Does The 'New' National Youth Development Policy Reflect Youth Demands?

By Chambi Chachage[1]

"The people know their needs – ask them!" – Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere

Introduction

On 17 March 2008 the Minister responsible for Youth Development, Professor Juma Kapuya, launched a new version – the second version – of the National Youth Development Policy. This was an outcome of a policy review of the National Youth Development Policy of 1996 that was concluded in 2007. As such it is accordingly entitled The National Youth Development Policy of 2007. The relative 'newness' of the policy demands a critical analysis of what is so new about it.

This paper, then, attempts to analyse the 'new policy'. It particularly focuses on the question of whether the policy reflects youth demands. Using the policy as its main object of analysis and the youth as its main subject of enquiry, the paper starts by exploring how far the policy has gone in finding out what youth demands. It then looks at what the policy has to offer with respect to youth demands. Finally, the paper builds a case for a thoroughgoing analysis of the current 'State of Youth in Tanzania' so as to determine, prioritise and address youth demands accordingly, that is, within the policy cycle of formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

What Are Youth Demanding?

In his preface to the National Development Policy of 2007, the then Minister responsible for Youth Development, Captain John Chiligati, outlines social-economic problems which need "a unique solution to a new generation". These are "problems such as unemployment, poverty, HIV/AIDS and other diseases, environmental degradation and drug abuse" (United Republic of Tanzania 2007a: v). It is these issues that the new version of the youth policy seeks to address. In a way the policy is telling us that, among other things, the youth demand employment, prosperity, healthy lifestyles and a friendly environment.

With respect to these demands the policy booklet goes on to provide statistics to back up what it terms 'The Status of Youth in Tanzania.' In the case of what it terms the 'employment situation', the

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policy primarily draws from the latest Integrated Labour Force Survey, that of 2000/01. This survey estimated the labour force to be 17.9 million people. The youth, aged between 15 and 35, constitutes 65 percent of this force. However, according to the survey, unemployment for the whole country stood at 12.9 percent. A categorical analysis of this latter percentage in terms of age shows that the youth are more vulnerable to the unemployment problem.

In the absence of specific up-to-date statistics on the state of health among the youth, the policy resorts to population census and survey data that point to a reduction of infant mortality and use them to build a case for youth on the basis of a given fact that a "nation will have a healthy youth if its programmes on early child development have created an opportunity for the growth of a healthy society" (United Republic of Tanzania 2007a: 5). The policy goes on to conclude that "the real" situation shows that youth encounter the following "health problems that are related to physical, mental, maternal and reproductive health": "Escalation of sexually transmitted infectious diseases including HIV/AIDS"; "Malnutrition which causes amongst other things blood deficiencies (anaemia) and low birth weight"; "The use of drugs and substance abuse which causes mental instability and delinquency"; "Female genital mutilation to young women and children"; "Early marriages and pregnancies"; "In-appropriate use of leisure time and sports for health development"; and "Inadequate youth friendly health services and information."

To underscore the threat that HIV/AIDS pose to youth the policy bring together statistics from various studies that shows changing trends in the prevalence rates. For example, it cites the National Control Programme Report Number 17 of November 2003 which showed that, contrary to earlier trends of decline, the actual prevalence amongst female aged 15 and 19 was rising. It also cites the National Control Programme Report Number 19 of October 2005 that shows that the age group of 20 to 49 – of which most of the youth fall into given the definition of youth as being young people between the age of 15 and 35 – remained the most affected for both sexes.

When it comes to what it calls the 'economic situation', the policy does not provide any statistical evidence of the youth's state of economy or status of poverty. The policy also touches on what it terms the 'political situation.' Without stating explicitly to what extent youth participate in politics it comes up with this general conclusion: "Under the multiparty system, youth participate in various political organizations and in decision-making. However, currently there is no clearly defined system which prepares young men and women to take up leadership position in the existing parties and

government. Another challenge in political areas is for girls to emerge as leaders or representatives in decision-making organs" (United Republic of Tanzania 2007a: 6).

