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Youth and Social Development
An Integrated Approach for Social Inclusion

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PREFACE

This report is about investing in the youth of Trinidad and Tobago, especially those at greatest developmental risk, which is important for building social and human capital and improving the country's economic situation in the future. It builds upon and complements previous World Bank economic and sector work in the country, which focused on the financing of education (14628-TR, June 28, 1995), poverty and unemployment (14382-TR, October 27, 1995) and public sector reform (15187-TR, June 28, 1996).

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADP	Adolescent Development Program
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CPO	Chief Probation Officer
CXC	Caribbean Examination Council
ECCD	Early Childhood Care and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
KAP	Knowledge-Attitudes-Practices Survey
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LMIS	Labor Market Information System
NADAPP	National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Program
NGC	National Gas Company
NAP	National Apprenticeship Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTA	National Training Agency
OAP	Old Age Pensions Program
PA	Public Assistance Program
SBDC	Small Business Development Corporation
SERVOL	Service Volunteered for All
SHARE	Social Help and Rehabilitation Efforts
SLC	Survey of Living Conditions
SIP	School Improvement Project
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
UNIGEM	United Nations Geoguthic Movement
URP	Unemployment Relief Program
UWI	University of West Indies
YDAC	Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers
YESS	Youth Enterprise Support System
YMCA	Young Men Christian Association
YTC	Youth Training Center
YTEPP	Youth Training and Employment Partnership Project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. In recent years Trinidad and Tobago has experienced increasing social problems relating to its youth population despite the economy's improved performance. A major preoccupation of the government is to understand the causes behind this situation and how to overcome them. The overall goal of this report is to help in this task and establish the basis for interventions that would lead to improved youth development. The specific objectives of this work, which also frame the analysis, are to (i) uncover and analyze key issues facing the country's youth, (ii) explore a rationale for investing in youth development activities, (iii) review current services for youth, (iv) examine the existing and proposed policy and legislation relating to youth and capacity for its implementation, and (v) propose interventions to reduce the risks faced by youths and increase the potential for social and human capital development.

2. This report highlights the two principal exclusionary factors that contribute to increasing conditions of risk for youth in Trinidad and Tobago: (i) restricted access to the secondary education system, which leaves out about one third of the school-aged population, and (ii) the high level of unemployment, which reaches 30 percent for the 15-19 cohort, compared to 14 percent for the rest of the population. In addition, poverty, reduced family care, and exposure to youth protective services and the judicial system pose developmental risks that may contribute to negative outcomes such as youth involvement in crime and drug culture, early sexual activity and pregnancy. The report demonstrates that investments in youth services would help reduce these existing barriers and bring substantial economic and social returns for the individual and for society. The government of Trinidad and Tobago has made progress in addressing these issues, including laying the groundwork for education reform, rationalization of training programs, and improvements in youth and family services. However, these measures – especially secondary education reform, the most important aspect of risk reduction for youth – will require several years to implement. In the interim, a "transitional strategy" consisting of an integrated set of interventions, policy and legislation would be necessary to reduce risk among youths and promote their inclusion in the country's development process.

A Situational Analysis of Youth

3. Trinidad and Tobago has approximately 400,000 youths, ages 10-24 that account for about 30% of the population. The main concern of this report is young people at risk of exclusion from the social and economic development of the country who encounter substantial challenges in the traditional venues of socialization, principally, the family, community, school and workplace. This report applies a conceptual framework that takes into account these multiple dimensions affecting their lives and argues for an integrated approach to youth development. The framework identifies behaviors and conditions relating to at-risk youth in terms of their source or causality and level of risk. It relates risk antecedents (such as poverty, low self-esteem, and poor neighborhood environment) to individual, social, institutional and structural factors and shows how they can develop

into risk markers (such as poor school performance and conflict within the family), high-risk behavior (such as drug use and early sexual activity) and negative outcomes (such as dropout and involvement in youth crime). It indicates that, in addition to remedial interventions, efforts will be necessary to handle the underlying conditions that generate risk.

4. The situational analysis reveals that many youths in Trinidad and Tobago suffer from limited access to the country's social and economic resources. Young people experience poverty to a greater extent than other population groups, and poor youths on average belong to larger families. Changes in family composition and, at times, migration have contributed to reduced material and/or emotional support for youths within the family. Despite the absence of a national case reporting system, there is increasing evidence on domestic violence and child abuse, both of which are associated with negative youth outcomes later in life. In some cases families have relinquished their childcare responsibilities altogether, and their children live in government-supported institutions and community-care facilities that present their own developmental risk factors. Like in many parts of the world, the youths of poor urban neighborhoods in Trinidad and Tobago face multiple challenges due to the characteristics of the environment in which they live – government surveys in several communities have shown a high degree of marginalization, defined in terms of exclusion from the social and economic development and lack of an organized voice.

5. As they grow older, youths come up against two persistent sources of exclusion: restricted access to secondary school and limited employment opportunities. On the transition to secondary education, a substantial proportion fall behind academically, and about one third are left out of the system altogether. Youth of African descent are particularly vulnerable in this regard. High dropout rates among those aged 15-17 compound this situation, leading to poor overall secondary school completion rates, with estimates as low as 45 percent. Incomplete schooling often implies premature entry into the labor market with unsatisfactory results. Youths who have not completed secondary education face inferior job prospects, lower lifetime earnings, and greater likelihood of under- and unemployment. While this is common worldwide, the large proportion of youth entering the labor market with low levels of qualifications in Trinidad and Tobago exacerbates this situation, contributing to a youth unemployment (15-19) rate of over 30 percent, double the overall rate.

6. These restrictions on adolescents' prospects for the future contribute to higher manifestations of risk behavior and associated outcomes, such as teenage pregnancy and youth crime. Although fertility in the population as a whole, and among young women in general, in Trinidad and Tobago has been on the decline, certain risk groups demonstrate continued early sexual initiation and pregnancy. The fertility rate in the 15-19 age group in Port of Spain was 89/1,000 in 1995, up from 72 in 1990. Young girls experiencing early pregnancy and childbearing normally possess a set of common antecedents, such as low socioeconomic status and education levels, poor self esteem and a history of abuse. They also face several health-related and socioeconomic consequences. Adolescent girls suffer more pregnancy and delivery complications than slightly older women, and early

sexual activity creates increased risk for transfer of sexually transmitted diseases, of which HIV/AIDS is of greatest concern. In terms of youth crime, the rate of juvenile offenses (under age 16) has held fairly constant, but there is evidence that youths between 16 and 25 years are responsible for a significant portion of the overall burden of crime both in terms of the number and severity of cases. Increased drug trafficking has influenced the nature of youth crime and stimulated higher rates of drug use and abuse among the young segment of the population.

Investing in Youth

7. The social and economic costs associated with at-risk behavior in Trinidad and Tobago are high and often exceed the cost of preventive and remedial interventions. The analysis focused on three at-risk behavior or outcomes with broad social implications for which enough information was available to make economic assessments – youth crime, school dropout and exclusion from education. The results provide a strong rationale for investing in both preventive and remedial interventions for at-risk groups.

8. Youth engaged in criminal activity are often secondary school dropouts. When they commit a crime, society pays not only for its costs but also for the investment already made on a few years of education that will not provide the expected benefits. The approximate cost of a secondary school dropout who gets involved in crime, measured through lost earnings (as compared to those of a secondary school graduate) and cost of crime are approximated at TT$ 436,000 (1992 TT$) per dropout, in nominal terms. The range of present value lifetime earnings for the secondary school dropout who gets involved in crime is TT$ 357,886 to TT$ 59,237, depending on the discount rate, even lower than for the individual who has not received any educational degree (TT$ 362,106 to TT$ 111,517). In fact, social returns on such an investment are negative, and such youths represent a very high cost to society.

9. Evidence on rates of return, earnings differentials and lifetime earnings resulting from education point to the importance of expanding secondary education opportunities and helping youths to stay in school. Each additional year of schooling increases earnings by approximately 15 percent for both men and women, which is fairly high in international comparison. The monthly wages of males with complete secondary and university education, respectively, were 1.25 and three times that of males with only primary school education, with very similar results for females. Secondary school dropouts represent an inefficient investment of resources in comparison to primary school graduates because (i) the cost to society of educating these dropouts for several years in the secondary stream is higher than the cost of just primary education, and (ii) the earnings of secondary school dropouts are almost equivalent to those of youths who complete primary school. The cost of a secondary school dropout in comparison to a graduate, measured through lost earnings and the cost of education, were approximately TT$ 316,000 in nominal terms.

10. The costs of youth crime and secondary school dropout, in addition to the high earnings returns to education in Trinidad and Tobago, provide strong arguments for

investing in interventions to reach at-risk youth. If they are well targeted and inexpensive, special projects would be worth the expenditure, increasing the value of existing investments in human capital that at times do not currently bring full benefits, as in the case of secondary school dropout (and even more with youth crime). Such interventions not only bring large private returns, in the form of increased individual earnings, but also significant social returns, through preserving public investment in education, reducing the costs of crime, and generating positive externalities through higher lifetime earnings (for example, greater economic activity). Although data was not available to facilitate the calculation of costs related to other behaviors and outcomes such as early pregnancy, as was the case with youth crime, the results are likely comparable because, in addition to direct costs (for example, medical care and child care), the outcomes are also often associated with school dropout and its costs. The same is likely to be the case with youths who are exposed to less severe risk antecedents such as residence in poor neighborhoods, having an abusive family, and unemployment, especially since these factors are related to one another.

Youth Development Services

11. To address the challenges of youth development, the government, private voluntary organizations and, to some extent, the business sector have been involved in a wide range of activities focusing on different issues. For the most part, these address individual concerns, for example, unemployment or teenage pregnancy, but use common tools like counseling, skills development or recreation to accomplish their objectives. There is no integrated approach to make these interventions more effective or less costly. In this context, the analysis of the system of youth services reviews the range of available services from a system-wide perspective, rather than focusing on the assessment of individual interventions. This reveals opportunities for potential reform and relative service gaps that merit more attention. The areas covered include: education reform, safety net programs, training, sport and culture, family services and special programs for at-risk groups.

12. ***Education Reform.*** The government is undertaking reform in basic and secondary education that should help address problems regarding access, quality and equity. The Basic Education Project, partially financed by the World Bank, stresses increasing access and quality in the early childhood care and development (ECCD) system and primary education. ECCD coverage of children aged 2-4 will rise from 37.5 percent to 55 percent during the period of project execution, which is a considerable expansion but also reveals the remaining significant shortage of ECCD opportunities. The same project is also supporting the increase in capacity of over 10,000 spaces at the primary education level and measures to improve quality, including human resource training, curriculum strengthening, provision of books and instructional materials, and a fund for small pedagogic projects. A comprehensive reform of the secondary education system, with support from the Inter-American Development Bank, will aim to create universal access, convert double-shifted schools to single shifts, extend the amount of time spent in the classroom, and employ a new standard 5-year curriculum. Still, during the reform period, a significant number of adolescents will remain outside the educational

system due to the lag time needed to increase capacity and promote better transition rates from primary to secondary education. The plans for reform do not appear to consider the needs of these youths for remedial education and integration into the system.

13. As in many other societies, youth in Trinidad and Tobago experience higher levels of poverty and vulnerability in relation to other age groups and constitute the bulk of the poor. Young adults earn less and experience higher unemployment in general, and, for young women, who tend to be disproportionately poor, the addition of children can further strain resources and increase poverty. In this context, ***safety net programs*** can play a major role in alleviating poverty for the young. The report argues for the more effective targeting of the Old Age Pension program, which currently covers over 80% of the population over 65 years, towards poor households, which are often multigenerational. The Public Assistance Program demonstrates some inefficiencies, such as lax application of eligibility criteria and duplication of benefits, which result in disincentive to pressure the labor market, and with improved targeting could be expanded to include poor, male-headed households with children. Certain features of programs such as the Social Help and Rehabilitative Efforts (SHARE), which provide in-kind transfers and rely on community and NGO involvement in rehabilitative activities, deserve closer study – they have allowed families to send their children to school and redirect limited resources to other needs while attempting to address the underlying determinants of the families' poverty. The Civilian Conservation Corps is a public-works style safety net program for youths that has recently undergone changes that threaten its viability, however, it may be useful to continue such a program in the short run, since it successfully reached the most vulnerable groups (with low education levels and socioeconomic status).

14. ***Training and Skills Development.*** The public sector is currently reevaluating its youth training efforts and partially shifting its role from that of a direct provider to facilitator and regulator through the newly-formed National Training Agency (NTA). The NTA will be responsible for coordinating and maintaining quality control of the wide array of training, skills and personal development activities created over the years by the government, voluntary and private institutions to counteract the shortcomings of the education system. There are several large youth training and employment programs (YTEPs) in Trinidad and Tobago that together reach around 15,000 youths annually at a total cost of some TT$50m. The most important ones include the Youth Training and Employment Partnership Program (YTEPP), a limited liability company established and funded by government and partially financed by a World Bank loan for several years; the Junior Life Centers, Adolescent Development Community Life Centers, Skill Training Centers and Hi-Tech Centers operated by the NGO Service Volunteered for All (SERVOL); and, the Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers (YDACs) (former youth camps), run by the Ministry of Social and Community Development. Some of the training offered in the private sector is profit-oriented, small scale and non-regulated by the government. Over 500 institutions are registered with the Ministry of Education as providers of technical and vocational training, but few have been through any process of accreditation or validation, making quality an issue of concern. Large companies also

provide skills training to improve the human resources base for their respective industries.

15. *Effectiveness of Training.* The limited evidence from evaluations (mainly on YTEPP and SERVOL) indicates that training is generally useful but meets the demands of the market only to a certain degree. Some indicators of YTEPP's success include: requests from private sector industrial and business employers as well as state agencies and NGOs for the customization of its integrated training package, high participation by vulnerable groups, and strong demand by clients. Several tracer studies have demonstrated positive effects of YTEPP participation on beneficiary employment rates, earnings, rates of self-employment, labor force participation, pursuit of further studies, literacy and numeracy, and character (for example, motivation and attitude). SERVOL graduates have also fared well, with studies showing 41% fully employed, 27% employed part-time and 2% self-employed.

16. *Thematic Issues in the Youth Training Field.* The youth training and employment assistance field is currently undergoing extensive change and will have to face both new and long-standing challenges. The government has already taken significant steps by establishing the National Training Agency (NTA), which has the general mission of guiding reform of the sector, and initiating the restructuring of the YDAC system. It will be important for the government and NTA to approach the following main issues from an integrated perspective: (i) inadequate supply of services relative to demand, (ii) reorientation of public programs, (iii) a new role as a facilitator and regulator, (iv) new sources of financing, (v) market demand for training, (vi) improvement of business and micro-entrepreneurial training, and the (vii) creation of evaluation mechanisms.

17. ***Sport and Youth Activities.*** As in many countries, youth-serving organizations in Trinidad and Tobago have relied on sports as well as recreational and cultural activities to engage youths and promote positive behaviors. Both the government – through the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Social and Community Development – and the private and voluntary sectors have supported these types of initiatives, and although they succeed to some extent in occupying youth's idle time and contribute to socialization, they have limited potential to transfer useful skills. In this regard, the organizations could take greater advantage of the ability of sports and culture to attract at-risk youths by creating links to other services (for example, alternative education and skills training). Six youth centers operated by the Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs to promote youth leadership in poor neighborhoods provide an opportunity to try such an approach.

18. ***Family and Youth Services.*** The government operates or supports services for youths who lack an appropriate family care environment or who have come into conflict with the law. In addition to institutional care, which is relatively expensive, the government has created mechanisms such as non-material family support and probation to allow the youths to remain within their families when possible. However, the former type of intervention (institutionalization) has historically suffered a variety of limitations – lack of qualified personnel, stigmatization of beneficiaries and difficult reintegration in

the community, little family involvement, inadequate accommodation arrangements, and high costs – and the latter type of service (family support and probation) is severely restricted in scope. The effectiveness of these services in the future will depend on (i) the reform of the institutional care system, (ii) allocation of sufficient financial and human resources and institution-building for the family services and probations divisions, and (iii) clearer definition of institutional roles during the process of adopting new legislation toward youth services.

19. ***Programs for Specific Risk Groups.*** Different conditions of risk among adolescents (for example, school failure, adolescent pregnancy, drug abuse, institutionalization because of delinquency, etc.) appear to be related to each other and to an underlying set of antecedents; however, aside from ECCD services and orientation regarding good parenting provided by NGOs, there are few mechanisms of detecting and preventing risk behavior as the child advances through primary education and into adolescence. Although the youth employment training programs have the general goal of keeping youth out of trouble, they offer little concrete in the way of targeting specific risk behavior. Other specialized preventive efforts tend to concentrate on single risk factors, as do rehabilitative projects for older children and adolescents: (i) NGOs have been the main force behind the implementation of interventions in early pregnancy; (ii) the government has been active in combating drug use through the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Program; and, (iii) "street children" are the focus of a variety of small-scale projects operated by NGOs (sometimes with government support).

Policy and Legal Context and Institutional Capacity

20. The government's efforts to shift its role from service provider to facilitator and regulator and achieve greater decentralization, cost-effectiveness, and stronger partnerships will likely produce an improved environment for the implementation of youth policy and legislation. However, three broad issues will merit special attention for this process to succeed. First, the public service delivery structure is extensive but inefficient. Second, although government has already cooperated at length with civil society organizations and the business community, it could do this on a more systematic basis. Third, a wide array of government-appointed commissions have presented analysis and recommendations on specific topics in youth development that have resulted in little concrete action.

21. Trinidad and Tobago is ahead of many other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America on youth policy, family law and on its commitment to abide by international law, as manifested by the ratification of international treaties and conventions, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child. However, the government needs to address several problems in the current legislation and legal structure, including: (i) provisions for youths aged 16-17, who end up grouped with younger children in the industrial schools or even with youths over age 18 in the Youth Training Center, both situations that present the possibility of older youths having a detrimental influence on younger ones; (ii) contravention of the Convention of the Rights of the Child regarding corporal punishment; and (iii) the absence of a family court, which has contributed to delays in

case processing, placement of youths on remand for months at a time, grouping of youths on remand with those who have committed serious crimes, and inadequate provision of legal services for children and families. Proposed new legislation on a Children's Authority, community and foster care, a family court, adoption, and amendment to certain laws affecting children address some of these issues. However, without appropriate measures to increase the capacity of institutions responsible for putting the legislation into practice, its effectiveness will remain limited. The Government is also preparing a national youth policy under the coordination of the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs, but in comparison to the current draft, a more focused policy, with a clear emphasis on at-risk youth, would be easier to execute and would likely have greater benefits.

22. The implementation of new legislation and the youth policy will call for enhanced institutional capacity and adequate allocation of human and financial resources. The proposed legislation would position the government as a supervisor and facilitator and create an environment for improved and increased private and voluntary sector service provision, but resources will still be necessary to establish the new institutional structures. Similarly, the introduction of new roles and responsibilities for several existing thinly-staffed government divisions (for example, the Family Services Division) will also help government achieve its goals but will demand appropriate capacity building. In this regard there is urgent need for institutional assessment and planning from the onset that can quantify the required inputs.

Conclusions and Program and Policy Options

23. This report shows that investing in youth would bring significant social and economic benefits. As early as the 1970s, observers within and outside the country identified two major obstacles to youth development that leave around a third of youth at risk of poor outcomes: (i) restricted access to education beyond primary level and (ii) lack of employment opportunities for those with low labor market qualifications. These factors, in combination with poverty and deficient neighborhood environments, generate risks for youth involvement in crime, the drug trade and drug use, and early sexual activity and pregnancy. Other widely recognized factors contributing to these negative outcomes are reduced family care, partly as a result of changing family structure or migration, abuse, parents' abdication of childcare responsibilities, and, ultimately, the intersection of youths with the judicial system and protective services, including institutional and community care facilities. These issues have preoccupied many governments, but at the onset of the twenty-first century, they persist.

24. Trinidad and Tobago has taken important steps to deal with youth issues and is currently well positioned to progress further. The government has begun to prepare a national youth policy and legislation to improve youth services and has already initiated education reform, rationalization of skills training programs, and movement from direct service provision to the regulation and facilitation of voluntary and private sector service delivery in areas such as training and youth protective services. It could complement these efforts with additional strategies, including sponsoring special programs to reach

youths at highest risk of experiencing poor outcomes, taking advantage of the attractiveness sport and culture to direct youths toward education and training initiatives, and reforming safety net programs to better benefit poor families with children. The recommendations of this report set out a strategy that would combine such efforts to make long-term improvements regarding the situation of youth in the country.

25. ***A "Youth-Centered" Transitional Strategy***. The expansion of the educational system to meet the demand of a growing secondary school population may take several years. In the meantime, interim measures would be needed to help reduce negative outcomes among youths excluded from the education system and at-risk youths within school. Therefore, this report proposes a "transitional strategy" involving a coordinated set of interventions, policies and legislation, all of which could be reflected in the finalization of the national youth policy. Its implementation would require the combined efforts of the public, private and voluntary sectors at the local and national levels and the involvement of the local communities. The expected long-term impacts, assuming adequate progress in education reform, include higher school enrollment and better completion rates, improved skills competency and labor market outcomes, reduced risk behavior and its consequences, such as crime and violence, and increased social capital. Some components of the approach presented below, such as retention of at-risk youth in school through after school activities, would likely be relevant even after the effective application of the transitional strategy.

26. The "transitional strategy" would have the following key objectives:

- ***Facilitate access to schooling and retention of youth at-risk in school*** by creating complementary mechanisms during the transitional period of education reform. Several options from international experience may be applicable to Trinidad and Tobago: developing ways to identify at-risk youth; increasing the use of demand-side mechanisms; adapting and piloting the "full-service community schools" model; promoting a positive "youth culture" in school through after-school activities; and piloting learning modules to enrich the curriculum.
- ***Reach youths outside of school with additional educational options*** by expanding the network of Youth Development Centers in poor areas and supporting the development of alternative and remedial education programs normally offered by non-governmental organizations.
- ***Improve the delivery and quality of training and its relevance to the market*** by strengthening government regulation and promoting private and voluntary sector service provision. Additional issues of importance in the reform include (i) improvement of micro-entrepreneurial training and support mechanisms (for example, credit and technical assistance), (ii) revitalization of apprenticeship and job placement services, and (iii) implementation of program monitoring and evaluation.
- ***Adopt appropriate policy and legislation*** regarding the monitoring and regulation of youth and family services, ***reform the institutional care system*** while strengthening alternatives including community-based care and family and youth outreach services, and ***reform safety net programs*** to better direct poverty alleviation toward children.

- ***Establish the institutional infrastructure*** necessary to promote an integrated approach to youth development and ***implement the transitional strategy*** by establishing a National Youth Development Council and a "Youth Development Fund." The role of the council would be to coordinate the various actors involved, monitor actions and ensure broad-based participation, and the fund would help guarantee a secure financing mechanism.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1. ***Objectives.*** In the past decade, Trinidad and Tobago has seen a rise in social problems and risk behaviors and the persistence of poverty and unemployment in its youth population despite the country's improved economic performance. One of the government's major preoccupations is to understand this situation and find possible ways to improve it. The overall goal of this report is to assist in this process and provide inputs useful in developing an integrated youth development strategy, including: (i) a situational analysis of the social and economic characteristics of youth within a framework that accounts for various sources and levels of risk to positive development, (ii) an estimation of the costs to the individual and society of high-risk behaviors, (iii) an assessment of existing youth services and service-providing organizations, (iv) a critical review of the policy and legislation related to youth and capacity for its implementation, and (v) presentation of a "transitional" strategy for youth development to help the country improve the situation of "at-risk" youth while necessary reforms occur (such as the modernization of the education system).

2. ***Content and Structure.*** This report presents a comprehensive analysis of the main challenges in youth development and proposes ways to address them and build human and social capital. The report has six parts. Chapter 1 provides background information and the context for the analysis. Chapter 2 presents a conceptual framework and a situation analysis of youth, with special focus on vulnerable groups. Chapter 3 assesses the costs of selected youth risk behaviors and develops a rationale for investing in at-risk youth. Chapter 4 discusses the current array of services for youths and issues in their provision in the areas of education reform, training, safety net policies, sport and culture, and family and youth services. Chapter 5 reviews the policy, legal and institutional issues pertaining to youth. The report ends in Chapter 6 with conclusions and recommendations for an integrated approach to youth development, improving existing programs, adopting appropriate policies and introducing effective means of implementation.

3. ***Expected Impact.*** This report will serve as a reference for the government in its efforts to introduce an integrated approach to youth development. This would involve making strategic choices on financial and human resources allocations, achieving greater efficiencies in the implementation of current programs and policies and defining priority areas for investments and policy formulation for which the Bank or other donors can offer support. More specifically, it would entail government action to: (i) ensure the speedier implementation of its education modernization program, which is the most important mechanism of inclusion to reduce the numbers of at-risk youths; (ii) adopt interventions to reach vulnerable youths already outside the education and training systems; (iii) reinforce its strategic priorities in terms of reducing inefficiencies through restructuring of programs and activities, strengthening its regulatory role, and promoting the involvement of the private and voluntary sectors in the implementation of youth development activities; and, (iv) establish appropriate policy, legislation, institutional

capacity, and supervisory mechanism for the implementation of an integrated youth development program.

4. ***Participatory Approach***. This analysis is the product of collaborative work with the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, non-governmental organizations, international donors, The University of the West Indies (St. Augustine Campus) and the country's youth. In April of 1998, the World Bank sent an exploratory mission to look at youth development activities and join the national dialogue on youth, as suggested by the government. It sponsored a two-day *Forum on Youth Development in Trinidad and Tobago* in July 1998, in which representatives from four Ministries, 13 NGOs and several private sector entities reached consensus on the main issues in youth development in the country and promising interventions. The missions and forum reports served as inputs for the Country Assistance Strategy and provided the basis for a concept paper for the present Analytical and Advisory Activities, which was formally presented in April 1999. The main mission for this work was completed at the end of September 1999.[1]

5. ***Audiences***. The main intended audience for this report is the government of Trinidad and Tobago – specifically the Ministries involved in poverty reduction, education, skills training, youth development and social protection (including youth welfare and protective services) – civil society organizations and private sector entities involved in youth and social development. Given the similarity of issues faced by other Caribbean countries, the report may be of interest to the same groups in this wider context. Some content, especially the broader principles and analytical framework, could be applicable in other areas of the world.

6. ***Data and Methods***. Lack of current data, especially regarding indicators of youth risk behavior, was a major problem. Informal documents and interviews with service providers supplied much of the information on which the report is based. The report also relied on the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions and additional data from the Central Statistics Office. Although the government has conducted a more recent survey (1997) financed by the World Bank, the data has not been processed and was unavailable to the mission team. The reliability of the conclusions of this report, however, derives from triangulation (confirmation from different sources) in the information gathering. The mission team expects that the 1997 survey data will corroborate its findings. Future programmatic decisions will need to be based on these new data to ensure the appropriate scope and targeting of the interventions.

7. ***Political, Economic and Social Context.*** Since political independence in 1962, the citizens of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago have enjoyed a relatively high

[1] Drs. Lucy Gabriel, Hazel Manning and Ramesh Deosaran organized the workshop and Maria Donoso Clark, Graham Graves, Ian Mac Arthur, Raj Nalari and Anthony Whitehead facilitated the proceedings. Furthermore, two primary research projects, a study on Gender Dimensions of Youth in Trinidad and Tobago prepared by Prof. Ronald Marshall and organized by Santhadevi Meenakshy and a Participatory Assessment using information technology co-sponsored by CISCO Systems, Inc., and with NGO involvement, were undertaken to give voice to youths throughout the country and provide inputs on the possible use of technology as a mechanism for inclusion. This report also benefited from background reports by Professor Ramesh Deosaran and Victor Ibabao.

standard of living in comparison to other countries in the Caribbean and Latin America. The country has benefited from rich supplies of oil and gas, although the economy's dependence on these natural resources has had mixed effects on the welfare of the population. During the oil boom, the government used its revenue to create a system of social services of reasonable quality and coverage, including an extensive social safety net. The traditional social and economic indicators demonstrated good performance. A high per capita GDP and low income inequality reflected the healthy economy and mechanisms of wealth distribution.

