# Civic service policy in South Africa

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## Abstract

*The transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa has seen a transformation in the conception, policy and practice of service. By 2006, four forms of civic service were present in the policy landscape, functioning in different sectors with a range of target groups. This article argues that service benefited from the "strong policy" environment in post-apartheid South Africa. Issues and challenges relating to policy implementation, the assessment of policy outcomes and quality assurance of service programmes remain key challenges if civic service policy is to realise its potential as an instrument of social development.*

## Key words

Service policy; national youth service; community service for health professionals; service learning in higher education; community service in secondary schools; strong policy

# Introduction

South Africa's transformation from apartheid to democracy has brought about fundamental changes in the lives of its citizens. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, states unequivocally the country's intention of establishing a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Since the advent of democracy in 1994, a wide range of policies has been adopted to reshape the social, economic and political landscape. National policy is informed by a social development approach that focuses on transformation, redistribution, social cohesion, public participation, and human, social, economic and community development. Within this context, civic service is one aspect of South African society that has been affected by the new dispensation.

Under apartheid, "national service" was militaristic in conception. It was restricted to white males and served as an instrument of political control to entrench the apartheid system both within South Africa and beyond its borders. Today the conception of service has changed to be developmental, with service taking a variety of forms in different sectors, and involving a wide diversity of participants. In democratic South Africa, the meaning of service is aligned with the goals of national reconstruction and development, and citizenship development. While informal service at community level and in the non-governmental sector is large, nationally structured service programmes have also emerged, informed by national policy. Since 1994, four forms of service have been introduced in South Africa: youth service, community service for health care professionals, service learning in higher education, and, most recently, community service in secondary schools. Guided by a variety of policies and legislation, these service programmes are largely voluntary, although some compulsory programmes have been established. Programmes are also formal and national in scope, and are implemented in a range of sectors, through models that involve clearly defined target groups and, to varying degrees, combine service with learning. All four forms of service aim to inculcate civic values among young people through structured opportunities for rendering service to poor and under-served communities.

This article is based on the findings of a South African country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) that was conducted in 2005/6 as part of a larger study on the nature and scope of structured civic service programmes and informal community-based service programmes in five SADC countries: Botswana, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The South Africa country study followed a qualitative descriptive research design that gathered information on the nature and form of civic service and volunteerism in South Africa, through in-depth interviews with key informants, and focus groups with service providers. Literature and national

survey data was used to enrich the information gathered. Research activities were framed by several research questions developed from those used in the Global Service Institute's global assessment of civic service and volunteerism, and adapted to fit the South African context. The methodology of the study is set out in detail in the country report (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) and the overall report of the five country study (Patel, Perold, Mohamed & Carapinha, 2007).

The article describes the development of service policies, identifies the concepts and models that inform the service experience in South Africa, and analyses these according to a conceptual framework for "strong policy" suggested by Sherraden (2001). It concludes that in South Africa, service is an emerging institution that can contribute to human and social development. The authors argue that service has benefited from the enabling policy environment in post-apartheid South Africa, supported by national policy and legislation. While many achievements are noted in the development of service, evidence-based policy assessment remains a significant challenge. Valuable lessons may be learnt from the South African experience, which could inform policy formulation and implementation in the SADC region.

# Civic service in South Africa

Under apartheid, the term "national service" described an institution which required young white men, upon leaving school, to complete a period of military service, followed by compulsory "camps" at various intervals over successive years. The apartheid government used the military to subjugate black South Africans and to destabilise the southern African region (Perold, 2003; Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006). This created a close association between the term "national service" and apartheid's repressive actions and militaristic tendencies. The apartheid military experience discredited the idea of national conscription, and South Africans from all communities were wary of a compulsory, centrally driven national service that served narrow political interests.

At the same time, the anti-apartheid struggle provided a context for citizen activism, which embodied a totally different conception of service. The mass democratic movement played a leading role in facilitating social change in South Africa, and spawned a wide variety of organisations that provided services in communities suffering under apartheid, while also contributing to the goal of liberation. These national and community-based organisations drew on volunteers, mainly within and between, but not limited to African, coloured and Indian communities, and mobilised civic participation to promote the collective good (Patel, 2003a).

