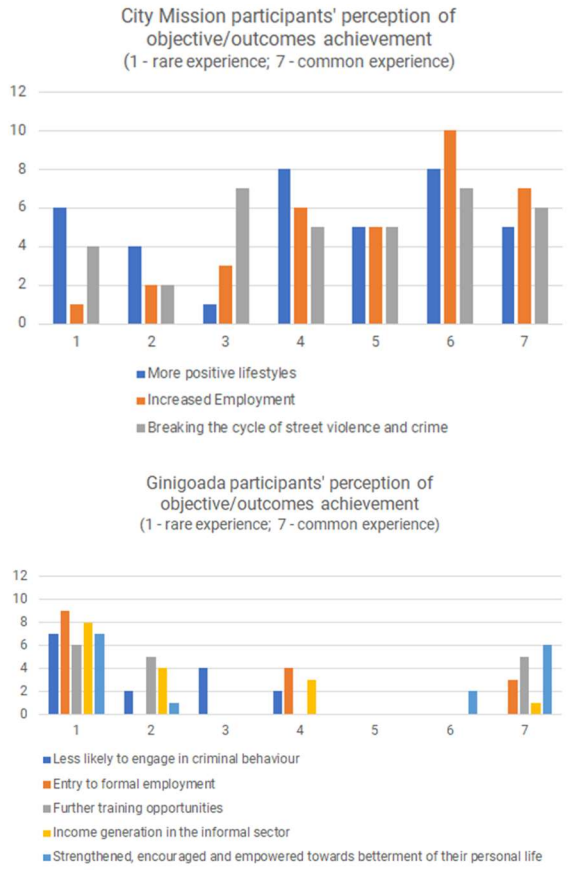
The relative length of the program may explain some of the distinctions when talking about the outcomes. When in small groups they discussed the three key strengths of the program. At City Mission there was an emphasis on life transformation, echoing themes in the table above. With Ginigoada, there was more emphasis on 'hope'; a sense of seeing what is possible, without necessarily the full transformation being experienced through the program. That transformative dimension is certainly there for some (see the women bus drivers outlined above), but not fully representative.

This brings us to the specific objectives of the programs. As discussed in the section above, City Mission and Ginigoada's articulation of program logic could be clearer. For the purpose of the workshop, we took the relevant elements of the existing program logic (as captured in the 2017 mid-term evaluation) to ask participants for their assessment. This is captured in Figure 14.

The responses need further inquiry and it was a limitation of the workshop that there was not time to discuss these results in detail. What it suggests is that although the participants of the workshops found that these objectives/outcomes had been met, relatively few considered that this was common among other participants. We know conclusively that increased employment has its limits; if the trends in the tables below for other objectives maps somewhat similarly, then it would tend to suggest this is a fairly accurate representation of the programs' achievement of outcomes.

There are two points to be made. First, there is room for improvement as the workshop's participants were readily able to identify areas where the programs can be improved. Second, the data should be interpreted also in light of the challenge of achieving outcomes in this space. The take-away for program designers is that these programs are managing to achieve concrete results for at least a significant portion of participants; there is a foundation that can be built on. This is one of the reasons that in the section below on strategy we emphasise the importance of learning systems. At present, these rely primarily on individual initiative rather than being integrated into the daily operations of the program.

Figure 14 - City Mission and Ginigoada participant assessment of objectives

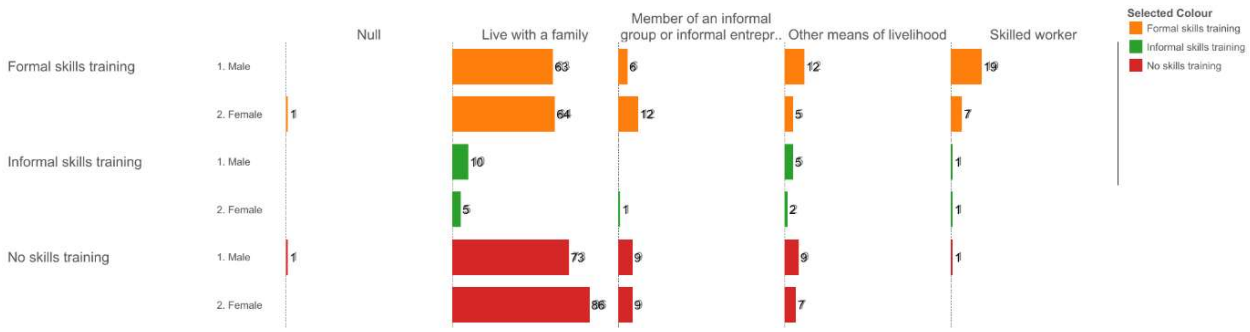


Evaluation question 1(e): Has the totality of the investment, through the programs, had a cumulative impact?

Employment outcomes

The overall SenseMaker® data supports the conclusion that there is an effect from skills training.

Figure 15 – Participant livelihoods



The diagram above is in absolute values. What it shows in percentage terms, is that only 1% (0% female) of those with no skills training are employed as skilled workers, whereas 19% of men and 8% of women with formal skills training are skilled workers.

Extending the figures to gainful employment that is sufficient to be characterised as the primary form of livelihood (some may still be living with families), there is a more significant observable effect. Of those without skills, only 20.7% of men and 15.7% of women have found a way to a substantive livelihood. In contrast, 37% of men and 27.3% of women with formal skills training have found livelihood options.

Community perception

The semi-structured interviews tended to support the UYEP impact evaluation findings around the cumulative impact in the community, particularly regarding crime. For example, one implementing partner respondent recounted an example of a stolen vehicle being returned almost immediately because of community action out of respect for the program. Other staff respondents described individual interactions with participants, sometimes dissuading them from criminal activity, as well as being generally well respected and appreciated as they travelled around town. Most of this evidence remains similarly anecdotal. From a survey design perspective, we would consider the UYEP impact evaluation questions leading to respondents who have an interest in rating the effects of the program highly, and with no triangulated evidence behind them.

Overall, therefore, on this particular point we do not have high confidence either in the UYEP findings or our own findings.

Unintended outcomes

Evaluation question 1(c): To what extent have there been unintended outcomes? Are these different for women and men and, if so, how?

Unmet expectations

The broader economic market conditions have contributed to an important unintended consequence of the programs related to opportunity. Young women and men have extremely high expectations of skills training programs with regard to formal sector employment. In the current job market, these expectations are often unmet.

There has been immense demand for all three programs, all of which have waiting lists. The front-line staff face the challenge of building self-confidence, self-belief and nurturing aspirations amongst participants and yet, at the same time, need to ensure that the expectations remain realistic. How can they inspire people to believe in opportunities, when there is such a low conversion rate of participation to employment? This raises issues and opportunities that are picked up under the Purpose 3 strategic discussion. Resolving this tension presents a key strategic challenge for all these programs and those of a similar nature elsewhere. Unmet expectations can leave people even more cynical than previously and lead to feelings of disillusionment and hopelessness.

It is important to note that this theme of unmet aspirations and the consequent feelings of disillusionment is an important theme in the global literature. An important cause of disillusionment faced by young people comes from the anxiety of unemployment, particularly among educated youth. For example, Jeffrey's (2008; 2010) work on lower-middle class, educated unemployed youth in north India describes what happens to youth aspirations when investments in education fail to realise their promise. Often the poor quality of education, combined with a reduction in public sector jobs, high competition for jobs and the lack of social capital to access jobs in the private sector, prevented young men from realising their aspirations. As a result, these young men remained unemployed, often

unmarried and were unable to transition into adult life. The participants in these programs are less educated, yet the sentiment was very much present in the data collected from participants and from staff; a palpable expectation, almost impatience at times, and frustration at this state of limbo.

Jeffrey's work described how the inability of young men to obtain jobs placed them in a state of 'limbo' (where they felt trapped in an interstitial stage between adolescence and adulthood), preventing them from fulfilling other personal goals such as getting married or supporting their families. Jeffrey uses the term 'timepass' to describe how unemployed men cope with these challenges. This includes remaining enrolled in universities for indefinite periods of time and collecting a range of new degrees in the hope of finding a job or getting involved in university politics; to loitering in groups around public places such as tea stalls (often leering or harassing women in the process) – waiting for time to pass and things to change. It underlines that 'youth' cannot be defined by age alone.

The idea that the state of unemployment produces in young men a new conception of time – which has to be 'passed' through 'waiting', is also echoed in a study of educated unemployed men in Ethiopia by Daniel Mains (2007; 2012), which is centred on examining what happens when 'hope is cut': when young men are unable to realise the promise of education and remain unemployed. Like the unemployed men described by Jeffrey in India, youth in Ethiopia also experienced time as an 'overabundant and potentially dangerous quantity' (Mains 2007: 666) and described it as 'something to be 'passed' or 'killed'' (Ibid.). In Mains' study, male unemployment was exacerbated by the Ethiopian idea of *yilu˜n˜nta* (an intense sense of shame that comes from what others would think and say about one's family based on one's actions). As a result, men preferred to remain unemployed rather than take up menial jobs (such as working as a porter or a shoeshine), despite an increased income, for fear of what people may think.

Competition for On the Job Training (OJT)

The detailed UYEP impact evaluation is inconclusive in relation to the possible displacement effect of their job placements. As discussed above, even if there is some displacement effect, it seems clear that there is a reliability and competency premium that UYEP graduates offer to employers that is superior to their usual sources of labour. However, there appears to be limited, if any, coordination between these programs around job placements. It was beyond the scope of the inquiry for the evaluation to look in detail at the specific targets for OJT, so there may be no overlap. However, given the extremely tight job market (eg 80,000 graduates each year against 10,000 placements in the formal sector), there is at least significant potential for competition to arise around this element of the program. Competition can be constructive and creative but given the challenges all three programs face around sustainability; collaboration would be a more constructive approach to maximising this dimension. There is a scarcity mentality that drives the strategy around OJT. Collaboration could also surface more innovative ideas that support stimulation of job growth, not just increasing share in the existing market. It could also entail a more strategic approach to the informal sector.

Breaking gender stereotypes

The training of women drivers for the Ginigoada buses was designed primarily as a skills intervention. However, they have found that this is contributing positively to the perception of women in the community. Pacific Women, through UN Women, has supported Ginigoada to implement the Meri Seif Bus program.[3]

[3] *2018-2019 Pacific Women PNG Annual Performance Report* (2019), pp 57-58

Women's safety is a major challenge in Port Moresby. Lack of safe public transport for women affects their ability to earn a livelihood and contribute to their family income. Two years ago, Ginigoada obtained six large buses from a Melbourne based company, as a donation. These buses (known as Meri Safe buses) were to be driven by women, for women.

In 2017, Ginigoada placed a newspaper advertisement, inviting women to enrol in a bus driver's training program, for the first time. This idea was considered radical in PNG, as bus drivers were typically male. Over 80 women applied for the course and 50 were shortlisted.