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that the introduction to the current version of the policy does not provide any concrete evidence that the review of the previous version was comprehensive enough to fully ascertain the then – let alone the – current state of youth.[2] However, all these background information gives a glimpse of what youth really demands. But a glimpse is not enough to tell policymakers, let alone policy implementers and budgeting personnel, what exactly are the demands that they have to prioritise. It also doesn't tell them, in concrete ways, about different demands across the conventional gender, class, age and urban/rural divides.

Thus the question that still lingers on is: How do we know for sure what the youth are really demanding? The answer to this question is partly provided by the African Youth Charter[3]. Article 12 (g) of the Charter states categorically that a "baseline evaluation or situation analysis shall inform the policy on the priority issues for youth." A close reading of the new policy reveals that no such baseline study was carried out to determine the (then) current status of youth in Tanzania. As such it does not provide concrete evidence from the ground on what are youth priority needs or demands.[4]

However, it can be correctly argued, albeit to some extent, that a part of Article 12(b) of the Charter that states that the "development of a national youth policy shall be informed by extensive consultation with young people" was adhered to hence the policy reflects youth demands. One would

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[2] This critique can be extended to the policy issues presented in subsequent chapters of the booklet given that they elaborately extends, albeit succinctly, the same assertions and employs the same sources presented in its introduction.

[3] Tanzania has signed but not yet ratified the Charter. According to the speech delivered by the then Minister responsible for Youth Development, Captain John Chiligati, on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2006/2007, one of the Ministry's activities planned for that year was to disseminate the Charter and initiate a process for ratifying it. However, the Minister responsible for Youth Development, Professor Juma Kapuya, didn't report on the progress of this activity in his parliamentary speech on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2008/2009.

[4] It should be noted, however, that according to the speech delivered to the Parliament by the then Minister responsible for Youth Development, Captain John Chiligati, on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2006/2007, the Ministry conducted what it calls a 'youth mapping' and which it defines as an attempt to get statistics and accurate information about youth development activities in the country. By the end of that financial year, that is, at a time when the new National Youth Development Policy had already been approved by the Cabinet, only 27 districts out of the remaining 46 districts in the exercise had been mapped. From this 'timing' it is evident that the review that culminated in the new policy was not adequately informed – if it was at all informed – by the mapping exercise. Curiously, the Minister responsible for Youth Development, Professor Juma Kapuya, didn't report anything about this exercise in his parliamentary speech on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2008/2009.

say to some extent because, arguably, the whole process of developing the policy has been a subject of complaints about the lack of broad-based participation.[5]

For instance, in a response to a series of questions about the criteria and the procedures used for the participation of young people in the review of the national youth policy just after his presentation on the situation of youth in Tanzania, the former national chairperson of Tanzania Youth Vision Association (TYVA), Daniel Welwel, had this to say:

> The criteria are somewhat unclear, because there was no logical or clear geographical representation of the young people. The only advantage organizations like TYVA had, in the process, was their continued persistence and pro-activeness to participate. Irrespective of criteria I will think it is crucial for youth organizations to continue looking for information, demand for participation and take charge of the issues of concern to them. Otherwise we may blame but that will not help solving our problems… As I said before, the participation has never been consistent and inclusive. It is perhaps the most disjointed type of participation. All the same, the issue now is to see the final version of the policy and examine the extent … it addresses youth problems. (Quoted in Thomas D. Maqway 2007: 4 - 5)

In another instance, John Mnyika, the Director of Youth in an opposition party known as CHADEMA[6], maintained, in an interview with East African Radio on 19 March 2008, that the process did involve various stakeholders including his party. One might be tempted to dismiss such a complaint as a conventional opposition criticism. However, in a very ironic way the speech submitted to the Parliament by the Shadow Minister responsible for Youth Development, Hon. Salim Abdallah Khalfan (MP), on the budget estimates for the financial year 2008/09 reveals how far a policy can be formulated without the knowledge of the inner circle let lone the wider public. After a succinct analysis of the state of youth in Tanzania with respect to the youth policy, the Shadow Minister thus concluded with a revealing query:

