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Creating Futures: lessons from the development of a livelihood-strengthening curriculum for young people in eThekweni's informal settlements

Alison Misselhorn^{a*}, Mildred Mushinga^a, Nwabisa Jama Shai^b and Laura Washington^c

^aHealth Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Unit, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa; ^bGender and Health Research Unit, Medical Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa; ^cProject Empower, Diakonia Centre, Durban, South Africa

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Comprehending praxis is a critical step in developing interventions that can have a real-world impact on people's lives. In this paper, we reflect on the lessons learned in the development of a curriculum for young people living in informal settlements in eThekweni, who are exposed to numerous vulnerabilities, including HIV-related risks associated with precarious urban livelihoods. Behavioural interventions have not led to commensurate reductions in HIV incidence, and the impact of these approaches remains regulated by numerous contextual conditions affecting those participating. Our collaborative project tested the impact of implementing a combination of the well-tested gender transformation intervention, Stepping Stones, with a new livelihood transformation curriculum, Creating Futures, among young people in eThekweni's informal settlements. Creating Futures was grounded in the theory and practice of sustainable livelihoods, but equally in the experience of the multi-disciplinary project team members who have conducted both research and development work among youth in the eThekweni area. Our approach was founded on the work of Doug Kirby, and we are indebted to him for his inputs. His logical model approach ensured that the team remained orientated to specific curriculum outcomes. Analysis of the results at 12 months post-baseline indicates positive livelihood outcomes.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS; behaviour change; livelihoods; young people; informal settlements; South Africa

Introduction

All social life is essentially *practical*. All mysteries which lead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.... The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point is to *change* it. (Marx 1975 [1845], 423; original emphasis)

It is a great step to get from what we think we know about human behaviour – the theory of behaviour change – to planning and facilitating learning curricula that lead to those intended changes. These steps, not one but several, include the 'comprehension of praxis' – reflecting on the acts that were intended to bring about change and on their outcomes. This reflection and its record is the route to shared learning, and thus ultimately towards curriculum that can bring real change. In this article, we share our reflections on the process of developing a participatory curriculum, and its associated manual, entitled Creating Futures, which was a component of a research project aiming to reduce HIV and AIDS risk behaviour of young people in informal settlements in eThekweni, KwaZulu-

*Corresponding author. Email: Misselhorn@mweb.co.za

Natal. Creating Futures was designed to facilitate critical thinking among participants in assessing their livelihood challenges and opportunities in a context in which youth are exposed to intense HIV- and AIDS-related risk.

Background

Regionally in southern Africa, young people are particularly exposed to HIV and its related risks, with gender inequities and livelihood insecurities being among the significant determinants of this vulnerability (Gibbs et al. 2012). Literature and experience suggest value in addressing both in mitigating vulnerability to HIV (Hunter 2007, 2010). Exacerbated risk of exposure to HIV is particularly evident in informal settlements across the region, which are home to high numbers of unemployed youth who face multiple health and livelihood challenges (Rehle et al. 2007; Oldewage-Theron et al. 2005; Amuyunzu-Nyamongo et al. 2007; Mugisha and Zulu 2004; Hunter 2007; Richards, O'Leary, and Mutsonziwa 2007; National Treasury 2011). In South Africa, HIV incidence is concentrated in urban areas and has been found to be higher in informal settlements than in any other settlement type (Stage 2010; Hill 2011).

