

Education and Youth Unemployment

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE NINTH CONFERENCE
OF COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION MINISTERS



Commonwealth Secretariat

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THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This volume contains five separate items dealing with "Education and Youth Unemployment". Originally, they were contributions to the Ninth Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (9CCEM) held in Nicosia in July 1984, where the subject was one of the three major items on the agenda. They have been put together in this form to meet a variety of needs including those of researchers and workers in the field of youth unemployment and the school-to-work transition, and of education officials wishing to make cross-country comparisons of problems and solutions in the mid-1980s.

The publication begins with a detailed overview of all the 35 country papers prepared for the Conference by Australia, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bermuda, Botswana, Britain, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Cyprus, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, The Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Vanuatu, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This overview, prepared after the Conference was held, may for many readers be a sufficient indication of the ways in which Commonwealth countries are responding to the increasingly complex challenges to education posed by worsening unemployment rates among young people. Some, however, may wish to refer to the papers in full, and the Education Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat will endeavour to meet requests for them, while scarce supplies last. Requests should be addressed to the Director, Education Programme, Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX.

The second section of the publication consists of the working paper on this agenda item which was commissioned for the Conference. Entitled "Education and Youth Unemployment: Some Propositions" it was prepared by Dr Kenneth King, Executive Director of the Centre of African Studies and Reader in Education at Edinburgh University.

Next, we reproduce the lead speech entitled "Education and Youth Affairs", delivered at the Conference by Emeritus Professor Peter Karmel, Vice-Chancellor of the Australian National University.

During the Conference two working groups were formed to consider the subject. One was concerned with "Policy and Organisational Links Between Education and Employment" and the other with "The Contribution of Education Systems (Formal and Non-Formal) in Improving Young People's Access to Work". Their reports, which were adopted by the Conference as a whole*, are reprinted here and make up the final pages of this volume.

* The Report of the Ninth Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers is available from Commonwealth Secretariat Publications; price £2 post free by surface mail.

OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY PAPERS

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Note: In order to cover all of the 35 country papers received by the Commonwealth Secretariat, this overview was prepared after the conference ended. It is intended to serve as a guide and does not necessarily represent the views of the countries concerned or of the Secretariat.

OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY PAPERS

This review is based on country papers prepared by the ministries of education of 34 Commonwealth countries¹ which discuss education and youth unemployment as they perceive them. The papers were written to a standard brief and have in common that they represent an official government viewpoint. Beyond that, there are, of course, marked differences between them: the nature of youth unemployment varies widely; statistics are collected in different ways in different countries; different people get the job of writing such papers in different countries. (Internal evidence suggests, for example, that some papers are written by ministers, some by educators, some by economic planners.) The papers do not represent the single view which would be obtained by a peripatetic scholar nor can they be expected to have a scholarly detachment. Generally, they are descriptive more than critical, and critical more of the familiar and conventional school systems than of unfamiliar and novel developments outside school. In contrast with these disadvantages stands one over-arching advantage: they represent a recent and authoritative statement of governments' views about the relation between education and youth employment or unemployment in the mid 1980s.

THE SCALE AND NATURE OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The great majority of Commonwealth countries² see unemployment among young people as a major social problem. This is true of countries as varied as India, which foresees a shortfall of over 4 million jobs by 1985, Barbados where the shortfall is put at 4,000, most of the Commonwealth African countries and the industrialised states of Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand. While statistics are patchy and incomplete they are consistent in showing that unemployment is higher among the 15 to 24 year old age group than among older workers. The raw statistics probably under-represent unemployment. Some people do not register, or describe themselves as unemployed; some remain at or return to school when they would have preferred to start work.

There are exceptions: Brunei reported a youth unemployment rate of 2.8% in 1981 (less than the rate for workers of

1 There are papers from Australia, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bermuda, Botswana, Britain, Brunei, Canada, Cyprus, Guyana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Nigeria, Papua New Guinea, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Vanuatu, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

2 This review assumes, for stylistic reasons, that the views expressed by a ministry of education can be taken as a government or national view.

all ages) and that "job opportunities in the country are abundant". In the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea, too, youth unemployment was seen as a potential rather than actual problem. Malawi had not yet faced a problem of unemployment among school leavers although it forecasts unemployment at 11.9% in 1994.

For the rest, the countries share a concern with youth unemployment and, for many of them, the view that this is a new problem. The problem was unknown in New Zealand, for example, till the mid-1970s. There and more widely, it appears to have been an unforeseen consequence of the post-1974 recession.

CAUSES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The recession, population pressure and the development of the modern sector, which makes unemployment and under-employment more visible, are all cited as major causes of youth unemployment.

In Nigeria, for example, population growth and educational expansion in the 1960s and 70s were followed by a period of economic stagnation with more children coming out of school but no parallel expansion of jobs. In Zimbabwe, the ministry bluntly concludes that "unless the recession ends and there is an up-turn in economic activity, there is little that education can do to ensure youth employment". The economic argument is taken further by papers from industrialised countries. Australia and Britain alike, for example, talk of structural change and its implications for employment. One consequence of this, whose effects have already been felt, has been the near collapse of the traditional apprenticeship system. The Canadian paper suggests that youth unemployment may be the problem of the last decade, to be followed by problems of adult unemployment whose impact will be on "the people who have already suffered the youth unemployment of the present decade".

Many countries place the problem in its demographic context. Barbados and Mauritius discuss unemployment in the context of their high population density and vigorous family planning programmes. Kenya sees the problem as exacerbated by its "staggering 3.8% annual growth of population".³ Lesotho with a 2.3% and Bangladesh with a 2.6% growth rate are concerned at the effects of population pressure on jobs. Jamaica makes the point that population problems are, in turn, exacerbated by unemployment with higher fertility rates among unemployed young women than among the employed.

3 Some demographers claim that the figure is higher than this.

Unemployment is widely seen as a problem of the visible - of the education unemployed in the modern sector. As education and the modern sector have expanded so unemployment or underemployment has become more visible, especially where, as in Zimbabwe, "the modern sector is small, and is not expanding fast enough to absorb all the youth that come to the labour market". India comments on "the larger problem of unemployment of uneducated youth". Vanuatu points out that "everyone in the rural sector is economically active to a certain extent with the involvement of all members of the community according to a customary distribution of roles based on age or sex criteria", thus drawing a useful distinction between the inability to get a paid job and the lack of any occupation or useful activity.

WHO IS UNEMPLOYED

"Employment is no longer available to primary school leavers in Kenya", or in many other developing countries. Some of the visible young unemployed are primary school leavers: one of their responses is to seek more schooling and one of the responses of governments, is to widen opportunities for secondary schooling. Botswana, for example, has embarked on a programme of expanding secondary education in response to the numbers of unemployed primary school leavers. Mauritius has introduced community schools for primary school leavers who can no longer expect to find a job. Tanzania in contrast urges primary school leavers to stay and work in the rural sector. But there is more discussion of the problem of secondary school leavers and the papers have little to say about either the political significance of large numbers of perhaps dissatisfied primary school leavers, or the benefit to their villages of those who remain in them but bring the fruits of their primary education to the village.

Where educational systems are already more fully developed, it is to be expected that, as in Malaysia, secondary school leavers form the majority of the young unemployed. Programmes for the young unemployed, as in the industrialised Commonwealth countries, concentrate on this group. (They are not always the largest group: Cyprus has a higher rate of unemployment among graduates than among secondary school leavers.)

Unemployment has in some cases affected girls more seriously than boys: higher unemployment rates are reported, for example, from Cyprus, Malta, Jamaica and Sri Lanka. Where there are exceptions, they may reflect earlier educational imbalance. In India 74% of the educated unemployed are male, but a higher proportion of boys than girls go through the educational system. In Australia male unemployment is worse than female, following the collapse of the traditional, and traditionally male system of apprenticeship.

Where statistics are available for disadvantaged minorities they, too, show higher rates for unemployment. Examples are the Maori population in New Zealand and the Amerindian and other populations referred to as "Native Peoples" in Canada.

We can draw some inferences on the long-term consequences of unemployment. One, which follows long Indian experience, is that people will prefer long periods of unemployment or underemployment in the modern sector to movement back to the traditional sector. Another, which is more tentative, and derives from the industrialised countries, suggests that the barriers between work and other activities are shifting. In Australia there has been an increase in part-time work with a reduction in full-time work while in Canada part-time work has been seen as a useful bridge to full-time work for some young people. (Interestingly, these are not seen in a positive light as moves towards a more open society with wider choices for leisure and work.)

GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

Government responses to unemployment as it affects education are of three broad kinds.

First there are the optimistic. There are governments which have determined policies of full employment. The Seychelles aim at full employment without saying how they will get there. Malaysia has a target of full employment by 1990 and a clear policy of economic expansion based on technologically advanced industry as a route to it.

One important variant of the optimistic are those who have taken the rural option. Guyana, for example, claims that "the extent of youth unemployment in Guyana would be negligible if attitudes of many young people were attuned to accepting the employment opportunities available to them..... In Guyana there is an abundance of fertile land.... agriculture affords the opportunity for many young people to be gainfully and beneficially employed". Malawi can attribute the success it has achieved in maintaining employment to the priority it has given to agriculture. Tanzania, from a different ideological standpoint, sees employment as the other side of the coin of rural development.

The second group are the pessimistic. Bangladesh, for

example, does not see the rural option as being open to it, constrained as it is by a land shortage as well as by population pressure. Lesotho foresees the job shortage doubling by 2000, and to a future in which employment in the South African mines declines as an option. Zambia sees a shortfall of jobs for 100,000 young people each year. There is no pretence in these, as in other countries, that existing or foreseeable government policies can cope with the scale of unemployment.

The third group fall between optimism and pessimism. They are developing short-term programmes with an implicit expectation that youth unemployment is not a permanent and structural feature of the economy. They include the industrialised countries of Australia and Britain which have adopted schemes for youth training, not in any clearly stated belief that the training relates to industries that are expanding, but as a way of containing unemployment.

ORGANISATIONAL LINKS

If education is to be closely related to employment, there need to be organisational links between the two. As several government agencies are often concerned with employment and with training, there need also to be links between the agencies providing education and training.

LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Links are needed between education and employment at all levels between those forged by individual schools or colleges and those at ministry level.

Different government structures demand different kinds of link. In a small country, such as Bermuda, ministries can coordinate their work by ensuring that individual department of education staff members keep in touch with the manpower section in the ministry of home affairs, for example, and with the chamber of commerce. More complicated arrangements are needed in a country of the size of Nigeria where the planning of vocational education is shared by the National Board for Technical Education, the National Manpower Board and the National Universities Commission. In Zimbabwe there are formal links between the planning units in each ministry concerned with education and employment. Coordination is also complicated in countries with a federal structure as in Canada. Unfortunately, most papers do not discuss in detail how such coordination is achieved,

even where, as in Britain, it is reported that there is now closer cooperation between education, employment authorities and employers, or in Bangladesh, Malaysia and Tanzania where formal structures exist for cooperation between departments.

Cooperation between individual schools and colleges is, understandably, seen usually as a matter for local initiative. In some cases, however, there are arrangements for coordination at a level between that of ministries and of schools. In New Zealand District Employment and Training Advisory Committees concerned with the transition from school to work, training, and job creation, bring together representatives of the ministry of labour, of the education sector, of employers and employees, and of other local interests.

LINKS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Although there is only limited discussion in the papers about links within the education or training sector, problems of coordination undoubtedly exist. Barbados comments on the existence of some six government agencies providing training for youth, but without adequate coordination. In Zimbabwe discussions are continuing between the ministries of education and of labour, manpower planning and social welfare, on the relation between practical teaching in the schools and in the colleges controlled by the latter ministry. In Malaysia the ministry of culture, youth and sports is responsible for on-the-job training schemes while the ministry of labour controls the Industrial Training Institute. Inter-ministerial agencies exist in some countries to control technical training and apprenticeships which provide a measure of coordination (see below p. 18).

In some cases there are also administrative arrangements to coordinate nonformal education. In Guyana the Adult Education Association acts as a broker, matching demands for adult education with the activities of those who can supply it. In Swaziland there is an Adult Education Council within the ministry of education which contains representatives of both government and non-government agencies. Its role is to advise the ministry on all nonformal education and training programmes and to encourage cooperation both within government and outside.

EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLS

Attempts to bring education and work together antedate the present recession with its new emphasis on youth unemployment. This has long been seen as part of the

move away from the over-academic curricula of the past. Barbados refers to ten years of work by the Caribbean Examinations Council in curriculum development to this end. Uganda and Zimbabwe alike talk of the need to transform the educational system they inherited. Bermuda already has ten years experience of day release in which students are released from secondary schools for a day at a time to get experience of work. But the new levels of visible unemployment have led most countries to re-examine the link between education and employment.

Some countries recognise that the nature of this link is controversial. The Canadian paper refers to the "debate about the extent to which preparation for employment ought to be a major function of secondary schools" and claims that there are only "uncertain connections between secondary school training programmes and later occupational outcomes", and that, "the economic returns to secondary school occupational training are.... doubtful". Lesotho, recognising that there are pressures both to expand and to vocationalise secondary education points out that vocationalising will be an effective policy only if "employment opportunities are growing, and if selection for employment, wage and promotions reward actual competencies and skills, and not simply education qualifications". For the most part, however, the papers take the vocationalist case as given.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES, HOPES

Five different reasons are quoted as grounds for making schools more vocationally oriented: to change student attitudes; to make students more employable; to help students towards self employment or other activities other than waged work; to provide an alternative road to that of formal schooling; to raise finance for the schools.

Many countries hope that a vocational programme will change children's attitudes. India, for example sees the main purpose of the vocationalisation of higher secondary education as "to develop proper attitudes towards work, to inculcate the dignity of labour, banish status and class distinction and to stress the principle of productivity". Similarly, Kenya finds that "attitudes of the young to manual work are by and large undesirable. In the new system, therefore, school programmes are designed to assist pupils to appreciate the essential dignity of labour" and "mould the youth's attitudes towards respect for manual work". In a slightly broader context Malaysia relates its educational aims to attitudes

towards national unity and economic development.

In many countries it is assumed that a vocationally oriented education will make it easier for students to get jobs. In Britain an experimental "Technical and Vocational Education Initiative" aims not "to create jobs, but to better equip participating pupils for the world of work by allowing them to sample various occupational areas, by providing work experience for them, and by giving them additional careers guidance and education". In Jamaica and elsewhere there has been a new emphasis on the "teaching of marketable skills". Zambia sees one of the functions of its schools as to provide basic training which will help people acquire marketable skills.

A number of countries recognise, however, that students may no longer be able to get wage employment. Uganda and Tonga see preparation for self employment as an important aim. "Life skills" courses, developed, for example, in New Zealand and Sri Lanka, have broader aims than preparation for employment.

Vocational courses have been developed to provide an alternative type of secondary education from the academic. Kenya has, since 1966, encouraged the development of village polytechnics. The aim is to "train young people to play a constructive role in rural development". They provide training in practical skills such as building, tailoring, agriculture and book-keeping. The courses generally last for two years and most of the students are primary school leavers. Traditionally the alternative, technical, route has been seen as one for the less able. This view is taken by Brunei which is developing a technical stream alongside the academic one. Australia, however, has developed a different approach to the creation of an alternative road. Their "Participation and Equity Programme" aims at improving the job prospects of young people but especially of those who are economically or socially disadvantaged, with a view to "foster more equal outcomes of schooling".

In a limited number of cases, schools have one further vocational aim: to raise money. School farms in Tanzania meet between 5 and 25 per cent of their catering expenses. In Zambia and Zimbabwe, too, attempts have been made to combine education with production with the twin aim of providing practical education for students and of generating income for the school.

MECHANISMS FOR CHANGE

Educators have tried to change the relation between school and work through the curriculum, by offering the experience of work to students, by introducing new courses which lead to different ends and by improving careers guidance. Curricula have been changed at both primary and secondary level; secondary changes have sometimes affected all students and sometimes only those in vocational schools or streams.

Primary school curriculum

Changes to the primary school curriculum are particularly important where primary schooling is terminal. Some countries emphasise practical subjects in primary schools: crafts, domestic science and agriculture in Tanzania or woodwork, metalwork, masonry, home science, basket making, tailoring, typing and book-keeping in Kenya. Community skills, in such subjects as gardening, farming and fishing, are compulsory in the upper primary school classes in Kiribati. In the Seychelles all primary school children are involved in agriculture.

In Uganda an attempt has been made to restructure the primary school curriculum, rather than to add subjects to it. The programme "Basic education integrated into rural development" (BEIRD) is based firmly on the rural economy. Students learn about, and practise, agriculture and animal husbandry but go on to draw more general scientific and technical conclusions from their work. The programme also includes education about child care, food preparation, and domestic repairs as well as about political issues at both community and national level. The aim is to equip students for self employment in the rural areas but also to make a direct contribution to the quality of life there.

Curriculum for general secondary schools

As we saw, some countries accept a separation between vocational and academic schools and others do not. Zimbabwe, for example, inherited a system of separate schools but has moved sharply away from this. Now "every pupil at secondary level should do a practical subject" and all schools "are required to teach the theory and practice of agriculture". It is hoped to extend teaching at school in basic vocational skills "like building, woodwork, metal work and technical drawing". Malaysia, too, requires all students at lower secondary level to study one of four practical subjects - industrial arts, commercial studies, home science and agricultural science. The ministry of education expects soon to launch a new programme of computer awareness at secondary level. In The Bahamas a "Junior Achievers Programme" run after school hours aims at

orienting children towards business. By cooperation with employers it gives students a chance to see how businesses operate, to learn something of the values of business, and to start thinking about career opportunities in business.