In the 1990s, South Africa entered the negotiations that would ultimately result in democratic elections in 1994. During this process, anti-apartheid civil society

organisations introduced new conceptions of national service that were closely aligned with the democratic aims of the new dispensation. The shift in terminology from "national service" to "community service" or "civic service" introduced a people-centred approach that viewed service as one means of addressing conditions in black communities through transformation, redress and social development. Various social policies were adopted post-1994 which gave effect to service in the youth, education, health and social welfare sectors. These policies and legislation are discussed specifically in the analysis of service policies below.

Significantly, civic service in contemporary South Africa occurs in a context that demonstrates a high incidence of volunteering. A national survey into the state of giving in South Africa found that just less than a fifth (17 per cent) of the respondents that participated in the survey had volunteered their time in support of a specific cause or charity in the month before the interview (Everatt & Solanki, 2005). An earlier study by Swilling & Russell (2002) estimated the number of volunteers to be eleven per cent. This indicates an increase of six per cent. Furthermore, Everatt & Solanki (2005) found that a relationship exists between volunteering and poverty, in that "poor respondents (23 per cent) were more likely to volunteer than the non-poor (17 per cent)". These findings are also supported in the five countries studied in the SADC region (Patel et al., 2007). These national surveys indicate that service is growing in the country and is a valuable asset that should be supported and strengthened through enabling policies. This brief overview shows how service has evolved in a changing political context and is an emerging phenomenon in the society.

# What is civic service responding to in South Africa?

Despite the gains made since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa continues to face significant challenges in respect of poverty, unemployment and unequal access to resources. Poverty affects approximately one-third of the population, with the UNDP Human Development Report (2005) recording that 34,1 per cent of the South African population lives on US$2 per day and 10,7 per cent of the population lives on US$1. Housing is still in short supply and the public health system struggles to meet the needs of the majority, particularly in the face of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, which is impacting heavily on the social and economic fabric of the country. South Africa has a 30,2 per cent HIV prevalence rate (measured among pregnant female antenatal clinic attendees) (Department of Health, 2005), and it is estimated that 5,5 million people (18,8 per cent of adults) were living with HIV in South Africa in 2005 (UNAIDS, 2006).

While South Africa's education system has successfully enrolled the majority (97 per cent) of school-age children (Department of Education, 2006), the quality of education is at odds with the requirements of the economy, not only in high skills areas such as mathematics and science, but also in respect of school-leavers' basic competence in literacy and numeracy (Chisholm, 2004). Despite faster economic growth, many school-leaving youth face limited opportunities for employment due to a poor match between their skills, formal qualifications and the demands of the economy (Budlender, 2006). Combined with the high official unemployment rate of 26,5 per cent (Perkins, 2006), this situation has led to estimates that approximately 30 per cent of young school leavers who have obtained a matriculation certificate are unlikely ever to find employment (Russouw, 2006:3). Crime and domestic violence also feature strongly in many communities.

The imperative for service thus stems from persistent gaps between privileged and underprivileged individuals and communities, and from needs that remain unmet in the face of service delivery challenges experienced at all levels of government.

# Civic service concepts and social development policy

In the South African policy context, civic service tends to be described as community service or youth service in the policy documents discussed above. For example:

- **Community service** is intended to "promote and develop social responsibility and awareness among students of the role of higher education in social and economic development through community service programmes" (Department of Education, 1997).

- **Youth service** is described as the "involvement of young people in activities which provide benefits to the community while developing the abilities of young people through service and learning" (National Youth Service, 2006).

These conceptions link community service and youth service closely to social transformation in South Africa, and aim to develop young people through rendering service to communities in need. They also point to intended outcomes such as the development of social responsibility and awareness among young people, the upliftment of communities, and the development of skills in the young servers.

Another approach defines civic service as "an organised period of substantial engagement and contribution to the local, national or world community, recognised and valued by society, with minimal monetary compensation to the participant" (Moore McBride & Sherraden, 2004:3s). This concept presents civic service as an organised, formal and goal-directed intervention that impacts on beneficiaries

through largely altruistic action on the part of the servers. Volunteering is considered to be a subset of service, as is youth service, elder service and service learning.