The research project for which Creating Futures was developed was conceptualised and designed as a response to the enormous challenges facing youth living in informal settlements in South Africa, and the concomitant need for effective ways of supporting developmental change. The intersection of gender inequity and vulnerable urban livelihoods produces a wide range of negative impacts particularly on women, such as inequitable resource access, being limited by household and childcare responsibilities, higher health risk and economic dependence on men, which may drive women into sexual-economic relationships in which they are often unable to initiate and practise safe sex (Taggart 2012; Langevang and Gough 2009; Klasen and Lamanna 2009; Leclerc-Madlala 2003; Meekers and Calves 1997). These are far from being new issues in the development-orientated literature (e.g. Cuiwei 2008; The World Bank 2009). In fact, many measures of livelihood security include human development indicators of social equity, to which gendered vulnerabilities such as low levels of female literacy are inherent (Wach and Reeves 2000; Singh and Hiremath 2010). Lessons from past behaviour change interventions thus suggested the focus in our research project on gender inequalities as central to HIV prevention (Gibbs et al. 2012), together with attention to livelihood-related structural challenges that constrain the potential for behaviour change (Jewkes, Wood, and Duvvury 2010; Campbell and Gibbs 2010; Hunter 2010; Weiser et al. 2007; Dworkin and Blankenship 2009; Gibbs et al. 2012).

Including a focus on livelihoods and gender inequality in combined interventions seeking to address structural vulnerability is not entirely novel. Such interventions have, however, been critiqued as having a narrow conceptualisation of livelihoods, limited involvement of men and boys and being primarily targeted at relatively stable populations (Gibbs et al. 2012). At the same time, interventions that make use of participatory approaches can help people to develop new knowledge and awareness about HIV, increase communication and relationship skills, and encourage their ability to think and act more reflectively and critically. Yet, evidence suggests that behavioural interventions have not led to commensurate reductions in HIV incidence (Campbell and Gibbs 2010; Greig et al. 2008; Maticka-Tyndale and Barnett 2010; McCoy, Kangwende, and Padian 2010; Michielsen et al. 2010; Padian et al. 2010). One possible limiting factor is that the impact of these approaches remains regulated by numerous contextual conditions affecting those participating.¹

Our pilot research project aimed to redress some of these challenges and to test the impact of implementing a combination of the well-tested gender transformation intervention, *Stepping Stones*,² with the new livelihoods transformation curriculum, *Creating Futures*, among youth over the age of 18 in eThekweni's informal settlements. The combined intervention was delivered to 232 young women and men (average age 21.7 years) in urban informal settlements in Durban, South Africa. The project team was developed by researchers and practitioners from the Health Economics and HIV and AIDS Research Division of KwaZulu Natal University, the Gender and Health Research Unit of the Medical Research Council, and an eThekweni-based non-governmental organisation, Project Empower. Analysis of the results at 12 months post-baseline indicates positive livelihood outcomes (Jewkes 2013).

Creating Futures is a manual for peer facilitation, covering 12 three-hour sessions in single-sex groups of approximately 20 people. Its design has its roots in the long history of 'sustainable livelihoods' theory and practice, based on the works of Bebbington (1999), Chambers and Conway (1991), Farrington et al. (1999), Moser (1998), Scoones (1998) and Sen (1981). These works find that people build and maintain their livelihoods – their means of making a living and surviving – by drawing on a range of resources that have been distinguished broadly into the following five categories or 'capitals': financial, human, social, physical and natural. In the sustainable livelihoods literature, these capitals provide the raw material from which people can fashion their livelihoods, but can also encompass elements that constrain livelihood choices and explain many of the enormous inequities between individuals as well as communities.

In this paper, we focus on our learning during the development of the new livelihoods component of the project, *Creating Futures*, and identify lessons that may be useful in informing future curriculum development work. We outline the theoretical background to the curriculum, the process we followed in developing it, before reflecting on this process to draw out lessons learned.

Developing a livelihoods curriculum

At programmatic level, livelihoods programmes are usually readiness-orientated (aimed at enhancing the readiness of young people to engage in sustainable livelihoods activities) or access-orientated (interventions that improve access to market-driven products and services), or they may be a combination of both (James-Wilson 2008). Both orientations focus on the acquisition of human, physical, financial, natural and social capital, as distinguished in the sustainable livelihoods literature. Our aim was to develop a curriculum that incorporated both orientations, in a curriculum positioned to focus on facilitating improved life skills and behavioural change.