The difficulties in introducing a vocational element into secondary schools are recognised. Bermuda comments that "school administrators often relegate their least intellectually able students to these subjects..... They do not take into account the need for ability to master the theoretical base for the skills". A concern about the prestige attached to white collar jobs is widely expressed, with few clear policies for combatting it. There are practical difficulties in meeting the costs of vocational education and of staffing it. The Foundation for Education with Production in Zimbabwe suggests that one way of financing vocational education is to produce enough goods for sale as part of the educational process. In Guyana, where agriculture is part of all secondary courses, all staff members are "expected to give at least one three-hour block of time to agriculture each week" while schools also use local farmers and craftsmen and extension agents as resource persons.

Curriculum for vocational schools and streams

Despite the concern about academic elitism expressed by some countries, there are many examples of separate schools or streams for vocational education. Vocational alternatives become available at different stages in the educational process in different countries.

Tanzania, for example, has introduced a two year post-primary course to teach vocational subjects for those not selected for secondary education. In the Solomon Islands, after six years of primary education, students either move on to a five-year academic course at a national secondary school or to a three-year vocationally oriented course in a provincial secondary school. As in Tanzania, the vocational course is intended to be terminal. In Lesotho some post-primary students do a one-year farm training centre course, designed to lead to self-employment in agriculture. While the programme has been relatively successful, it has been on a small scale and expensive, offering no large-scale solution to the problem of youth unemployment.

The choice between academic and vocational secondary education is made at a later stage in some systems. In India, where the general 10+2 policy is for ten years of general education to be followed by two more specialised

years, vocational schools and courses have been introduced at the +2 stage (grades 11 & 12). "It is proposed to divert about 50% of the student population to vocational courses". The aim appears to be to prepare these students for employment rather than for more training. In Bangladesh shorter vocational courses, of four to six months, are offered in community secondary schools for those who have completed ten years of general education. In Malta some 28% of boys go to "trade schools" at the age of 13 for a four-year course. From the second year boys specialise increasingly in a craft in which they have shown ability. The schools are staffed by instructors recruited from industry. Some 13% of girls of the same age go to girls trade schools "which run 2-3 year courses in ladies trades including industrial sewing".

In other countries the academic and vocational roads divide at the upper secondary level. This appears to be the case in The Bahamas, which warn that vocational education is "an expensive aspect of the schools' programmes". In Malaysia, where it is expected that 20% of students will follow the vocational route by 1990, there are secondary vocational schools for those who have completed their lower secondary education. The schools offer two-year courses in engineering trades, commerce, home science and agriculture, with 85% of the curriculum devoted to vocational education and 15% to general. The courses are designed to prepare students either to enter the work force or to start on further education and training.

Work experience

Where schools produce goods as well as teach, their students get experience of work without leaving the school compound. In Tanzanian secondary schools "ten hours a week are set aside for productive work" either within the timetable or outside it. The vocational schools in Malaysia and trade schools in Malta are engaged in production and students therefore get experience of productive work while at school.

Non conventional schools have provided work experience in various ways. All students doing vocational subjects in Jamaica must spend some time at work, in private or public enterprise; their work is supervised both by schools and by employers. In New Zealand such work experience became possible only with changes in the accident compensation act. "Student work exploration" is organised locally, on a school by school basis, but requires approval by the student's parents and the local inspector of schools. It is an addition to the student's normal school programme.

Malaysia has experimented, on a pilot basis, with short compulsory periods of employment with industrial firms for secondary school students. In Cyprus, students in the second year of their higher secondary school, can spend a week at a time working in a variety of enterprises including factories, shops, banks and hospitals.

In both Canada and Malta there are opportunities for secondary school students to have longer periods of work experience. In Canada students can spend 200 to 250 hours on out-of-school work which earns "secondary school graduation credits on satisfactory completion". "Students typically spend either half of each day or periods of several weeks full-time observing and participating in a work site under the supervision of their teachers and with the cooperation of the company involved". Arrangements have been made to train teachers on the running of such schemes which are planned with the employers concerned and, to some extent, with the community more broadly and with the appropriate trade unions.

At the upper secondary level in Malta all students in government schools join a "pupil-worker" scheme in which they work for an employer during their holidays, from 1 May to 30 September in the first year of their course and from 1 July to 15 February in the second year. Students are paid by their employers at a rate determined by the ministry of education. The aims are "(a) to acquaint students with work experience (apart from making their education independent from home means) and (b) to raise the qualifications and general education of the work-force".

The papers do not discuss in detail how far evidence suggests that work experience of these kinds makes students more readily employable, or the attitudes of employers and trade unions towards work experience.

New kinds of course

The curricular changes discussed so far, and the moves to provide work experience to students, assume that education should lead inexorably into wage employment. Some countries have moved away from this assumption. As we saw, where rural development is a national priority, both primary and secondary schools have been geared to education for self sufficiency in farming. A new emphasis on practical education for self employment is proposed in Tonga, for example, while this lies behind developments already discussed in Guyana, Uganda and Tanzania.

New kinds of courses, which relate to students' changing hopes and needs, have also been introduced particularly in industrialised Commonwealth countries. Life skills courses have been introduced in Canada and New Zealand. (Courses with the same name have been introduced in Sri Lanka but with the aim of orienting people towards work rather than providing them with a variety of personal and social skills for living in society.) In New Zealand curricula are being reformed to give a new emphasis to topics of direct relevance to adult life such as health, energy, the environment, the consumer and law. New Zealand has also developed transition courses, which generally follow secondary schooling and are aimed at those out of work or likely not to get work. They usually include some school subjects (e.g. communication, English, mathematics), career education, life skills, job-seeking skills, and work experience.

Careers guidance

Where jobs are hard to find, it is argued that careers guidance becomes more important. (The reverse could also be argued.) The work of careers advisors has been expanded and strengthened. Secondary schools in New Zealand have been given staffing allowances to pay for personnel and vocational guidance systems. In Bermuda a programme has been launched to train career guidance counsellors and introduce counselling into secondary schools from the first year on. In Canada, too, careers advice is going to children at an earlier age than before, at about 13 to 14: counsellors in school, careers days, and counselling centres outside schools are all available, in some cases with computerised information systems to provide information about jobs and prospects. In Swaziland a career guidance programme in the ministry of education uses radio programmes both for students and for the public generally. In Zambia new efforts have been made to bring together those responsible for careers guidance in school with those responsible for selecting students for technical training. In India a central scheme has been launched to strengthen employment exchanges, as these are the first point of contact for unemployed young people. Mobile teams have toured rural areas to register young people, and especially educated young people, and advise them both on work opportunities and on self employment.

HIGHER EDUCATION, FURTHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Learning the skills of work has, traditionally, been done either at colleges or universities or through apprenticeship and on the job training. Apprenticeships fall within

Coombs' definition of nonformal education as "any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system", and are therefore discussed in the next section of this paper with other nonformal developments.

COLLEGES OF FURTHER EDUCATION

In many countries colleges of further education have a long, and living, tradition of working closely with employers and gearing their work closely to the demands of employment. Despite the growth of job creation schemes, and out-of-school or out-of-college training schemes, they still play the key role in much education for employment. In Canada, for example, "advanced educational institutions are still seen as the primary public sector providers of employment related training" and "most students in non-university post-secondary institutions are already enrolled in career-oriented programmes". All four post-secondary institutions in Cyprus aim primarily at employment as do industrial, technical and further education institutions in Brunei, Mauritius, Australia and elsewhere.

New kinds of post-secondary institutions have also been developed, sometimes by agencies other than a ministry of education. In Malaysia the Industrial Training Institute is run by the ministry of labour and provides courses in basic industrial skills for unemployed school leavers and upgrading courses for trainees in industry. Training is apparently done both by the Institute and by employers so that its role is one of coordination as well as training. In Swaziland the Manzini Industrial Training Centre, which is run by a joint mission group, trains out-of-school youth and adults in craft skills which include building, agriculture, dress making and tailoring and prepares its students for government trade tests. The ministry of education provides financial assistance but trainees are charged a fee of E30.00 (£14.80) per month for their two-year training.⁴ In Jamaica a Human Employment and Resource Training Trust (HEART) was set up in 1982 with the aim of linking government training with the work of the private sector. Training in vocational skills is to be provided for 18,000 a year in 15 HEART academies with the aim of encouraging self-employment or employment. In Kenya, where there are only some seven colleges of further education operated on a national basis, 12 Harambee Institutes of Technology have been established in various parts of the country to train middle level manpower.

4 All cost figures have been converted to pounds sterling on the basis of the exchange rates of 24 August 1984.

They aim to equip students either for employment, especially in the rural areas, or to set up as entrepreneurs on their own account. The Institutes are financially aided by central government; student fees are charged but subsidised by government.

Some vocational training schemes aim at production which will be of benefit to trainees and to the community. The experimental Chipata School for Continuing Education in Zambia uses local materials for its production of leather and wooden furniture which are sold locally with the money raised helping to finance the school. Students pay fees but the school gives them tools on graduation and tries to find jobs for them at the end of their 18-month course. In Tanzania rural Folk Development Colleges offer courses which are designed to meet specific village needs. Their main aim is "to enhance learners self-employment, productivity and community service". Trainees must be committed to work in their villages on completion of the course. The courses have about 40% theory and 60% practical training: centres have offered courses in book-keeping for village shops, agriculture, animal husbandry, and domestic science. In Zimbabwe, the National Vocational Training System which is being developed will also be based on institutions "emphasising the skills relevant to the environment of the learners".

Where there are already well established systems of technical education, they are taking new initiatives in response to youth unemployment. The Australian Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector of the education system has run a number of projects for unemployed youth and for those still at school who expect to be unemployed. These have included pre-apprenticeship, pre-vocational and pre-employment courses and an education programme for unemployed youth. The last of these is concerned not with basic skills for employment but with "employment-seeking skills" and to help the students' personal development. It is aimed at those who have been unemployed for four months; central government guidelines require that there should be equal provision for males and females. The Participation and Equity Programme, introduced this year, subsumes these schemes and is receiving central government finance of A\$74 million (£48.4 million) per year in 1984, 1985 and 1986.

In New Zealand technical institutes have, since 1978, been involved with a "Young Persons Training Programme" and since 1983 with a "School leavers training and

employment preparation scheme". Trainees, at least on the former, are entitled to an allowance from government while they attend. Both schemes are designed to increase students' chances of employment. Schemes are run on a local basis; the curricula are likely to include life skills, manual skills, work experience and some training in engineering, building, farming, retail work, clerical work, or catering.

UNIVERSITIES

A number of countries have tried to orient their universities towards industry and employment.

In Malta the university reform of 1978-80 included the phasing out of degrees in pure humanities, sciences and theology and a shift within the remaining courses to those for which demand is greatest. At the same time links have been strengthened between the university and employers and unions. The reform also included a "worker-student" scheme with three key features: courses and enrolments are determined by the needs of industry which sponsor students according to their needs; sponsored or "worker students" are employees of their industry while they study and are expected to work in the industry after graduation; six-month semesters of study alternate with six month periods of work for which the worker student is paid. The reforms are reported to have eliminated graduate unemployment.

Other countries report more modest policies to relate higher education more closely to local employment. In Guyana changes to the university curriculum have been made in consultation with local industry concentrating for example, on local materials in mechanical engineering and on open-cast, strip and alluvial mining in the mining engineering department. Technical and vocational institutes, too, are required to keep in close touch with industry and contact is also maintained with graduate trainees and their employers. In Tanzania there are similar links between the work of the university faculty of engineering and local employers. Trainees are attached to potential employers and practical industrial work takes up 24% of students' time. Sri Lanka has been concerned to ensure that its graduates are readily employed and has set up a "Graduate Placement Service" to this end. The Service helps graduates find jobs in either the government or the private sector and also gives training to improve graduates' prospects of employment. It has, for example, run courses in agriculture for graduates in the humanities so that they can take up management

posts in a river valley development scheme. In Swaziland, in an attempt not so much to ensure employability as to guide graduates towards a key profession, all BSc students now have to study education.

A number of countries note that it is not easy to plan or control the relationship between employment and higher education. Zambia, for example, introduced a quota system for various schools of the university but found that this did not work as expected because graduates have crossed fields to work elsewhere. In New Zealand, while there has been an increase in enrolment in vocational courses where job prospects are better, this has not been at the expense of more traditional university courses. The attitudes and intentions of students may, indeed, be different from those of governments or universities. Kenya has hoped to do something to shift student attitudes by introducing a national service scheme for students.

ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL

Various mechanisms have been used to ensure that vocational education reflects national and local needs. Guyana, Tonga, Uganda and Zambia refer to the need to localise curricula and arrange that technical examinations and arrangements for standards and certification, are controlled by national agencies instead of relying on examining boards outside the country or region.

Local panels to guide technical education are one way of ensuring that it meets the needs of its users. In Mauritius the curriculum for mid-level technical manpower is determined by a panel representing the ministries of education, works, economic planning and development, employment, and labour, with representatives of the employers' federation, the university and the institute of education. In Zambia "Curriculum and standards advisory committees" exist for all technical and vocational training programmes with representatives of all those with an interest in the output of a course, including employers, government officials, professional organisations, trade unions and curriculum specialists. At a national level Tanzania has a "National Vocational Training Division" which, through a committee structure, establishes standards for vocational training and develops curricula. In Sierra Leone the ministry of education's "Technical Advisory Committee" has a responsibility for vocational education both in school and in further education.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Commonwealth countries have used agencies outside the walls of schools, colleges or universities for vocational education or training, either through apprenticeships or in some other way, for job creation, and for equivalency programmes.

APPRENTICESHIPS, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In Australia and Britain the apprenticeship system has collapsed in recent years: apprenticeships have decreased by 30% in Australia and 60% in Britain. In Britain this is seen as an opportunity to "replace out-dated age limits and time-serving with training to agreed standards of skill appropriate to the jobs available" and has led towards the "Youth training scheme" discussed below (under job creation and training).

Apprenticeship, in various forms, is however, still of value to some countries and is increasingly under the control of central government agencies even though it is run locally. In a number of cases there are financial incentives to encourage employers to take on apprentices and trainees. In Tanzania, trainees first complete a basic training to learn the fundamentals of their trade and then enter into a contract of apprenticeship with an employer who provides them with tools, appoints an instructor to supervise their work and gradually moves them from simpler to more complex work. Apprenticeship arrangements are supervised by the National vocational training division. In Sri Lanka, too, a national body, the "National Apprenticeship Board", supervises apprenticeships. Here a scheme for village level apprenticeship training was introduced in 1980. Village level master craftsmen were identified and allowed to select apprentices from unemployed rural youth. Trainees are paid a monthly allowance of Rs.300/- (£19.90) for their one year training. Master craftsmen are not paid but are entitled to the free labour of the trainees. Certificates at the end of the year's training are awarded by the National Apprenticeship Board. In Barbados the "National Training Board" supervises a three-year apprenticeship programme which links supervised on-the-job training with theoretical training in an approved educational institution. The Board reimburses part of the apprentice's wages at the rate of 50% for a first year apprentice, 40% for a second year apprentice and 25% for a third year apprentice. The Board gets some of its income from a training levy imposed on employers. Bermuda has tried to encourage the creation

of apprenticeships by fiscal means: relief is available from the 5% payroll tax for employees on approved apprenticeship or training schemes.

On-the-job training without formal arrangements for apprenticeship is also provided both by government and non-government agencies. Malaysia has, since 1972, run an on-the-job training programme for unemployed youths under the auspices of the ministry of culture, youth and sports. The training periods lasts from 12 to 14 months and includes skills in motor mechanics, welding, radio and television servicing, carpentry, tailoring and hair dressing. Trainees are paid a monthly allowance of M\$60.00 to M\$70.00 (£19.70-£24.60). Under a separate scheme the ministry of labour supports on-site training in the building industry where there is a shortage of skilled workers. The ministry pays an allowance to the training supervisor while "participating companies enjoy a double deduction from their gross income for all wages incurred in employing the trainees for a maximum period of three months".

In Malta a three-year "extended skills training scheme" gives both male and female trainees a three-year period of training in work which alternates with study periods. The courses lead at least to journeyman's qualifications and in some cases to craftsman and technician level qualifications.

In New Zealand a department of labour "voluntary organisation training programme" is designed to provide both training and employment for individuals wanting to work in the voluntary sector. The programme is available to any "voluntary, non-profit making community organisation".

JOB CREATION AND TRAINING

Job creation programmes have mixed aims: some are aimed at employment in the modern sector, others at self-employment; some stress employment, others stress training. Some are available very broadly, others are addressed to particular groups. In only a few cases do the papers articulate the debates about priority between these aims although, as in Australia for example, "whether the Community Youth Support Scheme is, or should be, a work preparation scheme or a scheme to provide personal services for young people at risk, has been a matter for ongoing debate since CYSS's inception".

