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Empirical Review: Youth Employment Policies in Ethiopia.



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Abstract

We review youth employment programs and related policies to understand the extent to which these interventions created an enabling environment for youth and other marginalized groups in Ethiopia between 2000 and 2020. Data were collected from an extensive literature review on youth employment issues, focus group discussions with individuals aged 15–35, and key informant interviews with pertinent stakeholders, including international donors active in Ethiopia. The findings offer new insights into the efforts that have been made to mitigate youth employment issues in Ethiopia despite the lack of a standalone youth employment policy or a lead implementing agency. The absence of standalone policy and lead agency has resulted in fragmented youth interventions and programs being implemented by a range of actors with weak coordination, monitoring, and evaluation. Since the promulgation of the country's first National Youth Policy in 2004, the line ministries that oversee youth employment have seen their duties and responsibilities shift as a result of frequent government restructuring. This has resulted in the duplication of efforts and the creation of vacuums when it comes to follow-up and continuity. Reviews of government-initiated youth employment programs reveal that most programs were implemented hastily following political instability in the country. We argue that program fragmentation and the lack of thorough planning and rigorous evaluation limit opportunities to improve youth employment outcomes. Thus, we call for rigorous program impact evaluations, the implementation of evidence-based interventions, and better program coordination. Our findings can inform policies geared toward alleviating youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality, and promoting dignified and fulfilling jobs for the youth labor force in Ethiopia.

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Keywords: Youth employment, Labor market outcomes, Youth policy, Youth employment program, Ethiopia

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I Introduction

Ethiopia has the second-largest youth population in Africa, with about 71% of its 129 million people being under age of 30,¹ and is experiencing a youth “bulge” and associated unemployment. Over the past decade, Ethiopia’s youth population has increased by an average of 3.3% annually, which is more than both the African average of 2.8% and the global average of 0.6% (International Labour Organization, 2023). According to a 2021 report from Ethiopia’s Central Statistics Agency, the national youth unemployment rate was 11.8% in 2021 (23.1% in urban areas and 8.1% in rural areas). These statistics, however, do not account for underemployment or the working poor. Youth underemployment in rural areas is about 45% (Geda, 2021), which has led to high rural-to-urban migration and increased the urban labor supply by 11% (Bezu & Holden, 2014; Woldehanna, Amha & Yonis, 2019).

The alarming level of youth unemployment and underemployment is a challenge and is at the forefront of policy discourse in Ethiopia. The government has implemented various programs that directly or indirectly address youth employment. Most empirical studies (e.g., Franklin, 2018; Woldehanna, Amha & Yonis, 2019; Berhe, 2021) have focused on analyzing their attributes without fully accounting for their effectiveness, their implementation challenges, or the extent to which the political economy has interfered with them.

A systematic review of the effectiveness of Ethiopia’s employment programs would offer useful insights that could inform the design of new policies, strengthen existing ones, and identify gaps. We thus investigate youth employment programs and policies that were implemented in Ethiopia from 2000 to 2020 in order to describe their implementation and impact. We define youth as individuals aged 15–35 in accordance with the African Youth Charter’s definition. We also complement existing data and policy reviews with qualitative information to provide a more nuanced understanding of the gaps that exist in youth employment policy and program implementation related to inclusiveness, structural and technical capabilities, and political clientelism.

¹ Source: Ethiopia Labour Market Profile 2024/25. Accessed November 25, 2024, at <https://www.ulandssekretariatet.dk/uploads/2024/04/Ethiopia-LMP-final.pdf>.

We find that a number of employment programs have been implemented by different actors in a piecemeal way with no lead political agency and weak coordination, monitoring, and evaluation as a result. Since 2004, the line ministries in charge of overseeing youth employment issues have seen their duties and responsibilities change because of frequent government restructuring and reshuffling. This has created vacuums when it comes to program follow-up and continuity, and hindered efforts to learn lessons from the programs implemented. In addition, reviews of government-initiated youth employment programs reveal that most programs were reactively implemented following political instability in the country and politically motivated. We argue that programs lack thorough planning and rigorous evaluation, and that program fragmentation limits the ability to learn from and improve upon youth employment outcomes. We therefore call for rigorous program impact evaluations, the implementation of evidence-based interventions, and better program coordination to nurture dignified and fulfilling jobs for youth. Our findings can inform policies geared toward alleviating youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality, and promoting dignified and fulfilling jobs for the youth labor force in Ethiopia.

II Methods

We applied a mixed method that took into account the perspectives of stakeholders, youth, policymakers, and program implementers, and employed a qualitative methodological approach to gain an in-depth understanding of institutional policy settings and youth employment programs in Ethiopia. We first conducted a systematic desk review of academic and policy publications, including peer-reviewed journal articles, reports, legal material, and policy briefs from both the governmental and non-governmental organizations. These items were screened using criteria pertaining to study design, setting, and time frame.

Primary data collection included key informant interviews with various stakeholders and focus group discussions with various groups of youth. We used the 2005 and 2013 editions of the National Labor Force Survey and the 2021 edition of the Labor and Migration Survey from Ethiopia's Central Statistics Agency to analyze trends in youth labor outcomes.

Key informant interviews were conducted with eighty-two purposefully selected stakeholders, including Ethiopian government officials, non-government and private-sector representatives, civil-society stakeholders, youth associations, and individuals from marginalized groups. About 16% of the key informants were women because men often dominate the relevant positions targeted for the interviews. All the key informants were chosen for their knowledge of youth employment policies and programs, and some were recruited through chain-referral sampling. Considering the population size and agricultural systems in place, we collected qualitative data from three of the ten regional states and one of the two city administrations. About 30% of respondents were from the cities of Adama in the regional state of Oromia, Kombolcha and Debre-Birhan in the regional state of Amhara, and Semera in the regional state of Afar.

Twelve focus group discussions involving at least ten participants each were held with youth. Four discussions were conducted in regional states with high youth populations (Oromia and Amhara). Participants included people of both genders and individuals from marginalized groups such as people with disabilities, refugees, and internally displaced persons. Participants were identified through partnerships with youth associations, local bureaus, the Disabilities Association Office in Addis Ababa, and contact persons at centers in Adama and Debre-Birhan. Eritrean refugees, a significant émigré group, were identified using chain-referral methods. About 69% of the 133 focus group participants had certificates of formal education beyond secondary school and about 46% were women (see Annex 1 for profile details).

Fieldwork reliability was ensured by daily supervisor checks. Twenty research assistants, seven of whom were women, received one day of training on fieldwork administration, and study participants were informed of the purpose and scope of the research and that participation was voluntary and anonymous. Interviews were

conducted mostly in-person, and some virtually via Zoom, in secure and comfortable settings.

We used content analysis to identify the implementation status of youth employment programs as well as their achievements, gaps, and opportunities. NVivo was used to extract themes from the qualitative data gathered during the interviews and discussions. We validated our findings during stakeholder workshops held in August 2023, and incorporated the feedback obtained.

III Youth Labor Market Outcomes

Ethiopia achieved strong economic growth between 2008 and 2019, with an average annual growth rate of 9.8% (World Bank, 2020). The Ethiopian government also invested heavily in education and health through a series of development reforms that increased youth access to secondary education from 26.3% in 2000 to 42.1% in 2021 (Ministry of Education, 2021) and reduced the fertility rate from about seven children per woman in 1990 to four children per woman in 2020.² Additionally, recent investments in daycare services offered in public institutions are expected to improve women's participation in the labor force and workforce retention.

Economic growth increases labor demand, but Ethiopia's economic growth has been accompanied by the expansion of low-productivity non-farm activities (Geda, 2022) without structural transformation. The result is that opportunities for productive employment in the non-farm sector are elusive (World Bank, 2017), which means fewer decent jobs for youth and greater gender inequality.

