

*From Resilience to Transilience:  
Interrogating Ideas on Youth  
Agency and Social  
Innovation in Nigeria.*

*A Literature Review*



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*Young people are said to be at the forefront of the innovations occurring on the continent, despite having to contend with complex and diverse challenges.*



## Introduction

Social innovation is increasingly being recognised as a pathway to systemic change<sup>[1][2][3]</sup> and development in Africa.<sup>[4][5]</sup> Yet, there is limited evidence on how these innovations occur in the midst of poverty, vulnerability and marginalisation. What is most fascinating is that young people are said to be at the forefront of the innovations occurring on the continent, despite having to contend with complex and diverse challenges.<sup>6</sup> This literature review is the first output of a broader study that explores how social innovation is occurring in the midst of poverty, vulnerability and marginalisation. It examines the intersection between youth agency and the processes that produce social innovation in Nigeria, and how these innovations are altering the social issues they intend to tackle. In this regard, this paper presents emerging perspectives within the literature on how youth agency is framed within the social innovation discourse. The paper situates the conversation within the resilience debate and emerging ideas around the concept of transilience.

This paper is divided into 5 sections. This first section introduces the research and the ideas that shape the core of its enquiry. This is followed by a conversation on how the concept of social innovation has evolved and establishes an operational definition for this research. Section three provides some context and presents emerging perspectives in youth vulnerability, marginalisation and poverty in Nigeria. The next section engages the debate on how resilience shapes our understanding of youth issues and its inherent gaps while also introducing the discourse on transilience as a potential alternative to development thinking with regards to youth interventions. The concluding part of the paper teases out a few considerations and recommendations for further research, policy and programming.

## About the Research

Social innovation occurs within situations and contexts, but while innovations are expected to transcend time, its dynamics are altered as society develops. Hence, understanding the period within its setting provides an appreciation of the underpinning dynamics that produce social innovation at such a time. Nigeria, and indeed Africa, possesses a very wealthy and diverse history that supports social innovation,<sup>7</sup> and while there is emerging literature in this regard, the narrative has paid scant attention to the African side of the tale especially as it relates to how young people are engaging this phenomenon. Furthermore, stories about Africa's youth and their development has not always been positive. Although, the Africa rising narrative seemed to portray the continent in positive light given the substantial improvements in Africa's human development indicators over the past decade; it was under attack sooner than expected as its nuances posed more questions than answers. This study does not intend to sweep Africa's developmental issues under the carpet, rather, it sets off in acknowledging them by providing context, but also attempts to reframe the tale of young Africans whose stories, context and trajectories have been misrepresented and undermined.

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<sup>1</sup> Kevin Chika Urama and Ernest Nti Acheampong (2013). Social Innovation Creates Prosperous Societies, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. Summer. Available at: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/social\\_innovation\\_creates\\_prosperous\\_societies](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/social_innovation_creates_prosperous_societies)

<sup>2</sup> Murray, R., Caulier-Grice, J. and Mulgan, G. (2010). *The open book of social innovation* (p. 2). London: National endowment for science, technology and the art.

<sup>3</sup> Buckland, Heloise and Murillo Bonvehí, David (2013). *Antenna for social innovation: Pathways to systemic change*, Sheffield (United Kingdom): *Greenleaf Publishing*.

<sup>4</sup> Harry, N.U. (2013) African Youth, Innovation and the Changing Society, *HuffPost*, November 09. Available at: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-\\_b\\_3904408.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-_b_3904408.html)

<sup>5</sup> Sir Fazle Hasan Abed and Reeta Roy (2013). Taking Lessons from Africa's Youth, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, June 13. Available at: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/taking\\_lessons\\_from\\_africas\\_youth](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/taking_lessons_from_africas_youth)

<sup>6</sup> Tsekoura, M. (2016). Debates on youth participation: from citizens in preparation to active social agents. *Revista Katálysis*, 19(1), pp.118-125.

<sup>7</sup> O'Donoghue, R., Shava, S. and Zazu, C., (2013). African Heritage Knowledge in the Context of Social Innovation. Learning Contributions of the Regional Centres of Expertise on Education for Sustainable Development. United Nations University—Institute of Advanced Studies, Yokohama.

The research will present developing perspectives from case studies of emerging entrepreneurs on LEAP Africa's Social Innovators Fellowship Program which aims to strengthen and advance youth-led innovation and entrepreneurship in Nigeria through training and collaborative partnerships that enhance sustainability and impact. The study moves away from analysis that construct youth as passive and docile as well as narratives that anticipates doom for the future of the African youth. In particular, the study attempts to push the boundaries of how youth agency is understood in relation to social innovation, while also challenging narratives that downplay their lived experiences. The argument within the study nuances Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which suggests that individuals will not reach the point of self-actualisation if physiological needs are unmet. This is then set against evidence from grey literature suggesting that young people are bypassing physiological problems and reaching self-actualisation by driving social transformation – this research defines this event as '*transilience*'. Hence, the research attempts to provide an understanding of 'how social innovation is occurring in the midst of poverty, vulnerability and marginalisation'.

The research will engage this question by attempting to enable an understanding of the process of social innovation, its product, its diffusion, and the ultimate value it creates in society. The study will interrogate the nature of social innovation in Nigeria and what it means in a context of poverty, vulnerability and political instability. It also attempts to analyse how youth agency shapes the processes and production of social innovation, as well as how it is diffused and adopted in the midst of structural limitations. The research will adopt a case study approach of individual innovators using both qualitative and quantitative data, locating data from primary sources by deploying ethnographic methods to observe, question and interact with the context of innovators, their innovation and the enterprises that have emerged from these. The study will also apply content analysis to analyse data from secondary sources including academic and grey literature, reports and documentaries. Fellows from LEAP Africa's Social Innovators Program from 2013 – 2018 will be the main participants of this study.

## LEAP Africa's Social Innovation Program

In 2004, LEAP Africa came to the realisation that while negative reports of youth restiveness and crimes were widespread in local and foreign media, the positive contributions of young Nigerians towards national transformation have gone unrecognized. This understanding informed the design of a programme called the Annual Nigerian Youth Leadership Awards (ANYLA); which was hosted annually in Lagos, Nigeria. A decade later, learnings from LEAP Africa's ANYLA programme brought to the fore the awareness that while Nigeria had witnessed increased youth interest in social innovation, many of them still required essential skills and support to establish effective and sustainable initiatives, such that could accelerate the transformation of their local communities and create employment. To bridge this gap, LEAP Africa, in 2013, redefined the ANYLA into what is now called the '*Social Innovators Programme (SIP)*', with the aim of strengthening and advancing youth led innovation and entrepreneurship in Nigeria through trainings, mentorships, network building and enterprise development support that enhance the sustainability of the overall impact of their social initiatives. This fellowship programme culminates in an Awards ceremony to showcase the most outstanding social enterprises and success stories within a cohort annually.



