The Status of NEET in Malawi

A Quantitative Analysis of Youth Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) (15 – 24 years old)

Country Report

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Acknowledgements

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADMARC	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation
ALMP	Active labour market policies
DHS	Demographic and Health Surveys
EET	In employment, education or training
ESA	East and Southern Africa
GDP	Gross domestic product
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians
IHS5	Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LMIC	Low to middle income country
MIHS5	Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020
NEET	Not in employment, education or training
NSO	National Statistical Office of Malawi
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPP	Purchasing power parity
SDG	Sustainable development goals
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UN DESA	United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UN Population Division	United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UN Women ESA-RO	UN Women Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Office
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNW	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

1 | INTRODUCTION

Neither good quality education nor productive employment is universally available to the world's youth. The ILO, in their *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2020* estimate that:

> *One-fifth of young people currently have NEET status, which means they are neither gaining experience in the labour market, nor receiving an income from work, nor enhancing their education and skills. Clearly, their full potential is not being realized, though many may be contributing to the economy through unpaid work, which is particularly true of young women.* (ILO 2020)

The NEET indicator, which measures the percentage of young people who are not in employment, education or training, is an important concept that captures a broad array of vulnerabilities among youth. Touching on issues of early school leaving, unemployment and labour market discouragement, NEET status also highlights the issues of youth who are engaged in family labour for own consumption or family domestic and care work and thus not employed[1]. The consequences of high NEET rates are twofold. Firstly, on an individual level, absence from both education and employment increase the risk of poverty and a permanent disengagement from the labour market. Secondly, on a country level, high NEET rates are a loss in terms of unused labour supply, lower productivity and lower GDP output

Young women in East and Southern Africa are disproportionally affected by NEET status. Leaving school early, marriage, assisting with subsistence farming, unpaid domestic work, taking care of family members and fewer opportunities to take up work which may be seen as inappropriate or unsafe for young women, all play
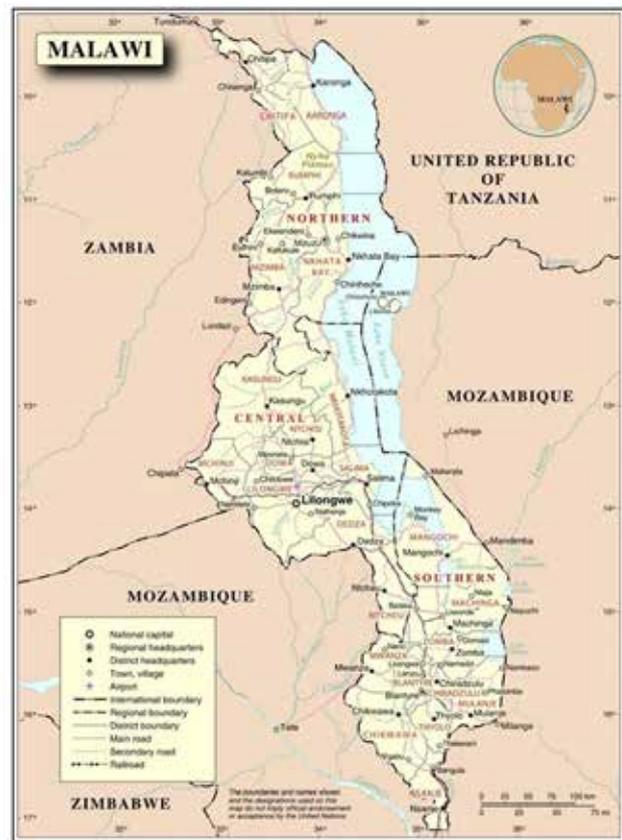
Source: UN GIS 2012

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1   This report uses the definition of work and employment from the 19th ICLS (ILO 2013). See Section 3 for more detail.

a role in the NEET status of young women. NEET status is also more likely to become a permanent state for young women. The NEET rate in many developing countries declines very little for young women between 15 and 24 years old when ten years later the cohort is between the ages of 25 and 34 years (ILO 2020a).

Data from the Malawi's 5th Integrated Household Survey 2020 (MIHS5 2020) shows that 38% of young women are NEET and 23% of young men are NEET[2]. In Malawi, population growth over the past 20 years has outstripped economic growth and while improvements in education enrolment have meant that the 15-19 year old age group has a decreasing number of youth NEET; the 20-24 year age group, especially young women, are increasingly not in employment, education or training.

Young women in Malawi are extremely vulnerable to early marriage and teenage child bearing. MIHS5 2020 data shows that 46% of women in Malawi are married by the time they are 19. Recent data on the 15- to 19-year-old childbirth and pregnancy rate shows that between 29% and 33% have had a child or are pregnant (DHS 2016 Dombola et. al. 2021 and Kasa et. al. 2018).

The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have led to job losses and increases in poverty. Schools and educational institutions have been closed for extended periods. Development initiatives, healthcare services and nutrition levels have all declined since 2020 (UN Women 2020a). Young adults whose place in the labour market is often informal, temporary and tenuous at best have seen greater job and income losses than their parents. Increased numbers of young adults are likely to be lost to the education system. Young women are more vulnerable to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. Interrupted education, economic and food insecurity, disruptions in services and unplanned pregnancy, all increase the risk of early marriage (UNICEF and UNFPA 2021).

To ensure that recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic also reduces the number of youth NEET, especially young women, the UN Women Eastern and Southern African Regional Office has commissioned a quantitative research report on the status of youth NEET in nine East and Southern African countries. This report constitutes the investigation into the status and determinants of NEET in Malawi. To gain greater insight into which policies might best enable both a return to full-time education and a growth in youth employment, the report analyses data from Malawi's 5th Integrated Household Survey (IHS5) which was conducted in 2019 and 2020 and published in 2020 (NSO 2020).

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2   Unless otherwise referenced, the data cited in this document comes from Malawi's 5th Integrated Household Survey 2020. The data extraction and calculations are the author's.

The report is structured as follows:

It will first give an overview of the economic, demographic and gender context of Malawi. Growth prospects and employment opportunities will affect strategies to address the lack of access that young people have to paid work. However, these are affected by the projected size of the youth population and their current socioeconomic status. The interaction between poverty, access to social services and gender norms frequently lead to young women leaving school and into marriage and childbearing before accessing employment (UNICEF and UNFPA 2021).

Using the country's survey data, the next section of the report gives a description of youth by status – NEET, employed or in education. This data is disaggregated by age group and sex. Methodological and definitional issues surrounding the calculation of the NEET rate and the definition of employment used in the survey is discussed in this section.

The third section of the report presents analytical statistics and the determinants of youth NEET. Logistical regression models are used to calculate the probability of young women having NEET status depending on their circumstances. The variables tested for their effect on NEET status are age, marriage, highest level of education attained, time spent in unpaid family agriculture or enterprise, family structure, urban or rural residence.

The fourth section of the report is the conclusion and recommendations that arise from the data analysis. Most of these recommendations reinforce the country's current development agenda and the work done by committed stakeholders and development agencies.

2 | SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

According to the World Bank (2021) the COVID-19 pandemic is increasing poverty in Malawi "especially in the urban areas where the services and industry sectors have been hit hard". Slow recovery, a reduction in government income and increased spending in response to the pandemic will mean that Malawi is at high risk of overall debt distress and has limited space to absorb shocks. As one of the poorest countries in the world, Malawi has very little latitude for government spending on industrial and agricultural development or social programmes.

2.1   Demographic profile by sex and age

Intrinsic to wealth is population growth. This impacts at a macro level in per capita terms, in the labour absorption capacity and in the state's ability to provide services...... Those countries whose population growth rate has slowed down "are much better placed to achieve economic take-off and middle-income status."(Bryceson 2018)

The number of 15-24 year olds as a percentage of the total population of Malawi is 21%. The overall population growth rate is currently 2.7% and the percentage of 15-24 year-olds is estimated to reach nearly 21.5% of the population by 2025 remaining steady at 21% in 2030 (UN Population Division 2019). Figure 1 shows the growth in the number of 15-24 year olds and the number of youth as a percentage of the population. However, Malawi is far from seeing a youth dividend whereby the total number of under 25 year olds begins to decrease as a percentage of the population. Population projections published by the Malawi National Statistics Office (2018) suggest that this will not be attained before 2048.

Total fertility rates in 2018 were 4.2, having declined from 7.6 in 1977. Age specific fertility rates were 0.5 for 15-19 year olds and 1.02 for 20-24 year olds. The fertility rate for the 15-19 year olds has declined very little since the 2008 Census – from 0.6 to 0.5. The fertility rate for the 20-24 year olds declined from 1.3 to 1.02 since 2008 (NSO 2018). Data from the 2015-2016 DHS shows that 22% of all 15-19 year olds had given birth and 7% were pregnant (Blauch and Kumchulesi 2020).