We met two women in their 50s who decided to join this training program and now work as bus drivers, ferrying women passengers to and from work, six days a week. The training program took place in both PNG and in Australia, for a total period of eight weeks.

> *'Men on the street used to shout insults at us, swear at us, and make lewd gestures […] Initially I was scared, but then I thought to myself that I must make a change and to do so I have to learn to cope with these everyday challenges […] I take the same route every day and I think people are now used to us. Sometimes, we have men on the streets or other drivers giving us a thumbs up sign. I think that this shows that slowly they have started accepting us. Change takes time.'*
>
> Female bus driver

Two out of the three women we spoke to were housewives previously and this was their first job. One of them had worked as a receptionist in the past. We spoke to these women to understand what it means to break gender stereotypes and take up a traditionally male dominated occupation. We also discussed their everyday experiences at work and their aspirations for the future.

Each women bus driver has to manage a team of four in the bus. This includes two male security guards (who are responsible for safety and security) and one female ticket collector. Therefore, their role involves not only driving a bus, but also managing a team effectively.

The stories of these women highlight the gender biases and challenges that working women in PNG face in their everyday lives and how these women are changing gender stereotypes through their work.

The narrative portraits of these women are elaborated in Annex 1.

A further note on gender relevant findings

Evaluation questions 1(a),1(c) and 3(f) ask whether there are relevant differences in experience as between young women and men. For the enumeration team itself, as it examined the data, as well as for commenters on a draft version of this report, the findings appeared to challenge a priori assumptions that there would be *essential* – as opposed to *formal* – differences in the experiences of men and women.

It is unsurprising that there are differential *formal* findings in relation to young women and men. In the example provided on cervical cancer education, this is clearly salient for young women's individual health in a way that it is not for men. Likewise, young women also experience barriers of physical safety in a way that men do not. However, within the scope of the data that was collected, the finding the report wishes to underline is that *substantively* the nature of what we observed is comparable as between the two. The capacity to aspire, the often-felt sense of alienation from community, the physical barriers to participation (albeit differently manifesting), the aspiration, all appeared to be features of the profile of both young women and men. In terms of the changes we observed, this also differs as between women (eg the bus drivers) and men (eg renewed status in home community). However, from an underlying design perspective, the essential change that these programs achieved was a restoration and/or affirmation of the sense of dignity of the person.

Furthermore, the SenseMaker® data indicates that the outcome indicators for young women and men do not appear to be appreciably different. It also indicates that even on the very specific question around the perceived role of women and men in society, there is no significant difference as between the perceptions of young women and men.

As with all evaluations, one study is not a sufficient evidence base to draw firm conclusions, so QTAG can at present only comment on what the data shows from this study. However, where two data sub-sets are examined for differences, sometimes on the basis of a hypothesis and no such differences are found, this does not automatically call the methodology into question. On the contrary, all the more so in the case of the SenseMaker® approach, it is very specifically designed to counter the biases of hypotheses and surface findings that may contradict assumptions. Another example of this in the current study is the apparent urban youth cultural departure from an emphasis on connections and wantok.

One advantage of this study, underlined in Recommendation 4, is that the raw data here (and accompanying methodological approach) can be made available to other researchers. This affords them the possibility of both re-examining the data as well as using the findings to conduct further research that may variously affirm or call into question the findings of this evaluation. This is also why in our Purpose 3 discussion below we place significant emphasis on having a longer-term view of building the evidence base around these questions. This can follow a structured agenda of questions, each building on previous exercises.

Sustainability

Evaluation question 1(f): Is this contribution sustainable beyond DFAT funding, or is there a realistic long- or short-term path to sustainability?

Evaluation question 1(g): Has there been a sustainable impact from the capacity-building support delivered by Abt?

We considered two dimensions of sustainability. First, the sustainability of the impact on participants – i.e. to what extent, irrespective of employment opportunities or otherwise, is the progress achieved through the program sustained among participants in their pathways after the program? Second, the sustainability of the operations of the programs – i.e. to what extent do the programs have an operational model conducive to longer-term sustainability?

Sustainable impact

The sustainability of the impact is closely related to the opportunities in the job market. There are unquestionably participants for whom the impact of these programs, combined with mentoring and/or a meaningful economic opportunity, has been sustainable. For a significant number, however, there is not the framework of support to sustain the impact beyond the end of the program.

Adult learning principles underline that two key determinants of training effectiveness are application of learning and a supportive environment. For example, in a corporate context in developing countries, employees might be sent to training from their companies because the company expressly wants the participant to return and apply that skill to the material benefit of the company. This is why good outcomes for those who successfully enter into On the Job training following these skills programs in PNG lead to largely positive impact stories. The informal (Ginigoada) or structured (UYEP) job-matching processes enhance this dimension. The quality of the training itself is a necessary but insufficient condition for impact.

The impact is also improved by the quality of the individual support that is offered by the program itself. This is where City Mission, with the duration of the program and the commitment of staff to this individual accompaniment, is particularly impressive.

We discuss this further below under Purpose 3.

Sustainable operations

The operations of both Ginigoada and City Mission have partially benefited from Abt capacity support.

The management of both programs appreciate the availability of Abt and the regular support that is offered. In terms of the business management around sustainability, there is evidence of practices that both support it and undermine it. On the positive side, both City Mission and Ginigoada have a very healthy opportunism around assets; where they are offered materials, there is creative thinking to explore how they can be leveraged and contribute to the sustainability of the programs; for example shipping containers (City Mission) and APEC buses (Ginigoada).

On the flipside, it seems that diligence around reporting and financial management may have slipped for a period since the DFAT funding began, especially in the case of City Mission. There were indications that the foundations of sustainability were previously much more robust, because they had to be. The suggestion is that the Australian funding unintentionally offered slack to the program; in other words, it gave the programs the freedom to focus on their more immediate priorities, without establishing incentives in a way that required them *substantively*[4] to continue building their sustainability.

We did not see evidence that there are specific issues in the case of Ginigoada or City Mission that distinguish them from the challenges of a similar nature facing DFAT's engagement with smaller organisations in PNG.

Discussions tend to indicate that the Australian Government is not being fully strategic in its engagement with programs of this kind and could think more creatively about Grants disbursal. The modality of a Ministerial Commitment has the potential to create challenges for the AHC related to program design, set up and monitoring and evaluation. AHC can think more strategically at the very initial stages around the key levers of success and how to home in on managing those critical dimensions, rather than adopting a generalist management approach.

For programs such as City Mission and Ginigoada, if the lowest common denominator is financial compliance, the battle is lost before it has begun. Financial reporting is imperative but should sit beneath the identification of success drivers on which both AHC and the relevant partner agree – in theory and in practice. For City Mission and Ginigoada in particular, reporting on their non-existent program logics is not a success driver or key performance indicator. When someone has participants knocking at their door for counselling every other evening, fulfilling reporting requirements is understandably (if not justifiably) not likely to be their priority. AHC may have more traction in linking their compliance requirements first and foremost to elements of the program that matter *to the partners.* On the penalties side, compliance regimes need to ensure that the cost of non-compliance exceeds the benefits for them in focussing on more immediate day to day priorities. These sorts of expectations are significantly more difficult to establish once the program is underway.

[4] In this context, as the QTAG has noticed more generally, theoretical 'requirements' around reporting are not always translating into actual delivery, or any significant consequences for failure to comply.

Recommendations for Ginigoada, City Mission and UYEP

Recommendations for AHC that flow from the above discussion are integrated into Purpose 3. Here we focus on the three specific programs.

1. Define a simple program logic, including assumptions, report consistently against this framework, and at least every six months hold review sessions to evaluate whether the assumptions hold. (Ginigoada and City Mission)
2. Identify 2-3 new content modules to pilot, based on participant feedback and also ensuring these content modules are directly linked to a post-training pathway. (Ginigoada)
3. Develop a concept note for a Training of Trainers and Training of Mentors program and approach funders to pilot it. (Ginigoada)
4. Collaborate with other skills training providers around OJT placements and job-matching, both to minimise any competition and to surface ideas for expansion of the opportunities or broader job creation. (All)
5. Review the findings under Purpose 3 of this evaluation for relevance to ongoing programming. (All)

Purpose 2 – Alignment of Australia's Investments in Youth Programming

Purpose 2 | Assess the extent of alignment with Australia's other investments

Summary of findings

1. There is a limited degree of strategic and operational alignment across sectoral programs.
2. Ad hoc connections and collaboration between teams and programs is resulting in some lesson sharing, but this is often not capturing the meaningful nuances.
3. Fluency in discussing all the dimensions of youth-relevant programming is more evident in the existing cross-cutting teams (Bougainville, Sub-national Governance, Program Strategy and Gender).
4. There is variable appetite in practice for a 'youth' strategy or a more strategic approach to youth-related programming.
5. The generality of the term 'youth' itself may be an obstacle to more intentional and strategic programming coherence.
6. Most sectoral teams have only considered youth-relevant implications of technological opportunities and risks associated with the Coral Sea cable.

Evaluation question 2(a): To what extent have the three programs under consideration been aligned with Australia's other investments that have a youth development dimension in PNG? Alignment criteria will be based on stakeholder interviews and reviewing the key objectives of other sector programs with a youth component to provide both program/operational alignment and strategic alignment:

- **i.** Program/operational alignment: Youth program objectives have supported other Australian sectoral programs in Bougainville, Education, Health, Law and Justice and other Australian aid programs in PNG;
- **ii.** Strategic alignment: Relevance of youth program objectives with strategic objectives of Australian aid in PNG.

The cross-sector landscape of AHC youth-related programming

The sections that follow are designed to bridge the analysis under Purpose 1 with the wider landscape of Australian Government-funded, youth-related programming. This has two parts: the first is to map the extent of alignment across the sectoral programs, operationally and strategically; and the second is to draw on self-reporting and reviews of those programs to make informed judgments on some of the potential drivers moving forward. This element is fleshed out further under Purpose 3. Given that Purpose 2 leads and informs the discussion of Purpose 3, there are no recommendations under Purpose 2 itself.

We have not evaluated the wider sectoral programs. The evaluation consolidates the intent of different programming, noting in some cases impressions of a program's relevance and effectiveness.

The evaluation team consulted with the following AHC teams responsible for Official Development Assistance: Bougainville, Education and Leadership, Gender and Program Strategy, Economic Governance, Health, Law and Justice, Sub-national Governance. We did not speak to Transport and Infrastructure. Given the shifting emphasis towards transport and infrastructure, and the potentially significant role of youth in related labour and skills supply, we encourage the findings from this evaluation to be shared with that team.