*Social innovations are novel solutions to wicked social problems that create value to society and not just for private gains*



*Photo Credit: Софія Якобчук – [africaiswoke.com](http://africaiswoke.com)*



An emerging subject around the social innovation discourse is the increasing role young people are playing within the space and its attendant outcomes.<sup>[8][9]</sup> In Africa, young people are said to be changing the narrative emerging from the continent, perhaps giving some credence to the 'Africa is Rising' narrative. From innovations that uses mobile technology solutions to provide access to maternal and child healthcare, to ideas that turns waste plastic bottles into alternative materials for construction to solve environmental and climate issues; to initiatives that deploys drones to deliver blood in remote locations; to surgical clinics that correct deformities; to enterprises that provide skills and resources that support youth transitions;<sup>10</sup> as well as social movements that upturn sit tight governments and demand accountability and good governance. Young people have become the vanguard of innovation on the continent, making Africa a melting pot for breakthrough ideas, tech products, disruptive start-ups<sup>11</sup> as well as new forms of social and political action.<sup>12</sup>

Over the years, social innovation has emerged as a popular concept amongst policy actors, development partners, and academics globally. For this reason, there are as many definitions of the concept as there are users. Regardless, there is the paucity of a comprehensive and organised interpretation of how it is operationalised both in academic and policy circles.<sup>[13][14]</sup> Some of the earliest definitions arguably date back to the 1960s which referred to experimental research within the social sciences and humanities.<sup>15</sup> Post this period, however, the concept has found expression in business and technological spaces leading to an extended interpretation that has advanced an understanding of the concept including; social entrepreneurship, social enterprise and technological innovation.<sup>16</sup>

A critical discourse<sup>[17][18]</sup> of these three concepts suggests that it downplays the key elements that could provide a holistic understanding of the mechanisms of social innovation. Social entrepreneurship just like its parent field – entrepreneurship – emphasises the personal qualities of the individuals behind the innovation and applauds individual characteristics such as confidence, determination, ingenuity and tenacity. Similarly, technological innovation pays much of its attention to the technicalities of the innovation with less inquiry into the sociological implications of inventions. While pockets of the literature on social enterprise explore broader issues of managing organisations with a social purpose, its focus has been more on income, commercial activities and businesses that provide support to social programs.<sup>[19][20]</sup> Basically, the challenge with these notions is that they are narrowly focused and seem less complex because they typically frame innovation as being constrained to certain kinds of individuals, inventions or organisations. However, all of these are simple parts of a much broader narrative.

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<sup>8</sup> Gabriela Jaeger (2013). By Youth, For Youth, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. Fall. Available at: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/by\\_youth\\_for\\_youth](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/by_youth_for_youth)

<sup>9</sup> Ho, E., Clarke, A. and Dougherty, I. (2015). Youth-led Social Change: Topics, Engagement Types, Organizational Types, Strategies, and Impacts. *Futures*, 67, pp.52-62.

<sup>10</sup> See lionesses of Africa <http://www.lionessesofafrica.com/melanie-today/2018/2/22/the-voice-of-africas-women-entrepreneurs>

<sup>11</sup> Harry, N.U. (2013) African Youth, Innovation and the Changing Society, *HuffPost*, November 09. Available at: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-\\_b\\_3904408.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-_b_3904408.html)

<sup>12</sup> Examples of new social and political action include the online (social media) movements that precipitated the Arab spring, #buharimeter, #bringbackourgirls etc.

<sup>13</sup> Harrisson, D. (2012). Social Innovation: What Is Coming Apart and What Is Being Rebuilt? In Franz Hans-Werner, Hochgerner Josef, Howaldt Jürgen (Eds.), *Challenge Social Innovation* (73-86). Berlin: Springer-Verlag

<sup>14</sup> Phills, J.A., Deiglmeier, K. And Miller, D.T. (2008). Rediscovering Social Innovation, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 6(4). pp. 34-43.

<sup>15</sup> The Young Foundation (2012) *Social Innovation Overview: A Deliverable of the Project: "The Theoretical, Empirical and Policy Foundations for Building Social Innovation in Europe"* (TEPSIE), European Commission – 7th Framework Programme, Brussels: European Commission, DG Research

<sup>16</sup> Ibid 15

<sup>17</sup> See – Ibid 8

<sup>18</sup> Ibid 9

<sup>19</sup> Ibid 14

<sup>20</sup> Ibid 15



Furthermore, the last two decades have witnessed a flurry of literature on social innovation and this, in part, was occasioned by the increasing dissatisfaction within academic and policy spaces that the concept had an overarching technological emphasis. This dissatisfaction occasioned renewed interests at policy and research spaces that required theorising the concept around a human or social development focus.<sup>21</sup> The argument within innovation policy, for instance, is that the priority of the concept has been framed around an investment in knowledge and less within social development spheres.<sup>22</sup> Hence, the need to broaden the concept.

In an attempt to broaden the concept to capture ‘what is social?’, one would perhaps have thought that it would provide a comprehensive definition. Unfortunately, there is still a fundamental disagreement around what is considered social and what is not social. This is partly because social innovation is more of a practice-led field than theoretical. It is therefore not surprising that scholars who have attempted this have found themselves ‘*on the horns of a dilemma*’, as they occupy themselves in trying to distinguish social innovation from other forms of innovation (referring to the economic and technological forms of innovation). On the one hand, scholars<sup>23</sup> within the theoretical realm define social innovation as any innovation that produces social effects, whether economic or technological. The central argument here is that all innovations are shaped by social processes of interaction and communication, as such they potentially produce social outcomes and impact. In contrast, critical scholars<sup>[24][25][26]</sup> still in the theoretical realm argue that social innovation is more than just a postscript, a mere appendage or a side effect of technological or economic innovations. They emphasise the importance of making distinctions between the social, economic and technological meanings of these innovations while also taking account of the conditions governing their origins and diffusion.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, scholars<sup>[28][29]</sup> from a practice perspective, however, take the conversation a bit further by providing a definition based on the process and outcomes that address social issues, referring to new ideas, products, services or models that meet social needs and enables new social relationships. They define Social Innovation as “...*a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, or just than existing solutions and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals*”.<sup>30</sup> This definition perhaps moves us towards a useful framework for understanding and operationalising social innovation both theoretically and for practice. The definition first unpacks the concepts of ‘innovation’ and ‘social’ separately by explaining their defining features and establishing a criteria for what is considered innovation and what social means.

In defining innovation, the definition distinguishes four features. First, is that innovation represents a process of generating a novel product or solution involving varying factors. Second, the product or

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<sup>21</sup> Moolaert F., Martinelli F., Swyngedouw E., and Gonzalez S. (2005). ‘Towards Alternative Model(s) of Local Innovation’, *Urban Studies*, vol. 42:11, pp. 1969-1990.

<sup>22</sup> The Young Foundation (2012) Social Innovation Overview: A Deliverable of the Project: “The Theoretical, Empirical and Policy Foundations for Building Social Innovation in Europe” (TEPSIE), European Commission – 7th Framework Programme, Brussels: European Commission, DG Research.

<sup>23</sup> Degelsegger A. and Kesselring, A. (2012). Do Non-humans Make a Difference? The Actor-Network-Theory and the Social Innovation Paradigm. In Franz Hans Werner, Hochgerner Josef, Howaldt Jürgen (Eds.), *Challenge Social Innovation* (57-72). Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

<sup>24</sup> See - Howaldt, J. and Schwarz, M. (2010). *Social Innovation: Concepts, Research Fields, and International Trends*, IMA/ZLW and IfU, *IMO International Monitoring* (Vol 5).

