



MOBILITY ISSUES IN NORTHERN LABOUR MARKETS

DRAFT FINAL REPORT

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I BACKGROUND

This report is intended to provide an overview of the issues related to labour mobility in the Canadian North. Through a variety of programs, Canada has a history of employment creation, of trying to take jobs to individuals where they are located. In some cases, this has been successful but in many other cases, it has been less successful. At this time, there is an opportunity to attempt an alternative approach in the North. This new approach would be based on a mobility program to help people gain continuing access to jobs. Substantial mobility already takes place in terms of fly-in, fly-out mining and related resource industry operations. However, costs limit the extent of such private mobility activities. This report assesses the rationale for and feasibility of a mobility program to allow more Aboriginal workers to benefit from current economic development activities in the North. These activities relate primarily to mining, and oil and gas activities, including drilling, exploration and pipeline construction. The fund would be designed to provide a transportation cost allowance to allow members of Aboriginal communities to enjoy job opportunities and career advancement opportunities that are not currently available to them.

The concept of a mobility program should not be seen in isolation. The NWT Oil and Gas Industrial Skills Strategy and the NWT Mining Industrial Skills Strategy initiatives make clear that a unified labour force strategy should have these components. These are:

- Basic Skills and Pre-Employment.
- Industrial Skill Development.
- Mobility Program.

The partnership approach that is discussed as a model in this report sees various parties contributing to this overall initiative in a variety of ways including direct support for the mobility program. This report provides an overview of the key issues related to the mobility component of an overall strategy. Chapter II of this report outlines why mobility is such an important issue in Northern labour markets. The third section provides background material on transportation issues in rotational employment activities in mining and in oil and gas. The fourth chapter outlines briefly how the mobility program relates to other programs and policies including agreements on Northern and Aboriginal participation. Chapter V is the core chapter of this report. It provides the economic rationale for the development of a mobility program. In Chapter VI, some of the issues related to funding a mobility program are reviewed. The final chapter briefly discusses the future steps in developing a mobility program.

II IMPORTANCE OF TRAVEL COSTS IN NORTHERN LABOUR MARKETS

Canada has provided mobility programs in the past but these have been principally to cover moving expenses or the costs of going to a distant job interview. The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) also included a mobility and relocation component. A variety of wage subsidy programs have also been used in most Canadian jurisdictions. However, the labour market in the North is unique in a variety of ways that make the exploration of alternative approaches to mobility assistance important.

Northern labour markets draw on persons who in many cases live in remote communities with substantial transportation costs. Alternative employment in these communities (the opportunity cost of the worker) is limited. Unemployment rates and rates of dependence on social assistance are high. As a resource-based economy, the North offers employment that is frequently not located near major centres and which in other cases is highly mobile and highly dependent on weather conditions. Mining employment is fly-in, fly-out on a continuing basis throughout the year while employment in oil and gas is highly mobile depending on the weather. In both cases, transportation costs limit the extent to which private sector employers can access Aboriginal workers who would be willing to work in these areas if they could gain access to jobs.

High transportation costs in the North are a critical barrier in limiting the full participation of the Aboriginal labour force in the growing employment opportunities of the region. These transportation costs interact with skill issues so that an integrated approach to the overall problem is required if the benefits of the natural resource industries are to be maximized. This approach, including the mobility program, should be part of a long-term strategy of Northern development in mining and in oil and gas.

Transportation issues are not only a barrier to full Aboriginal participation in economic development activities. They are also part of the overall concern about a trained labour supply and the possibility of labour shortage problems in the oil and gas and mining sectors. Many labour force analysts have expressed concerns about an adequate labour supply in the North, particularly in the higher level occupations including skilled and apprenticeable trades, technologists, professionals and semi-professionals.

III INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE NORTH

The primary focus of economic development in the North is on mining and oil and gas. Current rates of GDP growth mean that there are critical issues of labour supply. This also means that current labour market conditions are favourable to the development of a mobility program to deal with labour supply issues and at the same time, spread the benefits of development into more communities in the North.

A. MINING

The NWT has witnessed rapid growth in mining employment. The scale of gold mining has declined somewhat but this has been more than offset by the very substantial increases in diamond exploration and production. In the context of this rapid growth, there is a requirement for developing more effective human resource policies in the North that also spread the employment benefits more widely among Aboriginal communities. The focus of related mine-training initiatives related to a mobility program has been on long run capacity building.