We computed youth labor outcomes using survey data and reports from Ethiopia's Central Statistics Agency. Trends in the labor force participation rate of youth (aged 15 to 34) are presented in Figure 1.³ Youth labor force participation at the national

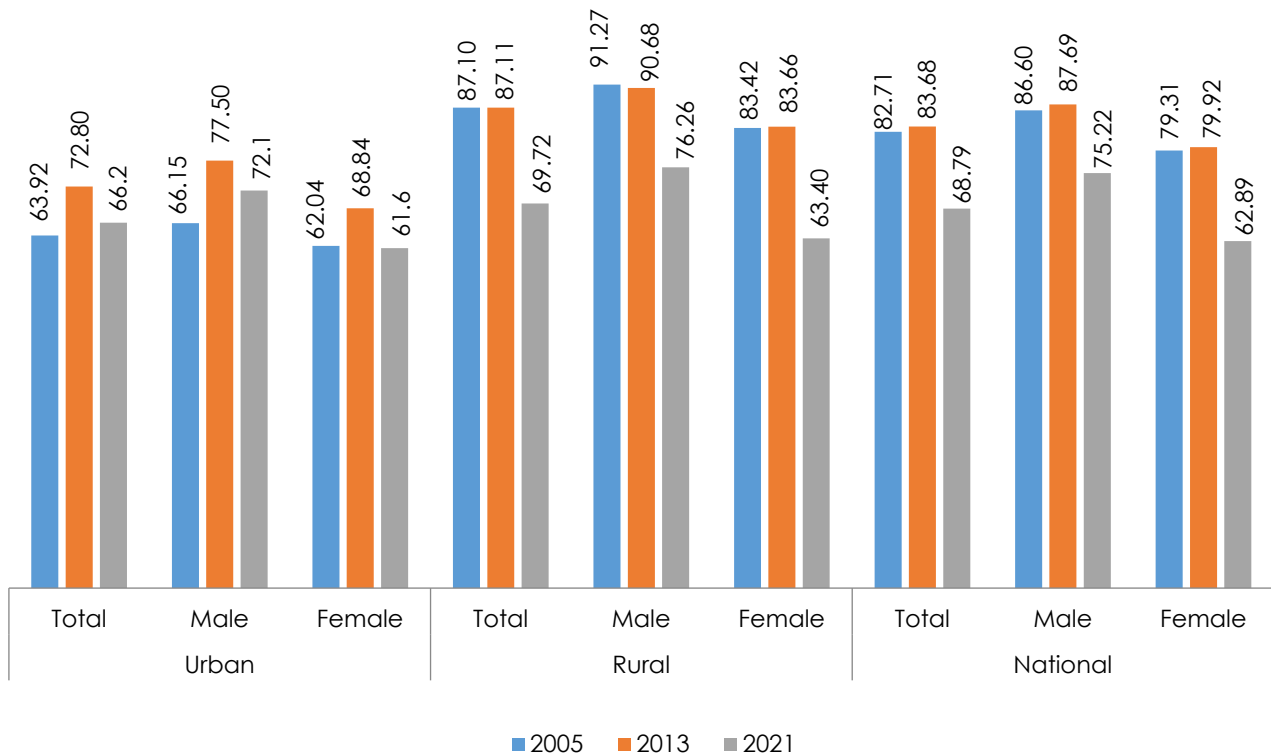
² World Bank indicators as at February 2022.

³ Rates were computed using data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 National Labor Force

level decreased from 82.7% in 2005 to 68.8% in 2021, but variations by gender and location were considerable. Rural youth showed the greatest drop (about 25% more than the national average), especially young women, whose rate decreased 44% more than the national average.

Figure 1: Labor Force Participation Rate of Youth (Aged 15 to 34), in Percent

Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports. The reports use five-year age cohorts (15–19, 20–24, etc.).



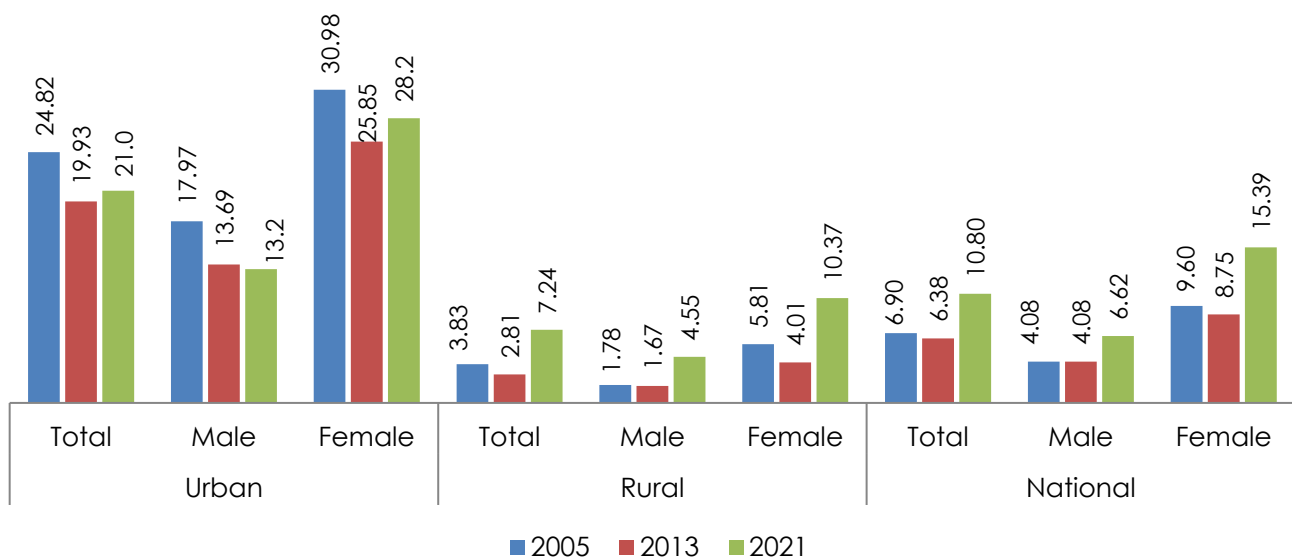
Source: Authors' computation based on data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 Labor Force Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports.

The national youth unemployment rate increased slowly from 6.9% in 2005 to 10.8% in 2021 (Figure 2). The fact that the unemployment rate was persistently high in urban areas supports the World Bank's (2017) urban phenomenon argument that unemployment is highest among young women. For instance, in 2021, the unemployment rate was 21% for urban youth (28% for young women), whereas it was 7.24% for rural youth and trending upward. Youth underemployment,⁴ however, is a dominant feature of the rural economy and mainly attributed to limited access to land, financing, infrastructure, and skills training (Broussard & Tekleselassie, 2012; Bezu & Holden, 2014; Shuker & Sadik, 2024). Furthermore, wage employment is scarce in rural Ethiopia (Schmidt & Bekele, 2016; Shuker & Sadik, 2024), which leads to the abandonment of agriculture, relocation to urban areas, and youth labor supply growth in urban areas (Bezu & Holden, 2014; Woldehanna, Amha & Yonis, 2019). The formal sector is saturated, and the informal sector, which accounts for more than 60% of urban

⁴ Underemployment means individuals are unable to work the number of hours they are willing to work.

employment, is expected to be the main employer of youth (Fox, Senbet & Simbanegavi, 2016; Gebrekristos, 2021; Weiser & Mesfin, 2021).

Figure 2: Unemployment Rate of Youth (Aged 15-35), in Percent



Source: Authors' computation based on data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 Labor Force Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports.

