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Beyond problem solving development initiatives for youth in Botswana: a youth development approach for risk reduction

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters of Development

October 2008

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Development in the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University of institution.

_____ (signature of candidate)

_____ (date)

Acknowledgements

"Rather than fixing teens' problems, we need to nurture their potential."

Program Director, Advocates for Youth

My mother taught me to believe – believe in myself and my potential. It has been my mission to make every youth feel their value in life. However, youth cannot do this on their own, they need their family and community to believe in them also. My sincere hope is to instill the drive of advocacy for youth in youth themselves and the members of their lives.

Appreciation must be given to Botswana for all its beauty and the life it breathed into me intellectually, emotionally, spiritually and physically. All my friends at YOHO, who opened my eyes and heart to many things through the years, also deserve gratitude. Thank you to the Healys and the De Carvalhos for all they did to help me through this, from providing space to work and for all those much needed breaks. Thank you to my parents for continuing to believe in me and their continuous support and guidance. And thank you to my family – my husband and my daughter – for their patience and support, and most of all, their love, laughter, smiles and hugs that encouraged me beyond all other means. Malia my girl, never stop believing…

Abstract

This study seeks to answer: What are the socio-cultural factors contributing, or not, towards positive youth development in HIV/AIDS initiatives in Botswana? It is operating under the assumption that what is missing from current interventions for HIV/AIDS is a focus on the socio-cultural factors that are contributing towards the spread of the epidemic, particularly amongst youth. The research aims to examine the socio-cultural environment of Botswana's society by using the variables that have been isolated to contribute towards positive youth development in order to understand what is, or is not, contributing towards positive youth development in HIV/AIDS initiatives. In addition, the research will analyze the association of positive youth development indicators and reduced risk- taking behavior. As a result of the sample used, the research also hopes to gain information on the following: association between community setting (urban/rural) and positive youth development, association between gender and positive youth development, and an association between participatory development initiatives and positive youth development.

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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

The idea of development work has taken many forms through the years and continues to change and shift as old ideas and practices are challenged and new ones emerge. In general, however, there are two central strategies in development work that have emerged and development initiatives appear based on one or the other of these approaches. First, there is the form of development initiatives which are based on hegemonic Western principles, commonly referred to as the top down approach. These initiatives are designed, implemented and evaluated by the Western or *developed* practitioners for the *lesser developed* countries, communities and people with which they work. Second, over the past few decades an alternative approach has come to be categorized as 'participatory development' or 'asset based development' whereby local people's skills, knowledge and experience are the central force behind the design, implementation and evaluation of initiatives. Participatory development has become popular, and many would argue the 'best practice' in the field, as an effective tool to create sustainable development because of its focus on local people's abilities to create and maintain change for themselves.

From this perspective it is evident that youth participation is a necessary component of development initiatives for youth. International organizations, programs, literature and policies advocate that young people have the skills and abilities and need to be included in the process of change. It is not only youth's right to participate in developing programs and policies that will serve and affect them, but it can be argued that programs are more sustainable and effective when youth are involved in their design, development and implementation (Norman, 2001). A further need for the inclusion of youth in development practice is that it fosters positive youth development. The concept of youth development has taken on force over the past few decades, with an emphasis on creating positive outcomes desired for young people rather than on preventing negative outcomes (Jaffe, 2000). What is recognized through research on human behavior and program evaluation is the need for youth to have a sense of competence, usefulness, belonging and abilities (Benson & Saito, 2000). It becomes evident how participatory development initiatives can potentially help youth in meeting these needs through its recognition and inclusion of their knowledge, skills and abilities.

Participatory development initiatives in Botswana, however, using HIV/AIDS programming as an example, are generally focused on solving youth's behavior problems, such as reducing risk taking behaviors. Organizations and programs in Botswana almost exclusively focus on behavioral change communication as a means to correcting the HIV/AIDS problem facing the country. This is apparent in the abundant use by organizations and government of risk-reduction programs and education campaigns which emphasize the use of condoms, abstinence and faithfulness. This practice of problem solving, or risk reduction, as a development tool is not confined to Botswana. There is a general focus on targeting what young people are perceived to do wrong and how to fix it, rather than emphasizing an approach that enhances the factors in a youth's life that leads to healthy development (MacDonald & Vaidivieso, 2000). While there is nothing intrinsically wrong with focusing on behavior change or trying to solve problems, when HIV/AIDS infections are continuously high after years of applying these tools and despite high levels of awareness of the disease and how to prevent it, it would seem apparent that something is not being addressed in the problem-solving strategy.

Solutions for HIV/AIDS, therefore, must move beyond behavior change to a focus on social change in order to be effective.

1.1 Rationale

1.1.1 Why a focus on youth?

Youth are particularly vulnerable to social and health inequalities. Botswana has a very youthful population, with 50 percent being below the age of 19 (Government of Botswana, 2003). HIV prevalence amongst youth are as follows: 15-19 years is at a rate of 21 percent, 20-24 years is at a rate of 26.2 percent, and 25-29 years is at a rate of 41 percent (Government of Botswana, 2003). Compare these numbers with the current national average of 17.1 percent (NACA, 2004). Youth are particularly vulnerable to social inequalities and more specifically, to health inequalities. Youth are too often left out of the picture when it comes to dealing with specific vulnerable populations. Children are given their own category due to their helplessness and that many negative outcomes can be avoided if prevented and dealt with in childhood. Gender is also given its own category due to its pervasive relevance. That is to say, gender is a cross cutting determinant in terms of social inequality and health. Youth, however, are most often left without a specific category and as such, left without recognition of their unique inequalities and needs. Perhaps this is due to the often elusive category of "youth". Youth happens to fall somewhere after childhood and somewhere before adulthood, but is defined differently by most countries. If anything they are usually put in the gender category of young men and young women and dealt with accordingly, with an emphasis on gender rather than generation. Otherwise, youth are given little attention because it is often believed that prevention during adolescence is basically *"too little, too late"*.

In looking at the concept of vulnerability, however, it is evident that youth do have their own specific issues and needs affecting their age population. Vulnerability is largely based on social inequalities and these, in turn, are connected with health inequalities. As a result, it is important to address youth's vulnerability in order to understand their specific needs. This vulnerability is in large part due to the impact that socialization has on youth and the concept of youth. As we will see, socialization itself can create vulnerability. In many societies, particularly in developing countries such as Botswana, where other issues have taken precedence over a youth movement such as what the Western world has come to know, youth are not well valued or respected by adults (Breutz, 1977). As a result, youth are left powerless and without their specific needs being met.

It is widely recognized and accepted that women are more vulnerable in terms of their social inequality and as a result, their health. Many organizations, programs and policies seek to improve the disproportionate suffering of women in the world. However, just as many do not clearly address the role and needs of youth. Youth also disproportionately suffer, especially in an era of disease and violence, because in many developing countries, such as Botswana, this has left them as the sole providers for their families. Kalyani Menon-Sen, a Gender Advisor with UNDP's Human Development Resource Centre, advised in her review of the MDGs (2003), that we cannot limit our discussion of gender inequality to women-specific issues because it affects all issues. Similarly, I

believe we cannot separate the Rights of the Child because a lack of youth equality and perspective affects all issues. In order to achieve this, however, we must recognize their equality and capacity to make positive contributions to society, as well as realize and protect their rights. Just as gender inequality affects all issues, so does youth inequality because they are the adults of tomorrow.

1.1.2 Why a focus on youth development?

On the whole in Botswana, awareness about HIV/AIDS is very high. Overall, 96.7 percent of men and 98.4 percent of women have heard of HIV/AIDS (NACA, 2004). Furthermore, about 82 percent of the respondents in this survey knew at least one way to prevent HIV/AIDS (NACA, 2004). Unfortunately, a disparity exists between having this knowledge and actually using this knowledge in the prevention of HIV/AIDS, as is evident in the sobering statistics of HIV prevalence. With such a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, the country has implemented various initiatives for treatment, prevention, care and support over the years.

Botswana's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic can be divided into three stages, the first stage beginning in 1987 with a focus on eliminating the risk of HIV transmission through blood transfusion by the screening of blood (Avert, n.d.). The second stage began in 1989, along with the first Medium Term Plan (MTP), and with it began national information and education campaigns aimed at increasing awareness of the virus. In 1997, the third stage of response began which included focusing on prevention, as well as care, of those infected and affected at all levels of society. In addition, this stage included an expanded response to the crisis which aimed to involve stakeholders from all sectors of society through the second Medium Term Plan (MTP II) (UNDP, 2000). According to the National Strategic Framework for HIV/AIDS (NSF) 2003-2009, the government and all sectors of society aim to focus their attention on healthy and safe sexual reproductive health decisions amongst all members of society, particularly youth, through the coordinated efforts of all sectors in society. However, despite Botswana's years of efforts and proactive approaches, HIV/AIDS in Botswana continues to be amongst the highest in the world.

What has become clear when dealing with HIV/AIDS is the need to address socio-cultural factors that affect the spread and treatment of the disease (Singh-Manoux & Marmot, 2005). HIV/AIDS cannot be simply dealt with by educating people about the behavior that is perpetuating the disease and then hoping they will stop. As evident from statistics, despite knowledge of HIV/AIDS and preventative measures in Botswana, youth are not employing safe sexual health practices. There are underlying factors which contribute to the ongoing risky behavior despite awareness and education levels; therefore, potential solutions cannot be found in isolation of these other influencing factors. As such, potential solutions cannot isolate themselves to focus on risk reduction alone by emphasizing behavior change as the best, or only, option. It is recognized that what is needed is:

> [A] process [which] necessitates changes in societies sexual norms, values and the creation of an environment which promotes the possibility of open and honest discussion of sexuality and dying. As such, it is evolutionary

> [rather[than revolutionary. Hence, whilst being effective, behavioral modification strategies have had little impact on curbing the pace and intensity of HIV prevalence across the wider Africa continent over the past two decades.

(Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa, 2003-2005)

Positive youth development is shown to effectively reduce risky behavior and as a result, lowered HIV infections, among other benefits (Benson & Saito, 2000). It is not that youth development is in direct opposition to problem-solving programming, but that it recognizes the significant role that environment plays in shaping an individual's outcome (MacDonald & Vaidivieso, 2000). As a result, it works in collaboration by aiming to reduce risky behaviors by emphasizing what helps youth develop into overall healthy, contributing and successful individuals.

Personal experience also informs my knowledge of the need for positive youth development. Through over ten years of work with youth on leadership, participation and community development efforts, it has become increasingly clear to me that participation by youth in anything meaningful for themselves or their society will not happen without the confidence, self worth and empowerment to do so – in other words, without their own personal development. This idea became more concrete during my two years of work with youth throughout Botswana on HIV prevention. It was my experience that youth in Botswana do not have a clear sense and understanding of the value of their life, the feeling that they are worth fighting for and that they do have something to offer and work towards. Youth in Botswana are only concerned with the present and fail significantly to look at their future because so many of them are confounded by the fact that their future is one of struggle in terms of employment, education or disease.

As youth development research exemplifies, in order for youth to lead healthy and positive lives, it is important for youth to feel engaged and supported by their environment while also being given the opportunities to contribute to the best of their abilities (Brindis & Davis, 1998). Through my experience in Botswana, I believe that there is not a conducive environment to reduce risky behavior by fostering youth's positive development. It is evident that despite such efforts as mass communication or mass education campaigns that work to educate youth and curb risky sexual behavior, that there is something missing from the prevention strategies.

1.2 Aim

This explanatory study's empirical research is guided by theoretical frameworks associated with positive youth development and a psycho-social environmental model of health. In developing this research I operated under the assumption that current risk-reduction strategies in Botswana focus on behavior change as a means of risk-reduction strategies, but in doing so neglect other factors that influence behavior. The psycho-social environmental model of health maintains that health-related behavior cannot simply be explained through a biomedical standpoint, but that it is the environmental aspects of an individual or population that contribute to behavior. Similarly, positive youth development is guided by the notion that it is a youth's surrounding environment which

influences their success and health in life. As a result, positive youth development theory maintains that in order to reduce risk taking behavior one cannot isolate the behavior as a means of change, but must increase the supportive environmental factors in a youth's life in order to create healthy decisions by youth.

In order to analyze such a broad notion of a "socio-cultural environment", this research used the work of the U.S.A based organization, Search Institute, as its' operating basis. The Search Institute is one of the leading organizations and research bases of positive youth development theory and techniques in the world. Furthermore, it is one of the only available sources to have a substantial system of inquiry on information pertaining to positive youth development. Through its research, the Search Institute has identified 40 Developmental Assets which all youth must have in order to grow up successful and healthy. These assets are also significant in terms of their connection with reduced risk taking behavior amongst youth. It has been found that the more assets youth have, the less risk taking behavior they engage in.

Through these frameworks the research sought to identify socio-cultural factors in the Botswana context which may or may not be influencing positive youth development and by extension, influencing risk-reduction behavior related to HIV/AIDS. In essence, this research is therefore seeking to both verify youth development theory within the Botswana context, and if significant supportive findings are made, to generate the theory that indeed current risk-reduction strategies within the country need to include a focus on the socio-cultural environment in addition to behavior change.

1.2.1 Core Question

What are the socio-cultural factors contributing, or not, towards positive youth development in HIV/AIDS initiatives in Botswana?

1.2.2 Guiding Principles

Through the research findings, this study also hopes to analyze the association of positive youth development indicators and reduced risk- taking behavior. As a result of the sample used, the study also seeks to gain information on the following: association between community setting (urban/rural) and positive youth development, association between gender and positive youth development, and an association between participatory development initiatives and positive youth development.

Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literary review aims to lay the foundation to the ideas framing this study. It is hoped that readers will develop an understanding of the general theoretical concepts, as well as a contextualization of these ideas within Botswana's society. The chapter will begin with an overview of socialization, moving from a general introduction to a contextualization within Botswana's socio-cultural and socio-political framework. The chapter will then transition into a discussion of empowerment and social capital as it relates to development initiatives. Finally, the chapter will outline risk-reduction strategies, moving towards a focus on both participatory development and positive youth development.

2.1 Socialization

Modern Western medicine has been largely based on the biomedical model of health, which is clinical in nature and addresses disease in terms of biological factors as opposed to psychological, social or cultural influences. This model is based on five assumptions (adopted from Nettleton, 1995):

1. Mind-body dualism: the notion that mind and body can be treated separately.
2. Mechanical metaphor: The body can be repaired like a machine and therefore doctors can mend what is dysfunctioning.
3. Technological imperative: technological interventions are overplayed.
4. Reductionist: explanations of disease focus on biological changes to the relative neglect of social and psychosocial factors.
5. Doctrine of specific aetiology: Connected to the 'germ theory', this is the assumption that every disease is caused by a specific, identifiable agent, namely a 'disease entity'.

Despite the predominant use of the biomedical model of health, theories of psychology and sociology have opened up the world to the idea that the health of individuals goes beyond their physical symptoms and simply treating the most obvious and direct problem is not necessarily the best solution. It is now being acknowledged that culturally determined beliefs and values shape the health of individuals (Muller & Steyn, 1999). Regarding HIV/AIDS as an example, we can say that the epidemic is more than simply a health concern, it is a social concern as it is "social and political structures, in addition to behavioral ones, [that] have combined to shape the course of the epidemic" (Gilbert & Walker, 2002). As a result of these ideas, the concept of a psychosocial environmental model of health has begun to emerge in which environmental aspects of individuals or populations are also accounted for in order to determine particular health needs and consequences.

> Health-related and psycho-social behaviors are never truly 'voluntary'; they are a product of, and embedded in structures of society. Therefore, the unit of

> analysis is not the individual but the socio-cultural context that shapes the individual. (Singh-Manoux & Marmot, 2005)

As such, the process of socialization is one area which has begun to be accounted for in terms of its impact on individuals.

The process of socialization is the cultural and social environment that makes up an individual. Regarded as such, the process of socialization can come to be understood through two concepts. The first concept, and the one that is the most widely accepted and used in the understanding of socialization, is the idea that attitudes, beliefs and behaviors are passed from one generation to the next. The second concept is the understanding of socialization as also the influencing social structure that creates an individual's environment. This second understanding of socialization is closely related to Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus', which argues that individuals internalize perception, thought and action of their surrounding environment and as a result, reproduce existing social structures (Bourdieu, 1986; Sing-Manoux & Marmot, 2005).

Regarding socialization within this framework is critical to understanding the social determinants of health. It has long been argued that income inequalities are related to health inequalities. However, more recently, the impact of inequality in power and status, or social inequality, and its relation to health inequalities has also gained significant recognition (Hawe &Shiell, 2000). Socialization itself can bring about vulnerability for a particular population and in turn, vulnerability can bring about health consequences. In unpacking vulnerability, we are left with three major concepts: entitlement, empowerment and political economy. In general, if a population is vulnerable, it lacks entitlement to services, resources and assets; it lacks power, a voice and the ability to act on behalf of themselves; and it lacks participation, access and any sense or source of clout with the political economy (Wallerstein, 1992). If we are to look at each of these characteristics that together can be understood to create vulnerability, the seriousness of the vulnerability facing youth becomes apparent.

In using HIV/AIDS as an example, let us examine the concept of vulnerability and its relation to youth. Lacking entitlement as we have defined here can leave youth particularly vulnerable because they are essentially left without services, or resources to access services or information, which is essential in preventing, as well as treating HIV infection. If lacking empowerment is understood as lacking power or a voice and the ability to act on behalf of oneself, in terms of HIV/AIDS, lacking empowerment can have great consequences as it can result in people failing to take steps towards determining their HIV status, or if they know their status, steps towards treatment and prevention to others. In relation, lacking political economy in terms of HIV/AIDS interventions results in lacking means of participation and any clout within society not only to be able to access, but to have a say in prevention, treatment and care in terms of HIV/AIDS.

In using this example, however, it does not do justice towards the Botswana specific context. In Botswana, there are efforts that in theory support the power of youth. There is entitlement in the sense that there are services and resources directly targeting youth. There is empowerment in terms of policies and practices in place that advocate for the voice of youth to be heard and integrated into practice. And there is even room for the

political economy of youth in terms of the integration of youth parliamentarians within the Government of Botswana. This, therefore, leaves one to beg the question: How are youth of Botswana made vulnerable?

2.1.1 The socio-cultural context of Botswana

In dealing with the subject at hand, the socialization, or socio-cultural environment of youth, needs to be examined. Setswana cultural customs, the predominant cultural environment within Botswana, account for many aspects of the socialization of individuals. One traditional Botswana proverb states: "Botlhale jwa phala botswa phalaneng". Directly translated this means "the wisdom of a flute comes from a smaller flute". In essence this means that the wisdom of an elder comes from the young. While such a value on the importance of young people exists within the cultural context of Botswana, and although modern times are slowly changing the face of traditional customs and values, the predominant practice of Setswana culture does not necessarily reflect this value. One example of such a cultural factor includes the lack of participation in decision-making by youth. This is exemplified by the role of the Kgotla in all communities throughout Botswana (Schapera, 1979). The Kgotla is the meeting place for adults in the community whereby the adults and Kgosi (chief), make decisions. While youth are allowed to attend the meetings, they are not included in decisions made, but rather simply told of outcomes or what to do as a result of the outcomes.

A further aspect of Setswana culture that creates social inequality for youth is the fact that youth are perceived and treated as subordinate to their elders (Durham, n.d.; Mookodi, Ntsheke & Taylor, n.d.). As a result, youth must always listen and respect their elders who are the ones with knowledge and as such, the ones who make decisions (Schapera, 1979). Adults are generally reluctant to listen to the knowledge and insight of youth, despite initiatives put forth by both the national and international community that advocate for the importance of youth having a voice. As a result of such beliefs and practice, youth are socialized not to speak out, use their voice, and take action, particularly if in defiance of the adults. Adults are socialized not to respect youth's voice, knowledge or abilities and as such fail to listen to them and acknowledge them as active participants in society. If society is therefore socialized to believe that youth should essentially not have the equal rights as an adult, then youth are left vulnerable and face inequality. As a result, youth are left powerless and vulnerable, despite the theoretical efforts of the Botswana Government and service providers to empower youth and include youth in participation.

Evidently, Setswana cultural customs are possibly contributing towards the social inequality of youth. As we have discussed, this type of social inequality can leave individuals, in this case youth, at risk for health inequalities. Participatory programs initiated in Botswana towards HIV prevention for youth, for example, have been found to suffer from a lack of effective utilization due to the subordinate position of youth and poor youth-adult relationships (Youth Health Organization, 2004). This subordinate position of youth contributes to the lack of participation by youth and as a result, this can also facilitate the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana (Youth Health Organization, 2004).

Further aspects of the socio-cultural environment of Botswana that youth are socialized within have also been found to be having a negative impact on the spread of the disease. The Botswana AIDS Impact Suvery II (2004) identifies socio-cultural determinants of the disease as the subordinate position of women, the social tolerance of sexual networking by men and alcohol abuse as some such factors. These findings are also similar to a needs assessment conducted by the Basha Lesedi Project (2007) in Botswana whereby lack of faithfulness and alcohol abuse were identified as major problems within the culture that are affecting the spread of the disease. The needs assessment noted that these problems call for cause of concern over effective parental guidance and role modeling. Lastly, the needs assessment identified a further cultural concern that is affecting the problem, namely, poor adult-child communication, particularly regarding sexual health education.

As a result of the statistics of disease and its gender and age disparity remaining high, the Government of Botswana and non-governmental organizations have taken action not only towards fighting HIV/AIDS in general, but also amongst the groups disproportionately suffering, such as youth. However, despite years of mass communication and education campaigns by the Government of Botswana and non-government organizations, the sobering statistics remain virtually unaffected. Thus, it leads one to believe that there are underlying issues that are affecting the spread of the epidemic and yet are not being targeted. One aspect that we have thus far reflected upon is the cultural environment that individuals are socialized within. However, another aspect of socialization remains and that is of the socio-political environment of the country itself and its affect on individuals.

2.1.2 The socio-political context of Botswana

Although socialization through learning has a large impact on individuals and populations, such as we have discussed in our examination of Setswana cultural traditions and values and its impact on youth, these individuals and populations are further impacted by the socialization of the larger social and political structures within which they must operate. In order to discuss the social environment of Botswana and its affect on individuals, this paper would like to focus on the role of the state and society, as well as the social history of the country.

Economist Linda Weiss (1998) states that we must look at the relationship between state and society, which she characterizes by "depth" and "breadth." Depth shows to what extent the state interpenetrates, or is separate from society, and breadth refers to the density of the interpenetration in society. The more connections there are, the stronger the relationship is. Weiss speaks of different types of states in order to analyze her conception of the relationship between state and society, such as the coercive state or despotic state; however, this chapter would like to focus its attention on the idea described as "Embedded Autonomy". Peter Evans, one of the leading proponents of this idea, describes embedded autonomy as a state that is not subject to interest groups and thus autonomous from society, and yet is embedded in society through deep and broad linkages with society (Evans, 1992). It is a state where autonomy means the state has control, yet nothing could happen without the embeddedness. In a sense, it involves a balance of powers. It can be described as a "positive-sum" conception of power whereby both state and society increase their power together (Weiss, 1998).

The question thus becomes, how are state and society embedded? What is it that connects state with society? The answer is institutions. It is the institutionalization of this relationship which actually makes it a relationship because it provides linkages and a sense of permanence. This could also be described as "Governed Interdependence", which relies more on a formal set of institutions than does the idea of embedded autonomy, which can be a rather informal connection between state and society (Gelb, 2006). Whether the connection is formal or informal, however, the relationship between state and society reveals itself through institutions.

Weiss suggests that society itself is all institutionalized. Institutions are used to describe any groupings within society - business, social, economic, religious, etc. In other words, all forms of groupings within society are institutions and the state is merely comprised of a set of institutions that define interaction. In Robert Putnam's "Bowling Alone" (1995) he also, in essence, argues for the importance of institutions. Putnam discusses social organization, or what could also be understood as an institution, and its importance to democracy (1995). The idea is thus: that a strong and active civil society creates an effective democratic state. Whether or not we are discussing a democratic state, the idea remains that a strong and active civil society provides the necessary linkages between state and society.

Putnam is essentially arguing for the need of society to have a voice because it is this voice that builds the necessary relationship between state and society. This need for a voice, and the need for a relationship between this voice and the state, calls for a form of institutional infrastructure. This infrastructure is needed because even if a large number of people have common interests, it does not mean that they will band together to achieve their goals (Lange & Rueschemeyer, 2005). Furthermore, this infrastructure is needed because, as Levy argues, development itself is undercut when there are weak and inadequate social, political, and state institutions, and therefore, there is great need to create an effective infrastructure to support these institutions (Levy, 2004).

As a result of the mentality that there is a best practice out there, there are many different forms this institutional infrastructure has been subjected to take. However, the base idea remains that the infrastructure is to create a relationship between state and society. Levy discusses a governance diamond in which he diagrammatically connects the economy, political interests, formal political institutions and bureaucracy (Levy, 2004). It is an interdependent system which together shapes the trajectories of economic, public sector and state performance. A central focus of this model is the role of the demand side, the role of the clients of services. It identifies a need for voice by clients as they are linked to the frontline workers, the government, the bureaucrats, etc. Essentially what develops then is a model for service provision.

Levy argues that what is needed is a reconstruction by states whereby there is improved governance through the voice of service users, as well as providers. The central focus of this restructuring of service provision is on accountability. The need for this type of reconstruction can also be found in the World Bank's model of accountability (World Bank, 2004). In this model there are four main "actors" that must create relationships of accountability; namely, individuals, organizations, governments and businesses. From these four actors develop four relationships of accountability. The first is the relationship

of politicians to citizens, which creates accountability through the voice of the citizens, which is essentially political. Second, there is the relationship between the state and the organizational providers, whereby accountability is created through compact relationships. This means, for example, the central government is accountable to its providers in the sense that the policies and resources to deliver services must match the needs. The third relationship is between the frontline professionals to the organizational provider in which management develops accountability. Lastly, there is the relationship between the provider and the citizen, and in this relationship, accountability is created through client power. In essence, all those within the relationships defined are accountable to each other.

Accountability is effective because it evokes pride in one's work, as well as loyalty and trust between all levels of society. Thus, while there could be a fragmented society, which would generally mean interests are scattered rather than focused on one developmental objective, this can be overcome through the unison of ideals that accountability seems to create. Accountability alone, however, does not create an effective model for institutional infrastructure. There must also be a wise use of the centralization of power. The balance between centralized and decentralized power is difficult to achieve. When there are many political motives it can detract from a clear set of goals. It is especially difficult when a centralized power structure is needed, yet service delivery is highly decentralized (Lange & Rueschemeyer, 2005).

Botswana is a country whereby the state has attempted to create an effective model for service provision for HIV/AIDS health care through accountability and the decentralization of power. As we have previously discussed, Botswana's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic can be divided into three stages, with the current stage resulting in the nation attempting to implement a model of service for HIV/AIDS whereby all sectors of society are involved. The Botswana government and all levels of society came to a consensus on five goals to be reached in order to successfully combat HIV/AIDS (Government of Botswana, 2003). These include:

1. Prevention of HIV Infection
2. Provision of Treatment, Care and Support
3. Strengthened Management of the National Response to HIV and AIDS
4. Psycho-social and Economic Impact Mitigation
5. Provision of a Strengthened Legal and Ethical Environment

It is through the coordinated efforts of all sectors of society that it is believed these goals can be reached.

Botswana has attempted to create a multi-sectoral approach to HIV/AIDS through its various initiatives. It further represents this approach in its management of the national response. In 1999 the National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA) was created. It is responsible for coordinating and facilitating the nation's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic and does so through the direction of a diverse set of local citizens, government officials, development and civil society partners. In a collaborative effort, these members from the different levels of society created the National Strategic Framework (NSF)

which seeks, among other priorities: "to provide clear guidance for Ministries, districts, NGOs and the private sector to enable them to work in a collaborative manner in achieving the national goal: to lower the incidence of HIV and reduce the impact of AIDS in Botswana" (NACA, n.d.). In theory, it would seem that Botswana has created a model for service provision that is built on the relationships between society and the state. Furthermore, it would appear that accountability is created because all sectors of society are involved; thus, one would assume that the model could not run effectively unless all sectors are being held accountable to each other.

One area which deserves to be recognized due to its direct connection with youth and its ability to create a connection between the social and political realms of society, is the education system of Botswana. Through the revised National Policy on Education, the education system of Botswana strives for participation by the community in the development and management of education (Government of Botswana, 1994). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education implemented a Pastoral Policy in order to enhance student, staff and parental involvement in the formulation, execution and monitoring of school policies, as well as decision-making within the school (Keoren, 2008). Within the Pastoral Policy, the Ministry of Education recognizes that a school exists for the youth and as such they should be involved in decision making in order to enhance ownership, accountability and responsibility (Keoren, 2008). The policy further advocates that students should represent 70 percent of all committees related to the respective school and its education.

In relation to HIV/AIDS initiatives, the education system furthers its commitment to a holistic approach with all sectors of society. The Policy on HIV/AIDS Education (1998) from the Ministry of Education maintains that schools must work in cooperation with the local health authorities, the Parent Teacher Association and the community in HIV/AIDS education. It acknowledges that there are necessary linkages between the school and the local community on these issues. However, this policy seems to lack the direct involvement of students themselves with the development and implementation of HIV/AIDS education, only stating that this education will be *delivered* to all ages of students in every subject's curriculum.

While it is evident that in theory these policies are in place to create a multi-sectoral approach to education, there are underlying issues that may work to undermine these policies and only reinforce the hierarchal relationship of adults and youth in society. We know from our previous discussions that youth are not actively engaged in processes due to their social inequality within society. That is to say, while in theory the youth are meant to be involved and use their voice within this relationship between society and state, due to the vulnerability of youth that the socialization of youth and the concept of youth within Botswana has created, youth are voiceless. Thus we are left to wonder if indeed the implementation of the Ministry of Education's policies can actually succeed as aimed, and beyond the educational system, if involvement of youth in a mulit-sectoral approach to HIV/AIDS interventions is indeed a reality.

Evidence of a lack of a true inclusionary multi-sectoral approach is found in a study which aimed to explain impediments to HIV/AIDS interventions in Botswana through the

analysis of the role, response and experience of HIV/AIDS related civil society organizations (Kiley & Hovorka, 2006). The research found that despite best efforts to introduce a comprehensive response to the crisis, there is actually poor coordination and a lack of a true multi-sectoral input on behalf of the national response model. In a model system based on the shared input of all sectors of society, when one sector fails to perform their necessary role, problems develop. In the case of HIV prevention, treatment, care and support, inadequate programming and services for youth result because of their lack of participation. "Giving 'voice' and participation to the population cannot only increase the resource base for public services, but can also significantly improve the accountability of providers" (Mehrotra & Jarrett, 2002). It has been exemplified that the Government of Botswana and other acting agencies do want, in theory, to include youth's voice within their efforts. However, as we have discussed, there are barriers to implementing this theory into practice.

2.1.2.1 History & helplessness

According to Lange and Rueschemeyer (2005), state effectiveness undoubtedly depends on the characteristics of the societies in which they are embedded. It is about more than simply creating institutions and finding the right infrastructure. Social norms, attitudes and expectations of people and whole nations play a large role in the effectiveness of development initiatives. Debraj Ray's writings (1998) suggest there are forces at play that work against development initiatives. Even if linkages show the need for a coordinated effort to be made, this will not necessarily happen due to such things as history and expectations (Ray, 1998). Building an effective model for service provision does not only involve creating an effective administrative apparatus, it also involves states adapting to pre-existing social institutions (Lange & Rueschemeyer, 2005). Cumings and Lieberman (2005, 2003) also both argue that in order to achieve effective development, it is critical to understand the state is built on a country's historical foundation (namely, colonialism). This historical foundation essentially creates path dependence for states and through socialization, for individuals as well.

If we were to examine the role colonialism has played in Botswana, it would become apparent that social norms and expectations were created as a result of this history. Botswana's beginnings, colonial rule, independence and subsequent rule can be described as mainly peaceful (Beaulier, 2003). Botswana was sought out as a place of refuge from neighboring countries due its peaceful tidings as a country, even under colonial rule (Fawcus, 2000). However, with this tranquility also came subtle consequences that are now reflected in the citizens of the state. The Motswana people have not had to struggle for peace or democratic governance or healthcare or government provisions, to name but a few, as perhaps their neighboring black citizens in South Africa or Zimbabwe have. As a result, the Motswana have seemingly adopted a laissez-faire approach to citizenry, which even the Government of Botswana itself expresses as a problem of its citizens (Government of Botswana, 2006). The government has always provided and come through for its people. Botswana has created a success of itself through democracy and economic growth and the citizens have comfortably been along for what the government has provided. It is like a child who always has her chores done by her mother. When that child grows up, she will be incapable of doing her chores on her own. Most likely she

will feel there is nothing wrong with hiring someone to do it for her and may even expect that it is normal for someone else to do her chores. Essentially, this is the attitude of the citizens that has developed over time as a result of a peaceful existence and a government that has seemingly done all it can for its citizens.

This reflection on the role Botswana's history plays in its modern society could also be associated with the learned helplessness theory. Learned helplessness is described as a condition whereby even when a being has the power to change its disagreeable conditions, the being has learned to act or behave helpless in a particular situation (Hawe & Sheill, 2000). On the one hand, the learned helplessness of Botswana's society could be attributed to the over-compensating role of the government. Perhaps citizens have come to rely solely on outside means of help rather than to look at themselves for answers. Perhaps also they feel that they lack all control of the situation due to the fact that the government makes the decisions and acts all on its own. Lastly, perhaps this perception of absence of control over one's own destiny, which is attributed to learned helplessness, can also be ascribed to the concept of empowerment, or lack thereof.

2.2 Empowerment

Previously, we discussed empowerment in terms of an individual with power, a voice and the ability to act on behalf of one's self. In using this understanding of empowerment we can link this concept with that of Wallerstein's, and later Syme's, idea of "control of destiny" (Hawe & Sheill, 2000) in which a person has the perceived self efficacy that they have influence and control over what happens in their lives. In other words, they are empowered to action in order to control their lives. However, as noted earlier, when an individual or population is vulnerable, they often lack empowerment and therefore, lack a sense of control of destiny and perceived self-efficacy.

Paulo Freire's concept of 'conscientisation', which is essentially the process whereby critical thinking is developed through several stages, is an extension of our notions of empowerment thus far (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000: Freire, 1970). The first stage, known as 'intransitive thought' is where people believe they do not have control of destiny and affecting life events that happen to them can be associated with fate or God. As such, they lack a perception of self-efficacy. The next stage towards conscientisation is 'semi-transitive thought' in which people have begun to partly believe in their ability to produce social change through their own actions. However, they still understand their situation in relation to fate or God and not in connection to larger societal determinants. 'Critical transitivity' is the final stage. According to Freire this is the achievement of conscientisation and refers to the time when individuals can critically analyze their lives, their conditions, and take critical action towards changing their own lives and conditions. One of Freire's main points, however, is that "this type of consciousness is never given, but only achieved through a social process of learning characterized by dialogical and participatory relationships" (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). It is through this process of achievement that critical transitivity can be achieved, and thus, an individual empowered to think and act on the conditions of his or her life.