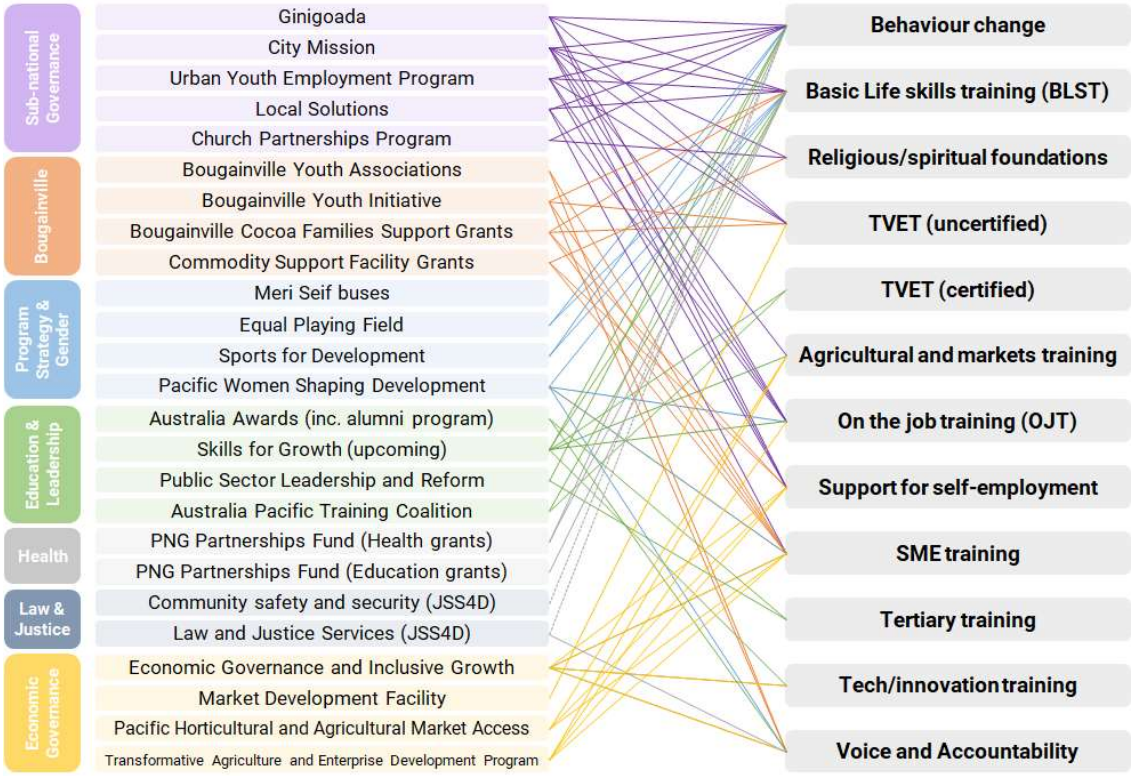
There is a challenge in defining what we are talking about in this section and why. Precisely because of the proportion of youth in PNG, many programs and sectoral strategies are youth-related or youth-relevant. At that level of generality, naturally there is programmatic alignment across the High Commission.

It is important that 'youth' is still used as a frame to ensure that the challenges and opportunities for young women and men are not neglected. Within that frame, we have distilled some of the levers that Australian Government programming employs to address this broad demographic. In the figure below, these could be collectively described as economic and social 'pathway enablers'. We build on this thinking in the next section as we explore possible strategic directions.

Figure 16 reflects some of the interlinkages across AHC programming. It is not intended as exhaustive, but to underline that programming is directed at a diverse range of economic and social empowerment foundations and that across the portfolio there are overlaps.

There are also overlaps in the right hand column categories. In particular, 'agricultural and markets training' is in certain respects a subset of both TVET and SME oriented programs. However, it was mentioned specifically as both an existing focus and a strategic imperative by several teams within the AHC, as well as in wider stakeholder interviews.

Figure 16 - Cross-sector youth-related programming



Discussion

The evaluation's scope in relation to the wider Australian Government investment landscape was limited. Nonetheless, this high-level survey of programming indicates that many of the pathway enablers are being addressed across multiple AHC teams.

There exists some degree of intentional communication across the AHC teams. For example, the *Meri Seif* buses (widely praised across interviews in AHC and with implementing partners) were programmed under Sub-national Governance and are now being picked up by Gender and Program Strategy. The Bougainville Cocoa programming also has inputs through the Economic Governance investments, as well as the Bougainville Program itself. There are other areas where there is an awareness across teams of the relevance of other programs; for example, the Australia Pacific Training Coalition, which several different program activities could and/or do feed into. There is also some evidence of consultation around design; for example, the Education and Leadership team's consultation with Ginigoada and City Mission as part of informing the upcoming Skills for Growth investment.

What emerges from interviews in AHC is that **ad hoc connections and collaboration are resulting in some lesson sharing, but meaningful nuance is being lost** in the absence of some clear structure or process for collaboration. This is evidenced in part by the impressionistic understanding of what City Mission, Ginigoada and UYEP actually do and what their strengths are, despite many other teams managing programs with similar objectives. These impressions were also focussed on management and tended to emphasise shortcomings, rather than focus on learning from strengths.

Teams may have benefited from at least a general awareness of the results of the UYEP impact evaluation findings and a deeper understanding of what City Mission and Ginigoada are doing well, and why they are doing what they are doing. Whilst the quantum of their

funding is limited, they are both long standing programs. As discussed above, they have limitations and weaknesses. At the same time, there is good practice and instructive design principles that emerge through the stakeholder interviews in this evaluation. This is not a criticism of the AHC teams – it is simply to note that where there is strategic coherence in programming objectives across teams, we did not see that matched with awareness.

Unsurprisingly, we also noticed in interviews that the **teams which are naturally cross-cutting in their portfolios were most able to draw on examples and awareness across teams** – Bougainville (geographically focussed, but cross-cutting within that context), Sub-national Governance and Program Strategy and Gender.

An example of **linkages that could be further leveraged** is between Law and Justice and other sector programs. There is a strong emphasis within JSS4D on juvenile justice, including emerging work around the Youth Councils. To complement this, the three programs under evaluation all have an element in their program logic related to cycles of crime. Their lessons could offer insight to rehabilitation objectives in juvenile justice programming (noted by the Mid-term review as an area for further work (QTAG, 2018)). We return to this question further below, given the strategic imperative not just to improve outcomes of training generally, but also to reduce the level of attrition *back into criminal activity.*

There was **variable appetite within AHC teams for a youth strategy** per se, or a more strategic approach to youth programming. Some teams were enthusiastic for the idea – in certain cases, more as a general principle in light of the significance of the youth issues in PNG; in other cases based on experience of the AHC-wide gender strategy, which in their view underlined that certain coherence can only be achieved when a team or role offers 'core leadership' on an issue. Other teams were less enthusiastic, also based on the gender strategy – this was not because they were against a cross-cutting strategy, but in their view it demonstrated the extent of resources required to deliver meaningfully on such a strategy and questioned AHC's capacity to deliver similarly on a second front.

The lack of a coherent strategy may constrain engagement with the GoPNG on this critical economic and social challenge. At present, the GoPNG is in the process of preparing a 10-year national youth policy, through the National Youth Development Authority, formerly the National Youth Commission. Individual sectors also have specific youth policies and programs. These policy frameworks are an entry point for dialogue to align Australia's youth programming with the GoPNG's wider economic and social policy agenda.

Clearer framing of the 'youth' challenge may lead to greater cross-cutting coherence. Achieving this requires narrowing the focus on what constitutes 'youth' programming. Our key informant interviews were an example of this: the discussion was simply framed around 'youth' and this allowed for an interesting but limited discussion. Had we started our consultations with a clearer sub-structure to the different approaches around 'youth' programming (e.g. as in Figure 16 above), this would have oriented the discussion more usefully from the outset.

Moving to a broader time horizon for the program, we also noticed that there was **limited engagement with the Coral Sea cable system and the attendant technological opportunities and risks**. Apart from one team that pro-actively referenced this development, all teams acknowledged its potential importance, but had limited concrete planning in place to leverage its arrival. We consider this further below but feel that it has the potential to be an important development both for options around programming related to youth economic and social enablers, as well as for the monitoring and evaluation of that programming.

This could be characterised as a re-orientation towards skills for the future, particularly at a time when sectors such as agriculture, construction, tourism and hospitality, and mining are growing at a rapid rate. The next LNG project is coming online in 2020 and there is a

documented skills demand. There is a need to invest in skills for these sectors. There is also a potential for business to business collaborations between Australia and PNG in these areas.

Overall, given the level of interconnection between objectives across sectors, the evaluation team finding is that the **current level of coordination and strategic coherence is sub-optimal**. Whilst the transaction costs of a more strategic approach loom large compared to the status quo, in terms of effectiveness the returns on investment (whether they be additional or redistributed resources) are likely to be significant. In the next chapter, we discuss the appropriate focus of a strategic approach.

Purpose 3 – Towards a Strategic Approach to Youth Development

Purpose 3 | Consider the strategic approach to youth development – *what strategic approach should Australia pursue in relation to its investments?*

Summary of findings

1. The concept of 'youth' needs to be broken down into meaningful strategic domains; (A) Supporting the sustainable growth of the skills training sector; (B) Organising networks of support and pathway linkages; and (C) Building adaptive capacity through AHC emphasis on MEL.
2. A simple cross-cutting strategy to inform investments in this area would be beneficial. It should focus on capturing and sharing learning and ensuring key youth issues are mainstreamed into future and current programming. This would improve effectiveness in the short term through sharing of good practice and good failures, and efficiency in the medium and longer terms as teams identify duplication and redundancy in the approaches. A youth strategy can be integrated into AHC Sector strategies and program designs.
3. AHC should identify an appropriate internal team to lead on a youth strategy. One initial option is to have the Program Strategy and Gender team report on 'youth' initiatives as part of their overall reporting to DFAT and GoPNG.

Evaluation questions

3(a) What are the key options for the future strategic direction of DFAT's investment in youth development programming?

3(b) Is the development of a cross cutting youth development strategy required to inform decisions about discrete investments like the three under consideration in this evaluation?

3(c) What are the future opportunities for integration and collaboration across programs that may increase effectiveness?

3(d) Recognising the cross-cutting nature of youth programming, what sector would be the logical sectoral home for this strategy and related investment oversight?

3(e) Based on the experience of these programs, what are the most important design principles and/or considerations that should guide the design of future investments in this area?

3(f) Specifically from a gender and inclusion perspective, what are the features of the programs so far that have enabled and/or constrained progress towards outcomes?