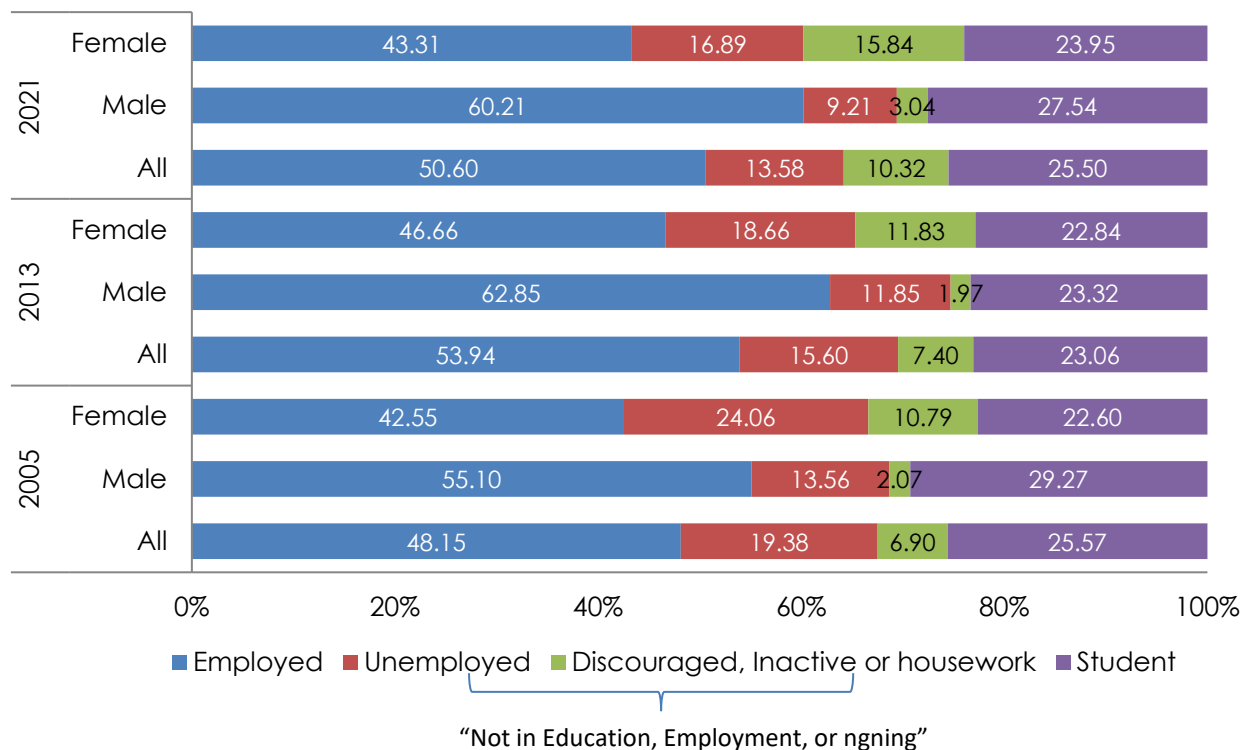
Note: Unlike the Central Statistics Agency, we adopted the standard definition of unemployment—"without work" despite being "currently available for work" and "seeking work"—to produce the statistics.

We use the International Labour Organization's labor market outcome groups⁵ to compute labor market outcomes for urban youth because unemployment is an urban phenomenon and wage employment is limited in rural areas. Our results show that urban youth employment increased slightly from 48.1% in 2005 to 50.6% in 2021 (Figure 3), but young men saw more of an improvement than young women. Over the same period, the proportion of young women who were inactive/discouraged (in the NEET group) increased by about 5%.

⁵ The International Labour Organization (2020) report categorizes labor market outcomes into three broad groups: employed; not in employment, education, or training (NEET); and students. The "employed" group is further disaggregated into individuals in wage employment or vulnerable employment. The "NEET" group includes individuals who are unemployed, discouraged, or engaged in unpaid housework, whereas the "students" group is composed of individuals pursuing training or studying.

The distribution of labor market outcomes for urban youth is presented in Figure 3. The proportion of youth not in employment, education, or training (NEET) is substantial, though the percentage decreased slightly from 26.3% in 2005 to 23.9% in 2021. But the NEET rate and its pace of decline show variations by gender. The NEET rate decreased faster for young men than it did for young women, and the rate for young women was twice that for young men. More importantly, the proportion of young women who were discouraged, inactive, or engaged in household work increased 47% between 2005 and 2021.

Figure 3: Trends in Youth Labor Market Outcomes in Urban Ethiopia



Source: Authors' computation based on data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 National Labor Force Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports.

To unpack the employment levels observed, we further examined the distribution of employment status (Figure 4). The results show that youth were engaged predominantly in self-employment, with young men being over-represented. Furthermore, self-employment in Ethiopia is largely a route out of unemployment rather

than driven by entrepreneurship (Haile, 2009). Without diminishing the importance of self-employment in enhancing entrepreneurship, we consider it to be vulnerable employment in accordance with the International Labour Organization's (2014) definition of employment status.

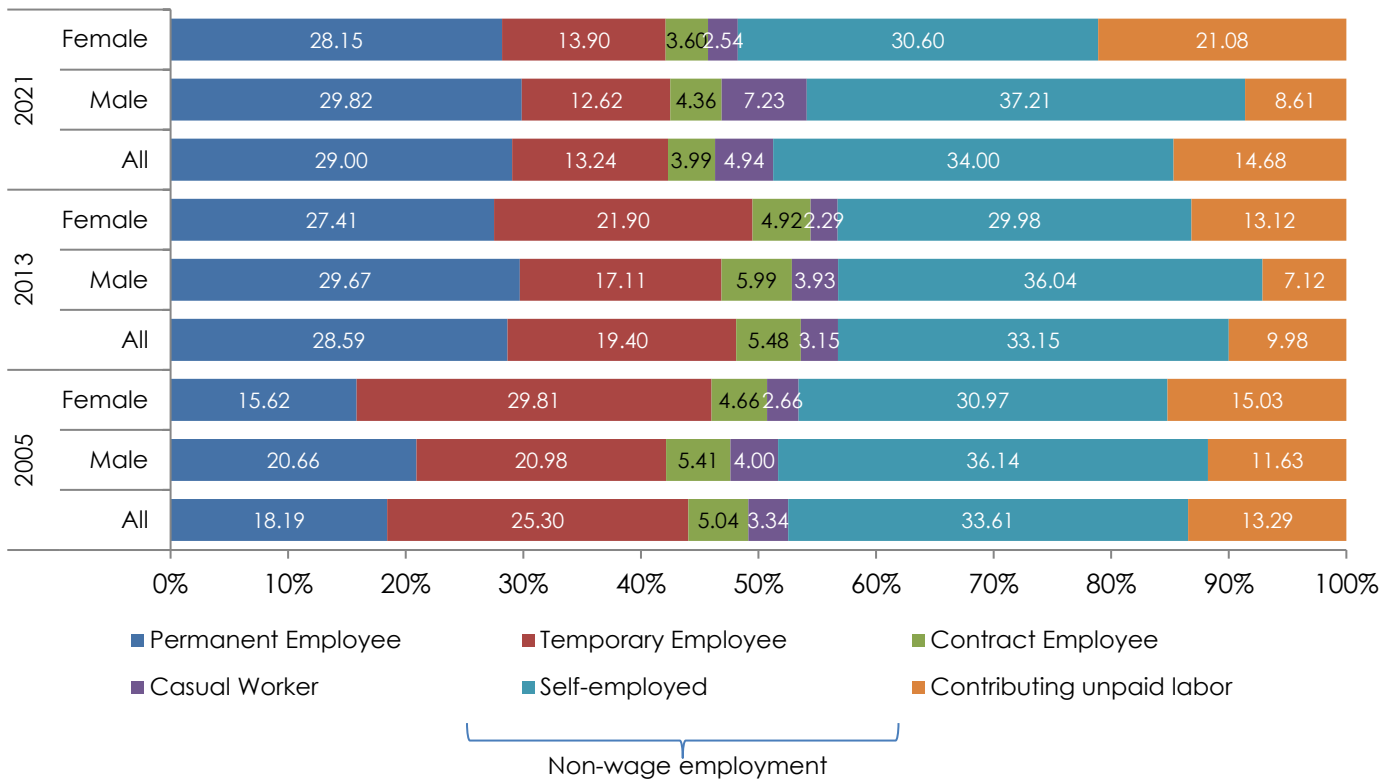
Between 2005 and 2021, the proportion of youth with permanent employment improved by 11%, and the gender gap narrowed. The proportion of young women engaged in permanent employment increased from 15.62% in 2005 to 28.15% in 2021 while that of young men increased from 20.66% to 29.82%. The share of young women engaged in unpaid family work increased, while that of young men doing such work decreased. The other discouraging pattern is that about 75% of young women are engaged in precarious work (e.g., temporary, casual, or contract employment) and vulnerable employment (mainly self-employment or unpaid work), which often lack social protection. Technically, only permanent employees contribute to a pension as part of their social security, while those in other types of employment (about 71% of those employed in 2021) are deprived of such benefits.