8. During the 1980s, the period of sustained economic growth dropped off with the oil crisis, and the country witnessed the drawbacks of its over-reliance on oil. Per capita income declined dramatically, unemployment rose, the government cut back spending on social services, and poverty and crime rates increased along with social unrest, the most notable manifestation of which was the attempted "coup" and extensive rioting and looting in Port of Spain in 1990, in which youth played a major role.

9. In this context, the country's youth began to command renewed attention both because of the special way in which the crisis affected them and their perceived role in social transformation. The challenges facing youth today are broadly the same as those of the early 1990s, of which the most significant are restricted access to education beyond the primary level and lack of employment opportunities for youths with low labor market qualifications. Around a third of secondary-school aged students are still denied access to government schools, and unemployment among those aged 15-19 continues to hover around 30 percent despite the recent economic upturn.

10. Exclusion from education and employment opportunities, in combination with poverty and deficient neighborhood environments, leads to youth risk behavior and its associated outcomes, including crime, the drug trade and drug use, early sexual activity and pregnancy. The changing nature of community, a by-product of internal and external migration, the decline of institutions that served as pillars for community action, and the rise of alternative forms of socialization has compounded this situation. Other increasingly recognized risk antecedents are reduced family care (partly as a result of changing family structure), abuse, families' failure to exercise childcare responsibilities, and, finally, the youths' encounters with the inadequate judicial and protective services systems (including institutional and community care facilities).

11. ***Government Approach***. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has set forth several initiatives to address youth issues over the next few years. It has begun preparation of a national youth policy and has drafted legislation that will create institutional and judicial structures to monitor youth services and better handle legal issues relating to youths. Other ways in which it plans to improve youth development involve education reform, rationalization of skills training programs, strengthening family and youth services (for example, foster care and institutional and community-based residential programs). Additional areas of activity where government can build on previous experience relate to reforming safety net programs to better benefit poor families with children, taking advantage of the attractiveness sport and culture to direct

youths toward education and training initiatives, and sponsoring special programs to reach the groups of youth at highest risk of poor outcomes (dropout, drug use, early pregnancy and criminal activity). Strategies inherent to these efforts are (i) shifting the role of the government from that of a service provider to one of facilitator and regulator, (ii) promoting private and voluntary sector service delivery, decentralization and community-based activities, (iii) reducing inefficiencies through restructuring of certain programs, and (iv) building the necessary institutional capacity.

12. The implementation of these policies, legislation and interventions imply the appropriate allocation of human and financial resources to meet institutional requirements, especially in the short term. However, a strong rationale for supporting effective initiatives in youth development hinges on the high social and individual costs of negative outcomes (for example, youth crime and school dropout) and reduced earnings associated with exclusion from secondary education. Investments now will also help bridge the gap until the expansion and quality-improvements measures in secondary education begin to benefit (i) youths excluded from the system and (ii) at-risk youths within it, who are susceptible to dropout and related outcomes. Since this will take several years, a transitional strategy would assist in attending to the youths currently at risk. This approach, which resulted from the analysis undertaken for the report, is the central theme of the report.

CHAPTER 2
A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF YOUTH

13. The main concern of this report is youth-at-risk. These are youth who face exceptional challenges in the traditional venues of socialization, principally, the family, community, school and workplace. Trinidad and Tobago has approximately 400,000 youths, ages 10-24 which account for about 30% of the population.[2] A situational analysis reveals that many youths in Trinidad and Tobago are excluded from the country's social and economic development and live in poverty and neighborhood environments with few resources. A large number of children experience abuse and neglect, and some lose family support altogether, ending up as wards of the State in the child protective services system. These factors are compounded by an education system that limits access and a labor market that offers limited employment opportunities. These restrictions on adolescents' prospects for the future contribute to higher manifestations of risk behavior and associated outcomes, such as youth crime, often involving drug trafficking and drug use, early sexual initiation and teenage pregnancy.

14. In reviewing these issues, this chapter applies a conceptual framework that integrates the multiple dimensions that affect young people – namely family, community and institutions. The approach focuses on key antecedents of risk such as living in poverty, dysfunctional families, and neighborhoods without resources, which are often associated with at-risk behavior among youth (Burt et al. 1998). Although the causal mechanisms in the relationship between risk and outcome are not fully understood, the presence of many of these variables have proven to be good predictors of negative outcomes. Furthermore, difficulties in one area often carry over into the others. For example, abuse within the family may bear detrimental effects on a youth's academic performance. Youths with little education are less prepared to take advantage of training and income generation and labor market opportunities. In this regard, the framework allows for the identification of system markers of risk, which can facilitate planning for appropriate interventions.

A Risk Framework for Youth Development

15. Historically, research and policy dealing with youth issues have focussed mainly on negative outcomes of individuals, but this perspective has changed to incorporate the broader context of youth development at the social, institutional and structural levels. The focus on single issues such as school dropout, youth crime, and early pregnancy led to separate interventions that intended primarily to avoid repetition of the event, but in treating the symptoms, they left the causes unattended. More recently, research has

[2]

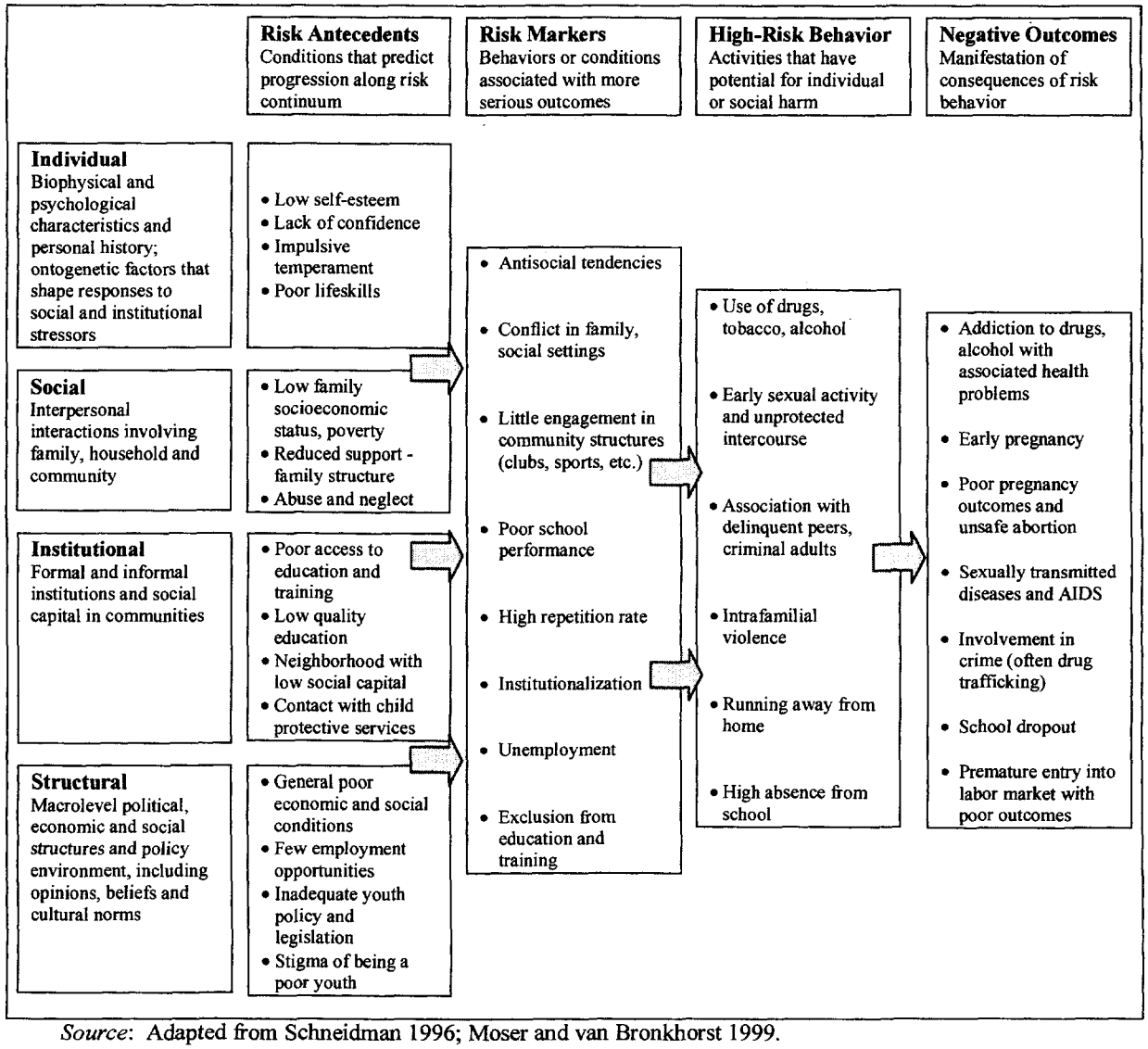
Breakdown of Youth Population, by Age Group

	Males	Females	Total
10-14 years	68,000	54,000	122,000
15-19 years	72,000	67,000	139,000
20-24 years	61,000	70,000	131,000

shown that a series of antecedents and behaviors underlies the negative outcomes, which are also often interrelated. Therefore, this report uses a conceptual framework for analyzing the situation of at-risk youth that takes account of various conditions that enter a continuum of risk for negative outcomes (Figure 2.1).

16. The framework maps out behaviors and conditions relating to at-risk youth in terms of their source or causality and level of risk. It relates risk antecedents to individual, social (interpersonal), institutional and structural factors and shows how they can develop into risk markers, high-risk behavior and its ultimate manifestations. In terms of interventions, it indicates that, in addition to remedial efforts, it will also be important to deal with the common conditions that generate risk.

Figure 2.1: A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing the Situation of At-Risk Youth



Source: Adapted from Schneidman 1996; Moser and van Bronkhorst 1999.

17. Based on the predominance of these antecedents, youth are situated in categories of *low, medium and high risk.* This analysis focuses primarily on the needs of medium and high risk groups. At-risk youth are those from lower to middle income groups who often live in non-nuclear family households, drop out of secondary school and end up attending school training programs. Many initiate sexual activity at an early age and rarely use contraception. The youth at *highest risk* are those experiencing multiple risk factors. They drop out prematurely; commit serious acts of delinquency, crime, and violence; are involved in drug abuse; and often suffer from some form of abuse and neglect (see Annex A for possible descriptors by risk category). Estimates are that between 30 to 40 percent of youth may fall in the medium and high risk categories; however, new programmatic interventions would require a review of these estimates based on the 1997 Survey of Living Conditions.

Growing Up in Poverty

18. Poverty is related to high levels of unemployment, crime and violence, social problems and the disintegration of traditional forms of social cohesion and family composition. It underlies many problems that youth experience in Trinidad and Tobago, such as abuse, adolescent pregnancy, delinquency, and education and employment outcomes, as will be seen in the following sections. Youths experience poverty to a greater extent than other population groups, which indicates that poor families with children should be a priority for public poverty alleviation efforts (see Chapter 4).

19. The World Bank's 1998 Country Assistance Strategy placed the incidence of poverty at 21 percent, with 11 percent of the population living in extreme poverty. The highest rates of poverty still occur in St. Andrews county, followed by St. George, St. Patrick and Victoria counties. The largest number of at-risk youth live in these four counties.

20. Certain characteristics of poor households relate directly to youth. On average, poor households are larger and have more children – they have approximately 6.1 persons, most of whom are dependent children and adolescents, compared to 3.9 persons in non-poor households.[3] The average number of youths under 18 years for households in the lowest per capita consumption quartile is four times greater than for those in the highest quartile. Children are especially vulnerable in female-headed households, which bear a high incidence of poverty (31%) and account for 27% of all households.[4] Female household heads, in addition to frequent child care responsibilities, face challenges in the workplace. For example, 40% of them work in elementary occupations, where wages are low, in comparison to only 24% of male household heads.

[3] Poverty increases steadily with household size according to the Ministry of Social Development's analysis (1996) of the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions data. Whereas around 30% of two-person households are poor, this figure rises to over 50% for households with eight persons.

[4] Unless otherwise indicated, statistics are from the World Bank's analysis (1995a) of the most recent available survey of living conditions (1992).

21. Poverty, along with factors relating to family composition, place pressure on many youths to prematurely enter the labor market. Poor families often have only a single main income provider, and in many cases, the household head has less than a secondary school education[5] and experience intermittent periods of unemployment. In seeking employment to complement the family income, youths generally meet with a lack of opportunities, reflected in high rates of unemployment and idleness, which undoubtedly contribute to other negative outcomes, for example, delinquency. The impact of poverty goes beyond physical deprivation and affects social and psychological development.[6] The result is often a range of at-risk behaviors that affects the individual and the society at large.

Living in a Poor Family Environment: Less Support and More Neglect

22. In addition to poverty, several factors in the family environment affect the process of socializing children. They involve: (i) the family's human and social resources, often reflected in family composition, (ii) attitudes and values, and (iii) prevalence of negative behaviors and family-related problems. Positive parental attitudes, values, and child rearing skills and higher education levels contribute to successful development outcomes. By contrast, abuse and neglect relate directly to a series of risk behaviors and poor developmental results. For example, Marshall (1999) argues that in difficult family settings, many parents resort to beatings as a means for disciplining youth, which only creates insecurity and low self-esteem. Children learn at an early age that aggression is an acceptable means to resolve differences and hence, reproduce this behavior later.

23. As in other Caribbean countries and the United States, family composition in Trinidad and Tobago has undergone significant changes. The proportion of youths living in two-parent families has declined dramatically, and this holds implications in terms of family resources and socialization.[7] In part, this has resulted from migration.[8] Search for employment abroad has led to increased parental absenteeism. Youths in such families are often called "barrel children" because they receive financial support packages from abroad in place of a parent's day-to-day attention.

24. The issues relating to family structure disproportionately affect youths in low-income families. A survey by Jules (1994) of all 83,000 public secondary school students showed that 64% of students lived with both biological parents – others lived in single parent households (mother, 20%; father, 4%), extended families (6%) or alone (less than 1%). Among poor segments of the population, who are also those generally excluded

[5] Only around 21% of household heads in the poorest income quintile had more than primary education, in comparison to around 55% of household heads in the wealthiest quintile.

[6] For an exploration of relative deprivation, psychological development and criminal behavior in the Caribbean context, see Desosaran, 1999.

[7] In 1994 there were 300,000 families in Trinidad and Tobago demonstrating wide variation in structure. Two-parent families, of which 9% were in common-law unions, accounted for over half of all households in 1994 (St. Bernard 1998), while extended families amounted to 22% of households. Single parent families made up 14.3% of households.

[8] The population profile shows a significant drop in the ratio of males to females in the 20-24 age cohort, mainly accounted for by migration. Around 10,000 of the 70,000 cohort members do not reside in-country.

from the secondary education system, this profile changes, and only 27% of the youth in the neighborhood of Laventille lived in two-parent households, of which roughly half were common-law marriage households (Ryan et.al. 1997). In a study on gender perceptions of low-income youths, 73% of the sample of 1,500 came from single parent, female-headed households (Marshall 1999). Over 50% of the male youths participating in the study mentioned having to assume adult responsibilities at an early age (for example, participation in the labor market), which impeded them from attending school; nearly 30% of female participants cited broken homes as a key cause of school drop out, teenage pregnancy and prostitution.

25. Despite the absence of a national case reporting system, there is increasing evidence on domestic violence and child abuse, both of which contribute to other negative youth outcomes. Sharpe and Bishop's study (1993) of 129 "children in especially difficult circumstances" (institutionalized children, juvenile delinquents, youths in survival strategies, disabled youths and pregnant adolescents) revealed a pattern of abuse and neglect among 64% of the sample (except the disabled). Tobago's medical social workers documented 243 cases of physical abuse, 65 cases of sexual abuse against females, and 33 rapes during 1993-97. Most of the sexual abuse cases were intrafamilial or involved friends of the family. Groome-Duke (1998) estimates that in Trinidad and Tobago less than 10% of cases come to official attention and one in four girls and one in ten boys have been sexually abused by age 18. Marshall's (1999) study of at-risk youth documented that more than 30% of the females had experienced some form of abuse. He cites the increasing number of consensual and unstable unions as a causal factor.

26. Two studies by Sharpe attempted to understand the characteristics and dynamics of abuse and neglect. The first study (in Sharpe and Bishop 1993), an examination of 25 youths, demonstrated that the parents in the sample frequently had been abused themselves (32% of mothers and 36% of fathers). Mothers of the youths had often started their reproductive lives in adolescence (36%). Finally, substance abuse, a trigger for domestic violence and child abuse, was common among the fathers. The second study (in Jules et.al. 1998) matched a sample of 78 abused youths from a child guidance clinic with a control group. Maternal age of under 17 years at first birth was significantly more frequent among the abused group (24%) than the control (15%) and general population (14%). Also, a significantly higher proportion of parents in the sample (42%) than in the control group (14%) used drugs.[9]

Living in Government Care: Involvement in Child Protective Services

27. Children whose families do not provide proper care or who are beyond the control of their parents or guardians normally enter the system of institutional and community-based children's homes. Separate facilities exist for juveniles who are apprehended for and/or convicted of criminal activity. However, in practice there is some mixture among the groups, and to a large degree they experience a similar set of underlying risk

[9] The samples are not representative of the population of abusive families in general, since they were drawn from public clinics that cater to groups of lower socioeconomic standing, whereas abuse occurs in families of all socioeconomic standings.

antecedents. Contact with the network of child protective services represents an indicator of risk for outcomes such as lower education levels, involvement in crime, and drug abuse. This occurs not only because poor youths are more likely to enter the system but also because of exposure to the poor environment within the institutions (see Chapter 4).

28. The youths in the institutions demonstrate a high risk profile. In a sample of the nearly 500 children from St. Mary's and St. Dominic's Children's Homes (orphanages), of which 70% were male and of African descent, at least 68% had been abused or neglected; 50% were from single-parent households; and 23% had been born to teenage mothers (Sharpe and Bishop 1993).[10] Fifty percent and 70%, respectively, had no contact with their mothers and fathers. The approximately 500 youths from the correctional industrial schools – St. Michael's Industrial School for Boys and St. Jude's Industrial School for Girls – and the Youth Training Center have similar backgrounds. Sixty percent had parents with working-class occupations; 76% came from households without both parents; and generally they had low educational levels. Fifty-four percent of the youths had been charged for offenses potentially harmful to others, while the remaining 36% were there for acts such as "beyond control" and "running away from home" (Deosaran and Chadee 1997).

The Neighborhood Environment

29. In addition to family ties, community networks are especially important in developing human capital and play a significant role in determining outcomes for youth later in life. As proposed by Coleman (1988), social capital includes the family networks and other social mechanisms outside the family that parents utilize to advance their children's chances of success, thereby incorporating the immediate social contexts – most notably the neighborhood and school – in the picture of youth development. Coleman hypothesized that families in communities with dense social ties, common values and strong institutions would command greater social capital and their children would access more and better opportunities, which subsequent research has confirmed. For example, in a study of at-risk youths in Baltimore, a measure of neighborhood quality bore a statistically significant relationship to college enrollment after controlling for family human capital and the "success trajectories" of youths (Furstenberg and Hughes 1995).

30. Like in many parts of the world, the youths of poor urban neighborhoods in Trinidad and Tobago face multiple challenges due to the characteristics of the environment in which they live. Surveys carried out by the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs in three such neighborhoods in Trinidad revealed a high degree of marginality, defined in terms of exclusion from the development process, social isolation, lack of equal opportunities and absence of organized voice (Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs 1998, also see Box 2.1). This was evident in low academic achievement despite relatively high levels of secondary school attendance,[11] low levels of participation in

[10] The most frequent age range was 5-9 years; 70% were of African descent; 70% were male.

[11] For example, the Datsunville neighborhood survey revealed that 68% of respondents had completed senior comprehensive school but only 4% had obtained five Caribbean Examination Council passes.

training, and high unemployment.[12] Family and social networks in Tobago appear to be more stable and cohesive than in Trinidad (see St. Bernard 1998); however this is also beginning to change.

Box 2.1: Laventille: Challenges in a Poor Urban Neighborhood

A government survey of youth issues in the neighborhood of Laventille, Port of Spain, illustrate the types of constraints and risks facing youth in low-income communities. First, the relatively high concentration of youth growing up in poverty in Laventille places heavy demands on both their families and the state institutions intended to address their needs – youths aged 15-24 years in Laventille represent almost 43% of the total population compared to a national average of about 30%. Second, a greater proportion of youths face the risk of family dissolution, which is common among households in the neighborhood. Third, a greater proportion live in families were the household head is unemployed – 30% of all households did not have anyone employed in comparison to a national rate of about 17%. Fourth, people's perceptions of the quality of life and future prospects highlight a high level of pessimism – close to 60% of respondents thought the quality of life in Laventille had deteriorated over the past decade, and nearly half felt that there would be further deterioration.

Source: Ryan et.al. 1997.

Education

31. Despite the ongoing reform efforts, the education system in Trinidad and Tobago presents problems of access, quality and equity. It produces systematic exclusion, mostly of disadvantaged populations, and it is stratified along socioeconomic and ethnic lines. A poor school environment leads to deficient academic performance, absenteeism and drop-out which are good proxies for predicting future problem behaviors such as delinquency, violence, and early-age childbearing. In terms of risk, according to this analysis, two broad groups are of concern: (i) youths who never enter the school system and (ii) those who fall behind and may eventually drop out.

Limited Access – Youths Outside the Education System[13]

32. At all levels of the education system, capacity is limited in relation to demand. Currently early childhood care and development services reach slightly less than half of children in the appropriate age range.[14] Although access is nearly universal in primary education and enrollment ratios are generally high – normally over 90% – a large absolute number of children still remain outside of the system. One survey estimated that roughly 15,000 children aged 5-11 years were not attending primary school, representing somewhat less than 10% of this age cohort (Jules 1998). According to the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions, school enrollment was 99% for children from families in the highest and second-highest expenditure quintiles in comparison to 93% for those from the

[12] About half of the survey respondents were unemployed, of which close to 60% had been unemployed for more than one year or had never worked.

[13] See Annex B for a more detailed analysis of the educational system, by level (pre-primary, primary and secondary).

[14] This is especially unfortunate since these services are associated with reduced drop-out and repetition – and thereby increased efficiency – in later stages of education.

lowest quintile. A lack of adequate capacity in secondary schools has created a process of vacancy rationing in which some children are excluded altogether – for example, of 29,273 students taking the CEE in 1996, 22,468 passed; 18,201 received placement in secondary schools; 1,378 went on to post-primary centers and youth camps; and 2,695 repeated Standard 5, leaving at least 6,805 children who appear to have fallen out of the system (Jules et.al. 1998).[15] Recent government efforts to increase the capacity of the system have been able to counter declining enrolment,[16] and the proportion of students taking the common entrance exam (CEE)[17] who secured secondary school places grew from 67% in 1993/94 to 72% in 1997/98. However, many youths still remain excluded.

Inequity and Quality – Absenteeism, Drop-Out and Academic Performance

33. The ongoing education reform process will eventually remove the physical barrier to inclusion for most youth in Trinidad and Tobago, particularly the poor, through the expansion of the school system; however, some inequity and quality problems will likely persist. In terms of at-risk youth, these issues are critical since they relate closely to absenteeism, drop-out and academic performance.

34. Inequities appear in the educational setting starting with early childhood care and development services. Only 21% of children in the lowest per capita consumption quintile attend childhood care and education centers, compared to 51% in the highest quintile (World Bank 1995a). This is partly a result of the overwhelming proportion of services provided in the private marketplace, where prices are frequently too high for poor families (see Logie 1997). Furthermore, interviews with parents and center administrators have revealed the following reasons for less than optimum demand for services: physical access; lack of awareness among parents of the value of early stimulation programs; the practice of parents at home to keep their young children with them; and, the lack of a facilitative link between the early childhood center and a high quality primary school (Jules 1998). Several of these variables likely have a significant relationship with the socioeconomic status of the family.

35. Inequity in primary and secondary school is evident both in the scores resulting from the Common Entrance Examination (CEE) and in the practice of "tracking" which places students with poor scores in school of lesser quality. Considerable variation is evident in student performance on the exam, based on a number of variables including the management authority of the primary school, education district, county of residence, and student sex, socioeconomic status and self-declared race group. Most importantly, children from high socioeconomic status households scored significantly better than those from low socioeconomic households, especially ones in which nobody was employed (around a 20 point difference). Students of self-declared African origin have been

[15] Some of these children may enroll in private secondary schools that serve poor academic performers who do not succeed in entering the more prestigious public schools.

[16] For the 12-16 age group, enrollment dropped from 92,299 in 1986/87 to 83,042 in 1994/95 while the population grew from 118,563 to 131,501 over the same period (Jules et.al. 1998) – the corresponding enrollment ratio fell from 78% to 63%. These figures may even be inflated since the average age in Form 1 of secondary school has been found to be 11 years (Jules 1994).

[17] Eleven-year-olds take this test at the end of Standard 5 to determine entry into secondary education.

significantly more likely to score lower (59) than those of mixed or Indian origin (64 in both groups). The latter, in turn, have normally performed more poorly than Syrian/Lebanese, Caucasian and Chinese students (all above 72).[18] Placement on limited secondary school slots is based on the CEE score. The students from lower income families are placed disproportionately in inferior junior secondary, senior comprehensive, and composite schools (about 70% of enrollment), while students from upper and middle income families are more likely to enter 5- and 7-year traditional schools (30% of enrollment), as seen in Table 2.1.

36. This stratification reinforces perceptions of inferiority and low self esteem among students who perform poorly. In this regard, Oakes (1987) noted that "tracking forces upon schools an active role in perpetuating social, economic and political inequalities." The unequal educational opportunities are subsequently mirrored in the youths' personal development and performance in the labor market. Many of these young people end up with negative expectations of themselves and of others. By contrast, resilient students develop a feeling of belonging early in secondary school life and have higher academic performance (Jules no date a).

Table 2.1: Mean CEE Score and Enrollment in Secondary Schools, by School Type and Family Income Level

School Type	Mean CEE Score (out of 100)	Upper Income (%)	Middle Income (%)	Lower Income (%)	Unemployed parents (%)	Others (%)	Number of Students
Junior Secondary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
A.M. Shift	54	1.9	42.9	36.7	5.7	12.9	13,684
P.M. Shift	53	1.9	41.5	36.3	5.0	15.3	12,866
Whole Day	60	3.8	47.8	36.6	2.8	7.1	4,624
Sr. Comprehensive	55	3.0	48.7	31.6	3.9	12.7	15,991
Composite	57	2.3	42.9	35.5	6.0	13.3	7,983
5-yr. Traditional	75	9.5	62.3	19.4	2.4	6.5	10,460
7-yr. Traditional	82	19.6	60.8	11.3	2.0	6.3	17,423
6th Form College	-	14.1	63.0	13.0	3.2	6.7	284
Total	-	6.9	50.3	28.0	3.9	10.8	83,315

Source: Jules 1994, p. 36 and 233.

37. Although official repetition rates are extremely low in primary education due to the common practice of automatic promotion, many students begin to fall behind rapidly after the common entrance exam.[19] Of the third of students who do not receive spots in the public secondary education system in the initial round of the CEE, some may succeed in entering later, but they find themselves at a disadvantage compared to their peers. On average, 23% of students in the first three years of secondary school are overage for their grade level, a good proxy for future problems, including dropout.

[18] These figures are group mean scores for the 1988-92 intakes (Jules 1994).
[19] Annual repetition is less than 2%, except for Standard 5, which students repeat to prepare for the CEE.

38. Secondary school dropout relates to risk behavior in adolescence, financial constraints, and the quality of education.[20] A longitudinal study of a student cohort entering Form 1 (age 12) showed that the cumulative drop out rate was close to 13% by Form 2 and 15% by Form 3 (Jules no date a). Drop out rates by Form 3 were highest for males, youths of African descent, those living with grandparents (36%) and fathers (28%), students from lower socioeconomic groups, and those attending composite schools (23%).[21] The 1992 Survey of Living Conditions confirmed the large variation in secondary enrollment rates (age 13-19) across socio-economic groups – less than 50% of those from the lowest income quintile were in school in comparison to 76% for those from the highest quintile. Moreover, it showed that 17% of the second-lowest expenditure quartile cited "not worthwhile" for non-attendance at school. A pattern of persistent tardiness followed by prolonged absence often precedes dropout (Jules no date a). The international literature reveals similar findings, showing that children who are truant, act out at school, and have low expectations for future schooling are much more likely to leave school (Dryfoos 1989). Jules (no date b) found male underachievement in the Superville neighborhood to be related to degrading and excessive punishment, negative labeling by teachers, and uncreative pedagogic techniques. (See Annex C for a summary account of students' perceptions about school). Children who end up in vocational training programs have cited their disillusionment with the school system, adversarial relationships with teachers, and negative feedback as key motives for dropout (Marshall 1999).