There continue to be important skill gaps in the mining labour force. These are particularly at the higher skill levels in the hierarchy of mining jobs. There is a potential for more Aboriginal employment and significant opportunities for advancement as successful employment experience generates the on-the-job skills that are required. As later sections of this report indicate, there can be important gains in economic efficiency if jobs currently filled by high opportunity cost workers who fly in from the south are filled instead by lower opportunity cost aboriginal workers. In addition to these efficiency gains, this report also points out that there are important equity and distributional advantages of an approach that focuses on helping workers gain access to jobs that are available in the North.

B. OIL AND GAS

The labour market circumstances of the oil and gas industry, including its exploration component, differ from those of mining but are still highly transportation dependent. The skills required in the oil and gas industry are somewhat specialized to that sector. Employees in this industry need adequate academic backgrounds but the core skills are provided through on-the-job training after entry into this labour market.

For exploration activities, drilling takes place in the North for a three to four month period during the winter. For the rest of the year, these drilling rigs work elsewhere in Canada, principally in Northern Alberta and Northern Saskatchewan. The typical current pattern of native employment in these labour markets is to work for three to four months and then not work again until the rigs return to the North in the following year. This

employment pattern means that native workers do not work continuously and therefore cannot acquire the skills that are necessary to move out of entry-level jobs. Skilled positions that pay higher wages require five to ten years of progressive experience and natives with interrupted employment patterns never acquire enough experience to progress into these jobs.

For employers in the oil and gas sector, new workers have to be trained in different locations as opposed to being able to move trained workers from the North to other work sites. This is an added cost burden and a component of an efficiency gains from converting workers who wish to do so to full year employment. Employers currently fly workers to job sites from Edmonton when they are not working in the North. A mobility fund could be used productively to help Aboriginal workers get to this pick-up point from a number of northern communities.

The principal barriers to more native employment and access to higher quality jobs in oil and gas are transportation costs, the willingness of workers to work a fly-in, fly-out work schedule and the willingness of firms to offer employment to natives when their rigs move out of the North. At the present time, it appears to be the case that the first of these barriers is the most important. Our understanding is that there are many natives who would be willing to participate in rotational employment outside the North for part of the year and that exploration firms are willing to hire them.

The core element of the mobility fund approach in the oil and gas sector is that there are no apparent alternatives ways for members of Aboriginal communities to gain access to high skill, high paying jobs in this sector. In the absence of a mobility program, there do not appear to be ways in which members of Aboriginal communities can participate in oil and gas except for the short season in the NWT. With a mobility program, the skills that are acquired in oil and gas operations by continuing employees are fully transferable to other oil and gas operators, in Canada and around the world.

IV CURRENT PROGRAMS AND APPROACHES

In preparing this report, it is recognized that there are already a number of programs and agreements in place related to native training and employment. The concept of a mobility program is not intended to conflict in any way with current programs and obligations. Instead, the intent is to extend the reach of existing transportation activities in order to provide solid career employment opportunities to more natives.

A mobility program has several objectives including bringing persons on social assistance into the permanent labour force. Many attempts at reform of the social assistance system have done little to reduce the dependence of families on social assistance in the North and elsewhere. During the 1990's some experimental programs were developed for social assistance recipients to "make work pay." Under this approach, government funding was used to increase the earnings of low-wage workers.

The Self-Sufficiency Project (SSP) was one of the best known attempts to deal with the so-called welfare wall. This demonstration project was launched in 1992 and was aimed at single-parent social assistance recipients. The program offered a continuing earnings supplement to persons in New Brunswick and British Columbia who left social assistance for full-time work. In general, results have been very favourable and have established that policies that focus on promoting employment for social assistance recipients can be effective. In the context of the North, the case can be made that this type of approach will be effective only if links to active labour markets can be promoted, for example, through a mobility program.

This report is related to other studies that have been carried out and programs that have been developed to promote training and high quality employment in the North. The related reports include the *NWT Oil and Gas Industrial Skills Strategy*, the *NWT Mining Industrial Skills Strategy* while programs including the Oil and Gas Literacy Program are aimed at related objectives.