In the South African conception of community and youth service, the development of the young servers emerges as an explicit goal, alongside the benefits to communities and the nation as a whole. This must be understood against the background of apartheid, which marginalised young black people and neglected their needs. Service is therefore considered to provide young people with the oppportunity to develop personally, and at the same time contribute to social development of the communities they come from. Moore McBride & Sherraden's (2004) definition of service does not mention the servers explicitly, but it is sufficiently broad to encompass the idea of service as benefiting the "local, national or world community". For the purpose of this study, the definition developed by Moore McBride & Sherraden (2004) was used.

The social development policy model adopted by South Africa's policy-makers since 1994 has influenced policy development significantly, including policy on civic service. Patel describes this policy model (2003:96-98) as being "pro-poor change [that] challenges unequal and distorted economic, social and political development nationally, [with the] proactive involvement of government in developmentally oriented civic service". Among the goals of the social development approach are the participation of socially excluded groups in development efforts, and the achievement of tangible improvements in the quality of life of the people. Programmes informed by the social development approach foster human, social, economic and community development, promote productive employment of the socially excluded, and strengthen social capital formation. Public, private and civil society programmes are facilitated and supported by government while servers are regarded as active participants (change agents) in development. The social development approach to social policy in South Africa provides an enabling framework for the expansion of service and the design of service programmes locally.

# Civic service and strong policy in South Africa
## Defining strong policy

In his working paper entitled "Youth Service as Strong Policy", Sherraden (2001:1-4) describes "strong policy" as "policy that has many positive impacts and provides exceptional return on investment". He outlines four principles that characterise strong policy. Firstly, it is policy that promotes and restores opportunities for action, and secondly, it is policy that is founded in well-developed ideas, not merely in programme proposals. A third principle pertains to policy that relies on simple models that are productive and that can be tested (that is, policy that

is simple, clear, logically constructed, thoughtful and "intuitively sensible"). A final principle is policy that has inherent potential for application and that leads to various positive impacts/consequences (Sherraden, 2001:1-4). These four principles provide a framework for the analysis of civic service in South Africa. The data drawn from the South Africa country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) provides a basis for assessing the four policies against Sherraden's (2001) principles for strong policy.

## Civic service policy promotes and restores opportunities for action

The transition from apartheid to democracy has sought to redress the legacy of apartheid and has placed black South Africans at the centre of political, social and economic opportunity. Civic service is no exception in this regard: youth service, community service for health care professionals, community service in secondary education, and service learning in higher education are four forms of civic service that provide opportunities for taking action to redress the exclusion, disadvantage and systematic disempowerment that was the hallmark of apartheid.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (African National Congress, 1994) signalled government's intention of involving young people in development programmes, and the National Youth Policy 2000 identified national youth service as a strategy for human resource development and for promoting a culture of service towards communities and society. The publication of the *Green Paper on National Youth Service*, followed by a draft *White Paper on National Youth Service* in 1998 set the agenda for youth service. This culminated in a National Youth Service Implementation Plan followed by the formal launch of the National Youth Service in 2004.

The National Youth Service currently operates in all nine provinces. By 2006, it had registered 30 programmes involving 13 087 participants (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). It is important to note that youth is defined as people between the ages of 14 and 35 years (Republic of South Africa, 1996). Service programmes that involve youth are thus accessible to participants in a wide age range, but, as will be shown below, the service policies also target specific cohorts of young people.

The National Youth Service offers previously excluded groups the opportunity to reach their full potential for mainstream participation by gaining experience of service at community level, gaining hard and soft skills, increasing their self-esteem, and changing the profile of youth and the attitudes to youth among the communities in which service is offered. Target groups for youth service include higher education students, senior secondary school students, unemployed youth and youth in conflict with the law. Furthermore, the approach adopted by the National Youth Service provides young people with opportunities that they could not get through the formal education system.

Compulsory community service in the health sector was introduced when the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Professions Amendment Act (Republic of South Africa, 1997) made a year's community service a requirement for the registration of health professionals as practitioners. Community service for health professionals is a policy initiative of the Department of Health that responds to unmet needs in under-served communities, particularly in rural areas. It provides graduating health professionals with the opportunity to gain first-hand experience of practising in conditions of poverty and underdevelopment. By 2005, a total of 12 334 health professionals of various types had undertaken community service across all nine provinces (Mohamed, 2006).