Interventions that address the life skills and behaviours of young people (under 20 years old)³ can reach individuals during a period of life when their norms, attitudes, values and life patterns are being established (USAID 2002). Key influencers of behaviour include knowledge, skills, social environment, physical environment and cultural environment. Research indicates that only a minority of youth actively challenge dominant norms, suggesting that the ability to think critically about one's behavioural choices is important to youth's ability to identify and negotiate alternative behaviours that protect their sexual health (MacPhail and Campbell 2001). Strengthening life skills is, in turn, seen as potentially impacting on all of these areas to greater or lesser extents. Our position in developing our overarching research project was that strengthening livelihoods skills and knowledge (primarily through *Creating Futures*), and addressing gender issues

(primarily through the Stepping Stones component of the project), had the potential to encourage youth to orientate themselves more successfully in accessing a range of livelihood opportunities. We viewed the development of critical thinking – the ability to question and challenge the choices one makes and identify alternative options for behaviour – as an underpinning instrument for facilitated behavioural change in the Creating Futures component of our project.

In developing Creating Futures, we reviewed the literature describing work on life skills training and livelihoods development for youth. These resources suggested success factors in curriculum development that we draw into the ‘lessons learned’ section to frame the discussion.

The process of developing the curriculum

The development of Creating Futures began early in 2011. We held a one-day workshop to which a range of key stakeholders working in the areas of urbanisation, youth, gender and/ or livelihoods were invited. The broad aim of this workshop was to identify what the project team could realistically achieve with a livelihoods-orientated intervention among a group of urban youth in the eThekweni area, particularly within the context of addressing the challenges of HIV.

After our initial workshop, the project team undertook a literature review of the livelihoods and HIV work in the region. Seventeen characteristics of successful programmes have been identified in the literature, which we took into close consideration (Kirby et al. 2011; UNESCO 2009). Our early challenge, however, was the wide range of outcomes beyond health that were relevant to us, which made our activity-specific goals difficult to confine. We held a series of four two-day workshops during July and August 2011 with the project team to develop a logical framework (logframe) for the livelihoods curriculum. During these workshops, we interrogated and analysed in turn (see Figure 1):

- the goals of the intervention – as our intervention is focused on looking at livelihood-orientated goals (with the assumption that strengthening livelihoods will have secondary health outcomes), we labelled these goals livelihood goals;
- behaviours that logically lead to, or impact on, these goals;

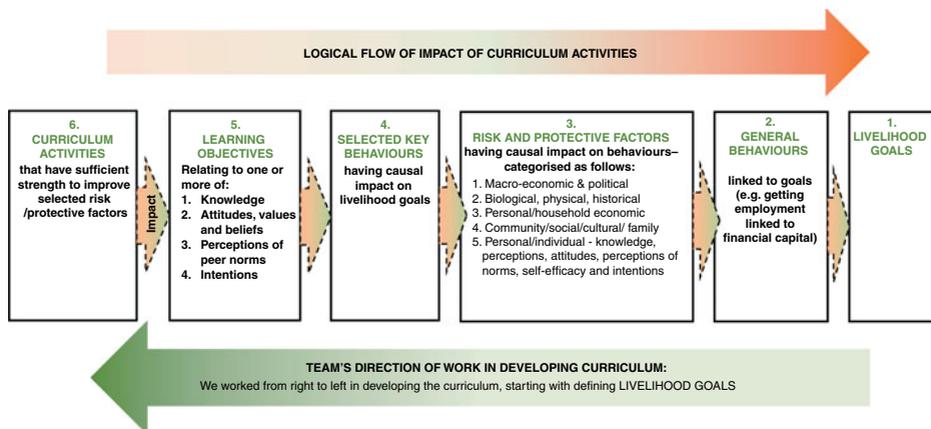


Figure 1. Schematic of logframe development for the Creating Futures curriculum.

- risk and protective factors enabling or disabling these behaviours; and
- activities that can alter risk and protective factors.

During the period of team workshops on curriculum development, Project Empower also gauged the views of a group of young men and women from informal settlements in eThekweni on livelihoods issues during focus group discussions held as part of their broader programme work.