<sup>25</sup> Howaldt, J. and Kopp, R. (2012). *Shaping Social Innovation by Social Research*. In H.-W. Franz, J. Hochgerner & J. Howaldt (Eds.). *Challenge Social Innovation. Potentials for Business, Social Entrepreneurship, Welfare and Civil Society* (pp. 43-56). Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer.

<sup>26</sup> Jenson, J., and Harrison, D. (2013). *Social innovation research in the European Union. Approaches, Findings and Future Directions*. Brussels: European Commission.

<sup>27</sup> Howaldt, J., Domanski, D. and Kaletka, C. (2016). *Social Innovation: Towards a New Innovation Paradigm*. *RAM. Revista de Administração Mackenzie*, 17(6), pp.20-44.

<sup>28</sup> See - Murray, R., Caulier-Grice, J. and Mulgan, G. (2010). *The Open Book of Social Innovation*. United Kingdom: *The Young Foundation*.

<sup>29</sup> Hubert, A. et al. (2010) *Empowering people, driving change: Social innovation in the European Union*, BEPA (Bureau of European Policy Advisers) (Ed.), Brussels.

<sup>30</sup> Phills, J.A., Deiglmeier, K. And Miller, D.T. (2008). *Rediscovering Social Innovation*, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 6(4). pp. 34-43.



invention itself. Third, is the diffusion or adoption of the innovation and how it comes into broader use; and fourth, is the ultimate value the innovation creates. This means that novelty, improvements and sustainability are important criteria when considering what innovation is and what it is not.<sup>[31]</sup>

In explaining what social means, the definition moves away from explanations that are focused on motivations (because they are difficult to observe) and sectors (because it subjectively dismisses approaches and influential practises that can produce social value). It might be useful to define social within the confines of what is considered *wicked problems*. These are problems that are complex, multi-faceted, involve a range of stakeholders and are, by their nature, impossible to solve.<sup>32</sup> Hence, what is social can be interpreted as the benefits that accrue from efforts to address social problems.

## Social Innovation and the Leadership Nexus

Interestingly, defining 'social' and 'innovation' within the confines of wicked problems establishes a logical relationship with recent understandings of leadership. In understanding this leadership intersection, contemporary leadership scholars draw attention to the difference between the two concepts by distinguishing their areas of problem-solving activity.<sup>33</sup> They argue that leadership and management are rooted in the distinction between wicked and tame problems.<sup>34</sup> On the one hand, wicked problems refers to complex problems that sit within culture and policy realms and demands novel or innovative approaches to unique social problems. On the other hand, tame problems are those that have readymade answers; they are complicated but resolvable and only requires the engagement of standard operating procedures.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, examples of innovations solving wicked problems may include interventions addressing the root cause(s) of poverty, global warming, drug abuse, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), inequality, unemployment, and corruption. These are deeply rooted social problems that sit across and between different private and public institutions, having implications for the livelihoods of millions of people. As such, *social innovations are novel solutions to wicked social problems that create value to society and not just for private gains*.

The conversation around private gains unearths important questions that has implications for entrepreneurs who have hybrid innovation models where there is a balance between social value and private gain. However, this definition suggests that while a number of innovations benefit society, not all are social innovations. The computer for instance, significantly enhanced productivity, learning and efficiency. The innovations in telecommunications perhaps have produced similar results while also connecting people in locations that are far from each other, but its benefits tilt more towards private gains than social value.<sup>36</sup> Social innovation can be a product, service, production process, or technology. The operational definition suggests that it can, and also expands its meaning to include principles, an ideology, a legislation, a policy, a social movement, an intervention or a fusion of the aforementioned. More recent definitions from a practice perspective have continued to emphasise the product, process and social value dimensions in defining social innovation. In whatever way it is defined, its overall value must lean more towards society broadly.

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<sup>31</sup> Phills, J.A., Deiglmeier, K. and Miller, D.T. (2008). Rediscovering Social Innovation, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 6(4). pp. 34-43.

<sup>32</sup> See - Grint, Keith (2010). *Leadership: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

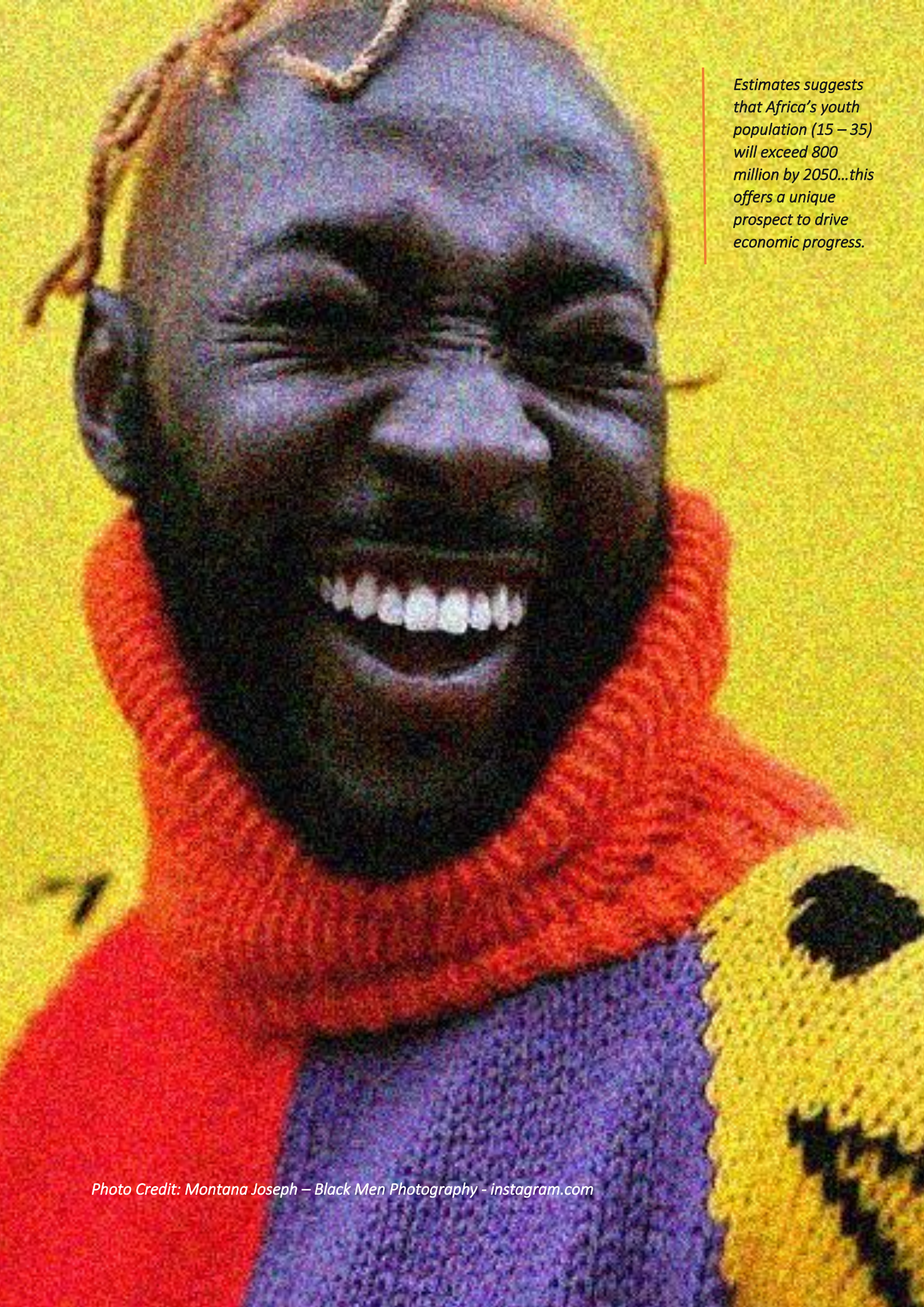
<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