Following Freire, there is the concept of empowerment as acknowledged by Andrea Cornwall:

> …What seems to be lost here is any acknowledgement of the relations of power that might prevent people from taking up, or making use of the political spaces that might be opened up by efforts to 'empower' them. Or, indeed, that 'empowerment' is not something that can be done to people, but something people do by and for themselves. (Cornwall, 2000)

Similar to Freire's concept of conscientisation, this discussion by Cornwall highlights that empowerment is not something that can be done to people, but something people do by and for themselves. While in some circumstances there may be larger socio-political barriers to empowerment, in others a platform that gives room for empowerment may exist, and yet in either scenario empowerment will only arise through the act of the individual him or herself. For example, the Government of Botswana strives for citizen empowerment through subsidized education and numerous economic empowerment initiatives (Government of Botswana, 2006). Even though the Government of Botswana provides these platforms, however, it is up to citizens themselves to act upon them. As such, it is not simply a matter of the government, programs or the community at large theorizing the empowerment of citizens, but individuals empowering themselves regardless of the hindrances or advantages within society. As the reflection above by Cornwall also highlights, however, even if in theory a platform for empowerment is given to people, such as youth, there are larger environmental and structural forces in place which can either create difficulties or advantages in this theory becoming practice and thus these also have to be acknowledged and interacted with by citizens to enable self-empowerment.

Friere's concept of conscientisation, coupled with Cornwall's reflection of empowerment, moves us beyond the traditional understandings of empowerment as something that happens on an individual level and towards the idea that empowerment is linked at the individual, community and organization levels (Wallerstein, 1992). This is important because it is not only through the awareness of an individual that participation will necessarily take place, but also through a collection of conscious individuals, a community or, in referring to our discussion of the relationship between state and society, an institution. Without this, a person may have the self-efficacy to use his or her voice, but not have a means through which that voice can be heard within society.

2.3 Social Capital

In putting this into the context of health promotion initiatives, "empowerment, the process whereby people gain control in their own lives in the context of participating with others to change their social and political realities, is positioned as a health-enhancing strategy" (Wallerstein, 1992). This understanding of empowerment leads us to the concept of social capital by allowing us to move beyond the individual towards an organized institution in which an individual can operate within for themselves, as well as the larger community and society. Social capital is difficult to define as it encompasses aspects of many different fields of knowledge. As such, I would like to refer to the definition by Pierre Bourdieu (1986):

> Social capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

Essentially, social capital is the byproduct of social relationships that can happen at all levels in society. Meaning, it is networks within the family, community and larger society as a whole that can create or destroy positive social, and as a result, health outcomes. Over the past few decades there has been growing evidence that reveals the importance of social capital in the decreased problems, or rather the successes, of individuals (Jaffe, 2000). The evidence supports the positive relationship between the number of supports and opportunities people need in order to succeed and have decreased problems (Doyal, 2000). What has emerged as a result of the concept of social capital is the need of people to have a sense of belonging and acceptance, competence, usefulness and ability (Hawe & Shiell, 2000). Through the development of an abundance of positive social capital, there are associated positive social and health outcomes (Hawe & Shiell, 2000).

Social capital is acknowledged as important to health promotion for a number of reasons (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). Firstly, let us go back to Bourdieu's theory of habitus and its relation to a person's social identity which has been created through internalized and reproduced social structures. Just as social identity is not voluntary but collectively shaped, so too are health-promoting behaviors (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000). That is to say, that as an individual, it is easier to change your behavior when you are in a supportive community where everyone else is also changing rather than to go against the norm and be left on your own. Secondly, we are led back to Friere's conscientisation and the concept of empowerment. People who have perceived self-efficacy are more likely to take control of their health, and individuals in communities with high levels of social capital are most likely to have this perceived control of their lives (Campbell, 2000).

In this regard, it has been illustrated that the success of health initiatives lies in the extent to which social capital is mobilized or created (Kreuter, Lezin, Young, Koplan, 2001). With social capital in place, participation is more likely to happen, and with participation, the success of positive social and health strategies are more achievable. Regarding current youth health initiatives in Botswana, we then question how this goal is achievable. If youth are left as a vulnerable population due to the socialization of themselves and their surrounding environment, empowerment is a difficult achievement. And without empowerment youth do not have the initiative to participate in development initiatives, such as risk reduction strategies. Therefore, within a country where youth face social inequality, vulnerability and thus a lack of participation, how can empowerment and as a result, participation be accomplished?

2.4 Risk Reduction Strategies

Participatory development is an approach to development initiatives whereby communities identify their own needs and drive their own development process by seeking solutions and making decisions about how to implement them (Bessete, 2004). Participatory development aims to transfer the power of development initiatives to the beneficiaries by including them in the planning, implementation and evaluation of strategies geared towards them (Chambers, 1995). In order to accomplish these goals,

however, participatory development aims to transform inequitable social relations that marginalize the poor and the powerless that happen both within a community and with a community's relations to the external agencies; as well as, linking the micro level of individuals and communities to the macro environment (Cunningham & Mathie, 2002).

Sherry Arnstein's "Ladder of Citizen Participation" (1969) describes the steps needed in order to create effective participation in development. Although the concept from Arnstein is dated in terms of years, its usefulness is still relevant today as it displays the varying forms which the concept of participation can take. The ladder of participation begins with information sharing. This involves two-way informing whereby the planners, as well as receivers are exchanging information about each other's knowledge of a situation. The second step involves consultation in which public enquiries are made to learn what the public needs and wants for development. The third step requires "placation" in which citizens are selected as participants in the advising and planning of initiatives. The next step involves creating partnerships between the power holders (i.e. the stakeholders of a development project) and the citizens. After this step, delegation of power is needed whereby the citizens begin to hold the majority of power and control in order to ensure the public has the accountability of the project or program. Finally, citizens are to gain control of the situation, including planning and managing of a project or program with no intermediaries between themselves and the source of funds (Arnstein, 1969).

Participatory development initiatives have been found to be more effective and sustainable than traditional development practices due to their inclusion of those it serves (Wignaraja, 1991). This is in opposition to the predominant approach of needs-based development interventions that work from a top-down method whereby outsiders from the community determine the needs of individuals and what needs to happen within their community. Generally, needs-based approaches generate needs surveys and thereafter analyze the problems and identify solutions to meet those needs. In relation to health initiatives, a needs-based approach focuses on the problem behaviors of individuals and how to change these behaviors in a sustainable manner. Regarding HIV prevention there are four common theories that are used in practice as risk reduction strategies (Family Health International, 2002). These include: The Health Belief Model, the AIDS Risk Reduction Model, the Stages of Change, and the Theory of Reasoned Action.

The Health Belief Model (HBM) is a psychological model that focuses on the attitudes and behaviors of individuals in order to explain and predict health behaviors. The foundations of this model are as follows (Department of Health, Government of Washington, d.a.; Family Health International, 2002):

1. Perceived Threat, including:

a) Perceived Susceptibility: One's perception of the risk of contracting a health condition,

b) Perceived Severity: One's perception of how serious contracting an illness is and the consequences of leaving it untreated (including medical, as well as social consequences),

2. Perceived Benefits: One's belief in the effectiveness of advised risk-reducing strategies,

3. Perceived Barriers: One's opinion of the potential negative consequences that may result from taking particular advised action, including the psychological, physical and financial demands,

4. Cues to Action: Strategies that motivate readiness to act, which may include bodily or environmental events (such as symptoms of illness or media campaigns),

5. Other Variables: Diverse demographic, socio-psychological, and structural variables that affect an individual's perceptions and thus indirectly influence health-related behaviors.

6. Self Efficacy: The belief in one's self to successfully take action

The second model under examination is the AIDS Risk Reduction Model (ARRM). Like the Health Belief Model, this model is also concerned with explaining and predicting the behavior change efforts of individuals, but with a particular focus on the sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS. ARRM consists of three stages, including hyphothesized influences, and is characterized by the following (Department of Health, Government of Washington, n.d.; Family Health International, 2002):

1. Labeling: Recognizing and labeling one's behavior as high risk. Three elements are necessary to this stage:

    a) Knowledge about how HIV is transmitted and prevented,
    b) Perceiving themselves as susceptible for HIV, and
    c) Believing HIV is undesirable.

2. Commitment: Making a commitment to reduce high-risk sexual contact and to low-risk sexual activities. Major Factors affecting this decision making stage include:

    a) response efficacy (effectiveness to change),
    b) perceived enjoyment (acts being added or eliminated),
    c) self-efficacy,
    d) relevant information and social norms.

3. Enactment: this stage includes three phases:
    a) Seeking information,
    b) Obtaining remedies, and
    c) Enacting solutions.

The ARRM acknowledges other internal and external factors which may influence the individual. These influences may include the level of self-esteem or emotional state of an individual, as well as external factors such as a sexual partner's beliefs and behaviors or

public education campaigns (Family Health International, 2002).

The third model that is commonly used for behavior change strategies, particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS, is the Stages of Change model. This model maintains that change occurs in stages and movement through these stages varies from person to person; thus, therapy is adapted to each person's particular point in the change process. The six stages of this model include the following (Department of Health, Government of Washington, n.d.; Family Health International, 2002):

1. Precontemplation: An individual has a problem, but may or may not recognize it, and has no intention of changing.
2. Contemplation: An individual recognizes the problem and is seriously thinking about changing.
3. Preparation: An individual recognizes the problem and is actively preparing to change the behavior sometime in the near future (i.e. within the next month)
4. Action: An individual has changed his or her behavior and has been consistent in the behavior change for less than six months.
5. Maintenance: An individual maintains the new behavior for more than six months.
6. Termination: An individual has no intention to relapse and has a complete sense of self-efficacy concerning his or her ability to maintain the new behavior.

The final model this chapter would like to identify as one most commonly used in risk-reduction strategies concerned with HIV/AIDS is the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). Once again, this theory is concerned with explaining and predicting an individual's behavior and links individual beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behavior. TRA is based on three general concepts (Department of Health, Government of Washington, n.d.; Family Health International, 2002):

1. Behavioral intention: The stronger an individual's intention to change the more likely behavior change will result; however, this is influenced by both an individual's attitude and subjective norm,
2. Attitude: Consists of an individual's belief in the positive or negative outcomes of the behavior and the value an individual places on these outcomes,
3. Subjective norm: The influence of an individual's social environment, such as friends or a significant other, and the importance an individual places on these influences and their opinions.

The Health Belief Model, AIDS Risk Reduction Model, Stages of Change and Theory of Reasoned Action are all models and theories that constitute behavior change and reflect a needs-based approach to development. Each of these models are based on the commonly used, and Western, biomedical model of health. Thus far in Botswana, policies and programming have been concerned with behavioral change as the strategy of choice for risk reduction amongst youth.

There are certain limitations attributed to this form of intervention, however. One concern is that although behavioral change communication (BCC) acknowledges the influence of external factors, it is primarily concerned with the individual. As such, it fails to take into greater consideration the "socio-cultural issues that influence, and may limit, an individual's behavior choices and ability to take action" (Family Health International, 2002). Within BCC strategies, there is not a focus on overcoming such cultural barriers, and thus, can leave BCC ineffective amongst the target population.

Further problems with behavior change, or needs-based approaches, are that they rely on a deficit within individuals and communities. As such people begin to see themselves similarly – as lacking rather than as capable. As a result, "community members no longer act like citizens; instead they begin to act like "clients" or consumers of services without incentive to be producers" (Cunningham & Mathie, 2002). What further results from this type of strategy and the attitude it can create amongst individuals, is that local people and groups depend more on external help than reliance on themselves for solutions. This not only weakens the social capital within and beyond a community, but proves disempowering for individuals and communities as a whole (Cunningham & Mathie, 2002). The identified problems of these approaches are similar to our earlier discussion of learned helplessness theory.

It is evident that strategies which go beyond simply dealing with behavior change are an effective way to deal with the socio-cultural phenomena which are impeding risk reduction efforts, as well as a means to empower individuals, groups and whole communities. As noted earlier, participatory development is one such strategy which aims to target both the micro and macro environment affecting individuals. Another theory which aims to address all levels of society is known as Empowerment Theory. Empowerment theory could perhaps be understood as part of the guiding theory behind the model and practice of participatory development due to the undeniable shared concepts of the two. As such, the principles of Empowerment Theory could be used to describe the essence of participatory development in practice. There are three core elements of this theory, which include (Department of Health, Government of Washington, n.d.):

1. Populations for change: this occurs at both the individual and group level.
2. Participatory education: this includes listening, participatory dialogue and action.
3. Focus group strategies: gathering information and finding solutions with the community.

The Empowerment Theory can be defined as "[the] process by which individuals and groups gain power, access to resources and control over their own lives. In doing so, they gain the ability to achieve their highest personal and collective aspirations and goals" (Robbins, Chatterjee, & Canda, 1998). Both participatory development and Empowerment Theory maintain that in order for such a goal to be achieved, power dynamics in and between interpersonal, intrapersonal and political power needs to be addressed (Napier, n.d.).

Participatory development, however, has not been without its own criticisms. The first problem that has emerged with participatory development is that of tokenism (Mohan, n.d.). Some in the field argue that participatory development is nothing more than useful jargon to illicit funding support. Truth be told, many programs and policies use the idea of "participatory" as nothing more than a consultation with consumers. A second argument of participatory development is that it treats communities as socially homogenous (Bessette, 2004). It seems all too often forgotten that *community* "is not a unified group of people, but rather a grouping of individuals and groups with their own characteristics and their own interests" (Bessette, 2004). Thirdly, participatory development is criticized for putting so much emphasis on civil society, which can then lead to three problems (Mohan, n.d.):

1. Local non-government organizations are put into competition with each other.

2. Focus by the northern donor countries becomes concentrated on building the capacity of NGOs as opposed to local government.

3. Many partnerships are anything but participatory when financially, intellectually and politically the southern NGO is reliant on the northern NGO and thus simply acting as a vehicle for a pre-determined development agenda.

The fourth and final criticism is that participatory development is so concerned with giving local people power and control that it often neglects the underdevelopment of problems at the local level (Mohan [online]). This paper seeks to keep these criticisms in mind during its analysis of participatory development processes.

2.5 Positive Youth Development (PYD)

As we have discussed, participatory development rejects that problems are a result of personal deficits and that targeting an individual's behaviors alone will foster positive development. Rather, participatory development holds the premise that through creating social equality and empowering citizens, communities *can* and *should* be involved in identifying their problems to development, seeking solutions, and implementing these solutions. A related movement happened in the early 1990s, now known as positive youth development (PYD), which took the research on developmental assets and social capital to deduce the elements that would foster overall positive, healthy development for youth. For the purposes of this study, the term 'positive' means safe, healthy and responsible choices made by youth in their life (Jaffe, 2000; Search Institute, 2007).

Similarly to many social science concepts, positive youth development encompasses a wide array of definitions and understandings. Two symbiotic concepts within the field are positive youth development and community youth development. While these two concepts might be slightly different in terms of the importance they place on context, such as individual versus community, there are general identifiers that emerge through all understandings of the larger concept. Positive youth development focuses on youth's need for involvement in society, productive and healthy options to spend their time, and

ongoing, positive relationships with their peers and adults (Brindis & Claire, 1998). Important factors in the theory of youth development include youth-adult partnerships and youth voice, as well as youth leadership and civic engagement. Like participatory development and the Empowerment Theory, youth development goes beyond looking at behavior as the only source of a problem to risk reduction efforts and focuses on the larger picture which either impedes or creates overall healthy development and thus risk reduction.

PYD is the idea that all young people need support, guidance, and opportunities during adolescence. It also looks toward creating supportive communities for all young people and at the same time, engaging youth to contribute to the wellbeing of the larger community. Ideally, positive youth development acts as a primary prevention in the sense that if youth develop these assets throughout their childhood and adolescence then they will not be as likely to engage in high risk behaviors (Benson & Saito, 2000). However, positive youth development can happen at anytime in a youth's life with the right support put in place in the youth's environment because it focuses on creating environmental conditions that help youth develop the necessary assets (Kellogg Youth Initiative Partnership, 1998). Communities, programs and youth themselves are what create the right environment by providing what has been identified as necessary for positive youth development.

> Since young people play an active role in shaping their own development through their patterns of engagement and building relationships, providing avenues to involve young people themselves in creating programs and making choices supports positive youth development. (National 4-H Council, 1998)

It is evident here that there is a strong correlation between participatory development and positive youth development. Similarly, The Australian Youth Research Centre exemplifies in its research on Young People in Decision Making (2003), what is needed by projects in order to be effective and sustainable for youth. It became apparent through their research that projects for youth need to include three aspects: The project must be *meaningful* for young people; young people must have or share *control* over what happens; and, the projects and the young people must be *connected* into wider community resources and relationships.

A concept which is repeatedly highlighted when examining young people in decision-making roles, as well as participatory development as we have discussed, is empowerment. In the context of youth development, empowerment has come to mean developing the confidence, respect and reliance of one's personal value, merit, dignity and worth, which enables an individual to be an active participant in his/her own life and the life of his/her society (Norman, 2001). It is both needed by youth in order to develop the assets they need and also created by attaining the positive developmental assets. It is apparent then that empowerment can be attained through means other than pure participation. For some it is an innate trait, but for others, social experience, reflection and awareness are needed to build empowerment (Rahman, 1993). According to the Search Institute, some of the main factors needed by youth to develop empowerment, include: 1) youth perceive that adults in the community value youth, and 2) youth are

given useful roles in the community (Search Institute, 2002). Evidently, adults and the community at large play a significant role in contributing towards youth's empowerment, and by extension, their positive development.

Advocates for Youth (2001) states that "research provides some evidence that partnering with youth and respecting their ability to contribute may provide important protective factors for young people". The Innovation Center for Community and Youth Development (a division of National 4-H Council) conducted a study which exemplified that "involving young people in decision making provides them with the essential opportunities and supports (i.e. challenge, relevancy, voice, cause based action, skill building, adult structure, and affirmation) that are consistently shown to help young people achieve mastery, compassion, and health" (1997. Quoted in Advocates for Youth, 2001). There are many aspects in society that can lead youth to want to make risky decisions, such as acceptance of alcohol use in society, peer pressure, or no guidance from a respected adult. While research shows that many factors influence behavior, resilient youth display some important characteristics, including: a sense of purpose and future, having healthy expectations, goals, an orientation toward success, motivation to achieve, educational aspirations, hopefulness, hardiness, and a sense of coherence (Pittman, 1993). Positive youth development is associated with 'protective factors', which exemplify the difference between those young people who emerge from high-risk situations with positive results (such as being free from substance abuse and practicing safe sexual health behaviors) and those who do not.

There are, however, key factors which influence positive youth development; namely, programs, organizations, systems and communities. Similar to research in the field of prevention, focus has been on programs and organizations rather than on systems and communities that affect youth development (MacDonald & Valdivieso, 2000). This is in large part due to the fact that there is a disjunction between practice and theory. Professionals working in the field hold the ideas of prevention and positive youth development in great esteem. However, in terms of scientific data to support their views, it is lacking and as a result, policy support in most areas of the world is also lacking (Lerner et al., 2005). It took a long time to get prevention programs on the agenda, one such example being evident in the three-step process Botswana took towards HIV prevention, and it seems apparent that the concept of youth development will be no different. This is apparent in the fact that there is a serious lack of scientific inquiry into the field with little means for academics and professionals to identify, monitor and evaluate the concept (MacDonald & Valdivieso, 2000). As a result of such a limited inquiry to date, this research is forced to rely on sources that are not widely recognized within the scientific line of inquiry because that is yet to be truly established. However, the source relied on for the research, Search Institute, is given wide accreditation by professionals and academics working within the field.

There are many organizations, foundations and institutes that now rely on the concept of positive youth development for their approach. However, there are few that have focused on researching and developing credibility for the area by addressing ways in which to measure and evaluate indicators associated with the concept of positive youth development. While many organizations have grown into their own philosophies about

what positive youth development means to them, they are usually structured around similar indicators of the concept. One institute that leads the field in terms of assessment, evaluation, planning and implementation ideas and tools is the United States institute known as Search Institute, which has played a significant role in researching youth in North America, and as a result, has developed effective ways to identify and address the needs of youth. One such initiative of the Search Institute that came from their extensive research was the identification of the Forty Developmental Assets that are needed in order for a young person to grow up healthy and responsible (2002). Assets in this human development context refer to positive qualities an individual can possess and which are gained through social experience, social awareness and reflection (Search Institute, 2002). The Forty Developmental Assets are based on surveys of more than 200,000 students in grades 6-12 in the United States and revealed the powerful influence assets have on youth behavior.

The Forty Developmental Assets both promote positive behaviors and attitudes and help protect youth from many different problem behaviors (such as unsafe sexual behaviors); therefore promoting an association between youth development and risk-reducing initiatives. In academic studies independent of the Search Institute used to examine the relationship between youth assets and risk taking behaviors, findings consistently show that specific youth assets have a protective effect from risk behaviors (Rodine et al., 2004; Vesely et al., 2006). The Search Institute broadly breaks down healthy human development into eight areas, which are identified as the following: support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, constructive use of time, commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies and positive identity. Four asset categories (support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, and constructive use of time) focus on external structures, relationships and activities that create a positive environment (Search Institute, 2002). The next four categories (commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies and positive identity) reflect internal values, skills and beliefs that youth also need to fully engage with and function in the world around them (Search Institute, 2002). Within these eight areas are the Forty Developmental Assets that together create positive youth development.

As noted earlier, research that has been done on positive youth development has generally concerned itself with programs and organizations. This research, however, is concerned with the systems and communities which influence individuals, namely youth, and as such influence programs and organizations. Systems are to be understood as the complex and omnipresent socializing systems in which youth are imbedded, such as schools, families, religious institutions and neighborhoods (MacDonald & Valdivieso, 2000). As a larger and more difficult concept to define, community here is understood to include the social norms, resources, relationships and informal settings that can inform human development both directly and indirectly. It is the geographic space within which all other aspects affecting human development operate; namely, programs, organizations and systems (MacDonald & Valdivieso, 2000).

This study will use the Search Institute's Forty Developmental Assets in order to identify the largely immeasurable concept of positive youth development. The intended research believes the Search Institute's identifiers of positive youth behavior, as well as tools of

measurement, are effective tools because they engross similar findings by other human behavior, psychological and sociological research. In an academic review of the use of youth surveys in community development initiatives for youth, the Search Institute's checklist for youth on the 40 Developmental Assets was regarded as an effective and reliable means to measure the attitudes and behaviors of youth and thus identify youth's needs (Oman et al., 2002; Whitlock & Hamilton, 2003). In addition, this study believes these assets are applicable in the context of Botswana because they were identified as regardless of gender, ethnic heritage, economic situation, or geographical location. The research will be guided by the theoretical framework of positive youth development, as identified and understood by the Search Institute. It is hoped that if aspects of the socio-cultural environment in Botswana are found to be a negative input on youth's positive development, and by extension, their risk taking behavior, positive social change can be erected.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Qualitative research generally seeks to gain information on the relationships between personal and social meanings; individual and cultural practices; and, the material environment or context (Ulin et al., 2005). One framework in which to operate qualitative research within is known as the interpretivist perspective. The interpretivist framework seeks a holistic approach to exploring a phenomena by identifying and analyzing information in relation to three major components: subjective perceptions and understandings, which arise from experience; objective actions or behaviors; and context (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley, 2005). Qualitative research explored within this framework can thus analyze phenomena through political, cultural, social and physical environment lenses and in addition, seek to find relations between these components.

In theory this study sought to conduct qualitative research through an interpretivist perspective as this type of research lends itself towards the focus of the study; namely, the collection of information on the socio-cultural environment of Botswana. However, in order to handle the challenge of identifying such a large phenomenon as a socio-cultural environment, the University of the Witswatersrand identified the need for a more structured and formal approach to the study. In addition, matters of time restraints had to be taken into consideration. As a result, research was conducted using a mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative techniques consisting of questionnaires, semi-structured and structured fixed-response interviews and key informants.

Quantitative research is a systematic approach that is generally characterized by its ability to be objective, deductive and to generalize. The most note worthy difference between quantitative and qualitative research it that quantitative research can be immediately deduced to numbers or structured solely in the form of numbers. The aim of quantitative research is to determine the relationship between one thing and another; essentially, quantifying the relationship between one variable and another (Hopkins, 2000). There are various methods to conducting quantitative research, such as descriptive versus experimental designs, but this study's quantitative method took form as a descriptive case-control study. A case-control study essentially compares the case (i.e. participants without involvement in development initiatives) with a control (i.e. participants involved in development initiatives). Case-control studies are retrospective in their approach because they focus on conditions in the past that might have caused certain effects for the subjects (Hopkins, 2000). In terms of this research, for example, we are analyzing the difference asset levels of participants from their past to their present and what socio-cultural conditions are related to these asset levels.

One problem that is associated with case-control studies is the difficulty in determining evidence of a cause and effect relationship between variables (Hopkins, 2000). In fact, this difficulty was exemplified during the pilot test of the measurement tools and that is when it was concluded that a complementary method of inquiry was necessary in order to truly analyze the phenomenon of study. As a result, a mixed method was selected for data

collection as it allowed for complementary techniques to be used in order to gain the most detailed information on the areas of study. Using multiple methods, or triangulation, ultimately results in a problem being analyzed from a broader perspective than one of the methods could do on its own. It is suggested that in order to coordinate the use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques a priority-sequence model be applied to the collection of data and what resulted is what is known as a quantitative preliminary design (Ulin et al., 2005). This research design is principally a qualitative study that begins with a complementary quantitative study. In using a smaller quantitative study as a preliminary data collection tool it acts as a guide to the following qualitative data collection, and analysis of data from both methods thus serves to illuminate each other.

3.2 Sample Selection

There are different methods to determining a sample in both qualitative and quantitative research designs. In quantitative research design, where much emphasis is placed on generalizing from the selected sample, it is important to select a representative sample of a population and the best way to achieve this is through random selection. In qualitative research designs, however, there are two basic approaches to selecting participants, namely, theoretical or a priori. As this study is largely concerned with gathering qualitative data to support theory, it chose an a priori method of sample selection. An a priori selection means that the sample's characteristics and structure are defined in advance to data collection based on the research problem and purpose (Ulin et al., 2005).

What was determined based on this study's research focus was that a sample had to be chosen that was representative of the Setswana culture. In order to ensure this it was decided that the sample therefore must be a mixture of: urban and rural individuals; individuals who are participating in development initiatives and those who are not; and, male and female participants. In order to fulfill these sample obligations within the allotted time for data collection it was determined that the most productive means to do this would be through the use of individuals at the Youth Health Organization. This decision was made for a number of reasons.

Firstly, youth serving at this organization have experience with the areas associated with the research. The Youth Health Organization is one of the largest non-government organizations working on safe sexual health practices in the country. YOHO is non-profit organization that is run by youth, for youth. The core of its work is focused on sexual health education, but also includes work relevant to other health-related issues, such as blood safety, alcohol abuse, relationship violence, tuberculosis and malaria. YOHO implements its work in communities throughout Botswana using life skills and drama as its primary mode of education. YOHO has its headquarter office in the capital city of Gaborone with additional affiliate sites spread throughout the country.

The second reason behind choosing individuals at YOHO as sample participants is that the demographics of the participants at YOHO proved to be quite representative of a larger youth population. As a result of these factors this sample stood to act as a means of intensity sampling. Intensity sampling "focuses on excellent, but not necessarily extreme, examples of phenomenon. Samples are rich in information but not unusual, such as in the

case of people with particular experience in the topic or clinics that provide services relevant to the research problem (Ulin et al., 2005). It was deemed important to this study that this form of sampling be used due its applicability to the research focus and its likelihood to create a hopeful representation of a larger youth population. The third basis of selection of this particular sample was that it allowed for an opportunity to collect knowledge of individuals who are both participating in development initiatives and those who are not by using a retrospective analysis technique. It was determined that using a retrospective technique versus different sets of individuals could actually improve the comparability of results, as well as reduce time needed for the process of data collection.

The final basis of the decision to use this group of individuals as a sample was the fact that the researcher has personal experience with the participants. While this could be of potential disservice due to the reaction of participants to the researcher, the benefits of this relationship significantly outweighed the potential negative effects. Qualitative research values the natural context of people's lives as it is recognized that it is the "interpersonal and sociocultural fabric that shapes meanings and actions" (Ulin et al., 2005). As a result, it is important for the researcher to have an understanding of the context of its participants and the phenomenon under investigation. In this light, the personal relationship the researcher has with not only the participants, but also the environmental context of Botswana itself, it actually of great importance and aid to the investigation.

3.2.1 Sample Description

A total sample size of 27 individuals was collected from the Youth Health Organization. All participants fall within the range of ages that Botswana deems as "youth", namely, individuals between the ages of 13-29. In addition, participants had a fairly equal representation of males and females, with 56 percent being male and 44 percent being female. The participants also provided fairly equal representation of urban and rural environments, with 55 percent reporting the rural context as home and 44 percent reporting the urban context as home. Furthermore, the participants represented a wide range of education levels, ranging from middle-school levels of education (i.e. Form Two or Grade Nine) up to Post- Secondary levels of education. Also worthy of note is that due to the rather homogenous racial and ethnic makeup of Botswana, particularly in South-East Botswana where this research was based, all participants are of the same race and come from similar Setswana cultural backgrounds.

Participants in this study are fulltime employees of YOHO who joined the organization at various stages and ages in their lives, ranging from those participants who left school at an early age to those who went on to do post-secondary education. Participants have been involved with YOHO for various lengths of time ranging from its time of conception nearly 8 years ago, to as little as 6 months of involvement. Although the roles of participants at YOHO are not intentionally defined by gender, it does appear that the roles participants serve in the organization are divided across gender lines. The majority of female employees at YOHO work within the headquarters' office, serving mainly in administration, clerical and financial capacities. Alternatively, the majority of male employees at YOHO serve in the field either working one-on-one with communities as

facilitators, or providing technical assistance. Despite the different serving capacities at the organization, all employees at YOHO undergo continuous training in relevant areas to the organization's focus of work and its mode of implementation, such as leadership and facilitation, abstinence, condom use, alcohol abuse, youth-adult partnerships and HIV/AIDS to name a few. Evidently, much of this education provided to participants is related to the thematic areas of asset development. As a result of the training and education provided to participants by YOHO, it can be expected that all participants have similar levels of knowledge, understanding and skills on key issues related to the study, such as risk taking behavior, youth-adult partnerships, leadership abilities, etc. It is from this basis of understanding of the participants' background to the subject matter at hand in which much of the analysis was conducted.

3.3 The Researcher

As previously mentioned, the role of the researcher in qualitative research is of utmost importance. In fact, in qualitative research, the researcher essentially acts as an instrument itself. As such, it is important for the researcher to recognize his or her own biases, assumptions, expectations and relevant history. With this understanding of the researcher as an integral role in qualitative design, I believe it is important that my role as a researcher within the Botswana context be expressed.

I am a white Canadian female expatriate who came to Botswana five years ago to work as an intern at the Youth Health Organization. At the time of my arrival at the Youth Health Organization and within Gaborone, Botswana as a whole, there were much fewer white individuals then there are today. I was constantly made aware of my race and my role as an outsider to the organization and the country as a whole. This is not to say I was not welcomed, it was actually quite the contrary, but simply to highlight my stark obviousness as an expatriate to the socio-cultural context of the society. I was sent to Botswana for a placement of only six months; however, I advocated for an extension of my position and was granted an additional year and a half of work at the Youth Health Organization. During my extended time at the organization and within the country I slowly but surely became more associated and familiar with the socio-cultural context of Botswana and my co-workers at the organization. Not only did I develop close friendships with those I worked with, but was able to experience the surrounding environment of Botswana through my work on nation-wide programming.

I believe that during this time I acted as an observer to what was going on around me and in time these observations became more focused on my current area of research inquiry. It is during this time that I formulated the theoretical framework of my research and I decided to pursue this level of inquiry through a Master's program at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. Upon my return to Botswana after the completion of my coursework obligations, I was married to a local Motswana man. I believe this to be relevant to my role as an observer and researcher as it provided me with even further insight and relationship with the socio-cultural foundation of Botswana, particularly Setswana culture. Although I am still indeed an outsider, I do have extensive experience and knowledge of this culture and the selected sample that I believe is beneficial to my role as a researcher.

One potential problem that could have arisen with the context of the research and myself as a foreign researcher, is a possible language barrier. Botswana's two official languages are English and Setswana, with the majority of people using Setswana as their language of choice and English being used primarily in academic and professional arenas. Although the researcher's relationships with the sample's participants indicated the individuals' proficiency with the English language, it was still an aspect to the research which needed clarification. As a result, the sample's participants were each asked prior to commencement of the study if they were comfortable conducting themselves in English both in written word and verbal use. While the majority of participants acknowledged their preferred language is Setswana, every participant concluded that it was still alright to conduct the research in English and that this would not pose a barrier to the quality of results. As a further measure to ensure this would not restrict the participants' expression of themselves, all participants were ensured that if they felt they would rather answer anything in Setswana, it was alright and would later be translated. Upon completion of the data collection it can be stated that all participants completed the questionnaire and interviews in English.

3.4 Key Informants

Despite the researcher's inclusion within the Botswana context, the researcher is still more or less an outsider when compared to someone who is actually from the same socio-cultural environment of the participants. "A researcher from the outside is unlikely to have the cultural perspective and community experience necessary to explore all aspects of the problem" (Ulin et al., 2005). As a result of this fact, the use of key informants are beneficial to a researcher in a foreign culture. Key informants are essentially insiders to the culture and the participants. Key informants are able to speak on behalf of others even if not their personal viewpoint and have special knowledge, skills or communication skills that go beyond the abilities of the researcher (Ulin et al., 2005). Most researchers have a relationship with the key informant that is above and beyond that of the relationship with the participants. It is through such a special relationship that efficient, rich and reliable information can be shared.

Qualitative research is grounded on the idea that all individuals process their reality differently and the role of someone's socio-cultural environment is paramount to their perception of reality. As a result of my role as an outsider to the Setswana culture, and in particular to the Setswana language, I felt it was extremely important to validate my findings and analysis through the use of key informants. Although language was not found to be a barrier to the research itself, knowledge of Setswana language is beneficial to providing insight into the culture itself as it is another mode of processing that participants would develop their reality through.

Key informants were used in this study as a reference point during the development of research instruments, data collection and analysis of findings. Key informants were selected due to the nature of their relationship with myself as the researcher and either to the participants or the culture, or both. One key informant that was selected has a primary

role in the participants' lives through her professional work with them. In addition, she also comes from the same socio-cultural background as the sample. Her role was of significance as it provided great insight into the participants through not only a cultural standpoint, but also a personal, professional and objective point of reference. The second key informant was able to provide an even more objective viewpoint than the primary key informant as he has had no direct involvement with the participants. His primary role was to provide a cultural reference point in the development of the instruments, as well as for the findings and analysis of the study.