The increase in employment opportunities that was observed between 2005 and 2013 withered in 2021. The proportion of youth engaged in wage employment⁶ increased from 53.1% in 2005 to 56.87% in 2013, signaling expanded job opportunities. Conversely, the proportion of youth engaged in vulnerable employment was 5.55% higher in 2021 than in 2013, which offsets the 2013 wage employment gains. In addition, the proportion of youth engaged in unpaid (family) work increased from 9.98% in 2003 to 14.68% in 2021. More importantly, the proportion of young women engaged in vulnerable employment⁷ surpassed the proportion engaged in wage employment. Thus, it is evident that youth, particularly young women, have benefited less from the dividends of economic growth, and working poverty seems to be on the rise.

Figure 4: Trends in Youth Employment Status in Urban Ethiopia

⁶ Wage employment includes permanent, temporary, contract, and casual employment.

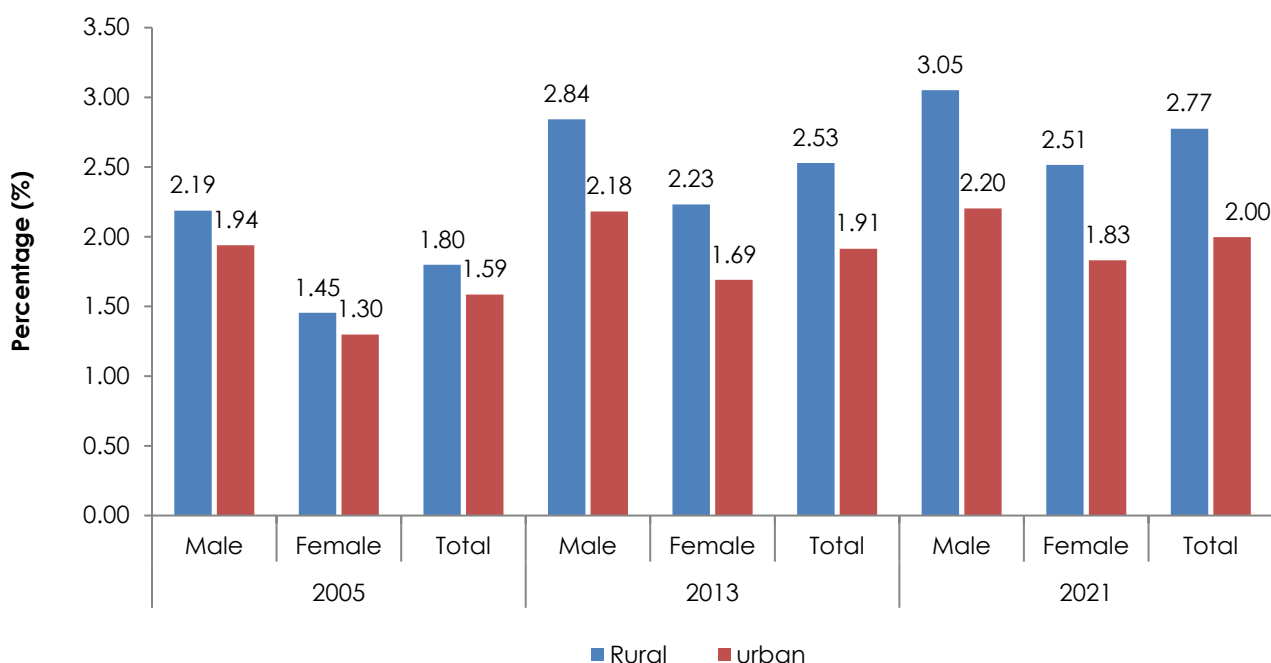
⁷ Vulnerable employment includes self-employment and unpaid labor.



Source: Authors' computation based on data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 National Labor Force Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports.

The proportion of youth with disabilities increased over time and tended to be higher in rural areas (Figure 5). However, the proportion of young women with disabilities was lower than that of young men. In 2021, 30 per 1000 youth in rural areas had some form of disability compared to 20 per 1000 youth in urban areas. A 2021 Central Statistics Agency report estimated that there were 437,582 economically active persons with disabilities, 9.1% of whom were unemployed. The unemployment rate of persons with disabilities was higher in urban areas (20.3%) than rural areas (6.5%). Also, young women with disabilities had higher unemployment rates than young men with disabilities regardless of location. Research suggests that the stereotyping of disabled people and prejudice against them affect women the most (Jones, Seager & Yadete, 2021).

Figure 5: Proportion of Youth with Disabilities in Urban and Rural Ethiopia



Source: Authors' computation based on data from the Central Statistics Agency's 2005 and 2013 National Labor Force Survey and 2021 Labor Force and Migration Survey reports.

IV Review of Youth Employment Programs Between 2000 and 2020

We define youth employment programs as any public or joint public–private programs that target youth and incorporate wage subsidies, help finding jobs, or training and financial resources to start or expand a business.

4.1 Description of Youth Employment Policies and Programs – Design (de jure) vs. Actual Implementation (de facto)

4.1.1 National Youth Policy (2004)

Ethiopia's National Youth Policy focused on empowering youth by building their capacity through education and training, and sought to encourage the private sector to create jobs (Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture, 2004). But the policy document identified

neither the strategies and programs that would be tailored to achieve the stated benefit nor the resources required to implement the policy. A Ministry of Women and Social Affairs (2022) report indicated that systems to monitor National Youth Policy implementation were not adequately institutionalized and that policy implementation had been constrained by inadequate planning and enforcement. Getahun and Fetene (2020) contended that the National Youth Policy document was broad and did not specify achievable and measurable indicators that youth unemployment or underemployment had decreased.

The National Youth Policy's definition of youth as individuals aged 15–29 created confusion among stakeholders involved in implementing youth employment programs. The key informants highlighted that the National Youth Policy's age bracket is impractical for socioeconomic and cultural reasons. As a result, most institutions apply the African Youth Charter's age cohort (15–35) when implementing interventions.

4.1.2 National Youth Development Package (2006)

The national Youth Development Package was ratified in 2006 and revised in 2017 to address problems affecting youth, such as unemployment (Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture, 2017). The package aspired to equip youth with skills to help them participate in the non-farm sector. In addition to training in technical and vocational education and training centers, apprenticeships and internships were identified as other mechanisms to enhance practical skills. Although the package reflected the government's aspirations, it did not identify measurable targets. Gebremariam (2017) argued that the Youth Development Package was formulated and implemented hurriedly without proper consultation mainly to re-establish the government's legitimacy after election violence in 2005. A key informant agreed that the development process had resulted in ambitious goals and the creation of under-resourced youth recreation centers. Few of the 3,000 youth centers built throughout the country are operational, and those that are provide substandard services (Tefera et al., 2020).

4.1.3 Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (2002–2005)

The Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program introduced programs to address youth employment, namely through micro- and small enterprises, rural non-farm activities, credit services, and technical and vocational education and training⁸ programs. The program planned to provide skills training and employment opportunities to 130,000 technical and vocational education and training students by 2004–2005 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2002).