<sup>36</sup> Ibid





*Estimates suggests that Africa's youth population (15 – 35) will exceed 800 million by 2050...this offers a unique prospect to drive economic progress.*



Globally, young people are said to be living in a very interesting epoch in history, because of the tremendous odds they are faced with on a daily basis. This situation however manifests in peculiar ways in parts of Africa where young people who due to structural conditions struggle to make fundamental transitions to live long and live well. What is more interesting is that the youth population on the continent has reached an historic plateau.<sup>37</sup> With an estimated population of 1.3 billion, young people constitute about 75%<sup>38</sup> (below age 35) of Africa's population, and estimates suggests that the youth population (15 – 35) will exceed 800 million by 2050.<sup>[39][40]</sup> Optimists maintain that this offers a unique prospect to drive economic progress.<sup>[41][42]</sup> However, Critical pundits interpret Africa's youth bulge as a ticking demographic time bomb, because of the paucity of opportunities available to engage young people productively.

Although there have been advancements in education, healthcare and livelihoods generally, young people in Africa have continued to experience tremendous odds in a society that is hardly in tune with their daily realities and aspirations.<sup>43</sup> In many respects, they are referred to as a generation *less well-off* compared to the generation before them.<sup>44</sup> In this regard, there is a lot of attention on Nigeria with a growing population of over 200 million people,<sup>[45][46]</sup> with the youth constituting 63% of the total population. This means that Nigeria is home to more than 100 million young people below the age 35; many of whom have limited opportunities for decent jobs and participation in political life. Empirical evidence suggest that Nigeria's peculiar youth situation, in part, explains the migration of young Nigerians into Europe through North Africa and the Mediterranean; radicalisation and extremist activities in the North East; the re-emergence of separatists groups in the South East; militancy in the Niger Delta; cattle rustle rustling and rural banditry in parts of the Middle Belt; as well as the increase in cybercrime and drug trafficking.

Emerging from a trajectory of military and draconian regimes, the reintroduction of a democratic dispensation in 1999 brought with it a promise that the potential of Africa's most populous nation was unlimited. Unfortunately, the democratic shift has not successfully translated the aspirations of many citizens into the opportunity to live long and live well. Although there has been substantial improvements in human development in Nigeria, urbanisation and the stern tussle for limited resources within a context of inert governance structures and institutions accounts for the relative decline in the wellbeing and social advancement of young people.<sup>47</sup> This is coupled with the enduring negative impact of the Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs), which further contributes to the plight of young people in Nigeria and indeed many parts of Africa. The emphasis on macroeconomic stability, currency devaluation and cutbacks on sensitive public expenditures is closely related to the tremendous odds

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<sup>37</sup> Jimenez, Emmanuel and Murthi, Mamta (2006) 'Investing in the Youth Bulge', *Finance and development*, Vol 43 No. 3, Washington, DC.: *International Monetary Fund*.

<sup>38</sup> Below age 35. See – State of Africa's Population 2017 [https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32187-wd-state\\_of\\_africas\\_population\\_-\\_sa19093\\_-e.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32187-wd-state_of_africas_population_-_sa19093_-e.pdf)

<sup>39</sup> Africa Development Bank Group (2015). Jobs for Youth in Africa: Catalysing Youth Opportunity Across Africa, The High 5 for Transforming Africa. Available at: [https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Images/high\\_5s/Job\\_youth\\_Africa\\_Job\\_youth\\_Africa.pdf](https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Images/high_5s/Job_youth_Africa_Job_youth_Africa.pdf)

<sup>40</sup> See – UNECA (2016) The Demographic Profile of African Countries. Also see -

[https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32187-wd-state\\_of\\_africas\\_population\\_-\\_sa19093\\_-e.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32187-wd-state_of_africas_population_-_sa19093_-e.pdf)

<sup>41</sup> Crossland, Kiley (2014) 'UN: Birth Control, Abortion, and Sex Ed Key to Economic Success', *World Real Matters*, November 28.

<sup>42</sup> Lin, Justin Yifu (2012) 'Youth bulge: A Demographic Dividend or a Demographic Bomb in Developing countries', *The World Bank*.

<sup>43</sup> Abbink, Jon (2005). 'Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal'. *Leiden University Repository*, pp, 1-33.

<sup>44</sup> Sherly Chamberlain (2018). Millennials are geared to Create Impactful Change in the Non-Profit Sector. *Forbes*. Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesnonprofitcouncil/2018/06/11/millennials-are-geared-to-create-impactful-change-in-the-nonprofit-sector/#776d94691098>

<sup>45</sup> See - PWC (online) Nigeria Economic Outlook – Top 10 Themes for 2019. Available at: <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/nigeria-economic-outlook-2019.pdf>

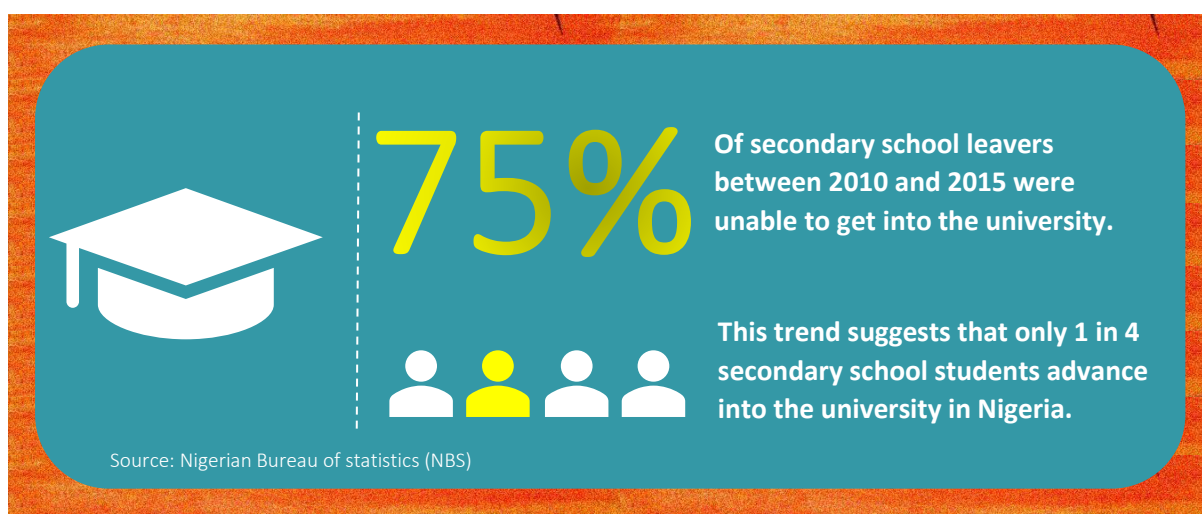
<sup>46</sup> According to PWC there is uncertainty about Nigeria's population. For instance, UNFPA's State of the World Population 2019 report estimates Nigeria's population to be 201 million. See – Erken Arthur (2019). Unfinished Business – The Pursuit of Rights and Choices, *State of the World Population 2019*, UNFPA. Available at: [https://nigeria.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/SWP19%20-%20EN%20report-web-%204%20April\\_3.pdf](https://nigeria.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/SWP19%20-%20EN%20report-web-%204%20April_3.pdf).