Figure 1: Number of 15-24 year-olds from 2000 projected to 2030
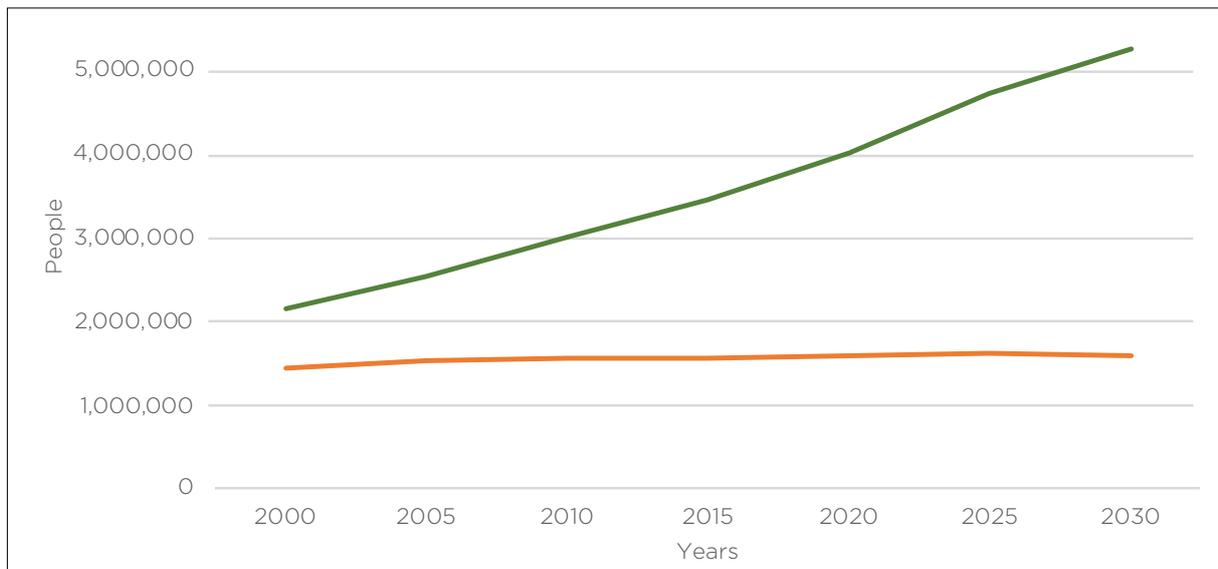
Source: UN Population Division (2019), author's calculations.

Note: Youth is the estimated population ages 15-24. Working-age population is estimated population of ages 15-64.

2.2   Economic growth and structure of the economy in Malawi

Recent economic and structural reforms were starting to yield benefits in sustained economic growth over the past 5 years. In 2018 growth was at 3.5%, increasing to 4.4% in 2019 and growth in 2020 was projected to be nearly 5% before the COVID-19 pandemic (Hettinger et.al. 2020). Decreased demand for exports of agricultural products, the loss of tourism revenue and a decrease in remittances meant a decline in economic growth to less than 1% in 2020 and a slow recovery with a projected real GDP growth of between 2% and 3.3% is expected in 2021. Growth rates are projected to increase to 6% in 2022 (AfDB 2021, IMF 2021). Figure 2 below, based on IMF (2021) projections, shows Malawi's GDP growth rates from 2015 as well as projected growth rates to 2026.

According to the African Development Bank (AfDB 2021) the projected increases in growth in 2022 will be driven by recovery in the tourism and agriculture sectors, exports, foreign direct investment and public investments in infrastructure such as an airport, roads and energy.

The economy will, however, remain heavily dependent on agriculture employing an estimated 80% to 87% of the population and "more than a third of rural households earn(ing) their livelihoods only from farming or fishing. These often poorly paid agricultural jobs are temporary, most usually during the short cropping season and often with the opportunity cost of working their own fields". (IFAD 2021)

Figure 2: GDP per capita and GDP growth rates projected to 2026
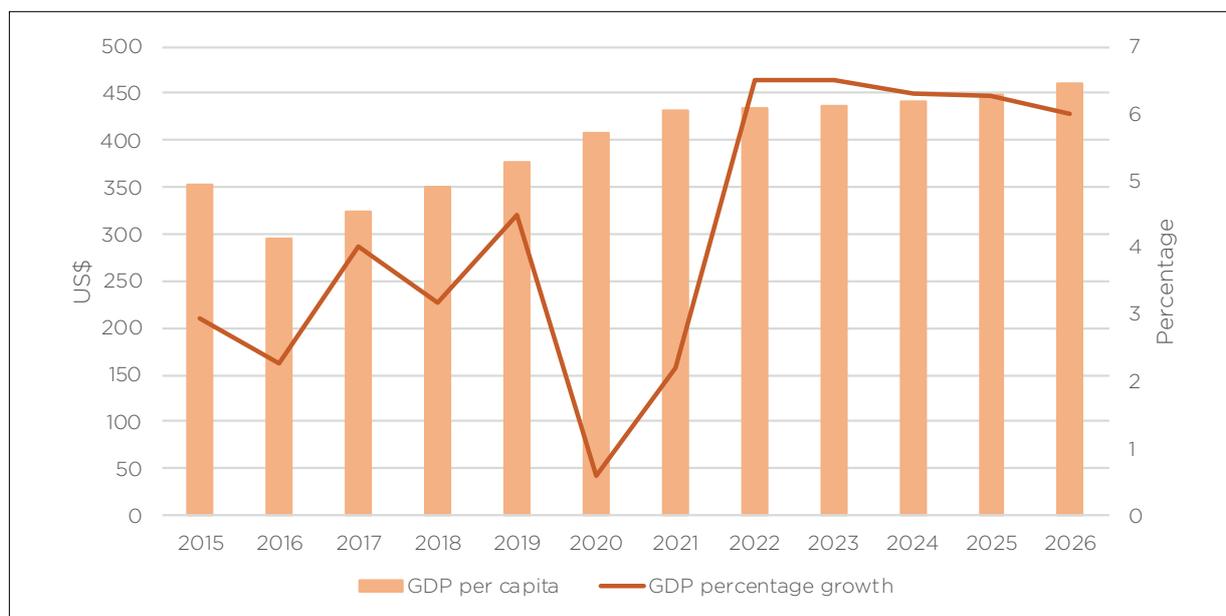
Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database (2021).

2.3   Employment profile

The employment profile of young people between 15-24 years old shows much lower rates of paid employment than those of the entire working population. The following tables show the percentage of 15-24 year-olds who are employed. The majority (24%) are employed in Ganyu or casual labour. 4% of youth are working in family faming and 6% in family enterprise for profit. 9% are enrolled in education and working in family farming or family enterprise for profit. 3% of youth are in wage employment.

Table 1: Percentage of 15-24 year-olds in paid employment in the 7 days* before the survey

	Total Per cent	Women Per cent	Man Per cent
Percentage of youth employed in family farming for profit	4	4	5
Percentage of youth employed in Ganyu/day labour	24	19	29
Percentage of youth in wage employment	3	2	4
Percentage employed in family business enterprise for profit	6	6	5
Percentage enrolled in education and employed in family farming or family business for profit	9	7	12

* Note: Employment numbers are according to the official definition of the ILO and only those who worked in the 7 days prior to the survey. Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of men and women engaged in Ganyu or casual labour at any time during the year and their average daily wage. 3% of children 5-9 years old are engaged in casual labour and earn an average of 317 MK per day. 20% of girls and 22% of boys between 10 and 14 are engaged in casual labour and earn an average of 673 MK per day. Youth between 15 and 19 earn an average daily rate of 1017 MK for women and 1338 MK for men. 45% of women and 62% of men between 20 and 24 years old engage

in casual labour during the year and earn an average of 1592 MK and 1904 MK per day respectively. It is interesting to note that women's daily rate doesn't increase after the 20-24 age category. This could be due to several reasons – in addition to physical strength, men are more likely to be able to work further from home and perhaps be able to develop more specialised skills. It is not possible to know from the ISH5 data what type of casual labour is available or if men are able to work longer hours per day.

Figure 3: Percentage of the population engaged in Ganyu/casual labour at any time in the year* and average daily wage by age group and sex

*Note: These are not percentages of the employed population. Employment numbers used in other tables and graphs are calculated according to the official definition and only those who worked in the 7 days prior to the survey are included.

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

2.4 Unpaid domestic, care and family agricultural work

Subsistence farming on the family plot or smallholding is the predominant form of food production in Malawi with youth enrolled in school and those employed also spending time engaged in family farming for own consumption. 41% of youth engaged in unpaid family farming also attend school, 24% are employed (although most are employed in casual labour or in family businesses) and 35% working on family farms are NEET. A much higher percentage of women NEET and more men students work on the family farm.

