Youth and Development in Asia and the Pacific

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

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REPORT

of the

Commonwealth Asia - Pacific Regional Youth Seminar

Kuala Lumpur, July - August 1971

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FOREWORD

by the Commonwealth Secretary-General

The Commonwealth Asia-Pacific Regional Seminar completed the series of regional meetings devoted to a study of youth problems, youth training and employment. In Nairobi towards the end of 1969 participants from our twelve African member countries met to discuss the increasingly urgent problems deriving from markedly youthful populations. In August 1970 the Commonwealth Caribbean countries took up the same problems in the context of their own geographical area. A year later, experts from Commonwealth Asian and Pacific members, representing nearly four-fifths of Commonwealth people and nearly one quarter of the total world population, gathered to consider how their four hundred million young people could best be enabled to participate in creating a future in so far as possible in keeping with their expectations.

By the time that the Asia-Pacific Seminar assembled in Kuala Lumpur much had been learned from the previous meetings. Kuala Lumpur did not merely repeat the same play with different actors and backcloth. The Seminar developed from the two previous regional seminars and also drew heavily on earlier meetings organised in the region by international agencies to discuss other aspects of the same major problems. In the period since the Nairobi meeting our own thinking had advanced. While the African Seminar concentrated heavily on aspects of vocational and social training for young people, it has become even more apparent that this is only one facet of the overall problem. The Fifth Commonwealth Education Conference recognised that the crux of the youth problem facing developing and more developed member countries alike is the creation of employment opportunities and the preparation of individuals to take advantage of them. The increased provision of training, for example, without ensuring employment opportunities for the successful trainees merely advances the level of frustration, and the establishment of youth

services without full planning for useful absorption of those emerging from such services results in disillusion and unrest.

The Secretariat programme, which started modestly by considering particular aspects of the problem, has led inevitably to the conclusion that these aspects cannot be studied profitably in isolation. They become meaningful only when set in their full context. Youth training must be viewed against the formal educational structure and the employment situation. The employment situation itself is influenced by educational policies, demographic trends, economic development and international trading patterns. It would not be untrue to say that the unemployed school leaver in the poorest developing country casts his shadow over the GATT Conference table and the stock market indicator board.

Nor can education and training be divorced from patterns of social change. Weakening family structures and inadequate standards of nutrition, hygiene and housing, coupled with the pressures exerted by the mass media, complicate still further the political and economic pattern.

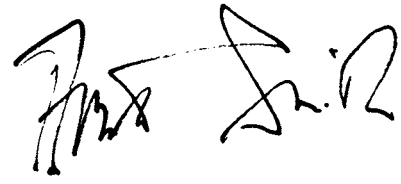
Today's youngsters will inherit the earth, and they will do so sooner than many care to think. People under 25 form the majority of the Commonwealth's population - and of the world's population. Young people are not distinct zoological species; when we talk about "youth problems" what we mean is national development in countries with predominantly youthful populations.

Only when regarded thus does the perspective become clear. Palliative legislation will not serve. This merely delays the 18 plus problem and creates a far more dangerous one at 25 plus. Solutions will only be found if petty sensitivities give way to interdisciplinary, inter-departmental, inter-Ministerial action. Merely talking about the problem will not suffice. Good intentions require positive action, now.

Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their meeting in Singapore in January 1971, instructed us to organise a conference at Ministerial level of those concerned with youth matters to make a comprehensive review of youth problems with particular reference to the alleviation of unemployment. The Secretariat proposes to hold this meeting in mid 1972. To ensure adequate preparation the Ministerial conference will be preceded by a meeting of senior officials engaged with youth questions. It is hoped that the outcomes of these two crucial meetings will

lead to specific action on national, regional and Commonwealth levels.

The complexity of youth problems, their urgency and potential dangers, are now sufficiently known and appreciated to ensure that measures will be taken to come to grips with them. While the task is not easy, I am confident that Commonwealth Governments will meet the challenge. Survival depends on success.



PART I

The Report of the Seminar

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

OBJECTIVES AND GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION

For the purpose of this Seminar "youth" was understood to comprise the age-group 12 - 25 years

I. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Seminar were:

(1) To bring together the thinking and experience of persons actively engaged in youth work in the Commonwealth countries of Asia and the Pacific and to produce for the guidance of policy-makers a report which will be of use:

(a) to encourage and assist governments in formulating or revising their policy for youth and in promoting long-term plans and immediate action in this field;

(b) to encourage non-governmental organisations active in the field of youth to further develop programmes which will seek to bring about a conscious involvement of young people in the development process and provide for the social needs of out-of-school youth;

(c) to foster the interest of commerce and industry in the education and training of out-of-school youth as a contributory factor in economic growth and the development of human resources.

(2) To encourage co-operation in the field of youth activities through the exchange of information and expertise, by direct professional contacts, and by any other appropriate means.

(3) To consider how Commonwealth countries might best co-operate in the youth field.

All Seminar groups were asked to determine the most appropriate action which may be taken at national, regional or international level as it related to any of the topics dealt with.

II. GUIDELINES FOR DISCUSSION

It was suggested that discussion should fall under three main heads:

A. Basic considerations;

B. The determination of policy;

C. The implementation of programmes.

A. BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

Identification of the problems

1. What are the major problems affecting young people?

2. How far are the problems common to all, and in what ways are they different for:

   (a) young people in urban areas, and

   (b) young people in rural areas?

   In considering these two groups, some attention should be given to young people who lack educational or health facilities as well as those whose alienation from their society results in anti-social activities (for example, delinquency) or self-destructive activities (for example, drug-addiction).

3. In general, what are the needs and aspirations of out-of-school youth in the countries of Asia and the Pacific?

Problems of opportunity and involvement

4. Are young people able to participate directly in national development programmes, at the level of decision-making as well as implementation? If not, how may this best be achieved?

5. To what extent is there a problem created by a lack of opportunity for the involvement of young people with adults in policy-making, planning and implementation of programmes for youth?

Restrictive factors

6. How far are development hopes in these regions restricted by the hard facts of economics, politics and sociology, and how far can these limiting factors be modified?

Employment

7. What are the employment opportunities for young people and how are young people affected by the employment situation?

Planning priorities

8. In planning for young people, should any specific sector of out-of-school youth receive priority?

Formal and informal education

9. What should be the relationship between the formal education system and out-of-school education and training?

10. What snould be the relative priorities in expenditure on programmes for out-of-school youth and the formal educational system?

B. THE DETERMINATION OF POLICY

Social development of youth

11. What are the major resources in money, manpower and organisation for the support and social development of youth? From which sources can the needs best be met?

12. How can best use be made of the resources available for the support and social development of youth?

Employment of youth

13. What are the major resources in money, manpower and organisation for the creation of employment opportunities for youth in the countries of Asia and the Pacific? What are the most hopeful sources for the supply of these needs?

14. How can the employment prospects of the young be improved?

15. How far can the employment situation in each country be affected by training programmes of various kinds for young people?

16. How should the employment situation affect the content and objectives of these training programmes?

17. What can be done to enhance the status of rural occupations, especially farming?

Control and co-ordination of youth programmes

18. To whom should the overall administrative responsibility for youth programmes be entrusted?

19. What should be the respective roles of governmental and non-official agencies in youth programmes?

20. How best can co-ordination be achieved among youth programmes?

C. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMMES

(To be discussed with reference to youth in(a) urban and (b) rural areas)

Training needs

21. What are the training needs of young people? What forms of training and youth activities are most appropriate to these needs?

22. Where should training activities be located? In the work place? In purpose-built institutions?

23. What distinctive role can be served by a National Youth Service or similar systems, such as national youth camps, for extended intensive training?

Follow-up to programmes

24. What provision can be made for the follow-up which is essential after training?

25. What place should settlement schemes have in the follow-up to youth training programmes? In what circumstances are they appropriate and effective? What are the major administrative and sociological problems?

Content of training programmes

26. To what extent should training programmes take account of current employment opportunities and prospects?

27. What is the desirable balance between vocational and non-vocational elements in training activities?

28. What role is there for social youth programmes?

Programmes for women and girls

29. What special kinds of programmes should be devised to cater for the needs of young women and girls?

Youth workers

30. What contribution to the youth programme can be made by an effective system of selection, recruitment, training, assessment and deployment of youth workers, both full-time and voluntary?

Widening the appeal of youth programmes

31. How can the activities of youth workers be planned so as to reach those young people for whom conventional youth programmes have little appeal?

The young delinquent

32. How can youth programmes contribute to the rehabilitation of young offenders against the law?

Involving "educated" youth

33. How can activities be arranged to involve "educated" youth in upper secondary and higher education in youth activities which contribute to national community development as well as personal development?

SUMMARY OF MAIN IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

Identification of the problems

1. "Youth" problems are not essentially problems of youth, but problems of national development in countries with mainly youthful populations.

2. Despite the many differences among countries and between young people of varying backgrounds, certain major problems are common to all.