<sup>47</sup> Abbink, Jon (2005). 'Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal'. *Leiden University Repository*, pp, 1-33.



that constrain young people from making fundamental transitions.<sup>48</sup> Transition in terms of being able to further their education, start a productive working life; access quality healthcare; attaining social mobility; and exercising citizenship.<sup>49</sup>

Being a youth at this time, therefore, means that young people struggle to **advance their education**. For instance, there is a fundamental gap between the number of secondary school leavers and those who transition into higher forms of learning. In Nigeria, 75% of secondary school leavers between 2010 and 2015 were unable to get into the university.<sup>(see figure 1)</sup> This means that only 1 in 4 secondary school students get a spot at the university level in Nigeria.<sup>50</sup> This situation has a strong linkage with the issue of learning outcomes, such that secondary school curriculum hardly prioritises employability skills and other competences relevant for industry and the future of work. The problems associated with youth transition in education is well documented, but the issue is deeply rooted in the problem of poverty as well as the policies and cultures that hamper students learning outcomes.



Similarly, **young people are unable to start productive working lives** because there are limited opportunities for employment. Data from the *World Bank* and *Price Water Coopers (PWC)* show that unemployment rate in Nigeria is on the upward trend even as the youth population swells having over half of the Nigerian population under age 30.<sup>51</sup> According to the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics, 61.1% of Nigerian youth (15-35) are either unemployed or underemployed.<sup>52</sup> A breakdown of age specific data reveals that 36.5% and 24.4% of youth between 15-24 years and 25-34 years respectively are currently unemployed.<sup>53</sup> In a society where the openings for formal employment is largely shaped by one's level of education, under-educated youth can only rely on the informal sector where employment is essentially volatile and vulnerable.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ismail, Wale, Olonisakin Funmi, Picciotto Bob and Wybrow Dave (2009), Youth Vulnerability and Exclusion (YOVEX) in West Africa: Synthesis Report', *Conflict Security and Development Group Paper*, 21.

<sup>49</sup> World Bank (2007). World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation. *World Bank*.

<sup>50</sup> See – David Ajikobi (2017). FactSheet: Nigeria's Matriculation results between 2010 and 2016, Africa Check. Available at: <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-nigerias-matric-results-2010-2016/> Also see - <https://qz.com/915618/only-one-in-four-nigerians-applying-to-university-will-get-a-spot/>

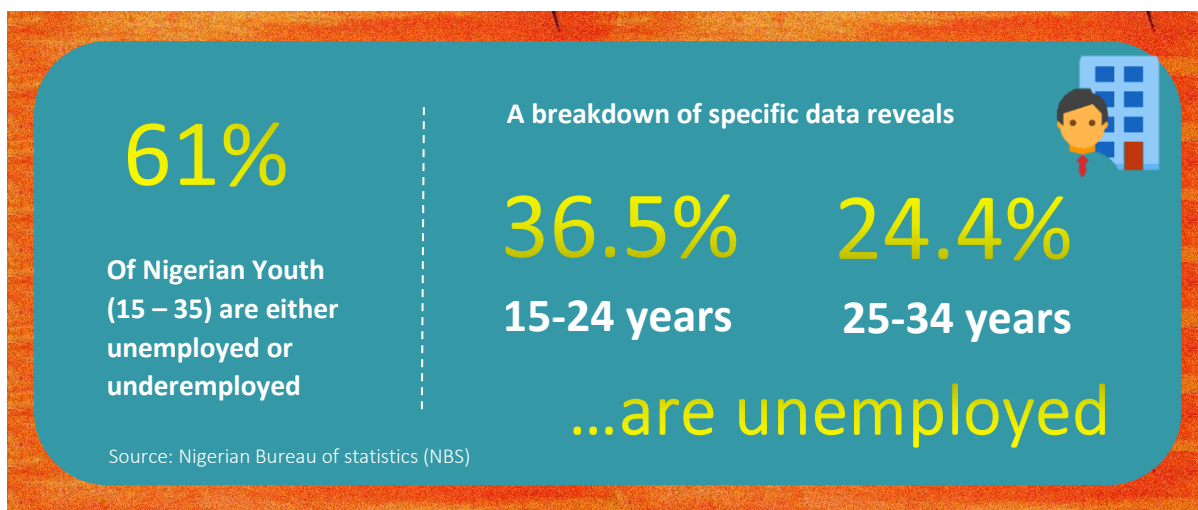
<sup>51</sup> PWC (online) Nigeria Economic Outlook – Top 10 Themes for 2019. Available at: <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/nigeria-economic-outlook-2019.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (2017). Unemployment/Underemployment Report, Q4 2016.

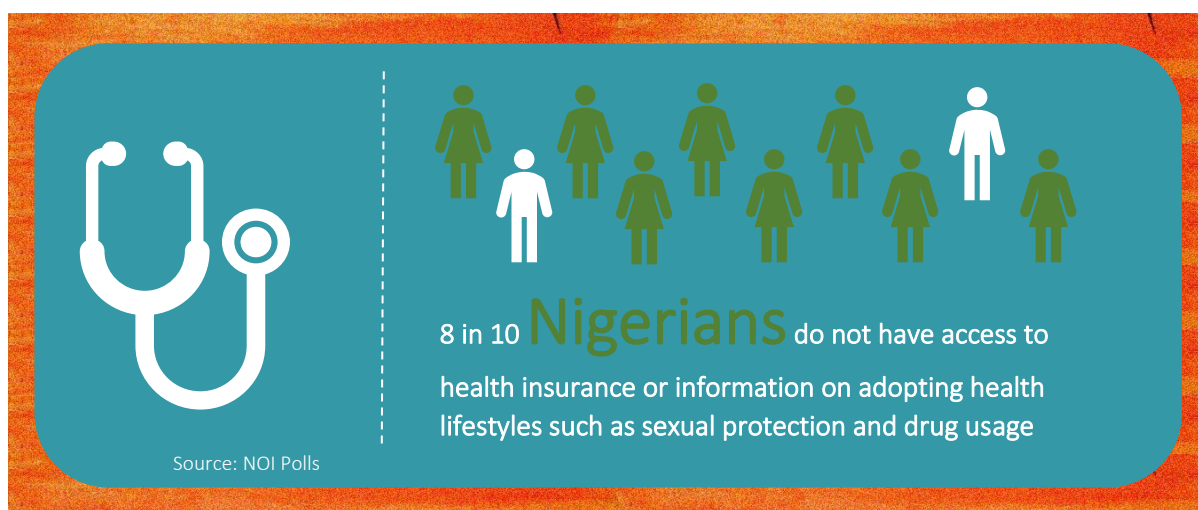
<sup>53</sup> Ibid 49

<sup>54</sup> Abbink, Jon (2005). 'Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal'. *Leiden University Repository*, pp, 1-33.