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Procedure

One of the defining characteristics of qualitative research is its ability to be flexible and thus adapt to a situation as it presents itself. As part of this process, therefore, a researcher may discover the need to refine and adapt the research design, including such aspects as the sample and/or the measurement tools. Indeed, this study was developed through a process of steps in the development of its measurement tools. While the preliminary method of inquiry, namely the quantitative approach, was established as a mode of inquiry from the beginning of the research design, the complementary qualitative assessment resulted in continuous refinement during the course of data collection. Primarily the need for refinement of the qualitative measurement was established during a pilot test of the initial tools with selected participants. Additional refinement was made after completion of initial readings of the findings as these exemplified a need for some further aspects of inquiry.

3.5.1.1 Pilot Test

One method in which to develop, adapt or check the feasibility of techniques is through a pilot test (Petter & Davis, 2002). This study conducted a pilot test on the premise of helping to establish necessary structure to the qualitative design of the research, as well as ensuring the applicability of all measurement tools. A total of three participants were used in order to conduct the pilot test. These three participants, which included the key informants, were separate from the final sample used in the study, but were selected on the basis of their shared characteristics with the sample and/or their particular insight into the focus of the research and its context.

At the time of the pilot test the primary instrument was the Search Institute's Questionnaire on the 40 Developmental Assets. This questionnaire formed the basis for the follow-up interviews and as such helped to guide a structure to the questions asked within the interview. From a pattern that was established through the answers of the participants of the pilot test, questions were further developed and adapted in order to help provide structure to the design, as well as accurately be able to account for the aspects under investigation. A further result of the pilot test was that it highlighted the need for participants to be able to provide a range of accuracy to the statements within the checklist, as opposed to its initial design which resulted in a simple 'yes' or 'no'

response. Furthermore, it was determined that it was necessary for participants to be able to provide notes to explain themselves where they felt it was required among the statements in the questionnaire.

3.5.2 Instruments

3.5.2.1 Questionnaires

After providing a brief overview of the process, tools, and general phenomenon under investigation, the study began with a questionnaire as its preliminary mode of inquiry. The researcher conducted private interviews with each participant. The questionnaire used in the study is the Search Institute's 'Checklist of Forty Developmental Assets for Youth'. The checklist comprises statements attributed to each developmental asset and as such is used to gauge the level of each particular asset in an individual. Although the checklist is meant as a simple yes/no tool, the interviewer asked the participants to rate each statement for accuracy. For example, on a scale of 0-5, how accurate is the statement, with 0 being not accurate at all and 5 being completely accurate. The checklist is meant as an informal and quick way in which to generate discussion around the assets identified as contributing towards youth development. As such, the checklist is not intended to be used as a scientific measuring tool, but as an aid in conducting more in-depth interviews with the participants.

In order to measure a possible change in participants since they have joined the Youth Health Organization, and thus since beginning participation in development initiatives, participants were asked to complete two checklists. The first checklist was based on their past, particular to the time in which they were in high school or the last time they were in school if they did not reach high school. The second checklist the participants were asked to complete was particular to present time. Irrelevant questions, such as those pertaining to school, were excluded from this checklist. Participants were asked to answer the checklist for him/herself and it was completed on their own, with input from the researcher only given in order to clarify questions or concerns from the participant. Participants were also given the option of providing additional information on any of the statements in the checklist through short written answers where, or if, they felt it was necessary. This was done in order to collect more information on issues that cannot necessarily be answered in the structured format. After the participants completed the checklist, the interviewer reviewed the checklist with the participants. While reviewing the checklist, the interviewer probed the participant into further explanation of particular areas if it was deemed appropriate based on the checklist.

3.5.2.2 Interviews

Following the questionnaires, more in-depth interviews were conducted with participants in both a semi-structured and structured fix-response style in order to develop further analysis of phenomenona that the questionnaire could not provide. Interviews focused on both the past and the present, where relevant to each question. As noted previously, interview questions were developed from the findings of the pilot study. While the

general structure of the interview was laid out according to the area of investigation, namely the identified assets, it was also left open with the purpose of accounting for other variables which may or may not affect the participant and that which is under direct inquiry.

Through the pilot test and the researcher's own expectations of pertinent issues to the research question, it was determined that an aspect of cultural specificity was lacking. In addition, as per the guidelines of use of the questionnaire itself (namely that it be used as a means to further in-depth interviews), it was felt that particular issues relevant to the theory of positive youth development and its expected outcomes of risk-reduction, needed deeper investigation. As a result, the interviews focused on such matters as Setswana cultural practices, risk taking behavior, youth-adult relationships, empowerment and participation. In addition, the interviews included questions in order to establish demographical information that is necessary to any research, as well as particularly relevant to this study, such as education levels, environmental context and family dynamics.

In order to help aid time restrictions and transcription errors, all interview questions were given to participants to complete privately in a written manner. After participants completed the written component, the researcher then reviewed the answers with each participant privately. Where appropriate, the interview took notes on the participant's answers and any other additionally relevant information, including any biases, expectations or thoughts of the researcher herself. The initial follow-up interview to the questionnaire was conducted almost exclusively as a closed, fixed response interview, with the exception of the freedom allowed to participants to add any additional information they desired.

Although the most common mode of practice for qualitative research is to leave interviews as open as possible, there are various styles to interviews within qualitative data collection. These styles range from informal conversation, standardized open-ended interviews and closed, fixed response interviews such as this study employed in practice. This study chose a closed, fixed response interview due to time restraints and restrictions of the University's Ethics Committee which would not allow room for a more informal approach. In choosing a closed, fixed response interview style, data organization and analysis is simpler, responses can be directly compared and many questions can be asked in a short time (Ulin et al., 2005). In closed fixed response interviews, questions and response categories are determined in advance, responses are fixed and respondents choose from among these fixed responses. The main criticisms of this style of interview style are that respondents must fit their experiences and feelings into the researcher's categories; it may be perceived as impersonal, irrelevant and mechanist; and, it can distort what respondents really mean or experience by so completely limiting their response choices (Ulin et al., 2005). While the general structure of the interview used closed, fixed responses, participants were also asked to explain their answers in order to incorporate a more open-ended format, thus allowing for a potentially deeper analysis of answers and a solution to potential pitfalls of such a structured interview style.

The questionnaire and structured fixed response interview were used as the main methods of data collection with the participants. However, upon initial analysis of the findings, the researcher determined that further investigation into certain aspects related to the research problem was still required. As a result, a follow-up interview with the participants was completed in which they were asked two additional questions related to risk taking behavior and self-efficacy. These questions used a standardized open-ended approach to the interview. Again, participants were asked to write their answers to these questions and they were then reviewed with the respondents by the interviewer. The main difference of this approach to an interview is that questions are worded in a completely open-ended format as opposed to being given fixed responses. Although the questions were similar to the original interview questions, asking the questions in an open-ended format was done as a supplemental method in the hope of more complete data on the topics addressed. In addition, this style allowed the participants to relate more of their personal experience, feelings, values and opinions rather than simply describing knowledge, experience or behavior as the initial interview elicited.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Qualitative analysis

In all social science research, researchers must systematically examine data in order to discover patterns and possible correlation or causation of relationships. Quantitative and qualitative analysis is similar in this goal; however, the methods of analysis differ considerably. In quantitative analysis, emphasis is placed on prediction and testing of relationships between variables by using statistical processes (Ulin et al., 2005). On the other hand, qualitative analysis is more concerned with bringing together context and meaning and thus concentrating on fitting data together as a whole. One simple way which to approach this qualitative method is to simply analyze data for similarities and differences. For a further in-depth analysis, however, the basic steps to a qualitative approach can be broken down into reading, coding, displaying, reducing and interpreting (Ulin et al., 2005).

As this study is primarily based on qualitative input, a predominately qualitative approach was used to analyze the data. However, due to the nature of the study's structured design, it was also easy and effective to quantify results. Before a quantification of results could be done, however, it was necessary to begin with a qualitative analysis approach. The first step in this approach was simply to begin reading the data for content. As the data was reviewed I began to notice similarities and differences between respondents and as a result, emerging themes began to be identified. In order to enhance the credibility of the data, I also made notes throughout the data that highlighted the quality of the findings, such as how the methodological approach used would have affected results and my own observation of the detail of the respondents. After the data was read and re-read in full, I began to identify patterns between the participants' responses. These patterns included such things as the different asset levels reported and where the assets occurred, as well as similarities and differences of contextual information such as education levels, gender or environment.

The next step after reading the data and identifying patterns was to begin coding these emerging themes. Coding is essentially labeling the textual data of a study in order to identify key themes. With key themes coded it is then easy to compare findings of large amounts of textual data. An important decision to make in the coding process is to determine which words, or parts of words, to use to label the data. For simplicity and the aim of quantifying the data afterwards, the majority of coding in this study's analysis was focused around the core concerns and concepts of the research problem, including such things as gender, urban/rural, participation, empowerment and youth-adult relationships. Just as important as labeling is to the coding process, it is necessary to have definitions of the labels one chooses (Ulin et al., 2005). As the labels chosen in this analysis were based on positive youth development as according to the Search Institute, the definitions of the labels chosen for text were consistent with the definitions of the Search Institute's asset categories and assets. For example, if I chose to code certain text as "empowerment", by definition this means ideas relating to youth feeling valued and valuable, safe and respected.

After combining textual information into key themes through coding, the next step to analysis is displaying data. Displaying data means "laying out or taking an inventory of what you know related to a theme; capturing the variation, or richness, of each theme; separating qualitative and quantitative aspects; and noting differences between individuals or among subgroups" (Ulin et al., 2005). The first step to displaying data is to identify the principal subthemes that have emerged from the data, followed by finding the evidence that supports each of these subthemes. As mentioned, I began by coding the data with broad categories, such as empowerment, and then refined this coding into more detail for the purposes of displaying data. In using our empowerment coding as an example, this would mean that after labeling text as "empowerment", I went back to further deduce this code into individual asset labels, including: community values youth, youth as resources, services to others, and safety. Evidence of these subthemes was then compiled by combining the information from each participant into these subthemes, after which the different perspectives of the subgroups in the study were identified. For example, this entailed comparing the subthemes between male and female participants, urban versus rural based participants, past versus present perspectives, etc.
In the process of qualitative data analysis, the next step of analysis would usually be data reduction. The goal of data reduction is to get an overall sense of the data and distinguish between themes by extracting the information to make visible the most essential concepts and relationships (Ulin et al., 2005). However, for this study it was determined that data reduction was unnecessary as further refinement of codes was not needed. Therefore, the next step of analysis for this study resulted in quantitative examination of the information in order to determine the frequency of themes and where they occurred (i.e. among which subgroups).

3.6.2 Quantitative analysis

In any quantitative study it is necessary to measure the characteristics of the subjects and the variables defining the research question (Hopkins, 2000). The levels of measurement

used within this study's analysis are both nominal and ordinal. A nominal measurement is when subjects of the research are divided into a number of categories after subjects of research are differentiated by possessing given characteristics (Ross, 1999). In this study this type of measurement was necessary to categorize results and demographics. The characteristics that were differentiated in order to nominally measure the demographics of the sample included: age, gender, urban or rural based, education level of participant, education level of caregiver(s) and family composition (i.e. single mother, both biological parents or other). Based on these characteristics of participants, participant profiles were categorized. Following this categorization, analysis was constructed accordingly. That is to say, these variables formulated the basis of comparison of findings between the sample's participants. In relation to our discussion of qualitative analysis, this information was the basis of formulation for our study's subgroups.

The next level of analysis between participants was constructed according to their asset levels. To attain a reading of an asset from participants, the respondents were asked to answer the Search Institute's Asset Checklist. The checklist comprises statements attributed to each developmental asset and participants were asked to rate each statement for accuracy. For example, 1= Not accurate; 5= Very accurate. From these ratings it is then assessed whether or not an individual has the particular developmental asset. For example, if participants ranked a statement as 4 or 5, they accordingly have that developmental asset. If participants ranked the statement 2-3 they had moderate levels of that asset. And finally, if participants ranked a statement as 1, they were shown to not have that asset present.

The final step to quantifying this study's results was to compile an ordinal measurement. Ordinal measurement is essentially ranking subjects, in this case asset categories, in order of greatest to least or best to worst (Ross, 1999). This form of measurement was thus used to rank the categories of internal and external categories separately, as well as a whole. In using both nominal and ordinal measurements of the data I was thus able to effectively identify the frequency and quantity of assets, as well as codes or themes, which allowed for a quantification of results.

3.6.3 Interpretation

The final stage of analysis in this study was actual interpretation of the data. Interpretation can be defined as:

> [The] act of identifying and explaining the data's core meaning…The meaning that you extract from your analysis should reflect the intent of your study participants' responses [and also] have relevance to a larger population and provide answers to questions of social and theoretical significance (Ulin et al., 2005).

Essentially the act of interpretation is to fit all the pieces of the puzzle together. One of the central goals of interpretation is therefore to find relationships or correlation between themes and concepts identified from the analysis. Since both qualitative and

quantitative data was collected in this study, the interpretation process must also include the combination of these results. For the purposes of this study, interpretation of the mixed method approach was conducted based on the purpose of each component in the study design. For example, although the primary study was qualitative, the study began with a secondary and complementary study using a quantitative design. With regards to interpretation, this meant that the data collected in the quantitative study was analyzed first, but that the primary qualitative phase that occurred at the end of the quantitative method was used to interpret the quantitative findings.

In using a mixed method approach one important factor to interpretation is to identify where findings are similar or complementary, as well as where they are contradictory. Indeed, within this study, there were contradictions found between the two different methods. As a researcher it is then necessary to reevaluate the initial analysis with the goal of identifying factors contributing to the different results, and then ultimately using judgment about which method and analysis to follow in order to reconcile these differences (Ulin et al., 2005). As a final stage of interpretation, and also as an act of developing the trustworthiness of the findings, I presented the interpretations to the key informants for external scrutiny. The goal of this process was to ensure that the analysis reflected the intent of the study's participants, as well as remained true to the Botswana context. After this final stage of interpretation, analysis was then reevaluated based on the feedback from the key informants.

3.7 Limitations and Delimitations

Quantitative and qualitative research each have there own set of standards for evaluation. While each set of standards for excellence is equally important to the respective research method, they are inherently different in their criteria. Quantitative studies are largely concerned with describing, predicting and verifying empirical relationships in a relatively controlled setting (Ulin et al., 2005). On the other hand, qualitative approaches are concerned with exploring and understanding a phenomenon within a more holistic framework and natural setting. Due to the different criteria of research design it is understandable that the criteria used to judge quality must also be essentially different. While quantitative research uses validity, reliability, objectivity, precision and generalizability to evaluate its work, qualitative research is more concerned with credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability (Ulin et al., 2005). Considering the mixed method approach applied to this study's research design, it is therefore important to take into account the criteria of evaluation for both quantitative and qualitative research.

3.7.1 Internal validity

Criteria of evaluation regarding the quantitative methods of this study's design are largely concerned with the use of structured methods of inquiry within a case study. If these methods are not thorough and strategic in their design there are four main threats to the

research's internal validity, which include: a nomothetic explanation, history and maturation, retrospective design and reactive measurement effects (de Vaus, 2001).

A nomothetic explanation is understood as an explanation that cannot infer a causal relationship between variables. This is a potential limit to the research design due to the use of structured questions as a method of inquiry, which are criticized for being too restricting and could thus result in people poorly representing their opinion (Petter & Davis, 2002). Although the data collection method techniques are structured, they do allow for room of participants' free expression for each question or statement. In addition, by providing a retrospective, in addition to present, account of the individual the research design creates a history of the individual and in so doing encourages an idiographic explanation of the phenomenon.

Therefore, the threat of a nomothetic explanation is reduced by the fact that the interviews for the case study aim to involve a holistic look at variables in a participant's life by including a complementary qualitative method of inquiry. As such, the quantitative methods aim to confirm and quantify the findings of the qualitative research. By using multiple methods as an approach the study aims to provide context of the phenomenon. It attempts to develop an all-encompassing view, and thus explanation, for the dependant variable and therefore does not isolate certain independent variables in order to provide an explanation. As a result, a well-rounded account of not just correlation, but causation can be explained.

The threat of history and maturation are perceived threats to a case study if they are not well accounted for in the design. Retrospective design is an obvious threat in the sense that it can lead to distortion due to how a person remembers events or stages in their lives (de Vaus, 2001). However, this threat is overcome by including history and maturation as part of the full context of a case. In addition, retrospective designs work best if dealing with memorable events. As a result of this case study being retrospective it attempts to overcome these threats by including and explaining how history and maturation have affected the participant. While dealing with memorable events or moments is not always possible, particularly when dealing with individuals in an interview, this study aims to minimize this threat by using structured, but flexible, questions as its approach. It is hoped that in so doing, that memorable events are drawn out from the participant and thus temporal order can be established. For example, if the interviewer is asking about the participant's family and the interviewer learns of a death of a caregiver, this is most likely a memorable event and might have an effect on the other variables being questioned. Therefore, the interviewer can structure other questions around this event in order to determine temporal order and reduce the threat of memory distortion.

Reactive effects are also a threat to the internal validity of this case study's design simply by the fact that it is a case study and therefore involves interviews of participants. By having an interviewer present he/she is already a 'foreign object' that can create reactive effects (de Vaus, 2001). By nature of the design of this case study, however, the reactive effect associated with its design is reduced. That is to say, by using a retrospective design which will allow for data collection at one point of time there is limited exposure to that

which can cause the reactive effect (namely the interviewer and/or the instrument). While reactive effects are a concern for quantitative studies, this is almost contradictory to the approach of qualitative research which regards the interviewer as a necessary part of the process. In saying this, however, there is a corresponding concern of qualitative research known as confirmability and thus an additional concern of this study's design. Confirmability is the extent to which a researcher is able to maintain a distinction of his/her values and those of the participants (Ulin et al., 2005). In order to ensure the confirmability of a study it is therefore necessary for a researcher to document his or her role in the research process. As a result, this study aims to take into account the biases, assumptions, expectations and related history of the researcher and account for these within analysis if necessary.

While thus far we have namely been accounting for limits to the research design with regards to quantitative methods of evaluation, particularly focusing on the validity of the design, these also correspond to qualitative design's criteria for excellence pertaining to credibility. While validity in quantitative science is the extent to which measurement tools accurately measure the concepts of study, credibility focuses on confidence in the truth of the findings, including an accurate understanding of the context (Ulin et al., 2005). In finding credibility within this study it is therefore important that the research's analysis is consistent with its findings and also understandable to the study population. In order to attain this credibility within the research, key informants were used throughout the study. The key informants served more or less as evaluators of the truth of the findings and analysis of this study. I believe further credibility is also gained by the fact that the expected outcomes of this study actually differ than the final interpretation of its findings, which exemplifies an in-depth perspective that continuously and consciously separated the researcher's motivations from the representation of the participants.

3.7.2 External validity

A large motivation, and thus concern, of quantitative research is its ability to generalize from the study. Case studies such as this one, however, suffer from a lack of statistical generalization, which in turn can cause a lack of external validity for quantitative designs (de Vaus, 2001). However, although case studies may not be able to create statistical generalization, they can create theoretical generalization through the logic of replication. This notion is closely associated with qualitative science's concerns of transferability and dependability. If designs are of excellence then it should follow that the samples selected are conceptually representative in a specific context and thus transferable (Ulin et al., 2005). Similarly, if researchers are careful with their qualitative design then it should follow that the processes used to obtain results can be replicated in other studies, even if it means different answers result due to different contexts.

This case study design attempts to achieve this form of external validity by its selection of multiple cases that represent a selection of different conditions, such as urban and rural, male and female, participating and non-participating youth. In addition, the research design has been carefully documented in order to produce replication. Results show logically consistent patterns of response, thus highlighting the dependability of the

source (Ulin et al., 2005). As a result of the sample used and documentation of design, it is thus hoped that results will hold up for the multiple cases, as well as the multiple conditions, and therefore, produce not only replication or transferability, but also theoretical generalization.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

3.8.1 Participant's protection, access and consent

Due to the process of interviewing participants and asking them personal questions, it is necessary that certain steps must be taken in order to ensure the participants are protected. This will involve ensuring confidentiality of the participants, including making sure the information cannot be traced back to them as individuals. Furthermore, this will involve gaining the consent of the participants involved. In addition, consent, as well as access to the participants, will have to be received by those responsible for the participants (i.e. the participating organization). Lastly, it is deemed important in qualitative investigation that all those involved in the study are presented with the findings and analysis of the research undertaken.

Regarding these ethical considerations, the following steps were taken pre and post study:

1. A letter asking for written consent of the individual's participation in the study was given to all of the participants one week prior to the commencement of the study. The letter informed him/her of whom the researcher is, why the research is being conducted, how it will be executed, and the confidentiality of the individuals involved.
2. A letter asking for written consent from the host organization, the Youth Health Organization, to be involved in this study and to provide access to its employees and/or volunteers. The letter informed management of the organization of whom the researcher is, why the research is being conducted, how it will be executed, and the confidentiality of the individuals involved.
3. Permission from the Ethics Committee at the University of the Witswatersrand was obtained prior to the commencement of the study.
4. Upon completion of compiling the findings and analysis of this study a meeting with the participants and management of the Youth Health Organization was held in order to disseminate the results.

Chapter 4: EXTERNAL ASSETS FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction to Findings & Analyses Chapters

4.1.1 Overview of the 40 Developmental Assets

In order to grow up successfully and healthy there are certain building blocks that young people need, which the Search Institute has identified as the Forty Developmental Assets. Assets in this human development context refer to positive qualities an individual can possess and which are gained through social experience, social awareness and reflection (Search Institute, 2002). The Forty Developmental Assets are based on surveys of more than 200,000 students in grades 6-12 in the United States and revealed the powerful influence assets have on youth behavior. The Forty Developmental Assets both promote positive behaviors and attitudes and help protect youth from many different problem behaviors (such as unsafe sexual behaviors), therefore promoting an association between youth development and risk-reducing initiatives. The Search Institute broadly breaks down healthy human development into eight areas, which are identified as the following: support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, constructive use of time, commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies and positive identity. The Search Institute further breaks down these concepts into two main divisions, namely, external assets and internal assets, which will be discussed respectively in the findings and analyses chapters.

In order to assess these developmental assets amongst youth, the Search Institute has created a checklist on the Forty Developmental Assets in which a question pertaining to each asset is conducted and subsequently analyzed for an asset level. It is from these questions and their subsequent answers that we are able to deduce information regarding each asset category, as well as each individual asset. This study's goal was to obtain information on both the past and present states of the participants' asset levels. In order to achieve this information it was therefore necessary to use a checklist for each time frame. In the analysis of the findings, the difference in asset levels over time, as well as the differences between participants, is identified. In order to discuss these differences, however, a system of rating the changes in asset levels, as well as reporting the differences between participants, has been established and is as follows:

Table 1: System of Rating Differences in Asset Levels & Participants

Word ascribed to difference:	**Percentage difference:**
Slight	0-10 %
Moderate	11-21 %
Significant	22-35 %
Drastic/Dramatic	36 + %

4.1.2 Contextualizing Issues Raised in the Findings & Analyses

Through the analysis of findings from the study it was discovered that certain key issues continued to arise. These issues gain importance as a means of contextualizing the information collected and thus warrant a discussion in order to create a background to the following findings and analyses. A contextualization of key issues in Botswana was deemed necessary due to the nature of the findings of the study. The predominant areas which appear to need further discussion include the demographical composition of Botswana, as well as, gender, sexual behavior and sexual health education as it relates to both traditional and modern Setswana culture. This section will deal with each of these relevant issues in turn.

4.1.2.1 Botswana in Focus

Botswana has a relatively small population of only 1.75 million people. Of this population, approximately 52 percent are based in urban areas and 48 percent in rural (Geohive, n.d.). If we also include what are considered "urban villages", meaning those villages that do no rely on agriculture, then these numbers become further divided, with 63 percent of the population being based in urban areas and only 37 percent in the rural. Within this study, the sample used is not necessarily demonstrative of these statistics. The majority of participants in this study, at 55 percent, identified the rural area as home, compared with 44 percent identifying the urban area as home. With this said, however, the concept of "home" was determined by where participants perceive home is despite where they were born or spent their time growing up, and thus might not be an accurate representation of the urban/rural divide due to its subjectivity.

In taking our sample's findings as accurate, however, it appears from the sample that of those that consider the rural area as home, the majority, at 67 percent, are males, while the majority of those that consider the urban area as home, at 58 percent, are females. There is no information from the participants about where they were born or grew up versus where they perceive home to be and thus it is difficult to correlate one with the other. Furthermore, there is no statistical data collected on the gender distribution of the population within Botswana and thus we are not able to apply a comparison with the study's sample. It does appear from the findings, however, that the responses to the question regarding where the participants consider home correlates to gender. However, due to the fact that this concept of 'home' is so subjective, it is not so much a tie to a place where one might locate the idea of home, but more to feelings of inclusion, acceptance and value. As such, it can be postulated that the reason behind an individual's perception of home is largely due to the socio-cultural dynamics within the different environmental contexts and how this impacts genders differently.

Setswana culture is rooted in patriarchy and as such the subordination of females to males is apparent in beliefs and practices (Durham, n.d.; Government of Botswana, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2006; Mookodi et al., n.d; Youth Health Organization, 2004). Furthermore, the traditional culture of Botswana is by and large centralized around the rural environment (Durham, n.d; Mookodi et al., n.d.). However, Botswana also has one of the most migrant populations in the world with men and women alike leaving the rural areas in search of employment (Mookodi et al., n.d.). With such a high rate of mobility in the

country the traditional culture, which is centralized around the rural environment, is juxtaposed against modernity in the urban arena (Mookodi et al., n.d.). Furthermore, it is common practice in Botswana that even if an individual or a family is predominantly based in the urban areas, they have a village which is considered their "home village." A person or family's home village is the place where they have their land, their cattle, and the majority of their extended family. It is the place where most people in Botswana go to on the weekends or on holidays. Thus, while one might be socialized within the modernized urban context, a person is still subject to the traditions of Setswana culture while in the rural domain. As a result, individuals are left to grapple with trying to reconcile the differences between the two vastly different worlds of culture and modernity. Perhaps the answer to why the reported differences between contextualization of home amongst this study's participants has a lot to do with this struggle for individual identity between traditionalism and modernism and its impact on the different genders. Within the culturally entrenched rural environment, where patriarchy is the overarching socio-cultural dynamic and thus males are more valued than females, it is perhaps understandable that more males than females would identify the rural environment as home as compared with the modernized society of the urban environment in which more females identify home. This issue will be further discussed during the analysis of the findings.

As mentioned, the social migration of the population of Botswana is one of the highest in the world (Mookodi et al., n.d.). This is due to a number of reasons, such as Botswana's rapid development, as well as the mining industry as a primary employer within the country. Social migration, however, is having a profound effect on a number of factors, including individual identity as we have discussed, as well as family patterns and HIV/AIDS. As a result of people leaving their culturally entrenched rural villages there is a breakdown of traditional family forms (Durham, n.d.; Government of Botswana, 2001, 2003; Mookodi et al., n.d.). Individuals are leaving the influence of extended family behind, which has been just as much a defining figure in the lives of individuals in Botswana as a nuclear family is within the Western world. Furthermore, more and more households are now becoming single mom households (Durham, n.d.; Government of Botswana, 2003, 2004; Mookodi et al., n.d.). This is also consistent with this study's findings in which 55 percent of participants identified a mother alone as their primary caregiver. The changing dynamics of households and culture, as well as the act of migration itself, are believed to be having a profound effect on the spread of HIV/AIDS within Botswana (Government of Botswana, 2003; Mookodi et al., n.d.).

Another area which is believed to be negatively impacting the disease is the gender inequality imposed by the patriarchal culture of Botswana such as we have previously mentioned (Government of Botswana, 2001, 2003, 2006; Mookod et al., n.d.; Youth Health Organization, 2004). The Setswana cultural traditions and practices produce patriarchal sex/gender systems which largely transfer males into positions of power and women into subordinate positions. There is a clear division made between the male dominated public-political arena in society and the women centered private-domestic realm of existence (Durham, n.d.; Mookodi et al., n.d.). Evidence of this gender divide can also be found within the education system of Botswana. Although these findings are not consistent with this study's findings in which females had higher levels of education

than the males, statistics from Botswana indicate that enrollment rates of males is almost nine times greater than females in higher educational institutes (Government of Botswana, 2004).

The defining roles of gender induced by culture further affects the realm of sexual health and behavior in Botswana. Traditionally, men are expected to initiate and control sexual activity (Mookodi et al., n.d.). Evidently, this would place women in a subordinate role and as a result leave them with little to no room to negotiate safe sex practices. This lack of ability to negotiate safer sex with males, and generally unequal power relations between the genders, has been identified by many studies as a leading problem in combating the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana (Government of Botswana, 1999, 2001, 2003; Kiley & Hovorka, 2006; Meekers & Ahmed, 2000; Ministry of Health et al., 2001; Mookodi et al., n.d.; Youth Health Organization, 2004). In addition, however, there are other cultural traditions and practices which are also furthering the problem. For example, the general *taboo* within Setswana culture for parents to discuss sexuality with their children (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007; Durham, n.d.; Government of Botswana, 2001, 2003; Mookodi et al., n.d.). It is widely believed that in talking about sex with youth, parents are actually legitimating premarital sexual relations (Mookodi et al., n.d.). As a result of such beliefs, as studies have discovered, youth are more comfortable talking to peers about sex, and sexuality goes as an untouched subject between adults and youth within Setswana culture (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007; Government of Botswana, 2001, 2003; Mookodi et al., n.d.).

Other problems that bind culture and sexual health issues together is the changing nature of culture in the face of modernity. Traditionally, informal sources of sexual knowledge were passed between extended family members and youth. However, with the removal of the influence of extended family due to the high numbers of social migration to urban areas, this practice is being replaced with peer interactions. Also in traditional Setswana practice are gender-specific rites of passage that served to prepare young persons for adulthood and control premarital sexual relations (Mookodi et al., n.d.; Schapera, 1979). These practices are now, however, the responsibility of parents and educational institutes. A further aspect of traditional practice which is no longer in place is that within the traditional village of Setswana culture, relationships between young people were governed by strong societal norms that protected them, whereas now parents no longer exercise this control due to modern societal influences largely characterized by individualism of the self and the family (Mookodi et al., n.d.).

One final aspect of the socio-culture composition of Botswana which deserves to be recognized is the religious beliefs which appear to transcend through cultural beliefs and practices of the Setswana tradition. Since independence, the majority of the population of Botswana could be described as “modified Christian” (Durham, n.d.; Mookodi et al., n.d.). Modified Christianity has taken shape in the form of spiritual churches throughout the country. These churches essentially integrate traditional Christian doctrine with aspects of traditional cultural practices. Some of the adopted cultural traditions help to maintain the eroding Setswana practices and beliefs which aid people. However, some of the traditional cultural practices that these churches adopt are actually outlawed within the country, such as the act of polygamy (Mookodi et al., n.d.). As a result of the

acceptance of such practices as polygamy by these churches, there is a widely spread socio-cultural acceptance of infidelity (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007; Government of Botswana, 2003, 2006; Ministry of Health et al., 2001; Mookod et al., n.d.). Such an acceptance, contextualized within a patriarchal framework, leaves little more than further insubordination of women, as well as the spread of HIV/AIDS.

4.2 Overview of External Assets

The external assets division of the 40 Developmental Assets focuses on external structures, relationships and activities that create a positive environment (Search Institute, 2002). The Search Institute describes external assets as the "positive relationships, opportunities and experiences that young people need from their families, schools, and communities" (Search Institute, 2007). Within the external assets division there are four categories of assets attributed: support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, and constructive use of time. In addition, each of these categories has developmental assets ascribed to them.

This chapter of findings and analysis of the external assets for development will begin by presenting the findings of each category and its respective assets. Following this presentation I will then provide an analysis of the categories' findings.

4.3 External Assets Findings & Analysis

4.3.1 Findings of Support

The first category within external assets is identified as Support. The Search Institute (2007) maintains that young people need to be surrounded by people who love, appreciate and accept them. They need to spend time in places where people care about them. This type of support comes through building the following developmental assets: family support, positive family communication, other adult relationships, a caring neighborhood, a caring school climate and parent involvement in schooling.

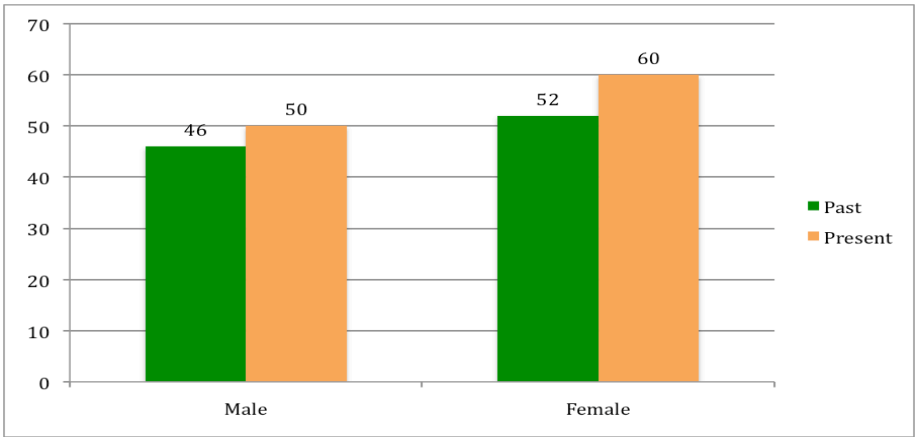


Figure 1 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Support

Based on participants' ratings, as shown in Figure 1, we can see that in general, support has increased for both male and female participants, but that overall support is greatest amongst females. This is consistent with findings from both the Search Institute and other studies of programs employing developmental assets theory in its design whereby females report more assets of support than males, particularly in terms of greater caring relationships (Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga, 2002). Interestingly, the asset levels in the category of support in both the past and present, which total 49 percent and 55 percent respectively, are actually moderately higher than asset levels in the same category reported by students in North America in the Search Institute's studies in which the average total was only 39 percent (2007). In order to understand the components of support amongst participants within Botswana, however, it is necessary to look at the individual assets that comprise the category of support.

Asset 1: Family support

The definition of family support, according to the Search Institute, is a family life that provides high levels of love and support. In order to gauge their asset level in relation to family support, participants were asked to rank the following statement:

"I receive high levels of love and support from family members."

Family support was reported as much lower amongst male participants both in the past and the present. The percentage of males who report having this asset in the past was 73 percent, whereas in the present it dropped significantly to 47 percent. Comparatively, the percentage of females who reported having this asset in the past was close to that of the males, coming in at 77 percent. However, females actually had an increase in this asset in the present with 83 percent of females now reporting they have this asset.