Schemes in which the stress is on creating jobs in the

modern sector have been run by Australia, Britain, Canada, Cyprus and Kenya among others. In Australia temporary employment is offered by government and by the private sector through the "Special Youth Employment and Training Programme" (SYETP) in which subsidised on-the-job training for up to 34 weeks is provided. Employers have to agree to a training plan for each employee who must have been unemployed and away from full-time education for eight of the previous twelve months". "It is intended that the work experience and training... will provide a good basis for their continued employment". In 1982-83 there were 79,605 trainees under the SYETP scheme at a cost of A\$63.6 million (£41.6 million). The British "Youth Training Scheme" is comparable. It is open to all who leave school at 16 or 17 and do not find jobs and offers "a 12-month course of planned work experience integrated with off-the-job training". The scheme is work based and is intended to make "young people more adaptable and productive and so improve their chances of getting jobs". Some 300,000 people have begun training since the scheme began in September 1983. Trainees are paid an allowance of £25 a week. Under a complementary "Young workers scheme" employers can be paid a subsidy of £15 a week for 17-year olds in their first year of employment. In Canada there are a number of schemes to subsidise the employment of young people, some of them aimed at disadvantaged minorities. Cyprus has introduced schemes to meet the particular needs of unemployed graduates.

More centralised schemes to provide employment exist in Kenya, Malta and the Seychelles. In Kenya a national youth service takes men and women between the ages of 18 and 22, gives them a basic training and employs them on construction or relief work. This is followed by a further period of education after which some are selected for intensive trade training which ensures that they are readily employable as trained technicians or artisans. In Malta military training is offered to unemployed men and women. Those employed in the "Dejma Corps" combine military training, vocational education, and work on productive activities including land reclamation, agriculture and livestock breeding. Cash incentives are available to those learning a trade or improving their skills in reading and writing under the scheme. In the Seychelles employment is available on government projects for five hours a day, five days a week, for any registered job seeker.

Schemes to encourage self-employment are, in many countries, at least as important as those for employment in

the modern sector. In India the programme for "Training of rural youth for self-employment" (TRYSEM) "aims at the development of technical skills among the rural people to enable them to settle down in self-employment ventures". It aims at training 200,000 rural youth a year and has, so far, trained 470,000 of whom half have become self-employed. Trainees who take up self-employment can receive a subsidy of up to Rs3,000 (£200) which in disadvantaged areas can rise to Rs5,000 (£330). Loans up to a maximum of Rs25,000 (£1,650) are also made available to enable educated youth to become self-employed.

Loans are also used to encourage self-employment in Kiribati. Here parents of people of about 14 to 15 can apply for a loan to start a small scale commercial undertaking, such as fishing, a shop or a restaurant, in which their unemployed children will work.

Jamaica has launched schemes to help women become self employed. In one scheme groups of young women are given goats "which they learn to rear to develop a herd" and in another materials are bought to enable women to make and market bammies (cassava cakes).

A more unusual job creation scheme is provided by the National Youth Ensemble of Sri Lanka. It recruits young people with musical talents but who may lack academic qualifications or financial support. A three-year training, and experience in the Ensemble's dance groups, western and oriental orchestras and bands, leads to ready employment as professional musicians and dancers.

EQUIVALENCY

Nonformal agencies offer opportunities for people outside school to acquire school-type qualifications and so to improve their prospects for employment. In Brunei, for example, the adult education section of the department of education offers part-time GCE ordinary level classes. In Canada, as elsewhere, distance education is being used to provide similar opportunities which are particularly important in remote parts of the country. The government of Papua New Guinea is expanding education by establishing local centres, in each of the 19 provinces, under the auspices of the College of External Studies.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION

There are sufficient similarities between the educational problems facing Commonwealth countries in this area for there to be a number of possibilities for cooperation, and for the sharing of experience.

A number of countries are facing a demand to expand opportunities at post-primary level while moving away from conventional secondary education. Difficulties arise in designing a form of education to lead both to employment and to self-employment, possibly in the traditional rural economy. The shortage of resources, and comparatively high unit cost of conventional secondary education makes the search for alternative forms of secondary schooling, differing in their content and methods, of wide importance. One of the aims of a rurally oriented secondary education of this kind would have to do with raising the quality of life for those who will live their lives out in small villages.

Many countries, too, are seeking at secondary level for an education which will be more closely related to job possibilities but will not depend on narrow training in out-worn vocational skills. Questions arise about a curriculum which will provide a general education, will embrace some of the work done on "life skills", will not be over academic, and will lead students to a variety of openings including full-time employment, part-time employment and to alternatives to conventional employment in the modern sector. If we managed to go only some way along this search for the educator's Holy Grail, there might still be rich rewards for our students.

There are particular problems for the education of girls and women in the light of the pressures to make education more vocational, if their education is not to lead them into a narrow ghetto of traditionally female jobs.

Various countries have begun to modify, control and adapt traditional apprenticeship systems. The traditions have their strengths and their values. There would be merit in sharing experiences on the ways in which traditional apprenticeship can be adapted to modern needs.

Education and training beyond secondary schools is the preserve of many ministries and interests other than those of ministries of education. Problems of coordination frequently arise both between ministries and between

them and non-government agencies, employers and trade unions. Experience of mechanisms which have been more and less successful in achieving cooperation could usefully be shared.

The same problems of coordination mean that ministries of education, or of employment, tend to lack data about school-leaver unemployment. The limitations of the statistics make planning more difficult. Tracer studies of school leavers, and of the long term unemployed could be valuable as would studies of the experience of girls and of disadvantaged minorities in relation to education and employment.

Those who never got to school were, as was shown, invisible to the authors of many of the papers, although they are not, of course, invisible to the same writers in their work-day capacity as educators and their everyday capacity as citizens. Strategies for extending education remain of key importance, even for the forgotten and invisible unemployed.

EDUCATION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

SOME PROPOSITIONS

Working Paper by

Dr Kenneth King

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EDUCATION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT: SOME PROPOSITIONS

Introduction

1. There is an extraordinarily rich diversity of experience in the Commonwealth in thinking about and in acting upon the relationship between education and youth employment. In this paper there will be little attempt to refer specifically to the experience and experimentation of individual member countries. That is largely available in the country papers. Instead, an attempt will be made to look across two main groups of Commonwealth country and to examine the extent to which member countries can generalise from these accumulated insights in the area of education and employment. This is a particularly timely point to review what can be learnt, since the unemployment of educated youth is frequently termed a common crisis, affecting every country within the Commonwealth.

2. The paper will follow the same five sections suggested for the country papers. It will employ the terms "industrialised Commonwealth country" (ICC) and "developing Commonwealth country" (DCC), while admitting that several countries are highly industrialised and technologically advanced but are still predominantly rural. Some others do not fit this categorisation at all, and the two most obvious, Singapore and Hong Kong, almost fall outside the scope of this paper, since they do not have a youth unemployment problem to speak of.

3. The propositions can be skimmed rapidly and used as a summary (see p. 28), or as signposts to the argument made at greater length in the intervening paragraphs.

A. THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

A1. There is no common youth unemployment crisis across the Commonwealth.

A2. The very language commonly used to describe the youth unemployment situation obscures fundamental distinctions between the industrialised and developing countries of the Commonwealth.

4. The first set of propositions relates to this notion of a common youth unemployment problem, and they question the extent to which there really is a shared experience of the transition from school to work. The labour markets and education systems are sufficiently different in the industrialised and predominantly agricultural countries of the Commonwealth that even the basic concepts of 'transition', 'staying-on', 'education for self-employment', and 'part-time work' mean very different things in different country settings. The extent of primary and secondary school attendance and of wage and salary employment affects very directly the meaning of all such concepts.

A3. *Industrialised Commonwealth countries (ICCs) have a maximum of three great visible transitions out of the education system, whereas developing Commonwealth countries (DCCs) have frequent transitions from schooling all the way from Standard One to Form Six.*

5. Age-bound compulsory education systems (with compulsion, e.g. from age 5 to 16) provide only one or two major transition points: at the end of the compulsory cycle; at the end of the voluntary upper secondary level; and at the end of college, polytechnic or university. Those in transition are relatively visible, since they are part of a specific age group. Their numbers are rather precisely known whether they are staying on in education, or claiming unemployment benefit. The publication of monthly figures of those claiming benefit allows a close approximation to be made of the numbers of "unemployed" school-leavers. Not unnaturally, considerable political interest attaches to both youth and adult unemployment figures.

A4. *Non-compulsory systems have complex transitions from home to school, and very early "invisible" transitions from school back to home and to work.*

6. In non-compulsory systems, by contrast, the notion of transition has a very different meaning. For one thing, the transition to school itself is by no means compulsory everywhere in the Commonwealth. Even where campaigns for universal primary (and in some few cases secondary) attendance have been conducted, a portion of the appropriate age group remains out of school, enters school one or more years late, or attends irregularly because children are needed at home, farm or cottage industry. Despite the rapid spread of birth registration, the result is that the firmest figures are grade-specific, rather than age-specific. Ministries of Education know the size rather than the age of Standard One, Standard Seven, Form One or Form Four.

7. In non-compulsory systems many children not only fail to drop in: they also drop out for social, religious, economic and, to a limited extent, academic reasons. Even where universal access to primary schools is guaranteed, more than half may have left by grade four. Thus, by the time of the first important educational transition (from primary to secondary), several million children in the Commonwealth have made an earlier transition from school back to home, family shop, family farm or herding. Generally speaking, in discussions of education and youth employment this group is not discussed; their departure from school, though massive, is scattered through six years, and therefore relatively hard to quantify. Their work status is equally uncertain, but it is assumed, probably correctly, that the bulk who have left by the end of grade four will not long retain literacy skills. Little political interest currently attaches to this diverse group of non-completers.

A5. *"Staying-on" in education is not an option for youth in most DCCs. The majority face a compulsory transition out of school.*

A6. *No "dole" equals no politically visible unemployed.*

8. The closest parallel to the end of compulsory schooling in the industrialised Commonwealth countries is the end of the open access cycle, which comes variously at the end of the seventh or ninth year in many DCCs. After this point, further schooling is highly restricted, fee paying or both; consequently between 30 and 90 per cent of those in the last year of the basic cycle make a transition from school to work.

9. There is a further difference between these two large groups of school leavers terminating the first cycle of education. Those in ICCs have decided to leave institutions in which they would be entitled to stay on; whereas those in DCCs see themselves as being selected out (by fees, exams, and to some extent social pressure) from institutions in which generally they would be delighted to continue. 'Staying-on' is accordingly not an option that is open to the majority of children in the Commonwealth, although it is technically available and in the ICCs is currently providing an important policy choice for children (and politicians) faced with a deteriorating job market.

A7. *In ICCs, many well paid jobs have traditionally been available to youth with minimum schooling and no diplomas. Such jobs are now vanishing.*

10. This crucial distinction in attitude towards staying in formal schooling is explainable principally in terms of differing perceptions of the relations between schools and jobs. In ICCs a very large number of jobs have traditionally been available to young people with the minimum legal amount of schooling and without formal certification. Such unskilled, semi-skilled and even skilled jobs were increasingly well paid, and constituted a labour market that was almost independent of schooling, - beyond competence in the three Rs. In other words, a significant part of the labour market was not affected by the 'diploma disease' except in the minimum sense of the state raising the school leaving age from time to time. This situation allowed many young people to identify their schooling as almost standing in the way of their access to the labour market and to the adulthood of being a wage earner. Such students successfully combined a counter-school culture with a strong work ethic.

11. In the present crisis in the ICCs, it is precisely this part of the labour market (casual, unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled manual work) that has been most at risk; hence the historical transition from minimum schooling to satisfactory productive work has been severely threatened. It will be seen shortly that formal schools and training institutions are now being requested to assist with this crisis. It is too early to say if this will be successful, but in essence a whole section of young people may have to come to regard as valuable or even critical to their future the very institutions that have traditionally been regarded as irrelevant, if not obstacles, to jobs.

A8. *DCCs have very few paid jobs, but plenty of work. ICCs have still a majority of paid jobs, but now few other acceptable traditions of work.*

A9. *In DCCs the educated unemployed frequently work while looking for jobs.*

12. In many DCCs, the situation has been very different: schooling has been intimately associated with urban wage labour, more especially in the public, parastatal and multinational sectors than in the private industrial sector. Although the smaller private industries have continued to recruit without undue regard to level of schooling, the bulk of favoured employment has in many Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Caribbean lain in the public and multinational sectors, and these have strongly reinforced schooling through their recruitment and promotion policies. Where the ICCs have had a tradition of uncertified access to both skilled and unskilled work, the less industrial countries require, paradoxically, even higher school qualifications than the same jobs would require in Canada, Britain or Australia. The cause lies in the acute shortage of jobs offering regular pay and security as compared to various forms of subsistence, self-employment and casual work in the rural and urban areas.

13. The proportions between these two types of labour market (formal and informal, registered and unregistered) differ significantly in DCCs depending on the degree of industrialisation and urbanisation, but it is not uncommon for only 10 to 15 per cent to have secure wage and salary jobs or to be conducting commercial farming on their own account. The majority work on their own plots and petty enterprises, or work irregularly for low wages. In general the income differentials between urban jobs and work in the rest of the economy are very marked indeed, and are crucially different from the distinctions between unskilled manual work and middle level professional jobs in the ICCs. These vital differences in scale cannot be overemphasised if policies for youth unemployment are to be discussed.

14. To heighten the contrast it may be useful to acknowledge that the proportion of regular urban jobs to work in the informal sector in developing countries (10 to 90) is almost the same as the proportion in the industrialised countries between unemployed and employed workers. The result is that unemployment in the industrialised countries, though unprecedented in the last decade, is felt as a minority condition, and as something that may be policy manipulable. In DCCs, the condition of not having a regular wage job is the norm. Consequently, there is little political capital to be made from regarding the 90 per cent as in some sense excluded from the formal market, or as 'unemployed'.

A10. *In ICCs politicians are concerned with the unemployed youth of low educational attainments. The opposite is true in DCCs.*

15. However, even more important than these basic proportions between different labour markets in different types of Commonwealth country is the close connection between the favoured urban wage and salary jobs and the school and college system. As schooling is identified as the mechanism for entering the preferred

employment sector, the 'educated unemployed' in this situation are seen as being the group which narrowly missed succeeding. For policy-makers concerned with youth unemployment, it is these 'narrow misses' with their relatively high educational qualifications that are most visible. This contrasts with the industrial countries where the focus of policy concern is primarily with those of comparatively low educational attainment.

A11. Democratisation of education and educated unemployment go hand in hand in DCCs.

16. Moreover, given the rapid expansion of primary and secondary education in the developing countries since Independence (itself a function partly of popular perceptions about the role of education in accessibility to urban jobs), this policy concern with the educated unemployed is a shifting frontier. Thus, the inevitable democratisation of primary education after Independence devalued almost overnight the marketability of the primary school certificate; as a consequence there was a brief political concern about the educated unemployed primary school leaver. Within four years or so new generations of secondary school graduates had transferred this political concern to the secondary school unemployed leavers, and in turn to the higher secondary and college graduate. Within a little over a decade in the countries that had expanded schools fastest, the political concern with the 'educated unemployed' had run through several stages.

A12. Few DCCs any longer regard primary school leavers as educated unemployed. They are invisible.

17. By the mid 1980s in many DCCs primary school leavers could no longer be described as educated unemployed any more than the even earlier generations of primary school drop-outs could be termed unemployed. The 'ordinariness' of primary school leavers (unlike those quitting the basic cycle in the industrial countries) meant they were no longer seriously considered for modern sector jobs, nor seen as a category for political concern. Admittedly, the very suddenness of their disqualification in the early and middle 1960s* meant that there was a flurry of activity and schemes (village polytechnics, national service schemes, settlement schemes etc) directed at primary school leavers. But most of these never became large nationwide movements proportional to the primary leavers that a country might expect to have in the early 1970s. Such programmes often remained tiny, deriving their success from offering a few select primary leavers a second chance to enter the modern industrial sector.

A13. The mass of reluctant school leavers in DCCs have nowhere coalesced as a political force despite widespread fears to the contrary.

A14. The benefits of good primary education both for school leavers and 'continuers' to secondary cannot be exaggerated, even if they cannot be proved.

* Many decades earlier in India.

18. The post-Independence political concern about 'mass unemployment of primary school leavers' moved onwards and upwards, in parallel with the "diploma disease". The widespread worries about the political threat of several million jobless school leavers were not confirmed; the expected demoralisation of youth did not materialise. Lacking any incentive even to register as unemployed, it became difficult to quantify these leavers from those still in the basic school cycle. They vanished back into the informal and unregistered occupations of their parents.

19. In passing one may note that it seems highly probable that the experience of seven years of primary education (under-resourced: as that may often be) does have a positive influence on their 'invisible earnings', on their productivity, and on the wider learning interests of these millions of youth who work outside the protected environment of the modern sector. This cannot readily be proved any more than a classics degree can be proved useful in the eyes of the narrower manpower planner. But it is an assumption that most underlies any good primary school teaching. For the policy-maker concerned with the quality of working life in the informal sector, the good primary school is likely to be one of the few affordable and effective policy instruments available.

A15. On unemployment there is little for ICCs to learn from the DCCs - except that countries can learn to tolerate very high levels of failure by young people to get the jobs they want. This may well happen in ICCs.