Furthermore, **young people have limited access to health care and opportunities to adopt healthy behaviours** as anecdotal evidence suggests that 8 in 10 Nigerians do not have access to health insurance<sup>55</sup> or information on adopting healthy lifestyles such as sexual protection and drug usage. While health care reports and surveys by Save the Children and The Lancet show that Nigeria has ranked poorly in terms of access to healthcare for more than two decades,<sup>56</sup> the evidence also suggests Nigeria is one of the worst places for a child to be born.<sup>57</sup>



Similar to the issue of unemployment, **social mobility for young people is significantly delayed or never occurs for many young people.** Nigeria was recently ranked as having the largest number of people living in extreme poverty. This means that about 90 million Nigerians, mostly women and youth, have very low-income levels that has implications for standards of living and purchasing power. This also means the paucity of resources to start a family, limited access to- housing and mortgage as well as limited opportunities for savings and investment. Young people in Nigeria also have limited access to legal counsel when it comes to making business decisions or when they have to engage the justice system.

<sup>55</sup> See NOI Polls: <https://risenetworks.org/almost-8-in-10-nigerians-have-no-access-to-health-insurance/>

<sup>56</sup> See <http://sunnewsonline.com/nigerias-poor-healthcare-access-ranking/>

<sup>57</sup> See - Senator Iroegbu and Kuni Tyessi (2018). Nigeria: UNICEF Ranks Nigeria 11th in Newborn Mortality, Says 37 Out of 1,000 Die, Thisday - All Africa, February 20. Available at: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201802200134.html>





# 90 Million

Recently ranked as having the largest number of people living in extreme poverty



Nigerians, mostly women and youth, have very low-income levels. This has implications for standards of living and purchasing power. Hence they are unable to start a family, with limited access to housing or mortgage and limited opportunities for savings and investment.

Finally, **structural conditions prevent young people from exercising citizenship** which means limited openings for young people to participate in political life with a weak legal clout.<sup>[58][59]</sup> 33% of Nigeria’s population are between the ages of 19 and 35 – approximately 61 million people.<sup>60</sup> Unfortunately, this age group is hardly represented in government. From independence in 1960 under the regime of Sir Tafawa Balewa, to 1999 during the administration of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, the mean age of head of states during this period was 46.5 years. Of these twelve heads of state, only one was under the age of 35 - General Yakubu Gowon-31; he was followed by General Muritala Mohammed-37. The remaining 10 were between ages 40 (General Obasanjo) to 59 Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Similarly, since the return of democracy in 1999 the mean age of the 4 presidents is 61.25 years, with President Goodluck Jonathan being the youngest – 52 – and President Buhari being the oldest – 73.<sup>61</sup>

The mean age of Heads of State from 1960 – 1999 is **46.5** years

Of the twelve heads of state, only one was under age 35



General Yakubu Gowon (Age 31)

The mean age of Presidents since the return of democracy in 1999 is **65.25** years

The youngest is President Jonathan  
Aged 52



The oldest is President Buhari  
Aged 73

<sup>58</sup> World Bank (2007). World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation. *World Bank*.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid 44

<sup>60</sup> Leke Alder (2018). Federated Illogicalities, Paper presentation at The Platform – an annual event organised by the Covenant Christian Centre, Nigeria. Available at: [http://lekealder.com/lecture/files/LEKE\\_ALDER\\_The%20Platform\\_Federated%20Illogicalities.pdf](http://lekealder.com/lecture/files/LEKE_ALDER_The%20Platform_Federated%20Illogicalities.pdf)

<sup>61</sup> Ibid



In addition to this, the age analysis of all the governors in the country in 2018 show that 31% of them were in their 60's, 61% were in their 50's while only 3 governors were in their 40s. None in their 30s. These numbers suggest a systematic exclusion of young people in government. Although, a '*Not too young to run bill*' was recently approved by Nigeria's federal government, the prospects of its implementation still appear blurry. Furthermore, there are nuances which suggests that pegging an age limit to political positions reinforces discrimination and segregation.

An effective transition in these five stages will, perhaps, develop, safeguard and properly deploy human capital for national development.<sup>62</sup> However, the inability to make these transitions are in part, the key issues that explain youth vulnerability, poverty and marginalisation. While not trying to deny the disturbing facts, existing perceptions and interpretations of how young people are engaging their social, economic and political reality essentially downplays how they are engaging their agency to cope with these issues and also innovate solutions. Dominant notions framed around fragility for instance suggests that young people lack needed resilience to engage social and political structures.

However, emerging evidence not only challenges these ideas but also introduces a new debate of how young people are engaging their agency in midst of these structural issues. This debate provides the point of departure for this study as it introduces the concept of *transilience* to explain youth agency – how young people are reasserting their agenda in public space and not only rising above these issues but also innovating solutions to the wicked problems that affect them.

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<sup>62</sup> World Bank (2007). World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation. World Bank.





# The Nigerian Youth Context

Globally, young people are said to be living in a very interesting epoch in history, because of the tremendous odds they are faced with on a daily basis. This situation however manifests in peculiar ways in parts of Africa and Nigeria where young people who due to structural conditions can hardly make fundamental transitions to live long and live well.

## NIGERIA'S POPULATION

World Bank - 190 Million  
NBC\*\* - 193 Million  
UN\* - 200 Million



# 63%

of Nigeria's total population are young people.

Nigeria is said to have about



# 100 Million

Young people below age **35**

\*United Nations  
\*\*National Bureau of Statistics

## EDUCATION

# 75%

of secondary school leavers between 2010 and 2015 are unable to transition into higher learning.<sup>1</sup>



Only **1 in 4** secondary students get a spot at the university in Nigeria



**1 in 5** of the world's **Out of School** children is a Nigerian<sup>2</sup>

1. National Bureau of Statistics via [www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com)  
2. UNICEF. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/nigeria/education>

## EMPLOYMENT

Did you know? 

# 61.1%



of Nigerian youth (15-35 years) are either unemployed or underemployed.<sup>3</sup>



3. National Bureau of Statistics, 2018 Unemployment Report  
b. <https://www.pwc.com/ng/en/assets/pdf/nigeria-economic-outlook-2019.pdf>

## HEALTH

Young people have limited access to health care and opportunities to adapt to healthy behaviors



**8 in 10** Nigerians do not have access to health Insurance<sup>4</sup>



## SOCIAL MOBILITY



Social mobility for young people is significantly delayed or never occurs because of the paucity of resources to cater for a family, afford housing, savings or investment.