3. Rapid social change has left young people bereft of their traditional place and with few guides towards a new one.

4. Economic changes often result in inequity, declining standards for many, and disillusion for most.

5. Formal education as at present conceived prepares its pupils inefficiently, as well as for indefinite ends, and raises aspirations without providing the means by which they can be realised.

6. The potential political threat represented by youthful populations can best be met by providing opportunities for young people to participate in decision-making.

The needs and aspirations of out-of-school youth

7. The needs and aspirations of out-of-school youth differ among different groups. The common factor is an awareness of deprivation.

8. The concept of "youth" often relates more to low status than to chronological age.

Problems of opportunity and involvement

9. Identification of representative young people to speak and act on behalf of their fellows is relatively simple at levels up to that of the city, but much more difficult at national level.

10. "Token" representation is generally unsatisfactory, although holders of "token" posts frequently acquire considerable influence amoung their peers.

11. In many activities, social, political and economic factors inhibit the full participation of young people.

Planning priorities for out-of-school youth

12. When planning priorities for out-of-school youth the distinction must be drawn between priorities in terms of persons in urgent need and activities meriting attention.

13. Persons deserving priority include young people in need of basic care, schooling or employment; school drop-outs; women and girls; rural dwellers; urban immigrants; and members of specific ethnic or social groups.

14. Activities meriting attention include the compilation of a clear picture of the youth situation in each country, including problems, gaps in provision, and training and employment needs, followed by the creation of national short- and long-term policies.

15. Policies, to be fully implemented, will require the involvement of new sectors in the community, particularly commerce and industry.

16. Provision for youth should be an integral component of national development planning and should take into consideration more than merely economic factors.

17. In the absence of greatly increased allocations for youth programmes additional funds could be generated by increased efficiency in the use of the existing provision.

Formal and informal education

18. Changes in the formal educational structure depend primarily upon political feasibility.

19. To be meaningful, education should reach towards a defined objective, that of securing an informed and cohesive society willing to co-operate in controlled change.

20. Vocational training is inappropriate to first-level schools.

21. The school can revise its role and increase its effectiveness without losing its tradition by such means as more intensive use of school plant, a more enlightened use of professional and voluntary staff, and the involvement of industry, commerce and the community at large in its activities.

22. The discriminating use of educational technology is to be commended.

23. Educational provision for out-of-school youth should be widely promoted, redressing the present imbalance between formal and informal education.

Employment

24. The unemployed school leaver represents waste in educational provision, economic potential and social well-being.

25. Educational provision should not be linked solely to forecasts of employment opportunities.

26. The social and psychological effects of unemployment should not be underestimated.

27. Employment is more than having a job. The problems of providing suitable employment vary with social back-ground and attitudes.

THE DETERMINATION OF POLICY

28. Young people are often judged by double standards. This results in tension, confusion and deepened misunderstanding between older and younger people.

29. Social development may involve conceding to young people the right to influence society towards changes which their elders may find unacceptable.

30. The goals of social development are particular to each society.

31. Resources for social development of young people should be managed by one Ministry with guidance from an inter-Ministerial committee.

32. The effectiveness of programmes for youth depends on the quality of the teachers and youth workers. The declining status of teachers in some countries, therefore, is a matter for concern. Measures to reverse this trend should be given high priority.

33. The proposed Commonwealth Specialist Conference on teacher education was welcomed.

34. More effective methods of training youth workers should be devised, taking into account the need for follow-up and retraining at intervals.

Employment of youth

35. The development of many countries is hindered by current trends in the patterns of world trade. The solution may be in a more concerted approach by these countries. The potential role of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation in the field of export promotion was welcomed.

36. Financial resources for the creation of employment opportunities cannot be exclusively a national responsibility.

37. The Seminar agreed in principle with the untying of aid within the limits of political feasibility.

38. The Seminar noted that few aid donors are able in any one year to commit all funds earmarked for this purpose.

39. Resources, in terms of money and personnel, for the promotion of employment opportunities should be sought from as wide a range as possible of potential contributors.

40. Local skills should be used for the creation of job opportunities through the participation of entrepreneurs, craftsmen and farmers.

41. While strategy remains the prerogative of central governments, policy implementation for employment promotion should involve public and voluntary organisations, trade and commercial bodies, and young people themselves.

42. The development of suitable technologies can help in increasing employment opportunities. Universities should help in the design and development of intermediate technology.

43. Self-employment should be encouraged. Entrepreneurial skills should be developed. The Commonwealth Secretariat should publicise instances of successful training and establishment of entrepreneurs. Management skills need to be improved.

44. The service occupations offer an area of potential employment unexplored by many countries.

45. The undertaking of training by industry is a social responsiblility not to be avoided.

46. Tourism does not bring undivided benefits. The Commonwealth Secretariat report on the development of the tourist industry in member countries was noted.

47. Education and training for young people should not be planned on too short a time scale or related too inflexibly to manpower forecasts.

48. The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation may provide a useful source for the organisation, evaluation and revision of manpower surveys.

49. Training programmes for youth should be devised on a more ambitious scale than hitherto as part of a comprehensive attack on unemployment.

50. Rural-based activities offer the most encouraging area for growth in employment opportunities.

51. The development of "market towns" could help to transform the rural situation through the provision of amenities outside the major cities and opportunities for self-employment and employment in occupations based on agriculture.

Enhancing the status of rural occupations

52. The status of rural occupations will rise only when the rewards can be equated with those obtainable elsewhere.

53. Status is increasingly related to income, and activities should be instituted to raise income levels. These might include better servicing of farmers' needs (agricultural and financial) and the rationalisation of land tenure.

54. Young Farmers' Clubs are commended as a useful avenue of direct participation by young people and a source of leadership and training.

55. Equality of formal educational opportunity for rural children is not necessarily best achieved by positive discrimination. Better quality staff and more appropriate textbooks could do much to raise standards.

56. The Seminar welcomed the possibility of the Commonwealth Secretariat undertaking research and organising meetings on the increasingly important topics of testing, selection and measurement with specific reference to children in disadvantaged situations.

Control and co-ordination of youth programmes

57. National governments should assume responsibility for general policy regarding youth programmes, although non-government organisations will have much to offer in terms of implementation.

58. A national machinery should be established to control and co-ordinate youth policies and programmes. Representatives of this body should have direct access to points of political power and decision-making.

59. Effective administration of programmes should be ensured at local and regional levels, where the organisation is most likely to break down.

60. The lack of material explaining suitable methods of evaluating youth programmes could be met by the Commonwealth Secretariat producing a basic, practical handbook on this subject.

61. Supervision of the implementation of national youth programmes can best be ensured through a genuinely representative and executive National Youth Council.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMMES

Training needs

62. Youth training programmes should help young people to develop into well-integrated and active participants in the life

of their societies through the development of skills, values and attitudes as well as knowledge.

63. Responsibility is best learned on the job.

64. Training should be directed at short-term goals set in the wider context of long-term national objectives.

65. Programmes should be directed towards: the development of the individual; counselling and guidance; vocational training; citizenship; the satisfying use of leisure.

66. Programmes should include elements of social, political and vocational training and should be concerned particularly to attract young people of urban origin; young urban migrants; rural youth with land; and rural youth without land. Suggestions were made for specific approaches to programmes for each group.

67. Planners should take into account social and environmental differences among young people by designing broad programmes permitting of flexible interpretation.

68. On-the-job training and work experience should be preferred to institutional training except in particular circumstances when the latter is relatively less costly and more effective.

69. Youth services should be developed with caution. Those designed to train for employment should have their programmes geared directly to the provision of job opportunities.

Follow-up to programmes

70. Effective follow-up to programmes is essential to efficiency.

71. Settlement schemes cannot cater for large numbers of unemployed young people but do serve certain important purposes.

72. Investigations into methods of selection and follow-up studies designed to determine the characteristics of successful trainees in settlements would be of wide interest.

73. Settlements tend to have problems arising from selection, the unbalanced nature of the community, high costs and planning on too short a time scale.

Content of training programmes

74. Training programmes should be designed to prepare young people for types of employment rather than detailed operations within those types of employment.

75. Research and evaluation should be associated with all programmes.

76. Techniques of vocational guidance should be developed relevant to each country.

77. Programmes should provide young people with a sound basis for exercising judgement and discrimination.

78. Social programmes should attempt to compensate for the uncertainties of changing social structures by bringing young people together informally and enabling them to contribute practically to the welfare of their communities.

79. The needs of women and girls should be met as far as possible through integration into programmes organised for mixed groups. Only where circumstances make this unsuitable should separate programmes be designed for women and girls.

Youth workers

80. A national policy of training for youth workers should be devised by government and non-official representatives working together and should be realistic in recognising the need to prepare young people for responsibility.

81. Top-level youth workers should be of the highest calibre. To ensure this, they will be at present often recruited from among adults; in the future they should emerge from within youth programmes.