The focus of these related studies and programs is the same as the core focus of this report. The core issues that relate to the introduction of a mobility program are:

- The Aboriginal labour force.
- Persons with low education levels.
- Persons lacking other pre-employment skills.
- Areas of high unemployment, under-employment and dependency on social assistance.
- Young persons about to enter the labour market.

A mobility program, in other words, should be integrated with existing programs and concerns in the North and must be consistent with obligations including Impact Benefit agreements and Economic Development Agreements.

V THE ECONOMIC RATIONALE FOR MOBILITY PROGRAMS

A. OVERVIEW

Presently, mining firms and firms in the oil and gas industry deal with remote labour market conditions in a variety of ways. From the perspective of this paper, the focus is on fly-in, fly-out or rotational operations. Firms pay to provide transportation to their remote work sites. This payment is necessary to attract sufficient labour to these sites and is a standard component of labour markets in remote locations. However, it is clear that there are limits to the extent of such transportation payments by the private sector. Bringing workers from farther away obviously increases costs. This paper focuses on the rationale for using a partnership approach to provide funding to support greater efforts at promoting worker mobility in the North.

In considering any policy approach, economists focus on both efficiency aspects and equity or fairness aspects. Although equity issues are obviously important in terms of increasing the number of native workers who can gain access to existing employment opportunities, the principal focus of this paper is on economic efficiency. That is, this paper argues that on efficiency grounds alone, greater mobility support for workers in the North would provide gains from the perspective of Northern labour markets and the overall Canadian economy.

The overall framework of the analysis in this report is based on approaches developed first in the Report of the Task Force on Labour Market Development (1982). This report dealt with employment creation and labour cost issues using an approach that is based on benefit-cost analysis. The references at the end of this report provide more background information on the use of the concepts described in this chapter.

Consider a policy or project in a hypothetically fully employed labour market. Labour for this project would have to be diverted from other activities and the relevant opportunity cost is the alternative wage. This is the wage that workers would earn in their next best alternative. In labour markets with unemployment, however, various policies and programs can attract labour that would otherwise be unemployed. Measuring the opportunity cost of labour that is hired in a particular labour market directly is not always possible. If a specific worker is hired as a result of a mobility program, that worker may be attracted from alternative employment, but if there are many unemployed substitutes, they will quickly “bump” into the vacated employment. This means that the net employment impacts of jobs created cannot be estimated using data only on the individuals who are employed. In the case of mobility funding, however, the results are much clearer because alternative employment prospects are poor for a wide range of workers in potentially participating communities. This makes the assessment of the

opportunity cost of workers who gain jobs through a mobility program more straightforward.

B. THE OPPORTUNITY COST OF LABOUR

This section provides an outline of how the opportunity cost of labour and other components of the benefit-cost analysis are estimated and how they relate to each other. This analysis is in the context of new jobs for Aboriginals, resulting from a mobility program. In the absence of a mobility program, workers face a full income stream that is a weighted average of the value of their time while employed for the proportion of time that they are employed and the value of non-market time for the time that they are not employed. For the labour markets being considered in this paper, alternative uses of time (non-market time) would consist primarily of traditional activities such as hunting and trapping. In many cases, individuals would be receiving social assistance for some or all of this time.

For a fully employed worker, the proportion of time worked is 100% and the value to society of the output produced is the marginal product of labour which is approximated by the gross wage bill. For workers not employed full time, the value to society of the output produced is a weighted average of the value of market and non-market time. The value of market time is the wage bill for the time worked while the value of non-market time is calculated as a residual. In a competitive labour market with no taxes, unemployment insurance compensation or social assistance, the wage measures the value of both market and non-market time. However, taxes, employment insurance and social assistance all act to break this link. The gap between the private cost of labour (what employers pay) and the opportunity cost of this labour to society is the key element in providing a rationale for a mobility program.

In the case of taxes alone, workers would continue to supply labour up to the point at which the net-of-tax wage equals the value of non-market time. Adding EI and social assistance means that the worker will give up non-market time only if the net-of-tax wage is equal to or greater than the value of non-market time and after-tax EI and social assistance. The net social gain (the employment benefits) from providing mobility assistance that increases employment in areas with low opportunity cost is the difference between the value of output to society with and without the mobility fund.