Table 2: Percentage of 15-24 year-olds engaged in unpaid family farming by NEET, employed* or in education

	Total Per cent	Women Per cent	Men Per cent
Percentage of NEET engaged in unpaid family agriculture	35	43	26
Percentage employed* and engaged in unpaid family agriculture	24	22	26
Percentage enrolled in education and engaged in unpaid family agriculture	41	34	48

* Note: Employment numbers are according to the official definition of the ILO and only those who worked in the 7 days prior to the survey. Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

2.5 Poverty profile by sex and age

Malawi is one of the poorest countries in the world with 65% of the population living in extreme poverty. With only 7% of Malawian women in wage employment compared to 11% of men, more women (58%) than men (47%) engage in poorly paid agricultural jobs to supplement their income (IHS5 2020, authors calculations). Casual, part time or locally named Ganyu labour in rural areas is predominantly farming. Given that 29% of rural households are headed by women and 89% of women headed households are engaged in farming as their only source of income either by selling some of the crops produced or by doing Ganyu labour, reliance on agriculture leaves women and their children vulnerable to food shortages and persistent poverty (NSO, 2020).

Figure 4 shows the percentage of the population living in extreme poverty (less than US$ 1.90 per day) for selected countries in this NEET study (UN Women et. al. 2020b). The impact of poverty affects more women and children than men. With only 7% of Malawian women in wage employment compared to 11% of men, more women (58%) than men (47%) engage in poorly paid agricultural jobs to supplement their income (IHS5 2020, authors calculations). Casual, part time or locally named Ganyu labour in rural areas is predominantly farming. Given that 29% of rural households are headed by women and 89% of women headed households are engaged in farming as their only source of income either by selling some of the crops produced or by doing Ganyu labour, reliance on agriculture leaves women and their children vulnerable to food shortages and persistent poverty (NSO, 2020).

Figure 4: Percentage of population living in extreme poverty in selected East and Southern African countries by sex and age
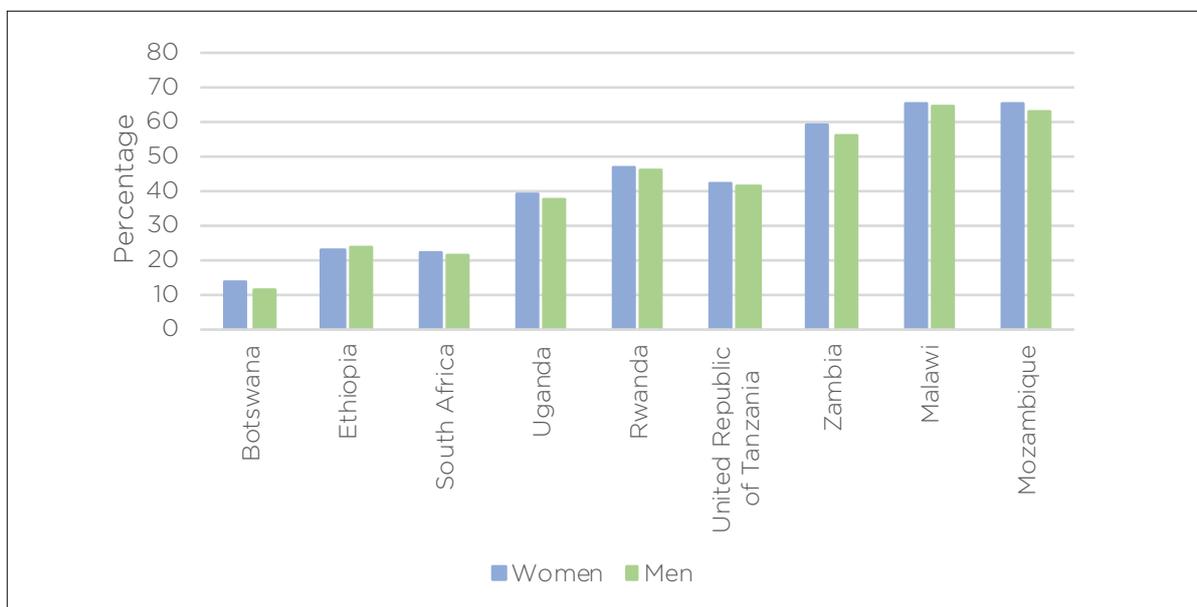
Note: Extreme poverty is below US$ 1.90 per person per day in 2011 parity purchasing power (PPP).

Source: UN Women et. al. (2020b) Annex 4: Estimates and Forecasts of Extreme Poverty by Sex and Age - Population aged 15-24.

Figure 5: Percentage of youth living in extreme poverty by sex (15-24)
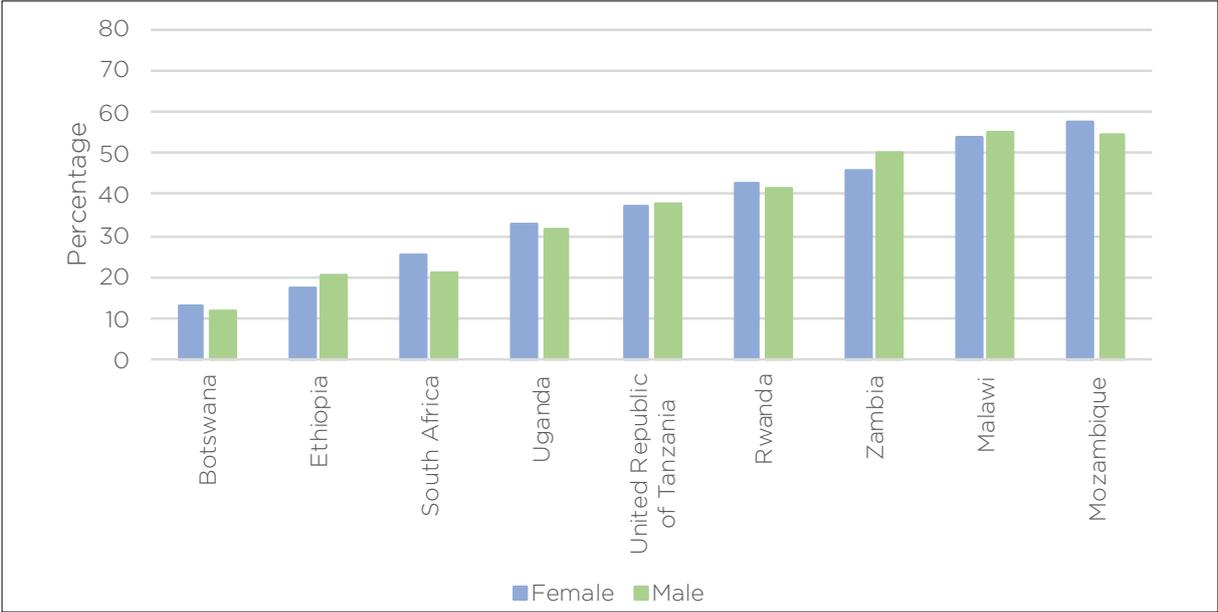
Note: Extreme poverty is below US$ 1.90 per person per day in 2011 parity purchasing power (PPP).

Source: UN Women et. al. (2020b) Annex 4: Estimates and Forecasts of Extreme Poverty by Sex and Age - Population aged 15-24.

3 | ANALYSIS OF THE IHS5 2020 SURVEY: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

The Malawi Government's Fifth Integrated Household Survey 2020 (IHS5) was conducted between 2019 and 2020 and collected data from 11 434 households. This data was used to look at the profile of youth between the ages of 15 and 24 with a focus on youth not in employment, education and training. For the purposes of this description the number of youth and the percentages were calculated from the sum of the weighted totals. In the case of those youth living outside of the household, their respective household weighting was used.

> *"Youth NEET are a highly diverse group and reasons for being NEET vary. There are many reasons why a young person may leave school and not actively be seeking a job. They may face particular obstacles; have other demands on their time such as assisting in family own use farm or enterprise production; they may be disabled, and/or there may simply be (or perceived to be) no suitable jobs available"* (ILO 2020b).

The relative number of youth NEET in a country is affected by how many 15-24 year-olds are able to access education or employment. To understand the drivers of NEET, it is also important to look at the prospects for youth in both of these areas. This section is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of the labour market or education system in South Africa but uses the country survey data to examine the number of youth enrolled in education and/or employed as well as the nature, where possible, of the work they do.

3.1   Definitions of NEET and employment

Across East and Southern Africa the NEET rates are affected by the precise definition of employment captured in the various household survey instruments – which may differ slightly by survey and by country. Many countries are still in the process of updating household and labour force surveys to reflect the definition of employment as revised at the ILO 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 2013 (ILO 2013).

The major revision in the definition of employment in the 19th ICLS is that it *excludes* "own use production work comprising production of goods and services for *own final use*" (ILO 2013). In East and Southern Africa NEET rates using the definition of employment from the 19th ICLS standards are substantially higher than the NEET rates using the 13th ICLS (1982) definition of employment (ILO 2013). The removal of "production of goods and services for *own final use*" from the definition of employment effectively increases the numbers of NEET youth – especially in largely subsistence agricultural countries where young people assist with family agricultural production for own final use. There may also

be more youth currently engaged in family production for own use that now become defined as unemployed – hence also potentially raising the youth unemployment rate.