Under the program, the number of technical and vocational education and training centers increased from 141 in 2001 to 200 in 2005, which increased the number of trainees from 38,176 to 105,850 over the same period. The original plan that 31% of trainees would be women was not achieved, but urban unemployment was reduced to 40% (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2006). The program document identified the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as funders but did not specify amounts.

4.1.4 Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (2005–2010)

The Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty was implemented as a successor to the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2006). It clearly recognized growing youth unemployment in Ethiopia, particularly in urban areas, and considered the expansion of micro- and small enterprises and their integration with technical and vocational education and training programs instrumental to enhancing the employability of young people. In accordance with its strategies, the plan specified 360,000 new housing units and commercial space⁹ would be constructed to create 200,000 jobs in 10,000 new small

⁸ Technically, students who completed Grade 10 but not preparatory (pre-university) studies are by default youth and are immediate beneficiaries of technical and vocational education and training programs.

⁹ The housing units were in condominium blocks constructed under the National Integrated Housing

enterprises. Moreover, the plan sought to increase the number of micro- and small enterprises by 12,000 annually and reduce urban unemployment from 40% in 2005 to 20% by 2010. The plan aimed to enhance youth employability by increasing the number of trainees in technical and vocational education and training programs from 94,592 (including 48,431 young women) in 2005 to 312,826 (including 160,167 young women) in 2010. But the program document did not specify the budget allocated to technical and vocational education and training programs for youth or to implementing the micro- and small enterprise programs.

The implementation assessment report we reviewed showed that the plan had fully achieved its objective of creating 1.5 million jobs because of the comprehensive support it provided to micro- and small enterprises (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2010). The report also indicated that 176,000 jobs were created in the integrated housing development, 542,000 jobs were created via micro- and small enterprises, and the enrollment capacity of technical and vocational education and training centers reached 430,562. Although the total number of trainees in technical and vocational education and training programs increased from 106,336 to 717,603 (more than 50% of whom were women), the unemployment rate did not fall. This is partly attributed to the fact that technical and vocational education and training centers and universities focus more on conferring diplomas or degrees and are loosely connected to the labor market (Butta, 2014). Also, the key informants indicated that graduates' work ethic and workplace behavior are problematic and require attention.

4.1.5 National Employment Policy and Strategy (2009)

The National Employment Policy and Strategy was adopted to regulate the labor market. The strategy document emphasized youth unemployment levels in urban areas were a concern and proclaimed that the mainstreaming of gender and youth in employment creation was a cross-cutting issue (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2009). The strategies identified to address youth unemployment included: improving the quality of

education and technical and vocational education and training programs, creating one-stop centers for job seeker registration and job matching, and fostering youth entrepreneurship. But the strategy document stated no targets or budget.

In the key informant interviews, officials specified that the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs had established one-stop centers that aligned with its institutional organs from the federal to the district level to facilitate job matching and that potential beneficiaries were required to register. The centers collect vacancies from public and private newspapers without institutional collaboration with the companies who are hiring, and then match job seekers with available positions. The number of young jobseekers that were registered by the centers and placed is reported in Table 1. The results show that the number of young people placed decreased over time and dropped dramatically after 2018. This trend could be attributable to the limited capacity of public employment services to provide job search skills or labor market information (International Labour Organization, 2008).

Table 1: Number of Young Jobseekers (Aged 15 to 34) Registered and Placed

Period (July to June)	Job seekers registered	Job seekers registered (%)	Job seekers placed	Job seekers placed (%)
2016–2017	1,450,818	64.53	888,203	61.22
2017–2018	1,243,780	78.71	782,739	62.93
2018–2019	1,319,960	76.58	244,569	18.53
2019–2020	949,981	77.27	135,157	14.23

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs reports (2017, 2018, 2019, and 2021).

4.1.6 Growth and Transformation Plan 2010–2015 (GTP-I)

GTP-I emphasized the promotion of self-employment to create employment opportunities for young people (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2014). The plan identified strategies to reduce unemployment and poverty, particularly for youth and women, by promoting entrepreneurship and technical and vocational education and training, rural non-farm income-generating activities, bee keeping and

watershed development, short-term training on business management, access to credit and markets, and micro- and small enterprises. The plan sought to create 182,000 jobs in housing development and 740,000 jobs through micro- and small enterprises, and to increase the intake capacity of technical and vocational education and training centers to 1,127,330 by 2015 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2014).

The National Plan Commission's (2016) assessment report on GTP-I implementation indicated that considerable achievements had been recorded in youth employment promotion. The report noted that 5.5 million young people had engaged in micro- and small enterprises, and about 4.43 million youth were employed in the rural economy (2 million in agriculture and 2.43 million in rural non-farm activities). Although GTP-I was successful in reducing unemployment, it was not so successful with technical and vocational education and training program enrollment, which decreased from 371,347 in 2010 to 335,762 in 2015 (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2021). This trend could reflect the fact that technical and vocational education and training programs are limited in their ability to equip trainees with the skill sets that the labor market requires or to reduce youth unemployment (Gebremariam, 2017; Geda, 2022). Key informants also substantiated the prevalence of obsolete training in universities and other institutions.

4.1.7 Growth and Transformation Plan 2015–2020 (GTP-II)

GTP-II was formulated based on the achievements and challenges noted for GTP-I. The National Plan Commission's 2016 report indicated that GTP-II would create opportunities for youth in the manufacturing industry by strengthening small- and medium-sized enterprises. The economic activities identified were agro-processing input provision, market linkages between small and medium-sized investors and educated young investors in the agricultural sector, and manufacturing. The plan aimed to engage 7.43 million youth in micro- and small enterprises and increase youth participation in micro- and small enterprises to 90% from 59% in 2015, provide 10.98 billion Ethiopian birr in loans to 2.19 million youth, create market linkages for 2 million youth, engage

4.32 million youth in agriculture and 3.64 million youth in rural non-farm activities, and train about 6 million youth in entrepreneurship and business management (National Plan Commission, 2018). The main implementation strategies identified were improving the quality of higher education and technical and vocational education and training programs; technical and practical knowledge; science, technology, and innovation skills; and the private sector's capacity to create job opportunities.

The National Plan Commission's (2018) midterm assessment report on GTP-II indicated that market linkages had been created for 92% of businesses owned by women and youth. Furthermore, 297,038 job opportunities—69% of the planned target—were created in the tourism subsector (with 88% of those hired being women and youth). The target was to provide short-term technical and vocational training for 1,470,663 unemployed youth, but 2.2 million youth received training between 2015 and 2017 (National Plan Commission, 2018). Overall, about 5,044,409 jobs were created for youth (2,231,515 of whom were women), and annual enrollment in technical and vocational education and training programs increased from 355,420 in 2010 to 386,811 in 2019 (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2021). The plan, however, was cut short in 2019 following a change in government.

4.1.8 Agricultural Growth Program

Ethiopia's Agricultural Growth Program was implemented in two phases (Ethiopian Development Research Institute, 2017). The first phase (2011–2016) focused on 83 districts (known locally as *woreda*) that were selected for their agricultural potential, and gave special consideration to participation by women and youth. The second phase (2016–2021) aimed to increase smallholder farmer commercialization by establishing and strengthening common interest groups of women and youth with a focus on value addition, and crop and livestock marketing. The plan identified implementation strategies such as capacity-development training, financial support, input supply, market linkage creation, and market infrastructure development.

Weldesilassie et al.'s (2019) report on the implementation of the second phase

(Agricultural Growth Program II) indicated that about 1,066 youth common interest groups with 13,390 members and 2,123 women's common interest groups with 14,406 members were established. Furthermore, financial and technical support was provided to 2,060 youth common interest groups and 3,755 women's common interest groups. Agricultural Growth Program II also facilitated the upgrading of common interest groups to primary-farmer cooperatives and led to 679 common interest groups becoming primary-farmer cooperatives and 313 new cooperatives being established. About 997 rural savings cooperatives and 2,715 primary-farmer cooperatives received capacity-building support, and 232 market linkages were created between rural savings cooperatives and micro-finance institutions.