C. OPPORTUNITY COST APPROACH IS USED WIDELY

U.S. economists Robert Haveman and John Krutilla (1966) carried out the initial path-breaking work on what is now referred to as estimating the social opportunity cost of

labour. Their initial approach dealt not only with estimating the social cost of labour in an unemployed economy but a corresponding measure for unemployed capital as well. Essentially, the Haveman and Krutilla point was that it is appropriate to develop shadow prices (market prices adjusted for relevant distortions) for labour in a variety of contexts in which cost-benefit analysis is being used. The shadow price of labour in the context of workers in a mobility would be lower than the market wage reflecting the fact that the opportunity cost has to be adjusted for taxes, social assistance and some portion of involuntary unemployment. As a result, when a combination of employed and unemployed labour is hired, society does not face an opportunity cost solely in terms of output lost elsewhere but some combination of output loss and time spent in non-market activities. If non-market activities constitute all or most of the opportunity cost, as is the case in remote Northern communities, then the opportunity cost will be substantially below the market wage.

D. APPLICATION TO BENEFIT-COST ANALYSIS

Estimates of the social opportunity cost of labour have obvious uses in benefit-cost assessments of investment and job creation projects as well as in the case of a mobility fund. The costs of employing labour should reflect not actual prices paid for labour input (including all transportation costs) but the social opportunity cost of this labour. The use of this type of shadow price will lower wages from a social perspective relative to the scenario in which all units of labour are valued at the market price, thereby making more projects pass the benefit-cost test.

The literature on the social opportunity cost of labour has been advanced in the Canadian context, particularly by the work of Arnold Harberger (1981) for the Dodge Task Force on Labour Market Development. The specific focus of the Harberger paper is on labour market and job creation programs. It fits well with the context of labour mobility programs for Northern labour markets. Distortions in the labour market in the form of taxes, social assistance and unemployment insurance break down the link between social opportunity cost and market prices for labour inputs. This provides the rationale for mobility assistance. Using this approach in a benefit-cost assessment of the operation of a mobility fund would involve discounting labour costs in proportion to the extent of alternative employment prospects in relation to taxes, employment insurance and social assistance with and without the mobility fund.

A simple hypothetical example can be used to illustrate this concept. Assume that the annual wage for a resource industry job near Yellowknife is \$50,000. If labour is sourced to fill this job from the south, that labour will have an opportunity cost (an alternative wage) that is substantial. Assume that this unit of labour would have been paid \$45,000 in the south. Also assume that the employer pays \$5,000 annually to bring this worker to its mine site. The total cost of this labour (transportation cost plus opportunity cost) is \$50,000. If instead, a native is employed through the mobility program, the opportunity cost of this worker is much lower. As an approximation, it might be the annual wage that

this person might earn in his or her home community if fully employed. This may be \$20,000. Transportation costs to get this work to a pick-up point may be \$8,000 annually. Society's cost of employing this worker is only \$28,000. There is a net social gain from the institution of a mobility program.

E. IMPLICATIONS

The core idea underlying the economic rationale behind the mobility fund for the northern labour market is simple. Firms hiring workers look at the value of output produced and compare this what workers have to be paid including transportation costs. The price of labour in this context limits firm hiring. From a broader social perspective, however, the cost of hiring some units of labour is less than what firms must pay. As a result, a transportation fund to promote worker mobility would pass a standard economic test of benefits and costs in many circumstances. A complete cost-benefit assessment would be required to describe the potential results in quantitative terms and to ensure the validity of this conclusion in the specific circumstances of the Northwest Territories. In addition to the efficiency gains related to better use of labour resources, the equity aspect of providing maximum benefits from resource industry activities in the North to Aboriginals is a further positive element of this approach.

VI FUNDING FRAMEWORK FOR MOBILITY INITIATIVES

Based on the rationale outlined above, a mobility program for natives in mining and oil and gas appears likely to be an economically viable proposition. This paper is intended to provide background for a further study of costs and benefits to confirm the viability of such a program.

A detailed description of how a mobility program would operate through a funding partnership is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is useful to briefly sketch out some of the factors that should be considered for this approach to work effectively in benefit-cost terms.

For the proposed mobility program to be effective, an on-going partnership appears to be required. Note that none of the possible participants identified in this report have made either formal or informal commitments at this point. This report provides only background information rather than a registry of what specific parties may be willing to do. However, based on the background information that was provided during the preparation of this report, there seems to be significant interest and enthusiasm on the part of the likely partners.