20. This rapid sketch of differences in the scale and shifting nature of the youth unemployment problem in developing and industrial Commonwealth countries suggests that there must be caution in assuming that the ICCs can learn from the much longer experience of youth unemployment in the DCCs. Although it is frequently argued that youth unemployment is a common problem across all the OECD countries and across the developing countries, the exceedingly rich literature on the experience and experiments of the DCCs is likely to be regarded as of limited application elsewhere. In other words, the world employment crisis is in fact made up of several qualitatively different crises.

21. One thing, however, may be learnt from the two or three decades of experience in the developing countries which may shortly affect government policy on unemployment in the industrial countries. Once it becomes accepted that youth unemployment at current levels is not readily cured, and is not just the result of temporary economic recession, then it is possible that unemployment at the end of compulsory education will become politically invisible, especially if youth demoralisation and instability are not evident. Furthermore, political attention could then shift upwards (as in the developing countries) and concern itself with the 'educated unemployed' at the tertiary levels. Whether or not this happens, it is already clear that as a result of this first sudden political shock, a series of initiatives will be rapidly put into place that may continue to affect the education and training systems even after the crisis has passed or become politically unimportant.

B. POLICY AND ORGANISATIONAL LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

B1. DCCs have "tackled" youth unemployment by educational expansion rather than training and job creation.

22. The fundamentally different scale and character of youth unemployment in the industrial and developing countries of the Commonwealth affect directly the machinery for action and co-ordination to attack the problem. In the DCCs, the youth unemployment crisis has concentrated policy attention on the education system rather than on the employment system. This is partly because it became clear at a relatively early stage after Independence that there were many limitations to influencing directly the expansion of modern sector jobs, apart from those in the public sector. For one thing, many of the critical decisions about investment in new industries resided with foreign firms. Attracting foreign investment proved difficult, and even when successful brought very few jobs per unit of capital deployed.

23. By contrast, government intervention in the education sector was possible without external assistance in many cases. Moreover, expansion of those levels of education which controlled access to the best jobs was immensely popular with the electorate. Indeed, even without direct state assistance, communities in several countries were prepared to tax themselves to provide secondary or further education.

B2. Youth unemployment in ICCs has dramatically increased state intervention in traditional training arrangements of employers.

B3. Unlike in DCCs, new powerful training agencies and departments concerned with youth affairs have teeth and budgets in the industrialised Commonwealth countries.

B4. In ICCs, early short-term reactions to youth unemployment change rapidly into long term institutionalised programmes.

24. In the ICCs, the emergence of significant levels of youth unemployment at the lower levels of education and skill has thus far resulted in a whole battery of new initiatives to smooth the transition from school to work. The continuing political sensitivity attached to these unprecedented numbers of young unemployed school leavers has in most industrialised Commonwealth countries mobilised the finance necessary to support really major interventions in the education and training systems as well as directly in the labour market itself. Youth unemployment has encouraged direct state intervention in many areas for the first time.

25. Thus, for example, where apprenticeship numbers were dropping dramatically, the state had directly subsidised apprentices, or given them full-time training (apart from their jobs) in the expectation that industry would hire them later. Whole new bodies and structures concerned with short-term training, work experience, job creation and transition were set up. The emergency conditions

gave them powers sometimes radically to alter traditional arrangements between the private sector, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Employment, or of Industry. In addition the numbers of young people out of work grew so alarmingly in the late 1970s that early temporary projects were constantly being collapsed into larger and more comprehensive programmes for covering all the different aspects of the problem. The result was that very rapidly short-term expedients became obsolescent and through the crisis new agencies evolved with a scope almost unanticipated in the early years.

B5. Youth training and transition agencies become a third force between schools and employers in industrialised countries.

26. One outcome of this progressively deeper intervention by the state was that areas and institutions with which the government became involved initially as a subsidising or complementary agency soon became ones where the government could itself contemplate initiating radical structural change. This was the case with apprenticeship where, once governments had become indirectly responsible for several thousand places, it was natural to question what appeared like anomalies of age and sex in the admission to the traditional apprenticeship. Similarly, a series of unconnected training projects could evolve into a national youth training programme. Suddenly youth training agencies become a third force in the land, between the schools and the employers.

B6. In DCCs there are virtually no comprehensive youth training initiatives.

B7. "National" services are seldom national in DCCs, and frequently cover a very small group of the more educated.

27. With one or two exceptions (e.g. limited work guarantee schemes) there are really no counterparts in the developing Commonwealth countries to the relatively large scale programmes evident in the ICCs. "National" (Youth) Services, for example, are typically tiny, and have increasingly covered a small group of the more educated rather than the school leavers most at risk.

28. Two factors deserve particular attention in explaining the response to school leaver unemployment in developing countries.

B8. The discovery of the informal sector of the economy reduces the need to act on youth "unemployment" in DCCs.

B9. The rhetoric shifts from youth employment measures to aiding self-employment.

B10. Youth in DCCs are not idle but have acquired skill and work informally.

29. First, almost immediately following the short lived primary school leaver crisis came the discovery of the informal sector, or in other words the realisation that primary school youth were

in some measure productively engaged in a whole range of informal activities in rural and urban areas, from petty trading, to cash cropping, to small scale production. So far from the alarmist image of the earlier years, it seemed that tens and hundreds of thousands of primary school leavers were acquiring skills, technologies and some limited income. More important, this process of absorption had happened without any government intervention, and without any source of employment support for young people outside the family and community.

30. There was naturally talk of government aiding this huge informal sector activity, making it more productive, or developing its technologies. But in many cases it was concluded that the virtue of the sector was its independence of government, and that it was difficult to construct an intervention programme that did not increase dependency on the state. In this sense, the original worry about the educated unemployed appeared to be solving itself by local mechanisms of self-employment. Even the informal training systems that operated in the informal sector seemed hard to improve upon, without encouraging the trainees to raise their sights again to certification needed for the modern sector jobs. So, unlike in the ICCs where youth unemployment gave an opportunity to the state to intervene directly in traditional patterns, indigenous training systems were largely left to their own devices.

B11. Non-formal education points to existing youth training opportunities in many ministries and agencies other than Education.

B12. The informal sector and non-formal education relate directly to youth unemployment in DCCs, but appear to cost the state little or nothing.

31. A second factor also had the effect of distinguishing the response to youth employment in the DCCs. As the emphasis began to shift from concerns with primary schools to secondary schools unemployment and beyond in the early 1970s, the notion of non-formal education became very widespread to refer to a whole range of opportunities for short-term, work-related courses that already existed in various ministries, enterprises and non-governmental organisations.

32. The interest however in non-formal education was less with setting up new courses and more with acknowledging that there was already a very considerable provision of relevant training available in the extension work of many ministries. The fascination with non-formal education was, thus, less involved with arguing for new initiatives than with discovering and classifying provision that hitherto perhaps had not been thought of as relevant to skill development of young adults.

33. In this way, in the developing Commonwealth countries two of the major policy thrusts of the early 1970s which were considered relevant to the employment and training problem both consisted of uncovering a phenomenon that was already in place. In combination they could be interpreted as suggesting that mechanisms are already in place that are taking care of youth training and unemployment. Unlike the variety of more and more comprehensive initiatives in Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand, neither the informal sector nor non-formal education held new budgetary or programme implications for the developing countries.

B13. *External aid agencies rather than national governments have prompted the importance of the informal sector and non-formal education in meeting the needs of youth.*

34. In this connection, it is interesting to note that both these concepts (the informal sector and non-formal education) trace their origins to the analysis of unemployment and training by external aid agencies, notably the ILO, the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO and USAID. Much of the basic conceptualisation was developed by analysts from the industrialised world, and this again may have made some difference to its being utilised in some of the developing countries of the Commonwealth.

35. Beyond this, however, undoubtedly lay the priority of expanding the higher levels of the formal education system which has already been mentioned. It seems reasonable to assume that this emphasis could only be strengthened by the evidence of so much existing activity and provision for the informal sector and for non-formal education. With the expansion of education the single most popular cause politically, few governments would seek to duplicate programmes of local skill development that seemed to be working quite satisfactorily.

36. This is not to say that there were no new initiatives at all dictated by educated unemployment. There certainly have been rural regeneration and self-employment programmes, and schemes involving ministries like Defence with no particular tradition of working with youth training in agriculture. But unlike the new agencies that have emerged with generous budgets in the OECD countries to deliver programmes of transition, youth training has all too often in the developing Commonwealth countries had the status of a poor relation to the mainstream ministries of Education, Agriculture, Industry, and Labour.

C. PREPARATION IN SCHOOLS FOR EMPLOYMENT

C1. *Governments in ICCs and DCCs are trying to alter popular traditional attitudes towards schools and their relation to jobs.*

C2. *School systems can be easily made to adopt employment-oriented programmes. But it is extremely difficult to assess their effectiveness.*

1. Introduction

37. There have been marked differences in the extent to which schools have responded to youth, or been used by policy-makers to prepare explicitly for the complexities of transition from school to work. In many of these employment-oriented initiatives in school, countries have in common some sort of contrast between traditional, popular attitudes towards schools and jobs, and the range of very recent short-term innovations that have been introduced into schools by governments to deal with the youth unemployment crisis. Countries also have in common a widespread conviction amongst policy-makers that schools can be manipulated rather directly to serve particular strategies of transition from school to work.

38. The relative ease with which schools can be made to adopt these instrumental approaches to work preparation contrasts rather sharply in many countries with popular parental traditions about what schools are for and how they can be used. To some extent therefore there is an area of conflict between these powerful popular traditions of using schools for certain ends and a whole range of more recent policies designed to make schools instruments for more specific work-related programmes. The result is that it is not difficult to point to programmes in schools that sound relevant to youth employment preparation; it is extremely difficult to judge how such innovations are actually affecting attitudes, values and employment outcomes.

2. In Developing Commonwealth Countries (DCCs)

C3. *In DCCs, schools are increasingly asked to point students two ways: towards paid jobs in the towns and towards ordinary rural life and work. This is a virtually impossible task.*

C4. *Because secondary schools in DCCs are still very selective and hence homogeneous, it is often counter-productive to introduce curriculum diversifications and orientation to rural employment.*

C5. *In many DCCs the popularity of the examination curriculum marginalises even the most serious and expensive curriculum attempts at rural relevance, self-employment etc.*

39. In many DCCs the problem about making the school more employment-oriented is that it already is highly associated with access to the small modern, predominantly urban, labour markets. Policy initiatives have sought widely to use the schools, in addition, to prepare students for the realities of life in the rural and informal urban labour markets. This objective has assumed that schools can offer two very different messages about employment at one and the same time. The new message that they are increasingly being asked to carry in many countries takes several different forms, but the commonest include the following: emphasis on positive attitudes to agriculture, applied skills for rural self-employment, exposure to productive labour, and diversification of the traditional academic curriculum.

40. However, one of the greatest obstacles to introducing aspects of these into the curriculum, is the strong popular conviction that there should only be a single curriculum at the secondary school level, - one that aims at the national examinations for higher secondary or for university. This determination to follow one curriculum has been made easier by the fact that secondary education is still in many countries highly selective, and in most non-compulsory; hence a much smaller proportion of the relevant age group is in secondary school than in primary. When only between 15 and 50 per cent of the age group are in secondary schools, it is relatively easy to argue against the need for different curricula to cover the entire ability range which would be present in secondary school in the industrialised countries. (Percentages are naturally much higher where the basic cycle includes lower secondary, and much lower in countries that have sought to restrain secondary expansion for financial, equity or employment reasons.)

C6. Technical, vocational and agricultural schools in DCCs tend to become second choice, second class academic schools.

41. The outcome of this strong wish for a single curriculum path at the secondary level is that new initiatives either begin to conform to the existing pattern or are effectively relegated to the margins of the curriculum as actually implemented in schools, even if the official curriculum statements award them priority. Thus, if there is an attempt to introduce new school types (vocational secondary, secondary modern etc) into already highly selective school systems, the new systems will increasingly converge on the established model, and will tend to become vocational in name, but in reality act as second class grammar or academic schools. Equally if the intention is to diversify the curriculum in the traditional schools with practical subjects, it can easily result in the academic "higher-fliers" being offered (at great cost to the country) practical options which they assume they will not use in later life.

42. There is therefore a major policy dilemma inherent in trying to make school reflect the diversity of (low paid) work in the agricultural sector. If this is attempted in secondary school systems catering for a fraction of the cohort, there is little reason for the fortunate few children in school to be diverted from their traditional curriculum. Even where secondary school systems have 50 per cent or more in attendance, the opportunity to compete for college entrance in the national or state exams has made it politically unattractive to divert weaker students towards less ambitious examination tracks. Consequently, only a handful of countries attempt an early tracking of students away from the chance to compete in the national (or GCE) examinations.

C7. The politicians' and planners' dilemma is acute in DCCs: parents and students want more "real" academic schools, but the lack of academic jobs suggests an alternative.

43. Other factors also militate against programmes intended to prepare children for the rural sector, of which the most important is finance. It continues to be significantly more expensive to offer vocationalised higher secondary, prevocational primary, or diversified junior secondary curriculum than to provide the basic academic curriculum. In addition, where government policy has encouraged local communities to supplement government with self-help secondary schools, the lowest cost option is always a diluted version of the traditional academic school. In these and other situations, government policy is torn two ways in relating to strategies for school expansion and youth employment: broader philosophy expressed in reform documents and education commissions underlines frequently the need for diversified or terminal streams, and through external aid as well as central initiative some of this agenda is implemented. Local political and popular pressure, however, is constantly seeking to expand opportunities for access to the preferred jobs in the urban sector.

C8. *Vocationalisation of schooling is the number one favourite of governments facing educated unemployment.*

44. This tendency for one element in government policy to be advocating vocational emphasis in the face of formal sector unemployment, and for parents and students to resist it has become so commonplace that it may be tempting to conclude that diversification of the academic curriculum will never be satisfactory in such polarised labour markets. There are however a number of qualifications that must be made about attempts to improve youth employability by vocationalisation.

C9. *First problem: teaching rural skills in school - most rural children already know them in DCCs.*

45. First, if the vocational emphasis is designed to heighten interest and competency in productive work in the traditional rural sector, then the majority of non-urban school children have already during their schooling participated very closely in part-time agricultural activity with their families. In rural areas 'work experience' or 'alternance' is the norm before and after daily school and at the weekends. In urban areas where shift systems free up half of the school day participation in the family business or in part-time work is very common. In such informal work experience situations, the ordinary rural primary school (or junior secondary) will find it difficult to improve upon the basic knowledge of milking, herding, cash cropping, childcare, and petty trading that large numbers of children have acquired during their school years. This is not to doubt that primary schools can and do in several countries raise excellent cash crops and make significant contributions to school funds through coffee picking and other activities, but whether these activities introduce children to technologies any different from the home is another matter.

C10. *Second problem: the mass of early school leavers take up farm work or petty trade regardless of school vocationalisation.*

46. Second, it is unclear whether prevocational or 'exposure' programmes of this sort more positively affect children's attitude to working in agriculture after graduation. It may be noted that primary school leavers both in countries with and without these kinds of programmes get involved very rapidly in agriculture after being unable to proceed with school. The policy question then must be whether schooling with productive agricultural or other manual work makes any significant difference to the quality of post-primary agricultural productivity, attitudes to agriculture or cognitive content on agriculture.

C11. *Third problem: there is a Catch 22 about timing the prevocational curriculum.*

47. The third qualification relates to the timing of school initiatives in such vocationally relevant areas. If these programmes, aiming at the bulk of work outside the security of the modern sector, are offered before the crucial examination determining continuation to secondary and higher education, they will have little leverage on pupils' interests. If they are offered in secondary school after the critical selection, they are even less likely to coincide with pupil aspirations, since those who might now find the material useful are no longer in the schools, but are perforce practising these very arts in rural and urban areas.

C12. Good science teaching in the ordinary primary and secondary schools can achieve many of the things politicians now attribute to practical, pre-vocational courses.

C13. The Commonwealth Secretariat initiative in promoting the interrelationship of science, mathematics, technical and vocational education deserves close attention.

48. Two more positive options may be offered to planners in this apparent dilemma about prevocational skills. First, the cognitive base of improved agricultural, health and contraceptive technologies can be more successfully incorporated in the science sections of school curricula than in the prevocational courses. In other words, the scientific knowledge levels of primary (or secondary) school leavers can be raised independently of exposure to manual, agricultural labour. Arguably first rate primary school science curricula (now apparent in a number of DCCs) can do as much for rural relevance at less cost in the broad range of ordinary schools than can attempts at primary school production and prevocational exposure. This can happen because science as a subject is examinable and therefore very popular. Hence, making science more practical will be more successful than campaigns to introduce separate practical subjects. The new work by the Commonwealth Secretariat in promoting the interrelationship of vocational education is one example of this trend.

49. The second option is to locate programmes for employable skills in the non-formal education sector, in post-primary skill centres, polytechnics, vocational training centres. These will of course lack the numbers that make it so attractive to use the schools, but will have the advantage of offering skills to young people who have decided by now to acquire them.

C14. Prevocational education can succeed by being linked to modern sector jobs in DCCs, but this success is expensive.

50. The third assertion about technical and vocational education is that it can be made attractive to students and parents when it is clear that it is linked to technical positions in government ministries and large scale firms. Some countries have arranged a small number of technical schools that exercise a monopoly over apprenticeship and training positions in the mines or in industry. Not surprisingly, students compete to enter these positions since they offer protected access to the secure jobs of the modern

sector.