82. Means should be sought of ensuring parity of status for youth workers with similar professionals. Inter-disciplinary training in third-level institutions may help to this end.

83. High-level youth workers should be trained to improve the training skills of group and club leaders.

84. Training for group and club leaders should be carried out on the job wherever possible.

85. Training should be a continuing and progressive process.

86. The deployment of youth workers to achieve the most impact should be assessed in the light of local priorities.

87. Less traditional deployment of youth workers - in peripatetic training teams or as detached workers - should be considered.

Reaching the "unclubbable"

88. The first stages in attracting "unclubbable" young people are to offer them what they want and hold out a challenge likely to appeal to them.

The young delinquents

89. Rehabilitation programmes should be flexible enough to deal with the many causes of delinquency and should be designed to reintegrate the young offender fully into his own community.

90. Youth workers have a preventive role to play by identifying incipient delinquents and attempting to bring them back into society.

Involving educated youth

91. The disorientation of educated young people can be redressed best by providing them with those opportunities to serve which are likely at the same time to enable them to resolve their own problems.

92. Among the educated unemployed means should be found to maintain morale by providing the opportunity for service to the community.

COMMONWEALTH CO-OPERATION

93. Commonwealth co-operation should be designed to make

a specific contribution avoiding duplication of the work of other agencies.

94. Commonwealth co-operation in the youth field should range beyond the immediate area of education and training and approach also the underlying problems of trade and aid.

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

95. Both the technical assistance function and the education and training element of the newly constituted Commonwealth Fund of Technical Co-operation offer scope for help in resolving major problems relating to young people.

Exchanges of personnel

96. Exchanges should be promoted at various levels and should be designed to meet particular needs rather than merely the enlargement of personal experience.

Information exchange

97. The Commonwealth Secretariat should expand its service of providing information. Reports of on-going projects; a register of training facilities, organisations and personnel; the production of a Commonwealth youth journal should be considered for inclusion in the Secretariat's publication programme.

98. The Seminar commended Secretariat proposals for Commonwealth and regional meetings designed to explore in depth specific problems relating to youth.

Training

99. The establishment of a high-level training institution should be considered for specialised training which cannot be given on the job.

Other activities

100. The Commonwealth Secretariat should assist in the formulation of applications for aid in order to ensure the maximum utilisation of funds available for disbursement.

101. The Commonwealth Secretariat might play a useful role in the organisation of schemes to provide young teachers of

African and Asian languages in the more developed countries.

The Commonwealth Secretariat

102. The staff and financial resources of the Commonwealth Secretariat should be strengthened to enable it to carry out the operations suggested by the Seminar.

CHAPTER 1

Basic Considerations

Introduction

Ten years ago few Commonwealth administrations foresaw today's "youth problem". A few percipient academics raised thin voices of foreboding but these were lost in the gale of enthusiasm with which governments embarked on schemes of rapid educational expansion. Encouraged by international resolutions and spurred on by challenging targets, such as "universal primary education by 1970", governments devoted unprecedented resources of finance and personnel to the formal educational process. Thus embarked, few questioned the means or doubted the eventual outcome. The spread of education and national growth appeared to have been interrelated during the European industrial revolution, and most developing countries accepted the consequential concept that economic development must follow necessarily from educational expansion. Post hoc ergo propter hoc. In 1971 the sequence seems less inevitable. Ten years is a short time in which to judge education or economic development, but social and political pressures have become even more urgent. On the evidence available, assessments must be made, policies formulated and programmes initiated.

In simple terms, it is apparent, and not only in the developing countries, that educational systems are not producing the expected results, insofar as any precise objectives have been defined. Societies can show something in terms of economic development, though not as much as was hoped. They can show little in terms of general social betterment. What has been achieved has often been at high cost, in terms of finance, personnel and social stability.

Not all of today's problems can be attributed to the formal education system. Medical advances have helped to create

rapidly growing and ever younger populations. These have brought associated social problems. World trading patterns have exercised a profound effect on economic development. Political considerations have distorted the composition of many budgets. International aid has influenced many local decisions, not all of which have taken into account sufficiently the long-term effects.

Against this background the young people of each country - and in the developing countries they make up the majority of the population - face, for the most part, bleak prospects owing to world tension, social uncertainty, and unrealised personal aspirations. They are confronted by continuously increasing chances of being unemployed, underemployed or misemployed even if they have succeeded in completing a course of education. For growing numbers of young people education leads to frustration rather than realisation. These outcomes demand assessment, not alone in terms of the efficiency of the educational system, but in terms of a country's social, economic and political health. Prescriptions to improve the situation can be effective only if they take into account the attitudes of the young people for whom they are designed.

Identifying the major problems

Reports from Commonwealth countries in the Asia-Pacific region make apparent the wide disparity of problems in terms of their relative importance and dimensions. At the same time a number of basic issues recur, such as the pressures caused by increasing, and increasingly youthful, populations, or the heightened aspirations resulting from educational provision expanding at a rate disproportionate to the growth of employment opportunities in the modern sector of the economy for school leavers. In this context the fundamental issue of the apparent contradiction of the rights of the individual and the needs of his society demands extensive consideration.

The youth problems in the region are not essentially problems of youth, but problems of national development occurring in countries with mainly youthful populations. Nor can the young people in these countries be regarded as one homogeneous group, for the differences between various sectors of the youthful population are frequently as wide and divisive as those separating young people from their elders. Nevertheless, the pattern of population distribution and factors common to the development of the countries under review result in certain major problems appearing in similar

forms in these countries, with resultant strains on their social, economic, educational and political structures.

(a) Social problems

Many societies display uncertainty of the role which young people ought to play. In consequence goals are indeterminate and directions towards them unclear. Familiar norms have disappeared under the influence of rapid social change. Disoriented young people discover their traditional roles rendered obsolete by social change without the development of satisfactory substitutes. If young people feel disillusion with the society created by their elders, their parents, too, are uncomfortably aware of their society's shortcomings. Both sides fall prey to uncertainty. The young are reluctant to accept an authoritarian transmission of traditional values, their parents are increasingly hesitant about passing them on. Where traditionally minded elders continue to exert pressure on young people tensions are exacerbated and additional social strains created. This outline, of course, oversimplifies a complex situation. Individual older and younger members of any society display different attitudes and reactions, from active encouragement of change through indifference to positive traditionalism. With the exception of a minority of enlightened realists, attitudes held tend to reflect directly the self-interest of the individual in preserving or changing the existing form of society.

Other social problems arise consequentially from changes in the economic, educational and political systems. Minorities benefiting from educational provision are not infrequently alienated from their immediate social group, a phenomenon recorded recently in societies as widely separated as English cities and New Guinea villages. Social and cultural divisions promoted by the uncritical absorption of alien values and patterns of behaviour, frequently transmitted by the mass media, threaten uncontrolled dislocation of existing systems. The unsettling effect on young people of changing family structures, and the tensions occasioned by some family structures too rigidly unresponsive to change, characterise societies differing hugely in quantitative terms, as, for instance, India and Tonga. New patterns of employment often undermine social structures. The increasing employment of women on equal terms with men, for example, while laudable in some ways, can result in some places in the unemployment of traditional male breadwinners and in other areas, where both parents are employed, in the creation of a new phenomenon of "latch key" children. This absence of a secure and loving home, uncharacteristic of the

East, may be said to result directly from attempts to compete with the West on the latter's terms. Other problems can be cited. Enlightened legislation on the employment of young people can produce an annual output from the schools of leavers who have completed their courses but are under age for legal employment. In many cases, too, the examples given by those who achieve material success in rapidly changing societies are not those calculated to promote the health of any community.

(b) Economic problems

As foreshadowed by the first lead speaker, the spectre of unemployment remained a constant preoccupation of the Seminar. (Chapter 2 outlines the considerable discussion which took place throughout the meeting.) Societies, it was recognised, may survive social and cultural dislocation of the most far-reaching nature but cannot survive if the essential economic needs of their members are not met. Frequent secondary effects of changes in the economic pattern of a society are changes in its dietary habits, especially when crops are altered in favour of cash products and away from subsistence foods. Fundamental to economic health, too, are realistic wage structures reflecting in reasonable measure the value of each particular form of work to the society. Many countries in the region have inherited great disparities, especially, but not solely, between returns to those engaged in the modern and traditional sectors of the economy. Few have yet found the means to restructure their systems. In consequence, even within the government service, it is not unusual to find a ratio of 20:1 between the highest and lowest salaries, where a healthy ratio may be considered as 6 or 7:1. Young people see the value in cash terms placed on some occupations as compared with others, they see how those controlling the system benefit themselves, and their disillusion is reinforced. Economic realities can be used to engage the idealism of youth. Not infrequently they achieve the opposite effect.