Many of the principles of such a labour mobility partnership reflect the ideas that have been developed as part of the process of establishing industrial skills strategies for oil and gas and for mining. These principles that would apply to a mobility program include the following:

- Directed at existing jobs available in mining and in oil and gas.
- Focus is on communities that do not have access to mining employment and to workers who have not been able to sustain employment in oil and gas.
- Mobility program requires educational upgrading in some cases.
- Skill training is provided through industry partnerships.

Other issues that will require a detailed assessment at the benefit-cost analysis stage include the following:

- Extent of initial academic upgrading required for mobility program participants.
- Flight costs from specified communities to current pick-up points.
- Likely take-up rates in participating communities.
- Possibility of coordinated employer approaches.

- Availability of diamond mine and oil and gas employment to determine the number of participants in the feasibility version of the program. Current turnover rates imply that this is not likely to be a constraint.

Flight costs will clearly depend on the new pick-up points involved and the number of participants. The current pick-up points for diamond mines include Hay River, Rae-Edzo, Wha Ti, Gameti, Wekweti, Fort Smith, Fort Resolution, Lutsel K'e and Kugluktuk. Edmonton is the current pick-up point for oil and gas during times when these activities are outside the NWT. If a per segment flight cost of \$375 is assumed for a rotation of two weeks on and two weeks off, then the annual cost per participant to get them to these pick-up points would be just under \$10,000. Take-up rates in the affected communities interact with these costs.

In addition, it would be important to have coordinated employer approaches so that work schedules are coordinated allowing these flights to bring workers from these communities at the same time. This would require common pick-up times at the current points where flights operate.

Potential funding sources for the various elements of this mobility program include the following:

- Industry sources that cannot cover all of these costs but may be willing to participate on a cost-sharing basis. Industry costs would also include skills training at the place of employment.
- Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC).
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT).
- Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements (AHRDA).

Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC) funds the First Nations for the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Contribution Agreement (AHRDA). These funds are to provide human resources development programs to all Aboriginal peoples and to support the development and implementation of programs that are tailored to meet the special needs of First Nation, Metis and Inuit peoples. Participation of these groups in the mobility initiative could include funding participation through AHRDA.

In the case of GNWT, its responsibilities for education imply that pre-mobility academic upgrading could be its area of focus.

Note that this report has focussed on the economic benefits to individual workers and their families as well as the overall social benefits from the perspective of the Canadian

economy. These benefits are based on the more efficient use of Canada's labour resources. There is, in addition, substantial evidence of second round impacts in communities without a substantial economic base. The incomes earned by workers participating in the mobility program are injected into isolated local economies. There appears to be evidence to support the view that communities with more outside workers with stable incomes have lower rates of dependency on social assistance among the remaining population.

VII SUMMARY AND FUTURE STEPS

A. OVERVIEW

This report focuses on labour mobility in the Canadian North. The report indicates that there is an opportunity to develop a mobility approach that offers efficiency gains from a broad economic perspective and which also contributes to important equity objectives. The approach is based on a mobility program to help people gain continuing access to jobs. The economic rationale for and feasibility of a mobility program to allow more Aboriginal workers to benefit from current economic development activities in the North is provided in this report.

The mobility program would provide a transportation cost allowance to members of Aboriginal communities to allow them to access job opportunities and career advancement opportunities not currently available to them. The mobility program would apply to jobs that are primarily in mining, and oil and gas activities, including drilling, exploration and pipeline construction. The partnership approach to a mobility program that is discussed in this report sees various parties contributing to this overall initiative in a variety of ways including direct support for the mobility program and support for pre-program activities.

Canada has provided mobility programs in the past but these have been principally to cover moving expenses or the costs of going to a distant job interview. However, the labour market in the North is unique in a variety of ways that make the exploration of alternative approaches to mobility assistance important and timely. Northern labour markets draw on persons who in many cases live in remote communities with substantial transportation costs. Alternative employment in these communities (the opportunity cost of the worker) is limited. Unemployment rates and rates of dependence on social assistance are high. As a resource-based economy, the North offers employment that is frequently not located near major centres and which in other cases is highly mobile and highly dependent on weather conditions. Transportation costs limit the extent to which private sector employers can access Aboriginal workers who would be willing to work if they could gain access to jobs.