> Mheshimiwa Spika, ili tufike huko tunahitaji sera mwafaka ya maendeleo ya vijana. Kwa muda mrefu tumekuwa tukitumia sera ya maendeleo ya vijana ya mwaka 1996. Kwa vyovyote vile sera hii imepitwa na wakati. Kwa miaka kadhaa sasa Serikali imekuwa ikitoa matamko kwamba iko katika mchakato wa kuibadili sera hii. Kambi ya Upinzani inaitaka Serikali kulieleza Bunge ni lini sera ya maendeleo ya vijana itakuwa tayari? [Honorable Speaker, in order to reach there we need an appropriate youth development policy. For a long time we have been using the youth development

[5] According the speech delivered to the Parliament by the Minister responsible for Youth Development, Professor Juma Kapuya, on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2004/2005, in 2004 the Ministry conducted 6 seminars with the aim of collecting views on the National Youth Development Policy. The review seminars involved youth from various institutions and were conducted in 6 zones: Zone 1 (Pwani, Morogoro, Dar-es-Salaam, Lindi and Mtwara); Zone 2 (Tanga, Kilimanjaro and Arusha); Zone 3 (Manyara, Singida and Dodoma); Zone 4 (Iringa, Ruvuma, Rukwa and Mbeya); Zone 5 (Mwanza, Kagera and Mara); and Zone 6 (Shinyanga, Tabora and Kigoma).

[6] It is interesting to note that this party has come up with what is referred to as a shadow national youth development policy. A comparative analysis of the two policies has the potential of sharpening any review of both policies.

policy of 1996. In any case this policy is outdated. For many years now the government has been issuing out statements that it is in the process of changing this policy. The opposition camp is asking the government to tell this parliament when will the youth development policy be ready?] (Bunge la Tanzania – Majadiliano ya Bunge: Mkutano wa Nane – Kikao cha Thelathini na Nane: 18 July 2008: 23)[7]

If a section of the elected representatives of the people could not be aware of a policy that was already launched what about the population at large? One cannot dispute the fact that throughout its seven years' on and off review, the policy has been subjected to analytical viewpoints of certain youth representatives that have touched on certain youth demands. The term 'certain' is cautiously inserted here to indicate that as far as statistical/scientific criteria are concerned the youth who were involved in the review do not necessarily represents the youth of the nation that is Tanzania. [8]

This critique about an apparent lack of a nationally representative sample is by no means intended to undermine the relevance of the demands of those who were consulted during the review. In fact, as it is evident in the next section of this paper, most of the following issues that were raised and recorded by Kaanaeli Kaale (2004) in one of the zonal review workshops are very relevant and were thus taken on board in the new policy: "Natural resources and the way they are utilized"; "Education and Training for youth"; "Reproductive health education and health services"; "HIV/AIDS prevention and care"; " Employment – techniques and strategies used to increase job opportunities for youth"; "Availability of division of natural resources particularly land, loan and unmovable properties"; "Agriculture and Livestock"; "Mining"; "Environment"; "Good governance"; "Coordination, implementation and evaluation of various activities". However, this critique does not only underscores the need to complement these views with the views of those who can only be reached through a truly representative national sample, but also highlights the need to complement them with the state of the reality on the ground that could be ascertained through a baseline evaluation or situation analysis as per Article 12 (g) of the African Youth Charter.

In the absence of such a detailed evaluation/analysis of the state of youth, what, then, are current youth demands? The recently released study on the *Views of the People 2007: Tanzanians Give Their Opinions on: Growth and Reduction of Income Poverty, Their Quality of Life and Social Well-being, and Governance and Accountability* conducted by the United Republic of Tanzania (2007b) could

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[7] The author of this paper has taken the liberty to directly translate all the Kiswahili quotations cited in the paper.
[8] The Youth Director at the Ministry responsible for Youth Development, Joyce Shaidi, is quoted by Kaanaeli Kaale (2004), as stating that the zonal review workshops that were conducted in 2004 considered gender representatives, disabled youths, and representatives from villages and urban areas. However, a zone that was made up of 5 regions had 200 participants whilst a zone that was made up of 4 or 3 regions had 130 participants.