4. NOI Polls: <https://risenetworks.org/almost-8-in-10-nigerians-have-no-access-to-health-insurance/>

## CITIZENSHIP



Structural conditions prevent young people from exercising citizenship which means limited openings for them to participate in political life with a weak legal clout<sup>5</sup>

5. World Bank (2007). World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation. World Bank.



*Youth are neither  
universally  
manipulated nor  
passive actors in a  
world designed by  
others, but individuals  
who are trying to chart  
their own course.*



*Photo Credit: Emeka dkinboss\_inc*



*Youth are neither universally manipulated nor passive actors in a world designed by others, but individuals who are trying to chart their own course.*<sup>63</sup>

Given the grim realities that limit young people from making fundamental transitions, scholars who write about youth in Africa are unable to resist the temptation of emphasising a narrative of crime, crisis and violence as well as painting a picture of doom and despair for the African Youth. These narratives, which are very much established in the literature, locates youth engagement of social and political structures within a discourse that suggests that young people are still in a stage of incubation and are less prepared to engage the public domain.<sup>64</sup> At the core of this thinking is the framing of youth issues around the notion of fragility, which assumes the prevalence of insufficient coping mechanisms and the lack of local resilience. The problem with this thinking is that its narrow lens shades it from recognising the array of engagements that young people are involved in to cope with or rise above the conditions that prevent them from living long and living well. Within the context of social innovation, some of these engagements include crowd funding, volunteering, local campaigns and community service. These activities suggest that young people are well aware of the issues that affect them within society and are thinking about ways to produce solutions.

Consequently, the idea of 'building resilience' has over time become the 'buzz word' in development research and policy. In some ways, it has become a substitute for sustainability, and has come to mean embracing risk and instability, forcing young people to prove their resilience in a context that already conditions them to be resilient.<sup>65</sup> In practice, it is more akin to mitigating risks, maintaining statusquo and coping in the absence of physiological needs. For instance, in a context of rapid demographic change, resilience approaches to youth transition issues in education has been to increase enrolment by making secondary education free – a tame approach. Unfortunately, this leaves the much deeper problem of students learning outcomes unsolved, - a wicked problem – which is a much bigger problem to solve within the discourse of youth transitions as it relates to employability and the future of work. Similarly, in an attempt to bring an end to Malaria, a public health issue responsible for about 300, 000 deaths in Nigeria on a yearly basis<sup>66</sup> – a wicked problem. Interventions in this area has been to provide mosquito nets in affected communities – a tame approach. More than 90% of the Nigerian population are at risk of having malaria excluding 3% who live in free highlands.<sup>67</sup> Given this reality, how should malaria as a public health issue be approached as a nation? How should this fact inform education, research, policy and developmental interventions at national, regional and international levels? What does a resilience approach really mean within this context?

The meaning of resilience has evolved over the years. From its use in ecological sciences in the 1970's which meant the capacity of systems to persist in the face of change; the concept has found expression and application in several other fields including management, engineering, environmental sciences and urban studies.<sup>[68][69]</sup> Although, many definitions frame it as the capacity for successful adaption in the midst of adversity, it is now used loosely with its meaning often left vague and incoherent. Be that as it may, the concept has emerged as a key guiding principle around which international policy agendas attempting to support youth development has been anchored. This has been occasioned by the concepts' appeal within academia and policy realms. And while it is being framed as an approach to

<sup>63</sup> Abbink, Jon (2005). 'Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal'. *Leiden University Repository*, pp, 1-33.

<sup>64</sup> Tsekoura, M. (2016). Debates on youth participation: from citizens in preparation to active social agents. *Revista Katálysis*, 19(1), pp.118-125.

<sup>65</sup> Sawyer Lindsay (2018). Resilience and Realities. In Oluwatamilore Oni and Aminu Banu (Eds) (2018). Resilience. *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*.

<sup>66</sup> See – Nigeria Malaria Fact Sheet available at: <https://photos.state.gov/libraries/nigeria/231771/Public/December-MalariaFactSheet2.pdf>

<sup>67</sup> Ibid

<sup>68</sup> Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., and Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1-2), pp. 127-150.

<sup>69</sup> Sawyer Lindsay (2018). Resilience and Realities. In Oluwatamilore Oni and Aminu Banu (Eds) (2018). Resilience. *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*.

helping people and systems build resistance to shocks, there are many questions around its transformative potential.

Within the ambit of the leadership discourse, interventions framed around 'building resilience' may perhaps be described as a tame approach to youth development issues. The endeavour to solve issues in youth development from using a narrow institutional framework is less likely to succeed, because they are only adequate for solving tame problems that have existing solutions. Inherent in this approach is a neo-liberal thought that constructs social reality from a deficit lens - mainstreaming antithetical narratives about young people's lived experiences. This fundamentally undermines the potential of their agency. With this in mind, one may be tempted to ask; is there anything transformative about a resilience approach? And how does a 'building resilience' approach support sustainability? Profoundly, what is at stake with this thinking – building resilience – is its contextual misrepresentation of young people's reality and the conditions that excludes them from social and political life.

While there is a gradual shift from ideas that construct youth as passive, there is still a tendency within the literature to assume that young people are a homogeneous group with similar experiences, interests and identities.<sup>70</sup> This tendency has opened up new discourses within the literature suggesting that our understanding of how youth agency interacts with social and public realms is limited.<sup>[71][72]</sup> This narrative challenges Maslow's hierarchy of needs<sup>73</sup> and maintains that in the midst of risk and instability occasioned by economic globalisation, marketisation, and privatization, youth agency is still shaped by strong personal values and a mindset that does not lose hope on the possibility of transformation and self-actualisation.

Proponents argue that young people are actively engaging social systems, private and political institutions in ways that defy the odds.<sup>[74][75]</sup> Accordingly, regardless of the inability of African states to deliver on its promise of providing the good life, the evidence in this regard suggests that young people are not universally manipulated nor passive actors in a world designed by others, but are individuals who are trying to chart their own course.<sup>76</sup> The implicit notion here is that young people are changing the narrative by depicting themselves to highly spirited, creative – socially mindful of their situations, leaping above the circumstances that affect them and inserting themselves within the core of the transformations occurring across the continent.<sup>[77][78][79]</sup>

This thinking essentially provides the point of departure for this study as it introduces the concept of *transilience* to explain this emerging youth character. In this regard, transilience proceeds from the assumption that social innovation represents one of the many avenues through which young people demonstrate resilience, and also suggests that young people are rising above structural and physiological issues, rising above the risks by seeking ways to transform culture and policy. This suggests the emergence of a form of leadership identity amongst young people possessing the necessary aptitude to exchange influence with elite groups and also attempting to build a network of stakeholder partners within the public, private and social sectors towards solving the problems that affect them.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid

<sup>71</sup> Harris, A.; Wyn, J.; Younes, S. (2010). Beyond apathetic or activist youth 'Ordinary' young people and contemporary forms of participation, *Young*, v. 18, n. 1, p. 9-32

<sup>72</sup> Sir Fazle Hasan Abed and Reeta Roy (2013). Taking Lessons from Africa's Youth, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, June 13. Available at: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/taking\\_lessons\\_from\\_africas\\_youth](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/taking_lessons_from_africas_youth)

<sup>73</sup> - which suggests that self-actualisation is impossible if physiological needs have not been met

<sup>74</sup> Tsekoura, M. (2016). Debates on youth participation: from citizens in preparation to active social agents. *Revista Katálysis*, 19(1), pp.118-125.

<sup>75</sup> Ismail, Wale, Olonisakin Funmi, Picciotto Bob and Wybrow Dave (2009), Youth Vulnerability and Exclusion (YOEX) in West Africa: Synthesis Report', *Conflict Security and Development Group Paper*, 21.