Considerations for a more strategic and coherent approach

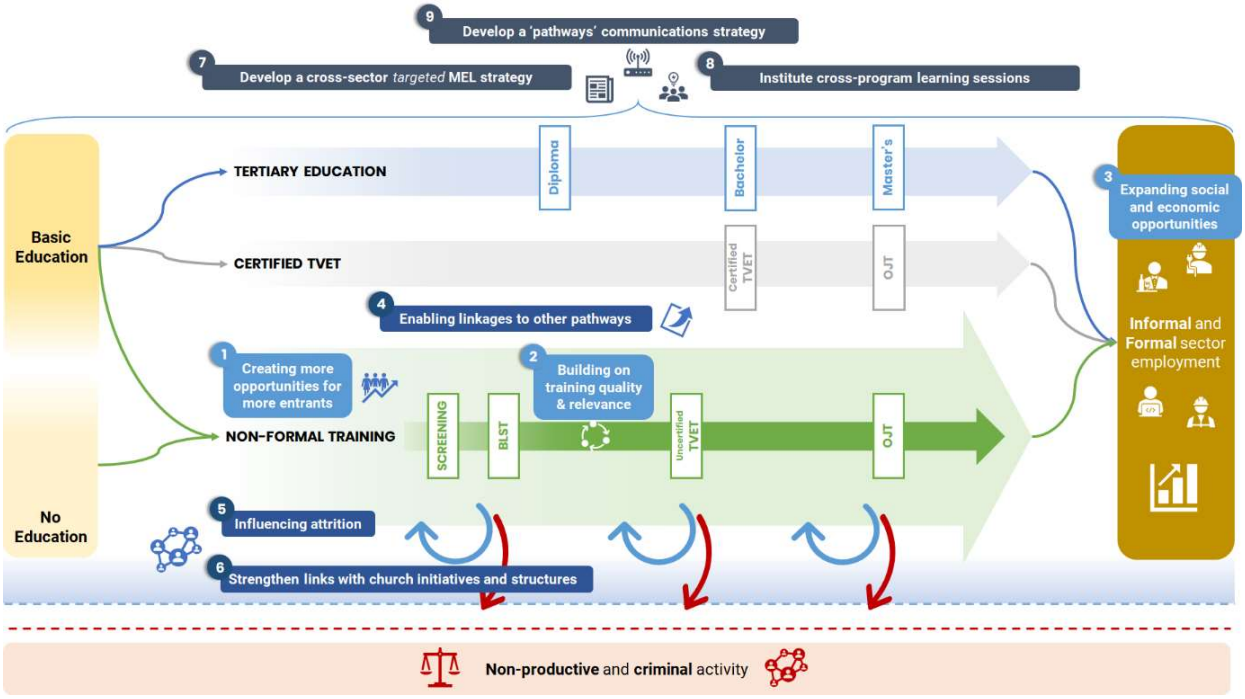
In this section we consider the overall possibilities for a more strategic approach to youth development. After analysing all the data, there were various overlaps in the responses to the key evaluation questions above. As a result, instead of treating the questions sequentially, we have consolidated the responses into a structured response to Purpose 3, ensuring along the way that we cover the specific questions above.

We have identified a series of strategic directions. Following this analysis, we discuss the considerations that might guide AHC in deciding which sectoral team should take leadership of these questions.

There are a range of options floated in the analysis in this chapter. For clarity and to focus the AHC discussion, we conclude with a short set of specific recommendations that can offer focus to an internal AHC strategic discussion.

Figure 17 presents a visual summary of the key points.

Figure 17 - Strategic levers for economic and social pathways

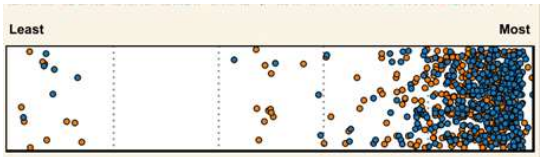


Strategic Domain A - Supporting sustainable growth of skills training sector

1 | Create opportunities for more entrants into economic pathways

The supply of skills training opportunities for young men and women is not meeting demand. As discussed above, the SenseMaker® data explicitly establishes that skills training is something that young people both desire and feel is necessary for their livelihoods and prioritised over both 'money' and 'connections'. It is further underlined here in Figure 18 where respondents describe what they most want.

Figure 18 – What I want:



	Filtered & Selected Quintiles		Unfiltered & All Quintiles	
	#	%	#	%
1. Left	395	16%	395	16%
2. Centre-left	41	2%	41	2%
3. Centre	135	6%	135	6%
4. Centre-ri..	310	13%	310	13%
5. Right	1,486	62%	1,486	62%
Null	32	1%	32	1%
Total	2,399	100%	2,399	100%

There is an aspiration to break out of inertia or cycles of violence and crime. A more strategic approach across Australia's investments could include scalability as a design criterion and an intention to create more opportunities, even with an overall similar quantum of funding.

2 | Build on training quality and upskilling

A proper pedagogical/andragogical evaluation of the training designs was not possible with the resources available. In the case of City Mission and Ginigoada, there has been a fairly organic development and ongoing evolution of the training material and the trainers themselves. This has strengths; because the trainers are largely from similar backgrounds, there is a tacit knowledge that is invaluable to the training design.

Nonetheless, at least for City Mission and Ginigoada, there is scope to invest more in the capacity building for training. This is less of an imperative for a program like City Mission, because its program logic concentrates less on attitudinal and behavioural dimension.

For Ginigoada, however, much more of its success rests on the quality of training. In suggesting improvements, Ginigoada participants themselves raised **trainer capacity building**, as well as having more trainers. This was a dimension that the management themselves underlined.

There is scope for more '**matching'** in terms of training content – in the same way that the women's bus driver training feeds into a concrete demand for bus drivers, training of trainers could be a skill that participants can pursue. And whereas the demand for female bus drivers, for example, is more limited, the demand for effective trainers could rapidly increase if there were resources to expand intakes. For Ginigoada, this need not necessarily involve more physical asset investment (buses), but servicing those buses with a cadre of trainers, not just one.

Another angle to this is the **content of the training**, which links to the next lever on increasing opportunities on completion. The consultations with the health team, for example, surfaced the shortage of supply for qualified formal roles in the health sector. Health awareness education is increasingly seen as a valuable module but is not yet linked to a pathway for those who are interested in dovetailing that into pursuit of a formal service delivery role in that sector.

The broader strategic principle for AHC to consider is around the **quality of training** – identifying where the best quality training and trainers are and leveraging that to build capacity across the basic skills training sector in PNG. The bulk of trainers and facilitators – even in developed contexts – tend towards isolation not collaboration. Without a more

rigorous quality assurance of training delivery, output numbers are effectively meaningless. UYEP's employer survey provides a foundation to one dimension of training quality assessment that could be fleshed out.

In relation to both training content and training of trainers, the improved internet situation brings an array of **online training content** into realistic consideration. Some of this would be fit for purpose as is; in other areas, collaborations could be explored to customise for the PNG context.

3 | Increase opportunities for those completing the pathway

There are challenges in preparing *people for jobs*, but just as fundamental is the challenge of preparing *jobs for people*. In thinking about its strategy around economic pathways, **AHC should have clearer strategies for both maximising job opportunities in the formal *and* informal sectors.** The longer-term outcome should remain increased employment. However, in the short term there is a problematic supply-demand imbalance. When asked about the demand-side questions, one implementing partner respondent suggested that this was beyond their control – with this mentality, those working on the demand side will inevitably come into de facto competition, if not already.

This needs to change if inroads are going to be made into economic and social empowerment outcomes. In the short-term, there are limits to the stimulation of the traditional industrial economy, particularly if large contracts continue to go to those not maximising local labour. However, there may be **unrealised potential in both the existing informal economy and the traditional/cultural economy** (overlapping at certain points together with the formal economy).

Given the extent of social isolation and alienation, an **opportunity for productive social opportunity** (which goes hand-in-hand with reintegration or belonging) can be as welcome as formal economic opportunities. This may vary between cultural groups but would be particularly the case for those where prestige is particularly highly valued (not prestige in the sense of big man status, but of dignity and playing a productive economic *or* social role). Informal **teaching roles, sporting roles, cultural curation roles**, all have unrealised potential. A number of workshop participants at City Mission emphasised a desire for more sport to be incorporated. Sport is already seen as a vehicle for knowledge and attitudinal change, but again this is not designed as a pathway in itself that could stimulate demand and the direction of Australian Government investment is away from grassroots sport to elite sport.

There is also scope for further **research into the informal, including unlawful, economic activity and where there might be opportunities to amplify 'positive' models**. This may involve suspending assumptions around some types of activities. Everything from betel nut vendors to home brew activities, and even organised crime, have dimensions of enterprising behaviour. One area where programs such as the three under evaluation are particularly strong is in treating delinquency as one manifestation of youth disempowerment, rather than drawing a definitive moral line between delinquents and others. What are the useful competencies that could be employed constructively, rather than violently? If the alternatives are sustainable, young people will feel the pull to 'diversify their portfolio' of activities, so to speak, into unlawful realms. The findings of the evaluation are conclusive in this regard – young people do not want to be criminals.

The flipside of this is considering where a policy shift could be encouraged. To give one example, one of the District Advisors estimated the home brew economy in his area to be approximately PGK five million a year. This begs the question what it would take for these effectively small enterprises to be subsumed into a lawful, regulated system. The Australian Government could consider support for the Department for Community Development and Religion (DfCDR) and other government agencies that are actively engaged in efforts to harness the informal sector, based on PNG's first National Informal Economy Audit (2018).

In the formal sector, this evaluation did not consult with the Transport and Infrastructure team. However, as Australia steps up its investments in transport and infrastructure, it is worth noting the significant local discontent we encountered around infrastructure investments by other donors who are not providing job opportunities for Papua New Guineans.

Strategic Domain B – Organise networks of support and pathway linkages

4 | Identify linkages between pathways and provide information to facilitate those transitions

There are a range of actors in the skills space, both within Port Moresby, and across the country. Duplication per se is not a problem in this significantly underserviced skills training market. However, a lack of visibility for young people around the most appropriate programs or opportunities for them undermines the efficiency of the overall system. Given it is unlikely in the short term that demand can be fully serviced, it becomes all the more important to maximise efficiency as far as possible within the existing constraints. The UYEP is one of the more advanced programs in this regard. With a more intentional level of strategic coordination, there is scope for a more sophisticated system of cross-sector, cross-program screening and data sharing, subject to compliance with data privacy requirements.

A central element of this could be expanded mentorship networks. There are already graduates of the program who are acting as mentors to new participants, and this could be fleshed out as a skills training thread – training mentors, which is itself a specific skill (though often misunderstood as simply matching people with someone more experienced). One dimension of this can be focussed on supporting entrepreneurial pathways. This is already happening through mentorship, with examples in all three programs: talking with participants to expand their awareness of the ways in which their new skills could be applied, rather than confining themselves to a narrow and, at present, limited set of formal sector opportunities.