In 1997, the *Education White Paper 3* (Department of Education, 1997) created the policy framework for universities to become more responsive to socio-economic needs through teaching, learning and scholarship. The focus on service in the higher education context deepened in 2001 when the *Founding Document of the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC) of the Council on Higher Education* identified knowledge-based community service (service-learning) as one of the three areas for the accreditation and quality assurance of higher education. The HEQC has developed criteria for the auditing of higher education programmes that include service-learning (Community Higher Education Service Partnership, 2003), which has served to further institutionalise community service in higher education. Opportunities have been created for universities to shape and guide teaching and research activities in response to the policy framework created by the *White Paper on the Transformation for Higher Education* (Department of Education, 1997). The promotion of community service in higher education has also been vigorously pursued through the work of the Community Higher Education Service Partnerships (CHESP) programme, a non-governmental initiative. Launched in 1999, the programme today operates in eight South African universities. By 2006, the principles and practice of service learning had been incorporated into some 200 credit-bearing courses across 39 different academic disciplines, involving almost 7 000 students ranging from first year to Master's level.

In recent years, the Department of Education (2006) introduced community service into senior secondary schools as part of the life skills orientation curriculum for the Further Education and Training band. This creates opportunities for teachers and pupils to be more closely engaged with their surrounding communities through service programmes. Not only does this bring resources and expertise into communities, but it also enables staff to learn more about the home situation and social circumstances of the children they teach every day. The curriculum goals and assessment statements are sufficiently broad to accommodate local needs, circumstances and action.

The civic service policies and legislation mentioned above create opportunities for community action through service to address unmet needs in the youth, health and education sectors. Service policies are aligned with national social development goals and priorities, and institutionalise the idea of civic service that is integrated into different social sectors. This also serves to mobilise resources through involving learners and new graduates in service activities that contribute to human and community development. Service has, therefore, been effectively institutionalised, and provides rich and varied opportunities for community action.

## Civic service policy is founded in well-developed ideas

In order to qualify as "strong policy", Sherraden (2001) indicates that the policy ideas should be well developed and should not merely be programme proposals. There are three ways of assessing whether the policy idea is a strong one: policy must rest on well-developed ideas, not merely programme proposals; ideas must be specified as theoretical statements with clear and testable hypotheses; and the causal variables must be translated into policy and programme applications.

Each of the four civic service policies is informed by the vision of "pro-poor change that challenges unequal and distorted economic, social and political development nationally" (Patel, 2003:96). National Youth Service is based on the idea that views youth as assets in development. It seeks to promote human capital development through providing youth with learning experiences and skills. Social capital development is also considered important in building social networks of trust in South African communities while engaging young participants in a formal process of providing a valued and necessary service to the communities they live in. The idea behind community service for health professionals is to improve access to quality health care to all South Africans – through the deployment of health practitioners into under-served communities, and by sensitising health professionals to the conditions of poor people and increasing their ability to be responsive to their needs.

In the case of higher education, the policy idea is that community service and civic engagement have a major role to play in transforming the teaching and learning pedagogy and research in universities, so as to produce outcomes that are responsive to the social, political, economic and cultural needs of the country. Characteristics central to responsiveness include reciprocity, mutual enrichment and the integration of the perspectives of poor communities in scholarly activities.

Community service in senior secondary schools is intended to inculcate in grade 10 to 12 pupils "an understanding and appreciation of the values and rights that underpin the Constitution in order to practise responsible citizenship, and to enhance social justice and sustainable living" (Department of Education, 2003:16).
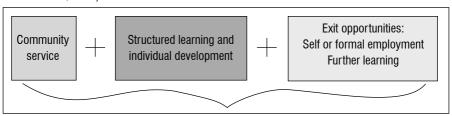
The review of the policy ideas underpinning the various service programmes discussed above are compelling, and are grounded in social development thinking. However, there is no evidence of the civic service policy ideas being specified as statements with clear and testable hypotheses that are translated into policy and programme applications. This gap would need to be addressed in the policy frameworks if, according to Sherraden (2001), they are to demonstrate that civic service can render positive socio-economic and political outcomes for South Africa.

## Civic service policy models

Sherraden cites one of the features of strong policy as being "simple models that are productive" (2001:2). This has the advantage of making policy purposeful and measurable.