<sup>76</sup> Abbink, Jon (2005). 'Being Young in Africa: The Politics of Despair and Renewal'. *Leiden University Repository*, pp, 1-33.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid 57

<sup>78</sup> Ibid

<sup>79</sup> Harry, N.U. (2013) African Youth, Innovation and the Changing Society, *HuffPost*, November 09. Available at: [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-b\\_3904408.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/njideka-u-harry/african-youth-innovation-b_3904408.html)





*...the real voyage  
of discovery  
consists not in  
seeking new  
landscapes but in  
having new eyes.*

*Photo Credit: Choucho – [nigeriabeauty.tumblr.com](https://nigeriabeauty.tumblr.com)*



## What is transilience?

Transilience is an evolving concept within resilience discourses. In its early usage, transilience was applied in geology to define the shifting state in physical forms '*where there is a leap from one state or form to another in terms of abrupt transition*'.<sup>80</sup> The concept holds a semblance of high theory and finds expression in the natural and earth sciences – including physics, biology and genetics – to mean '*to leap across*', '*a marker of a shift*' or '*a sudden change*'. Recent ideas on transilience have also found expression within the literature on '*transformative resilience*' to explain how people, structures, organizations and businesses get past the notion of bouncing back to a forward motion by using challenges, stresses, and failures to catapult or leap forward.<sup>[81][82]</sup>

Therefore, while transilience recognises the reality of local resilience, it adopts a more reflective disposition that moves away from a narrative of 'embracing risk' or 'adversity' into one that emphasises the possibility of transformation by rising above structural conditions. Within the realms of development thinking, this is further interpreted to mean an approach whose entry point begins by identifying the prevailing character of individual contexts to understand the structural conditions that impact on young people's social position and how they are engaging these issues. Transilience as an approach, therefore, helps our perspective to understand what development means from a youth lens, and provides the opportunity to harness solutions from their hopes and aspirations.<sup>83</sup>

Furthermore, transilience is also understood to mean an emphasis on the imperatives of collective action in dealing with wicked problems; thereby reinforcing a people centred approach to development. This is such that it allows for ideas and leaders to emerge from the local context to inform the broader vision of society. This removes the latent tendency from falling into the trap of a one-size-fits-all thinking and allows for development interventions to be tailored to fit each context. This thinking creates a condition for sustainability and transformation to truly occur, because it provides the opportunity for young people to own the process of change. Fundamentally, this holds the potential to facilitate the collective ability of young people to rise above the structural issues that perpetuate vulnerability, marginalisation and poverty, rather than trying to survive in midst of risk and adversity.

Stemming from this perspective, the research attempts to deploy the concept within social innovation discourse and development construct to mean *leaping beyond structural conditions and innovating solutions to social challenges*. Its operationalisation proceeds from the premise that young people are very aware of their social and political identities, and the conditions that limit their ability to transition. At the same time, they understand their role given the circumstances and are engaging their agency within and outside the liberal binaries of what is formal and informal. Hence, as long as our framing of youth agency remains shaped by a narrow lens, the array of events that can provide a more comprehensive understanding of how young people are engaging social and political structures will remain under the radar. More so, because of the need to sustain existing policies and culture (at national, regional and international levels), stepping out to see things differently remains a distant prospect. *As Proust put it: the real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.*<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Harms, L. (2015). *Understanding Trauma and Resilience*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

<sup>81</sup> Ama Marston (2016). Transformative Resilience: The Way Forward for Women Leaders, Double X Economy. Available at: <https://www.doublexeconomy.com/2016/04/22/transformative-resilience-the-way-forward-for-women-leaders/>

<sup>82</sup> Ama Marston (2019). What is transformative resilience, and why social innovators need it? *Social Innovation Interview*. Available at: <http://www.socialinnovationacademy.eu/what-is-transformative-resilience-and-why-social-innovators-need-it/>

<sup>83</sup> 'Femi Balogun (2018). Rethinking the Next Generation of NGOs. *The Nation Newspaper*. Available at: <https://thenationonlineng.net/rethinking-the-next-generation-of-ngos/>

<sup>84</sup> Cited from Grint, Keith (2010). *Leadership: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp: 23.



## Considerations and Recommendations

This review teases out very interesting and instructive recommendations for further research as well as policy and programming across the layers of development interventions. To begin, it might be useful to have a deeper reflection and ask pertinent questions around the ideas that shape national, regional and international development vision. Whose idea is it? Through what process was it articulated? Whose interest does it represent? And who really benefits from the outcomes produced? Juxtaposing the emerging evidence with the realities on ground in terms of the hopes and aspirations for beneficiaries might be a useful starting point for researchers, practitioners and policy actors. Such empirical enquiry should consider ridding itself of elitist and neo-liberal ideas about what modernity and development should look like and understand the realities of youth issues based on its own merits.

Similarly, researchers and practitioners doing work in the youth space will need to pay closer attention to the narratives emerging from their work about young people in Africa. Regardless of continued attention, there are still problematic ways of looking at young people on the continent with substantial gaps in our understanding. Reflecting on this brings to the fore pertinent questions about how we come to appreciate contemporary youth development issues as well as how youth interventions are framed and constructed. Questions about how to better understand and engage with youth realities; the issues that affect them; the strategies they develop both to survive and thrive; as well as the methods of how these knowledge is produced and who produces this knowledge might be useful. Researchers and program officers must resist the temptation of projecting a youth narrative that fits into approaches that are derogatory and frameworks that downplays youth agency. Considerations in this regard might mean finding a balance between the realities on the ground and donor requirements.

Furthermore, it might also be useful to rethink strategies deployed within contexts and be sure that they do not mainstream a narrative that forces young people to embrace risk and instability. Practitioners may rather want to ensure that interventions deployed provides knowledge, skills and mindsets that inspire and equip young people to rise above risk and seek ways to interrogate and transform the cultures and policies that perpetuate vulnerability, marginalisation and poverty. Importantly also, it may be useful to ensure that the ideas and theories that shape development strategies are *in tandem* with interventions implemented. Therefore, in the event that interventions do not meet implementation realities, change theories must be realigned.<sup>85</sup>

Finally, it may also be worthwhile to recognise that the issues around youth vulnerability, marginalisation and poverty are loosely structured and intractable. This categorisation effectively situates social innovation within the realms of leadership. Consequently, expanding our perspective on leadership and ensuring that it permeates the thinking around how social innovation interventions are implemented might be beneficial. Although, organisations will have to determine what kinds of commitments to examine, what this means, for instance, is that the selection of social innovators within an intervention must be consistent with its definition i.e. solving a wicked problem that creates value to society as a whole, rather than a private individual. In addition, leadership perspectives within curriculum deployed should not be limited to person-based definitions that mainstream self-leadership alone. Leadership perspectives should be expanded to emphasise process, ethics, inclusion and mutuality as considerations in an attempt to disrupt culture and policy.

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<sup>85</sup> Femi Balogun (2018). Rethinking the Next Generation of NGOs. *The Nation Newspaper*. Available at: <https://thenationonline.net/rethinking-the-next-generation-of-ngos/>

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