Asset 2: Positive family communication

The Search Institute identifies positive family communication as the process in which a young person and his or her parent(s) communicate positively, and the young person is willing to seek advice and counsel from his or her parents. Participants were asked to rate the following statement relevant to positive family communication:

"I can go to my parent/s or guardian/s for advice and support and have frequent, in-depth conversations with them."

Positive family communication was reported by an increased number of both male and female participants in the present as compared with their past. The most dramatic increase occurred amongst females. In the past, the percentage of females that reported having this asset was 50 percent. In the present time, however, 90 percent of females reported to have this asset. While the males also experienced an increase in this asset with time, going from 27 percent up to 47 percent in the present, generally there are much fewer males who report having this asset.

Asset 3: Other adult relationships

Other adult relationships are described as the relationships a young person has with three or more non-parent adults. Participants were asked to rate this asset through the following question:

"I know some non-parent adults I can go to for advice and support."

Both male and female participants reported having increased levels of this asset over time. The percentage of male participants reporting having this asset in the past was only at 27 percent, compared with 60 percent in the present. Similarly, the percent of female participants reporting having this asset in the past was 43 percent, compared with 50 percent in the present. As is evident, while males had a moderately lower level of this asset in the past than their female counterparts, they have surpassed the female levels of this asset in the present with a considerable increase in this asset over time.

Asset 4: Caring neighborhood

A caring neighborhood is described as a place in which young people have caring neighbors. In order to assess this asset amongst individuals, participants were asked to rate the following relevant question:

" My neighbors encourage and support me."

A higher number of females reported having this asset in the past than in the present. In the past, 38 percent of females reported having this asset, while only 17 percent of females in the present reported having this asset. Alternatively, while only 25 percent of males reported having this asset in the past, this number increased moderately to 46 percent in the present amongst male participants.

Asset 5: Caring school climate

A caring school climate is defined as a school which provides a caring and encouraging environment for young people. In order to gauge the levels of this asset amongst participants they were asked to rate the following statement:

"My school provides a caring, encouraging environment."

A very close number of female and male participants reported having this asset, with 62 and 60 percent of females and males respectively reporting having this asset in the past. This question was relevant to the past only due to the fact that participants no longer attend school; thus, a time comparison is not applicable.

Asset 6: Parent involvement

Parent involvement is attributed to parents who are actively involved in helping a young person succeed in school. In order to assess levels of this asset amongst participants, they were asked to rank the following statement:

"My parent/s or guardian/s help me succeed in school."

A moderately more amount of male participants than females reported parent involvement in schooling as an asset. Sixty-four percent of male participants reported having this asset in the past compared with only 46 percent of females. As a result of the participants no longer attending school, this question was deleted from the present time checklist and thus a time comparison is not applicable.

4.3.2 Analysis of Support

As noted previously, the asset category of support has increased for all participants in the present, but that support is generally lower amongst the male participants. From our deconstruction of this category into its individual assets it is interesting to highlight where male and female participants identified their assets. In the past, more males identified assets relating to family support and their schooling. However, in the present, more males attributed their assets to other adult relationships and a caring neighborhood above all else. By comparison, females in the present identified their assets in relation to their family, which significantly increased from their asset levels in the past.

This comparison is an interesting reflection because both male and female participants reported an increase in assets regarding support, yet seemingly in significantly different areas. The only two assets within support in which males reported higher than females were asset 3 and asset 4 in the present (other adult relationships and caring neighborhood respectively). Male participants' assets of support therefore appear to relate to the wider community, such as other adult relationships and the neighborhood, whereas the female participants' assets of support seem to be more in relation to their familial context. When we regard these findings on the assets of support it is interesting to analyze these findings in relation to other contextual information of the participants that was revealed through the interview following the completion of the checklists. For example, in the supplementary questions asked in the interview, participants were asked where they feel the most valued and respected. Significant to what we just discussed of our asset findings, females felt most valued and respected at home, in church and at school. By contrast, males felt most valued and respected within their community and by other adults. The difference of reported assets between males and females could be attributed to the environmental context where participants consider home and the structural and cultural implications that follow as a result.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, sixty-seven percent of males reported that the rural environment is where they consider home. By comparison, 58 percent of females reported that the urban environment is where they consider home. As was previously noted however, the concept of "home" was determined by where participants perceive home is despite where they were born or spent their time growing up, and the findings appear to imply that this contextualization of home correlates with gender. When we relate the findings on the assets of support to the Setswana culture's patriarchal composition and its role within different contexts, these findings are intriguing.

As previously noted, it can generally be said that within rural Botswana there is larger emphasis placed on the role of Setswana cultural practice than within the urban environment which has been more subjected to modernization and thus changes to traditional practices. However, it is also common practice in Botswana for people to have

a home village which they frequent, even if they are predominantly based in an urban area. Thus, while one might be socialized within the modernized urban context, a person is still subject to the traditions of Setswana culture while in the rural domain. As we know from our previous discussion, the Setswana cultural community is generally patriarchal. As a result, most often more value is placed on male youth and the importance of their role within the community. For example, males are often the ones encouraged most to hold onto their cultural traditions and norms because it is males who, once married, carry the legacy of the Setswana culture and their family practices. As a result, males in Setswana culture never leave their home village, as it is within the village that they place their value. For a man, the village is the place where not only their land is, but also their wealth. Within a man's village they have their land to live on, their farmland and their cattle post, all of which equate to wealth within Setswana culture. As a result, much value is placed on males within a community, as they know that the young men will be the ones to carry on the legacy in the future. By contrast, when a female marries in Setswana culture, she is expected to assume as her own the male's identity, including his family name, cultural traditions, and home village. As a result, females contribution to the community at large does not hold as much significance because once she is married she will no longer be considered as part of her childhood community, but rather that of her husband's.

Through this example it is evident that males and females are valued differently within Setswana culture. It is also apparent that within traditional Setswana culture, which is largely centralized within the rural villages, that more emphasis is placed on the importance of males to both the legacy of culture and his role within the village. It is therefore perhaps understandable that males would identify more support at the community level and females more within their immediate environment of family, school or church. By extension, it is perhaps also understandable why more males than females would identify the rural environment as home as compared with females regardless of where they were actually born or grew up. As previously discussed, due to the fact that this concept of 'home' is so subjective, it is not so much a tie to a place where one might locate the idea of home, but more to feelings of inclusion, acceptance and value. Following this notion, if Setswana culture is most predominant in rural Botswana and places greater value on males, the findings on assets of support, and the contextualization of the idea of home, are comprehensible. In saying this, however, it would be beneficial for future studies to further define the idea of 'home' and differentiate between where someone is raised and where they consider home.

A second role that environmental context plays on asset development is more in relation to the actual experience of living within a particular context as opposed to the subjective notion of home. Within urban Botswana, for example, it is customary for neighbors to be separated by electrified fences, walls and gates. In rural Botswana, however, this is not common practice and thus neighbors and communities are only separated by knowledge versus structural definition. In practice, this generally means that within the rural context young people are more exposed to their neighbors and have more chances to build relationships with others due to the open, yet close knit, environment. In the urban context, however, young people more often than not only know their neighbors in passing and do not have the opportunity to build a relationship with others or their neighbors.

This could perhaps account for the lower levels of reported caring neighborhood and other adult relationships assets amongst females since the majority of them locate home in the urban context.

Another aspect the role environmental context potentially has on asset development can be associated with family dynamics. As previously mentioned, within rural Botswana it is common for primary caregivers to have work outside the bounds of their community. Often times this means that they are forced to commute on a weekly basis, or even more sporadically, to the city. This often leads to a situation in which the primary caregiver(s) would work in the city during the week and only return for the weekends at home. During their time away this would mean that extended family members attend to children and youth. The resulting family dynamics that are created could possibly account for the male participants' lower family support and positive family communication assets than the females who are largely more urban based and thus do not face such situations.

Another possible connection we can draw from our findings on assets of support and the supplementary information we have is related to education levels and environmental context amongst participants. Overall, females have a higher level of education than males, with 25 percent of females reporting to have completed their A level of schooling (i.e. High school) versus zero percent of males. Furthermore, the primary caregivers of females also have higher levels of education than males, with 27 percent of females reporting that their caregivers have no education compared with 57 percent of males reporting their caregivers have no education. This is intriguing to compare with the findings on the assets of support for several reasons.

In the past, which is also when participants were schooling, the number of females that identified having assets of support was higher than males. In fact, females reported having more of each asset within the category of support in the past, with the exception of asset 6: parent involvement in schooling. However, the findings on asset 6 could relate to the fact that perhaps more females were schooled through boarding schools than males. This is in relation to both females' higher levels of education, as well as that of their caregivers, as boarding school is a practice amongst a significant population of the educated and middle to upper class within Botswana. If females attended school away from their families this could account for the lower levels reported on asset 6, parent involvement, in schooling because quite simply, the parents were not present with them.

While some females did state specifically that they attended boarding school and 17 percent reported a school matron as a secondary caregiver in their past, this is a question which was not asked of participants to report on and thus may be noteworthy to future studies. This may also be relevant to future studies because social demographics, particularly economic status, are not something which is highlighted through the Search Institute's research and material. The Search Institute claims their developmental assets, regardless of social and economic status, are important to all youth. However, what appears to go unrecognized by the Search Institute is how these different circumstances affect the development of assets. As is evident from the findings just mentioned, this is perhaps of great importance. For example, if females' caregivers have higher levels of education then they are more likely to be in better paying jobs than the males' caregivers. With better paying jobs and the value of a higher education behind them, these caregivers

are likely more willing and able to pay for schooling that is beyond the government provided schooling. This in turn, could lead to higher education levels and social status amongst their children as well. This is significant to examine because of the difference of asset levels, as well as education levels, that we have seen reported between the female and male participants.

Although we have thus far primarily been discussing the category of support as a whole, it is also important to pay attention to individual assets. I would like to particularly emphasize the assets relating to adult-youth relationships and family communication due to the strong role they play in the creation of positive youth development, as well as risk reduction, and the fact that they have been identified as problems within the Setswana culture. Youth-adult relationships is of particular significance to the concept of positive youth development as it is believed that the more relationships a youth has with adults, including both with caregivers and non-caregivers, the more positive support and encouragement individuals have. As it is necessary for youth to feel valued and respected in order to achieve positive development, having adults in a youth's life is an important factor in creating such an environment. Having strong youth-adult relationships also encourages positive communication, which is of particular importance to risk taking behavior. There is much evidence to support that the closeness of adult-youth relationships and the quality of communication within this relationship are significant indicators of a youth's risk taking behavior. For example, in a study conducted to explore the significance of parent-child sexual communication, it was concluded that repetition of sexual communication between parents and children plays a primary role in that child's risk taking behaviors (Hollander, 2008).

The findings from the checklist on positive family communication and other adult relationships was mixed. There was an increase in both of these assets for all youth over time, but in general these assets are moderate at best, with the exception of females in the present reporting very high numbers of positive family communication. I believe the differences can be attributed to a couple of factors. Firstly, I believe that because males and females identify their support within different contexts, namely within the family or community at large, it is understandable why females report higher levels of communication with family and males higher levels of *other* adult relationships.

Secondly, I believe the differences are related to the structure of the statement itself and how individuals interpret the statement. For example, perhaps some respondents were thinking of particular types of communication when answering the checklist, ranging from general communication to more specific types of communication such as sexual. This is consistent with the basic understanding of qualitative measurement which understands that individuals interpret reality differently depending on which lens they are using to measure reality through. In addition, the statement seems to leave itself open to two different modes of understandings. The first part of the statement addresses going to parents or guardians for advice and support. The second part of the statement, however, moves beyond this to include "frequent, in-depth conversations." I believe that due to the structure of this statement, therefore, it could lead to difficulties in rating the statement for accuracy. A quote from one of the male respondents of the study provides evidence of the difficulty found in the structure of the statement: "I can go to my parents for advice

and support, but I cannot go in[to] in-depth conversations with them because they are very strict and they are not that much open." Evidently, the respondent has broken up the statement in order to interpret the accuracy of the statement according to his reality.

This statement is also exemplary of the difficulties related to the larger concept of parent-child communication found within Botswana. A needs assessment conducted by the Basha Lesedi project in Botswana found that both youth and adults believe there is a problem of adult-child relationships and communication in Botswana and that this is largely due to the Setswana culture and the resulting restrictions on positive communication. As discussed previously, youth are placed in a subordinate position to adults within Setswana culture. What results is that positive and open two-way communication between an adult and youth is difficult. Within the needs assessment youth were asked if they felt comfortable talking to parents about sex and HIV. All youth within the needs assessment reported a unanimous "no", that there is no communication between parents and children on these topics, and that they did not bring up such topics because they were afraid of being yelled at (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007). It was similarly addressed by adults and stakeholders involved with the needs assessment that there is a problem with communication between parents and children and that this is something that needs to be addressed. These findings are used to further highlight this study's findings on difficulties found within the socio-cultural environment, such as relationships and communication between youth and adults.

During the analysis of support and indeed in the subsequent analysis of other categories, I place much emphasis on the significance of differences reported between male and female respondents. Our reflections on the assets of support seem to emphasize the large role gender plays within the development of assets. Furthermore, considering that support amongst males is also moderately lower than females overall, it seems of significance to locate where each gender identifies their support. However, I believe it is equally necessary to pay attention to issues that appear regardless of gender and thus to youth as a whole, such as youth-adult relationships and communication, as they are reflections of some of the socio-cultural factors affecting positive youth development overall. The comparisons of information between the checklist and supplementary interview show a possible connection to the context in which one locates their support and/or at what point in one's life the different means of support present themselves. These could be important factors to distinguish when discussing the building of positive youth development and thus something which deserves further examination through research.

4.3.3 Findings of Empowerment

The second asset category within external assets is identified as empowerment. The Search Institute defines empowerment as young people feeling valued and valuable. Empowerment happens when young people feel safe and respected. In order to build this empowerment the Search Institute has recognized the following individual assets as necessary: community values youth, youth as resources, services to others, and safety. The findings of the category of empowerment are as follows:

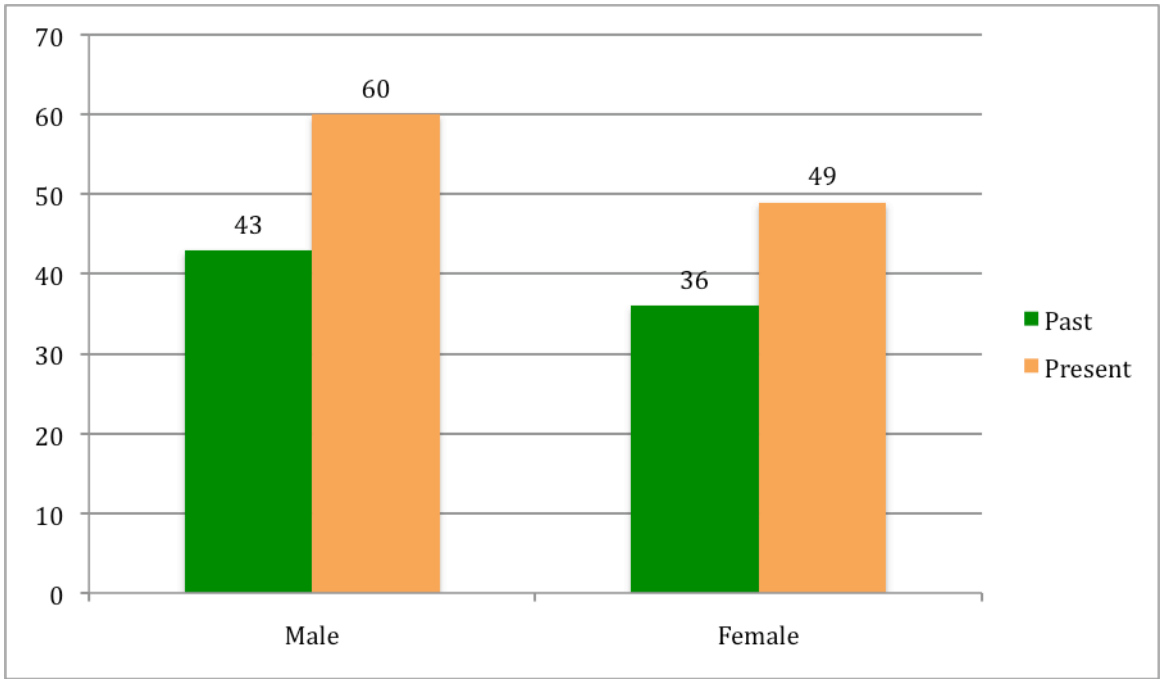


Figure 2 – Percent of Youth Reporting s of Empowerment

From Figure 2 it is apparent that overall, participants reported increased numbers of empowerment assets. Of these, however, males reported a higher number of assets of empowerment both in the past and present. In comparison of developmental asset studies in North America, these findings are seemingly unique. The Search Institute and others report that generally more females report assets of empowerment because there are more meaningful activities from parents, teachers, peers and adults in the community available to females than males (Wasanga, 2002). What is not unique to Botswana, however, is that the category of empowerment ranks as the lowest category of assets as this findings is evident in both contexts, with only 37 percent of youth in North America and 40 percent of youth in Botswana reporting assets of empowerment (Search Institute, 2007). In order to further understand how empowerment is experienced by youth of Botswana, however, it is necessary to look at the individual assets that together create empowerment.

Asset 7: Community values youth

The Search Institute describes asset 7 as a young person perceiving that adults in the community value youth. In order to gauge the level of this asset amongst the participants, they were asked to rank the following statement:

“I feel valued by adults in my community.”

Overall, for both male and female participants, the amount reporting this asset increased in the present; however, this asset is generally higher amongst the male participants. Females reported an increase from 31 percent in the past up to 50 percent in the present. Comparatively, the males reported an increase from 50 percent in the past up to 64 percent in the present.

Asset 8: Youth as resources

Youth as resources is referring to young people being given useful roles in their community. Participants were asked to rank the following statement in order to attain levels of this asset:

"I am given useful roles in my community."

All participants had an increase in this asset over time, with a significant jump in male participants reporting having this asset. Overall, however, youth as resources asset is higher amongst the female participants. The amount of females reporting having this asset in the past is 46 percent, with females reporting having this asset in the present resting at 67 percent. In comparison, the amount of males reporting having this asset in the past is 27 percent, but with 60 percent of males in the present reporting having this asset.

Asset 9: Service to others

The Search Institute describes service to others as a young person serving in his or her community one hour or more each week. The following statement was asked of participants in order to rate their asset level:

"I serve in the community one hour or more each week."

Overall, the amount of participants reporting this asset is generally low, but there has been a moderate increase in both females and males in the present. The percentage of females and males reporting having this asset in the past is 23 percent and 33 percent respectively, with females increasing to 38 percent in the present and males up to 46 percent in the present.

Asset 10: Safety

In terms of the Search Institute's definition of safety, it is described as a young person feeling safe at home, at school and in his or her neighborhood. Participants were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy in order for their asset level to be defined:

"I feel safe at home, at school and in the neighborhood."

More males than females report having this asset overall (both past and present), with 63 percent of males in the past and 71 percent in the present reporting the asset of safety. In comparison, 46 percent of females in the past and 42 percent of females in the present report having the asset of safety. Evidently, although there has been a slight increase in male participants in the present, there has been a slight decrease amongst the females.

4.3.4 Analysis of Empowerment

Subsequent to our discussion of the asset category of support, it is worthy of note to pay attention to details pertaining to the assets in comparison with additional background and contextual information provided during the supplementary interview. Specifically, it is of interest to note the difference of assets reported between the males and females, as well

as to pay attention to the environment in which males and females reported to call home, namely, urban or rural.

As discussed, males reported higher levels of empowerment assets than females overall. However, with the exception of the asset of safety, what is significant is that the female participants are the ones who reported the most amount of change in their present from their past. As we know from our previous reflection on the category of support, females reported the familial and school context as most important to their support, as opposed to males who felt more of a connection with the larger community. What would seem to follow from our findings of empowerment, however, is that females in the present now have a stronger association with their community. The significant change that would have occurred between past and present is that since the past, participants have left their familial and school contexts and have come into the context of the Youth Health Organization – an organization focused on the participation of youth to deliver youth-led strategies to healthy development within communities. This would lead us to believe that it is only once individuals left their familial and school context and began participation with the Youth Health Organization that empowerment has increased, which is evident in the significant rise in number of females reporting empowerment assets in the present. This suggests that the involvement of youth within strategies has a considerable impact on the development of empowerment amongst young people, which is in accordance to theories of empowerment, participatory development and positive youth development.

While males also had an increase in assets of empowerment in the present, they also had higher levels of assets of empowerment in the past in comparison to females. This could perhaps be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, according the demographics of the participants, more males than females consider the rural environment their home. In the discussion of the category of support we discussed the significance of the rural environment in terms of its relation to the familial and cultural structure. For the discussion of the category of empowerment, these ideas deserve further reflection.

Within the rural context of Botswana, surrounding community might be said to play a larger bearing on a person's life. This is due to such things as the familial and cultural structures such as we have touched on previously, as well as the role of cultural community structures. For example, a community structure of the Setswana culture is known as the kgotla, which is essentially the meeting place of the community. Within the kgotla, youth may be given roles within their community and this not only shows the value community places on youth, but also using youth as resources – both of which are essential to the development of empowerment such as we are evaluating. However, we must also remember the kgotla and the Setswana cultural community at large is generally patriarchal and thus might place more value on male youth and more importance on their role within the community. The stronger emphasis on males within a community was also evident in our findings on support in which it was recognized that males located their support within the larger community, whereas females associated support coming from their family, school or church. With the patriarchal composition of the Setswana culture and where participants have associated their strongest connections with in mind, it is therefore understandable that more male participants than females have higher ratings of asset 7 in which a community values youth.

However, this does not necessarily account for why then females report higher levels of asset 8: youth as resources, for which it is important to make note because it is the only asset area within empowerment in which the females outranked the males. This difference amongst male and female participants, however, could still be attributed to the urban versus rural context. For example, within the rural environment there is more emphasis placed on Setswana cultural practices and within Setswana culture there are very structured roles for females and males. Henceforth, perhaps more females who describe the rural environment as their home, and are thus more exposed to traditional cultural practices, felt they were used resourcefully as compared to the males. Furthermore, perhaps those females who reported the urban environment as home felt that without the structured roles imposed by Setswana culture in the rural context, they were able to serve many more roles and thus feel more resourceful within the urban context.

A focus on the rural environment and the significance of gender is also necessary in order to examine the asset of safety. The only area in empowerment in which females declined in their levels of assets was within the asset of safety. This could perhaps be attributed to two conditions. One condition is such as we have been discussing – the context of rural versus urban environment. It is perhaps obvious, but there are increased levels of crime within an urban environment and because more females than males describe the urban context as their home, this could account for the lower levels of the asset of safety. Secondly, and exclusive of environmental context, there are also higher levels of crimes against women than men and thus females, particularly as they age, may feel this insecurity towards their safety more so than male participants.

Lastly, it is important to note asset 9: service to others, as it is the asset that ranked the lowest amongst all participants in the category of empowerment. Furthermore, I think it is significant because it highlights cultural differences which have not necessarily been accounted for by the Search Institute's research or materials. Within Botswana society it is not common practice to volunteer within your community in the traditional Western sense of the word. In Western society volunteering is understood as serving others, normally through a community organization, for a subscribed amount of time per week or month. Setswana culture, however, has its own forms of what the Western world would describe as volunteering, meaning service to others, but it is not defined as such a rigidly structured practice as it is within Western society.

Within Setswana culture, there is what is known as *Molaletsa*, directly translated as "invitation". This is the practice in which neighbors and community members help another with home-based projects, such as weeding or building a home. There is also the practice of *Letsema*, which is the time during the ploughing season in which the community comes together to plough the fields of everyone. The kgotla would announce the beginning of the rainy season, at which point it is time to begin ploughing, and together the community organizes a system to plough all the fields. There is also the practice of *Thobo* in which during harvest season community members bring their goods to the kgotla in order to share amongst the community and make an offering to the Kgosi (chief). Lastly, there is simply community engagement, such as during times of weddings or funerals whereby neighbors and the community at large comes together to arrange and

implement the function. While these may not be recognized as service to others as described by the Search Institute, it is evident that these cultural practices do equate to the idea of service to others. However, as a result of its bearing on cultural practice, these ideas might not be reflected amongst participants' answers because the idea reflected by the materials relies heavily on the structured idea of volunteering that is practiced in the West. Understandably, therefore, the rating of asset 9: service to others, increased in the present, which coincides with the time at which the youth participants became involved in an organization which serves others and thus could be categorized into the Western sense of the word.

Furthermore, in relation to service to others, the difference between male and female participants is worthy of note as more males than females, both in the past and present, reported having this asset. This could be attributed to the fact that more females are urban based and within the urban context, Setswana cultural practices that have been mentioned above are non-existent and only practiced when one would go home to their home village. Furthermore, of the employees at the Youth Health Organization that were interviewed, the majority of females work within the office environment, whereas the males work more on outreach activities within the communities. Thus, perhaps more males than females would feel they are serving others in a direct sense of the word as opposed to females.

Emphasis thus far has largely been focused on the differences between the male and female respondents and their associations with empowerment. However, of equal importance is a reflection on these ideas in relation to youth as a whole. Our quantitative assessment reveals the relatively low levels of value that a community places on youth, regardless of gender, and how significantly this has changed since the youth have joined the Youth Health Organization. Our qualitative assessment, however, also provides further evidence of the general idea of communities in Botswana valuing youth and how it has changed since involvement with community development initiatives. One female respondent reports the following: "Back [before involvement at YOHO] the community only criticized us young people." Furthermore, however, respondents almost unanimously report that since joining YOHO they are now seen as role models in their communities and as a result are now given useful roles within the community and even asked for advice by the community. Evidently, empowerment has drastically improved since youth's involvement with the Youth Health Organization. Our analysis exemplifies how socio-culture factors have played a large role in the hindering of empowerment amongst youth, particularly amongst females, and how significant it is for youth to be valued by their communities and be given useful roles.

4.3.5 Findings of Boundaries and Expectations

The third asset category of external assets is 'Boundaries and Expectations'. The Search Institute describes this category as clear rules, consistent consequences, and encouragement in order for young people to always do their best. In order to build boundaries and expectations the following assets are essential: family boundaries, school boundaries, neighborhood boundaries, adult role models, positive peer influence, and high expectations. The findings of the category of boundaries and expectations are as follows:

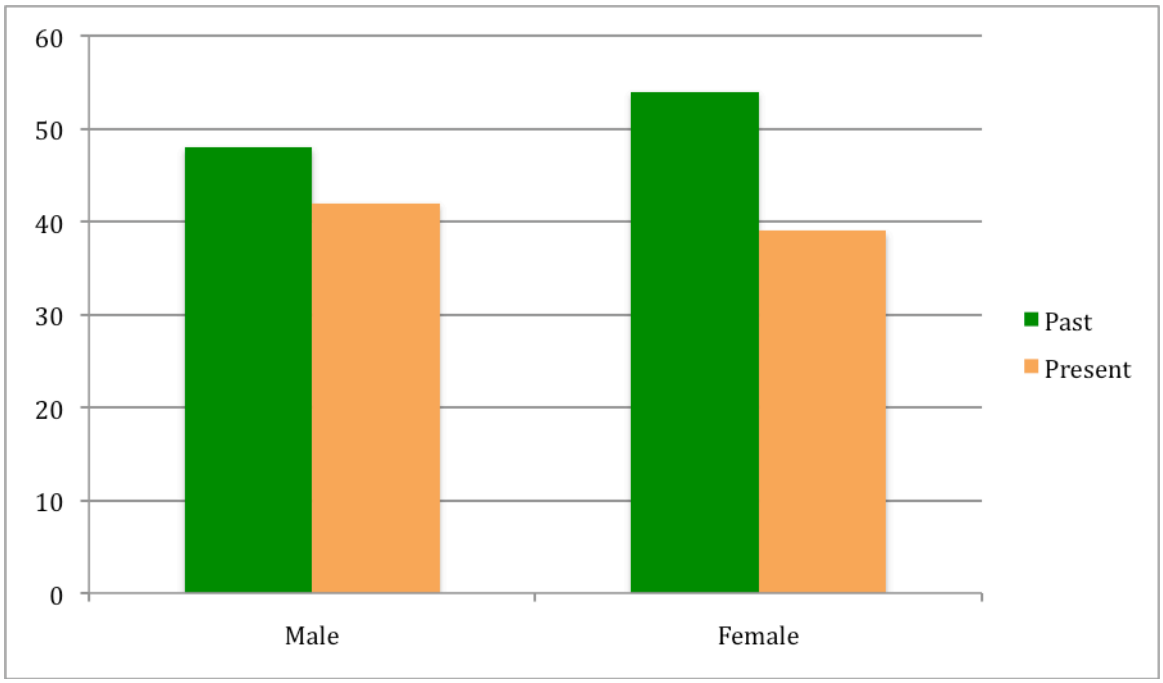


Figure 3 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Boundaries &Expectations

From Figure 3 it is apparent that the past had higher levels of participants reporting to have boundaries and expectations assets, with highest levels being attributed to the females in the past. This is consistent with findings from other studies on developmental assets, whereby more females than males report assets relating to boundaries and expectations (Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga 2002). Also consistent with other studies is the fact that this category has the highest amount of reported assets by youth (in this study's case, this is true for the past only). As evident from Figure 3, however, females in the present have a larger decline in these assets than males. In order to further understand the components of this category and the reasons behind the reported differences, it is necessary to evaluate the individual assets that together build boundaries and expectations.

Asset 11: Family boundaries

The Search Institute defines family boundaries as a family that has clear rules and consequences and monitors the young person's whereabouts. Participants were asked to rank the following statement in order to determine their levels of this asset:

"My family sets standards for appropriate conduct and monitors my whereabouts."

Overall, family boundaries are higher in males with 67 percent of males reporting this asset in the past and 40 percent in the present. By comparison, 57 percent of females in the past and 27 percent in the present reported having this asset. As is evident, however, both males and females have a significant decline of this asset in the present.

Asset 12: School boundaries

The Search Institute describes school boundaries as a school that provides clear rules and consequences. In order to assess the level of this asset amongst participants, the individuals were asked to rate the following statement:

"My school has clear rules and consequences for behavior."

A remarkably high percentage of all participants reported having school boundaries as an asset, with females reporting moderately higher than males at 77 percent compared with 60 percent of males. This question was disregarded for the present checklist due to its irrelevancy as participants were no longer in school.

Asset 13: Neighborhood boundaries

Neighborhood boundaries are defined as neighbors who take responsibility for monitoring a young person's behavior. The following statement was given to participants to rate in terms of its accuracy:

"Neighbors take responsibility for monitoring my behavior."

The number of participants reporting having this asset is quite low overall. Only 14 percent of females in the past and 17 percent of females in the present reported having this asset, compared with 13 percent of males in the past and 21 percent of males in the present. It should be noted that this asset is in fact one of the lowest ranking assets amongst both external and internal assets in both males and females.

Asset 14: Adult role models

Adult role models are defined as parent(s) and other adults who model positive, responsible behavior. In order to evaluate the level of this asset amongst individuals, participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"Parent/s and other adults model positive, responsible behavior."

Both male and female participants reporting to have this asset in the present were equal at 33 percent. Furthermore, there is also a slight decline in the level of this asset for both males and females, with 38 percent of females and 40 percent of males reporting to have had this asset in the past.

Asset 15: Positive peer influence

The Search Institute describes positive peer influence as a young person's best friends who model responsible behavior. Participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"My best friends model responsible behavior."

In general, females report higher levels of this asset than the males. Furthermore, there has been an increase in this asset for all participants in the present, although the percentage increase for males from past to present is greater, with females going from 46

percent in the past to 50 percent in the present and males going from 33 percent in the past to 46 percent in the present.

Asset 16: High expectations

High expectations are described as both parents and teachers encouraging a young person to do well. In order to assess the degree of this asset amongst participants they were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"My parent/s/guardian/s and teachers encourage me to do well."

A moderately higher number of females reported having this asset than the male participants. However, whereas the number of males reporting having this asset stayed relatively the same from the past to the present ranging from 73 percent in the past to 71 percent in the present, the females reported a moderate drop going from 92 percent in the past to 73 percent in the present.

4.3.6 Analysis of Boundaries and Expectations

Generally, it can be said that as youth become older and caregivers begin to trust them to make their own choices, the boundaries and expectations a caregiver, as well as others, puts onto a youth is considerably less than when a youth is still in the constructive years of forming a future. For example, perhaps when a youth is still in the early years of high school there is great pressure to become all that he/she can be. Perhaps at this same time the caregivers have strict rules and consequences about behavior and performance in school and other areas of life. As this youth grows older, however, perhaps caregivers have relaxed on their boundaries and expectations. This could be due to a number of factors. Perhaps the youth does not excel in school and thus the parent has given up encouragement and hope. Perhaps the caregiver has just grown frustrated with a youth's performance and cannot muster the energy and time to be as strict because they have seen little result. Or perhaps the caregiver has simply learned to trust the young person's judgment and capabilities and thus does not feel the need to adhere to previous boundaries and expectations. Although these are all generalizations, they are what each of us can say we have either witnessed or experienced amongst others or ourselves in our time of youth and beyond.

Within the Basha Lesedi needs assessment we find direct evidence of this related to the Botswana context. During the needs assessment conducted, youth implied that parents do not play a strong enough role in their upbringing, expressing the view that parents should not give up on them (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007). One youth leader simply stated that parents should "keep singing" even if youth do not seem to listen. I use these examples due to the results of findings within the boundaries and expectations asset category. As stated previously, for all participants boundaries and expectations have moderately declined from the past to the present. This is consistent with findings from the Search Institute and others in which asset levels reportedly decline as youth get older (Roehlkepartain et al., 2003; Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga, 2002). The findings from this study could perhaps be attributed to the majority of ages amongst the participants, being between 20-27. Although these participants are still considered youth, many, if not

most, at this age live very separate lives from their caregivers and influencing environment from the past (such as the school and neighborhood) whether they cohabitate with their caregivers or not. As such, it might not be too incomprehensible why boundaries and expectations of others within their lives have declined since the past. However, we cannot forget that there may be other factors attributing to this decline all on their own or in addition to what we have discussed thus far. Again, this analysis can be attributed to the additional information gathered through the interview process that supplements the figures gained through the checklist.

One important aspect about the boundaries and expectations category of asset development is that it relates to behavior as influenced by others in a youth's life, such as adults and peers role modeling behavior. As youth get older it is generally acknowledged that peers become more of an influence in a youth's life than adults, particularly caregivers. However, this does not mean that adults do not play a major contribution to the development of youth, particularly in terms of norms and acceptable behavior. Role modeling is a huge component of positive youth development and a large indicator of risk taking behavior by extension. Male and female participants in the study reported very similar levels of adult role models in both the past and the present and both suffered from a decline in this asset over time. Evidently, adult role modeling is a problem that cuts across gender and thus a problem to youth in Botswana as a whole. A common comment amongst participants in the study in relation to the statement on adult role modeling is that adults in their lives drink a lot or display unfaithfulness to their partners. Further evidence is found in the Basha Lesedi needs assessment whereby youth reported it as an acceptable norm that men do not remain faithful to women, using the Setswana proverb "monna o aadimanwa" (a man can be shared interchangeably between many women) as an example (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007). Similarly, stakeholders of the needs assessment identified that alcohol abuse and unfaithfulness as acceptable cultural norms are a serious problem within Botswana and a major threat to risk reduction (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007).