51. Although these training programmes are in this sense successful, it should be noted that for entry to ordinary skilled jobs, students are often doing a double apprenticeship: four years in a technical school followed by an apprenticeship. In industrialised Commonwealth countries, such a long prevocational preparation in school would not be required. This again underlines the tendency for DCCs to have higher certification levels than the ICCs for the same level of work.

C15. "Investing in science and technology education" is becoming commonplace, but without infrastructural changes it cannot be a panacea for rural backwardness, youth unemployment etc.

52. Planning for greater employability of school leavers through agricultural and vocational emphasis in schools has therefore some very basic preconditions for success. Consequently, it is worth noting that many countries are now emphasising investment in science and technology education as a mechanism for transforming agriculture and industry. While this has obvious advantages in terms of student motivation as compared with agricultural and vocational education, it is important not to exaggerate the consequences of emphasising science for developing the content of rural and urban jobs.

53. Perhaps the most compelling arguments for privileging science are currently drawn from countries in South East Asia, including Commonwealth countries. Here, it is argued, very deliberate policies of science investment (in schools as in industry) have led to the ability to attract new jobs, to indigenise originally foreign technology, and even to narrow the gap between industrial and industrialising countries. The consequences of pursuing science in very different economies have by no means been sorted out but it is already clear that a science policy like a vocational policy cannot be effective if it only relates to the schools, and is not part of a wider science and technology policy applying to industry and agriculture.

C16. There is a hidden curriculum behind the options of investing in prevocational skills as opposed to science.

54. Viewed as alternatives (which they need not be), prevocational policies emphasising rural skills and self-employment tend to underline the need for realism, and acknowledge that in many countries the majority of young adults will, for the foreseeable future, derive their livelihood from agriculture. An element of social control is sometimes also implicit in these policies, in their encouragement that youth remain in the rural sector and resist migration to the towns. By contrast, policies of compulsory science at all levels of education beckon to a vision of agriculture and industry transformed, and the closing of the gap between 'North' and 'South'. Accordingly, science is dramatically more popular in school than technology since it is compatible with the popular determination to maintain open access to high

status courses for as long as possible.

55. Although science and vocational orientation have been mentioned as almost two opposite ends of a curriculum spectrum thought relevant to youth employment, there are many other initiatives taken by DCCs which fall midway along this spectrum. These include the academic orientation to employment via science to the manual orientation to work through vocational studies. They would include education with production and the many schemes for secondary school diversification funded with external assistance, and more recently preoccupations with new information technology in education.

C17. School and university expansion remains the most popular DCC strategy for dealing with youth unemployment.

56. But taken as a whole these employment-oriented curricular initiatives pale into insignificance compared with the more general orientation of schools to modern sector jobs. The main national and local strategy for relating schools to employment is frequently school expansion rather than curriculum reform. Offering a chance to compete for the very scarce good jobs is a function of the state schools and also of the very large number of private and community schools that provide second chances to many thousands of children left unselected. While it is easy to be critical of the way in which the tiny modern sector tail affects so much of the education system, several points need to be made in favour of what often appears as needless over-expansion of secondary (and in turn higher) education.

C18. Planners in DCCs cannot logically argue that under-investment in education is better than over-investment. But the former is certainly no solution to youth employment.

57. First, countries that have sought to restrict the size of their secondary education to the amount of manpower allegedly required have not sufficiently acknowledged the growing conviction by parents and children that primary education is not enough to deal with the complexities of the late twentieth century "information society".

58. Second, the notion of manpower requirements particularly in small island states is frequently going to suggest that even a few is too many. The consequence of this may as rationally be educational expansion rather than restriction, as it has been in the science-based micro-states of South East Asia.

C19 Why not a major Commonwealth project on the employment consequences of deliberate education "over-expansion"?

59. Thirdly, it is still in most parts of the world too early to say what are the consequences of having a larger supply of educated

youngsters than might appear strictly necessary. If fears about the political impact of the educated unemployed are indeed misplaced, it could well be that the presence in villages of significant numbers of highly educated youngsters makes certain developments possible that were unthinkable otherwise. Since it is now the case that some DCCs, through twenty years of secondary school expansion, have perhaps ten times more secondary leavers than there are secure urban jobs, it would be instructive to examine the range of work with which they are engaged, as compared to countries where secondary leavers are still a relatively rare commodity.

3. In Industrialised Commonwealth Countries (ICCs)

60. In the ICCs preparation in schools for employment has recently been affected by unemployment: but the very different character and scope of secondary education, and its traditional relations with the labour market have produced rather different reactions than those just outlined. Amongst the more important of these has been a concern with youth attitudes to work and society, a greater urgency in introducing curriculum reforms for the middle and lower ability ranges, and a growing interest in rethinking relations between schools and further education and training.

C20. The old family and community traditions of mining, shipbuilding, engineering or farming have been suddenly severed for tens of thousands of young people.

61. The whole area of young people's attitudes to work has been very much in the forefront of the school side of this discussion, and in a sense this is the industrial world's counterpart to the rhetoric about school leavers in developing countries not wishing to dirty their hands, or work in the agricultural sector. But with this much difference. Until recently, school leavers with little if any formal certification could find a wider range of skilled and unskilled work, and were very ready to accept it.

62. In the present crisis and restructuring of industry, very large numbers of skilled jobs have gone completely or been deskilled: in other words the upper end of many traditionally respected working class occupations have been dramatically eroded in numbers and in skill. Traditions of following father or mother (almost regardless of schooling) into the mine, mill, factory or shipyard have in large areas almost been wiped out in a generation, and as a consequence that crucial social support and control in entering a secure occupation with strong family connections has gone. Labour processes have also changed rapidly and old categories of skill have been reconstituted through automation into requirements for generalised semi-skill and science-based technician skills. As a result the opportunity for young people to be taken on either unskilled or in apprenticeships and to work their way up into the hierarchy of craft has been severely reduced.

C21. *The schools are being asked to strengthen the work ethic which the collapse of work is expected to weaken. Courses on 'Education for an Industrial Society' are mounted as factories close all around.*

63. In these new and more complex transitions to work which is often deskilled and tedious, and which now lacks the social relations of the great regional industries of the industrial revolution, young people compete at a disadvantage with older workers. The schools in turn find themselves being asked more effectively to socialise youngsters to the discipline of this new work environment, as do the many new agencies and programmes of transition and training. In the absence of work, the work ethic must be maintained; in preparation for routinised work, social and vocational skills are offered, but in short modules now since much of the need for long term training has gone. The concern with youth morale is genuine as some categories of young people remain without work for periods of a year or more, but like the earlier worries about the educated unemployed in developing countries, there is little hard evidence of demoralisation, and despite unemployment benefit, little erosion of the will to work.

C22. *The continuing redundancy threat to skilled industrialised labour is tightening the bond between higher school certification and a good secure job.*

64. The dilemma for schools in this situation is that it is precisely that group with which they have been least successful, and who quit school as soon as it was legal, who are now most visibly the victims of the crisis. The removal of many high status skilled jobs that were independent of school certification polarises the opportunity system much more into 'schooled' jobs and unskilled jobs, tightening the bond between education and work. With rapid moves in the industrialised countries towards service and information sector jobs, the schools may play an increasingly important role, as in the developing countries, in distributing youngsters into more rewarding jobs. Part of the schools' difficulty, however, in this new work environment is with knowing whether the present job crisis for young people is a temporary phenomenon or something that will affect each generation of young people for the foreseeable future. In the latter case, it will be commoner for traditional non-participants in post-compulsory education to stay on, and new pressures will be placed on schools as a result.

C23. *One great benefit from the unemployment crisis has been the rapid development of school courses for children of average to low ability, too long neglected in the compulsory education system of ICCs.*

65. A second element deriving from the job crisis for youth is the urgency with which curriculum reform is being introduced across the ability range, but especially for the bulk of the less academic learners. Some of these initiatives were afoot before the onset of youth unemployment, but they have been given powerful political support in recent years. The extension of certificate

courses and assessment for almost the entire age group at the end of secondary is an example of this shift from schools' traditional preoccupation with the top 30 per cent of the ability range. With the benefit of hindsight it may later appear that the single greatest benefit of the unemployment crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s was the development of more meaningful general secondary education for all.

C24. The youth unemployment crisis has challenged "educators" and "trainers" to rethink boundaries between education and training, and between academic, social and vocational skills.

66. A third factor which has directly affected schools as a result of the employment crisis derives from a new policy interest in thinking out relationships between post-compulsory schooling and other forms of further education. Again, some of this new thinking might have come anyway, but the urgency of new government pressure and agencies operating with considerable autonomy in the space between formal schools and traditional further education has made educators think afresh. Doubtless part of this readiness to rethink structures and courses has come from a realisation that government demands for action might otherwise radically alter the existing boundaries between education and training.

67. If a significant group of young people most at risk from unemployment are to become the recipients of a range of courses promoted and paid for by governments, the location and content of those courses will have major implications for the post-compulsory section of secondary schools and for technical and further education colleges. The attractions of large numbers of sponsored students, or students staying on at school at a time of government cuts and falling rolls has produced a readiness both in school and further education to think seriously about curricular changes necessary for these non-traditional students. In particular it has produced in some quarters very short-term modular units transferable from school to college to other training schemes, which may allow the 'unemployment' courses to become part of transferable systems of credit. In this fashion, the onset of youth unemployment, however temporary or long-term it may prove to be, will have had the effect of dramatically increasing education and training provision for the less academic.

C25. This educational restructuring must not be too narrowly tied to industrial restructuring; otherwise the only growth areas in education will be new information technology courses and work preparation courses for an insecure work environment.

68. One danger in the rapidity of unemployment course provision will be that course content will seek at all costs to be relevant, applied, and vocational, on the assumption that such students have voted against education, and must be offered exposure, if not to work itself, then at least to the skills both social and vocational that employers look for in their workforce. This however is where state intervention will need to be at its most sensitive,

if there is to be any chance that a coherent approach to education and training can emerge from the range of expedients and crash programmes that the youth crisis has spawned.

69. It is going to be particularly difficult for countries to look beyond the immediacy of the unemployment statistics and devise programmes that make sense to youngsters in a climate of continued industrial restructuring. One possibility could be the emergence of an extension of compulsory education in the form of various co-ordinated training courses. On the other hand, if the training initiatives do not satisfactorily "work" either in connecting trainees to jobs, or in legitimating the competition for the inadequate number of jobs available, then government priority may retreat from this sector as fast as it appeared. Particularly if there is no evidence of unemployed school leaver politicisation or demoralisation, it is entirely possible that this group of ten or fifteen per cent of young people will become as invisible as some of their counterparts in the DCCs. But there is certainly an opportunity available at the moment in the emergency of the job crisis to build some new structures of education and training that may prepare youngsters for work and leisure in the later 1980s and 1990s.

C26. The job crisis has also unleashed new energy amongst a myriad of non-government organisations, initiating transition programmes for young people at the local level. These experiments are worthy of long-term government support.

70. It will be a pity in the preoccupation with training for jobs, work experience, and narrow "relevance", if some attention is not given to exposing young people to alternative patterns of employment, including work-sharing, co-operative work organisations and the like. There is some evidence that the youth crisis has also thrown up, particularly in the non-government organisations, some very innovative re-thinking of new work arrangements and work environments. So far, little of this thinking has entered into the approach of the new agencies that have intervened in training, but it is quite possible in any continuation of structural unemployment that in the 'North' as in the 'South' today, government will turn increasingly to non-government agencies to deliver skills relevant not so much to individually-held jobs but to community enterprise, community work, and even to new forms of community-employment and self-employment.

D. PREPARATION IN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, AND TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT*

D1. There is no common reaction to the risk of tertiary level unemployment across the Commonwealth, nor is there a common pattern amongst the ICCs.

* This section is shorter as higher education and student mobility is also the subject of this Conference. In addition graduate unemployment affects a very much smaller number of young people than other levels of education.

D2. In the face of much worse economic crises than in industrial countries, many DCCs are dramatically expanding tertiary education.

71. Generalisation about trends across the Commonwealth becomes even more perilous at the tertiary level. Compared with the numbers of primary and secondary schools, a large group of countries have perhaps only a single tertiary institution if that, while others have complex systems of university and poly-technic education. Yet for reasons mentioned earlier, it is at the graduate level alone in many developing countries of the Commonwealth that there is some degree of political visibility for unemployed students, whereas currently in many of the OECD countries the acutest concern is with the least educated. This graduate visibility in DCCs has seldom however translated itself into programmes to reduce university numbers as it has in some situations in the ICCs. In fact all the evidence from the developing countries points in the other direction - to the overpowering political and parental pressure to expand the highest tiers of education.

D3. Rationales for open access to higher education can only get stronger in ICCs and in DCCs. New clienteles will need access as universal secondary schooling expands. Shorter working lives will soon create pressures for tertiary studies for new generations of 50 year old students.

72. At this stage there is little guidance on the ideal enrolment size of post-secondary education. At primary and secondary school the goal of universalising access to primary and lower secondary has had a widespread and continuing appeal, but there are few guidelines from the ICCs about the proportion of the tertiary age group that might require or want access to full or part-time education. Undoubtedly the collapse of a large sector of skilled high status jobs in the industrialised countries is producing new pressures on traditional leavers to continue through school and acquire some post-school training. Equally, there will be real difficulty in resisting pressure for entry to university from the very large number of students whose parents were often the first generation in their families to be undergraduates in the great expansion of the 1960s. Now, twenty years later these parents confidently expect some form of tertiary education for their children, and the evidence of widespread secondary school leaver unemployment will only confirm this conviction. There is therefore every reason to expect that a combination of social, employment, and even retirement pressures will encourage a further necessary expansion of further and higher education.

D4. New rounds of investment in high technology universities are imminent. They bring new fears of a vast new science and technology gap between 'North' and 'South'.

73. In fact pressure will also be applied from a new quarter - from the sense that nations are entering the new technology revolution at great speeds, and that the universities and polytechnics can play a major role in ensuring national participation in the developments that are changing the shape of traditional disciplines, communication and even learning itself. Some of the rhetoric about the potential of the new information technology in education is certainly exaggerated, but it is difficult for poorer university systems not to fear a newer and even larger technology gap in the information revolution when they see American universities being wired up into massive data resources, and some colleges even requiring that students have their own microcomputer.

74. The disturbing speed of change in the frontier disciplines affected by information technology is such that the political climate is certainly favourable for a new round of investment in human capital, but this time the emphasis will be much more strongly towards science and technology than it was in the years when many of the newer universities were built both in the DCCs and in the more industrialised countries. Since, however, these new calls for investment in scientific research and development are coming at a time of general financial stringency, there is a real danger that the privileging of new science and technology potential will be at the expense of arts, social sciences and other disciplines essential to the analysis of society. As many of the new disciplines (biotechnology, genetic engineering) are very capital intensive, they raise major dilemmas for countries that wish to expose their students to some of the work being done in Japan, Europe or North America, and yet feel that there is an earlier obligation to spread more widely a basic scientific temper across the nation.

D5. The attractions of new information technology over new sociology or new classical studies will be apparent to politicians, and will be argued on spurious employment and manpower grounds to the long-term disadvantage of the non-scientific culture of the nation.

75. In these situations governments in both 'North' and 'South' will have to seek for a balance between further democratising access to higher education in arts and social science disciplines where an investment approach will continue to be inappropriate, and newer high technology disciplines where failure to invest now may mean the loss of whole fresh areas of research, production and employment. What this implies for planners of tertiary education is the development of new and more sensitive approaches to the analysis of manpower needs than were in vogue in the 1960s. In particular in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, the university's main task of the post-Independence decades - the localisation of expatriate manpower - has been substantially completed, and new rationales for a university have developed naturally as government has grown in complexity.

76. But in all these developments, the explicit concern of universities with unemployment has been minimal, in terms of special programmes or emergency measures. Rather the pressures have come from the student body who have perceived certain courses

as more vocational than others, and particularly in DCCs the competition to enter engineering, medicine, veterinary, law, and to some extent commerce has been exceptionally strong. Although intense selection programmes exist for such disciplines as compared with the arts and sciences, it must be remembered that despite these strong disciplinary differences, there is a basic similarity still inasmuch as the large majority of graduates can expect to get urban modern sector jobs.

D6. Only at the tertiary level are graduates in ICCs and DCCs entering the same kind of urban labour market. It is little wonder that pressure to expand DCC universities and colleges is virtually unstoppable.

77. It is only therefore at the tertiary level that it is possible to think of graduates from all countries of the Commonwealth entering the same kind of labour market. Unlike primary and secondary schools where the majority of leavers in the developing countries are heading for a different kind of employment altogether, graduates have been progressively selected away from the need to think of informal sector employment. It is perhaps not surprising therefore that the competition is restricted to different kinds of jobs within the preferred urban labour market, and that there are not a range of schemes preparing for educated unemployment.

D7. It is worth noting that there is at least one connection between this theme of education and youth unemployment and the parallel theme of student mobility in this Conference. Certain forms of student mobility are being actively encouraged to many ICC universities and colleges whose governments are imposing financial cuts. In the threat of unemployment (of university and college teachers) and of departmental closure in the rich industrial world, student mobility from the developing countries has become one of the top university priorities.