South Africa's national youth service model is an "integrated model that harnesses the potential of youth to become active citizens that contribute to social development as they gain skills" (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). The youth service model comprises three components which are illustrated in Figure 1.

**Figure 1:** Integrated model for the National Youth Service programme (National Youth Service Unit, 2006)



The National Youth Service uses a youth development methodology that focuses on service by young people to communities in need. Participation is voluntary, but servers make a formal commitment to stay with the programme for its full duration (usually 12 months). Structured learning is accredited and comprises life skills, technical skills and entrepreneurship education that are integrated throughout the period of service (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). "Exit opportunities" are defined as opportunities for employment, self-employment or further learning, and the movement of youth service graduates into exit opportunities is tracked by the National Youth Service Unit in its reports to government.

The model for community service for health professionals is one year of service following the full period of training as a health professional. Since completion of community service is a prerequisite for registration as a health practitioner, the

year's service is compulsory. Graduates indicate preferences for placement, but may not obtain preferred locations since placement is largely determined by the location of communities in need of health services. The availability and quality of supervision varies considerably from one site to another, but no formal assessment is required of the health professional's performance during the period of service.

In higher education, models of service are determined by institutional policies, guidelines and strategies for community engagement and service learning. Generally students are free to choose whether or not to take service-learning courses, but once registered for these, the service component becomes compulsory. Universities participating in the Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme adopt a "socially accountable model". Central to this model is the development of partnerships between communities, higher education institutions and service organisations to address development priorities and to inform teaching, learning and research.

Community service in secondary schools is still in its infancy and no single model is indicated in the curriculum framework for grades 10 to 12. The life orientation component of the curriculum is compulsory for all pupils. The curriculum contains broad outcome statements for each grade, against which pupils are assessed. However, the curriculum does not state what the inputs should be. It must thus be anticipated that community service experiences in schools are likely to take different forms, depending on where schools decide to run their service programmes. Other differentiating factors will stem from whether or not schools choose to partner with community-based organisations to shape the service experience and structure opportunities for reflection and learning.

The four civic service policies all thus demonstrate evidence of purposefulness, and in the case of the National Youth Service and the Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme, the purpose and models of service are clearly articulated. However, it has not been possible to determine whether the policies are productive and measurable. The Community Higher Education Service Partnership programme has documented programme experiences and has published valuable research that can help guide policy reviews. The Higher Education Quality Committee has audited several universities since 2004, but no published reports on knowledge-based community service could be located. Similarly, no impact assessments are available for the National Youth Service. The community service programme for health professionals tracks statistics regarding participation, but publicly available impact assessments are confined to personal testimonies from individual participants. Pupils involved in school community service are to be assessed in the course of the school year, but indicators for impact measurement have not been defined.

## Civic service policy can be translated into programmes and makes sense to participants

According to Sherraden, "ideas for policy and practice should be simple, clear, logically constructed, thoughtful and almost intuitively sensible" and should "engage the public's imagination" (2001:2-3). As demonstrated above, the civic service policies are operationalised through programmes that are run across the country. What is significant, however, is the extent to which implementation is informed by a pluralist approach. A pluralist approach to service delivery means that the state and non-state actors, including the private sector, individuals, families and communities, are encouraged to participate in the promotion of social development (Patel, 2005:205). Patel (2003:96-98) cites government's facilitation and support for public, private and civic society programmes as one feature of the social development approach to civic service, and the evidence shows that in three out of the four policies, a pluralist approach is followed. However, little is known about how effectively and efficiently this approach works in practice. Further research is needed in this regard.

The National Youth Service Unit works with government departments and civil society organisations to explore and operationalise opportunities for service. National youth service is implemented through a wide range of agencies, viz. government departments, municipalities, community-based organisations, non-governmental organisations and private sector organisations. The National Youth Service Unit develops guidelines and manuals to support the identification, design and implementation of youth service projects, and trains and registers technical advisors who support organisations implementing national youth service projects. It also trains institutional assessors who evaluate the quality of projects and recommend registration with the National Youth Service Unit or capacity building (National Youth Service Unit, 2006). Servers receive a small monthly stipend to cover transport and other logistics costs, and service is undertaken in sectors such as construction, education, environment, health, housing and social development.