5 | Reduce the level of attrition receding into non-productive, criminal or anti-social behaviour

None of the programs under evaluation here have effective systems for tracking participants who drop out of programs. Nor is there systematic tracking of program graduates. This means that the quantitative data is almost exclusively around training outputs and the qualitative data almost exclusively around success stories. These stories are crucial and underline that these programs are offering value, but it is less clear to what extent they are representative and how we can best learn from the ‘failures’.

It is important to be realistic about this – the potential for tracking participants who are out of any program structure is limited. There are, however, two touch points where further design work can be done:

1. Connecting drop-out participants with a community support person who can remain a reference point for them. In certain communities, this could be facilitated particularly through church communities and youth groups. This can also be linked to sporting and other cultural activities. As noted above, the attractiveness of sporting opportunities was referenced repeatedly in the workshops and the SenseMaker® data collection.
2. Improve the ID systems for registering applicants and participants. This is one area where technology could be better leveraged. Depending on the results of the Inclusive Growth pilots around ID systems, this could be explored as a means for establishing much more reliable demographic data around young people. At present,

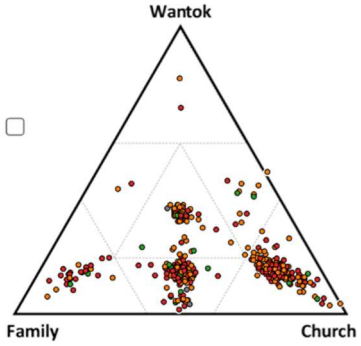
mobile phones are regularly changed, and participants will change their name to register for new programs, or re-register in the same program.

Again, the SenseMaker® data can give AHC a sense of optimism around these lever points. As discussed at the top of the report, programming aimed at reducing attrition towards criminal activity is not fighting a natural inclination to criminality, but rather supporting a natural inclination towards lawful activity.

6 | Build stronger links between programming around economic pathways and church initiatives and structures

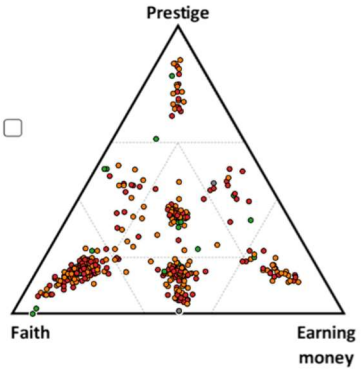
One important formal distinction between City Mission and Ginigoada, on the one hand, and UYEP, on the other, is the role of faith and spirituality. City Mission emphasises it explicitly and Ginigoada implicitly. UYEP, following World Bank principles, has no explicit or implicit incorporation of faith and spirituality. This has not prevented UYEP from achieving good outcomes for their program. At the same time, the SenseMaker® data is unambiguous in the **importance of church community to young people**, and AHC should take this seriously.

Figure 19 - Youth in PNG should get their values from...



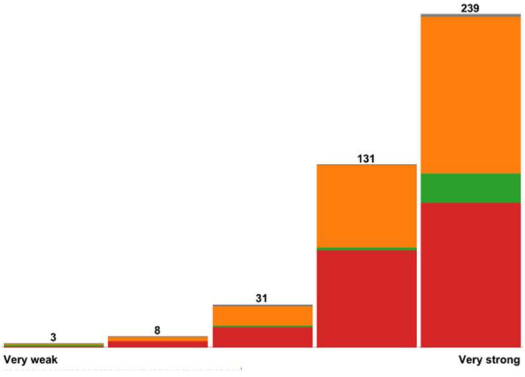
The Church Partnerships Program is already exploring a pivot of leadership towards the local churches, and identifying potential touch-points on economic and social pathways for young people could be important. The relatively limited emphasis given in the SenseMaker® responses to wantok, explicitly under two separate questions and implicitly under a third, raises a question about the trajectory of social norms. It could be possible that urbanised young people, often by definition more detached from traditional structures, are nonetheless finding a religious affiliation. And this could be **trending away from the emphasis on wantok**.

Figure 20 - Men should be concerned with...



This observation sits alongside the perception among SenseMaker® respondents that their behaviour reflects their upbringing, and not to being 'born that way'. This tends to indicate that young people are not resigned to their circumstances. It would, rather, tend to suggest an adaptive capacity *and* desire. When coupled with the church affiliations, this presents strong grounds for intentionally building on linkages to faith-related programs.

Figure 21 - My faith is...



Finally, a corollary to this is the **public diplomacy dimension of the relationship with the faith communities**. As long as Australia is prepared to engage meaningfully and respectfully with this significant cultural presence in PNG, it sets itself apart from other donors who might be more reluctant and/or opposed to programmatic activity that implicitly or explicitly endorses religion as an instrument of service delivery and economic and social empowerment.

Strategic Domain C – Build adaptive capacity through AHC emphasis on MEL

7 | Develop a cross-sector MEL strategy for economic and social pathways

As discussed above, the QTAG has identified monitoring, evaluation and learning as a key limitation in a number of programming areas, both in relation to the DFAT-Managing Contractor relationship (see, for example, the 2019 Governance Partnership Annual Review or the 2018 JSS4D Mid-term Review) and the DFAT-NGO relationship, often mediated by a Managing Contractor (see, for example, the 2018 Church Partnerships Program Mid-term Review and this evaluation).

The critical point to underline is that effective monitoring and evaluation is *not*, primarily, a compliance measure. It is a tool for learning and improvement. Simplistically applied log frame approaches, especially in complex systems, are unlikely to be fruitful in this respect. What we see in these programs is increasingly comprehensive reporting of activities and outputs, but still more limited questioning of the assumptions.

8 | Institute low-transaction cost, cross-program learning sessions

Adaptive MEL systems entail cycles of learning. More can be done to move in the direction of these approaches which emphasise the benefit, rather than the cost, of MEL frameworks.

OPM's work in Mozambique with the MUVA initiative is an example of a program for young women's empowerment where a central pillar of the program approach is MEL – but it is not a traditional log frame approach. Rather, it is oriented around these **learning cycles** (OPM, 2018).

This must be done thoughtfully and dynamically. Rather than adding significant transaction costs, if done properly, over time these learning sessions should be improving focus and efficiency. When they are ad hoc and not systematic, they are less likely to be fruitful. These sessions can benefit from **external expert facilitation**, particularly at the higher framework level that requires a process that integrates a great deal of complexity. 'Facilitation' is sometimes used within DFAT as a catch all term for the person 'standing at the front'. Facilitation is a specific skill, with specific tools applied within an overarching process design. Advisors or others without proven facilitation (as distinct from training, chairing or consulting) skills should not be engaged for these tasks.

This can take place at different levels of the system. Very informal learning sessions can more easily be instituted at the program level on a regular basis. The more integrative sessions need more thought – the danger in abstraction at that level is that it goes to the point of saying nothing. This requires facilitators who can design learning processes for complex systems.

9 | Develop a 'pathways' communications strategy that supports implementation

A public communications strategy should support points 1-6 above, in order for programs to realise their potential. This is **closely linked with the MEL framework and there can be mutually reinforcing loops between the two**. In this regard, while there is some overlap between public diplomacy and strategic directions, it may be useful to consider them separately.

This is potentially all the more important in view of the **greater connectivity** the Coral Sea cable could facilitate for significant portions of the population, especially in urban centres. We emphasise this in particular not because technological capability is a silver bullet, but because to date there appeared to be such limited exploration of the possibilities in our discussions with AHC teams. Greater connectivity potentially reduces friction for internal

program management and for engagement with a wider population. It also potentially reduces friction in engagement with the Australian business sector.

Much of the communications at present is fundamentally limited by connectivity. As that barrier is removed, a shift to significantly more dynamic programming becomes possible.

However, communications and technology is not itself an area of expertise within the evaluation team. We raise it as an area for further exploration, drawing in expert input.

AHC leadership of the strategic approach to economic and social pathways

Both **Law and Justice**, and **Health** have a limited strategic incentive to engage across the sectors on this issue. Law and Justice support is in prevention and diversion initiatives (before the child/juvenile/youth comes into the formal court system) and restorative justice initiatives (after the child/youth/juvenile has entered the formal court system). This is not so much an interface between youth pathways and criminal activity, but rather a pathway from criminal activity. Health issues are connected in important ways, which speak to the value of a cross-sector approach (as discussed above), but the linkages only apply to part of the broader youth questions.

Bougainville could more naturally offer leadership on the question, despite being geographically focussed. Their program has a particularly strong explicit focus on young people, already embracing a cross-cutting approach. In this way, Bougainville could well have a strong foundation for facilitating lesson-learning, strategic discussion that draws both on youth programming experience and experience of integrating that more generally.

Economic Governance could be a logical home for leadership, especially under the inclusive growth stream of their work. They also bring the strong economic lens that can be useful in driving hard outcomes in this space. At the same time, their current strategy is less oriented towards at-risk youth. This may limit their appetite to take carriage of a strategy that has a significant element directed towards at-risk youth.

The **Education and Leadership** team has a dual emphasis on Basic Education and TVET, alongside the leadership component through the Public Sector Leadership and Reform initiative, which gives a strong thematic resonance. Though the sectoral team's basic education programming is oriented around formal schools, situating leadership on this issue in that team would then give the team a natural cross-cutting awareness of the linkages. The new Skills for Growth program also gives a natural cross-cutting lens on the skills development space and learning in that program would benefit from the team scanning more widely across the aid program for lessons and good practice.

The **Program Strategy and Gender** team plays an important cross-cutting role that could position them well for taking leadership of this question. They already have carriage of the cross-cutting gender strategy, and therefore experience of what is useful and less useful. The question of economic and social pathways also has a strong gender and inclusion component and positioning it in this team would help ensure that duplication is avoided. At present, their expressly youth-related programming is limited to management of 'Equal Playing Fields'. As such, there may be insufficient momentum and incentives within the team for it to make sense that coordination sits with them.

However, given workload and resourcing issues, and the inherent difficulty in establishing and enforcing cross program strategies, two initial practical steps could be for this team to:

a. review all design terms of reference and draft sector strategies for recognition and responses to 'youth issues' and
b. strengthen the reporting of youth programming to GoPNG and DFAT.

This team has the expertise and practical experience in with gender mainstreaming that would be valuable is starting a more coordinated approach to this important development issue.

Sub-national Governance is, in a different way, a naturally cross-cutting sector. Our perception of that team's suitability is easily biased by the fact that, as the team commissioning the evaluation, they appeared to us to have most awareness across the landscape, and most engagement with the issues involved. Nonetheless, even considering that bias, there is a lot to recommend that approach, as it naturally builds on the momentum of the evaluation itself. And there is a direct link within the sub-national team to the District Advisor work, which itself is also naturally cross-cutting and oriented towards these themes. However, youth issues are not only sub-national and the placement of these activities within this team may limit the scope for alignment.