D8. North-South academic collaboration, inside and outside the Commonwealth, must be based on a wider set of shared intellectual concerns, and not on short-term pursuit of the revenue brought by foreign students to prevent university unemployment in the North.

E. NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

E1. There is little similarity between government responses in non-formal education for youth in ICCs and DCCs.

E2. ICC programmes are currently massively funded, comprehensive and national. DCC programmes are poorly funded and seldom national except in name.

78. This final section re-emphasises the differences between provision in the industrialised and developing countries of the Commonwealth which have been noted throughout. The ICCs have in the recent youth unemployment crisis produced very large amounts of money for crash training programmes with expenditures of

several million dollars or pounds a day being commonplace. Such programmes are typically national, guaranteeing some post-school training to every ex-student without work. They cater for very large numbers of young people, and they are non-formal in the sense that the training is offered by a Ministry or agency other than Education.

79. Yet, there is a sense that these programmes in ICCs are almost becoming like an extension of formal compulsory schooling. Increasingly, the money for these non-formal courses, whether run by government agencies or by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), is coming from government. Thus, the non-formal youth training schemes and programmes are massive, inclusive of all who apply, and are rapidly being formalised as governments recognise that the crisis is not temporary. Finally, they are on offer to the least educated young people who have left the compulsory school with few if any qualifications. And they operate on the assumption that non-formal training will improve the employability and maintain the work ethic and interest of the young until openings in the paid labour force emerge. In other words, the philosophy is still very much 'training for jobs' as opposed to training for self-employment or work on one's own account.

E3. ICC government programmes are based on the rhetoric of "training for jobs". DCC programmes are based on the rhetoric of "training for self-employment".

80. In DCCs by contrast, non-formal education (NFE) programmes for young people are founded on a wide range of often conflicting assumptions. Some aim at giving young people a second, third or fourth chance to enter the coveted secure jobs in the formal sector of the economy. The great majority of programmes, however, now assume that their function is to prepare young people for more effective, more productive self-employment. This means that in ICCs and DCCs, non-formal education and training are founded on quite different assumptions about the kind of work young people will do. In DCCs there is no expectation by the course organisers that the trainees will mostly enter paid jobs. Rather, the aim is to improve the quality of working life in family firms, small farms, or petty production, even if no regular paid job is available.

E4. "Successful" DCC programmes frequently prepare very small numbers of youth for modern sector jobs, not self-employment. Hence, successful DCC programmes suffer from the same diploma disease as schools.

81. A second difference with NFE in developing countries is in scale. The number of youngsters outside the paid wage sector is so large at every level, from post primary to post junior secondary to post senior secondary that few governments and NGOs have the resources to offer training for all. The result is that even NFE programmes have to be somewhat selective, and choose a few hundred participants out of many hundreds of thousands young people. These relatively small numbers of participants often

change the direction of the programmes back to a concern with preparation for urban or rural wage jobs as opposed to self-employment. Once this happens, and a non-formal programme begins to be identified with transferring youth into urban wage jobs, there is a tendency for it to be affected by the same 'diploma disease' as is evident in the schools themselves; thus, the programme begins to recruit 'O' level students rather than primary school leavers, and soon 'A' level rather than 'O'. This is the situation with many of the national youth services as mentioned earlier in this paper. They are not national in coverage, and often offer government trade tests and certificates to a small number of participants who expect then to enter the uniformed services, such as police, army, etc.

E5. Evaluating "successful" NFE programmes in DCCs is difficult since their official aims differ so greatly from their use by trainees.

82. This phenomenon - of NFE programmes resulting in paid jobs - makes them very difficult to evaluate. The rhetoric of the programmes is frequently 'training for self-employment in the rural or urban informal sector'. The reality is that a combination of student pressure and formal certification changes the focus entirely. The definition of a programme's "success" is thus highly controversial, since the trainees' definition is often very different from what the programme promises.

83. Given the scarcity or even absence of evaluations of such programmes, it becomes virtually impossible in a Conference of this sort to be clear in what sense the many innovations mentioned in the country papers are successful. Are they successful only in transferring their select clientele to urban skilled jobs? Do they succeed in giving youth skills which allow them to work contentedly on their own in rural areas? Can programmes succeed in training simultaneously for employment and self-employment?

E6. The most popular NFE courses offer the same testable skills as are used in the urban wage sector.

84. Any careful examination of these many small programmes would probably reveal that their success and popularity were closely linked to their course content. The most popular programmes would be those offering training in skills that were also available in formal vocational training schools and for which there are specific careers in the modern sector, e.g. mechanic, carpenter, welder, metal worker, etc. Such courses tend to be of one or two years duration and to be little different from formal vocational training programmes.

E7. Other NFE training in DCCs assume youth are already working in the informal sector, and need up-grading.

85. A very different type of NFE course is that which assumes that the participants are already working at home or on the family farm, and offers very specific information and help on, say, high

yielding seeds, on nutrition and child care, on how to get a small loan, etc. Such courses are of very short-duration, and cannot be certificated or easily used to acquire an urban job. They are properly speaking concerned with working youth who have perhaps stopped aspiring to urban jobs, and who wish to improve their income and the quality of their homes.

86. A third group of non-formal programmes is a variation of the last, but with one critical difference. It assumes that large numbers of young people working in the informal sector of the economy have acquired their training and skills on the job through informal apprenticeships. Several non-formal training programmes hope to build onto this indigenous system, making the training more scientific, increasing the number of learners, improving the skills of the master. Such schemes do have the intention of increasing the number of young people getting access to training, but they expect to do this through a local training system which is often imperfectly understood.

E8 There has been little serious examination of the assumptions in expanding the training capacity of the informal sector. But the common metaphors of "sponge", "reservoir" and "mopping-up" suggest the informal sector is seen as a low-cost solution to youth unemployment.

87. In the ICCs it has been difficult enough to be sure how the apprentice subsidies to firms were really working; it will be even more difficult to monitor schemes for attaching apprentices to small entrepreneurs in the informal sector. But the deeper problem in many of the intervention schemes (e.g. ILO's) which plan to build more training places for young people onto the informal sector is their assumption that the informal sector has the potential to act as a great reservoir or sponge absorbing young people and giving them a training that will convert them into rugged entrepreneurs. Although these and similar schemes are attractive because they are low-cost, and not based on institutions, there will be a need to watch carefully the outcome of all such experiments and pilot programmes. One result could be to make the masters less self-reliant as they begin to depend on government. Another danger is that there are strict limits to the formalisation of training in small roadside workshops.

88. There is thus a dilemma at the heart of non-formal youth training. Given the lack of resources to make a national provision, a small number of youth can be trained in skills, but they will be oriented towards the formal sector, or a much larger number can be given very specific information in very short courses to assist the quality of their working life. For most parents and many politicians, however, such programmes have a very low priority compared to the expansion of secondary and higher education. Hence in many DCCs the whole non-formal training sector operates under-resourced by governments, with the result that the truly massive investments in formal school education often fail to have any follow-up courses for the millions who compete and do not succeed.

E9. The most promising innovations with youth employment have been small scale activities associated with NGOs and action groups. Though myriad and scattered, they constitute as a whole a set of alternatives for rural and urban youth.

89. Into this enormous gap between formal school provision and various forms of paid and unpaid work, the non-governmental organisations continue to be the most active and innovative, developing local community-based programmes for rural and urban youth. Although small and scattered in myriad forms, in many DCCs these can be seen to operate successfully where the official arm of government agency and political party has failed to reach and activate the rural poor. Their agenda is large and includes science popularisation, appropriate technologies to lighten the burdens on young women, popular education, and political education. Such programmes are not as visible as the government's official programme for rural development, but considered as a whole these NGO activities can be seen as a movement asserting the need for a more even redistribution of power and resources to the young people in rural areas. Such groups acting on behalf of the excluded young in the DCCs have much in common with the action groups and NGOs coping with the consequences of unemployment in the ICCs.

E10. A fruitful dialogue could be established between NGOs active in youth employment in DCCs and in ICCs.

90. There would in planning activities across the Commonwealth for International Youth Year in 1985 be some merit in establishing a dialogue amongst those NGOs and action groups exploring alternative responses to youth unemployment and the lack of productive meaningful work.

LIST OF PROPOSITIONS

A. THE PROBLEM OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

- A1. There is no common youth unemployment crisis across the Commonwealth.
- A2. The very language commonly used to describe the youth unemployment situation obscures fundamental distinctions between the industrialised and developing countries of the Commonwealth.
- A3. Industrialised Commonwealth countries (ICCs) have a maximum of three great visible transitions out of the education system, whereas developing Commonwealth countries (DCCs) have frequent transitions from schooling all the way from Standard One to Form Six.
- A4. Non-compulsory systems have complex transitions from home to school, and very early "invisible" transitions from school back to home and to work.
- A5. "Staying-on" in education is not an option for youth in most DCCs. The majority face a compulsory transition out of school.
- A6. No "dole" equals no politically visible unemployed.
- A7. In ICCs, many well paid jobs have traditionally been available to youth with minimum schooling and no diplomas. Such jobs are now vanishing.
- A8. DCCs have very few paid jobs, but plenty of work. ICCs still have a majority of paid jobs, but now few other acceptable traditions of work.
- A9. In DCCs the educated unemployed frequently work while looking for jobs.
- A10. In ICCs politicians are concerned with the unemployed youth of low educational attainments. The opposite is true in DCCs.
- A11. Democratisation of education and educated unemployment go hand in hand in DCCs.
- A12. Few DCCs any longer regard primary school leavers as educated unemployed. They are invisible.
- A13. The mass of reluctant school leavers in DCCs have nowhere coalesced as a political force despite widespread fears to the contrary.
- A14. The benefits of good primary education both for school leavers and 'continuers' to secondary cannot be exaggerated, even if they cannot be proved.

A15. On unemployment there is little for ICCs to learn from the DCCs - except that countries can learn to tolerate very high levels of failure by young people to get the jobs they want. This may well happen in ICCs.

B. POLICY AND ORGANISATIONAL LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

- B1. DCCs have "tackled" youth unemployment by educational expansion rather than training and job creation.
- B2. Youth unemployment in ICCs has dramatically increased state intervention in traditional training arrangements of employers.
- B3. Unlike in DCCs, new powerful training agencies and departments concerned with youth affairs have teeth and budgets in the industrialised Commonwealth countries.
- B4. In ICCs, early short term reactions to youth unemployment change rapidly into long term institutionalised programmes.
- B5. Youth training and transition agencies become a third force between schools and employers in industrialised countries.
- B6. In DCCs there are virtually no comprehensive youth training initiatives.
- B7. "National" services are seldom national in DCCs, and frequently cover a very small group of the more educated.
- B8. The discovery of the informal sector of the economy reduces the need to act on youth "unemployment" in DCCs.
- B9. The rhetoric shifts from youth employment measures to aiding self-employment.
- B10. Youth in DCCs are not idle but have acquired skill and work informally.
- B11. Non-formal education points to existing youth training opportunities in many ministries and agencies other than Education.
- B12. The informal sector and non-formal education relate directly to youth unemployment in DCCs, but appear to cost the state little or nothing.
- B13. External aid agencies rather than national governments have promoted the importance of the informal sector and non-formal education in meeting the needs of youth.

C. PREPARATION IN SCHOOLS FOR EMPLOYMENT

General

- C1. Governments in ICCs and DCCs are trying to alter popular traditional attitudes towards schools and their relation to jobs.
- C2. School systems can be easily made to adopt employment-oriented programmes. But it is extremely difficult to assess their effectiveness.

Developing Commonwealth Countries (DCCs)

- C3. In DCCs, schools are increasingly asked to point students two ways: towards paid jobs in the towns and towards ordinary rural life and work. This is a virtually impossible task.
- C4. Because secondary schools in DCCs are still very selective and hence homogeneous, it is often counter-productive to introduce curriculum diversifications and orientation to rural employment.
- C5. In many DCCs the popularity of the examination curriculum marginalises even the most serious and expensive curriculum attempts at rural relevance, self-employment etc.
- C6. Technical, vocational and agricultural schools in DCCs tend to become second choice, second class academic schools.
- C7. The politicians' and planners' dilemma is acute in DCCs: parents and students want more "real" academic schools, but the lack of academic jobs suggests an alternative.
- C8. Vocationalisation of schooling is the number one favourite of governments facing educated unemployment.
- C9. First problem: teaching rural skills in school - most rural children already know them in DCCs.
- C10. Second problem: the mass of early school leavers take up farm work or petty trade regardless of school vocationalisation.
- C11. Third problem: there is a Catch 22 about timing the pre-vocational curriculum.
- C12. Good science teaching in the ordinary primary and secondary schools can achieve many of the things politicians now attribute to practical, prevocational courses.
- C13. The Commonwealth Secretariat initiative in promoting the inter-relationship of science, mathematics, technical and vocational education deserves close attention.
- C14. Pre-vocational education can succeed by being linked to modern sector jobs in DCCs, but this success is expensive.

- C15. "Investing in science and technology education" is becoming commonplace, but without infrastructural changes it cannot be a panacea for rural backwardness, youth unemployment etc.
- C16. There is a hidden curriculum behind the options of investing in prevocational skills as opposed to science.
- C17. School and university expansion remains the most popular DCC strategy for dealing with youth unemployment.
- C18. Planners in DCCs cannot logically argue that under-investment in education is better than over-investment. But the former is certainly no solution to youth employment.
- C19. Why not a major Commonwealth project on the employment consequences of deliberate education "over-expansion"?

Industrialised Commonwealth Countries (ICCs)

- C20. The old family and community traditions of mining, ship-building, engineering or farming have been suddenly severed for tens of thousands of young people.
- C21. The schools are being asked to strengthen the work ethic which the collapse of work is expected to weaken. Courses on 'Education for an Industrial Society' are mounted as factories close all around.
- C22. The continuing redundancy threat to skilled industrial labour is tightening the bond between higher school certification and a good secure job.
- C23. One great benefit from the unemployment crisis has been the rapid development of school courses for children of average to low ability, too long neglected in the compulsory education systems of ICCs.
- C24. The youth unemployment crisis has challenged "educators" and "trainers to rethink boundaries between education and training, and between academic, social and vocational skills.
- C25. This educational restructuring must not be too narrowly tied to industrial restructuring; otherwise the only growth areas in education will be new information technology courses and work preparation courses for an insecure work environment.
- C26. The job crisis has also unleashed new energy amongst a myriad of non-government organisations, initiating transition programmes for young people at the local community level. These experiments are worthy of long-term government support.

D. PREPARATION IN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, AND TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT

- D1. There is no common reaction to the risk of tertiary level unemployment across the Commonwealth, nor is there a common pattern amongst the ICCs.
- D2. In the face of much worse economic crises than in industrial countries, many DCCs are dramatically expanding tertiary education.
- D3. Rationales for open access to higher education can only get stronger in ICCs and in DCCs. New clienteles will need access as universal secondary schooling expands. Shorter working lives will soon create pressures for tertiary studies for new generations of 50 year old students.
- D4. New rounds of investment in high technology universities are imminent. They bring new fears of a vast new science and technology gap between 'North' and 'South'.
- D5. The attractions of new information technology over new sociology or new classical studies will be apparent to politicians, and will be argued on spurious employment and manpower grounds to the long-term disadvantage of the non-scientific culture of the nation.
- D6. Only at the tertiary level are graduates in ICCs and DCCs entering the same kind of urban labour market. It is little wonder that pressure to expand DCC universities and colleges is virtually unstoppable.
- D7. It is worth noting that there is at least one connection between this theme of youth unemployment and the parallel theme of student mobility in this Conference. Certain forms of student mobility are being actively encouraged to many ICC universities and colleges whose governments are imposing financial cuts. In the threat of unemployment (of university and college teachers) and of departmental closure in the rich industrial world, student mobility from the developing countries has become one of the top university priorities.
- D8. North-South academic collaboration, inside and outside the Commonwealth, must be based on a wider set of shared intellectual concerns, and not on the short-term pursuit of the revenue brought by foreign students to prevent university unemployment in the North.

E. NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- E1. There is little similarity between government responses in non-formal education for youth in ICCs and DCCs.

- E2. ICC programmes are currently massively funded, comprehensive and national. DCC programmes are poorly funded and seldom national except in name.
- E3. ICC government programmes are based on the rhetoric of "training for jobs". DCC programmes are based on the rhetoric of "training for self-employment".
- E4. "Successful" DCC programmes frequently prepare very small numbers of youth for modern sector jobs, not self-employment. Hence, successful DCC programmes suffer from the same diploma disease as schools.
- E5. Evaluating "successful" NFE Programmes in DCCs is difficult since their official aims differ so greatly from their use by trainees.
- E6. The most popular NFE courses offer the same testable skills as are used in the urban wage sector.
- E7. Other NFE training in DCCs assume youth are already working in the informal sector, and need upgrading.
- E8. There has been little serious examination of the assumptions in expanding the training capacity of the informal sector. But the common metaphors of "sponge", "reservoir" and "mopping-up" suggest the informal sector is seen as a low cost solution to youth unemployment.
- E9. The most promising innovations with youth employment have been small scale activities associated with NGOs and action groups. Though myriad and scattered, they constitute as a whole a set of alternatives for rural and urban youth.
- E10. A fruitful dialogue could be established between NGOs active in youth employment in DCCs and in ICCs.

EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

Lead Speech by
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EDUCATION AND YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

My task today is to introduce key issues for discussion. The meeting is fortunate in having before it not only the series of papers which set out the problems of youth unemployment in the particular countries of the Commonwealth and the manner in which educational and other programs have been used to address them, but also Dr. Kenneth King's illuminating working paper together with the Secretariat's summary of issues for discussion. Given this background material, I propose to concentrate on youth employment (as distinct from youth unemployment) and to consider the contribution that education and training arrangements can make to the adult world. I shall attempt this in a manner relevant to the countries we represent, whether industrialised or developing, although this will require a rather high degree of generality.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Reading the country papers and Dr. King's working paper I was struck by the paradox of two apparently conflicting impressions. On the one hand, virtually all the countries of the Commonwealth appear to have youth unemployment or underemployment problems of significant magnitude, whether they are industrialised countries or developing ones. Moreover, virtually all countries have reacted to this by seeking to increase

participation in formal educational institutions, by developing various training schemes and by emphasising vocational as against general education. On the other hand, Dr. King argues convincingly in support of the first proposition of his paper that "there is no common youth unemployment crisis across the Commonwealth". How can we reconcile such different impressions?

The paradox arises largely from the plurality of causes of youth unemployment. Clearly the level of youth unemployment is related to the general level of economic activity. Changes in that level, or in the rate of economic growth, impact immediately on those entering the workforce. If business conditions slacken, new recruits to the workforce will find it difficult to obtain jobs. Unemployment among the young will therefore be especially sensitive to cyclical fluctuations in the economy. What may be even more important for the developing countries is the long-term rate of growth of their formal economies; without high levels of capital formation and associated high growth rates, the rate of job creation will be insufficient to absorb the increasing cohorts of young people leaving the school system.

In the industrialised countries there has been a tendency to attribute youth unemployment to lower levels of economic activity and slower rates of economic

growth in the period since the early 1970s. However, a number of long-term changes has been taking place, as a result of which young people are being locked out of the primary labour market. These structural factors may be present in differing forms and to differing degrees in all countries whether industrialised or developing.

In many countries real wages for junior employees have been rising relative to those for adults. This, combined with the costs of training new recruits, the regulation of the employment of young people and the rates of labour turnover among them, has rendered the employment of the young unattractive: the costs of employing them are simply too high in relation to their productivity. Increasing participation of women in the workforce in the industrialised countries and the possibility of mobility between the informal and the formal economies in the developing countries must also affect the competitive position of the young.

In the industrialised countries long-term changes in the industrial and occupational distribution of employment - in particular the shifts from primary production and manufacturing to service industries, from blue collar to white collar jobs, from tradesmen to technicians - have reduced the number of low-paid jobs available for young unskilled workers: young men

and women can no longer readily obtain full-time paid employment as farm labourers, factory workers or domestic servants. These changes are also likely to affect the developing countries which cannot be insulated from the consequences of technological change on production methods.

There will always be some unemployment among young people as they explore the job market by experimenting with one or another kind of occupation. However long-term unemployment among the young appears to have been increasing in most countries in recent years. Those who suffer such unemployment tend to come from disadvantaged groups, in particular those who have left school early with low educational attainments.

Of all the possible factors responsible for youth unemployment, education can be involved only in respect of the balance between labour costs and productivity. If education is to contribute in any general way to the alleviation of youth unemployment, it can do so only by raising the productivity of the young and thus making them more employable. It cannot in itself remove cyclical fluctuations or cure long-term stagnation. It cannot directly create jobs. Blaming the schools for youth unemployment is a rhetorical scapegoat favoured by some politicians.

Just as education cannot be blamed for youth

unemployment neither can reform of the education system be expected to eliminate unemployment among the young. Nor, indeed, can manpower training schemes which, while they may improve the probability of employment for individual participants, do little more than reshuffle the pack. Job creation depends on economic growth.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

For the young, the problem is not so much that of becoming unemployed as that of entering employment - getting on to a track that will lead to some kind of career. This is true both for industrialised and developing countries. I therefore propose to concentrate on employment rather than unemployment. But first a comment on the concept of employment itself.

Those of us in the industrialised countries who have spent much of our working lives in the three decades of full employment following World War II tend to divide the population between those who are gainfully employed and those who are not in the workforce (young dependants, old dependants, and housewives). To us 'employment' has been a term synonymous with 'useful activity'. Clearly this is not a universal proposition. It was not the case two hundred years ago in the Western world; and it is not the case in the developing countries today where the distinction between the formal and

informal economies is an important one. Moreover, in the industrialised countries the so-called 'underground' economy has become of increasing significance; the acceptance of alternative lifestyles itself implies that employment and useful activity are no long synonymous.

Thus the link between education and employment should be conceived of sufficiently broadly to embrace activities which extend beyond wage earning and employment. This means that in the industrialised countries education has relevance for alternative lifestyles, communal living and leisure activities; and in the developing countries for the informal market.

In discussing education and employment, it is necessary to include within the general rubric of education the training of people in the acquisition of specific skills, even though 'training' in a narrow sense is often not the responsibility of the educational authorities. Many programs for young people, which aim at combating unemployment through training them in particular skills, have a clearly educational role; the distinction between education and training is a hazy one.

The contribution that education and training can make in assisting young people to gain employment

or to undertake useful activities must be by raising their capabilities. For this purpose an increase in formal education is generally desirable; this is the responsibility of the educational authorities. On the other hand, training in the acquisition of specific skills may be best undertaken by on-the-job training together with some classroom instruction, making use wherever possible of assistance from employers and from non-formal agencies; this should be the joint responsibility of the education and employment authorities and of employers and non-formal agencies.

SCHOOL EDUCATION

There are three main arguments for raising the participation of the young in primary and secondary education. The first relates to the view that more education raises productivity in employment and enhances the individual's contribution to society. Over two hundred years ago, Adam Smith advocated the establishment of elementary schools so that all people might be instructed in 'the most essential parts of education ... to read, write and account'. He went on to argue that children should also be instructed in the elementary parts of geometry and mechanics: 'There is scarce a common trade which does not afford some opportunities of applying to it the principles of geometry and mechanics ... '. In spite of those who in Adam Smith's

day feared the effect of education on the willingness of the labouring classes to work, the benefits of universal primary and mass secondary education are widely held to be incontestable.

In the industrial countries trends in workforce participation, the industrial-occupation structure and technological change are good reasons for promoting an expansion of educational activity. The evidence is clear that unemployment is concentrated among early school leavers and the less well qualified. To compete in the labour market young people require an effective education. They also require a broad education for those areas of employment that are likely to expand in the decades ahead - in particular the service industries; and they need a better scientific education to operate in a world of high technology. For the new generations of workers education is also important if they are to enjoy to the full the leisure opportunities that technological progress is likely to bring.

School develops general reasoning skills and and a capacity for learning; these provide the foundation for further vocational education. This is clearly of importance in all countries. However, in the developing countries the affective or non-cognitive results of schooling may be even more important. In the words of a World Bank report: 'Many of the non-cognitive effects

of schooling - receptivity to new ideas, competitiveness, and willingness to accept discipline - are directly related to productive economic activity. Others - tolerance, self-confidence, social and civic responsibility - are more personal or political in nature, but may also affect economic performance.'

The second argument for raising participation in school education relates to equity. In virtually all societies disadvantaged groups participate less in education; this locks them into a cycle of disadvantage. The children of the disadvantaged enjoy fewer years of schooling and achieve lower levels of attainment; thus, disadvantage passes from generation to generation. Increased educational opportunities for the disadvantaged are a step in the direction of a fairer society. As long as there are restrictions on the availability of education the disadvantaged are likely to be grossly under-represented in educational institutions - equality of educational opportunity requires more opportunities.

Thirdly, education is a worthwhile activity in itself. If jobs are not available for young people, alternative activities must be sought; participation in education is obviously preferable to idleness.

VOCATIONAL VERSUS GENERAL EDUCATION

In recent years there has been an increasing

emphasis on vocational education in most countries. This is evident from the country papers. The emphasis on vocational education has been associated with the view that the employment difficulties of the young have in some way been the result of inappropriate curricula and that the curricula of secondary schools, in particular, are too 'academic'.

This tendency to promote a rather narrow vocational education and to argue for specific skills training seems to me to be ill based for a number of reasons. In the first place, a broad general education is needed to provide a firm foundation on which vocational specialisms can be built. In particular, the basic communication skills are a sine qua non for further education.

Secondly, although technical education needs to be promoted, we cannot afford to neglect an understanding of society and human relations: human problems are much less amenable to solution than technical ones. As an increasing proportion of our population becomes engaged in offering services rather than in producing goods, high priority must be accorded to communication skills and an understanding of the human condition.

Thirdly, in a rapidly changing world people are likely to occupy several different jobs during their

working lives. Their capacity for retraining will depend on their having a broad based general education. In the same vein, those whose occupations remain more or less the same over their lifetimes need to be receptive to the up-dating of their skills.

Fourthly, training involving specific skills is generally better undertaken on the job than in formal education institutions. This is as true for doctors and engineers as it is for tradesmen and farm workers.

Fifthly, there is the question of manpower planning. It is hardly necessary to emphasise the difficulty of projecting manpower requirements in any detail. Most exercises in such projections go badly wrong. This suggests the need for educational qualifications which provide an *entrée* to a range of alternative occupations; and this requires broad based education with the postponement of narrow specialisations for as long as possible.

Finally, many vocational education programs, while aimed at preparing people for the labour market, are in fact training them for non-existent jobs. Given the unpredictability of the level and distribution of employment, it is rational to equip people for a wide range of activities (I say 'activities' rather than 'employment' advisedly) rather than for particular jobs.

The purpose of education is the development in the individual of the capacity to communicate, to make critical judgments, and to understand the society and culture in which he or she lives. In the more colourful words of a recent Australian report on education, education is about 'liberation from the tyranny of irrationality, prejudice and ignorance'. In operational terms the emphasis, at least in the compulsory years, should be on achieving minimum competence in cognitive skills - reading, writing, speaking, calculating and computing - and on understanding one's society and one's place in it. Without such achievements, the individual will not be able fully to contribute to economic growth or fully to participate in the wider activities of society.

My advocacy for general education does not mean that I am necessarily advocating traditional or 'academic' curricula. The curriculum should be seen as the vehicle for the acquisition of basic communication skills and a basic understanding of the societies in which we live. The curriculum can have a variety of emphases and perspectives; indeed, for some students, a broad based vocational curriculum may be appropriate. It is the skills that are important; the tasks through which they are acquired are secondary.

TRAINING

When young people leave school, most wish to enter full-time employment or undertake tertiary education. Full-time employment is not, however, available for anything like the numbers seeking it. In the case of the industrialised countries, full-time employment opportunities for the young have been declining for twenty years or more; in the developing countries, the formal sector is often a relatively small part of the total economy. In both situations the development of training schemes that lie outside both full-time employment and full-time tertiary education is desirable. What is needed is a tripartite partnership between the education authorities, the employment authorities and employers.

In many Commonwealth countries, forms of apprenticeship, derived from the traditional British pattern, are to be found. This pattern has many shortcomings. In the first place it usually covers only the traditional trades in such industries as metal working and building. There is no coverage for the wide range of occupations in commerce, finance, and community service which is becoming of increasing importance in all countries. Secondly, the apprenticeship system usually exhibits an extreme gender bias; this is one reason why, especially in the industrialised countries, young women are particularly disadvantaged in obtaining

jobs. Thirdly, the quality of the training experience is variable and often the supervision of the training arrangements is inadequate. Fourthly the system is expensive for employers since apprentices have to be paid wages: subsidisation of apprenticeships by governments is becoming common. Finally, the availability of apprenticeships depends on the state of business. Businesses take on apprentices when times are good but tradesmen may emerge from them when business is bad and job opportunities are few. Thus, apprenticeship may operate in a perverse fashion in relation to the supply and demand for skilled tradesmen.

Training schemes, as alternatives or supplements to apprenticeship, are to be found in many countries including industrialised and developing Commonwealth ones. These may be directed towards improving employability or merely creating jobs. Most of these schemes have developed piece-meal, as band-aids to patch up particular problems. What are needed are training schemes which integrate in a systematic fashion the responsibility of the education and employment authorities and the employers. The British Youth Training Scheme is an example of one that is developing in this direction.

An integrated training scheme would rest on two foundations. First, the young people concerned would

be trainees and not employees. As trainees, they would be paid training allowances not wages; the allowances would usually be significantly less than wages. Secondly, employers would be expected to provide places within their workforce for a proportion of young people, e.g. 10 per cent of their employees might be trainees. They would thus be required to have a workforce with a reasonably balanced age distribution. This requirement might be achieved by agreement on an industry basis or made enforceable by law.

Trainees might be expected to spend about half their time obtaining on-the-job practical experience (and in doing so contributing to the work of their employer) and about half in more formal education and training. This could be given in educational institutions, in schools run by employers or through non-formal agencies. These arrangements would recognise that, for many young people leaving school, full-time employment opportunities are not available. Many school leavers either do not wish to proceed to further formal education or are not qualified to do so. For these, there would be offered training which would build on the general education offered by the schools and through which young people could ultimately obtain entrée to paid employment in the formal economy or to useful activity of some other kind.

SUMMARY

To sum up. I suggest that the emphasis should be on the role of education and training in preparing young people for the activities in which they will take part in adult life. Greater participation in primary and secondary schooling should be encouraged. At least during the years of compulsory education, school should offer a broad general education, not necessarily of a traditional academic kind, directed towards the acquisition of a minimum competence in communication skills and of an understanding of society and the individual's place in it. Beyond compulsory education, and in addition to the offerings of formal tertiary institutions, there should be training arrangements based on a tripartite partnership of education authorities, employment authorities and employers; in such a partnership non-formal agencies would play an important part.

Above all, attention should be directed towards the activities of the young, whether they are at school or work, in the formal or informal economy, gainfully employed or unemployed, or are involved in some combination of these. There is no simple path from education to employment, but rather a web that entangles educational institutions and authorities, government economic policy, employers, the wider society and the young people themselves.

REPORTS

OF THE TWO CONFERENCE WORKING GROUPS

ON AGENDA ITEM III

EDUCATION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

REPORT OF WORKING GROUP C

Chairman: Hon. Darrell E. Rolle, Minister of Education, The Bahamas.

Policy and Organisational Links Between Education and Employment

1. Education and Employment

1.1 The relationship between education and employment was examined. It was not a simple relationship. Education had a number of outcomes of which preparation for employment was only one. Furthermore, while education might be a necessary condition for employment it was not a sufficient one: solutions to the problems of unemployment had to be sought in the economic and political sectors and not merely in the educational sector. But education was an essential factor in preparing for employment.

1.2 Education should thus be seen as something which enabled the individual to lead a rewarding and productive life, but did not necessarily lead to employment in the modern sector. It was possible to distinguish four kinds of economic activity which individuals might take up on completing their education: employment in the modern sector; employment in the traditional sector (e.g. agriculture or fishing; self-employment; and working in a co-operative enterprise). In planning education it was necessary to keep these various possibilities in mind.

2. Vocational Training and Work Experience at School

2.1 Work experience and vocational or prevocational training might be brought into schools in various ways which were conditioned by differences between educational systems. Some were highly pyramidal, with only a small proportion of the age group going from primary to secondary and tertiary education. Others had near or complete universal secondary education. Strategies in a particular country for relating education to work would depend on the nature of these education structures. Some secondary schools already had a strong vocational bias and curriculum arrangements provided that the vocational element should take up increasing proportions of the time in successive years of education.

2.2 Despite the differences in educational situation, there were strong arguments that schools should have a concern for the world of work. First, one of the functions of schools in any system was to prepare children for work. Second, it was a false dichotomy to separate learning from work, and it was necessary to counter the idea that the educated should not do manual work or that manual workers did not need education.

2.3 Nevertheless there were difficulties and dangers in seeking to make schools reflect too closely the demands of the labour market. The introduction of some pre-vocational and vocational elements and work experience into schools presented difficulties in terms of curriculum, organisation, and resources, as follows:

2.3.1 Too narrow a vocational education would not produce school graduates with the flexibility to enter a variety of different occupations.

2.3.2 If children were early divided into streams labelled "academic" and "vocational" the results would most probably be inequitable.

2.3.3 Children needed to learn basic skills at school in communication, in ordinary school subjects, in social skills, and in the sciences, which should take precedence over narrow vocational training.

2.3.4 Vocational training was likely to increase school costs.

2.4 In the light of these difficulties member governments should take note of the following principles:

2.4.1 A first priority was for children to receive a basic education, although the content of this would not necessarily follow completely traditional lines.

2.4.2 There were advantages in introducing some prevocational education into schools but vocational training was also the responsibility of post-school agencies, including employers, employers' associations, apprenticeship schemes, and tertiary institutions.

2.5 A number of different ways of relating schools more closely to the world of work and of introducing work experience to schools had been tried in various Commonwealth countries. These included, for example, arranging for interaction between trade union and employer representatives and schools; careers guidance for school children; attempts to influence attitudes of parents and children to the relation between education and work; the creation of production units within schools; and the integration of work experience with formal education. But while experience of this kind was important, and experiments had been carried out in a number of countries, it was a relatively uncharted area.

2.6 There were, in many countries, particular problems in offering vocational and prevocational education to girls, including in some countries problems over attitudes. There was even a danger that an increasing focus on prevocational education might increase the relative educational disadvantage of girls.