(c) Educational problems

Dissatisfaction with existing educational processes marked many contributions to the discussions, to the extent of schooling being identified as a major cause of unrest, instability and unemployment. Yet educational systems, under the political pressures of public opinion, and without clear objectives being delineated, continue to expand in a hopeless attempt to provide for the mass what they have in the past achieved for the minority. The irrelevance of the form and content of much contemporary

education attracts justifiable criticism, but the fact is not always appreciated that the irrelevance is not intrinsic but derives from the changed nature of the pupil body. Frustration originates in the lack of realisation on the part of parents and children that as the general level of mass education rises so, too, does the threshold above which entrance is possible to desirable employment opportunities. The belief that five O levels, for example, would guarantee employment and the "good life" is giving way to the realisation that this is no longer "legal tender". This lesson is not limited to developing countries, for it is only now being learned painfully in England, where the numbers receiving higher education have doubled in the last ten years.

The traditional Eastern concept of education is of a character-building process, yet Western forms of schooling are designed primarily as stages of vocational training in preparation for employment in the modern sector of the economy. Increasingly out of context with the needs of society, formal education as at present conceived prepares its pupils inefficiently and for indefinite ends; it raises aspirations without providing the means by which they can be realised. The thwarting of parental expectations in respect of their children has a direct effect on the family and society. The sense of failure inculcated in many of those who through no fault of their own fail to achieve some of the limited rewards available to school leavers is demonstrated in the self-deprecation of the "grass knives" in New Guinea. The desperate persistence of others despite the evidence all about them may be judged from the numbers of unsuccessful job hunters who nevertheless decline those unpretentious employment opportunities which alone are available to them, such as those categorised "choosy applicant" in Malaysia.

(d) Political problems

Young people, disappointed in their hopes and unable to influence their future, represent a political problem on several levels. The development of increasingly articulate and frustrated cadres of youth gives rise to concern among governments and public opinion at large, who see in them direct threats to the continuing stability of the society. Yet these dissatisfied young people are heavily in the majority in most countries of Asia and the Pacific, and will be so increasingly in the future. Measures to defuse the situation before it explodes thus become of prime urgency to governments seeking rapid and controlled progress for their peoples. Realism demands recognition of the need to make available greater opportunities for this majority of young people

to exercise a degree of real control over policies and decisions affecting their own future and that of the society which they will inherit. The problems then arise of how representative opinions of youth may best be canvassed and how young people can be involved directly in decision-making processes in a way which will attract the confidence of their peers.

The needs and aspirations of out-of-school youth

The fact that out-of-school young people increasingly make demands on their societies does not imply identical needs or similar aspirations for all. The heterogenous nature of the young population results in their seeking a range of vaguely-formulated objectives from an equally wide number of starting points. It may be, however, that needs vary more than aspirations, many of which are widely felt. Needs differ as between rural and urban young people, for example, and particularly between the urban-born and those who have migrated to the towns. Origins and manifestations of disadvantage, for which compensatory measures should be sought, occur in many different guises: social disadvantages, for example, may originate in poverty, remoteness or the traditional attitudes towards young people. The increasing proportion of people in Hong Kong and Singapore living in high-rise apartments in high-density new residential areas, too, causes increasing concern to social welfare workers. Deprivation, unemployment, delinquency, all call for remedial action.

A novel feature of the contemporary situation is the awareness of young people of their unsatisfactory role. Schooling, improved communications and the mass media have combined to bring home to the new generation in most developing countries the extent of their deprivation. They have to adjust themselves, as Illich says, to thinking rich while living poor. The problem has much in common with that endured by the poorer sections of rich countries: how to educate young people to their full potential and at the same time reconcile them to an almost inevitable life of dully monotonous, poorly rewarded hard work, thus tempering their aspirations to reality.

Adult goodwill is no longer enough. The major need of young people is for recognition as full and responsible members of their communities at an age when they are able to accept these responsibilities. One answer to the youth problem, therefore, is to lower the age for the achievement of adult status, as has been done in those countries which have progressively reduced the age of suffrage. In addition, adult pressures on the young

must be reduced, so that those leaving the formal education system at points below the university no longer feel the taint of failure. To this extent the youth problem is an adult problem. Realistic expectations in respect of their children on the part of adults and a readiness to accept the potential contribution of young people to their society could go a long way towards meeting the needs and tempering the aspirations of the young.

Problems of opportunity and involvement

It became apparent during discussions that opinion differed on the degree and level of involvement considered appropriate for young people. In an interesting process of reasoning one participant seemed to suggest that because in developing countries senior officials and public figures are often under the age of, say, 35 years, the age-limit for defining "youth" should be set to exclude all such individuals, so implying that young people who succeed in attaining those positions of influence to which youth is aspiring forfeit their right to be classified as young people. This evokes a fundamental consideration for the youthful societies of Asia and the Pacific as to how far youth is a matter of chronology and how far a description of inferior status.

Views were expressed which varied from the opinion that young people cared little for participation in decision-making provided that jobs were available, to the suggestion that youth should be drawn earlier into direct political involvement by reducing the age of suffrage to 18 years. The question was raised as to whether young people should be invited to take part in policy-making before they requested such participation or whether action should be taken only in response to demand. It was generally agreed that young people should be more directly involved in the decision-making process but that the problems of implementing this were formidable. At lower levels - the level of village, district or city - selection of representative young people was feasible. At the national level this presented much more difficulty. Selection at this level implied national youth organisations, which in turn involved decisions as to the basis for such organisations. The promising initial activities of the Malaysian National Youth Consultative Council and the Malaysian National Youth Council were noted.

The effectiveness of some apparent concessions to youth was questioned, as when one student may be appointed to a university's academic board as against 30 faculty members. "Tokenism", it was agreed, is at best a temporary palliative.

It was noted with interest, however, that an investigation had shown that students nominated to such "token" posts frequently exercised considerable influence among their fellows even though they might participate infrequently in the official body to which they had been appointed.

The problems of traditional opposition to youth involvement cannot be underrated. In societies such as those of New Guinea and Tonga age remained the criterion by which fitness for decision-making was determined. In New Guinea this situation resulted directly in numbers of young people declining to return to their villages after spending time away at school. (By contrast the Seminar learned with interest of the nomination to the Senate of a Caribbean country of a representative of youth.)

Restrictions to the involvement of youth were seen at several levels resulting from different causes. Problems arise such as those of identifying acceptable representatives and of convincing public opinion of the desirability of such participation. Social, political and economic factors exercise restraints on youth participation in many societies. The magnitude of the need emphasises the lack of resources necessary to produce expertise and leadership. Noting Eisenstadt's comment that the giving of special status to youth generally co-incides with giving little real power to youth, the question arises whether the crux of the problem, in fact, is not how to enable youth to participate, but rather how to facilitate the transition of young people to full adult status.

The Canadian Opportunities for Youth Programme illustrates one means by which a government has responded to the demands of youth by inviting young people to identify projects and implement them with financial assistance from public funds. The Canadian example emphasised the need for adequate preparation and funding if effective programmes were to be developed.

Planning priorities for out-of-school youth

Priorities may be allocated on the basis either of identifying groups of persons in most urgent need or of determining particular activities which merit early attention.

Governments, too, must face the basic dilemma of the choice (if a choice must be made) between allocation of priority on a basis of response to greater need or demand for optimum potential return.

In terms of persons deserving of priority certain groups stand out in many countries - young people lacking basic care, schooling or employment; women and girls; rural dwellers; urban immigrants; and members of specific ethnic or social groups. Further education for school drop-outs was advocated as a means of ensuring some return for an investment already partially made.

Suggested as priorities in activities were the need to build up a clear picture of the youth situation in each country, concentrating on their problems, training and employment, prior to the working out of short- and long-term national policies adequately reinforced by political and administrative structures. In building up this picture attention should be paid to gaps in the provision. The implementation of such policies would depend heavily on an effective partnership between government and non-government agencies. This, in its turn, would require the involvement in youth welfare and social education of new sectors in the community, particularly industry and commerce. When all available resources have been mobilised and their proper utilisation determined, priority of action should be given to the recruitment, selection, training, assessment and deployment of leaders.

As specific activities, physical education and sport were put forward as deserving of priority because they were socially helpful and politically neutral activities for potentially dissident youth.

Emphasis was laid repeatedly on the need to regard provision for youth as an integral component of national development, designed to involve young people at a responsible level and to lead to full participation in their society. Planning has too often been dominated by economic considerations. Education has been valued for its productive role while its human role has been overlooked.

Participants recognised that radical improvement in financial resources is unlikely in the short-term in most countries. Governments are committed to formal educational programmes and cannot divert large sums to informal education. Out-of-school provision must share the budget with other items which may promise quicker returns. Nevertheless, much could be achieved, not least by broadening the base of existing institutions to link them more closely to the community, and by increasing the efficiency of ongoing operations by conscious motivation of those

for whom the facilities are provided.