offer a reasonable starting point. Although, in contrast to the revised youth policy's definition of youth as young men and women from the age of 15 to 35, it make use of the United Nations definition of youth as young men and women between the age of 15 and 24 that was used in the earlier youth policy, the survey has some interesting findings on youth priority demands. The study involved a total of 974 young people out of which 620 were females and 354 were males. All of them were no longer in full-time education. According to the report they were questioned on issues concerning their working lives and most pressing problems.

In the case of the latter it was found that about one third of the young people, that is, 35%, were unemployed. It was also found that overall 32% of the respondents consider their economic situations to have declined in the past three years, that is, since the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP/MKUKUTA) started in 2005. On the other hand, 26% of the respondents saw an improvement in their economic situation. As one would expect from these findings, the study reveals that finding work is a major concern for young people. The following table is adapted from the study so as to illustrate what out-of-school youth prioritize with respect to problem facing youth. Note, for instance, how water, which is bypassed by the youth policy, could be considered to be the fourth major problem in rural areas given that it is perceived so by 44% of the respondents in those areas. Also note how Dar-es-Salaam differs significantly with other areas in its youth's perceptions of access to land and agriculture inputs as a serious problem.

Problems facing Youth in Urban/Rural Tanzania				
Major/Serious Problems	Dar-es-Salaam	Other Urban	Rural	All
	%	%	%	%
Finding Work	63	67	61	63
Price of food and other basic goods	46	45	48	47
Poor working condition/low income	36	40	40	39
Condition of roads used most frequently	37	52	69	54
Obtaining credit/loan	41	47	51	47
Water for crops and livestock	8	26	44	27
Access to land and agriculture inputs	8	33	39	26

The strength of the *Views of the People 2007* in contrast to the views collected through the National Youth Development Policy review lies in its methodology. The former attempted to be representative on concretely defined statistically criteria whilst the latter attempted to be representative on vaguely

defined political criteria. The contrast underscores the need to adopt rigorous quantitative and qualitative research methods of enquiry into the situation of youth in Tanzania.

What Is The Youth Policy Offering?

Any national policy is primarily a social policy. And social policy, as Jimi O. Adesina (2007) and his colleagues have defined it, is the collective efforts geared toward affecting and protecting the social well-being of the people in a given territory. "Beyond immediate protection from social destitution", as they further asserts, "social policy might cover education and health care provision, habitat, food security, sanitation, guarantee some measure of labour market protection, and so on" (Adesina 2007: 1). These collective efforts do not spring up by chance or by mere wishful thinking. In fact, as Tade Akin Aina (2004) aptly notes, they are set of systematic and deliberate interventions in social life aimed at ensuring the satisfaction of basic needs and well-being of citizens. As such, social policy is also an "expression of socially desirable goals through legislation, institutions and administrative programs and practices in accordance with specific development objectives" (Aina 2004: 7).

Thus, as a social policy, the National Youth Development Policy of 2007 is meant to, first and foremost, promote and protect the social well-being of the youth of Tanzania. In this regard the policy has attempted to come up with the following policy statements that attempt to address the demands for the provision of two of the three key social services, namely, education and health:

- There shall be a mechanism to access opportunities in education; training and social security for youth with disability and those living in difficult circumstances.
- There shall be a mechanism to provide guidelines with a view of facilitating proper youth upbringing and development of youth talents.
- There shall be a mechanism to provide conducive environment for access to further studies.
- Vocational guidance and counselling shall be strengthened and entrepreneurial education shall be introduced in training and higher learning institutions in order to inculcate enterprise culture among the youth.
- The Government in collaboration with other development partners shall promote the establishment of youth friendly health services at all levels.
- The Government in collaboration with other stakeholder shall put a mechanism to coordinate the provision of reproductive health education to the youth as stipulated in the Reproductive Health Strategy, Education Policy and Family Life Education Programme.
- The Government shall continue to take stern measures to ensure that employers comply with laws and regulations regarding Occupation Health and Safety.
- The Government shall enforce laws and regulations regarding health and safety.
- Stakeholders such as NGOs and CBOs shall educate youth on protective measures.
- The Ministry responsible for youth development shall collaborate with local government, youth organizations and other stakeholders in developing programmes for the youth on prevention,

care, support and impact mitigation, as stipulated in the National Multi-sectoral HIV/AIDS Control Strategy.