4.1.9 Urban Productive Safety Net and Job Creation Program

The Urban Productive Safety Net and Job Creation Program was launched under the National Social Protection Policy adopted in 2016 to improve the incomes of poor urban households and individuals (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2016). The program package assumed small and medium-sized enterprises could be productive, resilient, and competitive enough to create employment opportunities for the urban workforce with fair representation of youth (about 50% women). The program document emphasized including youth or youth representatives in the beneficiary selection process and specified three modalities of support focused on entrepreneurship, employability, and wage subsidies. In the first modality, beneficiaries received conditional transfers, life-skills training, and guidance on employment pathways. In the second, beneficiaries received conditional transfers, training, and job-matching services to increase employability. In the third, beneficiaries received small conditional transfers to supplement employment income. Beneficiaries were expected to be able to support themselves at the end of three years of continuous support.

According to a 2022 report published by the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs, about 8,242,088 jobs (39.34% of which went to women) were created in government offices and large-scale projects such as the Renaissance Dam and urban housing

development between 2016 and 2020. The report also indicated that loans amounting to 38.3 billion Ethiopian birr (6.8% of which were repaid on time) were provided to 1.4 million owners of micro- and small enterprises; short-term training on marketing was provided to 4.7 million owners of small and medium-sized enterprises; and market linkages were created for 4.4 million owners of small and medium-sized enterprises through exhibitions, housing projects, government projects, and government procurement.

4.1.10 Youth Revolving Fund (2017)

The Youth Revolving Fund was established in 2017 with 10 billion Ethiopian birr in capital to support youth entrepreneurship (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 2017) and was implemented during the political instability that followed the 2015 election. The Fund disbursed about 4.22 billion Ethiopian birr to 224,297 rural youth (Getahun & Fetene, 2020) and resulted in the establishment of 39,003 new businesses. The program ended up being suspended and failed to achieve its intended objectives. In key informant interviews, officials indicated that the Fund's weak implementation was attributable issues related to monitoring and evaluation, awareness about the program's purpose, and beneficiaries' entrepreneurial skills. These same officials stated that auditing had not yet started, though the Fund's reimbursement rate was quite low.

4.1.11 National Plan of Action for Persons with Disabilities

The National Plan of Action is the result of international treaties that Ethiopia signed to secure the rights of persons with disabilities. But evidence shows that many treaties and laws have not been executed. Key informants and focus group participants indicated that there exist laws that set out the rights of persons with disabilities to work and access education, and that govern the creation of accessible buildings, but many of them are not implemented. For instance, the premises of many schools and technical

and vocational education and training institutions are not accessible to staff and students with special needs, and many educational structures have not been built as indicated in the legislation. During recruitment competitions, public sector employers add four points to candidates with disabilities in consideration of affirmative action, whereas the private sector is mostly indifferent. The implication is that the legislation exists on paper but is not implemented.

4.1.12 Refugees Proclamation (2019)

The legal provisions set out in this proclamation for refugees and asylum seekers represented a paradigm shift. The Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (2019) directive set out a process that required refugees and asylum seekers to be legally registered before receiving benefits. Implementation was stalled, however, because of a lack of detailed guidelines and manuals. The refugees that participated in the focus group discussions revealed the process had clear limitations, including when it came to registration, which resulted in delays receiving legal registration documents.

Overall, it can be safely concluded that the Ethiopian government enacted a variety of youth employment programs between 2000 and 2020. Most of them were designed to address supply-side labor market challenges. We also found that the majority aimed to reach a diverse group of youth, though measurable targets were not specified. Similarly, information about how much funding was allocated or provided to the programs has not been made available to the public, though the government has claimed to be the principal funder. Although the institutions in charge of the programs were specified, most programs are characterized by a lack of monitoring and evaluation. The programs are summarized by cluster in Table 2.

Table 2: Youth Employment Interventions by Cluster

Policies/Programs		Groups Targeted	Groups Actually Benefited	Challenges Addressed	Youth Targeted	Funders	Implementers	Institutions Responsible for Monitoring and Evaluation	Intended Beneficiaries (Number)	Actual Beneficiaries (Number)	Planned Budget	Actual Budget
Programs to enhance youth employability	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program / technical and vocational education and training (2002–2005)	Women; persons with disabilities	31% women	Supply / skills gap	All (Grade 10)	International Monetary Fund; World Bank	Government	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; House of Peoples' Representatives; International Monetary Fund; World Bank	130,000	67,674	N/A	N/A
	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty / technical and vocational education and training (2005–2010)	Women; persons with disabilities	50% women	Supply / skills gap	All (Grade 10)	Government	Government	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; House of Peoples' Representatives	218,234	611,267	N/A	N/A
	GTP-I & GTP-II / technical and vocational education and training (2010–2020)	Women; persons with disabilities	N/A	Supply / skills gap	All	Government	Government	Ministry of Planning and Development (National Plan Commission); House of Peoples' Representatives	814,504 + N/A	1,449,803 + 386,811 annually	N/A	N/A

	Youth Development Package / internships & apprenticeships (2006; 2017)	Women; persons with disabilities	N/A	Supply/skills	University & technical and vocational education and training students	Government	Government	Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture; House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	GTP-II / entrepreneurship training	N/A	N/A	Supply	All	Government	Government	Ministry of Planning and Development (National Plan Commission); House of Peoples' Representatives	6,043,142	2,245,452	N/A	N/A
Programs to promote entrepreneurship	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program / micro- and small enterprises (2002–2005)	Women; persons with disabilities	31% women	Supply; demand	All (18–64; 50+ youth)	International Monetary Fund; World Bank	Government	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; House of Peoples' Representatives; International Monetary Fund; World Bank	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Youth Revolving Fund (2017)	N/A	N/A	Supply	All (18–34)	Government	Government; micro-finance	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development;	N/A	224,297	10 billion Ethiopian birr	N/A

						institution s	Ministry of Youth and Sport; Council of Ministers; House of Peoples' Representatives				
Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty / micro- and small enterprises (2005–2010)	Women; persons with disabilitie s; internally displace d persons and refugees	50% women	Supply; demand	All (18–64; 50+ youth)	Governme nt	Govern- ment	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; House of Peoples' Representatives	200,000	542,000	N/A	N/A
GTP-I & GTP-II / micro- and small enterprises (2010–2020)	Women; persons with disabilitie s	44% women	Supply; demand	All (18–64; 50+ youth)	Governme nt	Govern- ment	Ministry of Planning and Development (National Plan Commission); House of Peoples' Representatives	740,000 + 7.43 million	5.5 million + 5,044,409	N/A	N/A
GTP-II / loans	-	N/A	Supply	All (18–35)	Governme nt	Govern- ment	Ministry of Planning and Development (National Plan Commission); House of Peoples' Representatives	2.19 million	N/A	N/A	N/A
GTP-II / market	-	N/A	Supply; demand	All (18–35)	Governme nt	Govern- ment	Ministry of Planning and	2 million	N/A	N/A	N/A

	linkages								Development (National Plan Commission); House of Peoples' Representatives			
Policies to protect youth rights	National Youth Policy (2004)	Women; persons with disabilities; youth with HIV/AIDS	N/A	Legal and institutional; supply; demand	All (15–29)	Government	Government; civil society; private sector; family	Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture (Ministry of Women and Social Affairs); civil society; House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Youth Development Package (2006; 2017)	Women; persons with disabilities	N/A	Supply; demand	All (15–29)	Government	Government	Ministry of Youth, Sport, and Culture (Ministry of Women and Social Affairs); House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Economy-wide employment policies	National Employment Policy and Strategy (2009)	Women; persons with disabilities	35% women	Supply; demand; labor market institutions	All	Government	Government	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; National Employment Council	N/A	2,050,668	N/A	N/A
	Urban Productive Safety Net and Job	Women; persons with disabilities	39.34% women	Supply; demand	Urban (11 major cities)	World Bank; Government	Government	Urban Food Security and Job Creation Agency; Ministry	604,000	31,637	\$450 million	N/A