Formal and informal education

Existing formal educational structures have many glaring defects. Their alien origin leaves a legacy of irrelevant content and unsettling attitudes; their conservatism reinforces their separateness from the communities which they are intended to serve. Yet they are still regarded in most areas as the key to self-advancement, so that radical changes would inevitably encounter heavy opposition from local opinion. Changes in the short term can be introduced only in the measure which may be politically feasible, and not to the extent which is educationally desirable. The solution to the problem seems to lie in seeking greater efficiency in the use of existing educational resources while attempting to supplement them with a varied range of out-of-school activities.

Some consensus must be reached about the purpose of the school if evaluation of its operation is to be made. For example, it is generally agreed that the academic-type curriculum has many deficiencies, but particular philosophies of education would regard these deficiencies as of minor importance. In much of Asia education is conceived as a character-building process which can be effectively carried on against a background of curriculum content divorced from a pupil's immediate practical needs. The value of the school in this context lies in its processes and not in the content of its curriculum.

There was, however, general agreement that curricula could profitably be restructured to meet positive needs, although it was emphasised that vocational training is an inappropriate function of first-level schools. Such training is frequently inappropriate to the age-groups subjected to it, and often out of phase with evolving patterns of employment. Similar criticism may be directed at curricula which attempt to cater too exclusively for specific groups as, for example, rural or urban, social or ethnic.

The essential purpose of general education is to secure an informed and cohesive society willing to co-operate in controlled change.

Realism requires recognition of the likely pace of change in educational structures. In many countries it must be anticipated that only limited resources can be diverted from formal

to informal education in the immediate future, despite governments' growing awareness of the vital role of the out-of-school sector. On the other hand, much can be achieved by less severe departures from traditional practice. For example, progressive measures can be introduced to integrate the school into the community where it is set and to promote more efficient use of educational plant through its use for more hours by successive groups. The establishment of sandwich courses, the reorientation of teachers as local leaders, and the identification of underutilised sources of finance in, for example, industrial and commercial concerns, the recruitment of volunteer teachers and trainers, all these measures would serve the triple purpose of advancing effective education, involving the widest range of community members in education as teachers or students (or both), and blurring the distinction between formal and informal education.

Educational technology - the mass media, programmed learning, correspondence courses, and so on - can play an increasing and effective role in out-of-school education if introduced with discrimination after adequate preparation.

Within the terms of political feasibility and subject to educational and economic practicability, the Seminar considered that educational provision for out-of-school youth should be widely promoted, redressing the present imbalance between formal and informal education.

Employment

The distressing employment situation together with its side-effects was a recurrent theme throughout the Seminar. The disillusioned school leaver has become almost the standard figure of the young person in the developing world. He represents waste in educational provision, waste in economic potential and waste in social well-being. The educated young woman is in a particularly difficult situation. Unemployed, she reinforces prejudices against education for girls; employed, she may well contribute to social dislocation by filling a post which would otherwise be filled by the sole bread-winner of a family.

Employment opportunities for young people in all but a very few countries in Asia and the Pacific are limited, in numbers or variety or both. How far the situation is aggravated by increasing educational opportunity may be difficult to quantify, but the relationship exists. Public opinion would resist arbitrary limitation of educational opportunity based solely on forecasts of

employment possibilities. While these political pressures make difficult any artificial restrictions on educational expansion, the output from the schools forms an increasingly articulate group frustrated in its ambitions, disillusioned in its expectations, and potentially responsive to extreme political ideas. Even where controlled development of educational services has been possible, efforts in the past decade to link educational provision to estimated manpower requirements have enjoyed, at best, limited success.

The social effects of the employment situation facing young people gives cause for deep concern. Family structures become weakened, tensions grow between parents and children when the sacrifices of the elders go unrewarded by compensatory success on the part of the youngsters, the weight of parental expectation lies heavy on the student who knows the chances against his finding such employment. At the same time the unemployed youngster feels himself less of a full person because he cannot play a satisfying role in his community.

Even when a job is available it may be essentially unsuitable for the individual, for it may leave him still under-employed or misemployed. Problems of opportunity are many and take different forms in different countries and different sectors of the community. Tonga, for example, has a body of young people for whom no work of any sort is available in either the modern or the traditional sector of the economy, while Hong Kong's problem is that of qualified young people having to accept employment at levels below their full capabilities. Within a country distinctions have to be drawn between the problems facing urban and rural youth. Nor can urban youth be regarded as a homogeneous group, for the problems facing town-bred young people tend to be different in kind and intensity from those encountered by youngsters making their way to the cities from the rural areas.

CHAPTER 2

The Determination of Policy

Social development of youth

Young people in many countries suffer from having double standards applied to them. When it suits their elders, young people are expected to act as responsible adults; when this is inconvenient for older members of society, young people are expected to revert to childhood dependence. The dilemma is intensified by the tendency for young people to remain economically dependent on their parents for an increasing number of years while at the same time they are reaching physical maturity earlier. The resultant tension and confusion serve only to reinforce the disillusion of each age-group with the other. In the light of this, whatever resources may become available for the support and social development of youth will depend for their effective disposal on the creation of initial goodwill in both young and old towards each other. Resources donated as conscience money or conceived as a means of "buying off" youthful aspirations will only widen the rift. Young people will not be content to remain indefinitely as political and social eunuchs. Resources must be accumulated in a spirit of mutual help towards the development of society as a whole, with young people as full participants and older people willing to share their grip on control of policy.

When the Seminar came to discuss the social development of youth some time had to be spent in agreeing on a definition of the concept.

The need was recognised of relating the approach to the needs of young people and not to a search for means by which contemporary adults may seek to perpetuate the social system which they now control. The Seminar was reminded in stark terms that social development might involve conceding to young people the right to influence society towards changes of which their elders might not approve. "The right to make mistakes

remains part of the right to be democratically free." The extent to which the social development of young people should proceed within a prescribed social framework would depend on the particular situation of each society. The need should not be overlooked for the inculcation in adults of realistic attitudes towards the potential and achievements of young people.

There was basic agreement that the goals of social development could be set only in relation to each particular society, but that the underlying purpose was to provide in a fast-changing society for the development of each young person for constructive and meaningful participation. The goal of individual development was not incompatible with certain wider issues, such as commitment to a sense of national purpose and the formation of favourable attitudes, enhancing employability and helping towards a satisfactory family life.

Responsibility for making available resources to support the social development of young people should lie with one Ministry and there should be guidance from an inter-Ministerial group. Most delegates felt that the chief agency should be the Ministry of Education. In the words of one participant: "The school has the resources and should do the job." This brusque analysis conforms to the recognised situation in many countries that, in times of rapid social change, the family is no longer adequate as an instrument for the total socialisation of its new members. Hence responsibility devolves on the agency which, after the family, influences young people most: the school. Where formal schooling is not available for all children the socialising process may be taken over by youth workers, voluntary organisations, the mass media or peer groups. Not all of these agencies are always beneficial.

Assuming that educational facilities, in the broadest sense, are available, then resources should be channelled through them, in terms of finance, manpower and organisation. The amount of government investment in human resources already runs at a very high level in most Commonwealth countries. A balanced educational system, sensitive to the felt needs of young people, could best co-ordinate and support programmes for social development. The example of Ceylon offered itself, where a broadly based educational system, decentralised so that each unit bases itself squarely in the community which it is serving, can act as the centre for a wide-range of out-of-school activities, and can even think in terms of generating additional resources through promoting the local production of useful, worthwhile and acceptable

goods.

The desirability of centralising the administration of finance and organisation for the social development of youth was emphasised. Some delegates felt that the responsibility should be entrusted to the national education system, even though all resources need not necessarily originate from that quarter. Finance might well be drawn from earnings, local commerce and industry, or international aid; individual volunteers and voluntary bodies should be drawn into assistance with organisation, and not least among this personnel should be young people themselves. The recently-formed Malaysian National Youth Consultative Council provides a worthy example of a government responding to the desire of young people to influence decisions which will affect their future. Through such participation social development policy and practice may be guided by those most concerned. Not all countries yet recognise the need for positive measures to further social development, and many demands compete for official resources. The primary need in such cases is for an effective case to be made for action, the resulting programme being constructed to encourage contribution and participation from the widest possible range of sources.

The effectiveness of any programme depends primarily on the quality of the personnel who come into direct relationships with young people, that is, teachers and youth workers. Concern was expressed at the apparent decline in the status of teachers at a time when society expects ever more from them, although, of course, the complicated nature of the problem was recognised. Teacher-training institutions not infrequently come at the end of the educational queue for money, equipment and recruits, for example, while older teachers often resist change for fear that educational developments might render them obsolete and unemployed. The re-establishment of teachers in terms of social prestige is an essential factor towards their improved effectiveness and involvement. Examples exist of efforts to enhance the status of teachers through systems of awards and national days: India is among the foremost in this endeavour. The importance of realistic salary structures for teachers and youth workers should not be minimised, for two reasons: salary bestows status and salary attracts a particular level of recruit.