Transportation issues are not only a barrier to full Aboriginal participation in economic development activities. They are also part of the overall concern about a trained labour supply and the possibility of labour shortage problems in the oil and gas and mining sectors. Many labour force analysts have expressed concerns about an adequate labour supply in the North, particularly in the higher level occupations including skilled and apprenticeable trades, technologists, professionals and semi-professionals.

In preparing this report, it is recognized that there are already a number of programs and agreements in place related to native training and employment. The concept of a

mobility program must not conflict in any way with current programs and obligations. Instead, the intent is to extend the reach of existing transportation activities in order to provide solid career employment opportunities to more natives.

Presently, mining firms and firms in the oil and gas industry deal with remote labour market conditions in a variety of ways. Firms generally pay to provide transportation to their remote work sites. This payment is necessary to attract sufficient labour to these sites and is a standard component of labour markets in remote locations. However, it is clear that there are limits to the extent of such transportation payments by the private sector. Bringing workers from farther away obviously increases costs. This paper focuses on the rationale for using a partnership approach to provide funding to support greater efforts at promoting worker mobility in the North.

In considering any policy approach, economists focus on both efficiency aspects and equity or fairness aspects. Although equity issues are obviously important in terms of increasing the number of native workers who can gain access to existing employment opportunities, the principal focus of this paper is on economic efficiency. That is, this paper argues that on efficiency grounds alone, greater mobility support for workers in the North would provide gains from the perspective of Northern labour markets and the overall Canadian economy.

Consider a policy or project in a hypothetically fully employed labour market. Labour for this project would have to be diverted from other activities and the relevant opportunity cost is the alternative wage. This is the wage that workers would earn in their next best alternative. In labour markets with unemployment, however, various policies and programs can attract labour that would otherwise be unemployed. For the labour markets being considered in this paper, alternative uses of time (non-market time) would consist primarily of traditional activities such as hunting and trapping. In many cases, individuals would be receiving social assistance for some or all of this time. The gap between the private cost of labour (what employers pay) and the opportunity cost of this labour to society is the key element in providing a rationale for a mobility program.

The core ideas underlying the economic rationale behind the mobility fund for the northern labour market is simple. Firms hiring workers look at the value of output produced and compare this what workers have to be paid including transportation costs. The price of labour in this context limits firm hiring. From a broader social perspective, however, the cost of hiring some units of labour is less than what firms must pay. As a result, a transportation fund to promote worker mobility would pass a standard economic test of benefits and costs in many circumstances. A complete cost-benefit assessment would be required to describe the potential results in quantitative terms and to ensure the validity of this conclusion in the specific circumstances of the Northwest Territories. In addition to the efficiency gains related to better use of labour resources, the equity aspect of providing maximum benefits from resource industry activities in the North to Aboriginals is a further positive element of this approach.

B. FUTURE STEPS

This report provides an overview of the issues related to the development of a labour mobility program to improve access of Aboriginals to employment opportunities in the North. The report also provides an outline of the economic rationale for this type of approach. This concluding section focuses on the next steps that are required to move this concept forward.

The initial step is to review the concept as it has been described in this report with the potential funding partners. This is to ensure that any further analysis and planning is based on a model with which all partners are in agreement. Based on this review, it should also be possible to outline the further information requirements that the partners feel would be required before they were willing to commit funds to it.

Following these steps, it would be desirable to conduct a formal benefit-cost assessment of the likely results of a mobility program based on the social opportunity cost of labour concept described in this report. This step is related to financial feasibility considerations and is likely a necessary component of any package to which partners would be willing to commit funds.

On the assumption that the preceding steps all provide positive results then it would be prudent to begin the mobility program on a limited scale to demonstrate its feasibility. Note that this would simply be an issue of scale. The feasibility stage would allow the partners to develop the appropriate organizational and financial structure to ensure that there are no administrative problems associated with operating the program. The program would provide mobility support, possibly for 25 to 50 workers in the initial phase. As part of developing the small-scale version of the program, an evaluation framework would be established to allow continuing monitoring and reporting to the partners providing funding.

Based on the experience of the pilot program and the evaluation results, a decision would then be taken on the desirable and feasible scale of the full program.

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