	Creation Program (2016–2020)	s						of Urban Development and Housing; Ministry of Labour and Skills; House of Peoples' Representatives				
Other employment or labor market programs	Agricultural Growth Program (2011–2021)	Women	50+ women	Supply; demand	All (rural)	Government	Government	Ministry of Agriculture; House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	36,342	N/A	N/A
Policies addressing vulnerable groups	National Plan of Action of Persons with Disabilities (2010)	Persons with disabilities; women with disabilities	N/A	Demand/inclusive	All	Government	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Ministry of Women and Social Affairs); NGOs	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Ministry of Women and Social Affairs; House of Peoples' Representatives; NGOs	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Refugees Proclamation No. 1110/2019	Refugees	N/A	Demand/inclusive	All	Government	Government	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs; House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Occupational safety and health policy	Occupational Safety and Health Directive (2008; 2014) and Labor Proclamation No. 1156/2019	Women; persons with disabilities	N/A	Demand / work safety	All	Government	Government	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs; Ministry of Labour and Skills; House of Peoples' Representatives	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
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Source: Authors' compilation from various sources. Note: N/A = data not available; NGOs = non-governmental organizations

4.2 Review of the Literature on Youth Employment Programs and Program Evaluations

We examined reports and empirical studies pertaining to youth employment programs in Ethiopia. We found that government reports on youth employment programs are devoid of standard evaluation criteria. Program evaluations are usually limited to periodic reports that compare program performance to the plan of action. Other evaluations simply rely on client feedback collected at the end of the service (Getahun & Fetene, 2020; Tessema, 2022). In the key informant interviews, officials highlighted the fact that the lack of formal evaluation was attributable to budget constraints, but many key informants also acknowledged they had no experience budgeting for evaluation purposes prior to project implementation.

Most studies applied a descriptive approach (see Table 3). A few studies (e.g., Franklin, 2018; Abebe et al., 2016, 2017) employed experimental design, while Gilligan, Hoddinott & Taffesse (2008) applied propensity score matching. The studies that applied experimental design focused on programs that were in a pilot stage and not fully implemented, while those that applied descriptive analysis potentially suffered from bias because of confounding factors that may have affected both program participation and outcomes. Standard program evaluation requires determining relevance, coherence, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability. Rodrigues (2019) attempted to apply standard evaluation criteria but excluded impact.

In short, the studies that investigated youth employment programs did not fully capture the basic aspects of evaluation. The studies that focused on the impact of youth employment interventions showed mixed results and were limited in terms of geographic coverage, while the document reviews lacked adequate technique triangulation (see Getahun & Fetene, 2020; Oshora & Magda, 2019; Broussard & Tekleselassie, 2012).

Table 3: Empirical Studies on Youth Employment Programs in Ethiopia

Authors	Program	Target	Method of Analysis	Geographic Scope	Outcomes	Control
Getahun & Fetene (2020)	Youth Revolving Fund (2017)	Youth	Qualitative (document review)	Nationwide	↑ employment	No
Wube (2020)	Industry extension	Youth	Descriptive	Dessie	No significant results	No
Franklin (2018)	Transport subsidy	Youth	Experimental	Addis Ababa	↑ tendency to get job	Yes
Abebe et al. (2017)	Job fairs and counseling services for wage employment	Youth	Experimental	Addis Ababa	No impact on employment or earnings	Yes
Abebe et al. (2016)	Transport subsidy	Youth	Experimental	Addis Ababa	↑ employment and earnings	Yes
Oshora & Magda (2019)	Micro- and small enterprises	Youth +	Descriptive (quantitative)	Nationwide	↑ employment	No
Tadesse (2010)	Micro- and small enterprises	Youth +	Descriptive	Mekelle	↑ youth employment	No
Gerba (2012)	Entrepreneurship education	University students	Descriptive	Jimma University; Addis Ababa University	↑ school-to-work transition	Yes
Tesfaye & Srinivasan (2018)	Entrepreneurship training	Micro- and small enterprises (youth +)	Linear regression	Arba Minch	Mixed	No
Balcha (2022)	Entrepreneurship training	Youth	Linear regression	Bale Gasger woreda	↑ employment	No
Rodrigues (2019)	U.S. Department of Labor E4Y Project	Youth + children	Descriptive (OECD/DAC)	Amhara; the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples region	Mixed	No
Statman et al. (2020)	USAID Building Potential of Youth project (training)	Youth	Descriptive (mean difference)	11 woredas	↑ employment; ↑ income;	No

					Women benefit less	
Gilligan, Hoddinott & Taffesse (2008)	Productive Safety Net Program	Youth +	Propensity score matching	Tigray; Amhara; Oromia; the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples region	Not significant	Yes
Bekana (2020)	Private sector development, micro- and small enterprises & public-employment generation system	Youth +	Descriptive	Nationwide	↑ youth employment	No
Ahmed & Temam (2019)	Mentorship and training	Youth	Descriptive	Amhara; the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples region; the Somali region	↑ income; ↑ savings	No
Education Development Center (2020)	Potential	Youth	Descriptive	Afar; Amhara; Oromia; Somalia; the South	↑ employment; ↑ savings	No
Broussard & Tekleselassie (2012)	Employment policies	Youth	Descriptive	Nationwide	↑ employment	No
Mengstie (2016)	Business development services	Youth +	Descriptive	East Amhara	Mixed	Yes
Shewalul (2020)	Training program by Save	Youth	Descriptive	Shebedino woreda	↑ employment	No
Endalew (2020)	Youth Revolving Fund	Youth	Descriptive	Lideta subcity	Insignificant	No

Source: Authors' compilation from literature review. Note: ↑ refers to increase, ↓ refers to decrease.

V The Political Economy of Youth Employment Policies

Several institutional and political factors might affect the design, implementation and impact of youth employment initiatives, all of which have implications for effectiveness and sustainability. This section examines the adequacy of youth employment policies and programs, capacity gaps, political motives, and inclusiveness by highlighting how these factors have shaped youth employment outcomes in Ethiopia.

Involving youth in policy design and implementation is crucial for effective youth employment interventions. In Ethiopia, however, gaps exist from design to execution. The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP-I), for example, outlined broad youth development targets without specifying how youth employment would be addressed (Gebremariam, 2017). Similarly, officials revealed in key informant interviews that while policies appeared robust on paper, they faced significant implementation difficulties because of a lack of data, stakeholder collaboration, and adequate resources. This gap between policy and practice indicates a fundamental flaw in policy design and execution that often stems from a lack of clear targets and implementation strategies (Getahun & Fetene, 2020).

The effectiveness of policy design, implementation, and evaluation are hampered by a lack of capacity. The National Youth Policy review report (Ministry of Women and Social Affairs, 2022) highlighted challenges in terms of poor institutional infrastructure, insufficient capacity, and inadequate data management. Key informants confirmed there were difficulties in recording quality data and using research findings, which are essential for monitoring and evaluating policy effectiveness. Despite intermittent attempts to establish a youth data management information system, comprehensive information on youth employment remains scarce.

Youth employment programs in Ethiopia have often been initiated in response to political instability rather than the evidence-based needs of youth. For instance, the 2006 Youth Development Package followed the 2005 post-election crisis, and the 2017 Youth Revolving Fund was launched amidst the political unrest that led to the resignation of then-Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn (Ethiopian Development Research Institute,

2018). This suggests that political turmoil heavily influences program creation, and employment initiatives launched often prioritize political gain over genuine solutions. Also, access to employment programs is determined by political affiliation, which undermines effectiveness and fairness.