Evidently, Setswana culture and its related acceptable social norms are important influencing factors in the creation of positive youth development as a whole. I think it is also relevant to examine the role Setswana culture plays in gender, as well as the cultural exchange between the urban and rural environment. It is apparent from our findings that males had higher family boundaries in the past than females and yet significantly lower expectations put on them. This is consistent with other studies of developmental assets which also exemplify that females have higher levels of expectations (Wasonga, 2002). I would like to examine this construct in light of the Setswana culture and its role in the formation of gender and what this could signify in terms of our results. The question asked of participants in relation to this asset was: "My family sets standards for appropriate conduct and monitors my whereabouts." I would like to suggest that in relation to Setswana culture, the males are the ones who have more standards for appropriate conduct and the females have stronger monitoring of their whereabouts; therefore, I would estimate that perhaps this question was valued and rated very differently by the genders. In Setswana culture there are very different modes of conduct and expectations put on males and females. For example, in Setswana there is a saying: "Mona ga a botswe gore otswa kae." Literally this translates as a *man is not asked his*

whereabouts. Beyond a caregiver's obvious concern for the whereabouts of a child, a man is not asked his whereabouts, including young men. However, a young man does grow up knowing his boundaries and conduct in relation to his culture. As touched upon earlier in our analysis, a man is expected to carry on the legacy of his culture. Females marry into a man's traditions, values, his home village, and his family – his culture. As such, a male grows up knowing the boundaries of his culture and all that it equates to, such as rules of conduct, in order to one day carry his culture and traditions onto his own family. These could be the forces behind the higher number of males reporting family boundaries than females in the past; and perhaps with the mere fact of ageing to account for the decline in this asset in the present because regardless of what a male does, he has a place and a legacy to uphold in his village.

In addition, this closely relates to the expectations put on males. In the past, boundaries were high in males because of their need to carry the weight of their culture. However, as they grow this subsides due to the fact that no matter what, males have a place and they know their place. Expectations, as evident through our findings, have remained fairly consistent with time as a result and although high, they are lower than the expectations that females report. Females grow up and live a very different existence than the males. Although there are rules of conduct put forth, these are given with a rather passive voice because ensuring cultural transmission in a female is a thin investment when it is expected that she will marry a man and then have to assume his culture. This also could account for the very high levels of asset 16: high expectations. Although males have expectations put on them, a male's place within their home, their village, their culture is always known. Expectations, just like the family boundaries, put on females, however, are in relation to preparing them for a future of marriage. As a result, females must be their best in order to be wanted not just by a man, but also by his whole family, community and culture at large. That is a large undertaking for anyone and thus could explain why expectations upon females are reported as greater than their male counterparts.

In relation to these ideas is the monitoring of the whereabouts of a female. Again, although it is within almost every caregiver's concern to monitor the whereabouts of a child, females are more restricted in order to preserve a female for marriage. Thus, the rules of conduct include a female's whereabouts, but mainly in terms of her conducting herself in an appropriate manner for the future. As a result, it is only during marriage when a woman is truly given the boundaries in which to conduct herself and these are in relation to her husband's culture. Although Setswana culture is the overarching culture that gives a compass to life in Botswana, within individual villages and tribes there are different variances of this culture. As a result, there are different forms of cultural transmission between males and females. Evidently, these cultural boundaries are significant to the boundaries and expectations put forth by families to their children.

This leads us then to question why the decline in females reporting both family boundaries and high expectations in the present. The female participants in this study have not followed the status quo of domesticity – whether intentionally or not - and thus are living very different lives than caregivers would have wanted or expected in terms of traditions. As a result, the boundaries and expectations put forth by caregivers and others

within the female's community would, in time, drop due to the fact that the female is older, making her own way, and apparently rebelling against the traditional ideas placed upon her. This is obviously a generalization, however, as it may be said that not all caregivers would think a female is rebelling or that there is anything wrong with what the female is doing with her life. Consequently, there is still a remarkable amount of females reporting high expectations. However, this could lead us to compare the urban versus rural context and its relation to the boundaries and expectations of participants. For example, in relation to what we have just discussed, perhaps because more females consider the city as their home and their caregivers come from fairly educated backgrounds, modernization should be taken into account. With modernization comes influences from the rest of the world, such as Western media, and as a result, changing ideas about the boundaries of culture and what this means for individuals. As a result, perhaps females and their families that are contextualized within this framework would still feel high expectations, but more in order for a female to do well for herself and not for the sake of a future marriage.

Modernization and the changes this brings to culture is also something to consider when we examine the role of neighborhoods, or communities at large. As noted previously, neighborhood boundaries were reported as not only the lowest asset within the boundaries and expectations category, but as the lowest asset overall. Comparative to the North American studies whereby 47 percent of youth report this asset (Search Institute, 2007), only 13.5 percent of youth in the past and 19 percent of youth in the present from our study report having this asset. I believe this is in relation to the changing times and what this comes to mean in terms of the traditional sense of community in Botswana.

To generalize to the African context, the old saying "it takes a village to raise a child" is what comes to mind when one thinks of communities in traditional and rural Africa. This has also been no different within the Botswana context. In the past, the belief that a child belongs to the village was actively practiced. However, in practice this didn't necessarily result in people monitoring children's whereabouts as might be expected, but that people felt secure their child was somewhere within the community and that because everyone knows everyone else, it was okay to let the children be without supervision necessarily. As we have touched on briefly in our previous analysis however, in modern society villages are often not a permanent home base, but rather a place to go for the weekends when one does not have to work within the city. As a result, the sense of community and the role of neighbors are not as strong as they once were. Furthermore, community life now involves more modernized hot spots such as bars and clubs. As a result of such changes, there are not as secure feelings towards the safety within a community of today. It is apparent that we have been largely discussing the rural context in the terms of community, but one can see that these ideas would also translate to the urban environment. These ideas could thus account for the significantly low number of all participants reporting neighborhood boundaries as an asset.

As reported, however, there is a slight increase in neighborhood boundaries in the present amongst both male and female participants. Within the interview section of data collection, participants reported that since joining the Youth Health Organization (YOHO) they feel a sense of responsibility to the community. This was in particular

reference to their behavior and the fact that they now feel like people within the community are watching them as role models and thus, they must act accordingly. It might be concluded therefore, that since joining YOHO, participants feel a higher sense of neighborhood boundaries due to the responsibility they feel to the community with the position they hold.

Interestingly, the only other asset that reportedly increased in the present was positive peer influence. Again, I believe this to be in direct connection with the participants' involvement with the Youth Health Organization. Participants now feel they have an obligation to the community to act as role models and thus model positive, responsible behavior as we have just discussed. Furthermore, in weighing the risk reduction behaviors of participants from the interview, both male and female participants have significantly improved their risk taking behavior and as such could be said to be modeling responsible behavior. Since most of the participants are now friends amongst themselves and most of their time is spent with each other even outside of the work environment, peer influence is largely amongst themselves. As a result of reduced risk taking behavior, this could account for the increase in positive peer influence in the present. It should be noted, however, that while an increase in the reported level of this asset is positive, overall, positive peer influence as an asset is moderately to considerably lower than this asset as reported by youth in similar studies in North America, in which 63 percent of youth report positive peer influence (Search Institute, 2007).

As exemplified through our findings on boundaries and expectations of the participants in the study, joining of the Youth Health Organization has had a positive impact on these youth. We can also see through our findings, however, that the Setswana culture and its related practices and social norms have in some ways provided negative influences on a youth's environment and by extension, on the youth's potential risk taking behavior.

4.3.7 Findings of Constructive Use of Time

The fourth and final asset category of external assets is 'Constructive Use of Time'. The Search Institute defines this category as opportunities outside of school where young people can enjoy their time, develop new skills, and build positive relationships with other youth and adults. Within this category of external assets there are four assets attributed to the development of constructive use of time, namely: creative activities, youth programs, religious community, and time at home. The findings of the category of constructive use of time are as follows:

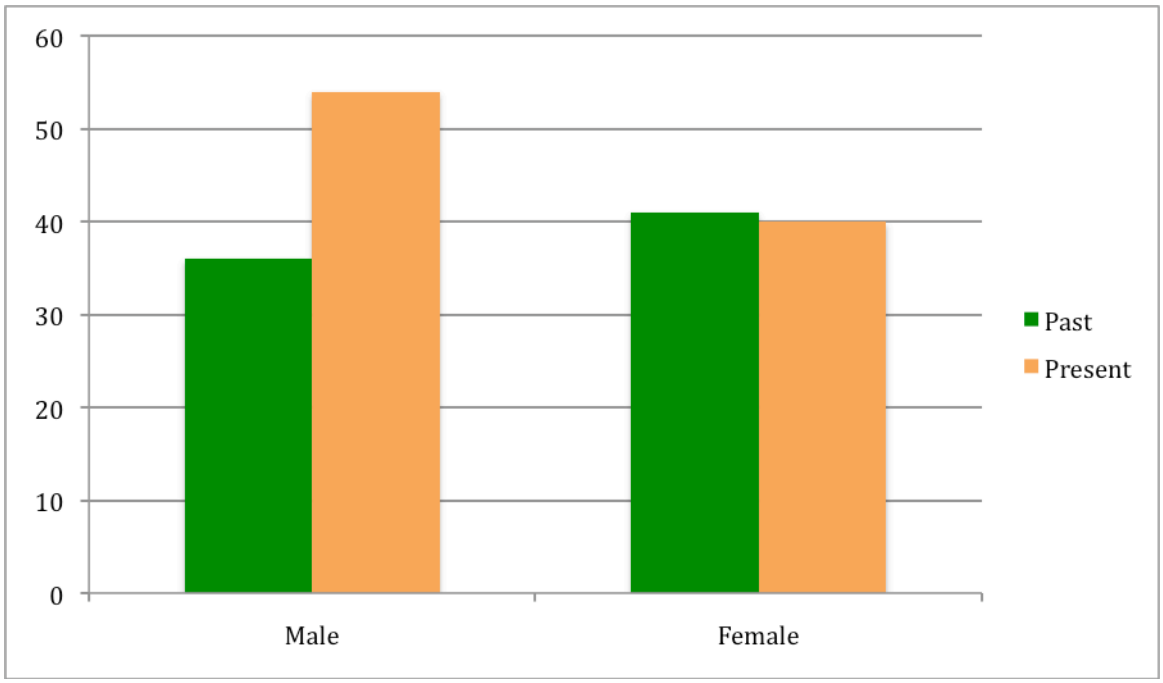


Figure 4 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Constructive Use of Time

As evident in Figure 4, males in the present reported having the highest amounts of constructive use of time assets. Male participants also had the most significant increase over time, going from 36 percent of reported assets in the past up to 54 percent in the present. By comparison, females have remained relatively the same over time, with 41 percent of females in the past and 40 percent in the present reporting to have constructive use of time assets. These findings are comparatively inconsistent with similar studies in North America in which more females than males report constructive uses of time (Roehlkepartain et al., 2003; Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga, 2002). In North America, findings indicate that more females than males have opportunities for participation and meaningful involvement in activities (Search Institute, 2007; Wasonga, 2002). Of further interest is that in North American studies, overall the constructive use of time category is one of the highest-ranking external asset categories amongst all youth (Search Institute, 2007). In Botswana, however, this category is actually the lowest ranking category along with the category of empowerment. In order to understand the reasons behind these differences, it is necessary to evaluate the individual assets that help to build constructive use of time.

Asset 17: Creative activities

The Search Institute describes the creative activities asset as a young person spending three or more hours per week in lessons or practice in music, theatre, or other arts. Participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy in order to determine their levels of this asset:

“I spend three hours or more each week in lessons or practice in music, theatre or other arts.”

Although female participants reporting this asset has decreased slightly over time, from 62 percent in the past to 55 percent in the present, overall males and females report quite similarly regarding this particular asset. Furthermore, male participants' ratings of the creative activities asset remained consistent through time at 60 percent for both the past and the present.

Asset 18: Youth programs

The youth programs asset is defined by the Search Institute as a young person spending three or more hours per week in sports, clubs, or organizations at school and/or in the community. In order to determine participants' levels of this asset, individuals were asked to rate the following statement:

"I spend three hours or more each week in school or community sports, clubs or organizations."

Females' reporting having this asset has moderately increased from 46 percent in the past to 58 percent in the present. By contrast, males have had a considerable increase, going from 47 percent in the past up to 80 percent in the present.

Asset 19: Religious community

The religious community asset is understood as a young person spending one or more hours each week in activities in a religious institution. In order to evaluate this asset amongst participants, they were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I spend one hour or more each week in religious services or participating in spiritual activities."

Participants that reported having this asset was highest amongst females overall. Both male and female participants, however, had a decline in this asset over time, with males going from 25 percent in the past to 20 percent in the present and females going from 40 percent in the past to 25 percent in the present. Evidently, female participants report the highest decline in this asset over time.

Asset 20: Time at home

The time at home asset is described by the Search Institute as a young person being out with his or her friends with "nothing special to do" two or fewer nights per week. In order to determine the level of this asset amongst the individuals, the participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I go out with friends {with nothing special to do} two or fewer nights each week."

On average, both males and females reported quite low levels of this asset in the past, with only men 13 percent of males and 16 percent of females reporting to have had this asset. While there was a slight increase amongst females to 23 percent in the present, there was a dramatic increase to 56 percent of males in the present.

4.3.8 Analysis of Constructive Use of Time

As noted in the findings of this category, constructive use of time assets have remained relatively the same amongst female participants, but have reportedly increased amongst the male participants in the present. Significantly, however, is that this category is actually the lowest ranking category amongst all external and internal asset categories. As noted previously, this is in stark contrast to findings of North American youth who report this category as one of the highest. One respondent states that in the past "there were no community activities to engage in." In the Basha Lesedi needs assessment, youth and stakeholders alike also reported that a lack of engagement in activities are a significant contribution to the social ills amongst youth (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007). Evidently, the lack of constructive uses of time for youth have not only a negative impact upon positive youth development, but also on risk taking behavior.

Among the assets associated with this category there is only one asset which had a considerable increase for both male and female participants, namely, asset 18: youth programs. It is apparently obvious that this is most likely due to the fact that the participants are now involved with an organization focused on youth programs. Male and female participants had very comparable rates of this asset in the past at 46 and 47 percent respectively. However, in the present time it is males who have had a significant increase up to 80 percent, as compared with the females' moderate increase to 58 percent. This is worthy of note because as mentioned previously, it is the males with the Youth Health Organization who work the majority of their time on outreach activities, and thus in the frontline, of the youth programs offered by YOHO. Males' roles within the organization are mainly focused on facilitation programs offered to youth. Females, by comparison, are more the foreground workers of the organization, spending the majority of their time focused on logistics, administration and finances.

We have reported findings of other research that suggests that a project for young people must be *meaningful*, allow the person to have or share *control* over what happens; and, the projects and the young people must be *connected* into wider community resources and relationships. Through the supplementary information gathered from the participants in the interview it was discovered that more males than females feel valued and respected within their capacity at YOHO, with 45 percent of males reporting to feel this compared with only 24 percent of females. Alternatively, however, a relatively equal amount of male and female participants feel they are included in decisions at YOHO. With this in mind, and due to the higher levels of asset 18 reported amongst male participants, perhaps something to consider is the affect a young person's particular role within development initiatives has on fostering positive youth development.

The second asset within this category that had a reported increase amongst both participants is asset 20: time at home. I believe the reasons behind these findings can be associated with a number of factors. Firstly, perhaps with age and thus maturity, youth feel less of a need to go out all the time with friends if there is nothing constructive to do. Secondly, as we have reported previously, perhaps youth feel more responsibility with their role within the community as role models as they stated within the interview and thus are less inclined to go out "with nothing special to do." Thirdly, regarding the higher levels of males who reported this asset, it could be suggested that perhaps the higher

levels of other assets in this category also hold significance. For example, more males report creative activities and youth program participation than females and thus males perhaps have more constructive uses of their time than females.

Lastly, however, I would like to suggest that there was a misunderstanding of this question amongst participants. With participants that completed the checklist, the majority of them stumbled upon what exactly this question was trying to ask and as a result would end up asking the researcher for clarification. The confusion usually lay in the wording "two or fewer nights each week." For example, one respondent rated the statement "I go out with friends "with nothing special to do" two or fewer nights each week" as a '1', meaning not accurate. However, this respondent also made a comment on the statement and stated, "Never allowed to go out." From this statement it would then suggest that the respondent should have actually rated the statement as '5', very accurate rather than not accurate. In addition to the obvious confusion experienced within the interview process, I would further suggest that other findings and analysis that we have thus far discussed provides evidence that there is possibly a problem with the reported numbers from participants. As we have discussed previously, Setswana culture would largely dictate the whereabouts of young people. While these boundaries have changed with age as we have seen, the numbers reported for this asset seem to counteract the high numbers of reported boundaries and expectations by all participants. Based on the findings of other assets, particularly within the boundaries and expectations category, one would expect to find evidence that time at home has higher numbers of youth reporting this asset in the past than in the present. However, evidently this is not the case, and therefore I would maintain that if this checklist were to be used again, that clarification of the wording of this question be addressed.

As mentioned in the introduction to this analysis, this is the lowest ranking category amidst all the internal and external categories and I believe this is very important to highlight. Apart from youth programs, which we can equate to the participation in the Youth Health Organization by participants, assets within this category are reportedly low and decreasing. Furthermore, I believe the findings on the assets within this category are more of an exception than a rule amongst youth in Botswana because the participants within this study were chosen for YOHO due to their involvement in such things as the arts and sports and other organizations during their time at school. As a result, I believe that if a more random sample of youth in Botswana was collected that numbers for this category would be even lower.

Within schools of Botswana there are many constructive uses of time offered, such as traditional dance or football. However, outside of the school bounds, there are no activities or facilities for youth, particularly female youth. Unless families have the financial means to provide extra curricular activities, which are also solely urban based, then youth are left with little options. It is only now in 2008 that the Department of Youth and Culture has acknowledged the lack of facilities and programs which aim to help youth use their time constructively. As a result, they have begun to implement facilities and programs throughout the nation that target both male and female youth, particularly focusing on the role of sports, and that are offered free of charge. I believe the low level of this category is therefore important to focus on because it can also be attributed to

economic means which can provide constructive uses of time for young people. Furthermore, I think the idea of such facilities and programs highlights a distinction between developed and developing countries and thus, perhaps, makes the focus of this checklist difficult to contextualize within a developing country and this is therefore something to be considered for future studies.

Chapter 5: INTERNAL ASSETS FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Overview of Internal Assets

The Search Institute describes internal assets as "the commitments, skills, beliefs, and values that give young people the personal strengths they need to make responsible choices" (Search Institute, 2007). Within the internal assets division there are four categories associated with the development of internal assets. These include: commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies and positive identity. Like the external assets categories, there are developmental assets attributed to each category of internal assets. In order to assess the information on each asset category, as well as each individual asset within the category, this chapter will begin by presenting the findings of each category and its respective assets. Following this presentation I will then provide an analysis of the categories' findings.

5.2 Internal Assets Findings & Analysis

5.2.1 Findings of Commitment to Learning

The first category within the internal assets category is 'Commitment to Learning.' The Search Institute (2007) defines this category as a lifelong commitment by young people to education and learning and a belief in their own abilities. This commitment to learning is developed through the following assets: achievement motivation, learning engagement, homework, bonding to adults at school and reading for pleasure.

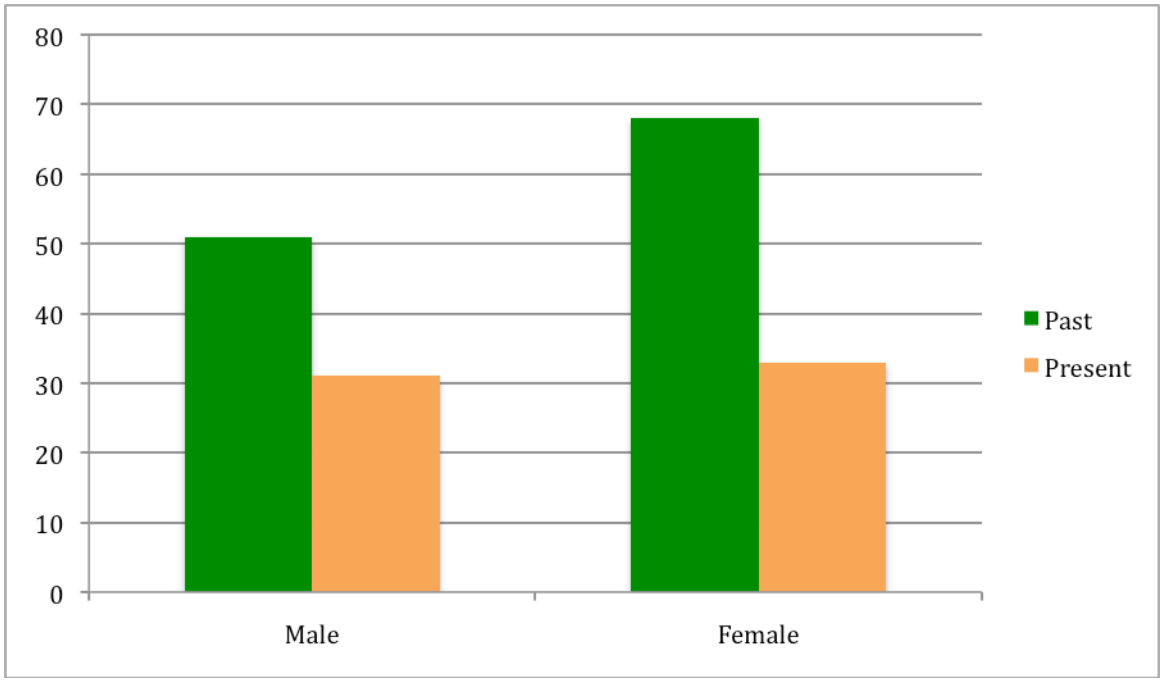


Figure 5 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Commitment to Learning

Evident from Figure 5, there are more females than males reporting a commitment to learning in both the past and the present. Perhaps expectantly due to the age of youth participants and their lack of involvement within a school, both male and female participants reported a higher number of assets in the past as compared with the present. It should be noted that overall the percentage of youth in this study reporting commitment to learning assets (reported at 60 percent in the past) is moderately higher than youth in North America reporting on the same category (reported at 48 percent) (Search Institute, 2007). In order to understand the nature of participant's commitment to learning assets, however, it is necessary to examine the individual developmental assets that create this particular category.

Asset 21: Achievement motivation

The Search Institute describes achievement motivation as a young person who is motivated to do well in school. In order to assess the level of this asset amongst participants they were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I want to do well in school."

The number of participants reporting to have this asset in the past was relatively equal, with 92 percent of females and 93 percent of males reporting to have this asset. As a result of the fact that participants are no longer in school, this question was found to be irrelevant for a present time comparison, and therefore, was excluded from the present time checklist.

Asset 22: Learning engagement

Learning engagement is defined as a young person who is actively engaged in learning. Participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy in order to determine their level of this asset:

"I am actively engaged in learning."

This asset was reported by a moderately greater number of female participants in the past as compared with the males, with 77 percent and 60 percent respectively. Again, due to its lack of relevancy to the current situation of participants, this question was not answered in the present time checklist and thus, a time comparison is unavailable.

Asset 23: Homework

It is maintained that the asset of homework amounts to a young person who does at least one hour of homework every school day. In order to determine the level of this asset

amongst participants (in the past only), they were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I do an hour or more of school work each school day."

The number of female participants reporting this asset was 62 percent, which is a dramatically higher amount than the male participants in which only 26 percent reported having this asset.

Asset 24: Bonding to school

Asset 24, bonding to school, is described as a young person caring about his or her school. In order to assess the level of this asset, participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I care about my school."

A drastically higher number of females reported having this asset than males with 92 percent of females and 53 percent of males reporting to have had this asset in this past. Overall, 92 percent is a very high number of females to be reporting this asset in the past.

Asset 25: Reading for pleasure

The Search Institute maintains that reading for pleasure equates to a young person reading for pleasure 3 or more hours per week. Participants were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy in order to evaluate their level of this asset:

"I read for pleasure three or more hours each week."

This was the only asset within the commitment to learning category for which participants were asked to provide both a past and present answer as a result of its generic versus school-based focus and relevancy. Overall, female participants reported higher levels of this asset than the males. However, both male and female participants reported increases in this asset in the present, with females going from 15 percent in the past up to 33 percent in the present and males going from 25 percent in the past up to 31 percent in the present. Evidently, females had a higher level of increase in this asset than the male participants.

5.2.2 Analysis of Commitment to Learning

Although it was decided that the questions pertaining to the category of a 'commitment to learning' were irrelevant to the present time scenario of the youth participants, this was more in relation to the defining asset questions as opposed to the assets themselves. As

previously discussed, this category is defined as a *lifelong* commitment by young people to education and learning and a belief in their own abilities; therefore, the assets pertaining to this category are indeed still relevant. However, the checklist questions that are used to identify these assets in participants were not relatable to the participants' current circumstance and thus the ability to gauge these assets in the present was not available through the checklist. I believe that if questions were worded differently for older youth, who still should (according to the definition of the category) have such assets as achievement motivation and learning engagement, then a present time comparison would have been manageable. Furthermore, I believe that if a time comparison were available it would have been interesting to analyze in comparison to other assets and information. For example, as was revealed in the findings of the additional interview questions, females had a strong connection with their school and the adults at school and school was the area in which they felt most valued. Perhaps this would have exemplified a continued commitment to learning. Additionally, perhaps findings of this category could be used to analyze other assets such as the high findings regarding positive identity. As was evident from the external assets, education played a defining role in the creation of assets for all participants. Also, it would have been interesting to be able to analyze the role education played in the development of internal assets over time. I would, therefore, suggest an adaptation of this checklist that makes it more suitable for older youth.

The one asset which did receive a time comparison in the hope of some form of assessment of asset levels over time in this category was asset 25: reading for pleasure. In hindsight, however, I believe this question could have also been disregarded as it is not adequate representation of a commitment to learning in the present time, particularly due its cultural biasness when put into the Botswana context. In Botswana, similar to many other nations, there is more importance placed on the spoken word than the written. Traditions, practices, legends and stories are passed down orally with the idea that this will continue through generations. This is in comparison to the more Western practice, which places more value on the written word as opposed to the verbal. Although times, and thus, practices are changing, as a result of such a cultural practice, the concept of reading for pleasure is not something which is common nor even as valued within Botswana as it would be in Western society. Therefore, I find the worth of this particular asset, or the way in which it is defined, not to be of utmost relevancy to the Botswana context. Therefore, I would as a result suggest that future uses of these assets and the associated material take more consideration of the cultural context and perhaps find something that is more culturally appropriate, yet still reflects the same idea behind the original construction of this asset.

Although time comparisons are not available with the remaining assets of this category, analyzing the findings of the assets in the past are worthy of note due to their possible influencing nature for the present and future. As evident from the findings, achievement motivation between male and female participants was relatively the same. However, learning engagement, homework and bonding to school were reportedly much higher

amongst the female participants than the male participants. This is interesting to reflect on considering female participants also have higher levels of education than the male participants overall. It would appear that these higher levels are perhaps reflective of their higher levels of these particular assets. Furthermore, this seems of significance in relation to the fact that females also have higher levels of internal assets overall, as well as higher levels of external assets in the past, which we found was closely connected to the role school played in their lives at the time. These findings highlight the importance of education in general, as well as perhaps, the significance it plays at certain times in ones life. However, this is where a time comparison would be of use as it could possibly further this analysis of the role an individual's commitment to learning plays and the differences found between male and female participants.

5.2.3 Findings of Positive Values

The Search Institute (2007) maintains that youth need to develop strong values that guide their choices. In order to build these positive values the following development assets are regarded as necessary: caring, equality and justice, integrity, honesty, responsibility, and a healthy lifestyle.

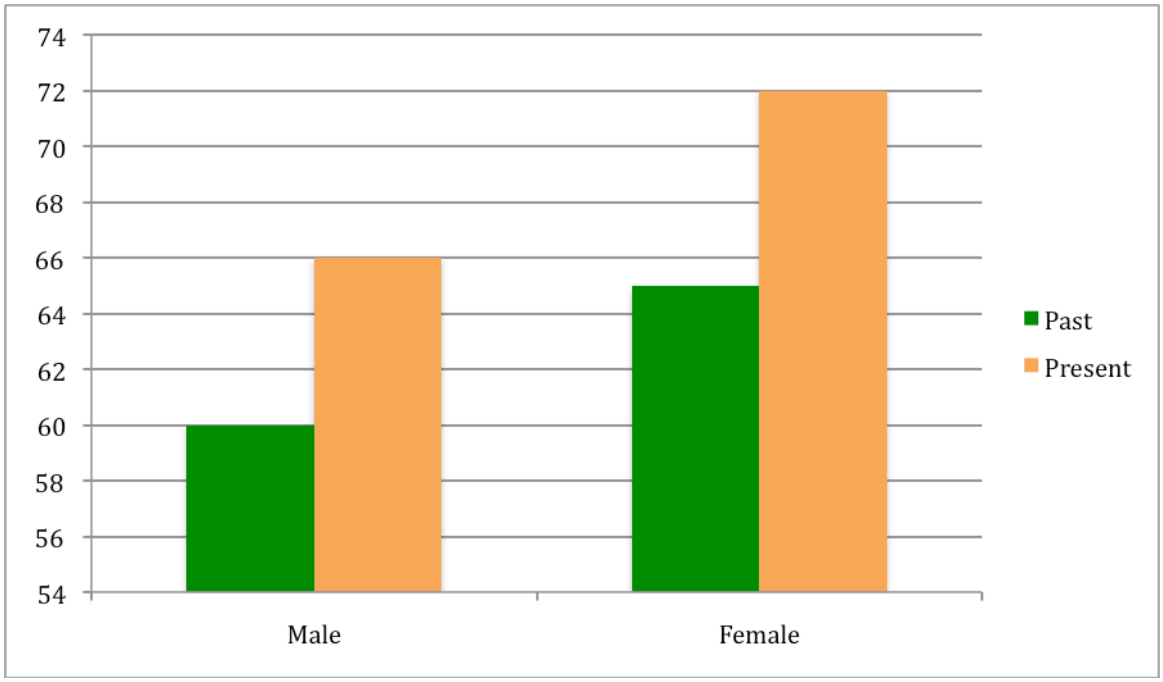


Figure 6 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Positive Values

As apparent in Figure 6, assets of positive values are generally higher amongst the females in both the past and the present. However, both male and female participants have had an increase of these assets in the present. Overall, the reported numbers of positive value assets in Botswana, at 63 percent in the past and 69 percent in the present,

are slightly higher than youth reporting these numbers in North America at 57 percent (Search Institute, 2007). In order to assess what helps to create these numbers among participants, it is necessary to examine the developmental assets which together foster positive values.

Asset 26: Caring

Caring is described as a young person placing high value on the importance of helping others. In order to evaluate the level of this asset, participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I believe it is really important to help other people."

Both male and female participants had very comparable numbers regarding this asset, but with the amount of males reporting this asset slightly higher than the females overall. While males had a slight increase in this asset, going from 80 percent in the past to 87 percent in the present, females reported a very slight decrease in this asset, going from 77 percent in the past down to 75 percent in the present.

Asset 27: Equality and social justice

The Search Institute maintains that equality and social justice is when a young person places high value on promoting equality and reducing hunger and poverty. In order to understand the levels of this asset among participants, they were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I want to help promote equality and reduce world poverty and hunger."

Interestingly, while females have had an increase of this asset by 20 percent, males have had a decrease by 20 percent. Females went from 38 percent in the past up to 58 percent in the present reporting to have this asset. By comparison, males went from 86 percent in the past down to 66 percent in the present reporting to have this asset.

Asset 28: Integrity

The asset of integrity is described as a young person who acts on convictions and stands up for his or her beliefs. Participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy in order to assess their level of this asset:

"I stand up for what I believe in."

There was a slight rise in the number of females reporting this asset in the present as compared with their past, going from 77 percent in the past up to 83 percent in the present. Alternatively, the exact same amount of males that reported having this asset in

the past also reported this asset in the present (80 percent in both past and present).

Asset 29: Honesty

Honesty is defined as a young person telling the truth even when it is not easy. In order to assess participants' levels of this asset they were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I tell the truth even when it's not easy."

A considerably greater number of females report this asset overall as compared with the males. Furthermore, there was a significant increase in the number of females reporting this asset, going from 54 percent in the past up to 79 percent in the present. In comparison, the number of male participants reporting this asset went from 31 percent in the past down to 29 percent in the present. Evidently, the number of males reporting this asset is relatively low overall and the numbers display a slight decrease in this asset over time.

Asset 30: Responsibility

The Search Institute describes responsibility as a young person accepting and taking personal responsibility. The following statement was given to participants to rank in order of accuracy.

"I can accept and take personal responsibility."

The number of participants reporting the asset of responsibility was higher amongst the males than females in both the past and present. However, both male and female participants had an increase in this asset in the present time with males jumping from 63 percent in the past up moderately to 93 percent in the present and females going from 54 percent in the past up significantly to 82 percent in the present. Evidently, the number of participants reporting this asset in the present is very high overall.

Asset 31: Restraint

Restraint is classified as a young person believing it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs. In order to assess the level of this asset amongst participants, they were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I believe it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs."

In the past, the amount of females reporting this asset was much higher than the males at 91 and 21 percent respectively. However, in the present time, the distance between

females and males reporting this asset has decreased with 60 percent of females and 38 percent of males reporting to have this asset currently. Evidently, there has been a significant drop in the number of females reporting this asset, while at the same time, there has been a moderate increase amongst males.

5.2.4 Analysis of Positive Values

The category of 'positive values' is the second highest rated category of both internal and external assets whereby participants reported the highest number of assets. Comparatively, in North American studies, the positive values category actually ranks as the highest category overall (Search Institute, 2007). As noted earlier, both male and female participants in this study had an increase in these assets over time, but females have higher levels of these assets overall. What is particularly interesting is where the differences between the males and females are found and what this information reflects when compared with additional information from the checklists and interviews. With the exception of asset 26 (caring) and asset 28 (integrity) in which reported levels of the assets remained relatively the same through time and across genders, the other assets had considerable increases and decreases over time or vastly different numbers across genders. This is consistent with North American studies in which almost all of the reported gender differences are found in the internal assets division (Roehlkepartain et al., 2003).