There was no agreement within the AHC as to where an appropriate home for a youth strategy should reside. However, the AHC would improve the efficiency and effectiveness of its engagement with youth, as key economic and social driver of a change in PNG, through are more coherent approach. Appointing a coordinator for youth programming within the AHC is seen as a step towards achieving this.

Recommendations for AHC

1. The AHC should identify an appropriate internal team to lead on, and be responsible for coordinating across, youth programming. This team should lead on defining DFAT's youth focus, prioritising youth investments and priorities, and mainstreaming learning emerging from programs with youth specific components. They may also lead on future youth programming. In practical terms, AHC may wish to consider the following:
    a. Developing a short youth strategy or approach, that incorporates, the elements addressing strategic findings and approaches from this review. This could be as straightforward as ensuring that the relevant sector strategies, program designs and annual implementation plans consider youth related impact and take account of previous reviews.
    b. The AHC should agree on what is youth programming as a starting point for coordination. Figure 16 would be a logical starting point for this discussion, evolving into an identification of what the AHC's comparative advantage is, in terms of programming across the multiple stakeholders working across PNG.
2. DFAT should seek to incorporate the findings from this, and the previous mid-term review into on-going and future youth-related programming. There are three routes to achieving this:
    a. Ensuring that all youth-related programs have a robust M&E framework capable of reporting on youth outputs and outcomes. The AHC should consider ensuring that future and current youth-related programming builds in a specific component designed to enhance the capability of civil organisations within the sector.
    b. Drawing on the findings from Purpose 1, DFAT should ensure that findings relating to the importance of skills training, the role of churches and faith identity, the balance of rules and long-term pastoral care and mentoring, and youth programming are incorporated into youth programming. This finding could be incorporate through the Churches Partnership.
    c. Engaging with the GoPNG on youth issues, at the national and sub-national level.
3. AHC teams using SenseMaker® for evaluations in the future should consider collaboration with the UPNG School of Business and Public Policy. Researchers have been trained in use of the tool with further opportunities to build on this experience and knowledge benefitting future evaluations and increasing the capacity of local researchers.

Annex 1 – Ethnographic Portraits

City Mission

Context

In City Mission, the evaluation team spoke to two young men: Johnson Kunny and Darren Laskan, who had participated in the City Mission program. These young men went on to become front line staff, implementing and managing the program. Johnson and Darren have now moved on from City Mission and work in the Salvation Army.

The interviews focused on discussing the young men's lives before joining City Mission, their experience of the City Mission program, their current work and aspirations for the future.

Three key themes are consistent across the portraits of these young men.

First, both young men have experienced poverty and have strong aspirations to create a better future for themselves and their families.

Second, faith and religion play an important role in the choices that these young men have made and continue to guide their aspirations.

Third, they see their work as a 'calling', 'passion' or a 'commitment'. These terms are used frequently by both respondents. As a result, they also spend their personal resources and time supporting young men who are a part of the City Mission program – and provide them with guidance, mentorship support and, in some cases, financial support.

Johnson Kunny

Johnson Kunny is 30 years of age. His family is originally from the Highlands and they now live in the 6-mile area, which is considered one of most 'notorious suburbs' of the city, known for high rates of crime and violence. Johnson grew up 'in the midst of these activities, on the street'. Johnson heard about City Mission through his big brother Remmie (a trainer in the City Mission program). Inspired by Remmie's example, Johnson joined City Mission and attended the program from 2007-2008. At this stage, he had dropped out of school, was unemployed and was a part of a street gang. He says that the program changed his life.

He describes his experience of the programme as follows:

> The City Mission program tries and puts things in perspective. It aims to develop you as a person, by training you to constantly cope with and adapt to changing circumstances. I found the first three months of the program, where I had to adapt to an entirely new routine, particularly challenging. This is when you see your real colour, your character as you are. The program breaks you down.
>
> For example, I had to wake up at 5 AM every morning, do devotion from 6:00 AM-6:30 AM, have breakfast at 7 AM, and begin the course at 8 AM, where we work in groups. The environment is not easy to adapt to and it takes two to three months to adjust to this. Normally, we don't value time, but in City Mission, we learn that every minute counts. For example, I had to work on a plot of land for days in the hot sun, weeding grass, only to see the weeds grow back again. We cannot stop our work but had to continue weeding – despite our hands bleeding and getting covered with blisters. I remember one time, when I was given a grass knife to cut grass and I spent the whole day cutting grass. At the end of the day, both my hands were covered in blisters, there were blood clots on my hands and the skin came off. My hands were so sore. I showed by sore hands to my trainer and I said to him, 'I can't work anymore'. I

> got no sympathy from him. He simply asked me why I had come here and told me that if I want change in my life, I will have to bear this. I then picked up the grass knife and stuck it into my sore hands and cut the grass for the rest of the day, without a break. This is how we change ourselves through this program.

Johnson is inspired by the example of Larry George, who is the founder of City Mission. He describes him as a 'father' and explains that everyone in the organisation looks up to him. Johnson looks up to Larry for advice, guidance and mentorship. He values the fact that Larry is accessible to him and responds to his text messages and provides guidance and support to him and others in the City Mission program, despite being based in Australia.

Johnson learned organic farming and the 'art of agriculture' in the City Mission program. He enjoys working in the garden, so decided to focus on developing these skills further, rather than on learning new skills. On completion of the program, Johnson began working as a part of implementation of the program – working on everything from induction, recruitment, job placement, designing course material and content, to training.

As a part of his work in City Mission, Johnson also worked closely with other NGOs working in the agricultural field and learnt new skills and new practices and introduced these skills into the program. He enjoys teaching and calls this his 'passion'. He also founded a literacy program as a component of the training process, which teaches young boys basic skills such as reading and writing. In his teaching, he tries to connect the outside world and the world that the boys are familiar with, with the classroom, to ensure that they learn effectively. Johnson is particularly proud of one of his students who came into the program without knowing how to read and write. He learned these skills from scratch in the program. He is now a certified welder working with a leading construction company in Port Moresby.

As a teacher, Johnson's role includes: developing the course content for teaching, designing the pedagogy and evaluating students. To inspire students, Johnson also wrote a small story book (which he printed out, photocopied and distributed to students), which features the story of a young man from the street who comes to City Mission, learns farming and gets a stable job and becomes a successful entrepreneur.

The story featured in Johnson's storybook echoes his own personal aspirations and his life trajectory. When Johnson came to City Mission, he had completed nine years of schooling and dropped out of school. After joining the City Mission's training program, he started working in the City Mission implementation team and was sent for a training program in Denver, Colorado, USA for six months. He extended his time in Denver to continue his education. He went back to high school and worked with the Denver Rescue Mission. His experience in the US motivated him to learn more new skills, and teach these skills to young people in his home country. He then returned to Papua New Guinea, and enrolled for a course in Human Resource Management and Business, and continued to work for City Mission. His work taught him valuable skills in management and business. After a couple of years in City Mission, Johnson went on to obtain a job in the Salvation Army. He has been working in this organisation for five years and has now risen to a senior management role. He still remains connected to City Mission and spends every weekend with the boys in City Mission. He helps them organise events and, in his spare time, also mentors young people who complete the program.

In response to the question of how City Mission can be more effective, he highlights the need for the program to provide coaching and mentoring for youth. He says that this, combined with better, more rigorous data collection methods and impact evaluations, will be essential to ensure the future success and long term sustainability of the program.

Johnson describes himself as a 'big brother' for the young men in the program. He specifically emphasises the need to provide support to young men in the last phase of the program. He says that young men in the program often experience a sense of anxiety, which comes from not knowing what to do next. They have limited access to information and few role models. This anxiety makes them slip back easily into their earlier lives of crime and

violence. To prevent this, Johnson and Remmie spend a lot of their personal time and resources to support young men in the final stage of the program. They help them find a place to stay away from their families and adjust to a new work life. They also connect them to new job opportunities and help them apply for jobs and make career choices. He believes that the program needs to do a lot more to coach and mentor young men to enable them to realise their true potential, and expresses his disappointment about the program not being able to do enough in this area.

In order to overcome this challenge, Johnson has recently conceptualised a new mentorship program for youth called 'Mentorship 360' – to help coach and mentor young men who complete the City Mission training program. It seeks to motivate youth, help them cope with the fear of failure and fear of the unknown (which are some of the key fears that young men, starting out their lives experience, according to Johnson) by connecting young people and guiding them to make choices about their future. Johnson believes that this mentorship program should ideally be one to one, but given the high demand for the program, one mentor will mentor five young people. This mentorship program will also have a strong grounding in religious and moral values and will also cover leadership training and communication skills which are essential skills for employability. Identifying the right mentors and connecting them with the right people is essential and Johnson's current work is focused on achieving this. In addition, Johnson also has set up a Facebook page (JK Community Work), which connects young people to a number of community development initiatives. He has also set up an Alumni page for City Mission on Facebook, which provides a platform for young men to stay connected, even after they have completed the program. This is also a useful mechanism for City Mission to stay in touch with their trainees.

Religion has been an important influence in Johnson's life. Johnson explains that religious values have guided his aspirations and life choices, and has motivated him to reach out to other young men and help them discover themselves. Importantly, Johnson believes that religious values taught him to respect others, particularly women, and have given him the strength to overcome challenges and aspire to a better future.

Johnson says that his entire life so far has been dedicated to developing himself and young men like him, and he says that he has a lot more to achieve. Johnson dreams of pursuing a Masters in Development Studies in Queensland, and would like to do some research on youth in Papua New Guinea. He serves on the Board of three local NGOs working with youth in the region and also is developing an idea for a new business that he would like to set up.

On being asked what City Mission has taught him, he says:

> Life is not a dream, it is a reality. If you continue dreaming about things and don't do anything, you will just remain there. There is more to life than what you are seeing right now. Sometimes boys who come to the mission see a flashy car, a beautiful girl, or people with money. They think, I can't get these things. But at City Mission, I learned that you can achieve anything, if you put your mind to it and have a desire to change.
>
> I have become a changed person after joining City Mission. I have learnt new things, travelled overseas, experienced life like never before. Today, I have my own house, a car and a good job. I am thankful that I am at this level. However, there is no complacency - I have a lot more to achieve to continue my journey.

Darren Laskan

Darren Laskan is 33 years of age. Darren first heard about City Mission from a newspaper advertisement in 2007. Darren comes from a poor family and was keen to build a new life for himself in Port Moresby. He, along with three others, walked the Kokoda trail for days and arrived at the City Mission office in Port Moresby, to enrol in the program. When he arrived at City Mission, he saw that there were a number of young men like him who had come a

long way to attend the program. Darren successfully cleared the interview and joined the program in 2007.