After the workshops, the logframe was circulated and finalised as a first draft. This first draft was reviewed by the overall project's panel advisory committee. In addition, we were able to consult with Doug Kirby, who reviewed the draft curriculum and provided us with valuable feedback. As one of the world's leading experts on the effectiveness of school and community programmes that aim to mitigate sexual risk-taking behaviours, we drew extensively on Doug's work from the outset, and his additional review input was central to the development of the curriculum.

After this round of consultation, we distinguished five categories of risk and protective factors that mediate in the building of livelihoods:

- (1) macro-economic and political factors (e.g. extent of employment opportunities available locally and/or elsewhere);
- (2) biological, physical and historical factors (e.g. ill health – might affect, for example, the ability to go out and look for employment);
- (3) personal/household economic factors (e.g. access to information resources – or lack of – such as Internet);
- (4) community/social/cultural/family factors (e.g. access to employment opportunities being mediated by factors such as immobility, political affiliations and HIV-related stigma); and
- (5) personal/individual factors (e.g. knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, perceptions of norms, self-efficacy and intentions such as level of education, skills such as being able to evaluate business opportunities).

The above categories represent five categories of resources from which the livelihoods capitals outlined in the sustainable livelihoods literature may be drawn. As noted above, these capitals are financial capital, natural capital (emanating from the natural environment), human capital (such as knowledge, health, work experience), physical capital (such as built environment assets) and social capital (emanating from our interactions between and within individuals and groups). The ability to draw on – as well as build – a combination of resources to make a living is fundamental to finding pathways out of poverty and vulnerability that might decrease exposure to HIV-related risk. For women in southern and eastern Africa, for example, scarce financial resources, together with an imbalance of power in an intimate partner relationship, may reduce the ability to negotiate for condom use, thus increasing risk of exposure to HIV (Campbell 2003; Gibbs et al. 2012).⁴

Distinguishing the five categories of risk and protective factors assisted the team in narrowing down the priority activities for the curriculum. Reviewer comments indicated that factors in categories one and two (macro-economic and political, and biological, physical, historical) were not likely to be altered through a single curriculum-based intervention, while categories three (personal/household economics) and four (community/social/cultural/family) could only be effectively addressed if the curriculum were to be implemented as part of a community-wide programme. Reviewers also highlighted that we needed to narrow down behavioural goals, and that the activities in the curriculum

needed to be very selective in order to avoid covering goals only superficially. The risk and protective factors that had already been identified were thus assigned to the categories 1–5 mentioned earlier, and those falling into categories 1 and 5 were considered to have, respectively, the least and the most potential to be altered by individual behavioural change.

Finally, to narrow our curriculum activities, we developed a set of criteria for screening and prioritising the risk and protective factors. These criteria were as follows:

- behaviour AND risk/protective factor strongly and directly affects the goal;
- behaviour AND risk/protective factor are defined precisely;
- behaviour AND/OR risk/protective factor change is measurable;
- our intervention can realistically change this behaviour AND/OR the risk/protective factor.

Figure 1 offers a summary of the logframe elements described earlier, and the direction the team took in developing them. Once we had worked through prioritising the risk and protective factors and behaviours, the activities identified as suitable for a curriculum were developed by the team into the format of a facilitator's manual; a workbook of 12 three-hour sessions, designed to be drawn on by trained peer facilitators with target participants over a period of several months.

The first draft of the manual was tested over 5 days with 2 out-of-school groups from informal settlements in Durban; one group of 20 men and one of 20 women, both aged 18–24 years. These participants were recruited in a snowball sampling fashion, and this was strongly enabled by the existing relationships which Project Empower had in the communities through their long-standing work. The costs of their transport were covered, in addition to a small cash incentive to compensate them for their time. Sessions were observed by other members of the team. At the close of each day and the start of the following day, the team worked together to identify and synthesise factors to consider for the next draft of the manual. The extent of the changes to the manual (see sections that follow) after the first pre-test was such that the team took the decision to run a second pre-test to identify any remaining challenges. The second pre-test addressed the issues of ordering of the sessions, with each session building from the objective of the previous one. New participants were recruited against the same demographic and in a similar manner to those recruited for the first pre-test.