Equality and social justice, asset 27, was reported as an asset by more males than females in both the past and the present; however, males actually reported a decrease in this asset whereas females reported an increase. Although there is no other specifically relevant information to draw upon for an analysis of these findings, I would speculate that a change in worldview caused by age and location could account for the differences and changes. For example, females reported significantly lower numbers of this asset in the past than males and yet an increase in the present. The majority of females, as we know from our previous analysis of the external assets, have grown up in an urban context. Although this might lead one to believe that these individuals would therefore be more aware of or empathetic towards the larger world, growing up in an urban environment can also lead one into a life that is largely focused on individualism versus collectivism. As discussed previously, within a rural environment one is more exposed to your surrounding community and within Botswana, one is also, therefore, subject to more cultural beliefs and practices that work to support the surrounding community. By comparison, in an urban lifestyle one is more likely confined to one's immediate surroundings and less likely to engage in a collectivist community mentality. Similar findings were seen in asset 9, service to others, in our external assets analysis where more males, who are largely rural based, reported this asset than females who are largely urban based.

As a result of such differences in upbringing, whereby one (the rural) leads people to

empathize towards others and offer help, and the other (the urban) leads people to remain entrenched in their immediate surroundings, it seems to follow that equality and social justice would be reported by higher numbers of rural based participants, which happen to be males. I believe the change in the numbers can be attributed to two conditions. Firstly, the male participants have now left their rural environment, and are now more in tune with their urban lifestyle. This lifestyle in many ways may be more difficult than their rural life in terms of less support or less resources from which to live off and therefore, the males could, perhaps, be more concerned with their immediate conditions than the conditions for the rest of the world. Secondly, females are now within an environment, namely a service providing organization concerned with the wellbeing of others, which provokes more concern for the surrounding world and thus, they report higher numbers of this asset in the present.

Another area in which males reported higher levels of an asset than the females is in asset 30 (responsibility). Overall, however, both male and female participants reported an increase in this asset over time. I would maintain that the difference between the male and female participants could be accounted for similarly to our findings in the external assets category of boundaries and expectations. As a result of roles enforced through culture, females perhaps have fewer boundaries placed on them than males, and as a result, we could find that the responsibility levels of females are, therefore, also lower.

Although such factors as culture could be attributed to the differences found between the genders reporting this asset, I believe that the staggering differences for all participants between the past and present could be attributed to their involvement with the Youth Health Organization. Evidence of how participation at YOHO has changed the youth and their behavior can be found in the following examples of responses:

“I have changed a lot since joining YOHO in a sense that I have total control of myself and am responsible for everything I do in daily life.” (Male respondent)

“I saw to it that I practiced what I preach. I’m not saying I’m abstaining but I’m doing it in a safe manner. Some of the youth out there look up to me, so I’m trying by all means to be rational about things that I do.” (Female respondent)

When participants were asked in the supplementary interview questions, how or how not their behavior has changed since joining YOHO and why, the majority of both male and female participants had similar responses to those quoted above, namely, that they have improved behavior because of the responsibility they now have. Furthermore, participants were asked if what they have learned, as well as their education of others in the community, affect what they believe and do in their personal life. They were also asked to explain how and why. Once again, the majority of both male and female participants reported they have improved behavior because they now act as role models and thus, have an increased sense of responsibility.

The other area in which one would speculate involvement at YOHO would have a positive influence over the participants concerns the asset of restraint – the belief that it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs. However, as our findings indicate, males report drastically low levels of this asset overall (despite an increase over time) and females actually had a decrease in this asset in the present. The findings from the additional interview questions show that all participants, although particularly amongst females, have reduced risk taking behavior in terms of sexual activity, alcohol and drug use, with 37 percent of participants reporting reduced alcohol consumption, 52 percent reporting reduced sexual risk behavior and 15 percent reporting reduced drug intake (although worthy of note, 70 percent of respondents reported no drug use at all). These findings, however, obviously do not coincide with the reported asset levels of restraint. I believe this is once again a result of the formulation of the checklist's statement and its relevancy to the age and circumstance of the participants. The majority of participants are between the ages of twenty to twenty-seven years old, which is significantly older than the checklist's target age in North America where youth are generally considered between the ages of 12-18 years. I believe because the question pertaining to restraint is stating refraining from *all* sexual activity and use of alcohol or drugs it is perhaps unrealistic for an older group of youth. As a result, I believe the supplementary questions asked within the interview regarding behaviors related to sexual activity, alcohol and drug use, are in fact more relevant. Therefore, although the numbers from the checklist regarding the asset of restraint are reportedly low, I believe the additional interview questions take a more realistic approach to this asset for the participants and actually show improved restraint over time; particularly of note, that time equating to the participants involvement with YOHO.

One final asset in this category that deserves some reflection is asset 29 – honesty. Whether using the past or present numbers as a point of comparison, the total percentage of youth reporting this asset in Botswana (at 42.5 percent in the past and 54 percent in the present) is significantly lower than youth reporting this asset in North American (at 66 percent) (Search Institute, 2007). As the numbers from our study also indicate, there is a remarkable difference between the number of females and males reporting this asset. Furthermore, while females have had a significant increase in this asset over time, males have actually had a slight decrease. This does not seem to coincide with the high levels of responsibility that female and male participants reported. However, it would seem comparable to the reported levels of restraint amongst the participants, particularly when viewed in light of supplementary information provided by participants.

Within the checklist, participants were told they could write short answers to explain themselves if they felt it was necessary. Majority of the time nothing was written. However, in relation to the question on honesty, a number of male participants reflected that the reason they would lie was in relation to sexual activity with a female, particularly if it were with someone else's female (i.e. a friend's girlfriend). Considering the lower

levels of restraint reported by male participants in the checklist and the supplementary interview questions, these numbers do seem to make sense. However, it is common in a qualitative measurement that respondents' answers are closely associated with their own perspectives and measurements of reality and these might not necessarily coincide with the research's intended aim. I would argue, therefore, that perhaps the male participants were viewing this question through a single or narrow lens that was related to particular lies they tell and not honesty in general terms.

As our analysis of positive values indicates, although there are remarkable differences reported between the genders, the factors which surmount to the development or suppression of these assets cut across gender lines. Our findings and subsequent analysis suggest that environmental context, culture and the gender roles it defines, and involvement within development initiatives, are all important factors to positive youth development amongst youth in Botswana. Whether these factors impact positively or negatively, these areas in a youth's life evidently deserve attention when discussing implications of risk reduction efforts.

5.2.5 Findings of Social Competencies

The Search Institute describes social competencies as the skills and competencies young people need that equip them to make positive choices, to build relationships, and to succeed in life. The following developmental assets are required in order to foster social competencies: planning and decision making, interpersonal competence, cultural competence, resistance skills, and peaceful conflict resolution.

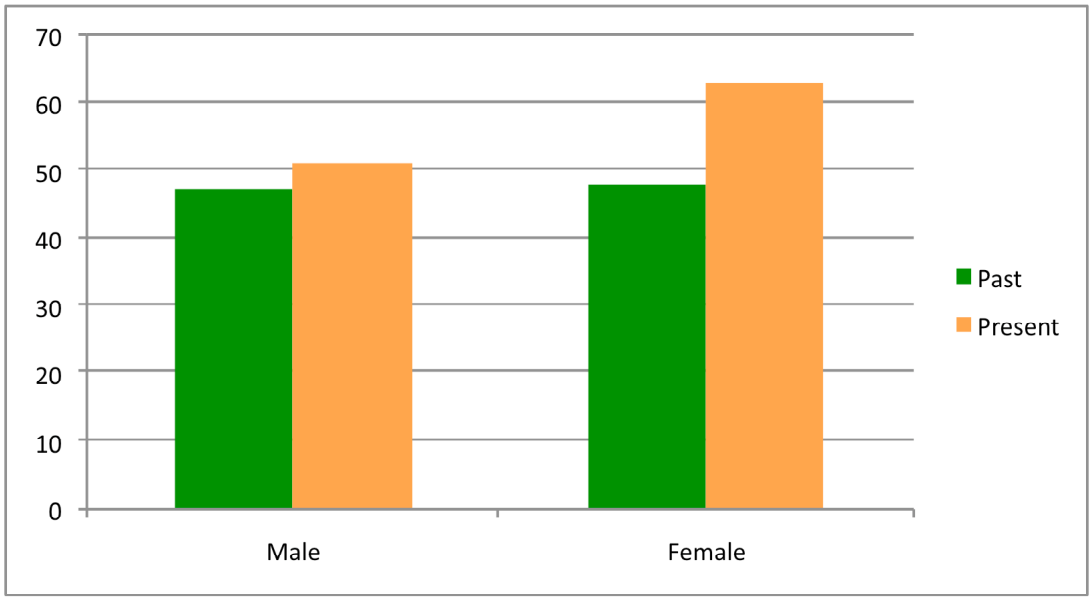


Figure 7 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Social Competencies

Interestingly, social competencies are the reported lowest assets in the internal assets division in both Botswana and North America (Search Institute, 2007). As Figure 7 exemplifies, however, the number of youth reporting social competencies has increased amongst all participants in this study over time. However, in both the past and the present, there are more females reporting this asset, as well as a higher increase amongst the female participants. To understand the significance of these findings, it is necessary to examine the individual developmental assets that together comprise this category of social competencies.

Asset 32: Planning and decision making

Planning and decision making as an asset is described by the Search Institute as the ability of a young person to know how to plan ahead and make choices. In order to determine the level of this asset amongst participants the following statement was given to participants to rank in order of accuracy:

"I am good at planning ahead and making decisions."

In comparison to the other assets in this category, as well as in comparison to overall numbers, the number of participants reporting to have this asset is relatively small overall. While 23 percent of females reported this asset in the past, 50 percent reported this asset in the present; therefore, female participants have a significant increase in this asset over time. Alternatively, 46 percent of males reported having this asset in the past, but only 33 percent reported having this asset currently, thus signifying a moderate decline in this asset over time amongst the males.

Asset 33: Interpersonal competence

If a young person displays empathy, sensitivity and friendship skills, it is defined as interpersonal competence. Participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy in order to establish their level of this asset:

"I am good at making and keeping friends."

While this asset was reported by more males in the past - at 67 percent for males compared with only 46 percent of females – the males had a moderate drop in the present to 50 percent, whereas, the females had a significant rise up to 75 percent.

Asset 34: Cultural competence

Cultural competence is defined as a young person having knowledge of and comfort with people of different cultural/racial/ethnic backgrounds. To determine the level of this asset amongst participants they were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I know and am comfortable with people of different cultural/racial/ethnic backgrounds."

Both male and female participants had a slight to moderate increase in their level of this asset going from 50 to 60 percent amongst the males and 62 to 75 percent amongst the females. Overall, however, more female participants than males reported having cultural competence.

Asset 35: Resistance skills

If a young person can resist negative peer pressure and dangerous situations, it is believed they have resistance skills. The participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy in order to evaluate their level of this asset:

"I can resist negative peer pressure and dangerous situations."

All participants had relatively the same amount of increase in this asset over time, with males going from 33 percent in the past up to 53 percent in the present and females going from 46 percent in the past up to 63 percent in the present. Evidently, more females than males reported having resistance skills overall.

Asset 36: Peaceful conflict resolution

The Search Institute describes this asset as a young person seeking to resolve conflict nonviolently. The following statement was given to participants to rate for accuracy so as to determine their level of this asset:

"I try to resolve conflict nonviolently."

Female participants report a slight decline in this asset, going from 62 percent in the past down to 58 percent in the present. In comparison, males report a moderate increase in this asset, going from 40 percent in the past up to 60 percent in the present.

5.2.6 Analysis of Social Competencies

As previously mentioned, the category of social competencies is actually one of the lowest ranking categories amongst the internal assets of the participants, which is also consistent with findings from studies with North American youth. In this study, all participants did have an increase in these assets over time, but with females having a more remarkable increase than males despite the fact that male and female participants reported almost equal number of social competency assets in the past. It is interesting to examine the findings of this category with reference to such factors as a change in social context (urban versus rural) and livelihood (school versus working).

The asset with the lowest numbers reported in this category by both male and female participants is asset 33: planning and decision-making. This is also consistent with findings on North American youth in which only 29 percent of youth reported planning and decision making as an asset (Search Institute, 2007). Although females in this study had a substantial increase in this asset with time, males actually suffered a decrease, which I believe is evidence of the change in social context and the current circumstance, or livelihood in which individuals are now embedded. For example, in the past, females reported extremely low numbers of planning and decision making as an asset. As we discussed in our analysis of external assets, females also most likely grew up with the expectation that they would be married and taken care of by the husband, his family and his community. As a result, females reported high expectations put on them and yet relatively low boundaries enforced. As we highlighted in our external assets analysis, this seemed to exemplify that although females were encouraged to do well in school and had high levels of support and expectations from family, these were for reasons beyond themselves as an individual succeeding. As a result of such factors, it seems to follow that planning and decision making for oneself would be low amongst females in such circumstances.

In the present time, however, these females have taken an alternative path to the cultural expectation and now work and support themselves, live in the city and are as yet unmarried. Female participants also find themselves in a capacity at their work where they have high levels of responsibility to manage the organization and its programming. The majority of female participants, as we have discussed, work in administration and logistics where they require such skills as planning ahead and making decisions. It is, therefore, understandable that given the females' capacity at YOHO, they would have increased levels of this asset. If, however, females were rating this statement with regards to their professional life, this would imply that they are basing their judgment through a particular lens and not necessarily an all encompassing one. However, it could also be suggested that given the females' role as working women supporting themselves as opposed to the traditional cultural path, that indeed, in all areas of life, females now plan ahead and make decisions for themselves.

In opposition to our findings on female respondents, however, we find the male participants with decreased levels of this asset. I believe the factors influencing these numbers are not only linked to cultural norms, but also to the environment in which male participants now find themselves both socially and professionally. Similar to our discussion of females in the external assets analysis, males also grew up knowing their expected role in society. As a result, males had fewer expectations put on them because it is generally accepted that males will have their place no matter what. However, males also had higher boundaries set to enforce the role they are expected to maintain within their family and community. Due to the fact that men are expected to carry their family, community and culture as a whole on their shoulders and they are expected to maintain

certain roles, it becomes apparent why males would have higher levels of planning and decision making than the females in the past. Presently, however, the male participants, like the female participants, have taken a slightly different path than what was probably expected of them. Although these males will always have, and are still expected to maintain, their position within the family, community and culture at large, these males are not currently fulfilling those obligations. As a result of such changes to the expected path of males, and most likely the path on which the males themselves had seen themselves on for so long, these individuals now have to discover their new role in the life they are currently living. Perhaps the participants have not yet found what that role is and thus, have little ability to plan ahead and make decisions. Alternatively, perhaps they feel less of a need for this asset now that the cultural restrictions are behind them. And lastly, perhaps the males' capacity within the organization, which is largely planned by the females and yet implemented by the males, creates a situation whereby they have little use of this asset in their work life and this then extends into their personal life.

I believe what is crucial to highlight when we are discussing the asset of planning and decision making is its direct relation to risk taking behavior. If one does not plan ahead and make decisions accordingly, then when it comes time for situations such as sexual activity, then it means these individuals will not be prepared, and thus, not protect themselves accordingly, leading them into risky situations. If one sees a clear view of their future and they set goals in order to attain that desired future, then they are more likely to make sure their behaviors do not hinder this endeavor. However, if individuals do not see this future and do not set goals accordingly, as low levels of planning and decision making would seem to suggest, then this means they are more likely to get involved in risky situations as they are yet to place a value on not taking those risks. In using the gender difference of participants as an example, we can see the connection between these ideas. For example, males have lower levels of the planning and decision making asset than females. Males also report lower levels of asset 40 (positive view of personal future) than females. Finally, males also have lower levels of risk reduction behavior than their female counterparts. These findings could possibly exemplify the strong association between the ideas of planning ahead and making decisions and risk reduction.

The other area of assets whereby male participants experienced a decrease was in asset 33: interpersonal competence. I believe the difference in numbers reported between males and females again relates to the change of social context with which participants are now faced. Perhaps in the past, due to such things as cultural restrictions, expectations and boundaries enforced on them, females had more difficulty in making friends. Perhaps also females had more difficulty with this asset due to the fact that they grew up in an urban context, which as we have mentioned, is more restricting in terms of social interaction than the rural environment. Lastly, perhaps if females did indeed attend boarding school, then the ability to keep friendships would become more difficult as people would be attending from all different places. In the present time, however, females

are now in a situation where they are freer to do as they choose, as they are no longer restricted by culture, family and school expectations. In addition, females probably also have more of a chance for sustainable friendships within their specific work environment since, although it is urban based, allows for ongoing interaction with female coworkers and peers.

In opposition, however, we find that males have significantly higher levels of this asset in the past and yet lower levels in the present than females. This can also perhaps be explained by the fact that the majority of males grew up knowing the rural environment as home and this is more conducive to social interaction and lasting friendships since this is a male's permanent home (compared with females whose "home" changes upon marriage). Therefore, when the males moved to the urban context they are forced into very different friendship-making circumstances than their rural upbringing accounted for. No longer do they have automatic friendships such as a village life brings and no longer are they in familiar surroundings. Furthermore, as we saw in the category of positive values, males reported very low levels of honesty, and the reasons cited by the participants were in reference to honesty with friends (particularly about females); therefore, perhaps the value of friendships amongst males is lower than that of females in general.

Although we have thus far been discussing the asset areas in which males declined within the social competency category, males did overall have an increase in these assets. Males improved in the areas of cultural competence, resistance skills, and peaceful conflict resolution. As there are no drastic changes that would beckon our attention with these assets, I would like to focus the final part of this category's analysis on what does seem to hold direct relation to our focus on risk taking behavior; namely, resistance skills.

Although all participants reported an increase in their level of this asset with time, the numbers for this asset are generally quite low, particularly viewed within context of other asset findings and the supplementary information provided during interviews. For example, participants report high levels of responsibility and integrity and extremely high levels of positive identity assets (as we will discuss shortly). Furthermore, participants did report lowered risk taking behaviors in the supplementary information provided during the interview. As a researcher, this would suggest to me that an individual's ability to act on behalf of themselves, particularly in a positive manner, would be high. And yet, participants still report quite low levels of resistance skills and the asset of restraint. To me, this therefore suggests two possible explanations.

The first explanation is that perhaps the findings on assets are not all accurate, be it due to confusion over a question or an individual answering what he/she thinks through a particular subjective lens. This would explain for the difference in findings amongst seemingly related assets such as we have just highlighted. The second explanation, however, is that there are larger, and albeit stronger, forces at work that account for such

findings. For example, external and internal assets are interconnected in that those components which create external assets, such as support and empowerment, also work to create internal assets. This could perhaps suggest that the extremely low levels of such external assets as boundaries and expectations and constructive use of time reported by all participants, could play a significant role in the development of internal assets. For example, perhaps the low restraint and resistance skills reported by youth are linked closely to the very low levels of adult role models all participants reported considering the connection we know between positive adult models and risk taking behavior. Although this is just one example of the possible connectedness of asset areas, I think it would be worthy of further investigation to examine how individual assets attribute to one another.

5.2.7 Findings of Positive Identity

The Search Institute recognizes that young people need a strong sense of their own power, purpose, worth, and promise. This is what is known as 'Positive Identity.' In order to achieve positive identity, the following characteristics are necessary: personal power, self-esteem, sense of purpose, and a positive view of personal future.

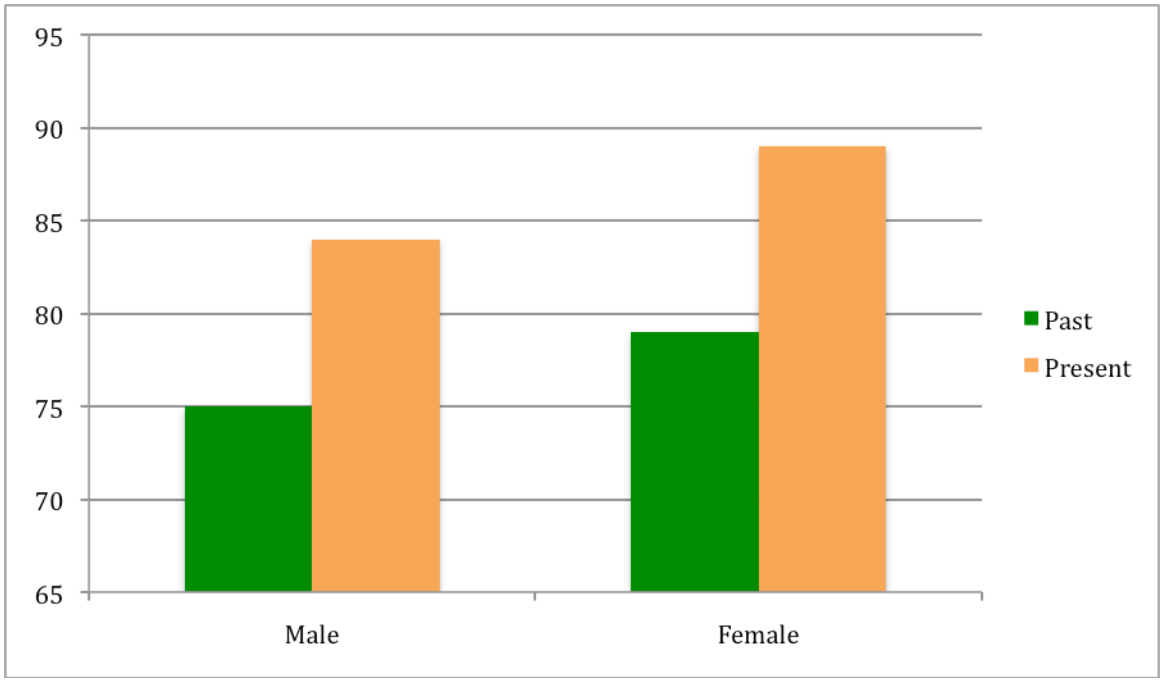


Figure 8 – Percent of Youth Reporting Assets of Positive Identity

Compared with all other internal, as well as external, categories, positive identity has the highest number of both male and female participants reporting assets. Both females and males have had an increase in assets of positive identity over time, but generally more females than males report having these assets in both the past and present. It is necessary,

however, to examine the individual developmental assets that together equate to positive identity in order for us to truly understand the importance of these findings.

Asset 37: Personal power

Personal power is described as a young person feeling he/she has control over what happens to him/her. In order to assess levels of this asset, the participants were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I believe I have control over many things that happen to me."

Although there is a reported increase in this asset by all participants, personal power is actually the lowest ranking of assets amongst the category of positive identity by both males and females. Furthermore, the number of participants reporting to have this asset in both the past and present are nearly equal between the males and females; females going from 54 percent up to 73 percent and males from 53 percent up to 73 percent.

Asset 38: Self-esteem

If a young person reports having high self-esteem, then it is determined by the Search Institute that they possess this asset. In order to determine whether a participant has this asset, the following statement was given to participants to rate for accuracy:

"I feel good about myself."

There was only a minimal increase amongst all participants for this asset; however, the asset of self-esteem had extremely high levels reported overall and by far the highest amount of females reporting an asset. Males went from reported levels of 93 percent in the past to 94 percent in the present and females reporting this asset went from 92 percent in the past up to a truly remarkable 100 percent in the present.

Asset 39: Sense of purpose

A sense of purpose is understood to mean a young person believing that his or her life has purpose. To assess levels of this asset, participants were asked to rank the following statement for accuracy:

"I believe my life has purpose."

Similar to asset 38, this asset had noteworthy levels of participants reporting to have a sense of purpose. While females stayed the same in the past at present at 92 percent, male participants had a slight increase from 86 percent in the past up to 94 percent in the present.

Asset 40: Positive view of personal future

A young person reportedly possesses this asset if they are optimistic about their future. In order to determine if participants have this asset they were asked to rate the following statement for accuracy:

"I am optimistic about my future."

The number of participants reporting to have this asset is higher amongst the females than the males, although there has been a slight to moderate increase in all participants over time. Females went from 77 percent in the past up to 91 percent in the present and comparatively, males went from 69 percent in the past up to 75 in the present.

5.2.8 Analysis of Positive Identity

As previously noted, both females and males have had an increase in assets of positive identity over time, but generally more females than males report having these assets in both the past and present. Furthermore, what is remarkable, is that compared with all other internal, as well as external categories, positive identity has the highest number of both male and female participants reporting assets. Comparatively, in North American studies of developmental assets, the positive identity category is also one of the highest-ranking categories overall, but is actually outranked by the positive values category (Search Institute, 2007). This study's youth, furthermore, have significantly higher levels of positive identity assets than youth from the North American studies.

What is intriguing about this category is that the levels of assets and the changes in asset levels are quite consistent between the male and female participants, which seems to suggest that asset levels of positive identity are perhaps not so much gender related as we have found with the other categories, but more youth-related in general. For example, personal power was reported by 54 percent of females and 53 percent of males in the past and both male and female participants increased to 73 percent of this asset in the present. This could be examined with regards to cultural and societal influences on youth and their role within those systems and how these have changed since becoming involved in development initiatives targeting youth.

As was discussed during the literature review, Setswana culture and society, in theory, believe in the value of youth, but in practice still treats them as subordinate citizens to their elders, which leaves youth vulnerable and therefore, with little sense of personal power. By becoming active in a working capacity whereby youth are now involved in development strategies, youth have been given a chance which is not readily available within their culture or society. Through their involvement at the Youth Health Organization, youth are given roles, a sense of purpose and a voice. Within the additional

information supplied in the interviews, participants stated that they feel most included in decisions at YOHO and at home, with government ranking as the least of all areas in their life whereby youth feel included. These findings, in addition to the reported levels of this asset, seem to highlight that involvement in the development capacity that they are, youth now have increased feelings of personal power.

The other asset level which had significant change reported by both male and female participants was asset 40: positive view of personal future, although with slightly lower levels of males reporting this asset than females. Females went from 77 percent reporting this asset in the past up to 91 percent in the present, and males reporting this asset going from 69 percent in the past up to 75 percent. I believe that the other high levels of assets within this category reported by participants, along with their current involvement in a development capacity for themselves and peers, has greatly contributed to the increased levels of a positive view of the future. As one respondent stated, "In my life [YOHO] encouraged me to change my attitude and have a positive way of looking at the world as a whole."

Furthermore, as we found in the external assets division, empowerment amongst the participants has increased significantly and with this a sense of value to their work and life. Thus, it seems to follow that an increase in a positive view of future would be apparent. I believe the difference found between the male and female participants reporting this asset has a lot to do with factors we have previously discussed, such as the males ability to plan ahead and make decisions and its relation to risk taking behaviors, the low levels reported by males on assets of restraint and resistance skills, as well as not exceeding as far in school as the females. I believe these all would greatly affect the males' view of their future and due to the low levels of these other findings, it seems natural that their positive view of their future is lower than that of the females.

The two remaining assets within this category are again areas in which males and females reported very similar levels and had not much change over time. Here I am referring to asset 38 (self-esteem) and asset 39 (sense of purpose). The numbers for these two assets are extremely high in general and I find it perhaps surprising that numbers remained virtually consistent over time, with only a slight increase being seen in the males having a sense of purpose and females' levels of self-esteem. It is perhaps not so much interesting to examine why there has been no change, but to question whether there has been a change in the individuals' perceptions of these assets and yet did not affect the level of this asset, which is something not accounted for by the checklist or follow-up interview. For example, perhaps a sense of purpose in the past came from the defining roles culture places upon males and females and perhaps the level of a sense of purpose has remained the same in time. However, that purpose has changed from being restricted by other's notions of their purpose, to their personal opinion of their purpose which may now be more related to their work rather than their familial and cultural expectations.

Although it is extremely remarkable and uplifting that such high levels of positive identity assets were reported by all participants, it does leave one to question if perhaps there are underlying factors that influenced these numbers considering how much higher this category ranks in comparison to the others. This questioning becomes particularly relevant when we compare this study's findings with findings from similar research. Although generally asset levels in Botswana have been higher than those reported by North American Youth, the differences have been relatively moderate overall. Among these assets, however, drastic differences are apparent. For example, 48 percent of North American youth report self-esteem compared with 92.5-97 percent of Botswana's youth; additionally, 57 percent of North American youth report a sense of purpose, compared with 89-93 percent of Botswana's youth reporting the same asset. Considering the dramatic differences in the reported assets between the studies, it does leave room to question the accuracy. A further example of the need to question is that a staggering 100 percent of females in this study in the present report having self-esteem. While this would be astounding and perhaps even possible, I believe it has more to do with the nature of the question within the checklist itself above all else. The statement within the checklist that was used to gauge levels of this asset went as follows: "I feel good about myself." This statement leaves one to question in which way(s) does one feel good about himself or herself– in terms of health or appearance; in terms of today or always? I believe this statement is extremely vague and lacking the ability to capture a true sense of self-esteem and as possibly seen by our numbers, I think leaving room for error in judgment. I would, therefore, advocate that future research makes clearer definitions of terms and adapts the statements accordingly.

Alternatively, perhaps the socio-cultural environment in which youth are contextualized within, namely the Setswana culture, has incredible strength in developing these high levels of personal identity. Although we have thus far largely reported on socio-cultural factors that have hindered positive youth development, it is definitely worthy of attention that the same cultural context can have a positive impact on youth and perhaps the creation of positive identity is one such association. From our findings and subsequent analysis, I therefore believe something that would have aided this research and definitely could be beneficial to future research, is where high levels of assets specifically come from or are in connection with as according to the respondents themselves. This type of analysis could be conducted through more specific breakdowns of the assets, such as definitions of the assets and how they are generally thought to be constructed (i.e. through school, parents, etc.) and thus more thorough qualitative methods of inquiry.

Chapter 6: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study we have been concerned with what is affecting risk-reduction efforts in Botswana, particularly in terms of HIV/AIDS initiatives. According to our theoretical framework associated with such ideas of a psycho-social environmental model of health, participatory development, and positive youth development, there are socio-cultural factors that affect individuals and their behavior. More specifically, positive youth development theory maintains that the more assets youth have, the less risk taking behaviors they are likely to engage in. With these ideas in mind, this study set out to determine what socio-cultural factors in Botswana are affecting the positive development of youth and by extension, how this affects risk reduction initiatives targeting HIV/AIDS. With the study's theoretical framework in mind, the findings from the research are extremely intriguing and assist us with findings answers to the guiding questions and principles of the study, while also helping to highlight other factors which had previously gone unaccounted for.

This chapter will begin with an overview of our findings. The chapter will then move into a discussion of the significance of our findings in relation to our guiding research questions and principles. Lastly, this chapter will discuss the implications of this study and suggest some recommendations for relevant bodies.

6.1 Overview of Findings

Overall, there have not been drastic changes in asset levels amongst participants over time.

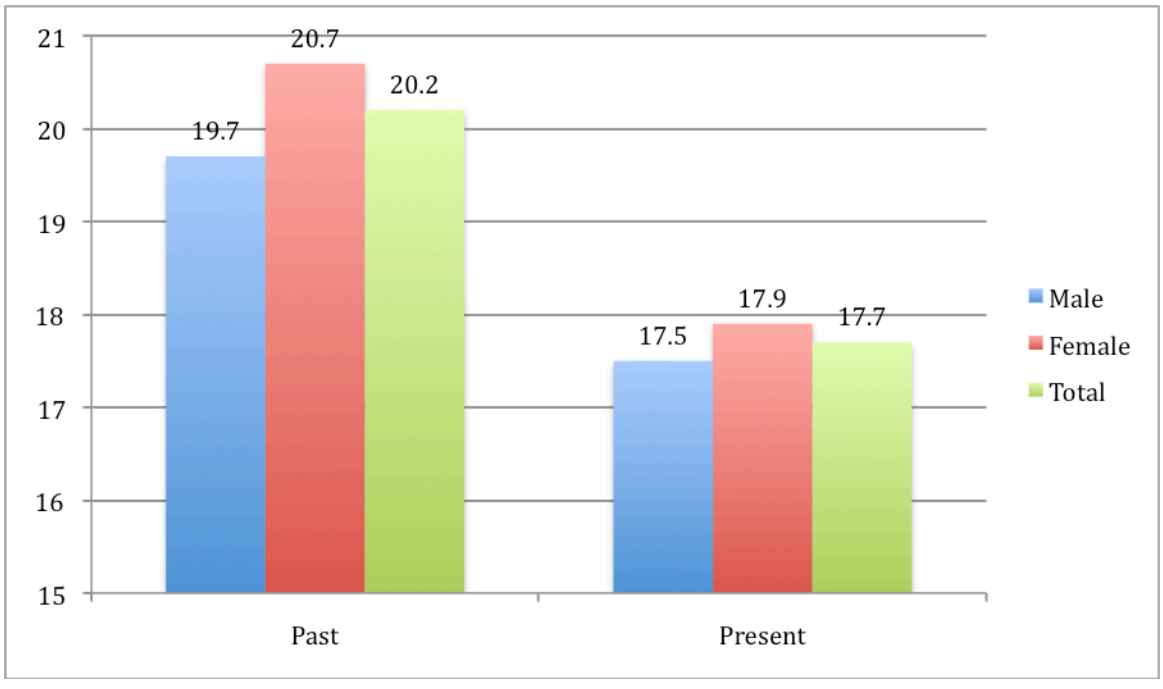


Figure 9 - Average Number of 40 Assets Youth Report

As is apparent from Figure 9, asset levels have actually decreased for all participants over time. What is of interest, however, is that there have been significant changes in distinct areas, as well as noticeable differences between male and female respondents. What is important to highlight is that even though there has been a decrease in overall assets, risk taking behaviors have actually improved. In order to understand the significance of these findings and how they relate to the guiding questions and principles framing the research, it is necessary to provide a summary analysis of the external and internal asset divisions.

6.1.1 Summary of Analysis on External Assets

Overall, females have had a decrease over time in the amount of reported external assets, going from 48 percent in the past down to 40 percent in the present. In comparison, males went from 44 percent in the past up to 51 percent in the present of reported external assets.