Darren's experience in City Mission was memorable. He described it as follows:

> 31 of us were shortlisted to attend the program. On the first day, we were trained in agriculture. We were asked to weed three plots of pok choy cabbage. A lot of young men refused to do this work, but I completed it. We faced a number of initial hardships in the program in those years and a number of people dropped out. For example, there were food shortages and we had to work very hard in the gardens and had to manage with little nourishment. I persisted. In City Mission I learned to wake up at the same time every day, to develop my spiritual side, and I also learned other key skills such as: agricultural skills, cooking, managing a kitchen, basic literacy, and computing. The drop-out rate was high in my batch. I was the only one in my batch of 31 students who successfully completed my course.

Darren particularly enjoyed working in the workshop department. He learned a number of different trades, which included brick laying, stone work and carpentry. He successfully completed the course in 2009 and got a job to work in City Mission, as a workshop instructor. He taught plumbing and carpentry and was a member of the bible study group. He was also responsible for City Mission's outreach activities. Darren considers his trainer, Remmie, as his best friend and mentor – and Remmie provided him guidance, advice and information which enabled him to find new opportunities. Remmie's guidance, combined with his strong faith in God, gave Darren the strength to complete the training and explore new job opportunities.

Darren worked for City Mission until 2013 and applied for a wide range of jobs. He then went on to work as a handyman in a resort for a few months. He did not enjoy this stint and went back to work for City Mission, while continuing to apply for other jobs. One day, he happened to pass by the office of the Salvation Army in Port Moresby. He decided to put in a job application. To his surprise, he got a call from the Salvation Army the very next day and he was asked to attend an interview. The interview was undertaken by Jonathan Kunny, who was also from City Mission. While Darren did not know Jonathan personally, the fact that Darren was trained by the City Mission made him stand out, and he got a job with the Salvation Army as a manager, reporting to Jonathan.

When asked about the lessons that he has learned and his aspirations for the future, Darren said:

> I tell young men to not hide their talents. They must develop their talent and their character. I am enjoying my work at the Salvation Army. I am working on important projects and learning management skills. In the future, I would like to go back to my village and work there. New construction projects are coming up and there are new opportunities for work. I would also like to attend more training programs and I hope to set up my own stationery business in my village someday.

Ginigoada

The Context

Women's safety is a major challenge in Port Moresby. Lack of safe public transport for women affects their ability to earn a livelihood and contribute to their family income. Two years ago, Ginigoada obtained six large buses from a Melbourne based company, as a donation. These buses (known as Meri Safe buses) were to be driven by women, for women.

In 2017, Ginigoada placed a newspaper advertisement, inviting women to enrol in a bus driver's training programme, for the first time. This idea was considered radical in PNG, as bus drivers were typically male. Over 80 women applied for the course and 50 were shortlisted.

We met two women in their 50s, who decided to join this training program and now work as bus drivers, ferrying women passengers to and from work, six days a week. The training programme took place in both PNG and in Australia, for a total period of eight weeks.

Two out of the three women we spoke to were previously housewives, and this was their first job. One of them had worked as a receptionist in the past. We spoke to these women to understand what it means to break gender stereotypes and take up a traditionally male dominated occupation. We also discussed their everyday experiences at work and their aspirations for the future.

Each women bus driver has to manage a team of four in the bus. This includes two male security guards (who are responsible for safety and security) and one female ticket collector. Therefore, their role involves not only driving a bus, but also managing a team effectively.

The stories of these women highlight the gender biases and challenges that working women in PNG face in their everyday lives and how these women are changing gender stereotypes through their work.

Gorame:

Gorame was a housewife for most of her life. She married Phil, a senior manager in the Ginigoada Foundation, at the age of 16 and has four children. She has completed nine years of schooling. She lives in Kira Kira village, near Port Moresby. Until last year, she was a housewife and her life revolved around looking after her children and managing a home.

Two years ago, Gorame saw a newspaper advertisement, advertising a female bus driver training programme. She was keen to take advantage of this opportunity, so she decided to apply and was selected to enrol in the training programme. She says that this changed her life:

> When I heard about this programme, I said, this is my chance to work and earn a living, I must do this. So I applied and was selected. When I joined I thought, 'can I really do this?' The training process was intense, with technical training for a total of eight weeks. We were first taught to drive a small 25 seater bus first, following this we learned to drive 60 seater buses.
>
> My first day as a bus driver was particularly challenging. Men on the street used to shout insults at us, swear at us, and make lewd gestures – sometimes they refused to give way to us. They were very aggressive. Initially I was scared, but I thought to myself that I must make a change and to do so I have to learn to cope with these everyday challenges. I learned to ignore them and to be tough. Over the last year, I think things have changed for the better. I take the same route every day and I think people are now used to us. Sometimes, we have men on the streets or other drivers giving us a 'thumbs up' sign. I think that this shows that slowly they have started accepting us. Change takes time.

Gorame is particularly grateful for the support that she gets at home. Three of her children are grown up and take care of themselves. Her husband helps cook meals at home and ensures that he is at home to take care of their youngest child, so she can carry on with her work. She misses spending time with her youngest child, but she tries her best to get back home in time to give him his dinner and put him to bed. Her older children are proud of the work that they do, and this makes her very happy.

On being asked what she enjoys about her job, she said:

> One of the most satisfying things about my job is the fact that I can help other women work and support their families. These buses provide women a safe space, where they do not have to worry about being robbed or harassed. For example, sometimes we have very old women carrying heavy loads of produce from their farms to sell in the market. I immediately instruct my staff to help them out. My security guards get off the bus and carry their produce onto the bus for them. Once, an elderly, frail woman tried to board the bus with a heavy bag. She could not climb up the steps. So, I

> instructed my security staff to carry her bag inside. Sometimes we have young boys of about 8 or 10 years old travelling with their mothers. We instruct these boys to treat women with respect and give up their seats for older women. This is how I feel I can make a difference to our society through my work. I would like to continue doing this job for as long as I can, and I hope that through my work I can change how women are perceived in our society.

Gorame has three daughters and through her own example, she hopes that they will be financially independent and break gender stereotypes too.

Odette

Odette comes from the central provinces, from a family of five. Odette had to drop out of school after class 9, due to financial problems. She then married and had a son, who is now 17 years old. Odette's husband was a mechanic and she used to help him repair cars. As a result she had a good understanding of mechanics. She also used to do several part-time jobs to support her family. This included working as a receptionist for two years in a small private sector firm. Two years ago, Odette's husband left her for another woman. At this time, she was searching for new job opportunities, to support herself and her son. At this time, she came across Ginigoada's advertisement for training bus drivers and decided to enrol in the training.

Odette's knowledge of mechanics, combined with the fact that she was used to driving a car, helped her pick up the training quickly. On completion of the training, she was one of the 12 women selected to operate the buses.

She describes her experience of work as follows:

> My work allows me to be financially independent and gives me the chance to earn a livelihood with respect. As a woman bus driver, I face a number of challenges every day, but I am confident that I can overcome this. Once a group of men from a rascal gang threw stones at my bus and cracked a window. Men on the street make rude gestures and call us names. When this happens, I ignore them. I realise they only do this because they feel threatened or are insecure. So when they are rude, I respond with kindness – sometimes, I blow a kiss or I wave at them, and then I find that I no longer face rudeness. I have been driving on this route for six months and now men on the street wave at our bus and say 'hello ladies!' as we drive by.

Odette explains that most of the training that she received through Ginigoada focused on technical training – on how to drive a bus, what to do when an emergency situation arises and basic mechanics. However, over the course of her work she uses a wide range of skills, such as time management, managing a team of four, and communication skills, which she has acquired on the job. These skills could also be incorporated into future skills training programmes.

On the whole, Odette says that her work makes her feel self-confident and empowered. She said:

> I love my job as it gives me a sense of satisfaction and fulfilment. Every day I meet young women who come up to me and tell me that I am an inspiration for them. This makes me very happy, especially because I never dreamed that I would have a career at this stage in my life.

A number of young women and girls look up to her, for successfully taking up a male dominated job role. She says that she has a responsibility to fulfil her job well and takes this responsibility seriously. She explains this point with the following example:

> Every day I go to a school to pick up some teachers and students. Yesterday, I was chatting with the teacher in the school and she said, 'you know, when I first saw you women drive the buses, I was convinced that you were men, as you were driving so confidently…you are a role model for others out there as you are showing the younger generation that it's possible for women to do a man's job well.'

> I am happy because I get to provide women a little bit of safety and comfort, in a very unsafe world. You can get onto our bus, sit down where you want, you can sing, laugh, and joke – and you are free to do so. There are very few safe spaces for women to hangout in Port Moresby. I'm proud to be able to provide a safe haven for women in this city.

There are plans to expand this scheme and get more new buses. Odette hopes that more women like her will be able to drive these buses, so that women in the city can have access to safe public transport.

Odette is now focusing on saving up for her son's education. She hopes that he will become a successful mechanic or an engineer someday. When asked about her aspirations for the future, she says that she would like to be a good role model for her son and would like to teach her son to respect women.

Annex 2 – Synthesis of Before and After Stories

Before City Mission	After City Mission
- Life in darkness - Addictions to alcohol - No direction in life - No spiritual development - Trouble maker - Felt unwanted - No hope in life - Selfish life - Life without God and His Word - Low education level - Low skill level - Unloved and not cared for - No church life - Aimless roaming the streets - Was a rascal - Harmed innocent people for my gain - Accomplice to law breakers	- See light in my life - I learnt that God has a plan for my life - God's word and prayer is vital for a good life - I am confident about myself - Personal spiritual life developed - Life skills learned - Employed - Taught to live life as a man - Devotion to God and His Word - All things are possible through God - Strong and confident - Able to read and write - Real life issues are challenging after City Mission - Falling into old habits but getting up again - The City Mission Brotherhood is intact - Live life as a man and maintain relationship with God - Life after City Mission is challenging but reminded by common saying "down but not out" - Spiritual program impacted my life - I was able to see my life in a new way - Addictions removed - Taught to take care of my family - Now I know God is the centre of my life and I cannot do without Him - The principles of life I learnt keep me from going back to my old self - New life - Change in character- more like Christ
Before Ginigoada	**After Ginigoada**
- Unemployed - Low level of skill - Housewife - Attached to one profession - Boxed views on life - Lack of health and hygiene	- Gone back into full time employment - Improved book-keeping skill - Increased knowledge in health and hygiene - Continuous up-skilling to improve my life - Opportunity to improve skills with Ginigoada

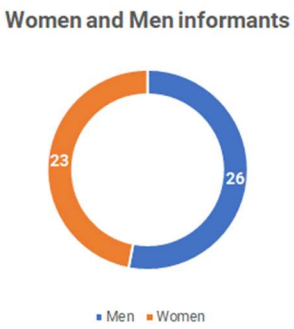
Annex 3 – Methodology

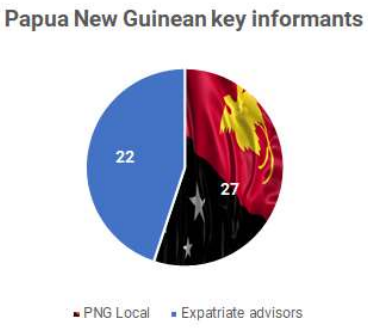
UYEP has been the subject of a detailed impact evaluation. Given limited resources, City Mission and Ginigoada do not have the same baseline data to allow for a more scientific study. As a result, we designed the evaluation to allow for different perspectives on the questions to surface, and for us to make well informed and nuanced – rather than conclusive – judgments around the evaluation questions.