39. In comparison to other countries in the Latin America and Caribbean region, the portion of youths who are unable to progress to secondary education or who drop out is fairly high for Trinidad and Tobago. In urban areas, the percentage of youths leaving school after completing nine years or less ranges from 20% (Chile) to 54% (Honduras). By comparison, in Trinidad and Tobago, about one-third leave school after completing basic education (10 years). For those in the bottom quartile of the income distribution and rural areas, this percentage is substantially higher (40-80% and 70-96%, respectively). The final result is a low rate of secondary school completion (especially at the appropriate age), perhaps around 43% for any given cohort entering primary school.[22]

40. The ultimate outcome of these problems in the educational system is poor performance on international comparative exams. On the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) regional exam, even among students completing Form 5 of secondary school (16 years), a substantial proportion (up to 70%), particularly among the lower

[20] As with absenteeism, official dropout rates are inaccurately low since students often continue to remain on the school rosters even though they attend school infrequently or not at all. Although attendance and dropout is not a serious problem in primary school, in explaining non-attendance, students from families in the lowest per capita expenditure quartile frequently cited finance (23%) and transportation (17%).

[21] Students from middle (6%) and upper income (12%) families had substantially lower drop out rates by Form 2 than low-income groups (26%, which rose to 37% among youths in households with unemployed heads). Students from the predominantly agricultural education district of St. Andrew-St. David had the single highest drop out rate (28%), while Tobago and St. George East had the lowest rates (4% and 6%).

[22] Since official rates are unavailable, World Bank and Inter-American Bank staff made this approximation using the transition rate from primary to secondary education (63%), a government estimate of secondary school completion (80%, which broadly matches Jules findings, no date a), and the cumulative dropout rate from primary education (7%) – i.e., (.63)*(.80) - .07 = .43.

socio-economic groups, fail to get 3 or 4 passes, suggesting serious problems regarding the quality and relevance of their education. A 1990/91 study on reading literacy by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement confirmed large differences in performance among schools and placed Trinidanian primary and secondary school students third and sixth from the bottom, respectively, among 27 participating countries (Schleicher and Yip 1993).

41. While the Government has been making an effort to improve access and quality of education, this will probably be insufficient to curb problems relating to the high-risk groups such as school dropouts. International experience has demonstrated that providing a place in the school system for children from disadvantaged families is necessary but not sufficient condition. Since they start life at a relative disadvantage, it is critical to offer complementary investments to compensate for the lack of other inputs (for example, stable family environments, supportive parental attitudes, community resources, strong networks and positive role models). This indicates the need to identify students at-risk of dropping out at an early stage and create opportunities for enhancing their chances of school success, for example, through life skills, academic remediation, counseling, and parent education.

Employment

42. School drop out often implies premature entry into the labor market with undesirable results. Youths who have not completed secondary education face inferior job prospects, lower lifetime earnings, and greater likelihood of under- and unemployment. While it is common worldwide for unemployment to disproportionately affect young and new entrants into the labor force, the large proportion of youth entering the labor market with low levels of qualifications in Trinidad and Tobago exacerbates this situation. Other factors contributing to high rates of youth unemployment include growth that is predominantly capital intensive (mainly in the petroleum sector), sluggish growth in agriculture and manufacturing, and downsizing in the public sector.

43. Even when unemployment rates hit historically low levels, as during the oil bonanza of the 1970s and more recently during the economic upturn of the late 1990s, youth unemployment (15-19) continued to hover at over 30%, double the overall rate (see World Bank 1973 and Table 2.2). In 1999, youths 15 to 24 years old in the labor force numbered 128,300, accounting for 23% of the total. Of the total labor force, some 79,300 were unemployed, and youths between 15 and 24 years of age composed 40% of this group. Thus, they are around 1.8 times more likely to experience unemployment than the labor force as a whole. Youth unemployment rates have remained consistently elevated, ranging from 34.2% in 1991 to 25% in 1995.

44. Within the youth population unemployment varies by age and sex, with the younger groups and females experiencing the worst. Unemployment among young males is consistently lower than among young females. For example, in 1973, youth unemployment (age 15-19) stood at 28% for men and 36% for women (see World Bank 1973). Thus, females are at a relative disadvantage both in terms of employment and

wages, which are 17% lower than men's on average.[23] For older youths (20-24), unemployment rates are substantially lower than for their younger counterparts, as they become increasingly marketable with more job experience.

Table 2.2: Selected Labor Force Indicators, 1991-1999

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1998[a]	1999[a]
Labor Force ('000)	492.2	505.1	504.5	509.4	521.0	551.0	564.0
Unemployed ('000)	91.2	99.2	99.9	93.9	89.4	80.5	79.3
Unemployment rate (%)	18.5	19.6	19.8	18.4	17.2	14.6	14.1
Youths (15-24) ('000)	113	111.4	109.6	110.4	113.5	118.7	128.3
Percent of labor force (%)	23.0	22.1	21.7	21.7	21.8	22.0	23.0
Unemployed ('000)	38.6	38.7	36.7	35.9	35.2	31.0	31.5
Unemployment rate (%)	34.2	34.7	33.5	32.5	31.0	26.0	25.0
Percent of Unemployed (%)	42.3	39.0	36.7	38.2	39.4	39.0	40.0

Source: Continuous Sample Surveys of Population, Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago.
[a] Represents data for first quarter

Specific Risk Behaviors, Outcomes, and Further Exclusion

45. Risk antecedents such as poverty, improper family care and involvement in child protective services, poor neighborhood environments, and school failure are associated with behaviors that may result in negative outcomes, such as pregnancy, drug use or arrest for criminal activity. These events, in turn, can have profound long-term effects and lead to more severe situations of exclusion.

Sexual Behavior and Teenage Pregnancy

46. Worldwide experience has shown that for adolescents at highest risk, unplanned pregnancy generally starts with early sexual initiation, unprotected sex at first intercourse, a long delay in obtaining contraception, and low and inconsistent use of contraceptives. The antecedents of teen pregnancy in Trinidad and Tobago are generally in line with these patterns:

- *Socioeconomic Status and Education.* Teens in Trinidad and Tobago who initiate sexual activity and become pregnant at an early age are more likely to live in families of low socioeconomic status from which the father is absent, education levels are low, and family support is weakened (Jagdeo 1994). The study in Laventille (Ryan et.al. 1997) found lower proportions of childless women under age 20 and 25 in comparison to national averages.[24] In the Marshall study sample (1999), nearly 50% of girls with only primary education had experienced early pregnancies compared to 17% of those with post-secondary qualifications. The National Family Life Survey

[23] This seems paradoxical, considering that women outperform men at all stages of the educational system. However, the training and occupations pursued by women are often in non-dynamic sectors in terms of employment generation. Furthermore there is ample evidence of bias against women in the labor market.
[24] The proportion of childless women under age 20 was 80% for Laventille and 90% at the national level. Corresponding figures for women under 25 were 65% and 80%, respectively (Ryan et.al. 1997).

(St. Bernard 1998) confirmed that women with higher levels of education had a lower number of pregnancies and lifetime fertility levels (6.4 pregnancies on average for women with no education versus 1.7 for those with university education).

- *Individual Characteristics.* Poor self image and peer pressure combined with difficult economic situations can lead to premature pregnancy and childbearing. Gaspard-Richards (1998) noted that among teenagers attending government clinics in Trinidad "early sexual activity was largely associated with low levels of self-esteem." Information from the Medical Social Work Department of the General Hospital of Port of Spain showed that teens frequenting this department had often failed the common entrance examination, left school, and spent large amounts of unstructured time at home (Sharpe and Bishop 1993). Early childbearing and association with a "sugar daddy" in Trinidad and Tobago is often viewed as a strategy to enhance a young woman's status as well as gain material support.
- *Family Related Factors.* Exposure to sexual abuse among young women is often a precursor to teen pregnancy, since it results in a sense of powerless among victims to control their sexual and reproductive choices in life. Interviews with 54 young women between the ages of 14 and 19 at ante-natal clinics of the Port of Spain, San Fernando and Scarborough General Hospitals revealed that nearly half had experienced episodes of abuse at some point in their lives (Sharpe and Bishop 1993).[25] Furthermore, intergenerational reproduction of teenage pregnancy is quite common – in other words, having a teen mother is a risk factor for becoming one.
- *Cultural Practices.* Both main ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago, East Indian and African, have cultural and religious traditions of early childbearing.[26] However, changes in societal expectations and family structure and function mean that young mothers today may not count on as much support from their families as in the past.

47. Early pregnancy and childbearing bear several health related and socioeconomic consequences. Adolescent girls suffer more pregnancy and delivery complications than women in their twenties, which puts both their own and their babies health at greater risk. The 1987 Demographic and Health Survey (Heath et.al. 1988) found an infant mortality rate of 43 per 1,000 in the case of adolescent mothers, in comparison to a rate of 28 per 1,000 for the 20-29 age group. Teenage pregnancy often limits educational and employment opportunities and strains current finances, which can solidify the intergenerational transmission of poverty for poor mothers and their children.[27] Women who begin childbearing early tend to have more children than other women, which further jeopardizes their standard of living and that of their children. A high prevalence of first births within visiting relationships, which researchers have documented in communities like Laventille, indicates high paternal absenteeism, which can represent

[25] These findings are similar to those from the United States. For example, Musick (1994) found that of 445 teenage mothers, nearly two-thirds reported sexual abuse, beginning on average at 11.5 years of age.

[26] In a retrospective analysis of 1987 records of the Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago in San Fernando, where the percentages of East Indian and African adolescent clients were almost equal, 73% of Indians were married in comparison to 22% of Africans, suggesting that in Indian culture, adolescents are more likely to become pregnant within stable unions (Sharpe and Bishop 1993).

[27] One survey found that 13% of females dropping out of secondary school gave pregnancy as the reason (St. Bernard 1998). Another study of at-risk youth showed that less than 12% of teenage mothers returned to school after the birth of their first child (Marshall 1999).

another contributor to maternal poverty. Young parenthood is also related to poor parenting skills and in some cases, child neglect and abuse (Marshall 1999).

48. Although fertility in the population as a whole, and among young women in general, in Trinidad and Tobago has been on a steady decline, certain risk groups experience persistent high teen fertility, and early initiation of sexual activity is very common. The fertility rate in the 15-19 age group fell from about 80 live births per 1,000 in 1985 to roughly 44 live births per 1,000 in 1997, and the percentage of all births to teenage mothers dropped from 18% in 1980 to 14% in 1995. However, the fertility rate in this group in Port of Spain was 96 in 1994 and 89 in 1995, up from 72 in 1990. In terms of initiation of sexual activity, a Knowledge-Attitudes-Practices (KAP) Survey found that over 60% of visitors to STD clinics (mainly men) had their first sexual experience between the ages of 12 and 16 years and that only 10% were using a contraceptive method (Ministry of Health 1992). Thirty-eight percent of females and 43% of males had initiated sexual activity by age 15 in the Marshall study (1999).

49. Early sexual activity creates increased risk for the transfer of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including AIDS. While the HIV incidence rate in the general population is estimated at only 191 per 100,000, the rates among low-income groups, and youth in particular, are relatively high. A 1995/96 serosurvey among a sample weighted towards lower to middle income groups revealed an incidence rate of about 1%, of which 15-24 year olds accounted for over 70%. Out of a group of STD clinic patients, about 14% tested HIV positive. The number of STD cases at Queen's Park Counseling Centre and Clinic in Trinidad tripled between 1985 and 1987. Of immediate concern was the rate of increase among those under 25 years of age.

Youth Crime, Drug Trafficking and Drug Abuse

50. Crime rates in Trinidad and Tobago rose rapidly during the 1980s as poverty levels and unemployment rates increased, doubling from close to 11,000 serious offenses in 1982 to over 19,000 by 1988.[28] Since that time the number of serious offenses has remained relatively high, oscillating from 16,000 to 19,000 (Table 2.3). Although juvenile offenses – committed by individuals under age 16 – as a percentage of all reported serious offenses have declined from 3.7% in 1982 to 1.1% in 1995, youths between 16 and 25 appear to contribute dramatically to the overall burden of crime both in terms of the number and severity of the cases. For example, in 1992, individuals in this age group comprised about 30% of the imprisoned population; their most common crimes included murder, kidnapping, robbery, and drug/weapon possession. Moreover, youth crime rates are probably higher than official estimates indicate, considering the substantial amount of unprosecuted crime.[29]

51. Factors that push youth into crime include the failure of the school system to meet their needs, large amounts of unstructured time, and high unemployment (World Bank

[28] Serious crimes are those prosecuted in the High Court that carry a penalty of five or more years.
[29] Deosaran (1997) points out that the courts prosecuted only 27% of serious crimes reported between 1987 and 1996 and reached convictions for less than 6% of cases.

1996). Youth that drop out of school are more likely to engage in risky behaviors that diminish personal life chances and reduce the quality of life in their communities.

52. Increased drug trafficking in Trinidad and Tobago has affected the nature of youth crime. The country's strategic position in the Caribbean drug transit route has gained prominence due to intensified efforts to block the traditional corridors in Mexico and Central America. As a result, the islands have become an increasingly significant transshipment point for cocaine.[30] Local drug traffickers and pushers appear to find easy recruits among the ranks of unemployed and disempowered youths. Adults sometimes use juveniles in drug market activities, such as transportation (runners), on the assumption that they will be less likely to be caught and convicted (Jules et.al. 1998), and if they are, that their sentence will be lighter. Between 1994 and 1998, the under-14 age group recorded the highest growth in arrests for marijuana possession (450%) and trafficking (250%). Marshall (1999) also found that the drug trade tends to involve youths in the 21-24 age range who are educated, having basic skills required by its business and organizational aspects. At another level, the practice of paying local traffickers in drugs, rather than money, increases the pressure to develop local markets.[31]

Table 2.3: Serious and Juvenile (Under Age 16) Offenses, Trinidad and Tobago, 1982-1996

Year	Serious Offenses (Reported)	Population ('000s)	Rate of Serious Offenses (per 100,000)	Juvenile Offenses, (prosecuted)	Juvenile Offenses as % Reported Serious Offenses	Rate of Juvenile Offenses (per 100,000)
1982	10,697	1,122	953	399	3.7	36
1983	11,396	1,143	997	253	2.2	22
1984	11,725	1,163	1,008	270	2.3	23
1985	13,979	1,177	1,188	243	1.7	21
1986	14,361	1,189	1,208	322	2.2	27
1987	16,232	1,200	1,353	288	1.8	24
1988	19,385	1,207	1,606	363	1.9	30
1989	17,983	1,214	1,481	330	1.8	27
1990	16,202	1,220	1,328	301	1.9	25
1991	16,157	1,228	1,316	296	1.8	24
1992	17,680	1,236	1,430	279	1.6	23
1993	19,547	1,245	1,570	268	1.4	22
1994	18,618	1,253	1,486	262	1.4	21
1995	16,784	1,261	1,331	287	1.1	23
1996	18,093	1,278	1,416	-	-	-

Source: Trinidad and Tobago 1994, 6; Cain 1996, 100.

53. It is likely that drug usage among youths has climbed in recent years in light of the growing drug trade, however, there are no recent surveys to confirm this. From the available data, alcohol and drug use rates among youths appear to be fairly low. Studies have employed survey questionnaires in classrooms (Bernard 1985, Remy 1985, Singh

[30] Recent estimates indicate that nearly 40% of the cocaine entering the United States transits the Caribbean. The amount of cocaine passing through Trinidad and Tobago may reach 2,000 kg per month.

[31] This occurs frequently on other islands (for example, Antigua, Barbuda and St. Kitts and Nevis) and may be on the rise in Trinidad and Tobago. Local dealers and traffickers in St. Kitts and Nevis have consolidated enough power to obstruct justice by intimidating legal officials and juries, hindering efforts to extradite and convict criminals (Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs 1998).

et.al. 1991), and one included youth in other training and educational settings. Most of the youths had used alcohol, but very few had used marijuana and cocaine. In one of the studies, students of African descent had used marijuana more frequently (15%) over the last 30 days than East Indian students (5%). However, one-third of East Indian students had consumed alcohol over the last 30 days, compared to only 15% of students of African descent.

CHAPTER 3
INVESTING IN YOUTH

54. The risk antecedents, behaviors and outcomes reviewed in the previous chapter often bear significant economic and social costs. In some cases the economic consequences for the youths involved, other affected parties (as in the case of crime), and society at large may exceed the value of expenditures on preventive and remedial interventions. This chapter examines three cases – youth crime, school dropout, and exclusion from education – for which enough information is available to make economic assessments and demonstrates the importance of overcoming their negative results through targeted investments.

The Costs of Youth Crime

55. The price of criminal behaviors in Trinidad and Tobago is high. Crime produces costs involved in investigation, arrest, adjudication, and incarceration.[32] Additional direct costs relate to material losses to victims and, in some cases, the health care of persons injured by violence. Other costs result from security systems and guards required by businesses and homes, foregone revenues from potential foreign investors and tourists, and the migration of the urban middle class (see Annex D for a description of the model used in this section). According to figures on the arrest, court appearances, and six-month incarceration of one person, the unit cost crime amounted to TT$31,500. Adding the loss of income to the individual brings the total to TT$42,217.[33]

56. Youth engaged in criminal activity are often secondary school dropouts. When they commit a crime, society will pay not only for the associated costs but also the years of education whose benefits stream is interrupted, measured in terms of lifetime earnings. The approximate cost of a secondary school dropout who gets involved in crime, measured through lost earnings (as compared to those of a secondary school graduate) and cost of crime are approximated at TT$ 436,000 per dropout in nominal terms (calculated from Table 3.1).[34] The range of present value lifetime earnings for the secondary school dropout who gets involved in crime is TT$ 357,886 to TT$ 59,237, depending on the discount rate, even lower than for the individual who has not received any educational degree (TT$ 362,106 to TT$ 111,517, see Table 3.1). In fact, social returns on such an investment are negative, and such youths represent a very high cost to society.

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[32] The recurrent expenditure for police was close to TT$3 million in 1993; for the magistracy, almost TT$ 60 million in 1994; and for prisons, over TT$105 million in 1996 (Gabriel 1998).

[33] The individual cost of crime assumes 6 months in prison (costing TT$ 9,205), arrest by police (TT$ 11,196.79), 5 appearances in court (TT$ 11,014.55), and loss of income (TT$ 10,800) (World Bank 1996). Values are in 1992 Trinidad and Tobago dollars.

[34] The cost of crime is underestimated because it does not account for other societal costs, including the victim cost of crime and the loss of positive externalities generated from an educated society (see Wolfe and Zuvekas 1997).

Table 3.1: Lifetime Earnings (Social Benefits), 1992 TT$[35]

	Nominal lifetime Earnings	Present value of lifetime earnings (r = 2%)	Present value of lifetime earnings (r = 6%)
No education	736,748	362,106	111,517
School leaving certificate	988,419	469,508	130,798
Secondary degree	1,284,034	606,304	164,006
University degree	2,301,226	994,507	222,648
Secondary dropout	967,812	452,265	118,592
Secondary dropout involved in crime	**847,906**	**357,886**	**59,237**

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1992, estimated using a modified version of Cohen, 1994 (Annex D).

Dropouts and Youths Excluded from Education

57. The *rates of return* to investments in education are high in Trinidad and Tobago. The main measurable benefit of schooling is increased productivity, as measured in wages. According to calculations from the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions, each additional year of schooling increases earnings by approximately 15% for both men and women (see Annex E, Table E1).

58. The advantages of education are also apparent in the large *earnings differentials* among different groups. For men who had been completely excluded from the educational system, 1992 monthly wages were around 75% of those of a male primary school graduates and 65% of a male secondary school graduate. The monthly wages of males with complete secondary and university education, respectively, were 1.25 and three times that of males with a primary school education, with very similar results for females (Table 3.2). This shows that low educational attainment has a significant penalty in terms of earnings. In addition, higher levels of schooling are statistically associated with higher levels of employment (Annex E, Table E2).

Table 3.2: Earnings Differentials by Education Level, 1992 (primary = 100)

	Men	Women
No education	76	62
Primary	100	100
Secondary	125	132
University	281	276

Source: calculations from 1992 Survey of Living Conditions data.

59. There are indications in terms of *lifetime earnings* (adjusted for the cost of education) that secondary school dropouts, represent an inefficient investment of resources in comparison to those who attend only primary school and obtain a school-leaving certificate. This results from the combination of two factors: (i) the cost to

[35] Social benefits are equivalent to the value of lifetime earnings minus the social costs of public educational investment and crime prevention (nominal and discounted to present values, crime prevention costs in 1998 TT$).

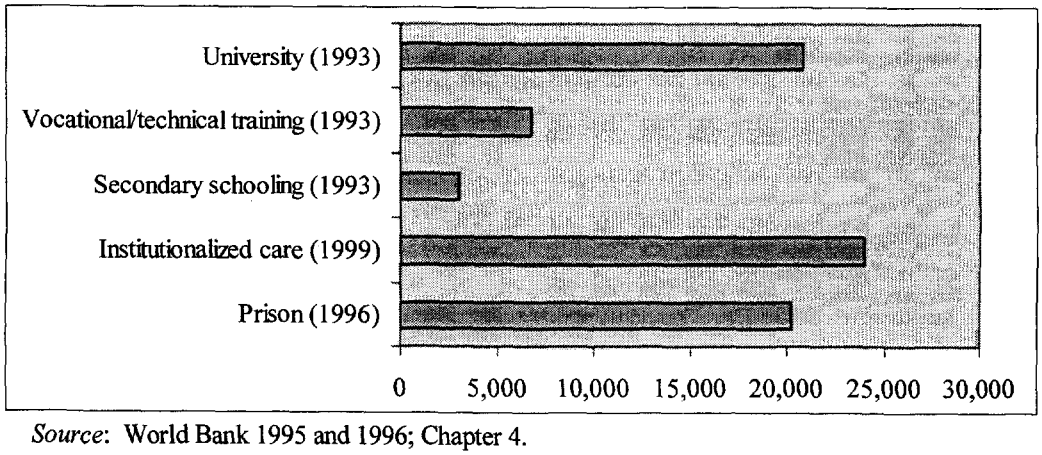
society of educating these dropouts for several years in the secondary stream is higher than the cost of just primary education, and (ii) the earnings of secondary school dropouts are almost equivalent to those of youths who complete primary school. Discounted lifetime earnings of secondary school dropouts are in the range of TT$ 452,265 to TT$ 118,592, depending on the discount rate (Table 3.1). This range is lower than that for an individual with the school-leaving certificate and significantly lower than that for a secondary school graduate. The cost of a secondary school dropout, measured through lost earnings (as compared to those of a secondary school graduate) were approximately TT$ 316,000 per dropout in nominal terms.

Rationale for Investing in At-Risk Youth

60. The costs of youth crime and secondary school dropout, in addition to the high earnings returns to education in Trinidad and Tobago, provide strong arguments for investing in interventions to reach at-risk youth. If they are well targeted and inexpensive, special projects would be worth the expenditure, increasing the value of existing investments in human capital that at times do not currently bring full benefits, as in the case of secondary school dropout (and even more with youth crime). Such interventions not only bear large private returns, in the form of increased individual earnings, but also significant social returns, through preserving public investment in education, reducing the costs of crime, and generating positive externalities through higher lifetime earnings (for example, greater economic activity). Other externalities resulting from more schooling include increased intrafamily production, better family health, informed choices in consumption and voting, lower probability of receiving transfer benefits, and diminished criminal activity (Wolfe and Zuvekas 1997). The value of these externalities are difficult to measure but may be very high.

61. The groups of concern for investment efforts include dropouts and youths involved in crime as well as other at-risk youths identified in Chapter 2. The approach is particularly relevant to young mothers and youths engaged in drug use and/or drug

Figure 3.1: Comparative Annual Unit Costs of Selected Youth Investments (TT$)



Source: World Bank 1995 and 1996; Chapter 4.

trafficking. Although data was not available to facilitate the calculation of costs related to these outcomes, as was the case with youth crime, they are likely comparable because in addition to direct costs (for example, medical care and child care), the outcomes are also often associated with school dropout (and its costs). The same may even be applicable with regard to youths characterized by less severe risk antecedents such as residence in poor neighborhoods, having an abusive family, and unemployment, especially since these factors are related to one another.

62. The types of programs necessary to avert the costs of negative youth development outcomes involve targeted efforts to address the specific issues of risk behavior and help youths gain access and remain in school. At-risk youth may not consider the future consequences of present behavior and perceive or be able to seize the opportunities provided through greater education. Increasing the relevance of education, orienting training to different segments of the youth population according to risk characteristics, and catering special efforts towards groups with the most serious challenges would significantly diminish the costs associated with at-risk behavior. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago and the voluntary and private sectors are already employing some of these strategies with success, as will be seen in a review of youth services in the next chapter. Although preventive actions are generally preferable in terms of relatively lower costs (see Figure 3.1), as long as manifestations of risk exist, remedial efforts will also be necessary, at the very least in order to protect previous investments.

CHAPTER 4
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

63. As seen in the previous chapter, there is a strong rationale for investing in interventions that address school dropout, youth crime and other negative outcomes reviewed in Chapter 2. The government, private voluntary organizations and, to some extent, the business sector have addressed these challenges through safety net programs, training, education, sport and youth activities, family and youth services, and projects for specific high-risk groups (see Annex F for a categorization). For the purpose of policy planning, in addition to the types of projects that comprise the system of youth services, it is useful to understand project characteristics, including level of spending, number of beneficiaries, and degree of effectiveness. In describing and analyzing the system, this chapter does not assess individual projects in detail nor examine the institutional capacity of the implementing organizations.[36] Rather, it reviews the range of available services from a system-wide perspective, thereby revealing areas for potential reform and relative service gaps that merit more attention.

64. An analysis of interventions shows that a comprehensive youth policy would contemplate changes in several areas of activity. The ongoing education reform will address the current situation of exclusion and risk-generation over the long run; however, until it is completed, there will be a need for alternative transitional mechanisms to integrate at-risk youths. Government safety nets are critical for poverty alleviation but could be better targeted at children, considering their disproportionate representation among the poor and the important link between poverty and human capital development at early ages. The public sector is currently reevaluating its youth training efforts and partially shifting its role from that of a direct provider to facilitator and regulator. While this is a move in the right direction, during this process it should avoid scaling back too much and losing valuable institutional knowledge and leaving a large group of adolescents unattended. The Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs and several private companies attempt to involve youths in sport and culture projects as a means of promoting positive development and avoiding undesirable influences, although their scale is small and their impact difficult to measure. Several aspects of the youth and family services system, including institutionalization, deserve review and strengthening to overcome current weaknesses (also see Chapter 5). Services for specific at-risk groups provided by non-governmental organizations (for example, programs for pregnant teens/young mothers and street children) and the government (for example, anti-drug campaigns in schools and communities) also merit a more systematic approach.

Education Reform

65. The government is undertaking reform in basic and secondary education that should help address problems regarding access, quality and equity, which the period of

[36] It does present some indications of project effectiveness from evaluation reports of various projects (for example, Self Help and Rehabilitative Efforts, The Civil Conservation Corp, and the Youth Training and Employment Partnership Program) and interviews with administrators and staff.

recession and structural adjustment had heightened. The reform involves expansion in educational services, curriculum improvement, changes to the secondary school entrance exam, strengthening of school-based management, and promotion of mechanisms of parent and community participation (for example, school boards). The government first targeted the basic education system, and currently it is focusing on secondary education. However, even with the extensive plans for investment and recovery of losses in quality through increased recurrent expenditure, there is a need for incremental gains that benefit the most vulnerable groups of youths at all levels of the system.