The third key social service, that is water, is not addressed at all even though its limited access, especially in rural areas, has serious negative impacts on youth particularly those who are socially constructed and/or gendered to spend considerable time and energy to fetch water, that is, young women. This is particularly telling given that in affirming that youth development "is a cross-cutting issue, which require multi-sectoral approach for effective implementation", the policy projects itself as embracing Article 12 (a) of the African Youth Charter which states that the youth "policy shall be cross-sectoral in nature considering the inter-relatedness of the challenges facing young people." The absence of any reference to the water sector could be a result of the lack of a comprehensive analysis of the state of youth in Tanzania.

In regard to equal and equitable access to education and health the policy does not provide any analytical statement. This could be attributed to the fact that it is formulated within the neo-liberal policy framework which tend to emphasize the private model of cost sharing over and above the public model of social welfare provision. However, the policy attempts to address the issue of equity in accessing land even though, apart from stating that customary practices "discriminate young girls to own and even to inherit land", it does not offer a succinct analysis of why youth have limited access to land in the first place. Such analyses could inform its following policy statement's quest to address that limitation: "There shall be a promotion of equitable access to land and other resource allocation. Emphasis shall be put on rural youth and gender equity as stipulated in the Small and Medium Enterprise Policy, Rural Development Strategy and Women and Gender Development Policy." Neither does the policy statement nor its background analysis say anything about the Land Policy with respect to its impact on youth across the rural/urban divides or in relation to migration.

The policy also attempts to address the pressing demand for employment. Its policy statements are based on the assumption that the pattern of employment, underemployment and unemployment in the country "suggests the need to have integrated employment oriented development framework in key areas of agriculture and urban employment, information, labour intensive works, mining sector, natural resources and tourism infrastructure development, education and training and services" (United Republic of Tanzania 2007a: 3). They are also based on the government's non-statist strong emphasis on the role of the private sector as a job creator and development partners as the philanthropic financiers. The following is a sample of such statements from the policy booklets:

- The Government in collaboration with the private sector shall create an enabling environment for establishment of employment opportunities as stipulated in the National Employment Policy, Rural Development Strategy and Agricultural Development Policy.
- The Government in collaboration with private organizations, civil societies, youth organizations and business community shall promote the culture of entrepreneurship by creating enabling environment for youth enterprise development.
- There shall be measures to promote the informal sector as stipulated in the National Employment Policy, Small and Medium Enterprises Policy and other sectoral policies.
- The Government in collaboration with private sector shall create conducive environment for youth to settle in rural areas through improvement of social services, infrastructure and promote rural development as it is stipulated in policy of Rural development strategy [sic] and Agriculture Development Policy.
- There shall be a mechanism to solicit funds which will enhance adequate coordination with a view of having sustainable funds, to support youth in their income generating activities.
- There shall be a mechanism to develop and promote labour intensive infrastructure as stipulated in other sector policies such as the Rural Development Strategy and the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy.
- The government in collaboration with other stakeholders shall provide conducive environment for youth to participate effectively in agriculture.