In this innovative mixed-method approach, there were three branches:

Interviews

We conducted a series of one hour, semi-structured interviews with a selection of key stakeholders from AHC and the implementing partners (15-20). The Government of Papua New Guinea was invited to take part in the evaluation but had other priorities at that time. The semi-structured interviews were used in particular for certain questions (see question / methods matrix in Evaluation Plan – Annex 1), as well as a source of triangulation for data emerging from the other methods. The size of the consultation group for each respondent is noted in the key informant list in Annex 4. For all of the AHC consultations, 1-2 member(s) of the commissioning sub-national governance team were present.





Workshops

The Workshops with City Mission and Ginigoada, respectively, allowed for a collective feedback and insight session from participants of the programs. Because of the variable literacy of participants, this was conducted entirely as a visual and aural process, in English and interpreted in Tok Pisin. The structure of the workshop was in five steps: **(1)** As an introductory exercise, participants defined the program (using physical representation for City Mission workshop and using drawing for Ginigoada); **(2)** participants used generic photos of nature as a stimulus for describing their lives before participation in the program – they shared this in small groups, it was recorded and later summarised in English; **(3)** they

again chose photos and/or drew their own representation of their life after participation in the program, again sharing in small groups and recording; **(4)** in the same small groups, experiences of change were mapped against the stated objectives of the programs; **(5)** participants were asked to discuss in small groups and then share in the whole group their perspectives on (a) key strengths of, and (b) potential improvements to, the programs. The World Bank declined to engage in this part of the evaluation process, and so the originally envisaged third workshop with UYEP participants did not take place.

Sensemaker®

Sensemaker® is a complexity-based model for collecting data. The process of signification allowed individual stories (or 'narratives') to be collected, mapped and explored visually in a quantitative framework; this is carried out in near real-time without the bias that is often difficult to avoid when qualitative data is coded by 'expert' analysts. Individual responses were represented as separate data items on each of the maps and provide direct access to the underlying narrative; the quantitative-based patterns make the data credible and stories behind it make them persuasive.

The signification framework architecture was built around threads taken from the light literature review and group interviews with key personnel involved with PNG Youth. Key themes which emerged were: Faith, Family and Friends.

Secondary threads were status or prestige, the balance of wilful and lawful behaviour in PNG society, and attitudes towards work, money and violence. Violence towards women was treated as a separate issue.

A mixture of these key and secondary themes was used for value 'anchors' in the triad, dyad and stones sections of the survey. The value anchors were ascribed to ensure both novelty and repetition of key issues from a different angle.

The triads were designed to describe a value landscape around the key and secondary themes, and force the respondent to blend these values, e.g. money, skills and contacts.

The dyads were for testing value hypotheses within the key themes, e.g. we are born that way vs we are brought up that way.

Stones canvasses were designed to make the respondent value issues and manifestations relative to each other along a simple sliding scale, e.g. in the future what will be important/not important to me - social media, church support, information on jobs, etc.

The prompt question was intended to be 'opaque' and not 'leading', encouraging youth to advise an imaginary friend on what life is like in Port Moresby. This helped to get the respondent to focus on their real life, lived experience.

Collection strategy

All key research questions start with youth and skills training as their main focus. Other cross cutting questions provide context for these two main issues.

The data set was anticipated to be half with skills training and half without. It was also of necessity to be as close to 50/50 in gender split as operationally possible. This made a four-square matrix. Each of the squares needed a minimum of fifty respondents for even basic high-level analysis. By doubling this number to 400, significant scope was opened up for some of the cross-cutting issues while providing powerful data to answer the basic research questions. Cross cutting issues such as violence, faith and agency to change the future are illuminated in the data.

The demographic distribution of the respondents was as follows:

Formulation of findings and recommendations

The analyses from each of the branches were integrated into this initial draft of findings and recommendations. This draws on the independent analysis of all the evaluation team, including a Sensemaking consultation with the enumerators, as well as internal quality assurance from OPM.

Variations to the evaluation plan

- In the evaluation plan, a follow-up stakeholder workshop was envisaged, to allow for further contestation and, in particular, refinement of the more strategically oriented parts of the report, as well as general socialisation and refinement of the findings and recommendations. At present, this has been deferred.
- Given that UYEP has already been the subject of an impact evaluation, it engaged in a more limited way in this evaluation. It was unrealistic for OPM to convene significant numbers of former UYEP participants without that level of engagement from the implementers. As a result, the planned workshop with UYEP participants did not take place. Fortunately, the existing studies on UYEP provided useful points of inquiry for the other two programs.

Key limitations

There were two key limitations to the evaluation:

- The absence of comprehensive baseline data for City Mission and Ginigoada, and the limited resources for the evaluation, made it difficult to conduct an in-depth quantitative evaluation of all three programs.
- The relatively modest resource allocation meant that the evaluation needed to be focussed in Port Moresby, with only a small number of telephone conversations possible with relevant program staff in Lae and Madang. This means that the findings relating to the programs should very much be considered Port Moresby-specific, and should not be considered valid more widely without further supporting data.

Gender and social inclusion in the methods

We used these methods specifically for their participatory and inclusive nature. The workshops allowed for a combination of small group and whole group discussion, in English and/or Tok Pisin. Stories were captured from all participants, not only from those prepared to speak in the whole group, and the use of physical and visual representation did not limit participation to verbal-linguistic styles (no writing or reading skills were required).

The Sensemaker® approach is designed to orient the data around participants' personal experiences and the meaning that they themselves make of it (not as interpreted by third party analysis), and enumerators were both male (4) and female (2). In debriefing the process, enumerators described feedback from respondents who 'felt respected' and 'comfortable' in sharing their stories. This is one common feature of the SenseMaker® approach, in contrast with other heavily quantitative survey methods that are often regarded by respondents as treating them as data, rather than valuing them for their lived experience.

The semi-structured interviews kept interview ratios as low as possible to maximise input, and included a mixture of men and women from different levels of hierarchy, and from national and sub-national origins. We are confident that the resulting data reflects an approach that is as inclusive as feasible with the resources available.

Annex 4 – Key Informants for Semi-structured Interviews

Name	Role	Organisation	Size of consultation group	PNG National	Sex	QTAG
Geoff King	Counsellor, Sub-national Governance	AHC	7	N	F	RL, AM
Chakriya Bowman	Counselor, Economic Governance	AHC	2	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Gina Wilson	Counsellor, Law and Justice	AHC	3	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Jacqueline Herbert	Acting Counsellor, Health	AHC	3	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Alison Gow	First Secretary, Law and Justice	AHC	3	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Emily Rainey	First Secretary, Bougainville	AHC	2	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Fiona Crockford	First Secretary, Sub-national Governance	AHC	3	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Fuschia Hepworth	First Secretary, Education and Leadership	AHC	1	N	F	DN, RL, AM
John Francis	First Secretary, Gender and Program Strategy	AHC	2	N	M	DN, RL, AM
Steve Burns	Acting First Sectretary, Sub-national Governance	AHC	2	N	M	RL
Patricia Manley	Second Secretary, Sub-national Governance	AHC	3	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Camilla Angoro	Senior Program Manager, Gender and Program Strategy	AHC	2	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Freddy Hombuhanje	Provincial Representative, Sub-national Governance	AHC	2	Y	M	RL
Ire Olewale	Senior Program Manager, Law and Justice	AHC	3	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Julienne Leka-Maliaki	Senior Program Manager, Economic Governance	AHC	2	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Junita Goma	Senior Program Manager, Sub-national Governance	AHC	3	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Winifred Oraka	Senior Program Manager, Bougainville	AHC	1	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Irake Yandason	Program Manager, Sports for Development	AHC	1	Y	M	RL
Leah Tuka	Program Manager, Bougainville	AHC	2	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Rosemary Isicar	Program Manager	AHC	2	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Darren	Former participant	City Mission	1	Y	M	DN
David Van der Wal	General Manager, Lae	City Mission	1	Y	M	DN, AM
John Reesink	General Manager, Koki HQ	City Mission	1	N	M	DN, AM
Johnson	Former participant	City Mission	1	Y	M	DN
Peter Moody	Farm Manager	City Mission	1	N	M	DN, AM
Remmie Auwa	Administration and Intake Supervision	City Mission	1	Y	M	DN, RL, AM
Toua Nou	General Manager, Madang	City Mission	1	Y	M	DN, AM
Gerea Uve	NCD Health Mobile Trainer	Ginigoada	1	Y	F	DN, RL
Gini Galamo	Lae Young Skills Trainer	Ginigoada	1	Y	M	DN, RL
Robert Evah	General Manager	Ginigoada	1	Y	M	DN, RL, AM
Robert Favave	Central Program Trainer	Ginigoada	1	Y	M	DN, RL, AM
Sophie Auwi	NCD On Job Training Officer	Ginigoada	1	Y	F	DN, RL, AM
Darian Naidoo	Economist	World Bank	4	N	M	DN, AM
Dr Mathias Liu	Deputy Project Manager, UYEP	World Bank	2	N	M	DN, RL, AM
Mandy Newton	Team Leader, UYEP	World Bank	2	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Sonya Woo	Economist	World Bank	4	N	F	DN, AM
Christopher Hoy	Economist	ANU	1	N	M	DN, RL, AM
Dr Ghanashyam Sethy	Health Specialist	UNICEF	3	N	M	DN, RL, AM
Leisel Seehofer	Director of Programs	Marie Stopes	3	N	F	DN, RL, AM
Caroline McGann	Senior Program Manager, DCP	Abt	1	N	F	RL, AM
Greg Hosea	District Advisor, Lumusa (Mul Baiyer); Manus	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
Henry Khaisum	District Advisor, Talasea (West New Britain)	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
Iain Smith	Acting Director, EGIG	Abt	3	N	M	RL, AM
James Ogia	District Advisor, Nuku (Sandaun)	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
Jane Ravusiro	Senior Program Manager, Inclusive Economic Empowerment	Abt	3	Y	F	RL, AM
Jimmy Morona	District Advisor, Nawaeb (Morobe)	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
John Simango	District Advisor, Lumusa (Mul Baiyer)	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
Sabi Pati	District Advisor, Lumusa (Mul Baiyer)	Abt	6	Y	M	RL, AM
Steve Pocock	Senior Program Manager, Inclusive Growth	Abt	3	N	M	RL, AM

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