66. Given the association of ***early childhood care and development*** (ECCD) services with positive performance on various measures later in life, they represent an attractive option in youth development in terms of their preventive capacity, which amounts to the provision of future benefits through the avoidance of undesirable outcomes.[37] For the past several years the government has invested in ECCD expansion and quality improvement measures, in part through the Basic Education Project with financing from the World Bank.[38] By the end of project execution, the institutional capability of the sector will have grown, and services will be more widely available to poor families. The project is increasing the number of places in the system from the 1995 baseline of 4,500 to 6,750 – current capacity is 5,600. This represents a climb in coverage from 37.5% to 55%, which is a significant accomplishment but also reveals the continuing challenge of coverage expansion.

67. As with ECCD, the government's strategy toward ***primary education*** is to improve access and quality. At the forefront of its efforts is the Basic Education Project, which includes financing for the construction and rehabilitation of schools that will increase capacity by over 10,000 spaces, representing some 40% of incremental demand expected up to the year 2,000. The quality improvement measures concentrate on human resource training, curriculum strengthening, and provision of books and instructional materials. All existing schools have access to a school maintenance fund that finances small-scale repairs and the School Improvement Project (SIP) fund, to which schools apply for funding for small pedagogic projects. In order to help improve equity, the project directs technical assistance in proposal formulation toward high risk schools with low resource endowments and poor student achievement.[39]

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[37] Controlled studies have consistently demonstrated the benefits of ECCD participation, including improved school and labor market performance, lower participation in crime, and more stable personal relationships. ECCD services also create efficiency in the use of resources in the educational system since they result in the decrease of dropout and repetition.

[38] The project has financed 23 new preschool centers in poor communities and plans to add another 27 by the year 2003. It will provide 98 existing public centers with necessary supplies and refurbish another 50. It is improving in- and pre-service training provided by SERVOL and the UWI School of Continuing Studies for hundreds of teachers. An NGO parental outreach program is receiving project support. The project has also strengthened the National Council on Early Childhood Care and Education, which establishes minimum norms and standards, and increased its monitoring capability.

[39] The reform incorporates policy instruments that have proven effective in international research in student performance improvement. Equipping school libraries and providing textbooks were cost-effective in almost 90% and 75%, respectively, of studies reviewed by the World Bank (1995b). Teacher knowledge, improved through training, was a determinant of effective learning in around 60% of the studies. Furthermore, SIP-style projects have fostered better school-based management in other countries.

68. The government will soon initiate a comprehensive reform of the ***secondary education*** system that should resolve its major problems after several years. The Basic Education Project is funding the development of a cost-efficient design for secondary schools and the pilot construction of 3-4 schools. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is financing the Secondary Education Program that will create universal access through the expansion of existing schools and construction of 28 new five-year schools. All double-shifted schools will be converted to single shifts, with the extension of time spent in the classroom. A new standard 5-year curriculum emphasizing basic subjects will gradually replace the old one with technical training. Quality improvement will focus on teaching methodologies and skills, training, and the establishment of assessment, performance, promotion and certification standards for students, teachers and administrators. In order to strengthen school-based management, authority and resources will be devolved to school boards, supervisors and principals, and a data collection and resource allocation system will be established. The program also has a component to support research on the education system and map its future needs.

69. ***Beyond Education Reform.*** During the reform period, a significant number of adolescents will remain outside the educational system (see Chapter 2) due to the lag time needed to increase capacity and promote better transition rates from primary to secondary education. The plans for education reform do not appear to consider the needs of these youths for remedial education and integration into the system. In this regard, the experience of community-based organizations may prove very valuable (see Box 4.1), and the temporary expansion or replication of such efforts through increased public support warrants consideration, especially since they are relatively inexpensive.[40]

Box 4.1: The Corcorite Learning Center

The Trinidad and Tobago Federation of Women's Institutes established the center in 1994 in the depressed neighborhood of Corcorite in Port of Spain. It provides a two-year remedial education program to youths aged 12 to 15 years who did not pass the common entrance exam and were unable to gain access to post-primary schools. Most of the students face a series of problems, including low self-esteem, dysfunctional family backgrounds, abusive home environments, and involvement in risk behaviors (for example, early sexual experience, drug use, etc.). In promoting positive development, the Center sporadically offers co-curricular programs in basic skills training and organizes sports activities. It also has an outreach program to improve parenting skills.

The Center has successfully accessed government and international resources and expanded operations. Enrollments have increased from about 35 youths in 1994 to a current level around 140. The program now exists in seven other communities nationwide. Students are supposed to pay a nominal fee of TT$75/month, but many are able to contribute only when they have sufficient resources.

The program performs well on its objectives of helping the youths pass the common entrance examination or gain a school leaving certificate and access other educational or training opportunities. For example, of 75 students registered for the School Leaving Examinations in 1996, 56 achieved at least one pass, and of these, 20 earned three or four passes. Between 1994 and 1996, the Center placed 84 graduates in institutions for further education or training.

[40] The Center has received a government subvention for several years, and the Ministry of Education pays the salary of one of its teachers (a retired public school teacher) at below the public sector rate. This may prove to be a cost-effective way to reach at-risk youths outside the formal system.

70. In addition to the limitations of the educational system in attending to excluded youths, it lacks services that could help address the problems of youths within the system, such as dropout, teenage pregnancy, and violence. Experience in other countries has shown that the provision of ancillary social services in schools has been effective in handling these issues (Box 4.2). The education reform in Trinidad and Tobago may succeed in making access to basic and secondary education universal for young people, but in order to ensure the reduction of negative outcomes, the system will need to incorporate additional interventions.

Box 4.2: Full-Service Schools Make Resources Available to Neediest Students

Full-service community schools build on public-private partnerships to make a variety of services available in one place – the school. Local agencies bring the services needed in that community to overcome barriers to education, like a family resource center, before and after school childcare, juvenile justice programs, and primary health services. The school building is open all the time, including evenings, summers, and vacations.

School-based interventions have produced significant impacts:

- The Elizabeth Street Learning Center in Los Angeles is based on the concept of shared governance, innovative curriculum and instruction, and the provision of comprehensive family support, including a family center, primary health care clinic, extensive childcare, after-school activities, and adult education. School outcomes have improved significantly: student suspensions are down, test scores are up, the drop out rate is at 2% and graduation rate is 95%, double that of their neighboring schools.
- A school in Washington Heights, New York, built on a partnership between the local school system and an established non-profit agency in the area, Children's Aid Society, obtained a private grant to renovate the local school and partnered with other area NGOs to establish itself in the area's Dominican community. The school's services include a family resource center; medical, dental and eye clinics; a part-time psychiatrist and psychologist; and social workers. In 1993, the school had 1,200 students, whose parents and siblings also participated in the program. The unit cost per student was less than $1,000 above the cities' average educational expenditure per child of $6,500.
- A case management program in Fresno, California reported 40% and 70% decreases in unexcused absences and referrals for misbehavior, respectively.
- In New York City about three-fourths of students used school-based clinics. Of these, more than 85% said the clinic improved their abilities to take care of their bodies and to access health care resources.
- In a Denver school, committing a drug offense leads to suspension from classes. However, the school-based clinic now creates treatment contracts with these students as an alternative to leaving school, reducing suspensions by 80%.
- In a twelve-county study in Florida, 56% of clinics reported decline in school-reported pregnancies, while rates did not change or increased in 14% and 31% of schools, respectively.

Source: Drvfoos 1994

The Social Safety Net and Youth

71. ***Why Should Safety Nets Target Youths?*** In most societies youth demonstrate higher levels of poverty in relation to other population age groups and constitute the bulk of the poor. In general, when children work, it is out of necessity (and with low earnings), and young adults earn less and experience higher unemployment than older

members of the labor force. Furthermore, young women are more likely than older women to have children, and since they are disproportionately poor, the addition of children can further strain resources and increase poverty among the younger segment of the population. Trinidad and Tobago presents no exception to this general population poverty profile, despite its slightly older population in comparison to many countries in the Latin America region. The poverty head count index was 34.3% among households headed by individuals under 25 years, higher than among households in general (21%) and those headed by older individuals (i.e., 25-34: 20.1%; 35-44: 24.1%; 45-54: 21.0%; 55-64: 20.9%; 65+: 18.4%).

72. In this context safety nets improving the welfare of children or families play a role in averting the depletion or neglect of human capital.[41] An extensive array of safety net programs targeting vulnerable groups exists in Trinidad and Tobago, and many of the programs benefit youth. Furthermore, both the government and international agencies recognize that the welfare system requires reform, and any reorientation should give special attention to the needs of children and adolescents, since they constitute the bulk of the poor and future human capital. Correcting current distortions in the safety net system generally could result in more resources to redirect toward the new poor, composed mainly of families and their children, who represent the greatest current priority.

73. ***How Do Safety Nets in Trinidad and Tobago Relate to Youths?*** Based on their potential impact on youth, the public safety net programs fall into two basic categories: those that benefit youths indirectly and those that benefit them directly (see Table 4.1 for some of the main features of the programs). The former type of program raises income, or provides the means to raise it, in households that may have children – for example, old age pensions may increase the income of poor families with children only if there is an elderly recipient in the household. The programs of greatest relevance are the Old Age Pension (OAP) program; Self Help and Rehabilitative Efforts (SHARE); and, the Unemployment Relief Program (URP).[42] The second type of program is more efficient in reaching youths, and the most important programs in this category are the Public Assistance (PA) program, destined for female-headed households with children (and the disabled); the School Feeding Program, which by design reaches only those youths attending school; and, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a public works, employment generation program similar to the URP but targeted to youths/young adults aged 18-25.[43]

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[41] They do this, for example, through mechanisms that allow avoidance of the removal of children from school or cutting back on meals.

[42] There are other programs oriented toward worker training and microenterprise development, but these relate essentially to the labor market, while this section deals only with public works and transfer programs.

[43] The government recently integrated this program into YTEPP, but this section, rather than the "training" section, covers it because it had the classic features of a public works program, especially in the payment of a below-market rate stipend and emphasis on employment generation and physical capital improvement. It did have a skills development component, but in practice it appeared to remain less important than the temporary employment function.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Safety Net Programs Benefiting Youths

Program	Responsible Government Body	Eligibility Criteria for Benefits	Beneficiaries/ year	Annual Expenditure[1]
Old Age Pension (OAP)	Ministry of Social and Community Development	• 65 years or older • resident for 20 years (no more than 5 years total absence) • annual income not exceeding TT$ 7,440	59,112 (end-1997) (Obs.: many recipient households have children)	TT$ 269m
Self Help and Rehabilitative Efforts (SHARE)[2]	Ministry of Social and Community Development	• unemployed and no source of income • not in receipt of other public assistance	6,800 households/month (estimated 30,000 persons, including 20,000 children) (end-1997)	TT$ 3.5m
Unemployment Relief Program (URP)	Ministry of Local Government	• able-bodied unemployed between 17-65 • no household income constraints	60,000 (Obs.: some youths may benefit directly)	TT$130
Public Assistance (PA)	Ministry of Social and Community Development	• female-headed household • partners have deserted/died or are incarcerated/ incapacitated • certified disabled	48,620 (end-1997) (28,449 children)	TT$ 56m
School Feeding Program	Ministry of Education	• needy school children, informal targeting criteria	one-third of primary school population, app. 63,000 children	TT$ 80m
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)	Formerly, the Ministry of National Security, Defense Force Currently, YTEPP	• selection system prefers older candidates with low scores on several indices: education, level of employability, occupational status of household, and involvement in community activities • age 18-25	5,891 (1997) 24,656 (1993-97)	TT$25m (1997)

[1] public expenditure; [2] NGOs cooperate in program execution

74. The *Old Age Pensions* (OAP) program, with expenditures over the past few years in the range of TT$250 million and around 60,000 beneficiaries, constitutes the single largest program in the system and has high potential in terms of benefit diffusion to children. In principle, receipt of the flat benefit is subject to means and asset testing, but due to loose eligibility criteria, coverage has expanded to 80% of the population over the age of 65 years, essentially creating a "social" or "universal" pension system in which age is the main relevant qualifier.[44] An analogous situation prevails in South Africa, for example, and living arrangements are such that the social pension serves as an effective mechanism of directing money to households with children (see Case and Deaton 1996), thereby partially avoiding the dilemma faced by many countries of considering social expenditures for the elderly or young as alternatives. Furthermore, the fraction of children living with a pensioner is highest in lower income households, implying that the pension disproportionately reaches children in poverty. Household survey data indicate that a similar mechanism may function in Trinidad and Tobago.

[44] This places Trinidad and Tobago among a rather limited group of countries – including Australia, Denmark, New Zealand, Bolivia, Namibia and South Africa – that provide categorical flat or means-tested universal pensions to the elderly.

75. The *Social Help and Rehabilitative Efforts* (SHARE) program has essentially the same target group as public assistance – poor women and their children[45] – but different benefits and distribution mechanisms. The Ministry of Social and Community Development has qualified around 75 non-governmental or community-based organizations throughout the country to receive monthly grants for the procurement of food hampers and their distribution to persons who are unemployed, have no source of income and do not receive other government welfare assistance. The organizations are also supposed to provide rehabilitative services to the beneficiaries. These arrangements have proved very cost-effective – estimates show that a government agency undertaking only the distribution component would incur more than TT$600,000 per month in salaries alone. Recipients have generally expressed satisfaction with the program because it has allowed them to send their children to school and redirect limited funds to other needs while in receipt of the hampers.

76. The *Public Assistance* (PA) program reached 48,620 beneficiaries (28,449 children and 20,171 adults) in 1997 at a cost of TT$56m. It is more squarely directed at vulnerable children than the previous programs, but it does have some targeting problems – for example, lax application of eligibility criteria allow individuals to access the program through disability diagnoses of dubious validity. In addition, it faces challenges in the creation of incentives and mechanisms to help recipients graduate from the welfare rolls. The duplication of benefits – created by the combination of the basic PA cash benefit and other transfers and subsidies for food, transportation, housing and grants for clothing and furniture, some arising from different ministries – in some cases provides a disincentive for female household heads to pressure the labor market.[46] This is compounded by the fact that individuals can receive PA indefinitely. Moreover, there are very few services available to facilitate their rehabilitation for reentry into the work force.

77. The safety net program most directly related to the positive development of young adults was the *Civilian Conservation Corps* (CCC), which linked two national priorities – (i) environmental protection and improvement, and (ii) relief of youth unemployment, positive attitude (and self-esteem) development, and avoidance of socially undesirable behavior among the youth population.[47] It accomplished this through the creation of around 6,000 temporary job spaces per year involving work on physical and social capital improvement projects (provision of recreational/tourism facilities, productive use of unused land/increase in agribusiness, forest seedling production, disaster prevention, and community development). The mission of the CCC was strategic in that it did not overlap with those of programs oriented more toward skills development (next section). The CCC targeted unemployed youths from the lowest socioeconomic level (little formal education and low involvement in community activities). For the most part, it has

[45] According to the Research, Planning and Implementation Division, Ministry of Social Development (1997), in statistical terms "the typical SHARE recipient is female, 31-35 years of age, educated up to the primary level and either married or in a common law relationship, with an average of 3.6 children.

[46] However, the World Bank (1996) showed through the use of probit models that the receipt of welfare did not appear to negatively influence labor force participation among females, as it did among males.

[47] The URP is similar to the CCC but generally benefits an older population. For this reason, this section does not examine it individually.

reached this population: the majority of participants have poor educational achievement (equivalent to primary level School Leaving Certificate or secondary school with less than four passes). Qualitative assessments have indicated that CCC participants were likely to suffer from low self-esteem, feelings of failure, hopelessness and frustration. Females benefit disproportionately (60/40 female/male ratio), and some estimates are that up to 20% of them are young single mothers.

78. Given Trinidad and Tobago's situation of high youth unemployment, restricted educational opportunities, inadequate training capabilities, and capital intensive economic structure, the CCC represented a very attractive type of safety net program for youth. However, in spite of the program's many positive characteristics and wide range of benefits and the fairly direct solutions available for most of its weaknesses (Annex G provides a description of the program's strengths and possibilities for improvement), government recently set up its incorporation by YTEPP. This will likely imply a scale-back in operations and uncertainty regarding future funding.

Youth Training and Employment Programs

79. Since around one-third of school-aged youths remain outside the secondary education system as a result of limited space and dropout (Chapter 2), the government and voluntary and private sectors have created other options through an array of training and skills development activities. These focus on the provision of skills directly useful in the job market or micro-entrepreneurship and related activities that strive toward labor market clearance for youth, such as apprenticeships, scholarships and subsidies, job placement services, special funds to finance self-employment activities, and entrepreneurial development programs. They also often include components to improve youths' attitudes, self-esteem and basic skills, such as literacy and numeracy – sometimes these receive even more emphasis than the skills training function. In general, these programs have partially met their objectives, and, although outcomes have sometimes been below expectations and operating costs could be unsustainable if changes are not made, they play a fundamental role in offering alternatives to secondary education and reducing youth unemployment.

80. ***The main youth training and employment programs*** (YTEPs) in Trinidad and Tobago (Table 4.2) together reach around 15,000 youths annually at a total cost of some TT$50m (see Annex H for more details on the programs).[48] The most important of these programs include:

- the *Youth Training and Employment Partnership Program (YTEPP)*, a limited liability company established and funded by government;

[48] As seen earlier, this section does not cover the CCC even though it did provide some skills training. Its general features relate more closely to the safety net system (i.e., cash transfer and temporary employment generation). In this sense, the CCC and skills training programs covered in this section fit together nicely in terms of providing slightly different options. In other words, the CCC would likely appeal more to the less educated and poorer segments of the youth population.

- Junior Life Centers, Adolescent Development Community Life Centers, Skill Training Centers and Hi-Tech Centers operated by the NGO *Service Volunteered for All (SERVOL)*; and,
- *Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers (YDACs)* (former youth camps), run by the Ministry of Social and Community Development.

Table 4.2: Main Characteristics of Skills Training and Employment Programs

Program	Age Range	Number of Centers	Training Duration	Skills Provided	Stipend/ [Fees]	Beneficiaries/ year	Expenditure
YTEPP	15-25	over 20 school-based and 5 full-time centers	6 months	numeracy, literacy, life skills, 70 skills courses in 14 occupational areas, preparation for micro-enterprise	None	10,000	• TT$30m/year • approx. TT$1,200/ student/cycle
SERVOL • Junior Life • Adolescent Development • Skill-training • Hi-Tech	 16-19 " "	 10 20 12 3	 — 14 weeks 6 months 3 months	numeracy, literacy, life skills and attitudinal development, skills courses, technical training in computers and electronics	[TT$50/ month]	(1999 data) 448 1,699 1,672 384	• approx. TT$4m/year
YDACs	14-21	5 (1 in Tobago; 1 for girls)*	2 years (residential) several months (trade centers)	preparation for exams, primary school leaving certificate, trades training (agriculture, construction, domestic and commercial sector), job placement	$TT45/ month; housing and meals	1,325 (250 girls; 750 boys, residential program) 325 (trade centers)	• TT$17m/year • approx. TT$15,000/ youth/year

* The government recently closed the Chaguaramas YDAC.

81. There are also many *private sector initiatives* in youth training that fit into two broad groups. First, some private sector training is profit-oriented, small-scale and not regulated by government. Over 500 institutions are registered with the Ministry of Education as providers of technical and vocational training, but few have been through any process of accreditation or validation. The value of the certification some of them offer is questionable, and the quality of training has frequently been an issue of concern. Second, some of the larger companies have established skills development programs for youths in order to improve the human resource base in their respective industries.[49] These largely provide a higher level of training and benefit youths with a better educational background, but some accept small numbers of more vulnerable youths.

82. ***Effectiveness of Training***. The limited evidence from evaluations (mainly on YTEPP and SERVOL) indicates that YTEP training is generally useful and meets the demands of the market to a certain degree. Some indicators of YTEPP's success include: requests from private sector industrial and business employers as well as state agencies

[49] For example, the National Gas Company participates in the National Energy Skills Development Program, which provides scholarships, training and company placements. The Royal Bank, through its Royal Bank Institute of Business and Technology (ROYTEC), established a training program in 1987 because of its dissatisfaction with school leavers' skills, especially their attitudes and work ethic. An original two-week course that provided an introduction to business and personal development soon evolved into a seven month program covering economics, accounting and marketing. Today, more than 35 companies send trainees to participate. So far, over 1,000 students have graduated.

and NGOs for the customization of its integrated training package, high participation by vulnerable groups, and strong demand by clients. Several tracer studies have demonstrated positive effects of YTEPP participation on beneficiary employment rates, earnings, rates of self-employment, labor force participation, pursuit of further studies, literacy and numeracy, and character (for example, motivation and attitude) (see Annex H). SERVOL graduates have also fared well, with studies showing 41% fully employed, 27% employed part-time and 2% self-employed.

83. ***Thematic Issues in the Youth Training Field.*** The youth training and employment assistance field is currently undergoing extensive change and will have to face both new and long-standing challenges.[50] The government has already taken significant steps, such as establishing a National Training Agency (NTA) with the general mission of guiding reform of the sector and initiating the restructuring of the YDAC system. It will be important for the government and NTA to approach the following main issues from an integrated perspective: inadequate supply of services relative to demand, reorientation of public programs, a new role as a facilitator and regulator, new sources of financing, market demand for training, improvement of business and micro-entrepreneurial training, and the creation of evaluation mechanisms.

84. *Supply reduction in a context of steady demand.* Comparing the number of opportunities in training or public works style programs reviewed in the previous sections (around 21,500) to the number of unemployed youths outside the school system in any given year (perhaps 40,000 aged 16-25) reveals that the supply is inadequate in relation to the aggregate potential demand. All programs cited the inability to accept all applicants and the need to select from among them, usually through the use of criteria to identify the most vulnerable – for example, the CCC calculates an index based on several variables, including educational level and household income, in order to select candidates with the lowest socioeconomic profile. The supply shortage appears to have become more acute in light of the recent modification of the CCC and termination of one YDAC. Although it is difficult to estimate the real demand by youths for different types of training, this assessment demonstrates that service expansion is a legitimate concern. The challenge is to determine how to best accomplish and finance this expansion.

85. *Reorientation and rationalization of public sector programs.* With the goal of improving the relevance of training options and reducing costs, the government has made changes in several of its programs. Funding for YTEPP has declined, and the program has been forced to scale back and prioritize. It is searching for ways to expand its income generating potential through the attraction of new clients while not compromising its original task of working with the at-risk youth population. The CCC has also suffered funding cuts and administrative shifts – the program is now under the auspices of YTEPP instead of the Ministry of National Security. Undoubtedly, its former "military character" will change, and it will no longer offer a stipend to participants, which was one of its principal attractions. The government recently closed one of the five YDACs, citing, in part, the inadequate nature of the training offered there and the desire to shift from an expensive residential to community-based operations system. While this

[50] Some of this section draws on Pantin (1997).

demonstrates the government's commendable intention to rationalize and improve these programs, it will contribute to the reduction in options available to the most vulnerable groups. This indicates that the lack of an integrated framework placing these types of decisions in a larger context may undermine the final outcomes.

86. *New role of government as a facilitator and regulator.* The government created the National Training Agency in 1999 in order to monitor, coordinate and ensure the effectiveness of private and public technical and vocational training. In order to accomplish its mission, it will undertake the following activities: (i) analysis of the labor market to determine priority sectors and orient training activities toward them (to better match the offer of training to employer's skills needs), (ii) development of occupational standards and vocational qualifications in cooperation with industry representatives from various sectors, and (iii) implementation of a system for approval and monitoring of training provider institutions, their curricula and certification arrangements. It will also need to create information sharing mechanisms among the agency, industry representatives and small business employers, and organizations offering training activities. The establishment of the NTA is indicative of the government's interest in reducing its direct involvement in the provision of training and facilitating the expanded role of the private sector (and NGOs) while ensuring high quality through regulation and enforcement of standards. It remains to be seen whether or not the NTA will be able to create the appropriate incentive structures to ensure cost-effectiveness and quality in training.

87. *New financing mechanisms.* Public sector agencies execute most of the training programs and provide the bulk of funding necessary to operate them from budgetary resources (and loans in the case of YTEPP). An exception is the SERVOL program, which is supported by own income and grants from a variety of sources. The preponderance of government in the direct execution of training and recent indications of its strategic repositioning presages a larger role for the private sector and civil society organizations and the need to explore new financing mechanisms. One option to guarantee a stable source of resources is through the linkage of a payroll tax on employers – who to some degree may benefit from training activities, in the form of better prepared job candidates – to a fund earmarked for training, as has been done successfully in Jamaica. This provides a means of encouraging increased private sector input into guiding the types and nature of training to be pursued. Cost recovery – through the careful application of tuition fees (when possible, so as not to prohibit access by the neediest) and diversification of the client base to include organizations (for example, government agencies and businesses) that can pay for the training of their employees – is also an increasing trend. The former (passive) option (earmarking) is perhaps preferable to the latter (active) option (cost recovery) from a social welfare perspective, but it is also likely more distortionary.

88. *Lack of market demand assessment to orient training.* All organizations offering training rely almost entirely on informal means to judge the demand for occupational skills in the marketplace, which in turn serves as the basis for determining the types of training to be offered. These decisions are informed primarily by ad hoc methods rather

than systematic inquiries and surveys. Since the mechanisms allowing employers to provide input for this process are weak, the chance arises for a mismatch between skills provided by the programs and those needed in the marketplace. On the whole, the emphasis falls on "lower-end" areas of activity that may already be saturated in terms of the domestic market.[51] Although YTEPP and SERVOL have begun to offer information technology courses, the number of spaces is still quite limited. However, even the most disadvantaged segments of the youth population maintain interest in information technology training, as seen in a recent participatory assessment (World Bank 1999).

89. *Improvement of business and micro-entrepreneurial training.* Considering poor private sector employment creation and public sector retrenchment, there has been a strong logic for training programs to convey entrepreneurial skills for self employment and informal sector activities, which might serve as a relief valve to supply side pressure on the labor market. However, limited inclination or ability on the part of youths and poor access to credit[52] appear to have reduced the success of microenterprise as an employment and income generation mechanism. Tracer studies, which follow the outcomes of a sample of graduates at certain points in time, done by SERVOL and YTEPP reveal that only around 2% and 8%, respectively, of graduates surveyed were operating their own businesses. Part of the poor performance in the microenterprise sector may also have its roots in the lack of optimal training provided by the YTEPs, which face significant challenges in finding the right fit between the capability and vision of the youths and specific areas of training that allow for the development of marketable services or products. For example, according to one youth in a focus group, there is a limit to the number of tie-die artists that the market can support before crowding out occurs, yet the training programs do not take this into account (Pantin 1997).

90. *Limited Evaluation.* The YETPs maintain little hard data on the outcomes of their graduates. This presents serious difficulties for methodologically sound evaluation. The YTEPP and SERVOL have conducted tracer studies, but unfortunately, the methods used in each case were different, limiting possibilities for meta-analysis and comparison. On top of this, government bodies dealing with youths have made no significant effort to do a comprehensive evaluation of the YTEPs' performance, thus sacrificing the chance to learn what functions most effectively through a comparative approach. The YTEPs and government need to strengthen data collection, analysis and coordination of evaluation, with the adoption of similar methods. The NTA could play an important role in this regard that is not currently envisaged.

[51] Note that this is partly a result of the need to accommodate the characteristics of the target population, that may not be ready for training in more advanced areas because of a poor educational background.

[52] Fund Aid, SERVOL's credit arm, loans to communities and individuals who cannot secure a loan in commercial institutions. It has provided funding on a limited basis to youths from SERVOL's training programs, but its main clients are poor women, and the total number of direct beneficiaries is still low, probably less than two-thousand.

Sport and Youth Activities

91. Youth-serving organizations in many countries have relied on sports as well as recreational and cultural activities to engage youths and promote positive behaviors. This approach is especially well received among youths in Trinidad and Tobago, given the often-cited requests for community recreational facilities as an alternative to "liming," the equivalent of "hanging out." However, despite this advantage and others (for example, the ability to attract at-risk clients), these types of activities have limited capacity in terms of education and training. Both the government and private sector have supported such initiatives but could use them more effectively to direct beneficiaries toward other types of services.