The age, gender training and community work experiences of the facilitators for Creating Futures were factors that were given much consideration by the team. Research comparing the success of peer-led facilitation with educator-led facilitation is not always definitive, and results are context-dependent (Mellanby, Rees, and Tripp 2000). However, based on the team's experience and given the age of our participants and, in particular, the social context, we agreed to work with peer facilitators to increase the likelihood of their acceptance to participants, and increase open discussion for better learning and problem solving (Lighta and Glachana 1985; Ashwin 2003). This choice of facilitation led to us simplifying the curriculum so that it could be more accessible to facilitators at any level (MacPhail and Campbell 2001). Facilitator selection criteria included having completed secondary school and having some experience in the health sector and in facilitation. Project Empower was responsible for identifying appropriate facilitators and their existing relationships, and standing in the communities of eThekweni was a critical enabler of this. After the selection process, the facilitators went through the experience of Creating Futures and Stepping Stones as participants. They also received additional training on some specific areas including gender, HIV and AIDS, sexual and reproductive health, and

facilitation skills. Each facilitator was given an opportunity to facilitate a session among themselves from the two manuals. Through these sessions, the trainee facilitators became familiar with the manuals and were able to focus on areas in the manuals that they needed more information on. This exercise served to consolidate their skills and confidence in facilitation and in the curriculum content.

Finally, during and after the pilot study, facilitator feedback on their experience of implementing *Creating Futures* was elicited in a number of formats, including weekly feedback meetings, questionnaires, focus group discussions and a post-pilot workshop in which we worked with them through their experiences of each session of the manual. This feedback was to ensure that we gained maximum learning from the pilot to refine *Creating Futures* for scale-up.

What we learned

Drawing on multiple forms of expertise

Collaboration with people from a variety of backgrounds in research and development practice during the planning and development of the *Creating Futures* curriculum was invaluable. There was a tension in the process between: the need to accommodate the academic theory of livelihoods, the realities and tremendous challenges of youths' lives in our target areas, and the practical constraints of what can be covered in a curriculum. This tension raised challenges, but also required that there was productive iterative questioning and learning about the relationship between the theory and the realities, and the implications of this relationship for various elements of the curriculum. The inputs of the development practitioners were crucial to conceptualising the realities of youths' lives, the chains of events and conditions that shape their behaviours, and the kinds of learning processes that might work in our context. At the same time, those on the team and among the reviewers with in-depth knowledge of the livelihoods literature and its historical application, as well as those with knowledge of curriculum development, provided input critical to mapping the logframe process and framing a scientifically based curriculum.

Tailoring to environment and target group

Understanding the context for the curriculum is a key factor identified in the literature for development of relevant and successful interventions. Assessing the needs and assets of target groups, as well as the wider community, is central to designing an intervention that is consistent with community values and resources (Kirby et al. 2011; USAID 2002). Linked to this, many curriculum-based as well as broader interventions include some kind of 'environmental scanning' of elements such as markets or community resources, as well as an assessment of who controls these – internal and/or external to the community (McKnight and Kretzmann 1996; Search Institute 2006; Roos and Mampone 1998; Kretzmann 1993). Literature calling for curriculum activities, instructional methods and behavioural messages to be appropriate to the youths' culture, developmental age and sexual experience, further emphasises the importance not only of fully evaluating the contexts in which curricula are to be implemented, but also of understanding the target audience (Kirby et al. 2011; Making Cents International 2010).

Although the *Creating Futures* intervention was designed to assist youth themselves to undertake a critical appraisal of their environments and resources, it was nevertheless vital to ensure that the intervention was tailored for relevance to our target audience and its context. This was achieved through the wide consultation process throughout the planning

and development phases. Project Empower's existing programme work in informal settlements revealed a wide array of activities youth engage in to 'get by', such as selling of airtime, cutting hair, *siyawavuselela* (in reference to remaking old tyres and selling them) and stealing to survive. Among the challenges previous work highlighted was the dependence of many youth in informal settlements on drugs.