The complaints about the lack of inclusive participation during the National Youth Development Policy review has been extended to the implementation of one of the policy statements, that of forming a National Youth Council. For instance, the Secretary General of TYVA, Michael J. Dalali (2007), draws attention to the struggles for representations at the meeting on the formation of the council that was called by the government on 23-25 July 2007. In a similar vein, the Women and Youth wing of an opposition party that has been monitoring closely the implementation of the National Youth Development Policy issued the following statement:

> Tunasikitika kubaini kuwa serikali imeanza mchakato wa siri wa kuunda baraza hili kiserikali, kisirisiri na kiupendeleo kwa kufanya maamuzi ya msingi kuhusu mchakato wa kuunda wa baraza hili bila ukizingatia ridhaa ya vijana wenyewe. [We regret to note that the government has started a shady process to form this council bureaucratically, secretively and on the basis of favouritims by making basic decisions about the process of forming it without the consent of the youth themselves] (CHADEMA: 1 June 2008)

These protracted struggles for political/policy space between the youth – especially those from civil society organizations and opposition political parties – and the state with respect to the development of a truly independent National Youth Council started even before the formulation of the National Youth Development Policy of 1996, let alone that of 2007, as the following quote indicates:

> Young people, including students joined together and formed a National Committee for Constitutional Reform (NCCR) to draft a multiparty Constitution in 1991. They requested the government to permit them to hold a national meeting on the Constitution. The government resisted

for several months and finally bowed after pressure from the donors. Multiparty politics were introduced in 1992. Meanwhile, the youth set out to form an independent Youth Council – Baraza la Vijana in 1993, which was resisted by the government, in favor of another organization under the umbrella of the Ministry of Labour and Youth. This was supposed to be an all youth organization regardless of political affiliation, ideologies and faith allegiances. The attempt to establish a nation-wide organization has been resisted by the government so far, and what exists are a multitude of organizations, mainly representing issue/identity based interests (Chachage Seithy L. Chachage 2006: 10)

Other issues that the policy addresses in its policy statements include: "Mechanism to prepare youths to meet obligations in society"; "Mechanism to involve the youth in the development, protection and conservation of the natural resources and environment"; "Access to Information Communication and Knowledge"; "Mechanism to regulate and monitor ill effects of the use of Information Communication Technology"; "Rights of Youth"; "Mechanism to protect acceptable cultural practices and promote the Tanzanian cultural values while at the same time protect the youth from harmful external cultural influences"; and so forth. All these issues need to be subjected to a serious review of their implications to the autonomy of youth, youth organizations and youth movements.[9]

What Should Youth Do Policywise?

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that youth demands a place at high level tables in the policy arena. But democracy, as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere told protesting youth from the University of Dar-es-Salaam who marched to petition their demands vis-à-vis the state, is sweet yet it is not handed on a silver platter. This necessitates a thoroughgoing and ongoing process of pushing the margins of the policy arena so as to widen the space for youth engagement. Such a process demands youth to come up with creative and imaginative ways of intervening in each of the key four stages of the policy cycle, namely, formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

One way of intervening is to shift the primary focus from formulation and implementation to the monitoring and evaluation stages. This is by no means intended to let policymakers and implementers off the hook so they can do whatever they want. Rather, it is an attempt to make them have a constant hard look at what they come up with. In a significant way this shift of emphasis will enhance formulation and implementation since the youth will constantly be on the toes of these policymakers and implementers when they, the youth, monitor and evaluate, on an ongoing basis,

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[9] Chachage Seithy L. Chachage (2006) analyses how the state tend to use bureaucratic measures to stifle youth movements. He observes that a "youth movement may appear when traditional institutions fail to meet their needs as an age group in society, and when a critical number of young people become aware of their common plight and feel something can be done to alleviate their problems" (p. 9). This says a lot about popular students protests in Tanzania.

policy statements with respect to what is happening on the ground. Such an advocacy strategy will bring to the fore untenable policy directives and thus render them obsolete. It will also publicize effectual policy directives and even create a space for sharpening the not so effective ones.