92. The ***government*** has integrated sport and other areas of youth interest (including culture) into an explicit strategy of youth development through the operations of the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs. The Ministry's expenditure in recent years has been around TT$30m,[53] of which approximately two-thirds has gone toward the support of sports (see Annex I for details of expenditure on a sample year). The Development Program in 1995, for example, involved infrastructure investments of over TT$10m on projects such as indoor sports halls, recreation grounds, swimming pools and court surfaces. That year the Ministry gave financial assistance of over TT$1m to youth sporting organizations.

93. The Ministry also operates six youth centers and promotes mechanisms of developing youth leadership. The centers are located in poor neighborhoods, and each serves as a focal point for up to 300 youths, who can participate in organized recreational and cultural programs. They recently began offering training in information technology on a small scale, charging a small tuition, and they also serve as a venue for transmitting information on sexual and reproductive health through workshops and drug abuse prevention and outreach efforts through the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Program (NADAPP). Ministry staff conducts the leadership training program for youths interested in developing community improvement projects. The centers and training cost around TT$600,000 and TT$1.3m annually.

94. The ***private and voluntary sectors*** have also become active in sponsoring sport and culture as a means of promoting youth development. For example, much of the National Gas Company's (NGC) youth outreach has focused on sports and infrastructure development. It has financed the construction of basketball courts in 33 communities and supported 192 teams and more than 2,000 players. In a new initiative, NGC is financing the construction of basketball courts in schools. NGC will also support a program in track and field, under the leadership of Olympic athlete Hasely Crawford and in cooperation with the Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs, and the University of the West Indies. Several companies, including Carib (a beer company), British Gas and Cable and Wireless, and the Power Generation Company (PowerGen), are active in youth sports, sponsoring cricket in secondary schools and the national teams. Regarding culture, much company and community effort has focused on music (Box 4.3).

[53] This excludes expenditures on the YDACs, which are under the Ministry's administration.

Box 4.3: Youth Development and Cultural Expression – The Case of Music

The voluntary and private sectors have taken leadership in providing opportunities for youth to participate in cultural activities by organizing and promoting steel pan bands. They involve male and female youths ranging in age from 5 to 35 years. Some of the bands are active all year long, with activities culminating in the steel pan band competition during Carnival, followed shortly by the annual "Best Village Competition," which brings in the best performing groups throughout the country. The steel pan band originated in Trinidad and Tobago, so the population holds great pride in pan music. In addition, they have integrated calypso music, another indigenous music form. The steel pan bands occupy the idle time of youth and build social capital in the communities while even offering a resource for the construction of national identity.

95. Although the youth sports and culture activities supported by the Ministry and private and voluntary sectors succeed in occupying youth's idle time and contribute to positive development, they have limited potential to transfer useful skills. Furthermore, aside from support for training to improve the human resource base in specific industries, most corporate resources for youth development appear destined for sports sponsorship, which in some ways offers a relatively "easy" way for them to demonstrate involvement while avoiding the development of specific projects. In order to have a stronger impact, these actors may want to redirect their investment priorities or procure ways to improve the benefit-added of existing practices. One way of making their work more meaningful might be to attempt to link the sports and culture programs to educational and skills development projects, thereby taking greater advantage of the ability of sports and culture to draw at-risk youths and using it as a mechanism to encourage their transition to other developmental experiences.

Family and Youth Services

96. The government has established or supports services for youths without an appropriate family care environment. It is this population of youths that confronts the toughest challenges, given that the most fundamental social support structure – the family – has not met their developmental needs. Since the main mode of service provision (institutional care) is relatively expensive, government has also created mechanisms such as non-material family support and probation to allow the youths to remain within their families when possible, while hopefully improving their conditions. However, the former type of intervention (institutionalization) has historically suffered a variety of limitations, both internationally and in Trinidad and Tobago, and the latter type of service (family support and probation) is severely restricted in scope.

97. ***Institutionalization.*** Institutional care facilities attend to youths whose families cannot provide necessary inputs for positive development and to youths who have come into conflict with the law. In both situations the courts may apply remand in custody or assignment to an institution for care (status offenders) or punishment (criminal offenders)

(see Chapter 5). The age of the youth and the nature of the "offense"[54] determine the institutional destination: children's homes (formerly known as orphanages), single-sex "industrial schools" – this name from the Children's Act (1925) has remained, but these residential facilities actually offer little in the way of "industrial" training – or the Youth Training Center (YTC) (see Table 4.3). In the case of status offenses, such as situations in which the parents are unfit to provide care, the court may assign the youths to a children's home when it cannot arrange for substitute care-givers through adoption or "fit-person" orders. Convicted juvenile offenders (under age 16) normally go to single-sex correctional industrial schools, while the Youth Training Center (YTC) receives delinquent boys aged 16-18 years at the time of conviction in juvenile or adult courts.

98. The children's homes and industrial schools for girls and boys essentially attempt to accomplish the functions of the family for some 800 youths who live in them. Most of the youths entering these institutions come from families in poverty. Many have suffered neglect or abuse, and others have become involved in delinquency (see Chapter 2).[55] Therefore, the institutions maintain an integral approach in which they address the youths' physical, emotional, educational and recreational needs. They provide some services on site, such as basic and remedial education, and link up to off-site services when possible – for example, some youths attend SERVOL and YTEPP training programs, etc. The institutions require a fairly large staff to perform all necessary functions – St. Mary's, St. Dominic's and St. Jude's all employ over 60 persons, and St. Michael's has a staff of 46. Since not all staff members are involved in direct supervision of the youths and work on staggered shifts, the actual supervisor-youth ratio can be very low (1:25 at St. Dominic's and 1:53 at St. Michael's). Salary payments for staff account for most expenditure (around 80% on average) and lead to an annual cost per beneficiary of around TT$17,500 (US$2,800).

99. In addition to the institutional care facilities, there are over 20 smaller homes and half-way houses established within the past 15 years by non-governmental and religious organizations (Christian, Hindu and Islamic) that attend to essentially the same beneficiary population but in smaller groups of 5 to 40 children. The government has a long record of supporting the traditional, large homes (the children's homes and industrial schools) and frequently finances the smaller new homes with contracts through the Ministry of Social and Community Development. The homes use community networks to the extent possible, for example, by placing the children in neighborhood schools and training facilities and mobilizing resources from local individuals and businesses. Like their larger counterparts, they also organize religious, cultural and recreational events; provide on-site services such as remedial education; attempt to conduct individual counseling and family outreach. Their main advantage is their smaller scale.

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[54] Deosaran and Chadee (1997) note that it is "rather peculiar" that the courts consider situations such as destitution as "juvenile offenses."

[55] In a sample of children from St. Dominic's and St. Mary's, the most frequent age range was 5-9 years, 70% were of African descent, 70% were male, at least 68% had been abused or neglected, 50% were from single-parent households, and 23% had been born to teenage mothers (Sharpe and Bishop 1993). Fifty percent and 70%, respectively, had no contact with their mothers and fathers.

Table 4.3: Institutional Care Facilities – Main Characteristics

Institution	Founding year and organization	Target population	Number of beneficiaries	Annual expenditure[1] and unit costs
St. Dominic's Children's Home	1871, Roman Catholic Church	Accepts children aged 0-10, who may stay until age 16, by law	265 (60-65% male)	TT$5m, approx. TT$19,000/beneficiary
St. Mary's Children's Home	1857, Anglican Church	Accepts children aged 0-10, who may stay until age 16, by law	200 (115 male, 85 female)	TT$4m, approx. TT$20,000/beneficiary
St. Michael's School for Boys	1889, British Government	Boys aged 10-16	160	TT$3m, approx. TT$19,000/beneficiary
St. Jude's School for Girls	1889	Girls aged 10-16	167	TT$2m, approx. TT$12,000/beneficiary

[1] This refers only to the government subvention, of which around 80% goes to staff salaries. The institutions also receive donations, which add a small amount to their overall budget, but often these are linked to specific initiatives within the institution (for example, a training course).

100. All the institutions and homes face common challenges in improving their services, and some aspects of their operations also merit reconsideration and modification. The main issues relate to the lack of qualified staff, need for better reintegration of youths into communities after they leave the institution, too little work with the families to improve their relations with interned youths, inadequate arrangements to accommodate youths interned for different reasons (for example, status vs. criminal offenses), and high unit costs.

101. *Lack of qualified personnel.* In spite of good intentions in many cases, the staff of the institutions are not properly prepared to execute necessary functions. In part, since salaries are low, so are the required qualifications for employment – often only a primary school leaving certificate. In some situations, the low pay has ultimately contributed to poor management, including record-keeping and information analysis, and high absenteeism. Specialized psychological and social work skills are largely lacking among staff, which is a serious issue, considering that most of the children have experienced very traumatic life events, such as neglect, abuse, abandonment, malnourishment, and time on the streets. Part of the problem is that there are limited training opportunities available for staff to improve their skills. While the National Family Services division has developed a curriculum, there still remains a need for specialized training (for conflict mediation, psychology, etc.).

102. *Reducing stigma and better reintegrating youths in their communities.* The social stigma associated with the institutions hurts the youths' "reintegration" into the larger society after release. It may diminish their chances of securing employment, and anecdotal evidence suggests that most initial placements are made possible only through informal contacts and the good will and commitment of staff. The youths rarely return to their families since the families generally have not been prepared to accept them and may still present the conditions that initially caused the youth to be institutionalized. The final

result is that, upon leaving the institutions, the youths are often unfit to live independently.[56] For this reason the Ministry of Social and Community Development installed a new halfway house for youths who have no alternative accommodation. The project has a social worker and a psychologist to help the youths through this difficult transitional phase. However, advocacy work for these children could help mobilize support for their plight, redress the stigma associated with having lived in a children's home, and encourage more community-generated solutions. Similarly, there is a need for more comprehensive services (for example, counseling and training) to prepare the youths for leaving the institutions.

103. *Little family involvement.* Due to both financial and human resource constraints, the institutions do little work with families to address the conditions and behaviors that contributed to their children's institutionalization (see following section on family services). While many parents apparently visit their children periodically, for all intensive purposes, they relinquish their childcare/parenting responsibilities to the state. In this regard, it would be desirable to establish stronger mechanisms, when possible, to liaise with families and potential caregivers and encourage and capacitate them to facilitate the reintegration of these youths into their communities.

104. *Inadequate accommodation arrangements.* The practice in the courts of prescribing custody on remand[57] creates a mixture of convicted offenders and those awaiting judgement in the institutions – this occurs mainly in the industrial schools but also to a limited extent in the boy's and girl's homes. Furthermore, the courts often place together in the institutions youths who committed mere "status" or trivial offenses, such as the "use of obscene language," with more serious offenders. Observers of the system claim that the latter may "corrupt" the former by acting as negative role models. In an attempt to create more appropriate living environments, the institutions have broken down dormitory arrangements into smaller group living spaces that, under the care of a supervisor, take on a more "family-oriented" feel and allow for closer monitoring.[58]

105. *High cost of institutional care.* Due to their staffing requirements and provision of integral care, the institutions incur relatively high costs. The children's homes and industrial schools spend approximately TT$17,500 on average per beneficiary on an annual basis.[59] Upgrading services to an optimal level could add considerably to this figure. While there is general recognition that the public sector has an important role to play in ensuring the welfare of these youths, government has expressed a desire to procure less costly options, such as cooperation with the community-based homes

[56] The most striking manifestation of this problem relates to the "over-the-wall" boys of St. Mary's Home, who after leaving the institution at age 16, built and lived in make-shift shelters near the walls of the institution while trying to ensure their subsistence. Clearly, they did not even have an idea of where to go to start their lives outside the home.

[57] One study indicated that forty percent of youths at the industrial schools and YTC were there on remand (Deosaran and Chadee 1997) and that this may increase to as high as 90% at the YTC (Trinidad and Tobago 1994).

[58] This also implies allowing siblings to stay in the same group.

[59] Still, one could argue that in the context of the overall budget, TT$15m is not too much to spend for a necessary service of this nature.

operated by NGOs. The key to this strategy is to establish the proper regulations and incentives, as is the case in other sectors of youth development (for example, training) – the variable quality of community-based alternatives means that quality control will remain an important issue. The government has also referred to strengthening family support services and probation as cost-effective alternatives to long-term institutional care for some youths, but the effectiveness of these services is largely unknown. Also, given their current rather fragile institutional capacity, they would require significant investment to become relevant on a larger scale, as will be seen in the following section.

106. ***Family Services Division.*** The government established the National Family Services Division in 1990 during a period of heightened attention to the issue of child abuse. It deals principally with intra-familial abuse, violence and neglect toward children or any other family member (especially women), and cases involve incest, rape, psychological problems, substance abuse and economic difficulties. Its broader functions include the protection of children, referral of youths in conflict with the law, monitoring of the youth institutions and homes,[60] development of family services training programs, and accompanying developments in legislation relating to the family.

107. The Division performs a combination of casework, referral and prevention. A very small staff of 10 covers all of Trinidad – there is a regional coordinator, childcare officer and family case worker for each of three regions on the island. They receive over 1,000 potential cases per year and are able to service only several hundred of them. The main case management tools are counseling, monitoring and referral to other services. In the case of child care, for example, adoption is limited – there is currently no foreign adoption by law, and formal adoption domestically is not widely practiced. The Children Act contains a provision for placing a youth in the care of "a relative or fit person," but a formal foster care system, with provisions for registration, monitoring and inspection, is still lacking.[61]

108. Service expansion and increases in efficiency are important issues since the demand for family services currently surpasses the capacity of the Division, as evidenced by the large volume of referrals from a variety of sources that it is unable to service. With a staff under 15 and annual expenditures of only around TT$100,000 on salaries, the contracting of more extensive services may represent a feasible and valuable strategy, especially since the government is interested in alternatives to more expensive residential care options. There also appear to be opportunities for improved cooperation with other actors and expansion of operations through the introduction of new institutions. For example, the Ministry of Culture and Gender Affairs has a domestic violence hotline and multi-disciplinary counseling centers but maintains little interaction with the Division on this issue. The Children's Authority, if created (see Chapter 5), will bear responsibility

[60] Although the Minister may revoke certification of the children's homes and industrial schools, according to the Director, the Division has to rely on moral suasion in dealing with the staff or administration of the homes with regard to changing conditions or practices. The Children's Act (1925) does not hold provisions for the monitoring of the newer community-based homes, a situation being addressed under the new bill for a "Community Residences, Foster Care and Nurseries Act, 1999" (see Chapter 5).

[61] The bill for a "Community Residences, Foster Care and Nurseries Act, 1999" would improve the structure of the formal foster care system.

for the regulation of homes and foster care (as well as day care centers), which would allow the Division to concentrate more effectively on active case work.

109. ***Probation Services.*** The Probation Services Division is better staffed, with 28 officers, than the Family Services Division, but it still encounters some of the same challenges. In addition to adult cases, it generally accompanies around 310 juvenile cases (70 criminal and 240 status) per year – each case is normally active for one to three years. The probation officers must do court work, monitoring cases as they progress through the judicial system – a process they feel should be assigned to court personnel – and then follow the cases after they have been decided. According to the Children Act, the Chief Probation Officer (CPO) is also the Chief Inspector of the industrial schools and orphanages. The Division conducts remedial therapy (on topics including sexuality, drugs, motivation and self-esteem), group counseling, and literacy programs for beneficiaries.

110. As with the Family Services Division, staff members of the Probation Services state that they cannot keep pace with the case volume and provide the service necessary to achieve greater success with their charges. In this sense, the Probation Division could be considered another potential candidate for investment and expansion – its annual expenditure amounts to only around TT$2m, of which salaries account for over three-quarters. Here again, some institutional issues will demand clarification. For example, the Chief Probation Officer, in the capacity of Chief Inspector of the institutional care facilities, and the probation staff, in a supportive role to this function, present some overlap with the Family Services Division. A Children's Authority with power to regulate the institutions would also make this function of the CPO unnecessary. In the case of a new remand home that has been constructed but not yet opened, doubt remains as to which government division will be responsible for its operations. Defining more accurately the specific tasks of each governmental agency and setting clear institutional boundaries would improve accountability and efficiency.

Programs for Specific Risk Groups

111. Different conditions of risk among adolescents (for example, school failure, adolescent pregnancy, drug abuse, institutionalization because of delinquency, etc.) appear to be related to each other and to an underlying set of antecedents (for example, abuse, low quality schools, living environment lacking critical resources) (see Chapter 2). Aside from ECCD services and orientation regarding good parenting provided by NGOs, there are few mechanisms of detecting and preventing risk behavior as the child advances through primary education and into adolescence. Although the youth employment training programs have the general goal of keeping youth out of trouble, they offer little concrete in the way of targeting specific risk behavior. Other specialized preventive efforts tend to concentrate on single risk factors, as do rehabilitative projects for older children and adolescents.

112. In the area of ***adolescent pregnancy***, NGOs have been the main force behind the implementation of preventive and remedial interventions. The Family Planning

Association of Trinidad and Tobago has trained over 500 peer counselors, working with youths both in and out of school, and Families in Action also initiated a similar program. The Child Welfare League created a program called Choices in 1993, which aims to (i) improve parenting skills of teenage mothers and provide them with health counseling and child daycare services, (ii) implement a family life education program in secondary schools and community centers, and (iii) disseminate information on family planning, child rearing, nutrition, domestic violence and abuse. In practice, it has concentrated on an eighteen-month program for teenage mothers in three centers, each of which serves about 15 beneficiaries, on total annual expenditures of around TT$400,000. In addition to health and parenting information, the young mothers acquire literacy training and basic skills (for example, garment construction and food preparation) and support to continue their formal education. In evaluative focus group sessions and interviews, participants have cited improved parenting skills and self confidence, and repeat pregnancies are less common among this group than teenage mothers not participating in the program.

113. The government has been active in combating ***drug trafficking and drug use*** through measures to reduce supply and demand. Of primary interest regarding youth are strategies to limit demand, which have been coordinated by the National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Program (NADAPP) since 1985. It employed the following strategies, among others, in a two-phase program funded by the United Nations Drug Control Program (US$1.15m, 1996-1999): public education and information; community-based prevention activities; and, school drug education. However, the program was modest in size, and there was limited evaluation of results. The government, in its draft National Drug Strategy Master Plan 1998-2002, recognizes these deficiencies and calls for renewed effort in all these areas. Rehabilitative services exist on a very limited basis in some public hospitals and private clinics.

114. In addition to the court-appointed children's homes and institutions for boys and girls (section 3.4.2), youths who have difficult family situations and who are at risk from spending time on the streets, the so-called "***street children***," are the focus of a variety of small-scale projects operated by NGOs (see Ibabao 1998). These include the Marian House, the Credo Foundation and the YMCA in Port of Spain, and the Hope Center in La Brea and Ferdines Home in Point Fortin. They form a loose network and have a system of referrals. For example, Marian House has both an outreach and a residential program serving around 20 boys, and both the Credo Foundation and YMCA provide complementary day activities centered on recreation, education and counseling.[62] The homes are "open" – allowing the youths a fair amount of independence – and emphasize supervised family counseling and therapy sessions as a prelude to potential family reunification. In this regard, they provide a valuable alternative model to the government institutions. The government often supports these projects with contracts through the Ministry of Social and Community Development. Still, cooperation has not matured to the extent necessary to allow for significant service improvement or expansion.

[62] Ibabao (1998) notes a "gender gap" in services since there are few projects catering to females. This is likely a result of the fact that the great majority of youths on the streets are male.

CHAPTER 5
POLICY AND LEGAL CONTEXT AND INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

115. Strengthening many of the services reviewed in the previous chapter will require improvements in policy, legislation and institutional capacity. This chapter discusses the current institutional context for the implementation of youth programs, government efforts to develop a new youth policy, and existing and planned legislation relating to youth. In each of these areas, it identifies implications for the relevant institutional and organizational structures, which are generally deficient. Unless the government plans appropriately, this situation could become more serious with the addition of new institutions and responsibilities through the enactment of proposed policy and legislation.

The Context of Youth Policy Implementation – Main Issues

116. An improved environment for the development and implementation of a youth policy will likely result from the government's efforts to shift its role from service provider to facilitator and regulator and achieve greater decentralization, cost-effectiveness, and stronger partnerships. However, three broad issues will merit special attention so that this process proceeds successfully. First, the public service delivery structure is extensive but inefficient. Second, although government has already cooperated at length with civil society organizations and the business community, it could do this on a more systematic basis. Third, a wide array of government-appointed commissions have presented analysis and recommendations on specific topics in youth development that have resulted in little concrete action.[63]

117. ***Institutional Overlap.*** Several ministries are involved in the planning and implementation of youth policy and programs.[64] As Deosaran (1998) observes, the division of responsibilities in the public apparatus is clear when the nature of the interventions is very different (for example, education vs. juvenile homes). On the other hand, in certain areas such as training, the lack of definition of roles among ministries has given rise to overlaps. For example, programs sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Gender Affairs, Ministry of Social Development, and Ministry of Sports and Youths Affairs offer training without a common underlying strategy, which would help clarify areas of comparative advantage. As seen in Chapter 4, the establishment of the National Training Agency should help address this issue, but in other areas there is need for a similar coordinating body or mechanism. Although the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs has this role at a general level, it has yet to finalize the National Youth Policy,

[63] This has created unfulfilled expectations and, as a consequence, noticeable cynicism among youth and those working in the youth development field.

[64] These include the Ministries of Education; Sport and Youth Affairs; Social and Community to Development; Information, Communication, Training and Distance Learning; Attorney General; and, Legal Affairs. The work of other ministries (for example, Planning and Development, Health) relates tangentially to the main themes of youth development dealt with in this report.

which should have as a fundamental goal the allocation of responsibility among the relevant government bodies.

118. ***Ad-hoc Involvement of Civil Society and the Private Sector.*** There are many civil society organizations working on youth issues in Trinidad and Tobago, but they suffer from some of the classic problems of the non-governmental sector. In a 1995 report, the World Bank noted that, with a few exceptions (for example, SERVOL), NGOs in the country operate with insufficient staff (especially in technical fields), in the absence of a clear regulatory framework, without mechanisms to measure performance, and with substantial financial constraints. In order to ameliorate these problems, the Bank recommended measures to (i) promote a network of NGOs, (ii) strengthen their capacity, and (iii) establish an accreditation process to promote further contracting by government. Deosaran (1998) also advocates a certification system for NGOs as a means of maintaining quality standards.

119. Current collaboration between the government and the private sector is mainly on an ad-hoc basis. As indicated in Chapter 4, several private sector entities, such as Royal Bank and BP Amoco, offer training or support government programs such as the Adopt a Community Program. However, there are areas in which the government could encourage more significant private sector participation in service provision through the creation of incentives and enabling mechanisms.[65]

120. ***Lack of Follow-up.*** The government has frequently appointed committees with representatives from various sectors of society to study topics of social concern and make recommendations. Very often the analysis and proposed actions are appropriate; however, they have generated few results. Deosaran (1998) reviewed the findings of several committees on youth issues that government acted on only partially or not at all. These included the work of the following bodies: Government Appointed Task Force on Crime (1996); National Consultation on Violence and Indiscipline in the Schools (1989); Cabinet Appointed Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (1994); and, Government Appointed Task Force to Review Children's Homes (1997).[66] Although youth development demands a considerable amount of attention, little has taken place, in concrete, over the past several years to follow up on the most pressing issues.

National Youth Policy

121. The ongoing efforts by the government to develop a national youth policy provide an opportunity to address the difficulties experienced until now through the identification of institutional overlaps and new areas of responsibility, definition of policy to stimulate greater involvement of civil society organizations and the private sector, and creation of an action plan with measurable indicators to ensure follow-up.

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[65] An example is tax incentives for organizations that sponsor the development of youth activities at the community level.

[66] These represent just a few of many examples.

122. In July of 1998 the government appointed a Special Task Force comprising 29 representatives from various government ministries, civil society organizations, youth associations and academia to formulate a national youth policy under the coordination of the Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs. The Task Force has held extensive consultations with key stakeholders throughout the country and produced a background document outlining policy objectives, priority target groups, strategic areas and recommendations.[67] Annex J provides a summary of the key features that the policy will contain.

123. The background document prepared by the government is a good start for the preparation of the final policy. It accurately reflects the issues and concerns of youth in the country, which were confirmed by the findings of the World Bank mission and the social assessment conducted for this report (Marshall 1999). However, the current draft largely bypasses the concerns stated earlier, demonstrating the need to face them in the next version. Moreover, having followed a highly participatory process, the government has raised expectations among youth, and responding to them will be a major challenge.

124. At this stage the youth policy document is still very broad and does not contain enough detail to make a thorough assessment, other than to note that it could face problems in implementation without careful development. It defines policy objectives, some of which would be difficult to implement due to their ambitious nature and lack of specificity.[68] The recommendations cut across many different sectors (for example, education, health, and employment); range from practical operational proposals (for example, construct more facilities for children who lack family care) to reforms and changes in processes and systems (for example, improve judicial system); and would require intervention at different levels by various actors including government agencies and civil society organizations (see Box 5.1). However, the document falls short in assessing the level of commitment from these agencies and the institutional changes and resources required to execute the different policy components.

Box 5.1: Beneficiary Participation in Policy Planning – UNIGEM

The inclusion of youth groups such as the United Nations Geoguthic Movement (UNIGEM) in policy planning would allow for beneficiary participation. UNIGEM is a youth movement affiliated with the United Nations Information Center in Port of Spain. Over 100 members between the ages of 17 and 23 years take part in the organization. It has presented a proposal for a Youth Parliament to the Attorney General and is awaiting the draft legislation from the Law Commission and Legislative Council. UNIGEM is also promoting the inclusion of a provision against age discrimination in the text of the Equal Opportunity Bill. Considering UNIGEM's impressive record in advocating youth issues, it would be an ideal youth group for the government to invite to help in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the national youth policy.

125. Institutional constraints are likely to hamper proper implementation of the policy. The Division of Youth Affairs of the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs would bear

[67] Draft Background Document on the National Youth Policy, August 16, 1999.

[68] Examples of the eight policy objectives include: "the promotion of unity and equity among all young people in the country," and "the development in all youth of a social consciousness."

overall responsibility for the youth policy, yet it is currently not equipped to undertake such a task. Its limited human and financial resource capacity will demand substantial changes in order to meet the demands to plan and implement programs, monitor progress, carry out research and improve data collection, provide training, and coordinate activities with other government agencies, private sector, non-governmental organizations and youth groups. The background document for the youth policy recognizes this but makes no clear provisions to address it.

126. Information on youth will be key to the conclusion of the policy planning process and posterior adjustments during implementation. Presently, no mechanisms exist for continuous data collection concerning child abuse, homeless children and youth, and children and youth placed in institutional care. Efforts such as those of the Ministry of Social and Community Development to develop and maintain a management information system including indicators on children under difficult circumstances should receive more support.

The Legal Context

127. There are three basic problems with the legal provisions and dispensation of justice for children and youth: (i) inconsistency across legislation; (ii) inadequate structure of legal institutions to provide specialized services to families and youths; and (iii) insufficient institutional capacity at the ministerial level to implement laws and regulations. This section addresses these issues through a review of existing and planned legislation and its compliance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, where applicable. Currently, there are 23 laws relating directly to children and youth and five acts for additional legislation under the consideration of Cabinet. The adoption and execution of the proposed legislation should have many positive effects, including improvements in the situation of institutionalized children, options for foster care, court handling of issues affecting youths and families, and consistency in terms and precepts. However, without appropriate measures to increase the capacity of institutions responsible for putting the legislation into practice, its effectiveness will remain severely limited.

128. ***Existing Legal Provisions and Legal Structure.*** Inconsistencies in the legislation affecting youths arise in the definitions and ages applied in different laws, resulting in the under-protection of certain youth. For example, the Children Act defines a "child" as a person under the age of 14 years and a "young person" as one aged 14 to 15 years. At the same time, the Age of Majority Act (46:06) provides that a person under age 18 is a "minor." This means that "minors" aged 16-17 are not eligible for protection under the current provisions of the Children Act, which has serious consequences in terms of alternative care arrangements. In practice, youths in this age range end up grouped with younger children in the industrial schools or even with youths over age 18 in the Youth Training Center – both situations that present the possibility of older youths having a detrimental influence on younger ones, although the age group in question is the perpetrator in the former case and the victim in the latter.[69] Thus, youth between the ages

[69] If the age limit were raised, the government could feel pressure to provide expanded residential care.

of 16-17 have the least amount of protection under the law despite the fact that they constitute one of the most vulnerable groups, as indicated, for example, by relatively high dropout rates and other risks of adolescence (see Chapter 2).