Project Empower's existing long-term work in informal settlements, together with the learning that took place throughout the iterative logframe process, led the team to place at the beginning of the curriculum the biographies of four youth from informal settlements who gave their consent for their life stories to be included (anonymously) in the curriculum. They tell the stories of contexts shaped by many structural challenges including unemployment and education deficits, as well as factors such as the expectations and influences of others, and the imbalanced constraints experienced by men and women. These stories offer points of 'neutral' reference for facilitators throughout the implementation of the curriculum. They highlight how the various capitals might be accessed and drawn on, and how learning might take place in the lives of narrated characters who nevertheless can be easily recognised by participants as having life experiences similar to their own and those of people around them.

Value of the pre-test

The two pre-tests of the Creating Futures manual were crucial to move from the abstractness of sessions developed on paper, to the reality of facilitating these sessions. Although the pre-tests were time-consuming and added considerably to the cost of the project, they elicited invaluable learning about the manual and generated a number of changes and additions. These included changes in content, process and sequence, as well as changes to the instructions to facilitators. For example, an area of difficulty experienced in facilitating the manual was the differences between the sexes in their expectations and responses regarding their futures and their livelihoods. Many young women indicated their expectations of livelihood needs being fulfilled through their relationships with men. However, most did not seem to critically assess associated trade-offs and risks. We observed in the pre-tests that the more life experience a woman had the more likely she was to think more creatively and independently about making a livelihood or sustaining it. On the other hand, young men indicated a greater willingness to seek independent income generation. This supported the methodological decision to work with young men and young women in gender-exclusive groups. However, we included a joint session between the young men and women around halfway through Creating Futures to enable the male and female groups to share how their livelihood goals and aspirations, and their views and experiences of gender norms and pressures, influence their sexual experiences. Similarly, the 12-month findings from interviews again indicated that participants welcomed the peer sharing sessions and felt they had learned a lot.

There were also additional creative ideas generated from the pre-tests for increasing or improving participant interaction and learning. This included the addition of two games, one of which was a simple board game about livelihood assets that offered reinforcement for learning in a different and more energising format to other aspects of sessions. We also developed a journal for participants that was integrated with information sheets and 'how to' guides, and included pages for answering open questions through writing or drawing to assist in consolidating learning. The intention was to allow participants to more easily record and reflect back on their learning, although to protect participants they were encouraged to keep their journals private.

The logical framework approach

The use of a logical framework approach in the development of curricula provides an important guide in identifying goals, behaviours leading to those goals, and multiple sexual psychosocial risks and protective factors affecting sexual behaviour (Kirby et al. 2011). As shown in Figure 1, we used a rigorous logical model development approach through workshops and additional telephonic and email discussions. We found this approach extremely valuable in focusing our discussions. The primary challenge was adapting our logframe to be relevant to broader livelihood goals, rather than only sexual health goals, after Kirby et al. (2011). The difficulty was that an exceedingly wide range of goals, behaviours, and risk and protective factors were identified, as addressing livelihoods conceivably encompasses multiple different areas of youths' lives. The two pre-test processes tested our model outputs and the limitations of what could be addressed in the context of the intervention. During this process, we came to the difficult decision to exclude the Creating Futures sessions we had developed that addressed health (a key aspect of human capital) as to address this effectively would have required a number of additional sessions.⁵

Replicability and challenges

The findings of the impact of the overall project on gender equity and livelihoods have yet to be published. However, early analysis of the survey data collected 12 months post-baseline suggests that the overall project has produced a positive effect on the livelihoods of participants across, and a statistically significant increase in incomes was found among, both men and women (Jewkes 2013). In looking ahead to possible scaling up of the intervention to test it at a wider scale, we anticipate a number of challenges. The facilitators, while not necessarily being experts, still require intense training in order to deliver a complex manual covering complex issues. Repeatedly during the planning, as well as during the feedback sessions with facilitators during and after the pilot study, facilitator skill was raised as being a key influence on the quality of the learning process. The role of facilitators may remain one of the hardest factors to control in delivering participatory curriculum-based interventions such as Creating Futures (Maheady 1998). Additionally, particularly if the curriculum were adapted for facilitation among a younger target audience, the importance of the acceptability of facilitators would need to be weighed against possible appropriateness and advantages of adult-led and/or educator-led facilitation.