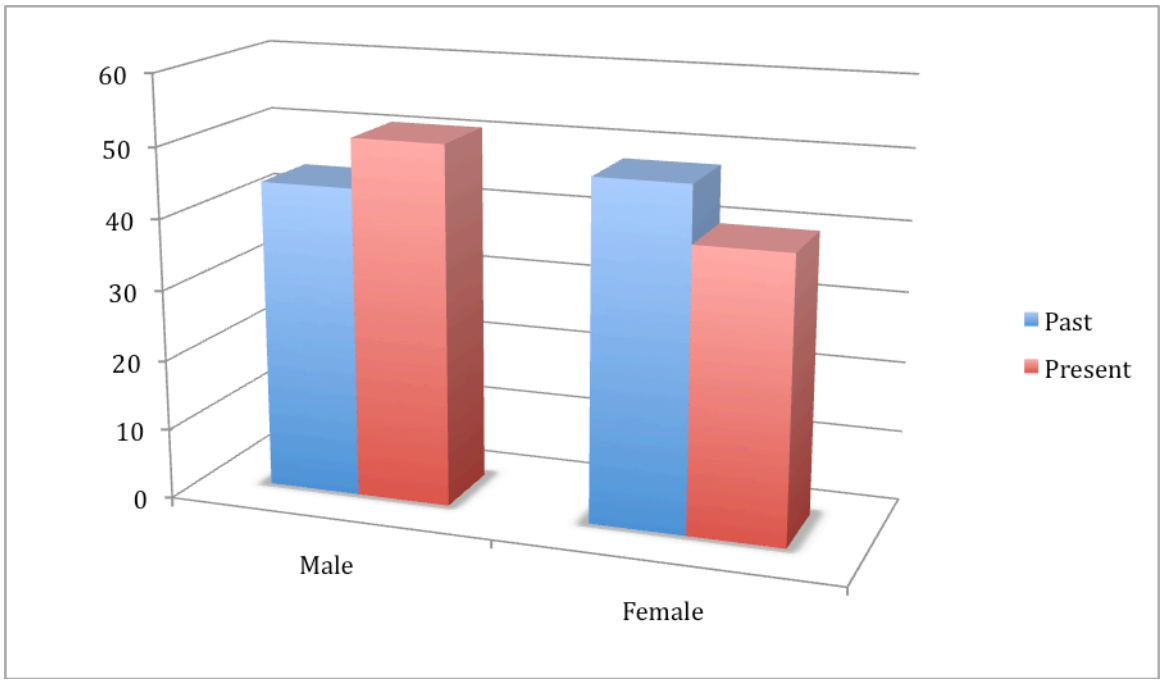


Figure 10 - Average Number of External Assets

These findings are interesting when compared with other findings on developmental assets in other studies. In studies on developmental assets in North America, females generally have higher levels of assets than males (Roehlkepartain et al., 2003; Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga, 2002). While this also holds true for this study's findings in that overall females have higher levels of assets than the male participants, this study's female participants also report a decline in assets over time. A decline in assets is consistent with the findings on North American youth; however, as our findings indicate, the male participants in this study have actually had an increase in assets over time. While it is interesting to analyze the levels of assets regarding youth as a whole to deduce

issues that affect youth in general terms, it is also intriguing to analyze where the differences between males and females are reported, as well as the where the differences are found over time.

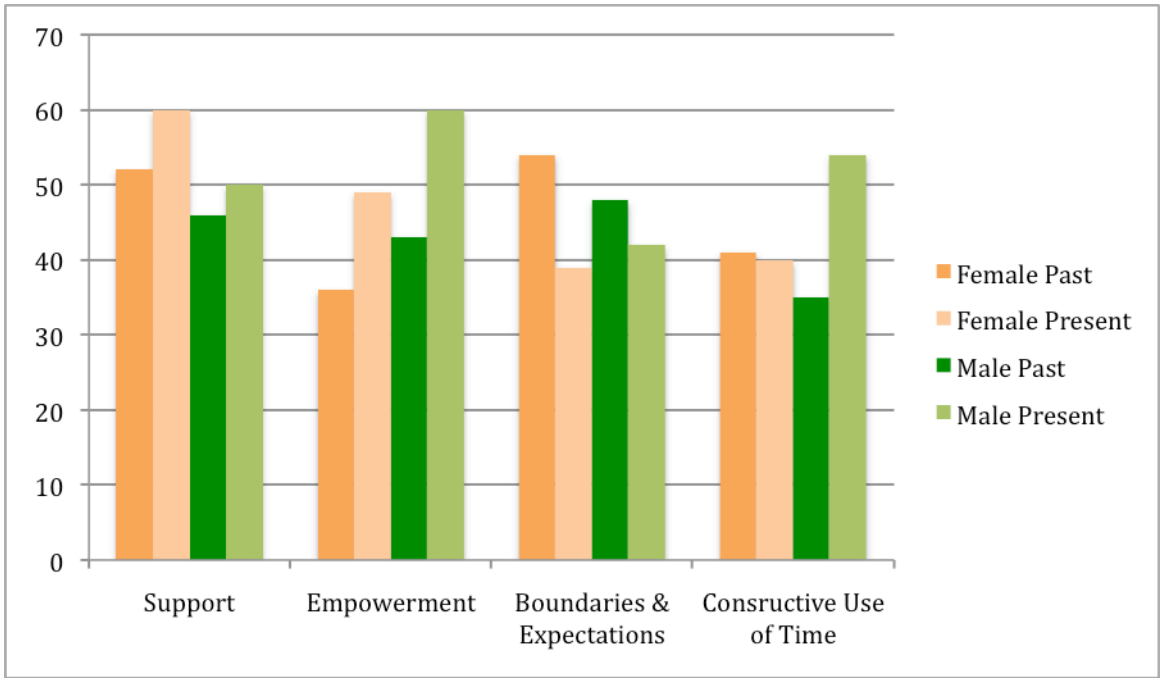


Figure 11 – Average Number of External Assets per Category

The category of boundaries and expectations, followed close behind by the category of support, both ranked as categories with the highest number of assets for both males and females in the past. Furthermore, although occurring in opposing sequence amongst males and females, the categories of empowerment and constructive use of time, were the categories with the lowest number of assets for both males and females in the past. This is significant because it displays the areas which are obviously abundant, as well as severely lacking, within all youth's lives regardless of other factors such as gender, and thus factors contributing or not towards the positive development of youth and by extension, risk reduction behavior. These findings are also considerable due to their consistency with the findings of North American studies. For example, the Search Institute's research on assets exemplifies that, like our study, the category of boundaries and expectations has the highest amount of reported assets by youth in the external assets division (Search Institute, 2007). Also similarly is that youth in North America have the least amount of assets in the category of empowerment. The most remarkable difference between this study's findings and those of North America is that while in North America the category of constructive use of time ties with the boundaries and expectations category for the highest amount of reported assets, the constructive use of time category actually ties for last with the category of empowerment amongst youth in this study.

One study in North America reports that the most notable gender differences can be found in the external assets division (Wasanga, 2002). Other studies, however, note that

the difference in asset levels in the external assets division are actually roughly the same for in-school youth (Roeklkepartain et al., 2003). In this study, asset levels in the external assets division are relatively the same between the genders in the past. The present time, however, is when we begin to notice the differences between the male and female participants. In present time, females have the highest amount of assets in the categories of support and empowerment. Alternatively, males have the highest amount of assets in the categories of empowerment and constructive use of time. The lowest ranking category for females in the present is boundaries and expectations, followed close behind by the constructive use of time category. In comparison, the males report the lowest number of assets in the categories of boundaries and expectations and support.

What is remarkable is that for both males and females the category of empowerment has gone from the lowest ranking in the past to the highest ranking in the present. Furthering this, amongst males, constructive use of time has also gone from the lowest ranking category in the past to the highest in the present, as has support gone from the highest in the past to the lowest in the present for males. Just as significantly, it is of interest to note that the category of boundaries and expectations ranks the lowest for both males and females in the present, despite it being one of the highest-ranking categories in the past for all participants.

These differences between male and female, past and present, are of great significance considering the fact that the comparable factor between the past and the present is that the participants have since joined the Youth Health Organization - an organization focused on the participation of youth in youth development initiatives. If the main factor separating the past and the present for all participants is their involvement with YOHO, then it would seem natural to suggest that increases in asset levels should be similar if not equal amongst all individuals. However, as our findings display, there are differences between the males and females and therefore this difference is significant. This leaves us to beg the question, why have males' external assets increased while females' have decreased?

If both males and females have a decline in what was once their highest asset - boundaries and expectations – then this cannot account for the difference in reported assets. Similarly, females report support amongst their highest assets in the present, yet males do not, and they still have higher levels of external development assets. Therefore, what is left to examine is empowerment and constructive use of time, which are the highest-ranking categories amongst the males.

Both females and males reported the highest levels of assets within the category of empowerment, yet with a moderately higher level amongst the male participants. However, even though females report this as one of their highest categories, they have still reported a decline in external assets overall. This leads us to believe, therefore, that the differences associated with empowerment have a significant affect amongst individuals. According to the Search Institute, what is needed to develop empowerment is that a young person perceives that adults in the community value youth, youth are given useful roles in the community, young people provide service to others and young people feel safe within their home and neighborhood. As noted in our analysis of empowerment, males and females at the Youth Health Organization serve in very different capacities –

males serving more as frontline workers within the community and females serving more as foreground workers within the office. Perhaps these different roles which young people take within a development initiative therefore have an effect on the degree to which empowerment is created. Furthermore, perhaps these differing roles also account for the difference amongst males and females assets contributing to constructive use of time. I believe, therefore, that further research into the roles of gender within development initiatives in Botswana deserves closer inspection due to the effect these roles can have on fostering positive youth development.

Considering that what seems to have distinguished the difference between males and females reported levels of assets are empowerment and constructive use of time, I believe that what constitutes these areas deserves to be recognized. Empowerment happens in relation to the larger community, such as safety within a community or how a community vales youth. Similarly, constructive use of time also relates to a wider community as it is only within community programs or facilities that young people can find constructive uses of time such as emphasized by the Search Institute as necessary.

Furthermore, as evident in our analysis of the external assets, it appears that Setswana culture and its role within the lives of males versus females deserves to be recognized as significant to the establishment of assets. By extension, the role that culture takes within different contexts, such as urban versus rural, and its changing role within the process of modernization, is also apparently significant based on our analysis of findings. Therefore, what has become evident in our examination of external assets is that areas which need to be focused on within Botswana in order to foster positive youth development are the larger structures within society, such as culture and community, as it is apparent the impact these can have on helping to build external assets amongst young people.

6.1.2 Summary of Analysis on Internal Assets

Both male and female participants have had an increase of internal assets over time, but with females having higher levels of internal assets overall. Amongst females, 64 percent reported having internal assets in the past, which increased slightly up to 72 percent in the present. In comparison, males went from 58 percent reporting internal assets in the past up to 64 percent in the present.

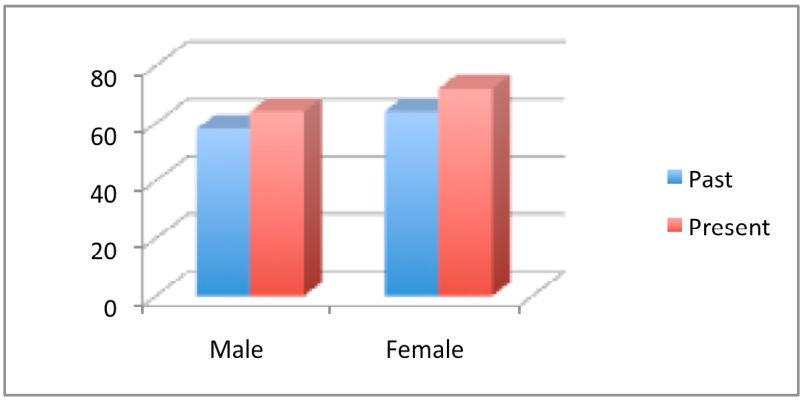


Figure 12 – Average Number of Internal Assets

Similar to findings on youth in North America, higher levels of assets are found within the internal assets division than the external (Search Institute, 2007). Also similar to the North American findings is that internal assets are higher amongst female youth (Roehlkepartain et al., 2003; Search Institute, 2007; Wasanga, 2002). Furthermore, the findings from our study indicate that within the internal assets division, social competencies are the areas with the least amount of reported assets by all youth, which is consistent with findings from the Search Institute's research. The most significant differences between our study and the Search Institute's is that the youth in this study have moderately higher levels of internal assets overall.

As with the external assets, what is intriguing when analyzing the levels of assets within the internal assets division is to not only examine what affects youth as a whole, but to identify where the differences between males and females are found or not, as well as where the differences are found over time.

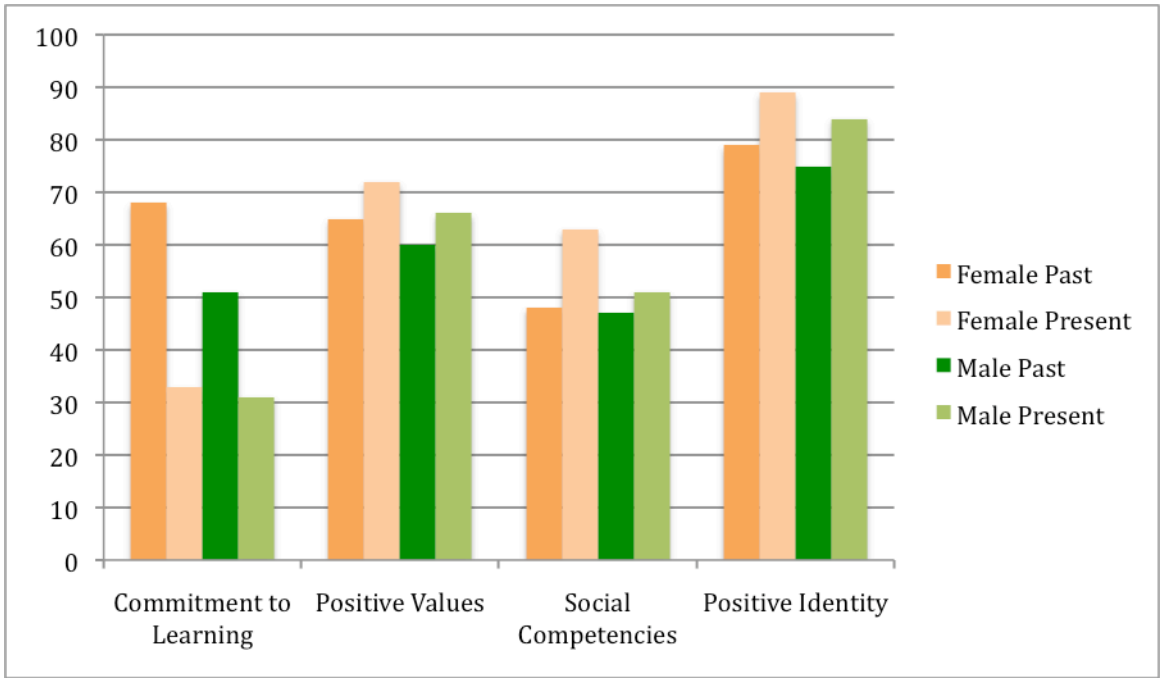


Figure 13 – Average Number of Internal Assets per Category

As reflected in Figure 13, the category of positive identity is evidently the category for both males and females, past and present, that has the highest level of assets reported. This is remarkable because it provides evidence which seems to suggest that asset levels of positive identity are perhaps not so much gender related as we have found with the other categories, but more youth-related in general. The main difference for all participants between their past and present checklists is the fact that they have joined the Youth Health Organization. Evident from our findings, it seems safe to say that this involvement has apparently contributed to an overall increase of internal assets for both male and female participants. If, however, male and female participants most influencing

change between the past and present is their involvement in YOHO and if both male and female participants are reporting the highest number of internal assets within positive identity, then what is called into question is why there is a considerable difference found between male and female participants.

Excluding the category of commitment to learning due to its inconclusive findings for the present, the category of social competencies remained the category with the lowest numbers of reported assets by both males and females in the past and present. However, females report that the most significant increase in assets occurred amongst the social competencies category. This leads us to believe that the reported differences within this category are of importance to the overall levels of internal assets. The Search Institute describes social competencies as the skills and competencies young people need that equip them to make positive choices, to build relationships, and to succeed in life. This is evidently closely connected to our focus on risk reduction behavior and as such deserves attention. Within the category of social competencies, one of the largest differences to be reported between the male and female participants occurs within planning and decision making (asset 32). While females had a remarkable increase in this asset, males actually had a decline. As we noted in our analysis of this category, this can have devastating affects when we view this asset in relation to risk taking behavior such as sexual activity. We attributed the difference between participants to their different capacities within the organization they are serving, as well as to relinquishment of cultural or traditional boundaries, which could have very different affects on males and females.

The other significant difference which can be found between the males and females reported levels of assets is within the category of commitment to learning, which is the second lowest category of internal assets for males in the past and yet the second highest category of internal assets for females in the past. Although there is not a time comparison available to assess this category's role in the present time, I believe the numbers provide enough evidence that the role of this category in the participant's past was important. I believe that this exemplifies that there is indeed great value in education, which is furthered by the fact that overall females have higher levels of education than the males. This is worthy of note considering the significantly higher levels of internal assets amongst females overall.

Within our conclusion of the external assets division we highlighted that the capacity in which youth serve in development initiatives appeared to have an impact on the development of external assets, as did the larger societal structures of culture and community. It appears through our findings of internal assets that these factors are also important influencing agents in the development of internal assets. What has become further evident through our examination of internal assets is the extremely influential role that education can have on the lives of young people. This was evident in our external assets findings and again here in our findings on internal assets. It is the role of these prominent influences in a youth's life which deserve closer inspection when attempting to answer the question what is, or is not, contributing towards positive youth development and risk reduction initiatives amongst youth in Botswana.

6.1.3 Reflection of Analyses

A comparison of the findings between the Botswana context and the North American context is intriguing as it displays the areas in the socio-cultural framework where work is necessary, as well as areas which are positively contributing towards youth's development within given contexts. Perhaps in understanding the difference between these contexts, lessons can be learned and more positive developments achieved.

Generally, asset levels in both the external and internal asset divisions reported by participants are higher than the average percentages of youth in North America. In this study, the average percentage of assets is reported as 20.7 percent, whereas the average percentage in North American youth is reported as 18.6 percent (Search Institute, 2007). I have only used the asset levels of the past as a point of reference due to the comparability of ages of this study's youth in the past with the youth of the Search Institute's studies who conducted the checklist on the 40 Developmental Assets. Evidently, in both contexts, youth are experiencing roughly only half of the required developmental assets which would aid in their positive development and as a result, reduce their risk taking behaviors.

Although generally asset levels are higher amongst the youth of Botswana, there are a few exceptions where asset levels are actually considerably lower, including:

* Caring neighborhood
* Service to others
* Neighborhood boundaries
* Positive peer influence
* Youth programs
* Religious community
* Time at home
* Homework
* Reading for pleasure
* Honesty
* Responsibility
* Resistance skills
* Family boundaries

I believe these areas of deficit in comparison to other studies' findings are worthy of note because they evidently show the areas which need considerable improvement. Just as a comparison between the different contexts of youth is helpful, so is a comparison between our participants' past and present asset levels. In the area of internal assets, all asset levels have increased with the exception of the asset of restraint, which actually decreased. In the external asset division, however, a number of asset areas suffered a decline, including:

* Family support
* Adult role models
* High expectations
* Creative activities

* Religious community

According to our findings, there has generally been moderate to dramatic increases in assets of empowerment, constructive use of time and social competencies. However, there has also been a dramatic decline in the area of boundaries and expectations. This overview of findings provides benefits to a discussion of positive youth development due to the applicability of the particular assets. While all assets are important to youth's overall development, there are certain assets which weigh more heavily in the relative importance to positive youth development.

Although there are many different theories and models applied to the concept of positive youth development, there are certain key concepts which are apparent throughout. Using the development assets as a framework for discussion, these areas include the importance of adult-youth relationships, adult role models, empowerment, constructive uses of time, planning and decision making, personal power and a sense of purpose. With the exception of empowerment and constructive uses of time, more females than males within this study reported these assets. As we have discussed within the analyses, there appear to be socio-cultural dynamics which shape these assets in youth and evidently, which shape them differently across gender lines. We also found within the analyses the important role participation in development initiatives, such as participation at the Youth Health Organization, has on helping to build these assets in youth, regardless of gender as each one of the assets improved over time, which was directly attributed to involvement with the organization.

6.2 Addressing the Guiding Framework

6.2.1 What are the socio-cultural factors contributing, or not, towards positive youth development in HIV/AIDS initiatives in Botswana?

With an emphasis on addressing socio-cultural factors in our study, it is important to highlight the external assets division in our discussion due to their context within the larger environmental structures affecting individuals. Furthermore, although external assets are important to our discussion of socio-cultural factors due to their direct context, they are equally significant because they are also what foster internal assets.

Amongst the external assets' findings we discovered that in the past, the categories of support and boundaries and expectations, to be the areas where youth identified their highest levels of assets. Support involves young people being surrounded by people who love, appreciate and accept them. Boundaries and expectations are when young people have clear rules, consistent consequences, and encouragement to always do their best. Within these categories it is of interest to note the particular assets where youth identified their highest levels of assets. Amongst all participants, family support and high expectations, were the areas where both male and female youth reported their highest levels of assets. These findings signify the positive relationships, opportunities and experience youth had with their families, schools and larger community in their pasts.

Over time, however, these categories declined to the lowest levels of assets amongst the respondents. In particular, family boundaries, adult role models, and high expectations are the assets within these categories where all youth reported decreases in asset levels. It is easy to say that as youth get older, issues get more difficult to deal with. For example, parents of younger children are likely to encounter issues addressing puberty, but as the children grow into adolescence these issues take on new force with issues relating to such things as sexual activity. As reported earlier in the study, youth involved within a needs assessment conducted by Basha Lesedi in Botswana, acknowledged that parents seem to be giving up on them, but that they value their parents input and wished parents would take a stronger role in their upbringing (Beyleveld & Madibela, 2007). For many parents the world over, issues such as sexual health are difficult to address with their children. Within the Setswana culture particularly, however, there exist cultural taboos that further this difficulty. As a result, issues affecting youth go under-addressed or not addressed at all and areas such as support, as well as boundaries and expectations, begin to wane as a consequence of this lack of involvement with youth and issues affecting them.

While support, along with boundaries and expectations, of youth became the areas of lowest asset levels over time, the categories of empowerment and constructive use of time went from being the areas of lowest asset levels in the past to the highest in the present. In relation to developmental asset theory, empowerment means youth feel valued and valuable and that this occurs when youth feel safe and respected. Constructive use of time, furthermore, means that youth have opportunities outside of school to enjoy themselves, develop new skills, and build positive relationships with other youth and adults. Using these definitions as a guideline for analysis, the fact that these categories were where all participants reported their lowest asset levels in the past, suggests that there are both cultural and social implications.

In order to develop empowerment in youth it is necessary that the community values youth, youth are used as resources, service to others is valued and safety is provided. Our previous analysis of this category highlighted the cultural biasness towards Western notions, such as the definition of the service to others asset, and how this might not constitute an accurate expression of youth's empowerment as a result. There is, however, important cultural significance in the assets that foster empowerment amongst youth in Botswana that deserve attention. As our previous discussions indicate, the Setswana culture appears to discriminate towards youth based on their age. Further evidence to this end came from our respondents who reported how they felt of little value or use within their communities before joining the Youth Health Organization. Most significantly, however, is the incredible rise in assets concerning community valuing youth and youth as resources that happened over time and hence, since youth became involved within development initiatives. These findings indicate the importance of these empowerment assets to youth and that despite previous low levels, that these assets can be fostered through placing value on the involvement of youth and their skills within the community.

While the category of empowerment seems to signify the role of culture in dampening or creating asset levels, the category of constructive use of time seems indicative of how social constructs act similarly. The constructive use of time category, as noted earlier in

analysis, is actually the lowest category of all assets for both male and female participants. This suggests an obvious lack within society to emphasize the importance of such ideas as creative activities and youth programs. As exemplified from the higher levels of risk taking behavior in the past amongst our participants, as well as evidence from additional findings such as the Basha Lesedi needs assessment as we have discussed, lack of constructive uses of time play a major role in youth participating in risk taking behaviors.

Significantly, assets related to constructive use of time and empowerment, appear to have dramatically improved for participants over time. Considering that asset levels for youth have generally decreased, the areas in which reported increases of asset levels occur are important areas to draw attention to. Increased asset levels seem largely, if not solely, associated with the youth's involvement with the Youth Health Organization since it is the only identifiable change between the respondents' pasts and presents. Through our findings of the external assets it appears that participation within development initiatives has particularly contributed to higher asset levels of community valuing youth, youth being used as resources, youth programs and positive family communication. Similarly, in our findings of internal assets, we see increased asset levels of responsibility, resistance skills and personal power.

Although external assets appear to relate more to our research question due to their direct contextualization within the socio-cultural environment, internal assets are indeed fostered by these external influences. This is exemplified by the fact that certain asset levels have improved within the internal division and these are directly connected to an external factor, namely, the Youth Health Organization. Unlike our findings on the external asset division, all youth have reported increases in internal asset levels in the present time. As explained during our previous analysis of internal assets, the subsequent information provided within the interviews with participants, undeniably points to the large role involvement at the Youth Health Organization, has played in fostering these internal assets.

Our discussion of developmental assets in youth indicates certain socio-cultural factors that need to be addressed in order to help foster more positive youth development. Findings suggest that caregivers, adults and communities at large, need to play a more significant role in youth's lives, particularly as they get older since it appears that although youth once had high levels of assets in certain areas, they have significantly declined as they have matured. Particular attention needs to be paid to boundaries enforced, role modeling behavior, encouragement of youth to do their best, and finding ways to promote constructive uses of time, irrespective of how old the youth are. Our analyses of these findings suggest that these areas of low asset levels are results of both cultural and social boundaries. It became apparent through the findings and analysis that Setswana culture is playing a major role in both the lack of involvement *of* youth and *by* youth and thus is an area which is begging for change if indeed Botswana wants to reduce risk taking behaviors. Furthermore, there is a general lack of social constructs which help youth to engage in constructive uses of time and as we have discussed, this too has major consequences in terms of risk taking behavior.

6.2.1.1 Association of reduced risk taking behavior and positive youth development

According to positive youth development theory, the more assets a youth has, the less likely he/she is to engage in risk taking behaviors. The following table (Table 2) from the Search Institute exemplifies how asset levels affect behavior patterns:

Developmental Assets and Risk Behavior Patterns, by Asset Level.

	High Risk Behavior Pattern	Percent Reporting Behavior Patterns			
Behavior Pattern	*Definition*	*Number of Assets* 0-10	11-20	21-30	31-40
Alcohol	Has used alcohol three or more times in the last thirty days or been drunk once or more in the past two weeks.	45	26	11	3
Tobacco	Smokes one or more cigarettes every day or uses chewing tobacco frequently.	22	9	3	0
Illicit Drugs	Used illicit drugs three or more times in the last 12 months.	38	18	6	1
Sexual Intercourse	Has had sexual intercourse three or more times in lifetime.	34	23	11	3
Depression/Suicide	Is frequently depressed or has attempted suicide.	44	29	15	5
Anti-Social Behavior	Has been involved in three or more incidents of shoplifting, trouble with the police, or vandalism in the last 12 months.	47	22	7	1
Violence	Has engaged in three or more acts of fighting, hitting, injuring a person, carrying or using a weapon, or threatening physical harm in the last 12 months.	62	38	18	6
School Problems	Has skipped school two or more days in the last four weeks or has below a C average.	44	23	10	4
Driving and Alcohol	Has driven after drinking or ridden with a drinking driver three or more times in the last 12 months.	33	19	8	2
Gambling	Has gambled three or more times in the last 12 months.	27	18	10	3

Search Institute, 2007.

If we look at this study's participants we also find similar results. Overall, females had higher levels of assets than males. In relation, females also reported lower risk taking behaviors than the male participants. These findings indeed exemplify the association between risk taking behavior and asset levels; however, there is an exception that is worthy of note.

Although females have higher asset levels overall, females actually had a decline in asset levels over time and yet still reported reduced risk taking behavior in relation to sexual activity, alcohol, and drugs. Similarly, although males had lower asset levels than females overall and although their asset levels also decreased over time, they too reported reduced risk taking behavior. This seems to suggest that there is another contributing force which accounts for the reduced risk taking behavior and as will be discussed momentarily, this appears to be the participants' involvement with the Youth Health Organization.

6.2.1.2 Association of community setting and positive youth development

Through this study's sample the research had hoped to gain information on whether or not the environmental context a participant considers home, namely urban or rural, could be associated with positive youth development. Where the participants' identified home was regardless of where they grew up because even if individuals grow up in the city in Botswana, the majority have a village which is considered the home village of their family. Henceforth, participants were asked to identify where they considered home. This study had acknowledged that this idea of home is subjective and is most likely more in relation to feelings of inclusion, acceptance and value within a particular context rather than a physical location of home. Interestingly, from the sample we found that the majority of males identified the rural environment as home, whereas the majority of females identified the urban environment as home; and thus, where one contextualized the idea of home seemed to correlate with gender.

The gender difference associated with environmental context is something which had not been accounted for in preparation of the research, but is something which results in great importance to our discussion. As noted, the majority of male participants consider the rural setting as home. Significantly, male participants also have lower asset levels than females. With regards to our discussion of community context, our findings and analysis indicated that this association seems to be a result of both familial and cultural structures in place within the rural context. For example, in the rural areas it is common for caregivers to commute to work in the city for extended periods of time while children are left in the village with extended family members, thus placing a possible strain on positive family binds. Another example of the possible association between asset levels and community context is that within the rural environment it appears that more emphasis is placed on cultural traditions and practices, which can possibly leave individuals feeling restricted to the bounds of culture and unable to attain certain assets as a result.

While thus far we have been discussing the negative implications of the rural environment, there are in fact many positive results which can be attributed to the rural context and these too enhance the association between community setting and positive development. As discussed in our previous analysis, the rural environment allows for more exposure to a person's community, be it neighbors or others, both adults and youth. Furthermore, the rural context is more conducive to a collective mentality versus an individualistic approach to life, which can leave people feeling more valued and valuable to a community. Pertaining to the Setswana culture directly, if culture has more impact on a person's life within the rural context, then positive cultural practices also aid in developing assets. For example, as mentioned in previous discussions, Setswana culture places great emphasis on serving others within your community and thus can greatly contribute to this asset, as well as other assets of empowerment, in youth. In relation, male participants report higher levels of both the 'service to others' and 'community values youth' assets. Therefore, considering that males have higher reported levels of certain assets relating to empowerment and these can be directly linked to the community context of youth, I believe these factors are of great significance.

6.2.1.3 Association of gender and positive youth development

Although the results we are discussing here appear to place a positive association between asset levels and the rural environment, when viewed within the context of gender, they could actually be signifying some negative attributes. Through our discussion of the rural environment we are largely associating this context with a greater emphasis placed on culture. Furthermore, we analyzed the role of culture within the rural community to mean higher community connections and levels of involvement within a person's surroundings. As our findings indicate, male participants (majority of whom identify the rural context as home) generally reported higher levels of assets relating to the community, such as feeling valued by the community, service to others, caring neighborhoods and adult role models. Furthermore, within the supplementary information from the interview, the study concluded that males generally feel more connection with their community at large, whereas females associated themselves more closely with their family, school or church.

These findings and there relation to both community and the culture of that community can be interpreted twofold. Firstly, they can be read as signs such as we have just discussed – that the rural context and its pertinent Setswana culture, fosters positive community involvement and thus higher levels of particular assets, such as empowerment. Secondly, however, they can be read as evidence of a male dominated culture that places greater importance on the role of males within the community. Perhaps female participants cited the urban environment as home simply as a result of such sentiments, despite how much time they spent in a rural upbringing. Further evidence of this possibility is that, as we know based on our previous discussions of Setswana culture, females only have a "home" within a village once they are married. Until females are married their home village is rather elusive, only gaining permanence once they have married a man and thus joined his own village.

We are therefore left to question if the fact that the male participants feel more connected to community and have higher levels of empowerment is due to the nature of the positive attributes a rural upbringing creates, or alternatively, because of a gender bias of the Setswana culture towards males? As we have acknowledged, the Setswana culture is largely patriarchal in its composition and thus this would lead one to believe that the latter assumption may be presumably correct. However, I believe further study into this area is required, which could possibly be conducted through different sample groups where gender cross cuts the environmental contexts of participants, and/or through a study with a more dedicated focus to the role of gender within the socio-cultural environment of Botswana.

There are two other aspects of the findings which deserve to be highlighted due to their exemplification of the affect gender has on positive youth development. First, there is the asset of safety. Overall, the asset of safety was much lower amongst female participants than the males. Furthermore, while males actually had an increase in this asset over time, females suffered a decline. Safety is important to overall feelings of empowerment. By definition, empowerment is actually only created within a safe and respectful

environment. Therefore, if females are reporting such low levels of safety and these levels are only decreasing further with age, this is an area of significance to not only females, but society as a whole if they are concerned with helping to foster positive youth development and risk reduction. Focusing on risk reduction, the asset of safety is of particular concern because with less safety comes more risk associations. Females, particularly young females, can face dangerous situations due to unsafe environments, such as sexual harassment and even assault, and these can obviously result in situations of high risk with relation to HIV/AIDS. For example, in Botswana, 50 percent of all reported rape cases are females between the age of 11 and 20 years (Government of Botswana, 1999). This can obviously have devastating consequences not just in terms of HIV/AIDS, but also on empowerment of females, therefore the issue of safety needs to be addressed by communities of Botswana.

The second aspect of discussion with regards to gender, is the apparent affect gender has on the capacity in which youth serve in development initiatives, such as at the Youth Health Organization, and how this accordingly affects asset levels of the different genders. As we have previously mentioned in our analyses, generally females and males at YOHO serve in very different capacities. Females primarily work within the office and serve within the capacities of administration, logistics, finances and general office work. Males, however, predominantly work out in the field in communities and serve in the capacities of facilitators or field support staff, such as drivers, technical engineers, etc. The capacities the different genders serve in appear in our findings to be closely connected with particular asset levels. For example, males report higher levels of service to others and feeling valued by the community, which could largely be attributed to their direct work with communities, as opposed to the foreground work of females. Further, females reported higher levels of such assets as feeling resourceful and being able to plan ahead and make decisions, which can again be largely attributed to the capacities they serve in at YOHO. It appears that asset levels, therefore, could be further dependant on the capacity in which youth serve in development initiatives. Whether through coincidence or intentionally, this study revealed that serving capacity is closely associated with gender and given the respectively different asset levels found as a result, this idea is something of merit to be considered for not just the Youth Health Organization, but development initiatives at large.

6.2.1.4 Association of participatory development and positive youth development

Participatory development is largely concerned with using the knowledge and skills of community members in the development, implementation and evaluation of development strategies. Similarly, the Youth Health Organization was developed on the premise that it serve as a development capacity run *by* youth, *for* youth, with a specific focus on sexual health. YOHO aims to include youth within all aspects of initiatives and thus it can be said that is serves as an example of participatory development in action. The findings of the research provide evidence of a direct association between the participation of youth in development initiatives and their asset levels. Furthermore, as we have previously mentioned, participation at the Youth Health Organization appears to be the force behind risk reduction behaviors, despite a decrease in overall assets of participants. Thus, it

appears there is a strong positive association between participatory development and positive youth development.

Generally, participation within development initiatives at the Youth Health Organization increased levels of empowerment, constructive uses of time and positive identity. More specifically, within the external asset division, findings indicate the increase of levels all youth report in assets pertaining to positive family communication, community valuing youth and youth serving as resources. Through the supplementary information obtained during interviews with participants, it was revealed that the guiding force behind the increase in these assets' levels is associated with the youth's involvement at the Youth Health Organization. Similar results were found amongst the internal asset division, where all youth reported increases in responsibility, resistance skills and personal power. As mentioned in our discussion of the significance of gender and its connection with the serving capacity within the organization, we also found further evidence of the positive influence participation has on male and female respondents respectively.