The Seminar welcomed the suggestion that the Commonwealth Secretariat should organise a conference to con-

sider the whole area of teacher preparation.* Teacher education was basic to efficient systems of formal education, as was leadership training to less formal areas of education. Leaders operated at different levels, each of which required appropriate types of training related directly to the context in which the trainees could expect to operate. "Leadership" covered such a wide range of functions that closer definition of the term should be made for each set of circumstances. Training methods for leaders were better based on practical experience than formal instruction. More efficient and economic systems of training might include an expanded but discriminating use of the newer media. The need for follow-up and later retraining was an essential factor for ensuring continuing effectiveness and relevance of leaders.

Employment of youth

(a) Resources for the creation of employment opportunities

Current fashion attributes to education an important role in the creation of unemployment. Ill-attuned to contemporary vocational needs, educational systems are accused of producing unemployable young people, disoriented and disgruntled. In theory the argument might be sustained for gearing educational opportunity to anticipated absorption by various sectors of the economy. The fallibility of manpower plans and the growth of political consciousness, however, rule this out as a practical programme. Governments, therefore, have to seek resources on a great and growing scale for the creation of employment opportunities to absorb as high a proportion as possible of the working-age population.

The dilemma of the developing countries is that their economies are based on the sale on the international market of primary products, the price of which they have been unable, so far, to control. In general they have limited reserves, limited local capital available for investment, and a tax structure inadequate for development on a scale commensurate with the needs of development.

The Seminar considered the patterns of world trade especially as they affect developing countries, which rely upon

* The Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee at its meeting on 7 September, 1971, agreed that the topic for the next Commonwealth Specialist Conference, projected for early 1973, should be "Teacher Education".

the world markets for adequate prices for their unprocessed primary products. Although local processing can help to create employment some countries have found traditional buyers unwilling to accept produce if even the first stages of processing have been completed in the countries of origin. The disproportionate effect on the economies of countries such as Ceylon or Malaysia occasioned by quite small fluctuations in world prices for tea or rubber were cited as typical examples of the dilemma. The solution may lie in part in a more concerted approach to buyers by primary producing countries, as well as in continued efforts to diversify production within each country. The potential role of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation in the field of export promotion was described and delegates welcomed its inauguration.

(i) Financial resources

Financial resources for the creation of employment opportunities cannot be envisaged as exclusively a national responsibility, although a helpful climate can be created through such measures as tax relief, farm subsidies and pioneer status for rural or small industries. Care should be taken to avoid the situation, not uncommon in recent years, in which such concessions have encouraged the promotion of unduly capital-intensive enterprises.

The relationship of international aid to development and employment opportunity gives rise to much controversy. The Seminar agreed that in principle the untying of aid (a topic considered in detail in the Pearson Report*) would very probably exert a direct and beneficial effect on the number of employment opportunities in the developing countries, and that in the long run this would be also to the benefit of the richer countries. The Seminar, however, recognised that this principle has to operate within the context of political feasibility. Some anomalies in the present aid situation were recalled, such as the fact that very few aid donors find it possible to commit in any one year all the funds earmarked for this purpose. Two major reasons which appeared to account for this were the receipt of an insufficient number of acceptable submissions to donor countries, and the increasing reluctance of some developing countries to subscribe to the conditions accompanying tied aid.

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* Lester B. Pearson (ed): Partners in Development, London, Pall Mall Press, 1970.

Resources in terms of money should be sought from as wide a range of potential contributors as possible, from local earnings and local capital supplemented by overseas capital and international aid.

(ii) Manpower resources

Manpower for the creation of additional employment opportunity, like the necessary money, must be sought on both the national and international market. Local skills will need the reinforcement of imported expertise. The need is particularly great for the production of technical teacher-trainers, without whom no programme of technical and vocational training can hope to reach its potential of efficiency. Local skills, however, should not be neglected and should be sought especially among craftsmen and small-scale entrepreneurs who are not conventionally classed as educators. Master craftsmen and master farmers have already made a successful contribution to job creation through apprenticeship schemes in a number of countries and expansion should be possible.

(iii) Organisational resources

Programmes for development must rest finally with national governments, but for their implementation central authorities should rely heavily on participation by voluntary organisations, trade and commercial bodies, and on young people themselves. The work of creating job opportunities and implementing programmes in itself provides jobs at a number of levels. Representative bodies with executive powers within the overall plan can provide both hope and dignity for those involved.

(b) Improving employment prospects for young people

The marshalling of resources provides the necessary material with which to build a structure of employment, but it is only the beginning. The situation in any country is extremely complex. In New Guinea and Hong Kong, for example, young people leaving school frequently find themselves precluded from employment because of legislation which lays down a minimum age for young workers. In many countries, girls have to choose between a few opportunities traditionally allocated to females, or work in the home. The practical problem of wage-structures, too, exacerbates the situation. It is not unusual to find in a developing country a ratio between highest and lowest wages of 20:1, where a healthy ratio is deemed to be about 6 or 7:1. The

cost of government employees' pension schemes may run at ten times that government's investment in an employment programme. Young people view this with resentment. The social and economic health of a number of countries rests in the altruism with which governments approach the problem of creating employment opportunities.

The development of suitable technologies can play a valuable part in increasing employment. Such technology must be related directly to the level and needs of each society. Dangers are inherent both in excessive concentration on capital-intensive technology and in uncritical acceptance of labour-intensive processes. Machines are neutral. Their usefulness lies in their selective application to ensure, in the context of the developing countries, maximum efficiency commensurate with maximum labour absorption. The work of bodies such as the Intermediate Technology Development Group has much to offer. Universities should be urged to concentrate their powerful research facilities on the development of intermediate technology and the search for means to increase job opportunities.

Self-employment offers many possibilities and merits much more attention. The modest achievements in this sphere so far serve to highlight the lack of entrepreneurial skills in many developing countries. The Seminar suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat should identify instances of the successful training and establishment of entrepreneurs and circulate resulting information widely. The need for managerial training was recognised as a potential direct contribution to promoting employment opportunities. The service occupations, too, seem to offer one area of potential employment which could grow quickly in many developing countries.

There was general agreement on the desirability of involving industry in skills training. The difficulties in this were fully appreciated: small family businesses are reluctant to accept apprentices from among general applicants, companies are reluctant to spend money on the training of employees who then leave to offer their newly-acquired skills elsewhere. Some form of inducement payments to firms might be necessary, and reluctance on the part of trades unions might have to be overcome. Nevertheless, the undertaking of training by industry was seen as a social responsibility not to be avoided.

The Seminar considered the merits of tourism as a source of employment and of foreign exchange. The experience

of some countries has not been entirely happy and those now embarking on tourist programmes could well benefit from lessons learned by others. The recent Commonwealth Secretariat report on the development of the tourist industry in Commonwealth countries was noted. Several major problems were cited. In some countries tourism has generated jobs only at the lowest level; countries should try to ensure for their nationals the opportunity for posts at all levels. In some cases "package tours" have resulted in countries experiencing all the disadvantages of disruption of their traditional ways without commensurate benefits by way of a significant influx of foreign exchange. In some instances the inflow of foreign exchange is illusory; if food and other goods are not produced locally and have to be imported to cater for the tourist trade then little net profit tends to accrue in terms of convertible currency.

(c) Training programmes for young people

Education and training for young people should not be planned on too short a time scale. Programmes tailored too closely to immediate needs may overlook the long-term need to provide for retraining as technology and employment patterns change. Nevertheless, immediate needs cannot be overlooked. Manpower surveys, for example, have a useful role to play when strategies are to be reassessed, even though the limitations of such surveys are not to be overlooked. The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation may provide a useful source for the organisation of manpower surveys as well as for ongoing evaluation and revision of existing surveys. This work can lead to a more effective system of technical education, geared to the production of technically trained young people with skills directly related to opportunities in the modern sector but with sufficient basic understanding to be able to benefit from additional training or retraining.

Training programmes intended to have a significant impact on the employment situation would need to be organised on a scale greater than that considered adequate so far. They would need to be designed as part of a comprehensive attack on unemployment through properly planned youth mobilisation schemes linked to national development plans and operated under high-level administrative control. Vocational training, youth services, settlement schemes and other training enterprises conducted in a vacuum can be at best temporary palliatives. They may even exacerbate the situation if young people, having given their time to such training, find themselves still without a satisfying occupation at the end of it.

The most encouraging area for growth in employment opportunities is in rural-based activities. In most Asian countries only 10%-12% of the GNP is derived from the industrial sector, and it is unrealistic to anticipate the absorption of more than 15% to 20% of the labour force in this sector. If, however, young people can be induced to assist in the development of an efficient infrastructure in less urbanised areas, the prospects would be brighter. The development of medium-sized "market" towns, smaller than the cities but with many of the amenities, could transform the situation in many countries. They would attract labour-intensive, locally-oriented light industries, provide the service base necessary for improved agriculture, obviate the necessity to migrate to distant cities in order to enjoy the attractions of urban life, and provide a ready market for local agricultural produce. The prospects of self-employment, too, would be greatly enhanced. In many countries the appeal to young people to return to the land will be ignored while the disparity between the known disadvantages of rural existence and the supposed attractions of the town remain so great. One solution may be "to take the town to the countryside" and train young people for the new needs of the community.