The question of the appropriate age group to target was raised and discussed during the first stakeholder workshop, and there was valid argument for targeting younger/in-school youth. Given the considerable institutional and logistical constraints to accessing school youth, however, as well as the ethics of competing with existing demands on their time due to study as well as domestic needs (particularly those in vulnerable circumstances such as single or double orphans), our decision remained to pilot the intervention among older youth first. When working on the scaling up and adaptation of Creating Futures, consideration will need to be given to its application among younger people who are in the earlier stages of building their critical thinking and personal capacity.

A further factor affecting replicability is that Creating Futures is designed to be used in conjunction with the Stepping Stones intervention because it builds on the lessons drawn in Stepping Stones and assumes that the participants have already experienced its interactive and peer-facilitated learning. This limits Creating Futures' accessibility as a stand-alone intervention. Moreover, the combined intervention is currently 21 sessions

long, which may be a challenge for retaining participants in the programme, and also means that it requires substantial funding.

Finally, a very strength of the curriculum – that it was tailored to its target audience – might also prove a limitation in taking the intervention to scale or replicating it in different settings. This will be taken into consideration in finalising the manual as we seek ways to broaden sessions to allow for greater adaptability.

Conclusions

Creating Futures was drawn from the theory and practice of sustainable livelihoods, but was equally grounded in the experience of the multi-disciplinary project team members and reviewers. Bringing together a variety of disciplines, as well as a mix of academics and development practitioners, through an iterative and discursive method was invaluable to the quality of the curriculum and its relevance to its target audience and context. The melding of multiple personalities, perspectives and expertise brought its own challenges, and the iterative workshops undoubtedly slowed the process of putting the curriculum together considerably. However, this process ultimately worked to yield a well-tempered outcome, and one that also benefited from the creativity and synergisms that often come with joint problem solving. Twinning this sometimes circuitous process with a logframe approach provided direction and structure to the discussions, and ensured that the team remained orientated to specific curriculum outcomes.

Given early indications of positive livelihoods outcomes in the data collected so far, our challenge as a team will likely be to explore ways of re-crafting Creating Futures in such a way that it remains relevant – or can be adapted – to different contexts while still facilitating intended livelihood outcomes.

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Notes

1. For a full review of combined structural interventions see Gibbs et al. (2012).
2. The South African Stepping Stones adaptation is an HIV prevention intervention aimed at improving sexual health through building stronger, communicative and more gender-equitable relationships. It was adapted from the version first developed for use in Uganda in 1995 and has since been implemented in over 40 countries, and translated into 17 languages. The South African Medical Research Council modified the programme to include sessions to address gender-based violence and to account for the country context. The second edition was rigorously evaluated in a randomised controlled community trial to test its effectiveness in reducing HIV and HSV2 incidence over two years, and changing risky sexual behaviour. The findings indicated Stepping Stones succeeded in reducing HSV2 incidence and reducing the perpetration of gender-based violence. See Jewkes et al. (2008).

3. We targeted young people under the age of 25 (rather than 20 years) as previous work in eThekweni gave us access to out-of-school young people of these ages in informal settlements and in recruitment it would have been difficult to explicitly exclude young people between 20 and 25 years of age.
4. See Gibbs et al. (2012) for a wider review on the intersection of livelihoods and gender inequity.
5. Additional sessions were not feasible as this would have increased the already considerable time commitment from participants, increased the likelihood of participant attrition from the programme and increased programme costs. Health is also addressed effectively in the Stepping Stones programme, supporting its exclusion from Creating Futures.

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