Service learning in universities is shaped by the academic disciplines in which the courses are located and the available academic expertise. The goals of the service programmes determine the areas and sectors in which service takes place, and community-based organisations as well as specialist organisations are enlisted as partners to implement the service-learning programmes. Schools are likely to follow a similar approach in that community-based organisations function as entry points for structured community-based service programmes.

The exception is community service for health professionals. This programme is run entirely by the Department of Health and is implemented in public hospitals and health clinics located in different parts of the country. The only pluralistic

feature of this programme is the involvement of a non-governmental organisation, the Health Systems Trust, that has been involved in supporting the Department of Health in monitoring and evaluating the programme.

Do the programmes make "intuitive sense" to the participants? The South Africa country study (Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006) cites primary data that demonstrates that, for many participants, civic service is a simple, clear and intuitive concept. Some respondents explained that the concept of service and volunteering in South Africa is part of the African philosophy of *ubuntu*, which denotes caring and sharing: "Our heritage as Africans is about returning to the community … you helped me grow; I will help you grow as well". The study shows that the notion of "giving back" to one's community permeates the worldview of individuals across many different social strata – in the policy-making world of the National Youth Commission as well as among servers and programme managers. This indicates that civic service policies and programmes are informed by these deeper traditional values and are likely to make intuitive sense to participants.

## Civic service policy leads to various positive impacts

Sherraden (2001) suggests that the assessment of the impact of a social phenomenon such as civic service should be conceptualised as working with a "strong independent variable" that has multiple effects across a broad range of dependent variables (2001:4). If civic service is strong policy, he argues, then most of the effects should be positive, but it should also be possible to establish which effects are negative.

In the South African context, the conceptualisation of civic service in terms of envisaged outcomes is sorely underdeveloped. Only in the higher education sector have clear criteria been developed by the Higher Education Quality Committee to assess the nature and impact of community service. In the case of the National Youth Service, target setting informs government planning and resource allocations (through the Medium Term Expenditure Framework) to national youth service programmes. However, the explicit requirement to assess the effects of civic service in relation to socio-economic development is absent from this policy, and no published studies could be located on the detailed impact of the National Youth Service in respect of its participants or beneficiary communities. As mentioned previously, there is no study available on the impact of the community service for health professionals programme.

# Conclusion

This analysis demonstrates that civic service policies in South Africa do promote and restore opportunities for action and are generally founded on well-developed ideas. Policy models are evident in the case of the National Youth Service and community service in higher education. In all four cases, policy is translated into programmes that run throughout the country, and in three out of four cases, programme implementation bears evidence of a pluralist approach in which government enters into partnerships with public, private and civil society to implement civic service.

The approach of integrating civic service into a range of policies and policy frameworks provides a measure of flexibility that promotes sectoral and local responsiveness. The social development approach is evident through the alignment of the service policy, programme goals and national development goals, as well as through the use of partnerships between government and civil society organisations to implement service programmes.

The civic service policies thus conform with the four principles of "strong policy" outlined by Sherraden (2001), and this suggests that civic service is emerging as a coherent social institution in South Africa. However, the absence of clearly defined and measurable statements about the outcomes envisaged for each of the civic service policies hampers assessment of the impact of service on servers and recipients. Other challenges for civic service are, firstly, related to the interdependent relationship between government and locally based civil society organisations in the implementation of service programmes. There is a need to define the roles and responsibilities of government and civil society in service programmes (Hanson, 2006). Support is required for cost-recovery among local organisations that house and manage servers, capacity-building for programme development, and the provision of accredited training that strengthens the management and administration in specific sectors.

Secondly, if civic service is to become a social institution that advances social and human development and "provides exceptional return on investment", then the quality assurance of service programmes requires attention. To date, higher education is the only sector in which criteria for quality assurance have been developed by an external body (the HEQC), and appropriate approaches need to be developed for the other types of civic service programmes if they are to achieve their goals in respect of both beneficiaries and servers.

Finally, evidence-based impact assessments are an indispensable measure of strong policy. Partnerships between universities, research institutions and service programmes could help to assess change at regular intervals (e.g. over three- to five-year periods) and to measure the costs and benefits of such impact. For these studies to impact on policy reviews, the findings need to be widely communicated to influence policy deliberations throughout government and civil society.

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# Endnote

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