In addition to the lack of long-term perspectives and political motives, gender inequalities and lack of inclusiveness characterize many youth employment programs in Ethiopia. For example, men benefited from the Youth Revolving Fund 2.5 times more than women (Ministry of Women and Social Affairs, 2022). Programs often fail to reach rural youth, women, and persons with disabilities. This exclusion undermines the broader goals of youth employment initiatives. The Ethiopian government issued a bill on the rights of persons with disabilities, but implementation remains weak, which reflects broader systemic issues of exclusion and inequality.

Youth employment policies and programs in Ethiopia are found to be hindered by weak inter-sector cooperation and frequent organizational restructuring. Responsibility for youth policies was shifted among various ministries, which creates duplication and inconsistency (Tessema, 2022), and prevents sustained and coherent policy execution. Moreover, youth employment was not meaningfully mainstreamed across programs, which limits the effectiveness of interventions, and we found monitoring and evaluation to be weak. The country lacks minimum-wage legislation, and the government's commitment to monitoring dignified work for youth is poor. Labor inspections are inconsistent, and inspection structures are inadequate. Our analysis indicates that youth employment initiatives face significant gaps that affect effectiveness, efficiency, and sustainability.

The success of youth employment policies and programs is also dependent on genuine youth participation in their formulation and implementation. However, focus group participants confirmed that youth involvement was limited to government-affiliated associations and that there was minimal consultation with non-political local youth civic associations and youth clubs, including NGOs, which reduced the bargaining power and participation of young people. Studies also highlight that youth participation in policy formulation was limited to those associations that are government-affiliated and

depend on the government for funding, such as the governing party's youth league, which adversely affected the bargaining power and active and genuine participation of youth (Rona, 2019). The 2004 National Youth Policy remains the only youth-focused state document, but it lacks provisions for private-sector involvement and gives civil society a limited role.

The political context heavily influences youth employment programs because programs are often aligned with political motives, which risks prioritizing political support over addressing youth unemployment. The ruling party's control over youth-focused institutions perpetuates clientelism, favoritism, and discrimination, which undermines the broader goals of youth employment initiatives (Kefale, Dejen & Aalen, 2021).

In sum, from 2000 to 2020, youth employment policies and programs in Ethiopia were deeply intertwined with the country's political economy. The effectiveness of these interventions was compromised by inadequate design and implementation, capacity gaps, political motives, and a lack of inclusiveness. Addressing these issues requires genuine youth participation, greater data management and evaluation capacity, and stronger stakeholder coordination. Without these changes, youth employment programs in Ethiopia will continue to face significant challenges that limit their ability to address youth unemployment in the country.

VI Conclusion

Ethiopia's youth population is enormous and could contribute to the country's socioeconomic development if managed effectively. But several barriers contribute to the suboptimal utilization of this resource. We find that the challenges tend to be more severe for young women and persons with disabilities. Youth in urban areas tend to suffer from high unemployment—one in five youth is unemployed—and working poverty is on the rise. The NEET rate is high and trending upward for young women.

Our results offer new perspectives on the interventions that were implemented to address youth employment challenges in Ethiopia from 2000 to 2020. We find that while numerous employment programs were introduced, no specific youth employment policy

was created. Furthermore, the implementation of youth employment programs was marked by a lack of coordination, monitoring, and evaluation. Continual government restructuring since 2004 has meant substantial adjustments to the mandates and responsibilities of the ministries in charge of overseeing youth employment matters. This have resulted in data being lost and prevented following up on and continuing programs and initiatives. Our examination of government-sponsored youth employment initiatives also showed that most of the programs were put in place in response to political unrest, mainly with the intention of “putting out the fire,” and have not undergone thorough evaluation.

Another finding, taken from key informant interviews with beneficiaries and program directors, was that youth employment programs generally adhered to the selection criteria laid out during the design phase. In some instances, selection was affected by politicians or political ties and resulted in a lack of impartiality in program execution. We also discovered numerous instances of duplicate efforts in youth employment programs (e.g., an individual participated in two or more programs that provided similar training). The results may help to guide policies intended to reduce youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality, and to provide fair, dignified, and fulfilling employment opportunities for young people in Ethiopia.

6.1 Policy Implications

Our results point to high youth unemployment with a bleak association to gender inequality. Given the significant size of Ethiopia’s youth population and how widespread youth unemployment is in the country, a specific youth employment policy with a meaningful lead agency is sorely needed. The tentative and fragmented nature of the many youth employment programs that have been implemented suggests that maximizing the efficient use of resources and avoiding the duplication of efforts require consolidation and coordination.

Our results also show that genuine consultation with stakeholders when

formulating youth employment policies is vital. Involving interest groups, particularly young people, would help significantly to identify both employment-related problems and workable solutions. Moreover, specific strategies with clear end goals should be crafted at the design stage to provide an explicit road map for achieving youth employment program goals.

Our study also indicated that many in the growing youth population will be unable to realize their full potential if the current rate of economic and social development persists. Digital technologies have the potential to change this pattern by opening up new avenues for rapid economic growth, innovation, job creation, and access to services that were previously unthinkable. However, our study reveals that most youth employment programs do not consider this opportunity and have failed to capitalize on the burgeoning digital transformation as an avenue to create jobs for youth. At the same time, having limited infrastructure such as power supply and internet connectivity could negatively affect youth involvement in the digital economy and necessitate the revision of employment programs to include opportunities that can accommodate technologically savvy youth as gig or platform workers. To this end, the Ethiopian government should consider re-skilling the youth labor force in digital technologies, focus training on science and technology to prepare youth for the digital economy, and invest in the necessary infrastructure.

Because Ethiopia is a demographically young country and its youth population continues to grow, the implications of rural–urban migration for youth employment interventions require policymakers' attention. Educated youth in Ethiopia largely seek employment opportunities from the government and the private sector, so efforts should be geared toward promoting self-employment and entrepreneurship, potentially by educating students so they can join the agri-business industry. Recent efforts to encourage a culture of volunteerism among youth not only help teach practical skills and create employment opportunities for youth, but also enhance the country's prospect of achieving sustainable development.

6.2 Research Gaps

Our findings show that the youth employment interventions studied had inconclusive effects. Most studies were not methodologically rigorous, which casts doubt on the reliability of their findings, and were limited to small areas such as districts. Issues that require further investigation include the lack of detailed instruments to implement youth employment programs, inadequate planning and implementation capacity, program coherence, the absence of quasi-experimental studies on different geographical areas, and the huge discrepancy that exists between program intentions and implementation. Additionally, how youth involvement in the design and implementation of youth programs is related to the impact these programs have remains underexplored. Existing studies often overlook the extent to which involving youth in program development influences outcomes, which leaves a significant gap in our understanding of how participatory approaches might enhance program effectiveness. To mitigate duplicate youth employment intervention efforts and improve the evidence base for inclusiveness and informed planning/decision-making, inventories that are disaggregated by gender and youth subgroup are crucial.

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VII Annex 1: Profile of Youth Focus Group Participants

Youth Participants by Subgroup						
		Youth Employment Intervention Beneficiaries	Refugees	IDPs	PWDs	Total
Location	Addis Ababa	33	23	0	22	78
	Regional	44	0	11	0	55
	States					
Education level	Master's	1	0	0	1	2
	Degree					
	Degree	25	0	0	11	36
	Diploma	8	0	1	4	13
	Certificate	20	20	0	1	41
	High School	17	3	6	4	30
Age (years)	Primary	6	0	4	1	11
	School					
	15–20	5	0	5	0	10
	21–25	32	1	6	4	43
	26–30	31	20	0	12	63

Gender	31-35	9	2	0	6	17
	Men	38	11	0	12	61
	Women	39	12	11	10	72

Note: IDPs = internally displaced persons; PWDs = persons with disabilities