The relationship between training and employment prospects should be that of mutual reinforcement within a national policy. Untrained youngsters may not be able to take advantage of potential opportunities; on the other hand, opportunities may not exist until their possibility is recognised by the trained observer. In the modern sector much closer links need to be established between industry and education, as, for example, in Singapore, where firms are committed to absorbing the output of technical training courses and providing further training.

Enhancing the status of rural occupations

The status of rural occupations will rise only when the rewards can be equated with those obtainable elsewhere. Exhortations about the essential dignity of labour and the merit of all honest work have fallen on deaf ears for at least a century and a half in Commonwealth countries. They will continue to do so when the visible evidence confounds the oral assurance.

Status is increasingly related to income. Raising the status of rural occupations would involve raising the income-level and the material conditions enjoyed by those engaged in them. Other endeavours must be considered as, at best, reinforcement and subsidiary to this main requirement. A few

hopeful signs can be seen, such as a slight but perceptible change of status in some areas since the Green Revolution, with some prominent men moving into rural areas.

A number of activities can be instituted to reinforce the effort to raise income-levels. Among these there may be included assistance to improved production, storage and marketing techniques; the injection of substantial capital, especially through loan finance; the provision of a broadly based infrastructure of services; and the rationalisation of land tenure. Other activities directed towards the improvement of status and the rural dweller's self-image could include the use of the mass media (as in the Indian Radio Rural Forum), the regular inclusion in national honours lists of agricultural workers, and the organisation of high-quality exhibitions and shows.

In terms of direct action for and by young people, Young Farmers' Clubs commend themselves, both as sources of training and leadership, and also as suitable bases for co-operative activities. (Much useful information could be exchanged on factors affecting the success of different types of co-operatives.)

Opinion is divided about means by which young people in rural areas might be given equality of educational opportunity, an important consideration in raising the status of those areas. Positive discrimination in favour of rural children appeared to be an over-simplistic and essentially inefficient system. Existing concentration in textbooks on the urban environment could be seriously challenged. Means to ensure the posting of high-quality staff into rural schools would bear investigation once more, possibly in the context of bonus payments or notional additions to years of service for promotion purposes.

In this connection, the Seminar welcomed the possibility that the Commonwealth Secretariat might undertake research and organise meetings on the increasingly important topics of testing, measurement and selection processes.

Control and co-ordination of youth programmes

The Seminar agreed that national governments must accept responsibility and play a decisive role at the level of general policy. One principle which adduced much support was that governments should provide the general framework for the system, within which non-government organisations could operate with maximum flexibility and freedom. The government was

recognised as the best agency for co-ordinating and integrating national youth policies and programmes, once these had been formulated in full co-operation with the communities and groups (including young people themselves) who would be involved in their implementation. Such a national machinery should be built so as to make possible swift adjustment to change in social and economic patterns, and should provide for the direct access of its representatives to points of political power and decision-making across the range of Ministerial responsibilities. This is vital at both planning and administrative levels.

Youth programmes not infrequently break down at the level of local administration and implementation. Planning should take into account the need to ensure effective follow-through right down the line. Malaysia, Ceylon and India have each well-developed structures for planning and administration of several youth programmes, although it is yet too early fully to evaluate them. They have arisen out of each country's growing experience, and have been planned to fit within the social and governmental context of each country. Their continuing experience and later evaluation will be of immense benefit to other countries in the earlier stages of developing such organisational arrangements. Facilities should be provided for national leaders to be kept abreast of developments and opinions in the youth field.

The particular advantages of non-governmental agencies were listed. Among activities mentioned as best undertaken by such agencies were religious education, sporting and cultural activities, experimental projects, and the promotion of means by which young people and their views might be brought into the public arena. Finally, a familiar philosophical point was raised as to how far recently independent countries in developing their structures are doomed to repeat the blunders of other countries and how far the experiences of others can be of value in accelerating smooth progress. This in turn indicated the need for efficient methods of evaluating programmes, adequate systems for which did not appear to exist yet. It was pointed out that continuous evaluation was necessary and that in developing programmes adequate arrangements should be made for building in evaluative procedures rather than embarking on assessment as an afterthought. It was suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat had a valuable role to play in the evaluation of programmes and it was strongly recommended that the Secretariat should produce a basic, practical handbook on methods of evaluating youth programmes.

Co-ordination of programmes will be facilitated primarily by the production of a national policy within which each agency can recognise a precise function. Having thus established the strategy, ongoing supervision can be exercised best by a genuinely representative and executive National Youth Council. The bodies now established in Malaysia commend themselves as examples of an attempt to involve young people in directing the policy of the organisations which are designed to serve them.

CHAPTER 3

The Implementation of Programmes

Today's ten-year old child will not expect to retire until the year 2025. By that time the world population will have increased from today's 3,700 millions to perhaps 10,000 millions. Nor does the problem stop there. By the year 2100 it is possible that the world's population will have reached 50,000 millions. These data underline the urgency of the search for effective youth training strategies while the problem can still be comprehended. If the relatively modest increase to date in the numbers of young people has given rise to the stress and unrest so evident now, how much more intense will the problem grow by the time our children are middle-aged? And what can our grandchildren expect in 2070, when the population of India alone will exceed the total world population today?*

The needs of individuals do not end as they pass from youth into adulthood and age. "Education for educability" and "training for retraining" are already familiar slogans, even if their implications are reflected only spasmodically in development programmes. Education, as the Seminar agreed, is a dimension of life, not a time of life, and the problems attributed to youth are essentially problems of national development. Education must be interwoven with individual needs and national purpose, the pattern changing as the social and economic settings change. The stage has already been passed when the demand for continuing education had to be stimulated; the challenge now is to respond adequately to the clamour for supervision. The time has gone, too, when education and training could be handed out to grateful recipients as selected revelations from the arcanum of the guardians of knowledge. Education and training today must be accepted as

* See, for example, W.H. Pawley, "In the year 2070", Ceres 22, Vol. 4, No. 4, July-August 1971, pp.22-27, and S.R. Eyre, address to the British Association, 3 September 1971, The Times, 4 September 1971.

open activities involving participants from the widest range of background and experience. Training programmes for young people, constructed with vision and implemented with honesty, offer real hope for controlled progress towards personal and national fulfilment.

Training needs

(a) Identification of needs and activities

The purpose of a youth training programme is to help the individual young person to develop into a well-integrated and active participant in the life of his society. Formal education of a conventional kind cannot be judged to have done this with unqualified success so far - nor should the system be condemned for this, because until very recently its objectives have been hardly ever formulated. As the Jewish proverb has it: "If you don't know where you are going, any road will take you there." Nor do all young people pass through the formal educational system, so that out-of-school provision needs to be made to reach both the unschooled and those who have left school.

Young people represent a strong element of society and are coming increasingly to recognise their potential power. Realism, therefore, requires that they be trained for responsible involvement in their societies. And, as with other skills, responsibility is best learned on the job. This is the first training need in every country. Youth will participate, with or without invitation: by external pressure, demonstration and dissent if not invited to participate, with enthusiasm and idealism if they are. The pressure by Chinese students in Hong Kong to have the Chinese language recognised as the official language and the recent disturbances in Ceylon illustrate the intensity of feeling among young people seeking to influence decisions which will affect their future.

Training should be directed to short-term goals set in the wider context of long-term national objectives; trainees can be shown how these will contribute to their society. In this way a balance can be struck between individual and national needs.

Educational programmes have traditionally based themselves heavily on the absorption of knowledge. Since training programmes will cover many categories of young people - the unschooled, the drop-outs, school-leavers and those still in school - a more comprehensive approach is required. An overall

training programme will seek to enable young people to acquire skills, values and attitudes as well as knowledge, or, in the terminology of Bloom's taxonomy, to range over the affective and psycho-motor as well as the cognitive domains.* The programme should be directed towards five major areas: the development of the individual; counselling and guidance; vocational training; the promotion of active and informed citizenship and the inculcation of national consciousness; and the satisfying use of leisure.

Not all young people will acknowledge their need for such a programme, nor will all their elders. At a time, however, when there is an increasing trend to respect excellence rather than merely age or status, and when experience is devalued in rapidly changing societies, the need for training programmes is basic to a healthy community, as is a revised appreciation of youth by older people. Effective strategy for youth must incorporate a re-education of adult attitudes to young people. The older generation must learn to listen to young people's views and make opportunities available if training programmes are not to serve merely to intensify the problem they set out to solve.