The process of updating household and labour force surveys to reflect the 19th ICLS standards takes time and care needs to be taken with the design of the survey questionnaires so they reflect the standards as defined. Measuring the differences in work for pay or profit (and therefore employed) versus work for production of goods and services for own final use (and therefore not employed) can be particularly sensitive to questionnaire design – especially amongst groups in less formal employment such as youth and women. In a review by the ILO and the World Bank in Sri Lanka more detailed and carefully structured survey questions find differences in the numbers and hours of paid employment – including increased numbers of women engaged in small enterprise activities. They also find greater hours worked than previously reported in unpaid family work. (Discenza 2021).

A detailed review of employment data in household surveys by the World Bank finds that household and labour force surveys that do not have questions designed to elicit the revised definition of employment tend to collect data that overstates employment in both youth and women (Desiere and Costa 2019). Klasen (2018) points out that there is likely to be a discontinuity in comparisons of NEET before and after countries implement changes to the 2013 19th ICLS standards. In addition, countries are likely to have different time-scales for the implementation of the new standards. Care should be taken with both inter-country and in-country comparisons over time.

Definition of NEET

Youth not in employment, education or training is the indicator of the Sustainable Development Goal 8, Target 6: "By 2020 substantially reduce the proportion of youth aged 15-24 not in employment, education or training". According to UN DESA (2021) the youth NEET rate differs from the youth unemployment rate as it includes the discouraged work seeker category as well as those who are outside the labour force and not in education or training (ILO 2013).

The NEET rate is calculated as follows*:

NEET rate (%) = $\dfrac{\text{total number of youth aged 15-24} - (\text{number of youth aged 15-24 in employment} + \text{number of youth aged 15-24 in education or training})}{\text{total number of youth aged 15-24}}$ X100

It is important to note that the indicator is composed of two different sub-groups – unemployed youth (actively seeking work) not in education or training as well as youth outside the labour force (not actively seeking work) not in education or training. Unemployed youth who are in education and training who should not be counted as NEET.

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*Education is formal or non-formal education (institutionalised, intentional and planned by an education provider).

Employment is defined as all persons of working age who, during a short reference period (one week), were engaged in any activity to produce goods or provide services for pay or profit. This specifically excludes work in family agriculture or family enterprises for own consumption and it excludes unpaid domestic and care work.

Training is a non-academic learning activity through which a person acquires specific skills intended for vocational or technical jobs. (UN DESA 2021)

Implications of the 19th ICLS definition of the labour force for NEET rate calculations

This report uses the Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey 2020 (IHS5) for the analysis of youth NEET. The published report on the IHS5 2020 does not state explicitly that it follows the 19th ICLS protocol (NSO Malawi 2020). However, survey questions on employment for wage, casual labour, household business, helping in the family business and agriculture for sale or own consumption are compatible with the 19th ICLS definition of labour.

Using the 19th ICLS standards, this report shows a NEET rate of 39% for women between 15 and 24, and a NEET rate of 23% for men between 15 and 24; whereas the ILO *Modelled Estimates* in the ILO Data Explorer which use the 13th ICLS standards show a 12% NEET rate for women between 15 and 24 and a 5% NEET rate for men between 15 and 24 (https://ilostat.ilo.org/).

Table 3: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020 ICLS standards

ICLS standards used in survey	Implication for calculated NEET rates in this report
ICLS standards used: Not stated in the survey report (NSO Malawi 2020).	**Children living outside of the household:** The analysis of survey data does not include children living outside the household.
Children living outside of the household: The Roster of family members includes some information on children living outside of the household. It is not possible to know if this roster is complete and whether these children may be living in their own household and therefore included in the sample frame.	**Employed, if in the past 7 days:** 1) Worked for a wage/salary OR 2) Engaged in casual, part-time/ganyu labour OR 3) Ran any kind of non-agric/non-fishing HH business OR
Wage: Asks separately if worked for wage/salary or ganyu (casual labour).	4) Helped in any kind of non-agric/non-fishing HH business OR
Agriculture: Survey asks if agricultural activities are for family use or for sale. But then two further questions specifically asks hours spent in livestock and fishing activities. We assume the identification of family use or for sale also refers to livestock and fishing.	5) Worked in family agriculture for sale. OR 6) Is temporarily absent from any of the above.
The economic activity for any household agriculture is defined as "UNPAID HOUSEHOLD LABOR (AGRIC)" – regardless of whether previous questions distinguish agriculture for family use or for sale.	**Not employed if:** 1) Worked in household agricultural activities for family use only. OR
Household business enterprise: The survey asks if ran or helped in any household non-agricultural/non-fishing household business. Does not distinguish between for family use or for sale	2) Unpaid apprentice or volunteer. OR
Other unpaid work related questions: Asks how many hours spent collecting fuel/fire wood and water.	3) Collected wood or water

3.2 Population of youth by sex and age (15-24)

Table 4 and Figure 6 shows the number of young people in the IHS5 2020 who were living in the household at the time of the survey. The sample when weighted gives a total of 3 691 315 youth between the ages of 15-24, 1 889 560 (51%) women and 1 801 754 (49%) men. The total number of youth 15 to 19 year-olds represented in the survey as living in the household is 2 158 567 and youth from 20 to 24 is 1 532 747.

Table 4: Total number of youth year olds living in the household by sex and age (15-24)

	Total	Women	Men
15-19 years	2 158 567	1 069 756	1 088 811
20-24 years	1 532 747	819 804	712 943
Total	3 691 315	1 889 560	1 801 754

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Figure 6: Population of youth living in the household by sex and age (15-24)
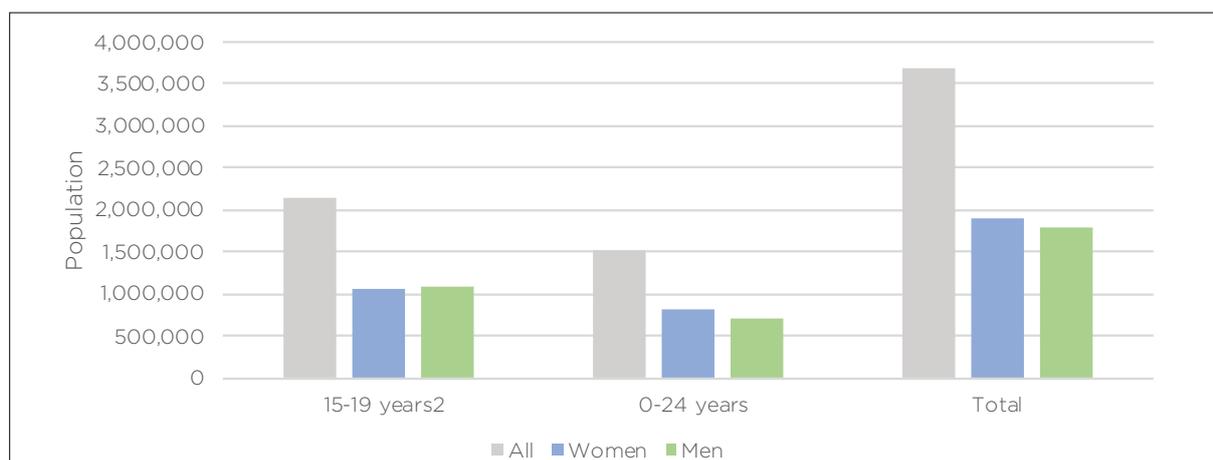
Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

The ratio of women to men in Table 5 shows a marked difference between the 15-19 year-olds (0.98) and the 20-24 year-olds (1.15). This difference between the two is likely to be due to the greater number of young men who leave the household for education, employment or seeking employment and are living in hostels, at their places of work or sleeping rough and therefore they aren't included in the survey.

Table 5: Percentage of women and men living in the household by age (15-24)

	Women Per cent	Men Per cent	Ratio of women to men
15-19 years	50	50	0.98
20-24 years	53	47	1.15
Total	51	49	1.05

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

There are fairly large numbers of young men and women living outside the household that have not been included in the IHS5 survey. The IHS5 survey has a roster of "Children living outside the household" which gives limited data on the individuals but does not state where they are living. It is not possible to know how many of these family members are living in households or hostel-type dwellings. A comparison of the IHS5 numbers with the UNDP population estimates for 15-24 year olds suggests that that most of the youth in the "children living outside the household roster" are living in other households and are therefore *included* in the sample frame of other households.

However, there are still a sizable number of youth living outside the household who are not in the sample frame of other households. Comparing the UNDP estimates of the 15-24 year old population with the IHS5 15-24 year old population shows that just over 318 000 (8.6%) youth in total are not included in the IHS5 survey – 114 000 (6%) female and 204 000 (11%) males (UNDP estimates in UN Women et. al. 2020b).