In relation to risk reduction behaviors, participation at the Youth Health Organization also had a significant affect. Despite the fact that positive youth development theory maintains that lower asset levels result in increased risky behaviors, and that indeed the participants levels of assets have decreased over time, respondents reported reduced risk taking behaviors. Furthermore, the respondents reported that these reduced risk taking behaviors are a direct result of their involvement with the Youth Health Organization. Both male and female participants alike reported that they now have increased knowledge on risk prevention and feel more valued by and valuable to their communities and families which results in them acting as role models and thus acting with responsibility towards their actions. Furthermore, all participants report how working at YOHO has increased their sense of purpose and positive view of their future, which is further exemplified in the positive identity findings from the checklist. Evidently, participation in development initiatives has had a profound impact on the respondents by providing a means through which youth can develop assets unattainable on their own within other environments. What does get called into question and deserves further attention, however, is if this would also occur if youth were serving in development initiatives not focused on risk reduction itself and/or not directly targeting youth.

6.2.1.5 Association of education levels and positive youth development

One significant factor that was not accounted for in the study's premise or design, was the strong correlation between education levels and positive youth development. However, there does indeed appear to be a strong association of education levels and PYD, which can be described in two ways. First, there is the association between the role of the school environment and the development of assets in the youth. For example, all participants reported strong connections with their school environments in the past, such as generally high levels of commitment to learning assets, or that teachers were the reported majority cited for both males and females as a significant other adult in their lives. Unfortunately, as we have previously explained, there is no time comparison available through the quantitative approach to the study that would allow us further

insight into the significance education has played in shaping asset levels of participants. Furthermore, because the strong correlation between education levels and positive youth development was not predicted, it also went unaccounted for within the qualitative method of inquiry. However, considering the high levels of assets that were associated with schools and the obvious positive relationships all youth experienced with their teachers, I would argue that there is indeed a strong correlation between the role of the school environment has on shaping positive youth development.

Secondly, there is the role that the level of education might serve in positive youth development that deserves attention in this reflection. Females report higher levels of education than their male counterparts. In addition, female caregivers also reportedly have higher levels of education than the males' caregivers. This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, there is a larger amount of females than males reporting the findings we have just mentioned, which appears to suggest that with further education there are increased commitments to education, which by definition should be a lifelong commitment. Secondly, asset levels and risk reduction behaviors of females are higher than the males overall. Considering that the only major difference to be found between the participants apart from their gender and environmental context of home, is their education levels, I believe this to be of great importance which deserves further attention.

6.2.2 Summary of Conclusions

The primary approach of current risk reduction efforts in Botswana use behavior change strategies as their method of choice. This study operated under the assumption that what is missing from current interventions for HIV/AIDS in Botswana, is a focus on the socio-cultural factors that are contributing towards the spread of the epidemic, particularly amongst youth. Theories such as the psycho-social environmental model of health, positive youth development and Bourdieu's theory of habitus, to name a few, further support this claim in their recognition of the impact the socio-cultural environment has on individuals and their behavior. In addition, the Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa, as well as a needs assessment conducted in Botswana by the Basha Lesedi organization, articulate the need to address cultural barriers to risk-reduction initiatives, such as sexual norms and communication about sexuality.

National statistics in Botswana tell us that knowledge of risk-reduction is high amongst youth; however, levels of infection amongst youth in Botswana do not support this claim. This study found that despite high levels of awareness of risk-reduction behavioral practices, there are other forces which are affecting the behavior of youth. In using the Search Institute's Developmental Assets approach as a guideline to identifying influencing agents in youth's lives, this study discovered a strong correlation between socio-cultural factors and youth's potential risk taking behavior. As a result of these findings, this study also suggests the need to address socio-cultural issues in Botswana. In the following section, recommendations based on the specific issues of importance found within the study will be addressed for the use of relevant bodies, including future research, risk reduction initiatives, the Botswana government and other service providers, and the Botswana society at large.

6.3 Recommendations

6.3.1 Implications for future investigations

This study was entered into with the notion that there would be possible associations between positive youth development and other factors, such as gender or environmental context. Through the findings, both the significance of the correlations between such variables with positive youth development was revealed and previously unaccounted for relationships between variables were identified. As a result of these discoveries, there are issues which warrant further investigation by future research.

6.3.1.1 The impact of gender

Although gender was identified as having a possible association with positive youth development, the distinctly defining role that gender plays in the lives of participants had not been given as much significance as it indeed warrants. Generally, there were not major differences found between the asset levels of the male and female participants. As a result, the areas where significant differences were discovered deserved careful attention. From the analysis of the findings it became evident that the male youth more closely associate themselves with the larger community, while the female youth more closely associate themselves with their family, school and church. In addition, the only area in which males outranked the females in their levels of assets was in the category of empowerment. These findings appeared to be closely connected with where the youth identified their "home" (urban or rural) and by extension, the impact of culture within those environments. As a result of these findings and subsequent analysis, I believe it would be beneficial to carry out research that is more focused on the defining role of gender in the socio-cultural environment of Botswana. To date, there are very few documented studies on the socio-cultural environment of Botswana, particularly with regards to its relation to gender. In particular relation to this study's area of investigation, I believe a gendered approach into the relationship between the Setswana culture, community setting and empowerment is warranted.

6.3.1.2 The impact of participatory development

As we know from our previous discussions, the findings of this study revealed the powerful connections between participatory development, positive youth development and risk reduction. It was discovered that certain asset levels of the participants increased as a result of their involvement with the development initiatives at the Youth Health Organization. In addition, evidence was found that participation with the Youth Health Organization had a causality relationship with risk reduction behavior of the participants. While these findings are of paramount importance to risk reduction efforts in Botswana, the case study and sample used does leave room for questions of applicability to other contexts and thus further investigation is needed.

This study focused on an organization that itself is concerned with risk reduction amongst youth, and as a result it leaves one to question if the type of development initiative youth are participating in is the cause of certain increased asset levels and by extension, reduced risk taking behavior. Therefore, I believe it is necessary to conduct a similar investigation with a sample of youth participating in development initiatives that are not related to risk reduction in order to determine if there is similar results and thus provide a comprehensive explanation of the associations between participatory development, positive youth development and risk reduction.

6.3.1.3 The impact of education

As we have previously discussed in our analyses of the findings, it appears that there is possibly a strong correlation between education and asset levels. This correlation appears to be related to not only education levels, but also the educational environment itself. However, as a result of the fact that adequate data was not collected which revealed participants current levels of their commitment to learning, and because this study did not previously account for this correlation, I believe it is an area that deserves closer inspection. I believe it would be highly beneficial and of great interest to many bodies to provide a clearer focus on the impact education levels and the educational environment plays in fostering positive youth development, as well as healthy sexual behavior.

6.3.2 Implications for risk-reduction initiatives in Botswana

There is undeniable evidence that developmental asset levels are associated with thriving indicators and thus less risk taking behaviors by youth. Through this study's investigation the specific socio-cultural factors of Botswana were examined and the results provide further evidence of the impact the socio-cultural environment has on youth. From these findings it seems evident that HIV/AIDS initiatives need to move beyond a simple focus on behavior modification strategies.

The question becomes what is the most effective means to implement such a large undertaking. It is evident that it is the larger socio-cultural structures in which youth must operate within that are the underlying problems affecting not only the youth population, but society as a whole. Therefore, what has to be addressed is the larger social, cultural and political constructs of the Botswana society. Without even being able to admit the extent of the problem due to these larger structures, then effective prevention strategies for HIV/AIDS cannot be designed and implemented. An ideal HIV/AIDS intervention would therefore focus on changing some of the negative aspects of social and cultural structures of the entire population in order to help reduce levels of the epidemic. Unfortunately, however, this type of intervention is obviously a very extensive process as it essentially means re-socializing a nation. Although the legitimacy of investing the time and money into such an intervention is evident, the quick-fix mentality of governments and development strategies does not allow for such interventions. Therefore, interventions aimed at targeting these larger structures are not always feasible. What then becomes critical are interventions aimed at youth and their immediate environment specifically, in order for them to be able to operate within these larger structures creating

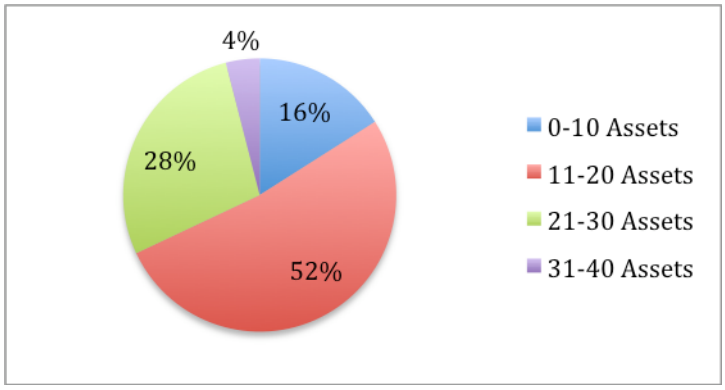
their vulnerability to risks. From this study's findings it appears that what would be most beneficial to youth in order to create sustainable, healthy change, would be the creation of positive social relationships with their families, other adults and their respective communities at large. The creation of these positive social networks would instill a sense of belonging, competence, usefulness and ability, which currently seems to be lacking amongst youth in Botswana, and are issues affecting their overall positive development and by extension, risk taking behaviors.

One way in which to accomplish these aims it to frame initiatives within a participatory development approach. The findings of this study reveal overwhelming evidence of the impact participation in development initiatives has on these youth in creating overall positive development, but even more importantly to our aim, in reducing risk taking behavior. The foundation of participatory development is a focus on building relationships at both the micro and macro levels of society while including individuals the intervention is targeting in the development, implementation and evaluation of the initiative. This type of approach to development initiatives, as this study's research exemplifies, would clearly allow youth in Botswana to develop better social networks amongst themselves, their families, their communities, and society at large, while also providing constructive uses of time and creating empowerment. Participatory development, however, requires the support and participation of all sectors of society in order to be achieved and effective. Although there are many programs, policies and initiatives implemented to combat HIV/AIDS in Botswana, I believe stronger emphasis needs to be placed on the involvement of the target population, such as youth, and action from all sectors of society.

There is one final implication for development initiatives, particularly those concerned with a participatory development approach, that became apparent through this study. As previously discussed, findings of this study reveal that the capacity in which a person serves in development initiatives has an affect on their developmental asset levels, particularly their empowerment and social competencies. Therefore, perhaps it is necessary to not limit individuals' roles within initiatives, but have them serve at all levels if possible. Furthermore, through the findings of this particular sample, it appears that the capacity youth served in was gender defined. Whether the roles in which youth served in at the Youth Health Organization were intentional or not, these roles evidently have an affect on the individual's overall positive development, and risk reduction behavior, and thus deserve more attention.

6.3.3 Implications for the socio-cultural community

It is ideal that all youth would experience 31-40 of the Developmental Assets. Figure 14 below shows the percentage of youth in this study who experience each of four levels of assets: 0-10, 11-20, 21-30, 31-40.



Evidently, only 4 percent of youth in this study are experiencing optimum asset levels, while the majority of youth are experiencing less than half of this ideal. The findings from this study demonstrate that as youth get older, their asset levels decline. This indicates that the family and community of youth should not stop support and encouragement of youth simply because they are getting older, but provide continuous commitment to the positive development of youth. It is only through such a commitment that risk taking behavior can and will be reduced. The challenge of the community, therefore, is to establish a goal of what percentage of youth they want to see at the optimum level and then a plan to achieve that.

The findings from this study reveal the areas of the socio-cultural environment of Botswana that deserve attention due to their impact on the positive development of youth. The areas which seem most pertinent to youth can largely be broken down into empowerment and constructive uses of time, with particular attention being paid to the value of youth to the community, using youth as resources and youth programs. Our findings also indicate, however, that further attention needs to be paid towards adult role models, other adult relationships, positive family communication and also the role and value in the neighborhood, or community at large. These findings are consistent with other studies and discussions which also highlight these needs, such as the Basha Lesedi Needs Assessment (2007), as well as Botswana's National Policy on Culture (2001). The National Policy on culture addresses the need for a culturally based strategy that aims to eliminate ignorance of sexuality amongst youth by improving communication, information and knowledge transfer between parents, adults and youth on issues of sexuality, reproductive health and others issues (2001).

The findings also provide evidence of the defining role education plays in the lives of youth and thus reveals the importance of not just education levels, but also a supportive and informative educational environment. This is consistent with findings of a study into the sexual behaviors of adolescent youth in Botswana which concluded that adolescents perceived teachers as one of the largest influences on reproductive health attitudes and that schools have the most potential for providing information to adolescents (Meekers & Ahmed, 2000). The National Policy on culture also indicates the role of educational institutes in disseminating information to youth on issues affecting their behavior in order to promote positive behavior and minimize their risks (2001).

Lastly, the findings exemplify the need to pay attention to the significant role gender plays in the lives of youth and the creation of developmental assets. This need has been widely addressed by the National Policy on Culture which highlights the disadvantages of the girl-child. It addresses the need to re-examine cultural practices which subordinate females and find a way to ensure the girl-child is not disadvantaged, including equal treatment of girl and boy children by parents, teachers and the wider community (2001).

To date, the majority of developmental initiatives targeting youth have focused on "problem" areas, largely failing to address any socio-cultural foundations which these problems are embedded within. Culture is a source of pride for people of a nation and as such, it becomes difficult to address the fact that certain cultural beliefs and practices may have a negative impact on society. As Botswana's National Policy on Culture indicates: "In some areas, cultural practices have disadvantaged youth and not assisted them to grow and cope with external pressure" (2001). In the changing face of modernity, culture apparently also needs to change. It should not be simply led to erosion, but it needs to find a coexistence between tradition and modernity in order to promote positive practices that are necessary to the times, such as in the face of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Botswana.

Just as participatory development and effective HIV/AIDS interventions cannot happen without the commitment by all sectors of society, cultural change and positive youth development is also not achievable without this in place. Creating a framework of positive youth development requires the commitment of adults and youth alike in the community, as well as family members, educational providers, the government and service providers. The Search Institute's research and implementation of work has largely been focused within North America. However, there are growing international desires to employ their work into international communities. The Search Institute maintains that the 40 Developmental Assets are necessary to all youth regardless of gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs or race. Indeed, studies show that although there are some differences in asset levels when comparing youth from different backgrounds, most strikingly, there are not profound differences (Roehlkepartain, Benson, Sesma, 2003). This is also consistent with this study's findings on assets of youth in Botswana when compared to youth in North America. Applicability of the Search Institute's materials to the Botswana environment, therefore, can be achieved if desired. This study exemplifies the need for some refinement of materials to the cultural context and the Search Institute also expresses this need to culturally adapt its materials. The Search Institute suggests an action plan for implementing positive youth development initiatives into international communities, which includes among other things, holding informal conversations with communities about asset development and conducting formal explorations of asset development in the country. I believe this study could be used as one of the starting blocks in creating a framework of positive youth development by acting as a guide for discussions and indicator of areas for further investigation and improvement.

Appendix 1: Definition of the 40 Developmental Assets



40 Developmental Assets™

Search Institute℠ has identified the following building blocks of healthy development that help young people grow up healthy, caring, and responsible.



	Category	Asset Name and Definition
External Assets	Support	1. **Family Support**-Family life provides high levels of love and support. 2. **Positive Family Communication**-Young person and her or his parent(s) communicate positively, and young person is willing to seek advice and counsel from parents. 3. **Other Adult Relationships**-Young person receives support from three or more nonparent adults. 4. **Caring Neighborhood**-Young person experiences caring neighbors. 5. **Caring School Climate**-School provides a caring, encouraging environment. 6. **Parent Involvement in Schooling**-Parent(s) are actively involved in helping young person succeed in school.
	Empowerment	7. **Community Values Youth**-Young person perceives that adults in the community value youth. 8. **Youth as Resources**-Young people are given useful roles in the community. 9. **Service to Others**-Young person serves in the community one hour or more per week. 10. **Safety**-Young person feels safe at home, school, and in the neighborhood.
	Boundaries & Expectations	11. **Family Boundaries**-Family has clear rules and consequences and monitors the young person's whereabouts. 12. **School Boundaries**-School provides clear rules and consequences. 13. **Neighborhood Boundaries**-Neighbors take responsibility for monitoring young people's behavior. 14. **Adult Role Models**-Parent(s) and other adults model positive, responsible behavior. 15. **Positive Peer Influence**-Young person's best friends model responsible behavior. 16. **High Expectations**-Both parent(s) and teachers encourage the young person to do well.
	Constructive Use of Time	17. **Creative Activities**-Young person spends three or more hours per week in lessons or practice in music, theater, or other arts. 18. **Youth Programs**-Young person spends three or more hours per week in sports, clubs, or organizations at school and/or in the community. 19. **Religious Community**-Young person spends one or more hours per week in activities in a religious institution. 20. **Time at Home**-Young person is out with friends "with nothing special to do" two or fewer nights per week.
Internal Assets	Commitment to Learning	21. **Achievement Motivation**-Young person is motivated to do well in school. 22. **School Engagement**-Young person is actively engaged in learning. 23. **Homework**-Young person reports doing at least one hour of homework every school day. 24. **Bonding to School**-Young person cares about her or his school. 25. **Reading for Pleasure**-Young person reads for pleasure three or more hours per week.
	Positive Values	26. **Caring**-Young person places high value on helping other people. 27. **Equality and Social Justice**-Young person places high value on promoting equality and reducing hunger and poverty. 28. **Integrity**-Young person acts on convictions and stands up for her or his beliefs. 29. **Honesty**-Young person "tells the truth even when it is not easy." 30. **Responsibility**-Young person accepts and takes personal responsibility. 31. **Restraint**-Young person believes it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs.
	Social Competencies	32. **Planning and Decision Making**-Young person knows how to plan ahead and make choices. 33. **Interpersonal Competence**-Young person has empathy, sensitivity, and friendship skills. 34. **Cultural Competence**-Young person has knowledge of and comfort with people of different cultural/racial/ethnic backgrounds. 35. **Resistance Skills**-Young person can resist negative peer pressure and dangerous situations. 36. **Peaceful Conflict Resolution**-Young person seeks to resolve conflict nonviolently.
	Positive Identity	37. **Personal Power**-Young person feels he or she has control over "things that happen to me." 38. **Self-Esteem**-Young person reports having a high self-esteem. 39. **Sense of Purpose**-Young person reports that "my life has a purpose." 40. **Positive View of Personal Future**-Young person is optimistic about her or his personal future.

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Appendix 2: Quantitative Instrument: Asset Checklist For Youth

An Asset Checklist- FOR YOUTH

This checklist simplifies the asset list to help prompt conversation in families, organizations and communities. As an example, consider having both the young person and the parent/guardian each complete the checklist and then discuss any difference in response.

How accurate are these statements? 1 = Not accurate ..... 5 = Very accurate

☐	1. I receive high levels of love and support from family members.	☐	21. I want to do well in school.
☐	2. I can go to my parent/s or guardian/s for advice and support and have frequent, in-depth conversations with them.	☐	22. I am actively engaged in learning.
☐	3. I know some non-parent adults I can go to for advice and support.	☐	23 I do an hour or more of homework each school day.
☐	4. My neighbors encourage and support me.	☐	24. I care about my school.
☐	5. My school provides a caring, encouraging environment.	☐	25. I read for pleasure three or more hours each week.
☐	6. My parent/s or guardian/s help me succeed in school.	☐	26. I believe it is really important to help other people.
☐	7. I feel valued by adults in my community.	☐	27. I want to help promote equality and reduce world poverty and hunger.
☐	8. I am given useful roles in my community.	☐	28. I stand up for what I believe in.
☐	9. I serve in the community one hour or more each week.	☐	29. I tell the truth even when it's not easy.
☐	10. I feel safe at home, at school and in the neighborhood.	☐	30. I can accept and take personal responsibility.
☐	11. My family sets standards for appropriate conduct and monitors my whereabouts.	☐	31. I believe it is important not to be sexually active or to use alcohol or other drugs.
☐	12 My school has clear rules and consequences for behavior.	☐	32. I am good at planning ahead and making decisions.
☐	13. Neighbors take responsibility for monitoring my behavior.	☐	33. I am good at making and keeping friends.
☐	14. Parent/s and other adults model positive, responsible behavior.	☐	34. I know and am comfortable with people of different cultural/racial/ethnic backgrounds.
☐	15. My best friends model responsible behavior.	☐	35. I can resist negative peer pressure and dangerous situations.
☐	16. My parent/s/guardian/s and teachers encourage me to do well.	☐	36. I try to resolve conflict nonviolently.
☐	17. I spend three hours or more each week in lessons or practice in music, theater or other arts.	☐	37. I believe I have control over many things that happen to me.
☐	18. I spend three hours or more each week in school or community sports, clubs or organizations.	☐	38. I feel good about myself.
☐	19. I spend one hour or more each week in religious services or participating in spiritual activities.	☐	39. I believe my life has a purpose.
☐	20. I go out with friends "with nothing special to do" two or fewer nights each week.	☐	40. I am optimistic about my future.

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Appendix 3: Qualitative Instrument: Interview Questions for Participants

Age?

Gender?

Level of education?

Where did you grow up?

Preferred language?

Were you raised by your mother alone, father alone, both parents or someone other than your biological parents?

If someone other than your biological mom or dad raised you- who raised you (i.e. Aunt, Grandma, etc)?

What is the level of education job(s) of the person(s) who raised you?

How many, if any, brothers/sisters do you have? What is each of their levels of education and job, if any?

Other than the person(s) that raised you, which adult(s), if any, played a significant role in your life as you were growing up (Grandparents, Aunt or Uncle, Teacher, etc)? How? It could be more than one person- please list all

When did you move to Gaborone if you did not grow up here (year)?

If you grew up in Gaborone, do/did you have regular visits to your family's home village?

If you grew up in Gaborone, but had regular visits to your home village- which would you call "home"?

Has the kgotla or customary laws at your home village played any significant role in your personal development. Including:

a) Discipline
b) Health
c) Economics
d) Social campaign programs aimed at youth and/or involving the youth

When did you join YOHO?

Has anything changed, if anything, since you joined YOHO in terms of the following (Explain)

a) Your drinking behavior?
b) Your sexual activity?

c) Your use of drugs?

Explain how or how not your behavior has changed since being at YOHO and why it has or has not changed.

Does what you have learned, as well as educate others in the community on (such as abstinence, responsible drinking) affect what you believe and do in your personal life? How and why (please explain).

As a youth, do you feel that you are valued and respected? Please explain your answers

a) At YOHO?
b) By the Government?
c) By adults in the community?
d) At church?
e) When you were in school?
f) At home?
g) Any where else?

As a youth, do you feel you have influence and/or input? Please explain your answers

a) At YOHO?
b) By the Government?
c) By adults in the community?
d) At church?
e) When you were in school?
f) At home?
g) Any where else?

As a youth, do you feel included in decisions? Please explain your answers

a) At YOHO?
b) By the Government?
c) By adults in the community?
d) At church?
e) When you were in school?
f) At home?
g) Any where else?

If you answered 1, 2 or 3 for any of the questions in the checklist, please explain why you feel that you answered that way:

Appendix 4: Demographics of Youth Surveyed

*Numbers may not sum to "Total Sample" due to missing information. Less than 0.5% rounded to zero

Total Sample		**Number of Youth**	**Percent of Total**
Gender	Male	15	56
	Female	12	44
Age	18	0	0
	19	1	4
	20	3	11
	21	3	11
	22	4	15
	23	2	7
	24	2	7
	25	2	7
	26	5	19
	27	4	15
	28	0	0
	29	0	0
	30	2	7
Education Level	Form 1	0	0
	Form 2	1	4
	Form 3	3	11
	Form 5	1	4
	O'Level	10	37
	A Level	3	11
	Post Secondary	2	7
	Skills Training	7	26
Preferred Language	English	18	67
	Setswana	8	30
	Kalanga	1	4
Urban/Rural	Urban	12	44
	Rural	15	55

Total Sample		**Percent of Female**	**Percent of Male**	**Percent Total**
Age	18	0	0	0
	19	8	0	4
	20	8	13	11
	21	17	7	11
	22	8	20	15
	23	8	7	7
	24	0	13	7
	25	0	13	7
	26	25	13	19
	27	25	0	11
	28	0	0	0
	29	0	0	0
	30	0	13	7
Education Level	Form 1	0	0	0
	Form 2	0	7	4
	Form 3	8	13	11
	Form 5	8	0	4
	O'Level	33	40	37
	A Level	25	0	11
	Post Secondary	8	7	7
	Skills Training	17	33	30
Preferred Language	English	92	47	67
	Setswana	8	47	30
	Kalanga	0	7	4
Urban/Rural	Urban	58	33	44
	Rural	41	67	55

Appendix 5: Percent of Youth by Total Reporting Each of 20 External Assets

Asset Category	Asset Name	Total Past Percentage	Total Present Percentage
Support	1. Family Support	75	65
	2. Positive family communication	38.5	68.5
	3. Other adult relationships	35	55
	4. Caring neighborhood	31.5	31.5
	5. Caring school climate	61	n/a
	6. Parent involvement in schooling	55	n/a
Empowerment	7. Community values youth	40.5	57
	8. Youth as resources	36.5	63.5
	9. Service to others	28	92
	10. Safety	54.5	56.5
Boundaries and Expectations	11. Family boundaries	62	33.5
	12. School boundaries	68.5	n/a
	13. Neighborhood boundaries	13.5	19
	14. Adult role models	39	33
	15. Positive peer influence	39.5	48
	16. High expectations	82.5	69
Constructive Use of Time	17. Creative activities	61	57.5
	18. Youth programs	46.5	69
	19. Religious community	32.5	22.5
	20. Time at home	14.5	39.5

Appendix 6: Percent of Youth by Total Reporting Each of 20 Internal Assets

Asset Category	Asset Name	Total Past Percentage	Total Present Percentage
Commitment to Learning	21. Achievement Motivation	92.5	n/a
	22. Learning engagement	68.5	n/a
	23. Homework	44	n/a
	24. Bonding to school	72.5	n/a
	25. Reading for pleasure	20	32
Positive Values	26. Caring	78.5	81
	27. Equality and social justice	62	62
	28. Integrity	78.5	81.5
	29. Honesty	42.5	54
	30. Responsibility	58.5	87.5
	31. Restraint	56	49
Social Competencies	32. Planning and decision making	34.5	41.5
	33. Interpersonal competence	56.6	62.5
	34. Cultural competence	56	62.5
	35. Resistance skills	39.5	58
	36. Peaceful conflict resolution	51	59
Positive Identity	37. Personal power	53.5	73
	38. Self-esteem	92.5	97
	39. Sense of purpose	89	93
	40. Positive view of personal future	73	83

Appendix 7: Percent of Youth by Gender Reporting Each of 20 External Assets

Asset Category	Asset Name	Female Past Percentage	Female Present Percentage	Male Past Percentage	Male Present Percentage
Support	1. Family Support	77	83	73	47
	2. Positive family communication	50	90	27	47
	3. Other adult relationships	43	50	27	60
	4. Caring neighborhood	38	17	25	46
	5. Caring school climate	62	n/a	60	n/a
	6. Parent involvement in schooling	46	n/a	64	n/a
Empowerment	7. Community values youth	31	50	50	64
	8. Youth as resources	46	67	27	60
	9. Service to others	23	38	33	46
	10. Safety	46	42	63	71
Boundaries and Expectations	11. Family boundaries	57	27	67	40
	12. School boundaries	77	n/a	60	n/a
	13. Neighborhood boundaries	14	17	13	21
	14. Adult role models	38	33	40	33
	15. Positive peer influence	46	50	33	46
	16. High expectations	92	67	73	71
Constructive Use of Time	17. Creative activities	62	55	60	60
	18. Youth programs	46	58	47	80
	19. Religious community	40	25	25	20
	20. Time at home	16	23	13	56

Appendix 8: Percent of Youth by Gender Reporting Each of 20 Internal Assets

Asset Category	Asset Name	Female Past Percentage	Female Present Percentage	Male Past Percentage	Male Present Percentage
Commitment to Learning	21. Achievement Motivation	92	n/a	93	n/a
	22. Learning engagement	77	n/a	60	n/a
	23. Homework	62	n/a	26	n/a
	24. Bonding to school	92	n/a	53	n/a
	25. Reading for pleasure	15	33	25	31
Positive Values	26. Caring	77	75	80	87
	27. Equality and social justice	38	58	86	66
	28. Integrity	77	83	80	80
	29. Honesty	54	79	31	29
	30. Responsibility	54	82	63	93
	31. Restraint	91	60	21	38
Social Competencies	32. Planning and decision making	23	50	46	33
	33. Interpersonal competence	46	75	67	50
	34. Cultural competence	62	75	50	60
	35. Resistance skills	46	63	33	53
	36. Peaceful conflict resolution	62	58	40	60
Positive Identity	37. Personal power	54	73	53	73
	38. Self-esteem	92	100	93	94
	39. Sense of purpose	92	92	86	94
	40. Positive view of personal future	77	91	69	75

Appendix 9: Youth Experiencing Each Asset in the United States

The percentages of young people who report experiencing each asset were gathered from the administration of the *Search Institute Profiles of Student Life: Attitudes and Behaviors* survey to almost 150,000 6th- to 12th-grade youth in 202 communities across the United States in calendar year 2003.

External Assets

Support	
1. Family Support	68%
2. Positive Family Communication	28%
3. Other Adult Relationships	43%
4. Caring Neighborhood	37%
5. Caring School Climate	29%
6. Parent Involvement in Schooling	29%
Empowerment	
7. Community Values Youth	22%
8. Youth as Resources	26%
9. Service to Others	48%
10. Safety	51%
Boundaries and Expectations	
11. Family Boundaries	46%
12. School Boundaries	52%
13. Neighborhood Boundaries	47%
14. Adult Role Models	27%
15. Positive Peer Influence	63%
16. High Expectations	48%
Constructive Use of Time	
17. Creative Activities	21%
18. Youth Programs	57%
19. Religious Community	58%
20. Time at Home	51%

Internal Assets

Commitment to Learning	
21. Achievement Motivation	65%
22. School Engagement	55%
23. Homework	47%
24. Bonding to School	52%
25. Reading for Pleasure	22%
Positive Values	
26. Caring	50%
27. Equality and Social Justice	52%

28. Integrity	68%
29. Honesty	66%
30. Responsibility	63%
31. Restraint	45%
Social Competencies	
32. Planning and Decision Making	29%
33. Interpersonal Competence	45%
34. Cultural Competence	43%
35. Resistance Skills	41%
36. Peaceful Conflict Resolution	40%
Positive Identity	
37. Personal Power	42%
38. Self-Esteem	48%
39. Sense of Purpose	57%
40. Positive View of Personal Future	72%

Information referenced from Search Institute.
Available online at: http://www.search-institute.org/research/assets/assetfreq

Appendix 10: Interview Answers Percentages by Total Sample & Gender

*Numbers may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Less than 0.5% rounded to zero

Short Answer Item	Answers Cited	Male %	Female %	Total %
Gender		56	44	100
Age				
	18	0	0	0
	19	0	8	4
	20	13	8	11
	21	7	17	11
	22	20	8	15
	23	7	8	7
	24	13	0	7
	25	13	0	7
	26	13	25	19
	27	0	25	11
	28	0	0	0
	29	0	0	0
	30	13	0	7
Level of Education	Form 1	0	0	0
	Form 2	7	0	4
	Form 3	13	8	11
	Form 5	0	8	4
	O'Level	40	33	37
	A Level	0	25	11
	Post Secondary	7	8	7
	Skills Training	33	17	30
Preferred Language	English	47	92	67
	Setswana	47	8	30
	Kalanga	7	0	4
Where do you consider ɔme"	Urban	33	58	44
	Rural	67	41	55
Who were you raised by	Mother Alone	60	50	55

imary caregivers)	Both Parents	33	33	33
	Grandmother	7	8	7
	Uncle	0	8	4
Did someone help raise you ng with your primary egiver (multiple entries)	Aunt	20	17	19
	Grandmother	33	17	26
	School Matron	0	17	7
	No one	47	49	48
What is the education level of ur primary caregiver	None	57	27	44
	Junior Secondary	0	18	8
	Secondary	29	36	32
	Post Secondary	14	18	16
Other than your primary egiver, which adults played a nificant role in your life ultiple entries)	Aunt	13	30	21
	Uncle	13	15	14
	Teacher	26	46	36
	Grandmother	20	8	14
	Father	7		4
	Both Grandparents	20		11
. In which areas, if any, has kgotla or customary laws yed a significant role in your rsonal development (multiple tries)	Discipline	21	33	25
	Health	26	33	28
	Economics	21	7	17
	Social campaigns for youth	21	13	19
	None	11	13	11
. What is the length of time u have been working at OHO	Less than 6 months	13	0	7
	6-12 months	33	31	33
	1-2 years	27	37	30
	2+ years	27	37	30
. How has your drinking havior changed, if at all, since ning YOHO	Not applicable (does not drink)	33	0	19
	Same as before			
	Reduced	20	33	26
	Increased	26	50	37
		20	17	19
. How has your sexual activity anged, if at all, since joining OHO	Reduced risk	47	58	52
	Same as before	27	25	26
	Not applicable (abstinent)	7	8	7
	Worse	20	8	15
. How has your drug use anged, if at all, since joining OHO	Reduced	26		15
	Stopped	26		15
	Not applicable (does not use)	40	100	70

	Increased	7		4
. As a youth do you feel you : valued and respected at/by ultiple entries)	YOHO Government Adults in Community Church School (previously) Home Other (reported as friends)	45 7 14 7 10 17 3	24 4 8 20 20 24 4	35 6 11 13 15 20 4
. As a youth do you feel :luded in decisions at/by ultiple entries)	YOHO Government Adults in Community Church School (previously) Home Other (reported as friends)	21 9 18 9 18 18 9	22 4 15 19 15 26	21 7 16 13 16 21 5
. Explain how or how not your havior has changed since ing at YOHO and why ultiple entries)	Productive use of time (improved behavior) Responsibility now (improved behavior) Knowledgeable now (improved behavior) Role model now (improved behavior) Stand up for self/resist peers (improved behavior) Self esteem (improved behavior) Not improved (abuse of community influence)	11 33 22 22 22 0 11	0 38 0 25 25 13	6 36 11 24 24 7 6

. Does what you have learned, well as educate others in the mmunity on affect what you lieve and do in your personal e. Explain how and why ultiple entries)	Role model now (improved behavior)	22	38	30
	New attitude/outlook (improved behavior)	33	25	29
	Secondary abstinence (improved behavior)	11	25	18
	Responsibility to community (improved behavior)	22	13	18
	New knowledge (improved behavior)	11	0	6

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