129. A fundamental contravention of the Convention on the Rights of the Child[70] is the controversial legal provision for the corporal punishment of children. Section 22 of the Children Act preserves the right of any parent, teacher or other person having lawful control or charge of a child or adolescent to administer "reasonable punishment," which is interpreted in practice to include physical discipline. Furthermore, the Corporal Punishment Act allows whipping in lieu of any other sentence for male offenders aged 15 and 16 years. Many countries have now abolished corporal punishment in schools and some 10 countries have made it unlawful for parents (and others) to hit children.[71]

130. In terms of its present structure and institutional capacity, the justice system faces limitations that adversely impact its implementation of existing legislation. The absence of a special family court and adequate human and financial resources in the current system to accommodate family and youth cases has contributed to several undesirable outcomes, including delays in case processing, placement of youths on remand for months at a time, grouping of youths on remand with those who have committed serious crimes (also see Chapter 4), and inadequate provision of proper legal advice for children and families. Substantial institutional and organizational changes would be necessary to address these problems. An immediate step would be to undertake an assessment of the institutional capacity of the different agencies involved in order to identify investment priorities, which would likely include specialized training of personnel and recruitment of staff with the required skills profiles.[72]

131. ***New Legislation Under Consideration.*** Many of the issues identified above would be addressed by proposed legislation. Cabinet is currently reviewing five new pieces of legislation regarding children and youth: (i) the Children's Authority Act, (ii) the Community Residences, Foster Care and Nurseries Act; (iii) the Family Court Act; (iv) the Adoption Bill; and (v) the Act to Amend Certain Laws Affecting Children.

132. The main objective of the *Children's Authority Act* is to establish an Authority or body responsible for: (i) monitoring the quality of services and type of treatment given to children in community residences (including the industrial schools and orphanages), foster homes, and nurseries; (ii) enforcing standards set under the Children Residences and Rehabilitation Centers Act; (iii) investigating complaints regarding mistreatment of

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[70] The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child in November of 1989. It is now one of the most widely ratified international conventions, also having received ratification by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago in November of 1991. Governments have submitted reports to indicate proposed legislative reforms to meet the requirements of the Convention. Although the general provisions in Trinidad and Tobago's penal system are broadly compliant, there are still some areas of inconsistency.

[71] Trinidad and Tobago is now in the process of making similar amendments.

[72] In addition to the judicial system itself, other agencies involved in the delivery of services required by legislation would need strengthening, including the Family Services Division, Probation Division, and Youth Affairs Division (see Chapter 4).

children at home; (iv) issuing, revoking and withdrawing licenses of residences, foster homes and nurseries; (v) monitoring agencies that address children's issues; and (vi) advocating to protect the rights of children. While the mandate of the proposed Authority has great potential to improve services, the government has made no provisions to guarantee its human and financial resources and build the necessary institutional capacity. If given the jurisdiction to implement this law, the Family Affairs Division of the Ministry of Social Development will need to be restructured and strengthened, since at this point, it is already over-stretched by its current responsibilities (see Chapter 4).

133. While the Children's Authority Act would legally establish the Children's Authority, the *Community Residences, Foster Care and Nurseries Act* would delineate this body's role, responsibilities and powers in monitoring, licensing and regulating such places. Although there is already an extensive network of community residences and nurseries/day-care centers (Chapter 4), the foster care system is still small-scale and informal – the only provisions for foster care appear in the Children's Act, which allows the Courts to place children in the care of a "fit person." Therefore, the Community Residences, Foster Care and Nurseries Act would create an environment propitious to the expansion of foster care. However, the extent to which families in Trinidad and Tobago will take up the idea of foster care remains uncertain,[73] but this is an especially important question considering that it could relieve pressure on the institutional and community-based residential service network, thereby improving its financial sustainability and quality of service provision. In addition, the establishment of a sound foster care system will require the designation of the appropriate institution to manage it (for example, registering families and monitoring children placed in their care), additional highly qualified professionals, and sufficient allocation of resources.

134. The establishment of the proposed Family Court – which would have equal standing to the High Court – through the *Family Court Act* would make it possible to better respond to the legal needs of children, young persons, and families. Despite the need for the proposed court, it represents an addition to a system that already suffers from serious resource limitations and needs a thorough reform. In this regard, the success of the Family Court, will depend on establishing clear mechanisms to ensure high quality services, such as adequate information and communication systems, trained staff in the areas of child and family law, a sufficient number of available social workers, and development of mediation and conflict resolution services that could help resolve cases without bringing them before the court.

135. Additional proposed legislation relates to the modernization of existing laws. The new *Adoption of Children Act* would repeal the old one and attempt to improve the protection of the rights of children under the country's adoption system. It would also make it possible for persons living abroad to adopt a child who is a resident of Trinidad and Tobago. An *Act to Amend Laws Affecting Children* makes provisions for the amendment of several laws affecting children such as the Corporal Punishment Act, the

[73] The prospects for foster care in Trinidad and Tobago initially appear positive, in light of the tradition of extended family networks, which distribute childcare responsibilities and often informally incorporate children from the community who are in need (St. Bernard 1998).

Summary Offences Act, the Young Offenders Detention Act, and the Children Act. The Amendments in some cases clarify the current legislation, provide new age limits, and repeal certain sections of current acts.

Considerations Regarding Implementation

136. The government's efforts to develop a national youth policy and establish improved legislation in key areas relating to youth have the potential to bring significant positive results, but successful implementation will depend on several factors. The development of the youth policy provides the opportunity to address problems from the past, including unsystematic cooperation among partners, unclear definition of responsibility among partners and lack of follow-up on persistent issues of concern. In comparison to the current draft youth policy, a more focused policy, with a clear emphasis on at-risk youth, would be easier to execute (due to the definition of reasonable and achievable objectives) and would likely have greater benefits (see Chapter 3). The proposed legislation on a Children's Authority, community and foster care, a family court, and adoption would position the government as a supervisor and facilitator and create an environment for improved and increased private and voluntary sector service provision, but resources will be necessary to establish the new institutional structures and increase the capacity of existing ones.[74] In this regard there is urgent need for institutional assessment and planning that can quantify these inputs.

[74] Experiences with overburdened foster care systems in the United States have revealed the dangers of inadequate planning and resource allocation. Research has shown that the weakness of the foster care system in several cities has produced a group of youth at high risk of incarceration, homelessness, public assistance dependency, early childbearing and physical and sexual victimization (Courtney and Piliavin 1998).

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS AND PROGRAM AND POLICY OPTIONS

137. This report shows that investing in youth would bring significant social and economic benefits to Trinidad and Tobago. It also demonstrates that the current exclusion of a large segment of youth from the education system along with other negative social factors often produce high social and economic costs. As early as the 1970s,[75] observers within and outside the country identified two major obstacles to youth development that leave around a third of youth at risk of poor outcomes: (i) restricted access to education beyond primary level and (ii) lack of employment opportunities for those with low labor market qualifications. These issues have preoccupied many governments, but at the onset of the twenty-first century, they persist.

138. The limitations of the education system and the lack of employment opportunities, in combination with poverty and deficient neighborhood environments, generate risks for youth involvement in crime, the drug trade and drug use, and early sexual activity and pregnancy. Other widely recognized factors contributing to these negative outcomes are reduced family care, partly as a result of changing family structure or migration, abuse, parents' abdication of childcare responsibilities, and, ultimately, the intersection of youths with the judicial system and protective services, including institutional and community care facilities.

139. A significant challenge for democratic governments, which often have a short time to show results, is to bridge the gap between goals and outcomes. It is natural for them to focus on initiatives involving infrastructure development, which are readily observable, over "less visible" programs, such as those that aim to improve educational achievement, skills profiles and employment results, or modify behavior. Although these may take time to become evident, they can help reduce the high social and individual costs of youth crime and school dropout. Therefore, investing in youth development programs, like the expansion of remedial and alternative education, special efforts to reach high-risk groups, and family services deserve high priority.

140. In this regard, Trinidad and Tobago has taken important steps to deal with youth issues and is currently well-positioned to progress further. The government has begun to prepare a national youth policy and legislation to improve youth services and has already laid the groundwork to accomplish its stated goals in youth development, including education reform, rationalization of skills training programs, and shifting from direct service provision to the regulation and facilitation of voluntary and private sector service delivery in areas such as training and youth protective services. It could complement these efforts with additional strategies, including sponsoring special programs to reach youths at highest risk of experiencing poor outcomes, taking advantage of the attractiveness sport and culture to direct youths toward education and training initiatives, and reforming safety net programs to better benefit poor families with children. The

[75] See World Bank 1973, Trinidad and Tobago: Report on Employment.

recommendations of this report set out a strategy that would combine such efforts to make long-term improvements regarding the situation of youth in the country.

141. ***A "Youth-Centered" Transitional Strategy.*** The expansion of the educational system to meet the demand of a growing secondary school population may take several years. In the meantime, interim measures would be needed to help reduce negative outcomes among youths excluded from the education system and those within school with high risk behavior. Therefore, this report proposes a "transitional strategy" that would include a coordinated set of interventions, policies and legislation, all of which could be reflected in the finalization of the national youth policy. Its implementation would require the combined efforts of the public, private and voluntary sectors at the local and national levels and the involvement of the local communities. The expected long-term impacts, assuming adequate progress in education reform, include higher school enrollment and better completion rates, improved skills competency and labor market outcomes, reduced risk behavior and its consequences, such as crime and violence, and increased social capital.[76]

142. The "transitional strategy" would have the following key objectives:

- Facilitate access to schooling and retention of youth at-risk in school.
- Reach youths outside of school with additional educational options.
- Improve the delivery and quality of training and its relevance to the market.
- Adopt appropriate policy and legislation regarding the monitoring and regulation of youth and family services, reform the institutional care system while strengthening alternatives, and reform safety net programs.
- Establish the institutional infrastructure necessary to promote an integrated approach to youth development and implement the transitional strategy.

Facilitate Access to Education and Retention of At-Risk Youth in School

143. Improving access and equity in education has been a major challenge for Trinidad and Tobago. The school system has not performed well on these parameters by systematically excluding poor performers on entry to the secondary level and not providing the quality and relevance in education required to retain at-risk students. Although the government has initiated a comprehensive education reform that encompasses construction of classrooms, curriculum improvement, teacher training and greater parent and community involvement in school management, these initiatives will take effect gradually over a period of several years. In the meantime, a large contingent of youth will remain excluded from the educational system, and many more will risk school failure, dropout and related outcomes such as drug use and crime.

144. Creating complementary mechanisms to facilitate access for youths outside the school system and retain youth within the system would help reduce risk during the

[76] Although difficult to measure, indicators of social capital applied in previous research include people's assessment of their own quality of life through aspects such as "sense of wellbeing" and "belonging."

transitional period of education reform. Several options derived from international experience may be applicable to Trinidad and Tobago:[77]

- ***Developing ways to identify youth at risk.*** Based on the understanding of risk antecedents and markers discussed in this report (Chapter 2), schools and communities could systematically help identify youth at risk of experiencing negative outcomes for special intervention.
- ***Increasing the use of demand-side mechanisms.*** Several countries use scholarships and vouchers to facilitate access to educational facilities.[78] These frequently target inputs such as school materials or transportation, depending upon specific need in different areas. Trinidad and Tobago has scholarship programs that it could expand for poor children. Similarly, the use of vouchers could be tested with regard to stimulating greater private sector participation in the provision of education.
- ***Adapting and piloting the "full-service community school" model.*** These schools incorporate a wide range of services at the school site – such as individual tutoring and mentoring, substance abuse counseling, family development services, primary and reproductive health care, and job placement – that aim to reach at-risk youths and improve educational investments (see Chapter 4). Designating selected schools in the poorest communities of the country to become "full-service schools" on a pilot basis could pave the way for a similar approach elsewhere once the government has completed the expansion in the secondary school system.
- ***Promoting a positive "youth culture" in school through after-school activities.*** Clubs, sport and cultural activities that occupy youth idle time in a constructive manner are widespread and popular among youths in Trinidad and Tobago, and, in addition to their function of averting youth involvement in detrimental activity, have great potential for providing an entry-point to other services. Involving parents, youths and communities in developing these efforts would enhance their effectiveness. The activities should take place after school and, when appropriate, take advantage of school facilities and resources, such as libraries.

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[77] These recommendations are based on general principles that are consistent with some of the key strategic directions identified by the government of Trinidad and Tobago. They include: (i) services are more effective when they are coordinated and holistic (rather than fragmented and categorical); (ii) community and beneficiary involvement in decision making and program implementation help ensure program effectiveness; (iii) the most effective use of resources is on interventions that prevent at-risk behavior and bear high social and economic returns, such as education; (iv) public investments should be targeted towards the poorest segments of the population with appropriate accountability mechanisms; (v) policy and program implementation require clear institutional arrangements and appropriate management and monitoring systems; (vi) quality control for provision of services involves government regulation and monitoring through autonomous bodies; (vii) under many circumstances, services can be of higher quality when provided in a competitive environment by the private or voluntary sector; (viii) policies and laws without enforcement can undermine the public's confidence in government.

[78] This approach is particularly relevant to ECCD services, whose coverage for poor families will be far from universal even after execution of the Basic Education Project, which employs a public-private approach with the government building and equipping facilities run by NGOs and community groups. Another perhaps less costly alternative to the construction of more new centers is government stimulation of private sector provision by offering initial inputs (materials, small works and centralized training) or subsidies for start-up, thereby creating a demand-responsive environment, due to the easy entry and exit of service units from the market. The primary public recurrent costs would involve ensuring provider compliance with standards through monitoring and regulation by the Children's Authority.

- ***Piloting learning modules to enrich the curriculum.*** Many youth cite the inadequacy of school curriculum as a cause of poor performance and school dropout. The introduction of learning modules in areas that build skills useful to at-risk youths and interest them such as life skills, problem solving, and information technology could help to keep them in school. The government could stimulate their development by Universities or NGOs on a competitive basis.

Reach Youth outside the Education System

145. Even with additional efforts to improve access to education during the reform process, there will be a need to offer out-of-school youths engagement in some form of schooling. The government could do this by supporting community-based youth development centers and voluntary organizations providing remedial and alternative education programs:

- ***Expanding the network of Youth Development Centers in poor areas.*** Trinidad and Tobago has already begun to experiment with Youth Development Centers[79] in small numbers and with limited resources. The government could adapt them to (i) target youths excluded from education or who have dropped out of school and cannot find employment, (ii) mirror the full-service schools in the menu of services offered, and (iii) incorporate basic educational programs (emphasizing numeracy and literacy). The centers could also specialize and develop expertise in specific activities, such as sport and performing arts, and present projects developed by beneficiaries for funding. If necessary, they could serve as informal schools as a transitional measure.[80]
- ***Supporting the development of alternative and remedial education programs.*** Trinidad and Tobago has examples of successful initiatives to provide remedial services for students who do not meet school standards for advancement, such as the Corcorite Learning Centers. Although government has supported such initiatives on a limited basis, it could establish a mechanism to do this more extensively and systematically, thereby providing another way to connect with at-risk youth.

Improve Training by Strengthening Government Regulation and Promoting Private and Voluntary Sector Provision

146. Skills training is the main option for youths with limited educational opportunities. Strategically, management of the training system will also require a transitional approach. In the long-run, as quality, 5-year secondary education becomes available to a larger portion of the youth population, the demand for training programs may decrease and programs would need to adapt to a new market. An option for them may be to differentiate courses to appeal to different groups: (i) youths needing basic skills, or (ii) those desiring advanced specialized training. The former group is composed

[79] Both the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs and the Ministry of Information, Communication, Training and Distance Learning have established initiatives along these lines.

[80] This has occurred in New York City, where community centers have become certified as schools and added classrooms.

of higher risk youths with lower educational and skills profiles, who traditionally have under-accessed these programs in the past, while the latter group is made up of better-educated secondary school graduates who want to gain useful job-oriented experience in preparation for entry into the labor market. The first group would continue to require subsidies from the government while cost-recovery could apply to the second group.

147. The government has already taken steps to reduce its direct provision of training and move into a greater role as coordinator and regulator of industry-based and non-governmental initiatives through the founding of the National Training Agency. However, until education reform accelerates in the short- to medium-term, a reduction in the supply of training opportunities, if any, would require a careful analysis of possible impact. This implies that government may need to maintain its active role in the provision of training and employment support services during the transitional period. It could accomplish this by stepping up efforts to improve some of its own programs (for example, the Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers and the Youth Training and Employment Program), offer greater support to cost-efficient non-governmental programs (for example, SERVOL), and provide incentives to private-sector projects (for example, favorable tax treatment or per-capita subsidies).

148. Other issues of fundamental importance in the reform of the training system include: (i) better assessment of market demand for occupational skills to orient the supply of training courses by ensuring close collaboration and information exchange among the NTA, industry representatives and small business employers; (ii) improvement of micro-entrepreneurial training and support mechanisms (for example, credit and technical assistance); (iii) revitalization of apprenticeship and job placement services; (iv) implementation of program monitoring and evaluation; and, (v) possible introduction of demand-side financing to stimulate expansion of services and competition among service providers.

Adopt or Reform Policy, Legislation and Institutional Structures for Youth Development

149. ***Preparing for new policy and legislation.*** The implementation of the strategies mentioned above, the proposed youth policy and new legislation would require enhanced institutional capacity and adequate allocation of human and financial resources. It would also require overcoming long-standing obstacles that have limited the effectiveness of previous efforts to deal with youth development issues. This would call for reducing overlapping roles among service providers and defining responsibilities based on comparative advantage (as in the case of training), improving decentralization to and coordination with the voluntary and private sectors, and implementing relevant recommendations of various cabinet-level committees appointed in the past to analyze specific youth issues.

150. The government's development of a national youth policy and key legislation on youth services and institutions should set the stage for improvements in youth development. At this point, the draft youth policy could benefit from much greater

specificity. Its proposals deal with many different sectors, vary from practical operational proposals to reforms and changes in processes and systems, and involve various actors, but there is no consideration of related institutional and resource needs. Although the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs would coordinate the youth policy, it will require capacity-building in order to plan and implement programs, follow progress, conduct data collection and analysis, provide training, and coordinate activities with other actors, including the private sector and organized civil society. Similarly, the approval of new legislation to establish a family court and the Children's Authority for monitoring childcare, residential and institutional care facilities, foster care and adoption would require additional resources for the government structures responsible for providing these services.

151. ***Reforming institutional care and strengthening alternatives (community-based care, family and youth services, and probation).*** The ultimate objective of reforming institutional and community-based care would be to improve the life prospects of youths leaving the system and exploring the viability of appropriate substitutes. The current practice of grouping youths convicted of serious crimes with those who are on remand, who committed milder offenses, or whose status calls for state intervention for non-criminal reasons requires prompt revision. Improvement in the operations of the institutions and homes for children and adolescents implies the need for resources to recruit more qualified staff (also to improve the supervisor-beneficiary ratio), train current staff so as to be able to provide essential services, including counseling, social work with families and preparation of youths for reintegration into their communities. The government has begun to emphasize less expensive alternatives to institutionalization, including family services, probation and adoption that permit youths to remain in a family and community environment, and these services will require strengthening to become more effective.

152. ***Directing poverty alleviation toward children through safety net reform.*** While preparing for the establishment of new institutions and reforming existing public structures and programs, the government could take the opportunity to improve the efficiency of some safety net programs and redirect resources to poor families with children, considering children's vulnerability and disproportionate representation among the poor. The government could attempt to better target the Old Age Pension program to the poor elderly, who often live in multi-generation households with large numbers of children, and introduce a sliding benefit scale to make this politically more practicable. The granting of additional subsidies to the basic Public Assistance benefit could be reduced to a level at which disincentives for labor force participation are eliminated. Since the majority of poor households are male-headed, there is a need to find new mechanisms of directing resources to those with children. For example, during public assistance reform, these households could become eligible under careful means testing.

Implementing the Strategy

153. If the government decided to put the transitional strategy into action, it would need to (i) establish a body to coordinate the various actors involved, monitor actions and ensure broad-based participation, (ii) consider financing mechanisms, and (iii) evaluate different financing options and means of improving the efficiency of existing programs:

- ***Establishing a National Youth Development Council.*** The role of the Council would be to supervise the implementation of the strategy. It could be headed by a high level public authority, preferably at the level of Minister, and have representatives from government, civil society and the corporate sector, an arrangement that has proved successful in other countries. It would bear responsibility for: (i) integrating policies, laws and program designs; (ii) advising the Prime Minister on reform efforts in various sectors, including program reorientation and institution strengthening; (iii) mobilizing additional human and financial resources, (iv) stimulating development of the local councils, (v) overseeing the finalization of the National Youth Policy, and (vi) offering technical assistance to communities in expressing their local needs. In addition to the national council, the government could stimulate the formation of Youth Development Councils at the local level. With strong representation of parents, youth, school officials, service providers, and community leaders, they would provide the main inputs in terms of analyzing local needs and developing plans and recommendations to government.
- ***Creating a "Youth Development Fund."*** The most secure way to guarantee the implementation of the various components of the transitional strategy would be to set up a special fund. Ministries could draw on it to finance reform activities and special projects. Additionally, voluntary and private sector organizations could apply for resources to develop activities identified in the transitional strategy. This model is generally in line with government's goals of divesting certain direct service provision tasks, assuming greater regulatory functions, and creating more extensive partnerships with other actors.[81]
- ***Evaluating financing options and cost-reduction measures.*** The implementation of the strategy would require resources, especially during the start-up phase. The government would need to assess different means of obtaining financing and, at the same time, ways to gain efficiencies in current program areas benefiting youths (as indicated in this report), including: (i) tightening up safety net programs, (ii) expanding cost-recovery mechanisms for training programs, when applicable, (iii)

[81] Limited experience with the "fund" approach – through the IDB-funded Community Development Fund (CDF) and Community Action for Revival and Empowerment (CARE) Program of the Ministry of Social and Community Development – has indicated that the institutional culture within government may present some challenges. Since government has contracted with NGOs for service provision in several sectors of youth development, it should establish parameters of cooperation, such as inviting civil society to play a meaningful role during policy formulation stage as well as execution. As partners in project implementation, NGOs should have access to means of auto-improvement while simultaneously complying with accreditation requirements and continuous quality monitoring.

promoting philanthropy around a youth development fund concept, which has occurred successfully in other countries, and (iv) mobilizing donor funding.[82]

154. The following conditions are germane to the process of youth policy implementation: (i) strong commitment from government to supply necessary resources, (ii) definition of an action plan to implement the strategy, (iii) development of a public communication and information strategy to convey the proposed roles and opportunities for various actors, and (iv) establishment of a management system to facilitate the implementation and monitoring of the strategy. As indicated earlier, following through on the various components of the strategy will necessitate incremental resource outlays in several areas, but estimates on earnings differentials to education and costs of high risk behavior indicate that such investment will bear substantial returns.

[82] These considerations address concerns of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago presented in comments on a earlier draft of this report (see Annex K).

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ANNEXES

ANNEX A
CATEGORIZATION OF YOUTH AT RISK

Source of Risk/ LEVEL OF RISK	**LOW**	**MEDIUM**	**HIGH**
Individual e.g. self esteem, self efficiency, drug use, academic achievement, career aspirations, alienation, civic attitudes, etc.	High self esteem High academic achievement High career aspiration	Medium self esteem Moderate academic achievement Conflicting career / educational goals	Low self esteem Low academic achievement Drug abuse Poorly defined career / educational goals Pregnancy
Social e.g. family, gangs, civic membership, community life, poverty level, social discrimination, peer-group, etc.	Civic/religious membership Well-off home Strong family resources/two-parent family	No civic/religious membership Poor neighborhood Unstable family	Gang membership Fewer resources/single parent family
Institutional e.g. school type, status in justice system, etc.	Prestige school University	YTEPP Trade school	Juvenile or correctional facility

Adapted from Deosaran 1998 and Ibabao 1998.

ANNEX B
REVIEW OF PROBLEMS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

1. The main problems in the education sector relate to access, quality and equity. Early childhood care and development services are available to a very restricted portion of the population, and there are serious questions regarding quality at the low end of the private sector market. Although access to primary school is nearly universal, variation in quality among schools and socioeconomic status contribute to differential performance on the Common Entrance Exam (CEE), required for entry into secondary school. Due to limited capacity at the secondary level, spaces are rationed according to CEE score, with the higher scorers tracked toward the better schools. Since children from a low income background are less likely to score well on the exam, they become over-represented in the low quality schools. Moreover, at all levels of education, barriers such as out-of-pocket expenses for school materials and transportation make attendance more difficult for poor students. This section discusses these inherent types of exclusion while presenting evidence on the general deficiencies of the educational system.

Early Childhood Care and Development

2. Research has consistently shown that early childhood care and development (ECCD) interventions[83] are associated with positive performance on a series of variables later in life. These include improved performance in school and, subsequently, in the labor market. Moreover, cohorts of children that participated in ECCD projects have demonstrated lower crime rates and more stable personal relationships as adults in comparison to control groups in longitudinal studies accounting for exogenous confounding factors. As a policy option, ECCD is very appealing because of its preventive capacity – i.e., the future benefits it brings in terms of avoiding undesirable outcomes. ECCD creates efficiency in the use of resources in the educational system, as it results in the reduction of drop-out and repetition.

3. Although many effects of ECCD become evident only several years after initiating the intervention, there are also more immediate benefits. Child day care allows women, who have traditionally been the primary care providers, the chance to take greater advantage of income generating activities. This is especially important for poor and single mothers. In a complementary way, the market for child care provision creates additional employment opportunities primarily for women.[84]

4. Unfortunately, the ECCD system is not very well developed in Trinidad and Tobago. Rough estimates are that approximately 150 public and 390 private registered centers currently serve about 7,000 children (Jules 1998).[85] In 1992 only around 33% of

[83] ECCD refers to proper care, stimulation and education for children aged 0-5 years. Ideally, at the end of this period, the children are well prepared to enter primary school.
[84] The employment rate among of women aged 25-34 was only 43% in 1992 (Survey of Living Conditions 1992).
[85] More than another 300 private centers are not registered.

the population between ages 2-4 attended a variety of public and private institutions offering child care and education services (Survey of Living Conditions 1992). Thus, a large proportion of the children in this age group remain without access to the system.

5. Until recently, the government has given little attention to ECCD service provision.[86] In the early 1990s, government centers accounted for just 6% of total pre-primary school enrollment among the 3-4 age group. Government-assisted centers, run by NGOs with partial public financing, attended to another 13% of these children. Private centers enrolled the remaining 81% (World Bank 1995a). From 1991 through 1995, recurrent expenditure by government on ECCD remained constant at 0.2% of the total education budget. No capital expenditure occurred during the same period. Increased commitments to ECCD led to a jump in allocations for capital expenditure in 1996, amounting to 3.2% of the total education budget (Logie 1997).[87]

6. The structure of the ECCD sector, in which the private marketplace provides an overwhelming proportion of services, has given rise to certain inequities. This is a consequence of the relatively high prices in the private childcare centers. One study (Logie 1997) found that fees in the public setting – government and government assisted[88] centers – ranged from TT$31 to TT$150 per month, with a special sliding scale for low income parents in SERVOL centers (TT$10-TT$20). On the other hand, fees in the private setting can reach up to TT$1,200. A full third of private centers had fees between TT$151 and TT$450, considerably higher than in the public centers. The ultimate result is that only 21% of children in the lowest per capita consumption quintile attend childhood care and education centers, compared to 51% in the highest (World Bank 1995a).

7. Certainly there are other factors that contribute to inequity within the system. Interviews with parents and center administrators have revealed the following reasons for less than optimum demand for ECCD services: physical access (including distance, which presents considerations regarding safety and transportation costs); lack of awareness of the value of early stimulation programs; the practice of parents who are at home to keep their young children with them; and, the lack of a facilitative link between the early childhood center and a high quality primary school (Jules 1998).[89] Several of these variables likely have a significant relationship with the socioeconomic status of the family.