3.3   Education profile of youth

Current enr enrolled in education compared to 50% of men.

Figure 7: Percentage of youth enrolled in education by sex and age (15-24)
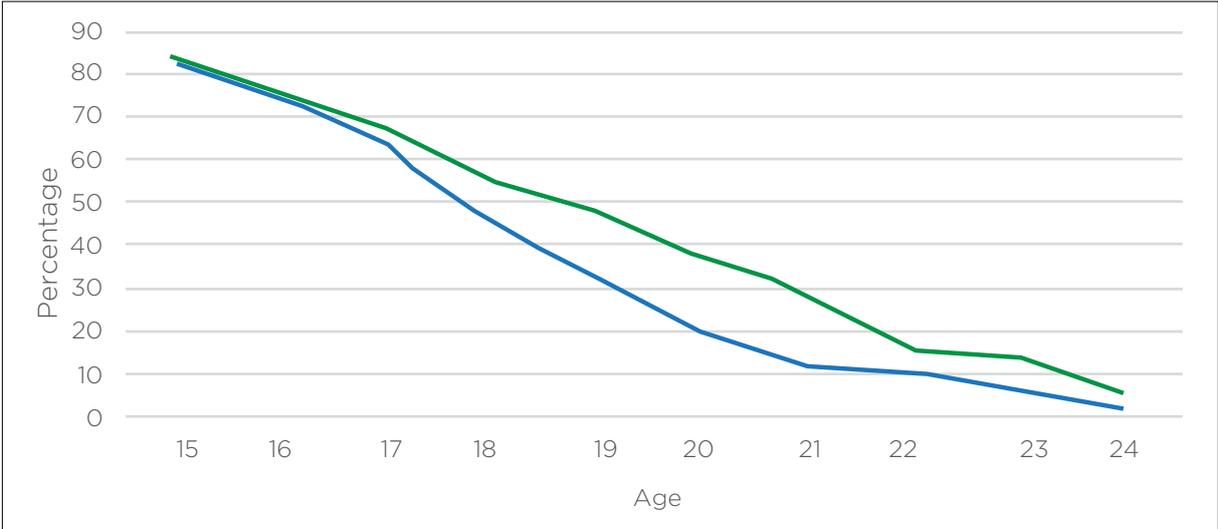
Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Data from the IHS5 on highest grade in education attained is summarised into levels – primary grades 1-4, 5-7 and grade 8 which would be considered as completed primary school. It also summarises highest secondary school grades attained into secondary grade 1 and 2; and secondary grade 3 and 4.

Since education attainment in the age group 15-19 is still on-going it is more useful to look at the education attainment of the age group 20-24 which is either close to completed or completed (16% of 20-24 year-olds are still enrolled in education). 5% of 20-24 year-olds have never attended school, 14% have attained primary grade 4 or less, 28% have between grade 5 and 7; and 13% have completed primary school as their highest level attained. In terms of secondary and higher education, 13% have attained secondary grade 1 or 2; 23% have attained secondary grade 4 or 5; 1% are either attending or have

completed training college and 2% are attending or have completed university as shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Percentage of youth by highest level of education attained, sex and age (15-24)
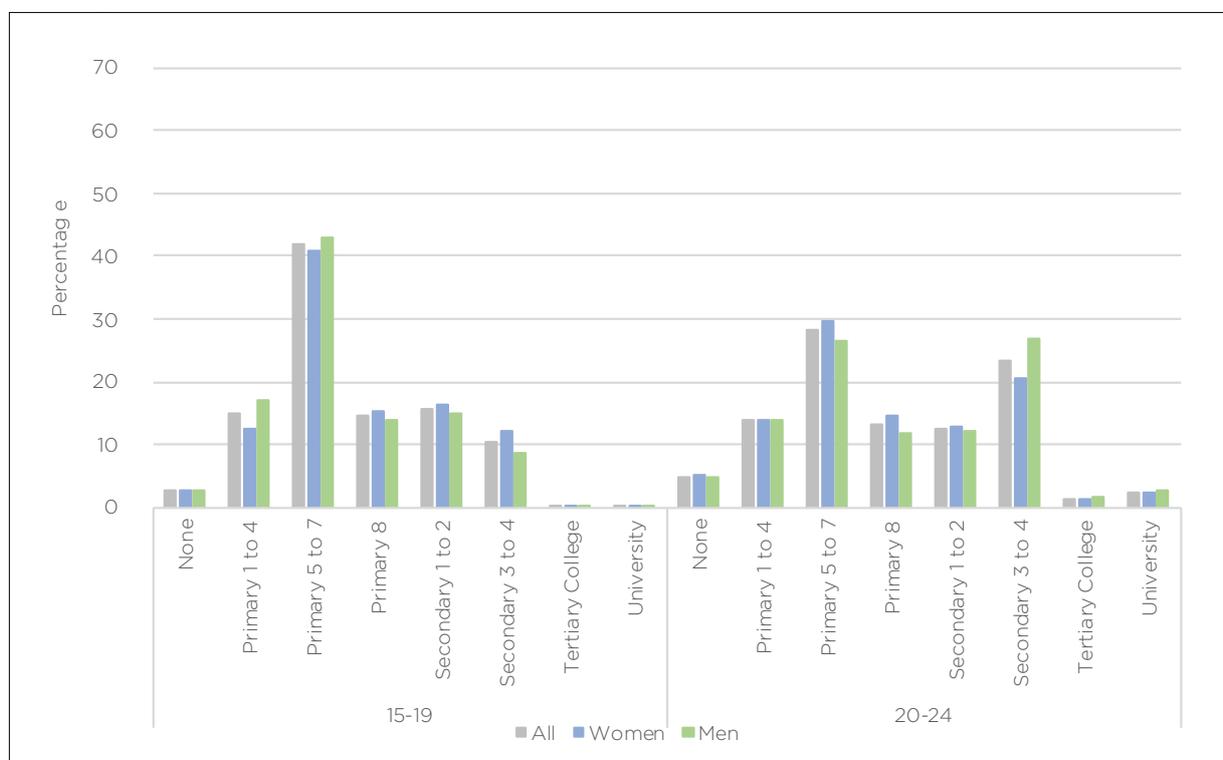
Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Table 6: Percentage of youth by highest level of education attained, sex and age (15-24)

		Women Per cent	Men Per cent	Ratio of women to men
15-19	None	3	3	1.00
	Primary 1-4	13	17	0.73
	Primary 5-7	41	43	0.93
	Primary 8	15	14	1.07
	Secondary 1-3	16	15	1.08
	Secondary 4-5	12	9	1.38
	Training college	0.1	0.1	1.59
	Higher education	0.3	0.1	2.14
20-24	None	5	5	0.98
	Primary 1-4	14	14	1.24
	Primary 5-7	30	27	1.15
	Primary 8	14	12	1.28
	Secondary 1-3	13	12	1.41
	Secondary 4-5	21	27	1.22
	Training college	1	1	0.89
	Higher education	2	3	0.96

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

3.4 Overview of youth by activity status

Malawi has a total of 1.147 million youth NEET which constitutes 31% of all youth (39% of women and 23% of men). Of this number 731 829 are women and 414 707 are men. This is 64% women and 36% men of total NEET.

However, it is important to disaggregate the percentages of youth by activity and age group as well as by sex. Relatively high enrolment in education means that the number of NEET in the 15-19 age group is half that of the 20-24 age group. In addition, the number of NEET women becomes proportionately greater than men with 26% of 15-19 year-old women NEET and a women to men ratio of 1.48; while 55% of 20-24 year-old women are NEET with a women to men ratio of 2.00.

Figure 9 and Table 7 show the percentage of youth who are NEET, in employment only, who are in employment and enrolled in education. Youth often leave school for short periods to engage in paid employment as casual labour or in family businesses; as well as in unpaid employment in family farming or family businesses as required by seasonal demands or to fill in for absent family members (Kafle et. al. 2019). Half of 15-19 year olds are in education (51%) while 22% are NEET. The remaining 27% are either in employment only or enrolled in education as well as employed.

For those aged 20-24, 40% are in employment, 44% are NEET, 12% are enrolled in education and 3% are in employment and enrolled in education at the same time.