Since the budget cycle is part and parcel of the policy cycle, the youth could devise simple and practical mechanisms to monitor the execution of the budget of the Ministry responsible for Youth Development with respect to the implementation of its annual work plan. In this regard one could compare reports on the work done as submitted to the Parliament through the Minister's speech during the budget sessions. As an example, one could compare the following statements from the speeches delivered to the Parliament by the then Minister responsible for Youth Development, Captain John Chiligati, and the current Minister, Professor Juma Kapuya, on the Ministry's budget estimates for the financial year 2006/2007 and 2008/2009 respectively[10]:

> Mheshimiwa Naibu Spika… katika mwaka 2007/2008 Wizara yangu inatarajia kutekeleza yafuatayo kuhusu maendeleo ya vijana … (b) Kuandaa Mpango na Mkakati mpya wa utekelezaji wa Sera ya Taifa ya Maendeleo ya Vijana… [Honorable Deputy Speaker…In 2007/2008 My Ministry is planning to implement the following activities on youth development… (b) Formulate a new program and strategy for the implementation of the National Youth Development Policy] (Bunge la Tanzania – Majadiliano ya Bunge: Mkutano wa Kumi na Mbili – Kikao cha Ishirini na Saba: 3 August 2007: 34)[11]

> Mheshimiwa Naibu Spika… mwaka 2008/2009 … Wizara yangu …itatekeleza shughuli zifuatazo… (a) Kwa kushirikiana na wadau wa masuala ya vijana na vijana wenyewe utaandaliwa mkakati wa utekelezaji wa Sera ya Taifa ya Maendeleo ya Vijana na kuusambaza kwa walengwa na wadau wote…[Honorable Deputy Speaker… in 2008/2009…My Ministry…will implement the following activities… (a) In collaboration with stakeholders involved with youth issues and the youth themselves, a strategy for implementing the National Youth Development Policy will be formulated and disseminated to all stakeholders…] (Bunge la Tanzania – Majadiliano ya Bunge: Mkutano wa Nane – Kikao cha Thelathini na Nane: 18 July 2008: 35)

A cursory look at the two statements shows that an activity that was supposed to be implemented in the previous financial year was not implemented. A closer reading of the latter Hansard, in the section that outlines the activities that were implemented in 2007/2008, will reveal that no explanation whatsoever was given on why the activity was not implemented. It is these kinds of explanations that the youth, including those who are parliamentarians, need to demand when pushing for timely implementation of those aspects of the policy that are in line with youth demands. More

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[10] In the case of the former speech, the wording from the written speech that is available online in the Parliament website's cache differs slightly from those recorded in the Hansard. However, the content is the same. As of 25 August 2008 the latter speech had not yet been posted in the Parliament website.
[11] The Parliament of Tanzania is called Bunge la Tanzania in Kiswahili

significantly, these explanations need to be thoroughly scrutinized in terms of the budget implications of whatever the reasons that lead/led to the lack of – or delay in – implementation.

At the end of the day this process boils down to what is famously referred to as 'Follow the Money' in strategic advocacy circles, that is, monitor each and every cent/shilling from the place and time it is budgeted to the time and place it is sent so as to be used in the final place. In other words, each and every youth ought to know the basic flow and the audit of whatever moneys that have been allocated for his/her development in each and every instance of the budget-cum-policy cycle. Throughout this budget process access to timely public information is the key for unlocking the policy cycle.

Conclusion

The paper has revealed that the quest to quickly come up with a new National Youth Development Policy has resulted into a policy that is not thoroughly informed by what the youth on the ground really demands. Even where it attempts to outline these demands the new policy does not adequately articulate the priority demands. Arguably, Tanzania hurriedly transformed itself into what has been referred to as a veritable policy factory as a response to global pressures to go with the times – the days and times of globalization. This fear of being left behind is what has informed yet another patchy process of revising the policy without carrying out a thorough country situation analysis.

This situation calls for a constant follow-up on the implementation of key functions of the Ministry responsible for Youth Development as stipulated in the policy. Of particular interest here are the functions of dialoguing "with young people and other stakeholders to identify youth problems and address the needs or expectations of youth"; formulating "youth strategic plans and development programmes in the context of macroeconomic and political reforms, which the Government is pursuing to develop youth in our society"; and reviewing "youth development policies in a participatory approach through consultation with youth themselves and other stakeholders involved in youth issues." All this amounts to independent monitoring and evaluation of the formulation and implementation of the National Youth Development Policy as reviewed from time to time.

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