8. In addition to the supply shortage and limitations on demand, there is a series of problems with existing ECCD services that limit their effectiveness. Logie (1997) reviewed two studies that detected variation on several parameters between public and

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[86] In 1969 the state began to include ECCD in the education system budget; however, levels of financing remained low.

[87] Logie, Carol (1997): The Status of ECCE Provision in Trinidad and Tobago (Working Paper No. 7), UNICEF Caribbean Area Office, Barbados. For other citations, please see List of References.

[88] In 1990 the government incorporated around 100 child daycare centers operated by a large NGO, Service Volunteered for All (SERVOL), into the public system. It covers most of the centers' recurrent costs.

[89] Jules, Vena (1998): Education and Training of Youth (0-25 Years) in Trinidad and Tobago, Draft Chapter for UNDP Human Development Report, Port-of-Spain.

private centers as well as shared deficiencies related mainly to limited resources and teacher training. The private and "public" SERVOL centers showed greater heterogeneity in their physical characteristics than the government centers, which were situated in public community centers. However, on average, there was not much difference in terms of room availability and use.[90] Sanitary facilities needed improvement in all centers, with the exception of the best private ones. Group size and child/adult ratios between public and private centers differed little and were adequate, for the most part. Staff needed to pay more attention to proper stimulation and nutrition procedures at most centers. SERVOL centers seemed the best equipped in terms of educational and art materials and play facilities, while in some centers these resources were largely absent.

9. Variation in ECCD service is not inherently bad, except when it falls below certain quality thresholds, and, in fact, it can bring benefits. Private centers offered a wider range of alternatives in operational schedules in response to the needs of working parents. Similarly, they provided a greater portion of the services for younger age groups (0-3 years). Differences in services caused by market pressures normally only become a concern at the low end of the market – i.e., private service for the poor who do not have access to subsidized government centers – because this is where substandard service most commonly exists. The solution here is a well enforced system of inspection, regulation and certification.

Primary Education

10. Relative to many countries in Latin America, the primary education system in Trinidad and Tobago has some positive features. Access and enrollment are high, and repetition and dropout rates are low, at less than 2% and 0.5% on average.[91] Still, a small but significant percentage of children are left outside the system, and equity is a serious problem, reflected in uneven quality in the schools.

11. The system, composed of around 476 public and 54 private primary schools, offers universal access throughout the country and enrolled 96% of all 5-11 year olds in 1992 (Survey of Living Conditions 1992). During the period from 1991 through 1995, the government allocated between 55-60% of its annual education budget to the primary level (Jules 1998), and tuition-free, government financed schools account for around 97% of enrollment (World Bank 1995a). These schools are either government run (30%) or operated by denominational boards with a government subvention (67%). The remaining 3% of students enter private schools catering to the wealthy.

12. Although enrollment ratios are generally high – normally over 90% – this still corresponds to a large number of children outside of the primary school system. For

[90] The public centers did have a separate room available for adult use about twice as often as the private ones. The area of rooms available and used was also larger in the public centers.

[91] The repetition rate jumps in the last year of primary education, Standard 5, when children voluntarily retake the grade in order to have another chance on the Common Entrance Exam and securing placement in secondary education.

example, in the 1994/95 school year, of a total population of 199,406 children aged 5-11 years, there were 177,651 (including 4 year-olds)[92] enrolled in public schools plus another 7,000 in private schools. Thus, a low-end estimate of the number of children out of school was 14,755 (Jules 1998). According to the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions, in the 5-11 age group, enrollment in school was 99% for children from families in the highest and second-highest expenditure quintiles, while for those from the lowest quintile it was only 93%. Since there is little information on these children, it is necessary to find out who they are, where they are located, why they are not in school and how to facilitate their entry and ensure their continued presence in the classroom.[93]

13. One of the most revealing indicators of inequity in the primary education system is the Common Entrance Examination (CEE), taken by 11-year-olds at the end of Standard 5 to determine entry into secondary education. Considerable variation is evident in student performance, based on a number of variables including the management authority of the school, education district, county of residence, and student sex, socioeconomic status and self-declared race group.[94] A census-style study of all secondary school students in 1992 (Jules 1994) showed that students who had attended primary schools operated by the Baptist management authority scored much lower on the CEE than others. Schools run by the Seventh Day Adventists, Anglicans, and government produced students that scored somewhere in the middle of the distribution. Private school students performed the best, followed closely by those from Muslim, Roman Catholic and Hindu schools, and slightly lower, by students from Presbyterian schools. Scores for students residing in or attending school in urbanized and industrial St. George East and Caroni counties were the best, with rural St. Patrick and Nariva/Mayaro counties ranking lowest (over 20 points lower on a scale of 100, on average). Between 1988 and 1992, males exhibited scores 4-5 points lower on average than females, continuing a trend of poorer relative school performance also exhibited in lower enrollment ratios, higher repetition and dropout rates, and lower than optimal registration for the CEE.[95] Scores showed a close relationship with socioeconomic status, with children from high SES households scoring significantly better than those from low SES households, especially ones in which nobody was employed (around a 20 point difference). Students of self-declared African origin were significantly more likely to score lower than those of mixed or Indian origin, who, in turn, did much more poorly than Syrian/Lebanese, White and Chinese students.

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[92] The primary system consists of two "infant" and five "standard" grades for the 5-11 age cohort, but some children enter the first infant grade at age four. The gross enrollment ratio is defined as the total enrollment, regardless of age, relative to the population in the age group of reference.

[93] Jules et.al. (1998) suggested that failure to obtain necessary documents for enrollment, including birth certificates and immunization records, may play a role in the absence of poor children from school. The Survey of Living Conditions (1992) revealed a 94.1% rate of birth registration for children under 5 years, which dropped to 92.3% and 91.3% for the lowest two income quintiles, respectively. Inoculation rates for major childhood contagious diseases were all under 90%.

[94] The World Bank (1995a,b) also suggests that the fund-raising capacity of individual schools is an important determinant of the quality of education they offer. In this regard, government schools in rural areas appear to be at a particular disadvantage.

[95] Despite their higher registration and scoring on the CEE, females were placed in secondary school spots about 4% less frequently than males during the 1990-96 period. This is clearly an equity issue; however, in absolute terms, nearly the same number of males and females received spots each year.

14. Differential access to high quality schools and inputs necessary to the educational process, mediated in part by economic factors, creates part of the variation in children's CEE scores and enrollment rates by family socioeconomic status. In explaining non-attendance at school, students from families in the lowest per capita expenditure quartile frequently cited finance and transportation problems – 23% and 17%, respectively – whereas students from families in the highest quartile never referred to them (SLC data in World Bank 1995b). In the lowest expenditure quartile, 64% of children walked to school, compared to only 21% in the highest quartile. Thus, it seems that poor children may have little choice in attending better schools farther away from their homes because of the cost of transportation. Another daily recurrent expense is lunch, which combined with transportation, amounted to an average annual cost of TT$292 for the lowest income quintile in 1992 – a considerable amount, considering the mean annual per capita expenditure of TT$1,612 for this group. Thirty-one percent of children in the lowest quintile, versus only 4% in the highest, did not have textbooks, and the prevailing reason for non-availability was expense.[96] Attendance at high quality private primary schools is a privilege for children of the wealthy.

15. In addition to the problems encountered by families in sending their children to school, there are several factors that may be threatening the general quality of the primary education system. There has been a steady drop in the percentage of trained teachers from 81.1% in the 1990/91 school year to 75.4% in 1995/96. Also, the student/teacher ratio rose to 27 in the public system in the 1994/95 school year, an increase of 3 points since 1986/87. In comparison, the ratio in private schools in 1992/93 was 18. Generally, due to limited space at the secondary level (section 2.2.3), the system places great emphasis on preparation for the CEE, which results in the transfer of certain types of skills at the expense of others. Researchers have criticized the overly academic approach, appreciated by too few students, that sacrifices the teaching of more broadly useful skills for the majority. There appears to be little use of the sociocultural context of the children to make the educational experience more interesting.

Secondary Education

16. One of the fundamental constraints in the secondary education system is the lack of adequate capacity to serve the entire population in the corresponding age group. A process of student dispersal occurs at the end of primary education through the rationing of positions in the hierarchy of secondary education options. Some children are lost to the system altogether. For example, in 1996 29,273 students took the CEE, of which 22,468 passed and 18,201 received placement in secondary schools. Another 1,378 went on to post-primary centers and youth camps, and some 2,695 repeated Standard 5. This leaves 6,805 children who appear to fall out of the system, left to pursue other developmental pathways (Jules et.al. 1998).[97]

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[96] Other expenses associated with education involve school supplies and uniforms.

[97] Some of these children may enroll in private secondary schools. In contrast to the primary level, private secondary schools serve poor academic performers who do not succeed in entering the more prestigious public schools. In 1992/93 there were 13 registered private secondary schools serving 2,181 youths.

17. In addition to limited access to the system, there has been a steady decline in enrollment and the enrollment ratio in recent years. For the 12-16 age group, enrollment dropped from 92,299 in 1986/87 to 83,042 in 1994/95 while the population grew from 118,563 to 131,501 over the same period (Jules et.al. 1998). The corresponding enrollment ratio fell from 77.8% to 63.2%.[98] Furthermore, the dropout rate is higher in secondary school, between 1-2% (and greater for boys than girls), than in primary school (Jules et.al. 1998). Jules (1994) also found that 14% of the registered student population infrequently or never attended classes. In this context, an important area of research relates to the significance of different factors in the decline of enrollment (i.e., reduction in system capacity, increase in economic impediments, rise in opportunity costs, etc.).

18. Similar to the primary school system, inequity is inherent to secondary education, evident in the variation in quality among schools and enrollment by income quintile. The equity problem grows even more serious due to the existence of "tracking," in which the CEE score is a strong determinant of school placement, in terms of school quality. Thus, it is more likely for high-scoring students to enter the traditional 5- and 7-year government and assisted schools that have a strong academic curriculum. Similarly, the lower scorers are directed toward the less desirable options, the New Sector government schools that offer general education combined with technical/vocational training. These schools include 3-year junior secondary schools – most of which run on a double-shift, 2-year senior comprehensive schools, 5-year senior secondary schools, and 5-year composite schools.

19. Since performance on the CEE is strongly related to socioeconomic status and inequities in the primary education system (section 2.2.2), poorer students do not access secondary education or the better schools to the same extent as wealthier students. Overall, only 70% of youths aged 12-17 in the poorest quintile were enrolled in school relative to 94% in the richest one (Survey of Living Conditions 1992). Also, a clear pattern is evident in which students from lower income families assume a disproportionate presence in junior secondary, senior comprehensive, and composite schools, while students from upper and middle income families are more likely to enter 5- and 7-year traditional schools.

20. Once placed in the system, attrition rates are greater among students from lower income families. In Jules' study (1994), 31% of all students in Form 1 were from the low income group, but in Form 5, their representation was only 26%. Opportunity cost explains some of the attrition. Seventeen percent of the secondary students from the second-lowest expenditure quartile in the 1992 Survey of Living Conditions gave the reason "not worthwhile" for their non-attendance at school. In opting to substitute school for other activities, presumably the low quality of the schools these youths attend would factor into their decision making process.

[98] Jules et.al. (1998) note that these figures may even be inflated since the basis for calculation is the 12-16 age group, whereas the average age in Form 1 of secondary school is 11 years (Jules 1994).

ANNEX C
VOICES OF YOUTH: STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL AND RISK IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

1. Over the course of a 3 year longitudinal study of secondary school youths (n = 2,125), Jules found that 72% of students in the first year said they liked coming to school, and about 26% said they liked coming "sometimes."[99] By the third year of the study, those who liked coming had declined to 58%, instead 38% said they liked coming to school "sometimes," meaning school had become less popular. Despite this drop in school enjoyment, most youth enjoy being in school. Throughout the three year period the number of students who disliked school remained below 2%. That is, very few of the youths who pass into secondary education dislike being there, even though student reports of academic injustice, poor school conditions and classroom violence are frequent. At face value these data give a general idea of how students feel about spending their adolescence in school. Further analysis uncovers some of the values underlying these feelings. By tapping into student values and attitudes, it is possible to explore how they feel the education system can mitigate or exacerbate youth risk and risk antecedents, such as an unstable family environment, unfavorable neighborhood environment and poverty.

How Students Think Schools Can Mitigate Risk

2. ***Schools Can Provide an Environment for Safe Passage.*** While the school environment is not ideal, many students prefer school over the alternatives, like their homes or neighborhoods. Some students prefer school over the boredom of "being at home" or "having nothing to do." Other students are acutely aware of the increased risks and limited options that youths face outside the educational system. "I have to like school," one third year student said, "because where I live it is the only means to survive without doing illegal things." Whether youths anticipate being the perpetrators or victims of violence and crime, secondary school helps mitigate potential risks at home or in the community simply by occupying the youths' time in a relatively safe environment. Beyond its academic purposes or job-related promises, some students value school for the short-term shelter it provides.

3. ***Schools Can Provide Access to Virtuous Social Capital.*** Over the first three years of secondary school, youths derive increasing satisfaction in school from interactions with other students. In their first year, 33.6% of students say their most pleasurable experiences in school come through other students, and by the third year this number rises to 46%. Based on students' responses and classroom observations, the youths are most engaged by and show the most initiative in group activities. Among their most satisfying experiences, youths site group projects, school fundraisers, class concerts

[99] This annex summarizes material from: Jules, Vena. (no date): Survivors of the Secondary Schooling Experience in Trinidad and Tobago: The First Three Years (mimeo); Jules, Vena. (no date): Students' Affective Reactions to their Early Secondary Schooling Experiences in Trinidad and Tobago (mimeo).

and competitions, all of which they enjoy for the cooperation and the results they can collectively achieve. One student enjoyed, "Group work in the history project on the quintecentennial anniversary of Columbus and we all did different things; some of us explained what we knew to others; some did the research. It was really fun working and learning together and realizing we could do it without too much help from the teacher" (284). This coordination and cooperation strengthens the youths' social capital enhancing their potential for development.

4. School provides a context and activities through which youths can develop social capital, but the benefits extend well beyond the classroom. As youths increasingly look to their peers rather than adults for social and emotional connection, they also look to their peer group and peer activities for support. When asked whether he liked school, one boy, whose family has been on public assistance since his father's death, said:

> "Yes! But I like it best when I am with meh friends solving we personal problems. What I really like though is playing basketball and football. When I playing any ah them two sports, I does feel real different, they does give me the high of meh life" [sic].

5. In the most dramatic case, we can also see how the trust, obligations and expectations of the peer network can mutually benefit a circle of friends. One student tells this story to explain the "kinship" that she feels with her classmates. She recalls:

> ". . .when one of my friends kept cutting her hands on purpose and I thought she was going to commit suicide and she said she would. I kept talking to her and trying to persuade her not to. Her mother knew she was cutting herself and a whole group was trying to persuade the girl to stop hurting herself and finally she did."

6. ***Schools Build Human Capital.*** Among the reasons youths site for enjoying school are their "beliefs about purposes of schooling that [have] a career or future oriented focus." Initially, about 23% of secondary school students express this belief, a percentage which rises to 33% in the following year and then dips slightly to 31% in the third year. While a third of students *like* school for the future opportunities it can provide, it is not known how many students recognize the impact that schooling can have on their futures. For about a third of students, the promises of schooling are motivation enough to enjoy it. Some youths recognize both the importance of education in securing a job in the formal labor market – "[School] is the road to a job as an adult," – and education's wider impact on life in general – "I am getting a good education and the opportunity to have a good future life through more education."

How Students Think Schools Can Exacerbate Risk

7. ***Schools Can Reproduce Social Inequality.*** Aside from the benefits of schooling, students are also aware of how school can put them at risk of social exclusion. Jules' interpretation of students' thinking on the educational promise of future prosperity is this:

> "In one of the observed classroom groups, tracking of students in readiness for years 4 and 5 evoked strong emotional feelings when students sensed some denial of fair academic exposure. This strongly illustrated students' belief in the promise of schooling and also their fears when that promise is threatened or denied . . ." (222-3).

8. The students who successfully pass into secondary school are tracked into one of the following types of institutions: 7-year Traditional School, 5-year Traditional School, Junior Secondary School, or Composite School. Students perceive a hierarchy among the schools based on the difficulty of entry and the quality of education at the different types of institutions. Some are considered 'high-track,' and others 'low,' and as students move through the secondary system they continue to be tracked into schools or disciplines based on the decisions of school staff. One student who is frustrated with tracking said, "I don't like it when this teacher tells me that a subject like Cookery which isn't important is compulsory and is the subject I should be doing. I think she is really racial and means that those of us who are not like her, are stupid" (288).

9. Among models of education, tracking systems promote academic excellence at the cost of academic equity, producing very good results among top performers but poor results among those least equipped to succeed. While "at-risk" youths might benefit most from the schooling process, drop-out show how this system instead fails them often. By year three of Jules study, 28% of students from low-income families had left school, whereas only 7.6% of those from middle-income families had dropped out.

10. ***School Staff and Students Can Abuse Youths.*** Among the aspects of school that students dislike most, the top three responses for all three years are (i) the physical facilities, (ii) peer behavior, and (iii) interactions with staff. Students are frustrated in general with the bad behavior of their peers, as it affects the classroom learning environment, but also with the physical violence and destruction of school property that have become routine. Among the experiences one student recalls the ". . . fights, all the fights in the school," and another the time ". . . a girl was raped and had to leave school."

11. As youths become increasingly involved with their peers rather than parents, the group becomes a reference point on which youths evaluate their own behavior. Thus, as acts of aggression become more prevalent among youths in a group, classroom, or school, there is a risk that such acts might be sanctioned by the group as an acceptable means of handling conflict. One boy said about himself in school, "I made more trouble and got into more trouble than anyone else" (272). This same boy was once beaten by other students, then fell and injured his back. He went to the principal's office and, refusing to 'rat' on the other students, accepted the principal's punishment for misbehaving.

12. If violence is condoned within the larger community – among the staff at the school – violence might become a sanctioned norm within the group and a form of perverse social capital arises. A student in one school describes a time when "two teachers quarrel in front of everybody" [sic] and a youth in another school remarks,

"teachers are not kind. Others including Principal beat too much . . . is licks for everybody because you suppose to get licks to make you learn and work hard in school" [sic] (277). Here, students perceive that teachers and staff believe that abuse is an acceptable means of managing conflict. Students perceive that a teacher's absence from the classroom creates an unsafe environment. One student said, "The environment makes me frighten and the teachers not even there to protect us" [sic]. Jules reports that between the second and third year of study, reports of being "unsure and fearful in the learning situation" rise from about 3% to 20% of the students (238). Violence and abuse need not be prevalent to make school a dangerous place. If youths feel they are not safe from the risk of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, then fear alone may have adverse effects on their social, emotional and intellectual development.

13. ***School Staff and Students Can Vilify Youths.*** Youths become increasingly involved in their peer group as they mature. Interaction within the peer group is symmetrical, quite different from hierarchical interactions with adults, and within their peer groups youths learn group social skills and loyalty, the value of companionship among equals, and independence from adult authorities. Under the social or physical stresses of the school environment, however, healthy peer involvement may become perverse if youths draw impermeable boundaries and loyalties between in-groups and out-groups. These boundaries might be between students and staff, or between the students of one class and those of another. When group identification becomes so strong, then socially perverse actions within the group might be overlooked by group members to save the collective from outside criticism. One student describes his group and group identification this way:

> ". . . [See] the different and unique personalities of the students in my class. . .how the students of my class were one for all and all for one even in the wrongdoings of classmates. For example, one student cheated in a Maths exam. Everyone knew about it but no one complained to the teacher because [the teachers] were not for us" [sic].

14. As youths learn to condone relatively harmless rule-breaking, the risk that they might learn to excuse unlawful behavior increases depending upon the norms sanctioned by their reference group.

15. In other instances, however, youths may not condone the misbehavior among in-group members. In this case then, the risk to youths is not villification, but stigmatization from being associated with the "misbehaved" group. Because of the intensity of group identification, from within and from without, the repercussions of bad behavior are shared by all members of the group. A student recalls, ". . .A boy in our class did something very wrong and brought shame on the class. Everywhere I met someone in school I was asked about the real story but. . . I was always too ashamed to say " (Jules 1998, 272). Another student explains that, ". . . the whole class is considered bad forever because two students did something wrong. . . they fight" [sic] (274). Still another youth

describes how school staff perpetuate criticism against groups, which in this case is a class of 3rd year students.

> "All the teachers belittle us. They thought the other forms were better than us. All we did was cope with the work and study a lot so we got our own satisfaction" (288).

16. There are several social and academic detrimental effects of such prejudicial treatment of a group of students. As teachers and other students perpetuate the negative image of a group, then the members who identify with that group also begin to identify with the image. Cooley describes this as the *looking-glass process*: the process whereby a person's self-image develops from the way he or she is seen and treated by others. In a clear example of this process, one student actually justifies his friends' actions by explaining that they were behaving to reflect what people expected them to be.

> "...Everybody think we wild, so we do wild things like the time the boys do the dollar disco [dance] on girls...and the girls do it back" [sic] (290).

17. In instances where a group of youths, class of students, or an entire school is judged as deviant or sub-standard by out-group members, then members of these groups will face prejudicial treatment and an increased risk of becoming, or remaining, socially excluded.

ANNEX D
ESTIMATING THE COST OF NEGATIVE YOUTH OUTCOMES

1. In Gary Becker's *Crime and Punishment,*[100] some individuals become criminals because of the financial and other rewards from crime compared to legal work, taking into account the likelihood of apprehension and conviction, and the severity of punishment. The amount of crime is determined not only by the rationality and preferences of would-be criminals, but also by the economic and social environment created by public policies, including expenditures on police, punishments for different crimes, and opportunities for employment, schooling and training.[101]

2. Competing models to explain criminal activity, in addition to Becker's original model, include Ehrlich's extension,[102] which sees crime as similar to work in that it takes time and produces income or other utility-enhancing effects. Time allocation models of crime imply that crime and work are substitute activities. If an individual allocates more time to work, then he/she will commit less crime. More recent models look at habit formation, addiction and peer group effects.[103] Since schooling and training also take time, and produce income – only in the distance future in most cases – they can be seen as substitute activities. Few studies, however, apply this model in the case of juvenile offenders. Nevertheless, it can be hypothesized that youth enrolled in school or training programs have a lower likelihood of committing crimes or becoming involved in negative social activities. Those not enrolled and those not attending full-time – especially if they reside in low-income, high crime neighborhoods – are probably more likely to be involved in criminal activities. The concept of idle time is relevant here, as would be negative social influences, such as the prevalence of drugs, street crime and gangs.

3. High risk youth can be thought of as those most likely to be involved in criminal careers, drug use and other forms of delinquency. High risk youth can be hypothesized to be high school dropouts, unemployed, or youth with high levels of idle time. The costs associated with the typical career criminal, drug user and high school dropout can be analyzed using the following model,[104] where the lifetime costs of a criminal career are equivalent to:

$$\sum ij\ (1-\beta)^{j-1}\ [\lambda_{ij}\ (VC_i + r_{ij}CJ_i + Q_{ij} * CI * T_i + Q_{ij} * W_j * T_i)]$$

where,

λ	=	mean number of offenses	Q	=	risk of incarceration
VC	=	victim cost of crime	CI	=	cost of incarceration (days)
r	=	rate of reporting crime to police	T	=	average time served (days)
CJ	=	cost of criminal justice investigation, arrests, adjudication	β	=	discount rate

[100] Becker, G. (1968): Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach, *J. of Pol. Economy* 76: 169-217.
[101] Becker, G. (1996): *Accounting for Tastes,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
[102] Ehrlich, I. (1975): The Deterrent Effect of Capital Punishment: A Question of Life and Death, *J. of Political Economy* 65: 397-417.
[103] Witte, A. (1997): Crime, In *The Social Benefits of Education* (J. Behrman and N. Stacey, Eds.), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
[104] Cohen, M. (1994): The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth (mimeo).

W = opportunity cost of offender's time
i = crime 1 through crime n
j = year 1 through year m

4. The four terms within the square brackets represent:

(i) average cost of all crimes committed by the career criminal: $\lambda_{ij}VC_I$
(ii) average criminal justice-related cost per year per career criminal: $\lambda_{ij}r_{ij}CJ_I$
(iii) cost of incarcerating a convicted offender: $\lambda_{ij}Q_{ij}*CI*T_I$
(iv) opportunity cost of incarcerating a convicted offender as witnessed through the offender's legitimate productivity or wage rate: $\lambda_{ij}Q_{ij}*W_j*T_i$

5. The resulting annual cost can be converted into a lifetime cost by adding the average annual costs over each year of the criminal career, appropriately discounted to present value.

6. The costs of school dropout can be estimated using household survey data. The survey can be used to estimate lost productivity, measured by labor market earnings. Of course, there are non-market benefits, including crime reduction, social cohesion, income distribution, charitable giving and more efficient labor market search. Other non-market benefits include efficiency in marital choice, attainment of desired family size and less reliance on income transfers (Table D1).[105] It has been very difficult to estimate such externalities. But previous estimates show that social goals can be at least partially achieved via education and its external effects. It is estimated that the total annual value of the non-marketed effects of schooling are about the same as the annual, marketed earnings-based effects of one more year of schooling. That is, the annual value of incremental schooling reported in standard human capital estimates might capture only about one-half of the total value of an additional year of schooling.

Table D1: Outcomes of Schooling

Outcome	Economic Nature	Existing Research on Magnitude
Individual market productivity	Private; market effects; human capital investment	Extensive research on the magnitude of market earnings
Nonwage labor market remuneration	Private; market and nonmarket effects	Differences in fringe benefits, working conditions by education
Intrafamily productivity	Private; some external effects; market and nonmarket effects	Relationship between wife's schooling and husband's earnings
Child level of education and cognitive development	Private; some external effects; market and nonmarket effects	Child education level and cognitive development related to mother's and father's education
Child quality: health	Private; some external effects	Child health positively related to parents' education
Child quality: fertility	Private; some external effects	Mother's education related to lower probability that daughters give birth out of wedlock as teens
Own health	Private; modest external effects	Schooling affects health status; increases life expectancy; lowers prevalence of mental illness
Spouse's health	Private; modest external effects	Schooling leads to more efficient consumer activities
Consumer choice efficiency	Private; some external effects; nonmarket effects	Costs of job search reduced, regional mobility increased with more schooling
Labor market search efficiency	Private; nonmarket effects	Costs of job search reduced, regional mobility increased
Marital choice efficiency	Private; nonmarket effects	Improved sorting in marriage
Attainment of desired family size	Private	Contraceptive efficiency related to schooling
Charitable giving	Private and public; nonmarket effects	Schooling increases donations of time, money
Savings	Private; some external effects	More schooling associated with higher savings rates
Technological change	Public	Schooling associated with R&D, technology diffusion
Social cohesion	Public	Schooling associated with voting; reduced alienation and inequality
Less reliance on income (and in-kind) transfers	Private and public	Education associated with reduced dependence on transfers during prime working years
Crime reduction	Public	Schooling associated with reduced criminal activity

[105] Haveman, R.H. and B.L. Wolfe (1984): Schooling and Economic Well-Being: The Role of Nonmarket Effects, *Journal of Human Resources* 19: 377-407; Wolfe, B. and S. Zuvekas (1997): Nonmarket Outcomes of Schooling, University of Wisconsin–Madison (mimeo).

ANNEX E
STATISTICAL ANNEX

Table E1: Earnings Functions

Men and Women, 16-65 years

Independent Variable	Coefficient	
Years of Schooling	0.146*	(.007)
Experience	0.086*	(.006)
Experience Sq.	-0.001*	(0)
Ln Monthly Hours Worked	.57*	(.06)
Constant	2.12*	(0.29)
Sample Size	1478	

Men, 16-65 years

Independent Variable	Coefficient	
Years of Schooling	0.138*	(.008)
Experience	0.11*	(.008)
Experience Sq.	-0.001*	(0)
Ln Monthly Hours Worked	.46*	(.074)
Constant	2.53*	(0.38)
Sample Size	962	

Women, 16-65 years

Independent Variable	Coefficient	
Years of Schooling	0.183*	(.013)
Experience	0.046*	(.011)
Experience Sq.	-0.0004*	(0)
Ln Monthly Hours Worked	.58*	(.078)
Constant	2.18*	(0.40)
Sample Size	515	

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1992
Note: * Indicates significance at the 5 level. Standard Error values in parentheses.