Figure 9: Percentage of youth (15 to 24) by activity status – NEET; employed; employed and in education; and in education only, by sex and age group
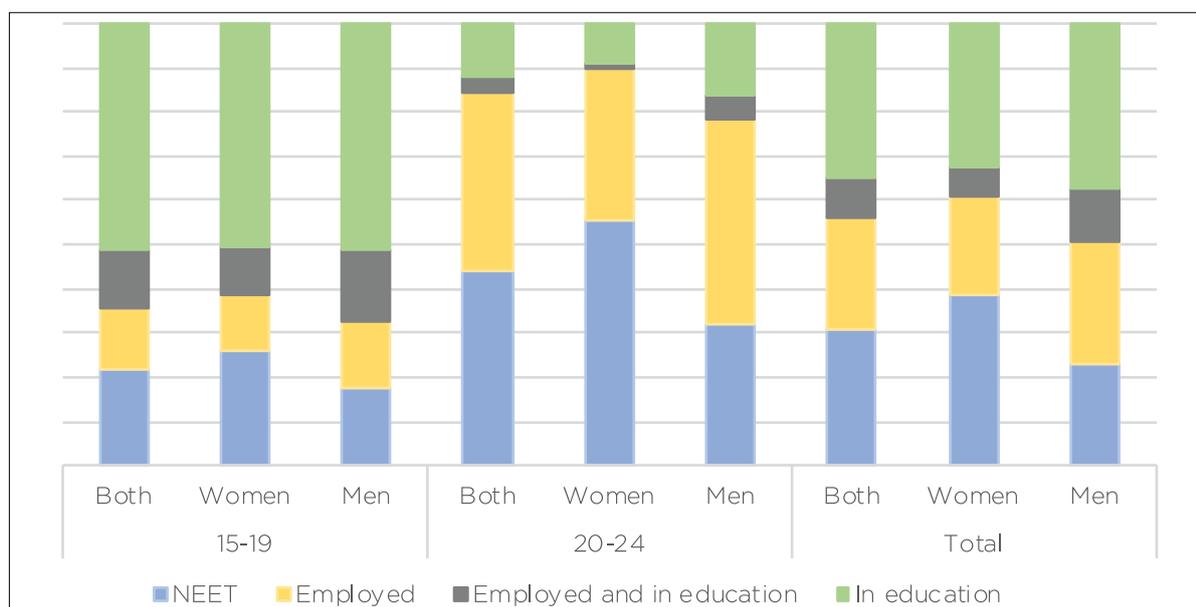
Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Table 7: Percentage of youth by activity status – NEET; employed; employed and in education; and in education only, by sex 15-24

	Age Group	Women Per cent	Men Per cent	Ratio of women to men
NEET	15-19	26	17	1,48
	20-24	55	32	2,00
	Total	39	23	1,76
Employed	15-19	13	16	0,79
	20-24	34	47	0,85
	Total	22	28	0,83
Employed and in education	15-19	11	16	0,66
	20-24	2	5	0,36
	Total	7	12	0,61
In education	15-19	51	51	0,97
	20-24	9	16	0,62
	Total	33	37	0,91

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

3.5 Marriage and childbirth

The MIHS5 2020 data that is published does not have childbirth data for individual women. Data on where a birth took place is collected and published in the report on the MIHS5 (NSO 2020) but this data is collected at the individual *child* level so it is not possible to know who in the household is the child's mother.

In terms of age of marriage, Figure 10 shows the percentage of youth married or cohabiting by NEET and EET status. At 15, 16 and 17 years old 1%, 5% and 12% of young women are married. At 18 years old, which is the legal minimum age for marriage in Malawi, 30% of women are married and of the women married the majority are NEET. By 24 years old 83% of women are married with an equal proportion of NEET to EET. Young men get married at approximately 3 years older than women with 30% of men married at 21 years old and 57% married at 24. Unlike women, only 1 in 5 married men are NEET.

Figure 10: Youth by marriage status and age, NEET and EET
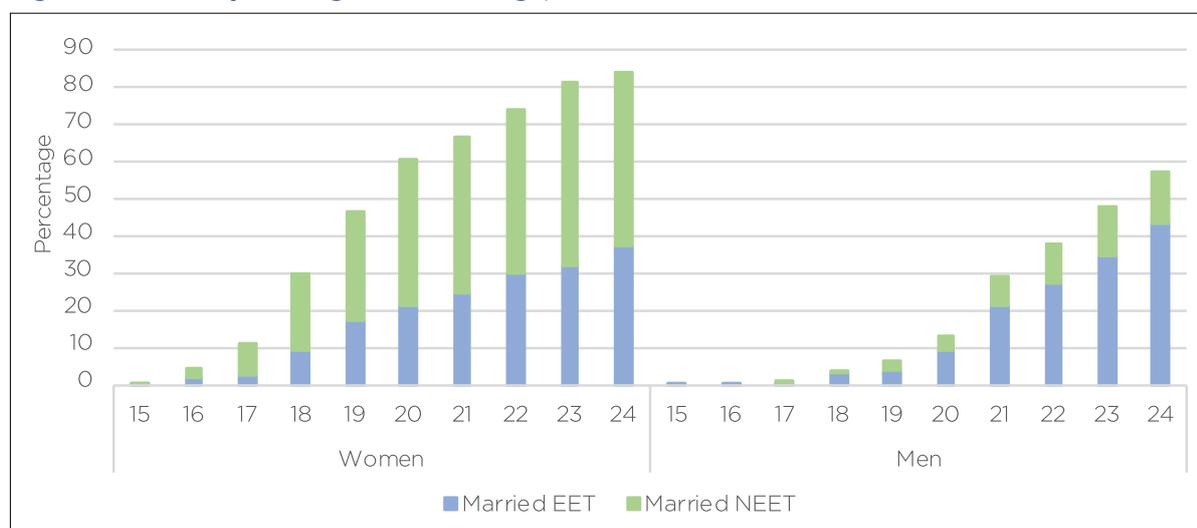
Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

4 | DETERMINANTS OF YOUTH NEET

The descriptive data from the MIHS5 2020 shows the differences in young women and men in terms of their enrolment in education, employment status and NEET status. While more young women are enrolling in higher levels of education than men, they are not entering the labour market at the same rate as their male peers. Women have higher NEET rates and higher unemployment rates than men. It is important to attempt to understand what identifiable factors in the Malawian context might determine why women are more likely to be NEET than men.

In other research on the individual and household factors associated with the number of years of education attained it has been fairly widely ascertained that socioeconomic status, education levels of parents, availability of learning resources such as books and electricity, time spent on household chores, distance from school and nutritional status are amongst the most important (Bashir et. al. 2018, Karamperidou et. al. 2020 and Lewin 2011). Similar factors are associated with the probability of youth and women's employment (Klasen 2018 and O'Higgins 2017). For young women in particular, early marriage, childbirth and gender norms around the cost benefits of further years of education as well as gender norms around household roles and the suitability of certain employment for women, impacts on both education levels attained and employment (Comblon 2017 and Nieuwenhuis 2018).

In order to ascertain whether there is an association between these factors and the probability of being NEET a multivariate logistic regression model was constructed with NEET status as the dependent variable. Independent variables were tested based on research as mentioned above and the descriptive analysis of the data from the MIHS5 2020 which shows possible correlations between NEET and sex, age group, marriage, highest level of education attained, urban or rural residence and involvement in family farming for own use.

This section of the report is structured as follows: The first section gives the structure of the model and the method used in coding the variables for analysis is given. In the second section the findings of the model are presented and the associations between NEET and background characteristics such as sex, age, marital status, and family composition are analysed. Lastly, some limitations of the model are explained.

4.1 Structure of the logistic regression model

A multivariate logistic regression is a widely used statistical method appropriate to the categorical nature of survey data. As well as the dependant variable (NEET status) being categorical, many of the independent variables in the survey data are categorical such as sex, married, highest level of education, urban/rural.

The logistic model is:

$$\log(\pi/(1-\pi))=\beta 0 + \beta 1X1 + \beta 2X2 + \beta 3X3 \ldots\ldots\ldots$$

where $\Pr(Y=1)=\pi$

$\beta 1, \beta 2, \beta 3\ldots.$ are the Odds Ratios of X1, X2, X3 respectively

The model was run in *Stata* as a weighted sample of the survey set.

Individual level data for all 15 to 24 year olds was compiled from the GHS 2019 for the regression analysis. The following data from the survey was used: Individual demographic information; individual education and employment data; household composition data and urban/rural location. Data was coded as noted in Table 8 which lists the variables used in the model.

Table 8: List of variables used in the logistic regression model and method used for compiling the coding

Variable	Type of variable and code used	Method used to compile codes
Dependent variable		
NEET status	Dummy variable 0 = not NEET 1 = NEET	Labour and time use data was used to establish employed or not; Education data used to establish in education or not.
Independent variables		
Sex	Dummy variable Male = 0 Female = 1	Data on individual respondent.
Age group	Dummy variable 15 to 19 = 0 20 to 24 = 1	Data on individual respondent. Age in years coded as age group.
Married	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Data on individual respondent.
Relationship to head of household	Dummy variable Child = 0 Head = 1 Parent = 2 Other adult = 3 Grandchild = 4	Data on individual respondent.
Urban/rural	Dummy variable Rural = 0 Urban = 1	Household data.