2.7 The following recommendations were made:

C.1 A study should be made, with reference to prevocational and vocational education, of different approaches to the provision of work experience in schools.

C.2 An enquiry should be made into the particular needs for vocational and prevocational education for girls which would open wider opportunities to them and for strategies to meet these needs.

3. Job Creation

3.1 Education would not, of itself, create jobs but it could provide conditions in which their creation was made easier. In many countries, job creation had to relate to the rural sector and not merely to the urban. The role of schools was one of facilitator rather than prime mover.

3.2 In some countries the scale of the problem of creating jobs and providing educational and training services related to them was such that national initiatives were seen as being the prime way of solving the problems. But the role of non-government organisations in these areas was important and in a number of countries there was experience of successful schemes by non-government organisations. Such experience could more readily be multiplied if it were better documented.

3.3 The following recommendation was made on job creation:

C.3 A study should be made, based on both case studies and analysis, and taking account of the country papers submitted to the Conference, of successful schemes by non-government organisations to create jobs and provide associated training. This or a related study should also examine the role of schools in job creation.

4. Continuing Education and Education for Adults

4.1 Changing demands on schools put new responsibilities on teachers, who had to undertake new roles, come to terms with changes in information technology, and play a part in adult education. In some countries it was necessary for teachers to change their attitudes to both industrial and agricultural work. All these changes made continuing education for teachers a necessity.

4.2 Education out of school was important more generally for those who needed to acquire new skills, those who had left school early, those who had not obtained the kind of employment which they had been seeking and for which they had been trained. The shortage of resources for education meant that conventional forms of education could not be expanded to meet all these needs. Non-traditional methods including the use of mass media, distance teaching and informal study groups might be relevant here. Experiments in the use of such methods in both the urban and the rural sector should be encouraged.

4.3 It was recommended that:

C.4 The Secretariat should carry out studies of the use of non-traditional methods of education, considering their methodology, effects, costs and relationship with conventional education.

5. Co-ordination

5.1 Bringing schools and work closer together created problems of co-ordination both nationally and at the level of the individual school or college. At the national level co-ordination was necessary between ministries where a ministry other than education had a training function, and with organisations of employers, trade unions, professionals and others. Various structures for such co-operation could be identified: their common feature was that to be effective they needed strong political backing. At local level there was a need for parallel structures which would include employers, trade unions and voluntary associations.

5.2 At the level of individual schools, it was in many countries necessary to achieve closer liaison with employers, trade unions, and non-government organisations, extension services and in some cases voluntary associations. It was recognised that it was sometimes difficult

to persuade employers to accept a responsibility for training. Persuasion, the writing of requirements to accept such responsibility into government contracts, and in some cases legislation had been used as strategies to ensure co-operation between the education and employment sectors. There was a need to recognise that some of the costs of training should rest with employers rather than with governments.

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REPORT OF WORKING GROUP D

Chairman: Hon. Barry Blyth Holloway, KBE, Minister for Education,
Papua New Guinea.

The Contribution of Education Systems (Formal and Non-Formal) in Improving Young People's Access to Work

1. Introduction

1.1 It is not easy to reach a common understanding as to the meaning of employment. Such is the economic, social and political diversity of the Commonwealth that terms such as employment, work and jobs require clarification if cross-national comparisons are to lead to useful conclusions.

1.2 The developing countries of the Commonwealth are predominantly rural. Up to 80 per cent of the population lead agricultural, semi-subsistence lives. For them life is work; work which encompasses many facets of life including food production, cash crop farming, home-care, house-building, road-mending etc. Salaried jobs are few. Those that are available are predominantly in towns and are usually restricted to people with paper qualifications.

1.3 In the industrialised countries of the Commonwealth, whilst there are those who work in the home or in an unpaid capacity, paid work is generally available. This may be through self-employment, through employment by public or private agency or, in some countries, in co-operative sharing activities.

1.4 These distinctions are not clear cut. In the developed countries there is growing evidence of alternative lifestyles which reject the world of regular salaries. In the developing Commonwealth the informal economy, urban and rural, gives rise to occasional, seasonal and irregular sources of monetary income. It is within this complex of contexts that the unemployment of young people in Commonwealth countries must be viewed.

1.5 To this backdrop must be added distinctive demographic contrasts. In the developing Commonwealth young people predominate, forming the broad base of a population pyramid. In some of the industrialised countries of the Commonwealth populations are ageing.

1.6 Within each of the Commonwealth countries young people have their own and distinctive aspirations. They have views on whether they wish to work in their home community, obtain a salaried job, or seek activity outside either of these traditional employment arenas. Unemployment will have different meanings according to national and local circumstance. That it is a widespread Commonwealth concern is evident, but its manifestations and causes are various.

1.7 The Working Group makes the following recommendation:

D.1 The Secretariat should assist with the collection and dissemination of information on young people's perceptions of employment and employment opportunities.

2. Schools

2.1 What can schools do to help young people towards gainful employment or productive activity? What are their limitations? What should be expected of them and not expected of them?

2.2 In the industrialised world most young people leave school after eight or nine years of compulsory education. In the developing countries of the Commonwealth the majority leave at the end of primary education after perhaps five, six or seven years of schooling.

2.3 During these crucial years it is vitally important that schooling prepares young people for a varied adult life in which they are able to develop personally and contribute to the community in which they live. It is important that they acquire a broad range of basic skills and knowledge and develop attitudes and values conducive to their effective application. With this in mind, schools should seek to provide a broad and basic education leading to numeracy and literacy, a social and personal awareness, a capacity to accept and initiate change and a set of basic manual skills which will equip young people to work in the community and give them the capacity to develop additional skills in a wage earning job.

2.4 However, the formulation of an appropriate curriculum to match these aims is far from easy. Primary and junior secondary education are the first stages for those who aspire to well paid jobs. In the developing countries, this basic level of education is the one and only stage for the majority whose future lies in a rural, semi-subsistence society. In the industrialised world the same educational ladder applies but many more jobs are available.

2.5 It is extremely difficult for schools in the developing countries to offer a meaningful preparation for rural living and at the same time provide a first stepping stone for salaried employment. In the minds of most students, teachers and parents, the school points unmistakably down the second road.

2.6 Schools must equip young people with a sense of realism in what they may expect of the world of employment. They must counter some of the wilder aspirations which arise in a world of television and instant communication. Attitudes such as these develop early. In some countries this realisation leads to prevocational education - the first step to establish a balanced view of the possibilities which the social economy may realistically offer.

2.7 Schools should inform and orient young people towards opportunities for gainful activity. This may be an inbuilt part of the curriculum. More overtly it may require guidance and counselling of students and parents alike; guidance towards employment opportunities, and help towards the establishment of self-employment activities. The objectives must be attainable. They must reflect what is possible and realistic.

2.8 In imparting skills of a technical or prevocational nature, schools must assess whether they are the best institutions to carry out the task. There is increasing concern over the expense involved in establishing technical education facilities at all levels of the education system. Equipment is expensive and teachers are scarce. Realism must imbue all such initiatives. Are prevocational skills best learnt on the job or in special training institutions? Will the image of technical education, its value and its purpose, have much chance of success if it is assigned to children of lesser academic attainment? Should basic technical skills be something which all children should be expected to acquire during their schooling experience as part of a broad and balanced curriculum?

2.9 An essential component of formal schooling is science. Science teaching, itself often handicapped by a shortage of equipment and facilities in schools, would gain from increased integration with technical and mathematics education. The introduction and maintenance of technical and vocational education is expensive and it often carries with it the stigma of being second class. Science has a much more positive public image and yet it has much to offer of a practical, forward-looking nature. The revival and improvement of science teaching should have high priority in developing and developed countries alike.

2.10 If schools are to provide basic skills and develop a sense of initiative, the role and nature of examinations will need to be analysed closely. Initiatives in some countries to define standards and competencies against which all students can be assessed will be watched with interest as will new forms of student record which emphasise achievement whatever the level of academic ability.

2.11 Schools should draw upon their local resources; upon the skills of local tradesmen, upon parents, upon local materials for building and for the construction of school equipment.

2.12 The school should not be an isolated institution; nor should its professional staff become conservative in their ways. Whilst schools cannot be blamed for unemployment, equally they cannot stand aside from their close involvement in the problem. They should welcome scrutiny from outside agencies, from employers, unions and the local community, in efforts to redefine objectives, roles and activities. Equally such bodies and institutions have a responsibility towards education; for it is they which benefit from the products of the school system.

2.13 Schools should develop a sense of the dignity of all forms of work - manual and cerebral - and, where possible, should undertake productive activity which has meaning for the individual and is related to the working life of the community in which the school is located.

2.14 In many member countries agricultural development is a major priority. The receptivity of rural populations to change is crucial if this aim is to be achieved. The majority of such people will have had at most a complete or partial primary education. For them their

experience in school, the skills they learnt, and the knowledge and the values they acquire, will be crucial in efforts to mobilise rural development activity. In the industrialised world the argument is equally valid. With a backdrop of job uncertainty it is all the more important that young people have the basic equipment to deal with uncertainty and change.

2.15 There is in this analysis thus far a measure of fatalism, a resignation to a world of limited job opportunities. For those who leave at the end of primary or junior secondary school in developing countries, are there other educational opportunities on which they could draw? What educational assistance might there be for those wishing to enhance their work and job opportunities? There is some evidence around the Commonwealth of projects with an educational component to help the primary school leaver. It is often the case that initiatives of this type are not the responsibility of Ministries of Education: rather they are the concern of Ministries of Youth, Labour Employment, or Industry. What evidence there is suggests the value of drawing together examples of projects - formal and non-formal in character - which cater in particular to the needs of unemployed young people. They may include youth service activity, brigades, the provision of extension education etc.

2.16 There may be merit in some countries in examining the labour laws in relation to youth unemployment especially in urban areas where many youngsters are school drop-outs. Equally there should be a consciousness of the dangers of exploitation.

2.17 If the previous paragraphs have dwelt on the problems of unemployment, so schooling must not ignore the opportunities afforded by new technologies in developed and developing countries alike. The computer and micro-chip open up new employment activities which it would be remiss to ignore. The effective utilisation of new technology will depend on the abilities of those with an education grounded in basic skills and receptive to ideas.

2.18 The Working Group makes the following recommendations:

D.2 The Secretariat should continue its initiative of providing opportunities to discuss the integration of science, technical, vocational and mathematics education in schools.

D.3 The Secretariat should undertake studies which highlight the successes and failures of work experience schemes in Commonwealth countries.

D.4 The Secretariat should collect and disseminate information on formal and non-formal education programmes for the primary and secondary school leaver. A re-evaluation of national youth services in Commonwealth countries would also be useful in this connection.

3. Post-Secondary Institutions

3.1 The post-secondary bracket includes a variety of institutions - technical colleges, vocational institutes, universities, polytechnics, community colleges etc.

3.2 A number of Commonwealth countries experience graduate unemployment which may take a variety of forms. Returnee graduates from overseas may have acquired skills and qualifications which they cannot use or are inappropriate to national need. Others may qualify in disciplines for which there is already an over-supply. Problems also arise from the differences which exist from country to country in the certification and validation of professional and technical qualifications.

3.3 There is bound to be a mismatch to some degree. Students have their own set of aspirations. Technological changes and fluctuations in the economy affect employment demand patterns. There is the inertia of education training institutions unable to react quickly to new manpower demands. There are changing political perceptions of where the tertiary sector should concentrate its activities. For these and other reasons, demand and supply are rarely in balance.

3.4 An example of one particular problem of imbalance is the teaching profession. Many countries report the unwillingness of graduates to enter teaching where there is a particular shortage in science. This reflects views of pay, conditions and alternative opportunities. If schools are to benefit from committed teachers so will the need for improved teacher training become even more crucial, especially for teachers capable of developing rural schools and for those with the ability to provide science, mathematics and technical education.

3.5 A process of continual review is one which some countries attempt but the statistical difficulties are daunting. Nevertheless tracer studies of the employed and the unemployed, of who changes job and for what reasons, would assist manpower planning.

3.6 The inability to find the job which matches a particular training course is not necessarily a loss to the individual or to the society in which he or she lives. The benefits of varied experience may be a positive contribution to personal and national development. This will be heightened if retraining opportunities exist but all too often it is difficult to provide retraining of the quick and flexible kind represented by short-term crash programmes.

3.7 Technical and vocational education and training responding to new industrial and technological needs is important in all countries. It is expensive. Systems cannot afford to change quickly and easily. There exists scope for determining common-core basic technical skills central to any technical and vocational programme.

3.8 Activities to link post-secondary institutions more directly with employment include sandwich programmes, work experience programmes and short crash courses. Where employment opportunities are absent, youth brigades, national service and extension courses may provide additional training and educational chances.

3.9 The Working Group makes the following recommendations on post-secondary institutions:

D.5 The Commonwealth Secretariat should undertake comparative studies on graduate unemployment.

D.6 The Secretariat should provide assistance to help in the preparation of tracer studies of employed and unemployed youth to aid national manpower and educational planning.

D.7 An exchange, aided by the Secretariat, of Commonwealth experience on the provision of common-core basic technical skills curriculum would be valuable.

4. Non-Formal Education

4.1 Non-formal education is not amenable to a commonly acceptable definition. It is sufficient to recognise that there are individuals, institutions, churches, voluntary groups and other agencies - including those operating internationally - which offer educational opportunities for young people in the developing countries. This is often done on a local scale.

4.2 Some of the programmes provide young people with the chance to return to the mainstream of the educational system. There are dangers in this process in creating an alternative certificated route; it may merely provide a new dimension to the diploma disease. However there are also projects which concentrate on the provision of "life-skills" closely adapted to the requirements of young people and their home environments or which enhance skills learnt in the informal sector of the economy.

4.3 Such is the diversity and small-scale nature of many of these projects that little is known about them. Cross-national studies of the way in which they work, their objectives, their successes and their failures would be useful in guiding governments as to the ways by which they might learn from and build on this unco-ordinated sector.

4.4 The Working Group recommends that:

D.8 Collaborative case studies should be undertaken which highlight the work of non-government organisations to assist young people for self employment.

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REPORT OF A WORKING GROUP ON THE COMMONWEALTH SCHOLARSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP PLAN

1. As agreed by the meeting of Senior Officials and Professional Officers held on 22 July, a Working Group was convened of delegates with a special interest in the working of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan. Those present were: Mr. E.E. Temple (Britain) in the Chair; Prof. Don Stranks (Australia); Mr. James Jackson (Australia); Mr. Ralph Boyce (Barbados); Mrs. Gail Larose (Canada); Mr. Symeon Matsis (Cyprus); Mr. Allan Munroe (Guyana); Mr. S.K. Khanna (India); Mr. J. Zammit-Mangion (Malta); Mrs. M.O.A. Olorunfunmi (Nigeria); and Mrs. Oredola C. Fewry (Sierra Leone).

2. It was noted that seven of the ten countries represented were awarding countries under the Plan.

3. The Working Group considered the replies from Commonwealth Scholarship agencies to a letter of 18 May 1984 circulated by the Association of Commonwealth Universities concerning possible amendments to the Administrative Handbook on the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan.

4. Of the 17 replies received, ten had "no comment" to make and three others stressed the importance of observing the provisions of the Handbook. With regard to the replies from the remaining agencies there was close discussion of the several points raised on which conclusions were reached as follows:

*Application Form (page 18)**

The necessity had been questioned (Fiji) of the section at the end of the form "for Official Use Only". It was agreed however that there was a positive advantage in the nominating agency completing this section on the "top copy" of each nominee's application form. The Working Group therefore wished to retain unchanged this section of the form.

Nomination Dates (page 17)

It had been proposed (Mauritius) that, to fit the dates of the local announcement of examination results, the nomination dates should be set at a date later (by five months and three months respectively) than the two dates of 31 July and 31 December now in force. The Working Group stressed the value of not deviating from the agreed dates, and pointed out that it was normal practice in any event to allow nominations to be made subject to the subsequent announcement of satisfactory examination results.

Selection (Timing) (page 10)

It has been suggested (Mauritius) that three months would suffice rather than six months as the minimum period between final selection of scholars and the date of taking up awards. The Working Group nonetheless agreed that, though difficult in all cases to achieve in practice, it remained highly desirable to retain the rule that final selection of scholars should be made at least six months before the date of the beginning of the programmes to which their awards relate.

Priority among Nominations (page 17)

A plea had been made (Mauritius) that, in making selections, an awarding country should follow strictly the order of priority indicated by the nominating country. In discussion the Working Group recognised this was a matter of policy rather than routine administration. The meeting of Senior Officials and Professional Officers moreover had just recommended bringing into use a form of covering letter which would allow nominating agencies inter alia to state their priorities against the background of any national development objectives. It appeared to the Working Group reasonable to await evidence of the effectiveness of this covering letter before deciding on further action.

* Page references are to the Third Edition of the Administrative Handbook.

Notification of Award (page 20)

Mauritius had urged that a nominating agency should be notified of the offer of an award at the same time as the successful candidate. Guyana had expressed a preference for the offers of awards to be transmitted through the nominating agency. It was seen in discussion that the request of Mauritius was for the better observance of the rule to this effect which already existed, a proposal supported by a majority of those present. It was accepted that the particular needs of Guyana in this matter should be further discussed between the parties concerned.

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