Table E2: Employment Rates of Youth (by selected variables)

Overall	81
Age	
15	48
16	47
17	43
18	98
19	91
20	93
21	93
22	96
23	95
24	91
Sex	79
Male	
Female	82
Location	83
Rural	
Urban	79
Ethnicity	82
African	
Indian	80
Mixed	80
Other Race	100
Education	
No Schooling	76
School Leaving Certificate	86
CXC Basic	81
CXC Gen. "O" Prof. 1 or 2	89
CXC Gen. "O" Prof. 3 or 4	86
CXC Gen. "O" Prof. 5 or more	87
GCE "A" /HSC 1 or 2	94
GCE "A" /HSC 3 and over	100
Diploma	82
Degree	100

Source: Survey of Living Conditions 1992

ANNEX F
YOUTH DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES, BY PROVIDER AND CATEGORY

Category of Activity	Sector		
	Government (Public)	**Private and Voluntary**	**Private (Corporate)**
Safety Net	Old Age Pension Public Assistance Self Help and Rehabilitative Efforts (SHARE) School Feeding Unemployment Relief Civilian Conservation Corp	Self Help and Rehabilitative Efforts (SHARE) (community organizations provide service delivery mechanism)	
Training	Youth Training and Employment Partnership Program (YTEPP) Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers (YDACs)	Service Volunteered for All (SERVOL) Junior Life Centers, Adolescent Development Community Life Centers, Skill Training Centers and Hi-Tech Centers	e.g., Royal Bank (RoyTec)
Education	Basic Education (Early Childhood and Primary) Reform Secondary Education Reform	Service Volunteered for All (SERVOL) Early Childhood Education Program Trinidad and Tobago Federation of Women's Institutes – Corcorite Learning Center	
Sport and Culture	Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs	Community groups	e.g., BP Amoco; PowerGen
Institutional Care; Family and Youth Services	St. Dominic's Children's Home St. Mary's Children's Home St. Michael's School for Boys St. Jude's School for Girls Youth Training Center National Family Services Division Probation Division		
Services for Specific High Risk Groups	National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Program (NADAPP)	Child Welfare League - CHOICES Family Planning Association of Trinidad and Tobago Families in Action Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Marian House Credo Foundation Hope Center Ferdines Home	

ANNEX G
DESIGN FEATURES OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS[106]

1. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) successfully targeted youths of the lowest socioeconomic level (little formal education and low involvement in community activity). The majority of participants had poor educational achievement (equivalent to primary level School Leaving Certificate or secondary school with less than four passes). Qualitative assessments have indicated that CCC participants were likely to suffer from low self-esteem, feelings of failure, hopelessness and frustration. Females benefited disproportionately (60/40 female/male), with estimates that up to 20% of them were young single mothers. Some of the program's other good design features included:

- low cost per trainee: TT$3,082 (with stipend) TT$1,169 (excluding stipend from calculations) on average (1994-97), compared to TT$2,582 for YTEPP (1993-97);
- the use of Defense Force (DF) personnel – which was cost effective since they were already salaried public servants – lent a sense of discipline and respect to program, gave DF staff a new mission, and conferred logistic advantages due to the DF's ability to mobilize and transport human and physical resources to works sites;
- combination of project participation with a stipend below the market wage rate (TT$30.00/day plus meals and clothing, when necessary, compared to minimum wage of TT$56.00/day), a classic public works project element that encourages self-selection of the target group and keeps attrition low (10.6% in 1997 cycles vs. 24% for YTEPP that year);
- incorporation of peer role models – recent successful CCC graduates or young members of the Defense force – as Team Commanders, a practice highly advocated in the international literature on youth development;
- an approach that avoids reliance on formal modes of instruction, with which the target population encountered difficulties in the education system, and involves outdoor work, both of which make the program attractive to youths with a low literacy level;
- in addition to Induction (2-4 weeks) and the On-the-Job/Work Program for all participants, a Job Attachment Program, Trade Skills Modules (plumbing, masonry, house wiring and food preparation) and Additional Short Courses benefited a small portion of better qualified candidates (300 between 1995-97, 350 in 1997, over 1,000 between 1993-97, respectively).

2. Several problems of the program, mainly related to basic human and physical resource management, could have been easily addressed. These include inadequate acquisition and availability of project materials; the lack of specialized staff; the need to create a longer rotation period for the DF staff, so as to efficiently utilize developed skills; reassignment by government of buildings refurbished by the CCC for own usage but without appropriate compensation; and, harnessing the income generation potential of certain projects, for example, by outsourcing this function to YTEPP.

[106] Williams, Gwen and Associates (1998): An Evaluation of the Civilian Conservation Corps Programme, IDB, Port of Spain (unpublished report).

ANNEX H
TRAINING PROGRAMS

1. The government created the ***Youth Training and Employment Partnership Program*** (YTEPP) in 1988 near the height of the economic crisis to address the youth unemployment problem. A World Bank loan supported the project between 1991 and 1998 with the goals of (i) developing curriculum, training instructors and providing equipment, (ii) increasing opportunities for youths to gain work experience, (iii) promoting self-employment, especially through the facilitation of credit provision, and (iv) strengthening the project management function, including monitoring and evaluation. Since its inception, YTEPP has offered 13 cycles of courses[107] through 29 part-time, school-based centers, 5 full-time centers and various community-based programs throughout the country. It originally offered courses on a 9-month cycle but shortened it to 6 months, according to student preference. On average, the program has accepted around 5,000 students per cycle, of which 3,000-4,000 have normally graduated. A total of almost 50,000 clients have graduated over the course of the project.

2. The program has reached substantial success on a range of parameters. It developed an integrated training package with a level one (pre-craft) course validated by the Ministry of Education and level two (craft) courses, which have also been customized to meet the demand from private sector industrial and business employers as well as state agencies and NGOs. The program reaches vulnerable social groups: (i) the majority of program clients have been young females, and (ii) special efforts have targeted youths in correctional institutions. Demand for YTEPP training, reflected in the numbers of applicants, has consistently outstripped the availability of spaces. Several tracer studies have demonstrated positive effects of YTEPP participation on employment rates, earnings, rates of self-employment, labor force participation, pursuit of further studies, literacy and numeracy, and qualitative aspects of student character (e.g., motivation and attitude).

3. Despite its general positive performance, some components of the YTEPP project have not run well and represent important priorities for improved training activities in the future. The goal of offering youths work experience by placing them in jobs or apprenticeship situations after graduation has generally proved difficult for training projects. In the case of YTEPP, the failure of the institutional framework, partially as a result of external pressures, constrained this function – negative growth in the economy and employment creation limited the capacity of the National Training Board (and its National Apprenticeship Scheme) to operate as planned in the placement of graduates, and the institution remained largely defunct until its elimination in 1997. Support for YTEPP graduates opting for self-employment also did not materialize because of difficulties encountered by the Youth Enterprise Support System (YESS) of the Small

[107] Examples of typical course topics include: agriculture, applied arts, auto maintenance, beauty culture, construction, craft, electricity and electronics, family services, food preparation, garment construction, metal design and fabrication, performing arts, secretarial and support services, tourism/hospitality services.

Business Development Company (SBDC) in the mobilization of credit.[108] Given the poor functioning of its partners in the national training system, YTEPP had to rely on smaller-scale in-house options (i.e., creation of its own Employment Bureau and appointment of staff to assist micro-enterprise activities) in order to accomplish its mandated functions, but these were insufficient for it to fully meet its objectives. Finally, the discontinuation of the Labor Market Information System (LMIS) limited YTEPP's ability to measure economic trends and labor market needs and thereby adjust the types of training it offered.

4. With the termination of Bank funding, YTEPP faces different institutional arrangements[109] and must make some changes to position itself well for new circumstances and challenges. In this regard, it has already demonstrated capacity to adjust to prevailing conditions in order to improve operations, including: (i) its shift from a nine-month to six-month cycle in order to reduce attrition, (ii) implementation of modular-based training to permit easier movement from one level to another, (iii) introduction of fees for some courses (e.g., related to construction), and (iv) marketing of specialized training and curricula to the private sector and government agencies. As a means of improving income generation, YTEPP will need to expand on the latter two types of initiatives, which implies searching for new clients that can pay for services. Improved economic conditions may facilitate this transition. However, the fundamental issues that stimulated the founding of YTEPP still exist, i.e., high youth unemployment, an exclusionary education system and associated social problems. Since fee-based training involves a wider clientele, YTEPP must diversify carefully and not lose sight of its original target population, which will continue to need subsidized training, largely without fees. Otherwise, the organization runs the risk of sacrificing its original mission.

5. ***Service Volunteered for All*** (SERVOL) targets training to different segments of the youth population through several types of programs: Junior Life Centers (10), Adolescent Development Community Life Centers (20), Skill Training Centers (12) and Hi-Tech Centers (3). SERVOL started working with adolescents in the first Skill Training Center in 1971, and now 12 centers train around 1,600 youths per year in a variety of courses.[110] After realizing that many trainees did not possess the proper self-esteem, attitudes and work habits for successful employment after skills training, in 1981 SERVOL developed the 14-week Adolescent Development Program (ADP) and started implementing it in the Adolescent Development Community Life Centers. This important input to the youth development process now reaches around 1,700 trainees per year and has become a mainstay in the training program, having also been adopted by other institutions. In 1995 the Junior Life Centers began offering cultural and recreational activities that presently reach up to 450 young adolescents annually. The

[108] Credit support through YESS for youth entering self-employment activity stopped in 1992. Special YTEPP officers were able to access credit for graduates to a limited degree through SERVOL's Fund Aid, which supplies credit to microentrepreneurs. The National Training Board's placement of graduates in work-experience situations accounted for only 18% of demand.

[109] The program recently moved from under the auspices of the Ministry of Education to the new National Training Agency under the Ministry of Information, Communications, Distance Learning and Training.

[110] These include auto mechanics, beauty culture, catering, child care, garment construction, home health assistance, masonry, plumbing, printing, small appliance repair, welding, woodwork, etc.

final component of SERVOL's system for adolescents is the Hi-Tech Training Centers, which focus on computer, electronics and digital electronics courses in three to four month cycles. Three-hundred and eighty-four students participated in 1999. SERVOL also provides its trainees with remedial education – one-third of ADP enrollees require it – and job placement services, with a reasonable degree of success.[111]

6. The government introduced five ***Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers*** (YDACs), formerly known as Youth Camps, between 1964 and 1976. The original strategy was to attract at-risk youths from poor backgrounds to live in the centers for two years and provide them with a positive developmental experience, which involved the adoption of positive values, education (mostly remedial), and basic skills training (primarily in agriculture, construction and domestic/commercial activities). During the period of their stay, the residents receive TT$45/month. The centers accommodate around 150 youths each on average, and a smaller non-residential population (around 50 on average per center) attend the trade courses.

7. The government has been aware for over ten years that the YDACs have various limitations.[112] The fundamental problem is that the government initially founded the centers on the old "state institution" model, and to a certain degree they have maintained this character. Each center serves a large number of clients, which can result in the depersonalization of relationships between the adolescents and staff. By effectively removing the youths from their family and community environments, the centers create an artificial situation in which the state substitutes much more organic institutions in their traditional functions. Although this may be advantageous in certain cases (e.g., abusive families, extreme poverty, etc.), a far less interventive role for the centers would generally be more appropriate and efficient – they incur high annual operational costs of around TT$17m (approximately TT$15,000/youth), of which 80% goes to pay staff salaries. There has been little investment in the improvement or expansion of the trades training courses and work placement activities, with the result that they are inferior in comparison to other available options.

8. The overall inadequacy of the YDAC approach as well as recent discipline problems led the government to close one center last year and plan for the restructuring of the others. It intends to gradually shift the focus of the centers from a residential mode of operation to community-based training. Given that the centers are currently single sex, with only one for girls, this change implies the introduction of a coeducational environment and a potential increase in the female-male ratio, since female youths generally comprise a greater portion of the trainee population in other programs. A 1999

[111] The on-the-job training program receives all money earned by trainees and then passes on two-thirds to the trainees, who must present evaluations from their employers every two weeks. A SERVOL officer also makes on-site monitoring visits. Many trainees obtain a full-time job before the period ends. Examples of participating employers include Berger Paints, Sherwyn Williams, Three M, Creative Products, Computer Power and Supplies, PC Systems, Pier One, Trinidad Yacht Club, Nursing Home, etc.

[112] For example, in 1988 the government set up the Cabinet Appointed Committee to Examine the Youth Camps, Trade Centers and Youth Centers in Trinidad and Tobago. Its report and those produced subsequently by at least four other investigatory bodies have documented the main problems in the YDACs' operations.

government report[113] recommended the strengthening of the training and concentration in the following areas: agriculture, agro-industries, and food processing; light manufacturing; microenterprise; services (including information technology); and tourism. It also advocated a new management structure with an autonomous Board of Management that would report to the Minister, similar to arrangements under YTEPP (a limited liability company). Another goal was to establish more income generation from productive activities and an incentive structure to replace the current resident stipend, except in the most needy cases. Ultimately, the future of the YDACs rests on the ability of the reform process to improve the quality of their services. If it is unsuccessful, the remaining centers may run the risk of closure, creating a gap in service provision.

9. There are many ***Private Sector Initiatives*** in youth training that fit into two broad groups. First, some private sector training is profit-oriented, small-scale and not regulated by government. Over 500 institutions are registered with the Ministry of Education as providers of technical and vocational training. Few have been through any process of accreditation or validation. The value of the certification they offer is questionable, and the quality of training has frequently been an issue of concern. Second, some of the larger companies have established skills development programs for youths in order to improve the human resource base in their respective industries. These largely provide a higher level of training and benefit youths with a better educational background. The following examples give an idea of the second type of training:

- The National Gas Company (NGC) supports the government's training program in the energy sector, through the Ministry of Energy, and in cooperation with other companies. The National Energy Skills Development Program, which replaced an old apprenticeship program, provides scholarships, training and company placements. Such a program is industry specific, takes advantage of the capacity of companies in the sector and aims to meet their skill needs.
- Royal Bank, through its Royal Bank Institute of Business and Technology (ROYTEC), established a training program in 1987 because of its dissatisfaction with school leavers' skills, especially their attitudes and work ethic. The original two-week course provided an introduction to business and personal development. Soon it evolved into a seven month program encompassing training in economics, accounting and marketing. Today, more than 35 companies send trainees to participate. So far, over 1,000 students have graduated. ROYTEC is also involved in setting up computer labs in schools through an alliance with Industry Canada (Canada's SchoolNet), and it can equip a lab for TT$45,000.

[113] Division of Youth Affairs (1999): Report of the Committee to Review All Aspects of the Operations of Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers, Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs, March.

ANNEX I
EXPENDITURES OF THE MINISTRY OF SPORT AND YOUTH AFFAIRS SAMPLE YEAR - 1995*

Category	Expenditure (TT$)
01. Personnel	7,927,107
General Administration	3,519,350
Physical Education and Sports Division	3,014,597
Youth Affairs	1,393,160
02. Goods and Services	8,842,841
General Administration	1,900,748
Physical Education and Sports Division	1,328,620
National Stadium	4,985,073
Youth Affairs	335,601
Youth Centers	292,798
03. Minor Equipment	205,610
General Administration	135,512
Physical Education and Sports Division	25,316
National Stadium	34,289
Youth Affairs	10,494
04. Current Transfers and Subsidies	3,667,071
Commonwealth Youth Program	154,182
International Association of Auditorium Managers	1,497
Non-Profit Institutions	1,873,055
Assistance to Sporting Organizations	1,020,407
President's Award Scheme	24,380
St. Paul St. Gymnasium	810,269
Young Women's Christian Association	4,000
Young Men's Christian Association	1,000
Boy's Scout Association	10,000
Girl Guide Association	3,000
Households	345,898
Severance Benefits	5,838
Youth Centers	340,060
Youth Training	1,292,439
05. Development Program	10,566,371
Sports	10,066,371
St. Paul St. Indoor Sports Hall	44,268
Irwin Park Recreation Ground	578,632
Construction of 4 Indoor Halls - Chaguanas, San Fernando, Tacarigua and Pt. Fortin	7,460,000
Installation of Synthetic Hockey Surface - Tacariqua	1,500,000
National Stadium - Structural Testing and associated remedial works	277,753
Completion of Sangre Grande Swimming Pool	150,000
Pt. D'Or Hardsurface Court	55,718
Youth Development	500,000
Refurbishment of Youth Training Facilities	500,000
Total	**31,209,000**

* At this time, the Youth Development and Apprenticeship Centers were in the portfolio of the Ministry of Education

ANNEX J
NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY[114]

1. In July of 1998 the Government of Trinidad and Tobago appointed a Special Task Force comprising 29 representatives from various government ministries, civil society organizations, youth associations and academia to formulate a National Youth Policy. The Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs was appointed responsible for coordinating this process. Since its establishment the Task Force has held extensive consultations with key stakeholders throughout the country to discuss issues affecting youths, agree on a list of priority goals, make specific recommendations on key intervention areas, and suggest mechanisms for policy implementation and monitoring. A first challenge for the Task Force was to provide a diagnostic picture of the current situation of youths based on quantitative and qualitative information disaggregated by age and gender, poverty levels, ethnicity and race, religion, family structures, health, education, employment, migration trends, crime rates, information technology, and recreation activities. This provided the Task Force with the background needed to make policy recommendations.

2. The consultations were highly participatory and as a result, a background document outlining policy objectives, priority target groups, strategy areas and proposed recommendations has been produced. Although the background paper for the Youth Policy is in draft form and several aspects contained in the document may be changed, it provides a strong basis for the formulation of a sound youth policy.

3. The broad ***policy objectives*** are:

- to ensure the appropriate spiritual and moral development of all young people
- to ensure that all young people are provided with the opportunity for primary, secondary and tertiary education;
- to ensure that each young person is aware of his physical makeup and pursues his physical development by means of appropriate nutrition and exercise;
- to promote the enrichment of family life inclusive of the understanding of the responsibility of parenthood;
- to prepare all young people for the world of work in which they are expected to be treated with respect and in turn make a contribution worthy of their fullest potential;
- the promotion of unity and equity among all young people in the country;
- the development in all youth of a social consciousness which encourages them to be their brother's keepers; and
- the provision of facilities which ensure that young people have avenues to relax and enjoy life.

4. The ***priority target group*** will include young people with disabilities, orphans, rural young men and women, urban young men and women, unemployed young women and men, youths in school, youth out of school, street children, young pregnant women, young men and women who are HIV positive, young drug addicts, young offenders.

[114] Draft Background Document on the National Youth Policy, August 16, 1999.

Fourteen strategy areas where identified by the Task Force. These are: education and training, parenting and family life, economic issues, youth in institutions, youth in rural areas, health, arts and culture, sport and leisure, legal issues, communication and media, gender issues, poverty, drugs, youth involvement and participation. Each of these key strategy areas contain specific recommendations to be implemented and monitored by a ministry, CBO, and/or NGO.

5. The objectives and proposed recommendations outlined in the background document for the youth policy are consistent with the national policy priorities presented in the government's Medium Term Policy Framework prepared by the Ministry of Finance. According to the Policy document, social sector policies are aimed at empowering the socially vulnerable through community participation, promotion of individual talents within communities in the area of culture, arts and sports. In addition, the government intends to strengthen existing programs supporting families and children, community groups, probation services, adoption, foster care services, training, short-term employment programs of a productive nature targeted to women and youth among others. The preparation of the National Youth Policy is mentioned as a priority, including the establishment of a National Youth Council to enable youth participation in the planning and implementation of national development objectives. Equally important is the objective of improving access and provision of judicial services to the general public, including the reduction in the case backlog and reform of the laws to meet present demands.

6. The Government intends to ensure the ***participation of youths*** in the implementation of the policy by:

- Strengthening and sustainably developing youth bodies through institutional strengthening and capacity building programs
- Facilitating the establishment of and supporting a National Youth Council for the purpose of coordinating the activities of youth groups and making recommendations to the government on matters affecting the youth in Trinidad and Tobago
- Providing facilities for research and development on youth matters and assistance for the networking of youths groups and agencies, regionally and internationally
- Establishing a voluntary community/national service program for all youth
- Ensuring youth representation on all cabinet appointed policy-making bodies

7. ***Implementation Arrangements***. According to the background document for the National Youth Policy, the Youth Affairs Division and the division responsible for youth of the Tobago House of Assembly will be the lead agencies in monitoring the implementation of the Youth Policy. Specifically, these two agencies will be responsible for monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the youth policy, assisting youth groups and agencies in research and development of projects aimed at benefiting the youths, providing capacity building to organizations working on youth issues, establishing information centres on youth issues, promote general public awareness on the Youth Policy, and facilitate and coordinate the development of youth programmes and projects in Trinidad and Tobago. A Steering Committee chaired by the Ministry of

Sports and Youth Affairs and comprising of representatives of the National Parent-Teachers Association, Inter-religious Organization, and the Teachers' Association, will be formed to monitor the implementation of the strategies proposed in the youth policy.

8. Suggestions have been made in the background document regarding the need to evaluate the institutional capacity and organizational structures of the lead agencies. It was also suggested that an external consultant undertakes such an evaluation and provides specific recommendations. The document also recognizes the need for coordination among and within government agencies, non-governmental organizations, community based organizations, private sector and donor agencies. Each agency is expected to develop a plan of action to implement specific recommendations put forward in the Youth Policy.

9. ***Strengths and Weaknesses.*** As indicated above, the youth policy background document provides a sound basis for the preparation of a comprehensive National Youth Policy. The participatory process that was followed merits recognition and the government should be commended for undertaking such a difficult task in a transparent and participatory manner. The issues and concerns facing the youths as presented in the document reflect the realities of the country, and the findings of the World Bank mission are consistent with the picture depicted in the document. While most of the objectives and proposed strategic recommendations are well articulated, some could benefit from further refinement (e.g. youth in institutions) and certain areas need elaboration (e.g. teen pregnancy, legal aspects in youth development, gender issues, clear mechanisms for youth participation). This is likely to happen as the government embarks in the final stages of the drafting of the policy.

10. The areas which have been highly neglected are the institutional and organizational arrangements for the implementation of the policy. As it will be indicated in section 5.5.1 below, current coordination between government agencies needs improvement, including coordination and cooperation with civil society organizations, NGOs and the private sector. Similarly, government officials cited inadequate information management systems, lack of coordination, inadequate technical skills, proper monitoring and evaluation, inadequate financial/accounting systems, poor infrastructure, and insufficient resources as constraints currently faced by many agencies working on youth issues. Therefore, the institutional and organizational arrangements must be analyzed in the context of patters of interaction among different implementing agencies, the governance structure within and between agencies, the institutional capacity within agencies, and the incentive structures for cooperation between government, NGOs, CBOs, and the private sector.

11. The background document appears to assume that agencies and policy actors will follow and carry out the proposed recommendations. If this is not the case, the problem could be classified as an implementation failure and not blamed on the policy. The background document further assumes that policy making should be understood in terms of goals or ends sought, instead of viewing it as a process which requires collective action and well delineated institutional arrangements for implementation, monitoring and

evaluation. Given that the government intends to develop such a comprehensive and complex policy, it should pay close attention to potential implementation constraints. The policy should ideally cover the operationalization of policy prescriptions in to specific objectives and actions which define the agencies, procedures, capacities, and behaviors required to achieve specific outcomes.[115]

12. Part of the complexity of the policy lies on the nature of the objectives and recommendations. The proposed objectives and strategic recommendations cut across many different sectors (e.g., education, health, employment); range from practical operational proposals (e.g. construct more facilities for children in need of care) to reforms and changes in processes and systems (e.g. improve judicial system); and, require different levels of intervention by different units within agencies. Definition of roles and responsibilities accompanied by an analysis of the proposed institutional and organizational arrangements is necessary. In addition, the youth policy should clearly state the sequencing or time frame of when certain goals are expected to be achieved. This will help in the prioritization of interventions in light of the scarce financial resources.

13. In revising the youth policy, the government might direct attention toward five basic principles/actions:

- Provide all youth an opportunity, within the school system or in alternative settings, to learn, grow and respect themselves and others.
- Give youth of both genders and of all ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds systematic opportunity to voice their opinions, needs and proposals to promote learning and self-help and influence policies that affect them.
- Promote community-based youth initiatives geared to reducing insecurity and violence.
- Encourage inter-generational dialogue to develop role models and encourage parental accountability and youth responsibility.
- Provide youth regularly with information with which to make decisions about their lives.

[115] Brinkehoff, D.W. *Institutional Analysis: Basic Issues and World Bank Responses*. September, 1998

ANNEX K
PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ON REPORT FROM GOVERNMENT OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

The report of the World Bank Delegation on Youth and Social Development has been reviewed in brief by staff of the Change Management Unit for Poverty Eradication and Equity Building of the Ministry of Social and Community Development and general comments of the Director Youth Affairs have also been incorporated.

Overall Comment

The report has been found to be extremely comprehensive, addressing the substantive issues involved in the empowerment of youth and in particular "at risk" youth in the country.

The strategies recommended have been found to be appropriate and reflect a confirmation and restatement of the approach currently being pursued by the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs and recommended both in the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth and Sport and the National Youth Policy.

In this regard, and consistent with the World Bank recommendations, there would be need for further dialogue with the key actors and stakeholders to establish priorities and to ensure that the recommendations dove tail with other ongoing and proposed initiatives.

Specific Comments

The report recognised that investing in the youth would bring significant social and economic benefits to Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover it recognised that significant emphasis had to be placed on addressing the plight of at risk youth, which could amount to about 1/3 of the youth population.

A Transitional Strategy is recommended which involves:

i. Facilitating access to schooling and retention of youth at-risk in schools
ii. Reaching youth outside of the school with additional educational options
iii. Improving the delivery and quality of training and its relevance to the market
iv. Adopting appropriate policy and legislation regarding the monitoring and regulation of alternatives and reform of safely net programmes
v. Establishing the institutional infrastructure necessary to promote an integrated approach to youth development and implement the transitional strategy.

There is general agreement with the substantive recommendations. Specific comments and strengthening of the recommendations, which will have financial implications, are as follows:

Re. i. Facilitating access to schooling and retention of youth at-risk in schools

Adopting and Piloting the Full Service Community Schools

There is need for a local consultancy team of 3-4 persons, including a Psychologist, Guidance Officer and Family Planning Expert to review the existing programmes currently offered within the school system, what is required and make specific recommendations. The Team should also identify specific area schools in which the programme should be piloted and have responsibility for oversight of the implementation process in the schools.

Promoting a positive youth culture in school through after-school activities

The Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs as part of its strategic development strategy, has already identified for construction, Youth Development Centres in poor/remote communities. A coordinated approach should however be taken as it relates to:

i. the financing of this development
ii. the staffing of these facilities
iii. the training of the resource persons.

Re. ii. Reaching youth outside of the school with additional educational options

Supporting the development of alternatives and remedial education programmes

There is a clear need for strengthening the excellent strategy adopted by the Cocorite Learning Centre to reach youth who are unplaced at the Common Entrance Examination. What is also recommended is that the range of services offered be expanded and the overall strategy duplicated throughout Trinidad and Tobago.

Re. iii. Improving the delivery and quality of training and its relevance to the market

Item 147. This approach needs to be preceded by the development of a specific curriculum and set operating standards to ensure that consistency and quality are maintained. This would therefore require a special team of local experts to develop the model. A legislative framework must also be developed to complement this initiative.

Implementation Strategy

Establishing a National Youth Development Council

This approach is fully endorsed. It must however provide an opportunity of the integration of the national Education Policy with Youth Development.

Creating a Youth Development Fund

The recommendation does not indicate the source of the funding, the quantum and the administration of the fund. Grant funding is preferred for this component of the project.

Conclusion

One of the things that is quite clear, is that several components of the proposal would require considerable financing. No specific mention or recommendations were made with respect to the possible options for funding.

We would therefore appreciate an understanding of the exact quantum and type of financing the World Bank would be willing to invest in a project of the magnitude.