Variable	Type of variable and code used	Method used to compile codes
Highest level of education	Dummy variable with 7 categories None = 0 Prim 1-4 = 1 Prim 5-7 = 2 Prim 8 = 3 Sec 1-3 = 4 Sec 4-6 = 5 Higher Ed = 6	Data on the highest grade attained was coded into none; lower and senior primary; lower and senior secondary; training; higher education; and adult literacy.
Household composition	Number of children under 15 years old Number of adult dependents Number of adults employed Total number of household members	Data on individual respondent's household members.
Distance to ADMARC	In kilometres	Community data
Public transport available	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Community data
Household receives social grant	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Household data.
Agricultural project offering employment	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Household data
Household as a beneficiary of a development project or social support programme	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Household data
Programme offers food including school feeding	Dummy variable No = 0 Yes = 1	Data on individual respondent.

There were substantial differences observed in the descriptive data between the age groups and between women and men. This includes the number who are NEET, in education, employed, married and type of household they may live in. In order to establish whether the various factors impact differently on the NEET rate depending on age group and gender four separate models were run as follows:

- All 15-19 year-olds;
- Only 15-19 year old women;
- All 20-24 year-olds;
- Only 20-24 year old women.

Note: The models were run separately and the effective sample is different for each demographic group and shows the results *while controlling for all other variables* in that model (unless the data is not available in which case it is denoted by n.d.). The *odds ratios* of each variable in each model is shown in a combined table only for convenience of discussing the impact on NEET on the different groups.

4.2　Findings of the model

The results of the logistic regressions are in Table 9, Table 10 and Table 11 which show the association between the independent variables and the probability of being NEET. While the results are shown in 3 tables the models were run while controlling for all the variables in the tables at the same time.

Impact of individual characteristics

Marriage: The greatest determining factor for being NEET is being married. Even in the models including women and men, the impact of marriage is large with the probability of being NEET rising by a factor of 3.6 for all age groups, 5.7 for all 15-19 year-olds and all 2.1 for 20-24 year-olds. Since young men generally only start marrying in their 20s, this increased impact of marriage is largely felt by women. The impact of marriage on women increases the chance of being NEET by a factor of 7 for 15-19 year-old women. This means that in this age group a young woman is seven times more likely to be NEET than her unmarried counterpart. Between the ages of 20-24 a married woman is 6.4 times more likely to be NEET than her unmarried counterparts.

Age group: As seen in the descriptive statistics where more 20-24 year-olds are NEET than their younger counterparts, age has a significant impact on NEET status with 20-24 year-olds having 2.47 times greater chance of being NEET.

Urban/Rural: Living in an urban area increases the probability of being NEET, most particularly for 20-24 year-olds where the probability of being NEET increases by a factor of 1.71 for both men and women and 1.80 for the regression run with only women 20-24 year-olds. Possibly more youth are migrating to urban areas in search of work and are finding itinerant odd jobs that aren't defined as employment in the survey questionnaire which does have somewhat ridged categories of wage, business owner, Ganyu, and family farming or family business.

Education: The number of years of education reduces the probability of being NEET substantially. For all 15-19 year-olds the chance of being NEET is reduced by 51% by attaining some education compared to none at all. Attaining more years of schooling – up to grade 7 reduces the chance of being NEET by 84% over having no education at all.

Interestingly the impact of education attainment on young women 15-19 years old NEET status is less profound. Education up to grade 3 reduces the probability of being NEET by 38% and the attainment of between grade 4 and 7 reduces the probability of being NEET by a further 32 percentage points.

The results of education attainment on NEET are probably more instructive for the age group 20-24 as they have mostly completed their schooling. Attainment of grades by both women and men up to grade 4 have no statistically significant impact on NEET over no schooling at all, while the completion of primary school (grade 8) reduces the likelihood of NEET by 18%. Attainment of secondary grades 1-2 and grades 3-4 reduce the likelihood of becoming NEET by 65%. Post-secondary attainment reduces it by 92%.

Some important points need to be made about the impact of education on the 20-24 year-old women only group. It is only when attaining secondary grades 1 and 2 as the highest level of education that reductions in the probability of young women becoming NEET are meaningful and decrease by 50%. Attaining post-secondary education has the same impact on women only as both sexes together – a reduction of 92%.

Table 9: Results of logistic regressions for youth NEET status – individual characteristics

Category (omitted variable in parenthesis)	Variable	15-19 year-olds		20-24 year-olds	
		Women and men	Women only	Women and men	Women only
		Odds Ratio			
Location (Rural)	Urban	1.43***	1.17	1.71***	1.80***
Sex (Man)	Woman	1.39***		2.45***	
Relationship to head of household (child)	Head	0.38***		0.22***	0.18***
	Grandchild	0.66***	0.69	0.31***	0.22**
Highest level of education (none)	Prim 1-4	0.49***	0.62		
	Prim 5-7	0.16***	0.30***	0.80	
	Prim 8	0.11***	0.25***	0.72	
	Sec 1-2	0.06***	0.13***	0.34***	0.50**
	Sec 3-4	0.6***	0.12***	0.35***	0.60
	Post-secondary	-	-	0.08***	0.09***
Married	Yes	5.71***	7.07***	2.14***	6.35***

Note: Statistical significance indicated as follows: * = p <.10; ** = p < .05; *** = p < .01. Some coefficients with statistical significance of up to p < 0.3 where retained – these have no asterisk. Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Results on Individual Household Variables

The regression model includes the number of dependents below the age of 15; adult dependents over the age of 18; wage earners and total number of household members. These are all large and statistically significant determinants of NEET. Number of children under the age of 5 in the household were tested and have little impact on the probability of being NEET and were also not statistically significant.

The greatest impact of family structure on NEET is the number of adult dependents. It increases the likelihood of both women and men youth being NEET – but more particularly young men between 15 and 19 – who are possibly leaving school to find employment, having to assist on the family farm or doing casual work.

Table 10 shows the results of the broader household factors such as whether the mother or father are living away from the household or they are dead or their whereabouts unknown – compared to those living in the household. The greatest impact in this regard is on the younger age group where the father living outside the household or being dead increases the likelihood of being NEET by a factor of up to 1.8 for all age groups.

The number of income earners in the household reduces the probability of being NEET even if this income is sporadic from Ganyu labour, family farming or family enterprises.

Table 10: Results of logistic regressions for youth NEET status – household characteristics

		15-19 year-olds		20-24 year-olds	
		Women and men	Women only	Women and men	Women only
Category (omitted variable in parenthesis)	Variable	Odds Ratio			
Mother's whereabouts	Living away from household	1.04	0.867	1.64**	2.24***
	Dead/unknown	1.38**	1.15	1.95***	3.24***
Father's whereabouts	Living away from household	1.63***	1.81***	-	-
	Dead/unknown	1.58***	1.97***	-	-
Household characteristics	No of children under 15	1.47***	1.32***	1.28	1.16
	No of adult dependents	1.87***	1.62***	2.22	2.75***
	No of adult wage earners	0.47***	0.48***	0.11	0.05***
	Total no of household members	0.70	0.81**	0.85	

Note: Statistical significance indicated as follows: * = p <.10; ** = p < .05; *** = p < .01. Some coefficients with statistical significance of up to p < 0.3 where retained – these have no asterisk.

Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Results of community characteristics variables

Few community factors had much impact nor were statistically significant, but this area requires more detailed investigation than was within the scope of this paper – especially the impact of government grants and agricultural programmes on women. 20-24 year-old women are most impacted by the availability public transport which decreased the likelihood of being NEET by 14%. The distance to the larger ADMARC market is statistically significant but does not decrease the probability of being NEET. Notable for reducing the probability of being NEET is the presence of an agricultural project offering employment opportunities. This reduces NEET status by 14% and is statistically significant.

The other community factor included was whether the household was the recipient of a community programme or social welfare transfer. These were recoded to group food disbursements to households and school feeding schemes; cash transfers; and work programmes. While work programmes are probably duplicates and may be collinear to the agricultural projects offering employment it was felt that the results were sufficiently indicative to include.

In relation to whether the household was the beneficiary of a development project or social support programme the greatest probability of a reduction in the NEET rate were in the 20-24 year-old cohort.

Again, while not being statistically significant, it is noteworthy that programmes that offer food support decreased the probability of NEET in the 15-19 year-olds. This is possibly due to feeding schemes in schools.

Table 11: Results of logistic regressions for youth NEET status – community characteristics

		15-19 year-olds		20-24 year-olds	
		Women and men	Women only	Women and men	Women only
Distance to ADMARC market					1***
Public transport available in local community	Yes				0.86
Agricultural project offering employment	Yes				0.86***
Household as a beneficiary of a development project or social support programme	Yes			0.59**	0.53**
Programme offers food including school feeding	Yes		0.85		

Note: Statistical significance indicated as follows: * = p <.10; ** = p < .05; *** = p < .01. Some coefficients with statistical significance of up to p < 0.3 where retained – these have no asterisk. Variables tested and discarded are discussed in section 4.2.4. Source: Malawi Fifth Integrated Household Survey data 2020. Author's calculations.

Additional sensitivity analysis and discarded variables

Several variables were tested and discarded due to both a lack of meaningful results and no statistical significance and it is worth mentioning some of these.

Socio-economic status: Prevailing literature finds that the socio-economic status of households has a positive and determining effect on the health, education attainment and employment outcomes for individuals (Deaton 1997). In the absence of detailed calculations of household income or expenditure, a proxy for household wealth is usually possible to construct – such as housing type, access to water, ownership of household items and food shortages reported by the household (Malpezzi 2002). All these proxies were tested stepwise and socio-economic status *on its own* had some impact on reducing NEET. However, as soon as additional variables were added (such as sex, age group and marriage) the impact of socio-economic status diminished – but most especially when highest level of education was added. Added at any point in the stepwise regression, highest level of education reduced the impact and statistical significance of socio-economic status. Given the relatively high correlation between socio-economic status and highest level of education, it is likely that collinearity is affecting the outcome.

Number of children under 5 in the household: There was no data in the IHS5 on number of children that a parent may have had. The number of children in the household under the age of 5 was tested for its impact on NEET and the coefficient was close to 1 and not statistically significant. There are possibly enough extended family members to assist with childcare should a 15 to 19 year old have a child and the support of their family to return to school, or should a 20-24 year old have a child and have the opportunity to do work for an income.

Community wide variables: An array of detailed information is collected in the IHS5 from the surrounding community and a multitude of variables are available that could be examined for their impact on households' general well-being and thus that of youth. A few of these variables were extracted and examined for their possible impact on NEET. The extent of isolation was examined by looking at the size of the community, the proximity to road networks, the availability of public transport, proximity to markets, the distance to the closest schools and availability of services such as healthcare. None of these were found to impact on NEET or to be statistically significant. However, further research on the impact of community variables is warranted.

5 | NEET POLICY AND PROGRAMMES

There are a number of findings from the descriptive statistics and the regression model that could contribute to policy aimed at reducing NEET in young women. However, the most profound is the impact of early marriage on NEET rates. Marriage in Malawi is accompanied with pregnancy and childbirth and Malawi has the second highest adolescent fertility rates of the nine countries in the study. Having children in adolescence impacts negatively on the health, poverty levels, education attainment and employment prospects of a young women and thus ultimately on her children as well.

5.1 Gender equality and poverty

Malawi has made progress on the legal frameworks that "promote, enforce and monitor gender equality" with 83% of laws that would affect this in place (UN Women 2021a). However, Malawi has one of the lowest gender equality scores in the world and ranks 173 out of 188 on the UN's Gender Inequality Index. Social norms in Malawi restrict women's access to land and asset ownership, employment and wage equality. 7% of women compared to 11% of men have formal wage employment and women's average day wage for Ganyu labour is three-fifths of that of men. Whether this is due to skills shortages, different working conditions or the ability to travel is not clear but where data is available in the IHS5 women do benefit from public transport, public works and agricultural extension programmes.

More women and children live in poverty than men, with 72% of women headed households reporting very low food security. Access to social services that have the potential to reduce poverty such as education, health and reproductive care for women and girls have improved dramatically over the last two decades with 84% of 15 year olds enrolled in school and 95% of women giving birth in health care facilities. However, these gains are often undermined by the complex interactions between poverty, young women's vulnerability and social norms that often lead to early marriage and childbirth, resulting in dropping out of school.

Continued efforts by government, donor agencies and civil society are required in poverty alleviation, expanding employment opportunities and improving education; as well as access to health care, reproductive information and contraception (Dombola et. al. 2021).

5.2 Early marriage and children

The IHS5 data shows the number of young women married between the ages of 15 and 17 has dropped from previous years. The minimum legal age of marriage was changed to 18 in 2015. 2016 DHS data showed that 42% of women aged 20-24 years were married or in union before the age of 18 (UN Women 2021). Data from the IHS5 shows that 1% of 15 year olds; 5% of 16 year olds; and 11% of 17 year olds are married. While the effects of Covid-19 have increased poverty, teenage marriage, transactional sex, and pregnancies, it seems that the rate of underage marriage prior to the effects of Covid-19 may have decreased to a third of what they were 6 years ago.

Even though the percentage of under 18 marriages may have decreased since 2015, the fertility rate amongst 15-19 year old women has remained the same. The 2016 DHS data points to 29% of women in the 15-19 years old cohort having had a child and 11% being pregnant at the time of conducting the survey. Urgent interventions need to be made into reducing these numbers. Several priorities have been suggested by Dombola et. al. (2021): addressing the lack of access that this age group has to contraception; changing social norms whereby young women perceive that having a child "as proof of fertility" will improve their marriage prospects and be a way out of poverty; and ultimately improving the prospects of employment and self-determination.

In terms of the determinants of NEET, marriage increases the probability of being NEET in 15-19 year olds by 7 times and in 20-24 year olds by 6.35 times. Unfortunately, the IHS5 data distributed for this study does not have information on the number of children young women have so it is not possible to compare the NEET status of women with children to the NEET status of married women.

Improved access to better quality education for young women does postpone both marriage and pregnancy but it also must be accompanied by reductions in poverty, changes in social norms that currently allow teenage marriage and the prosecution of adults who engage in or facilitate teenage marriage (UNICEF and UNFPA 2021).

5.3 Education

There are several issues that emerge from the IHS5 data that relate to education policy. The most important being the extent to which the probability of NEET status is reduced by increased years of education attained. Education attainment in Malawi, especially for women and girls has increased in the past two decades. In 2018 secondary schooling was made free with no fees required for tuition, textbooks or the general purpose fund (UNICEF 2018). Other education policy interventions aimed at increasing education attainment for young women have included free school uniforms and menstrual products.

Household level factors such as poverty (which causes manifold problems such as deficits in nutrition, health and educational support at home) and the number of days that the student can attend school in a given year also impact on education attainment especially amongst youth who assist with unpaid family agriculture. 34% percent of youth who are enrolled in education are also assisting with unpaid family agriculture.

Schools in Malawi are a platform for many programmes that assist with social welfare and make up for some poverty deficits such as school feeding schemes, healthcare and learning resources. Many schools have proactive programmes that assist young women to access reproductive health as well as encouraging young mothers to return to school

after childbirth (Dombola et. al. 2021). These programmes will have to be given greater priority as they need to have a larger impact. Social norms that currently curtail the provision of reproductive health information and school based health care for young women will have to be addressed by the highest levels of government.

5.4 Transition from school to work and increasing labour demand

> *...... employment opportunities in the economy will improve only with economic transformation—the creation of new more productive economic entities that use new technology, and increase productivity among existing firms and farms. When that transformation occurs, youth normally secure a large share of the new opportunities it creates, commensurate with their share in the labor force (Fox and Kaul 2018).*

This is the starting point of most policy analyst's assessment of youth employment prospects. O'Higgins (2017) states that the most consistent finding concerning the determinants of youth employment is that aggregate demand – the state of the macro-economy – plays a key role. Certainly, the analysis of youth in NEET and the prospects of moving youth out of NEET in Malawi continuously points to this conclusion.

The AfDB (2021) has forecast that Malawi would see a growth in the tourism and services sectors in 2022 which may have the potential to provide employment for youth but this will also depend on the progress of the Covid-19 pandemic. Fox and Kaul (2018) suggest that over the next decade at least, the household agricultural sector is likely to provide most of the new employment in Africa. Women and youth need access to more productive agricultural inputs and training in modern farming methods. Gender productivity gaps in agricultural output in Malawi are as high as 28% and factors affecting this are women's lower access to agricultural inputs, less secure land rights, gender based distortions in product markets, rigid gender divisions of labour at the household level, lack of male family labour, lack of access to family agricultural implements and fertilizers which have to be purchased in the marketplace (Rodgers and Akram-Lodhi 2015).

The IHS5 data analysis pointed to one or two areas where funding and policy interventions seemed to have made an impact on the employment of women. Young women in the 20-24 age group benefit from agricultural public works programmes, household level social support and the availability of public transport. It is possible that this frees them up from unpaid agricultural, domestic and care work enough to be able to pursue paid employment. The details of how these mechanisms may be impacting on young women warrants further investigation.

Legal interventions will also need to be made by government with regard to child labour. The IHS5 shows the percentage of children and adolescents working as Ganyu labour – 3% of children 5-9 years; 20% of girls and 22% of boys 10-14; 38% of women and 48% of men 15-19; and 45% of women and 62% of men 20-24. While this work does not necessarily constitute child labour or hazardous labour, a report on child labour and youth employment in Malawi by the ILO, UNICEF and the World Bank (2018) has expressed concern over the exploitative nature of informal and part-time youth labour. The document recommends more government support for the implementation of existing legislation preventing child labour, hazardous labour and indentured labour. If this is implemented more productive work may be available for young adults.

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