A comprehensive programme, then, should include elements of social, political and vocational training, and should be flexible enough to attract the widest range of participants, including those who may be reluctant to recognise their need for training. Such a programme cannot be implemented according to one formula, but will vary with the age and environment of the participants. Four distinct categories of young people may be identified in most countries of the region: those born in towns; those recently arrived in towns; rural youth with land; and rural youth without land. Within these broad groups there appears a multiplicity of factors affecting their training needs. Individuals vary by social class, family income level, educational standard, ethnic and religious loyalties. Training provision must in addition take into account factors external to the individual: the geographic, demographic and economic situation, employment opportunities, development trends and national goals. The matrix of components making up the training needs of each individual is thus complex. The solution lies in the designation of broad programmes allowing

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* Bloom, B.S. (ed.) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook I, Cognitive Domain, New York, David McKay Company, 1956. Krathwohl, D.R. Bloom, B.S. and Masia, B.B. Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Handbook II, Affective Domain, New York, David McKay Company, 1964.

for flexible interpretation.

Fears were expressed by the Seminar that unless programmes are carefully constructed they may perpetuate differences among sectors of the population. The constricting effects on educational diversification of university entrance requirements were closely argued. If these can be overcome then practical skills training should be part of the course content of all institutions through to the highest levels.

For the four major groups of young people, the Seminar suggested that programmes might include:

(i) Urban youth. The investigation of new areas of employment and preparation of young people to take advantage of them. Training in management and administration should increase the employment capacity of many offices and enable them usefully to absorb more young people at lower levels. Other possible areas for employment include road transport and the mass media, as well as industry, trade and commerce. Social and leisure activities should also be provided, together with opportunities for self-improvement.

(ii) Rural youth with land. The provision of wide-ranging extension services would help traditional farming families to acquire the skills necessary for successful modern agriculture.

(iii) Rural landless youth. Emphasis should be put on training for self-employment rather than for wage-employment. The organisation of co-operative groups of self-employed young people would help towards efficiency and security.

Programmes of youth training, according to the need, may be built around peripatetic youth workers, youth clubs, evening classes, settlements, youth organisations or youth services, or some combination of these. The one criterion for success is that the programme should respond to the expressed needs of young people. This implies their participation in the formulation of policy as well as the later conduct of the agreed programme.

(b) The location of training activities

The Seminar emphasised that, whenever possible, training should be provided on the job or in the trainees' own environment as a supplement to the education and experience gained in other ways. It is important to recognise that youth work is not something that has to be carried out in formal organisations, but a service which should be taken in appropriate forms to young people wherever they may be found. Education may take place within the family, in the local community, in the workplace, in special institutions and, increasingly, through the mass media. The task of those involved in youth work is to combine these elements into a cohesive whole.

Every youngster can benefit from work experience as an integral part of his basic education. India has for some time made considerable efforts in this direction, and voices in support of work experience have now been raised in the more developed countries.*

Training institutions may be justified in particular circumstances. They may be necessary when the population is widely dispersed or when specialised equipment is to be used. They have a role, too, in bringing young people together in order to foster a mutual appreciation of each other's problems and promote national consciousness. The catchment area of institutions should be delineated in the light of local conditions so as to avoid drawing young people away permanently from their home areas, a difficulty which has been encountered in Papua-New Guinea, where trainees might be required to travel up to one hundred miles to the training centre.

(c) The role of youth services

Youth services, both voluntary and compulsory, may have a useful role to play but should be developed with caution. Whether such services are successful depends largely on the careful definition of objectives. Some services are intended to train for employment in the short-term, others are designed for the production in the long-term of integrated members of society. In the case of the former, it is essential for governments to appreciate the need to generate sufficient employment opportunities to absorb the output from the youth services. If this is not done then the ratio of the programme costs to the results may widen to indefensible proportions, while the young people leaving the service and failing to find employment will have their heightened

* e.g. D.A. Goslin, "Children in the World of Work", New Society, 2.9.71.

aspirations frustrated.

Voluntary national youth movements may find a useful role in certain circumstances, but have not enjoyed great success in the region so far. Any such undertakings would require careful evaluation. Comprehensive and compulsory youth services, on the other hand, appear appropriate and feasible only in particular situations, where, for example, a country's security is threatened or its cohesion not yet established, or where the existing levels of educational opportunity are very low. The National Service in Singapore represents a model worthy of study. It includes both military and civil sections and its Vigilante Corps in particular emphasises the value of community service and personal competence. In a multiracial society such compulsory service can help materially in promoting national consciousness and integration.

Follow-up to programmes

Follow-up to programmes may be interpreted in two senses: evaluation of the programmes themselves; or further assistance to young people who have completed a particular training period.

Programme evaluation should be built in to the system if it is to achieve acceptable levels of efficiency and be able to meet criticism with reasoned argument rather than philosophic generalities. Evaluation, too, provides guidance for programme adjustment to meet changing needs.

The Seminar recognised the problem of training programmes being conducted in vacuo, isolated from the mainstreams of education and the labour market. It was agreed that training programmes must be constructed as an integral part of the overall development plan if they are to contribute effectively to the growth of a dynamic society. Programmes must include among their responsibilities the continuing care of young people who have completed their formal training. Arrangements must be made for the absorption of these youngsters into rewarding and satisfying occupations, with the opportunity of returning for further training as the need and desire arise.

Settlement schemes

During the last ten years many countries have experimented with settlement schemes as a means of providing an occupation for otherwise unemployable young people. These are

often young people completing their service with youth services. The degree of success has been variable. Costs have often been high (equivalent to the costs of the first two years of medical school in one instance) while the numbers for whom places can be found remain an insignificant proportion of those in need of help. Problems have arisen for social and economic reasons. Drop-out rates have been high.

Settlement schemes, then, cannot be regarded as a means of providing for a large number of school leavers and other young people without jobs. Their value lies in their challenging example, the opening of remote areas for farming, and the opportunity to educate young people in communal living in new nations. Perhaps governments have been unduly limited in their concept of settlement schemes; few have ventured into schemes other than farming. The possibility of settlement programmes based on rural industries, workshops using intermediate technology, or craft co-operatives would bear investigation.

The problems of settlements are many. Demand can always be anticipated to exceed the number of available places, so that selection becomes important. Poor selection may result in wasted training places or disruption of the communal spirit. Investigations into methods of selection and follow-up studies in an attempt to determine the characteristics of successful trainees would be of wide interest.

Short-term and permanent settlements share some fundamental problems, such as that of selection, but also have problems particular to themselves. The shadow hanging over short-term programmes is how to absorb the output, how to integrate the trained young people into their communities as fully contributing members. This situation can easily lead to further programmes being arranged, until short-term settlers are transformed into almost permanent trainees or government dependents.

The major difficulty associated with permanent settlements is the lack of balance in the community. It is a village with no tradition, no elders and no infants. Similar problems have been faced in new towns and new housing estates in richer countries. Forty years must pass before a natural balance emerges. Until then there remain problems of universal demand for particular services, such as schools, and an absence of that security bestowed by continuity. In the case of settlement schemes where each individual is allocated a given area of land, a problem arises

when the children of the first-generation settlers seek independence. The land which can support one family cannot support four, so that eventual emigration and need for more land must be anticipated.

When settlement schemes are established, care should be taken to ensure that adequate facilities are provided. Enough ancillary staff must be trained to support the farmers or producers. Book-keepers, store-keepers and managers, craftsmen and technicians, are essential to the running of any enterprise. Marketing arrangements must be negotiated, communications provided and general services brought in. Youth is a passing phase of life. The young pioneer in the permanent settlement scheme will soon be middle-aged. Settlement scheme plans must be drawn up to cater for the long-term pattern of his needs.

Content of training programmes

(a) Relationship to current employment opportunities

Revised school curricula could be devised to give pupils some introduction to pre-occupational studies. Such developments are planned for Ceylon, while the reports of the Maharashtra Action Research Project in Occupational Education and Training provide valuable guidance for such undertakings.* Nevertheless, it must be assumed that the bulk of youth training will be undertaken out of school.

The appeal of a training programme to young people is primarily the hope which it offers of eventual employment. On the other hand, programmes linked too closely to short-term employment opportunities expose themselves to two major criticisms: they may well be unable to adjust themselves quickly to changing needs, and they must either restrict their intake or run the risk of overproduction and consequent unemployment of their graduates. The solution seems to lie in the evolution of training programmes which prepare young people for types of employment (rural and urban) rather than detailed operations within those types of employment. Such training would also go some way to meet the issue of whether training should be directed to the benefit of the individual or the needs of the state, for both would be met. Programmes of this type should be underpinned by research and

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* Maharashtra Action Research Project in Occupational Education and Training: Report and papers of the programming workshops held at Poona, 25-27 September 1969, Institute of Education, Poona.

evaluation activities to determine their success, and should be associated with the development of techniques of vocational guidance.

Activities in a number of countries in the region provide useful indications of the possibilities of training programmes. The 'Occupational Studies' proposals for Ceylon are intended to provide young people with the ability to learn new skills and provide a ladder to more sophisticated training. Emphasis here is on enabling young people to continue to live with their families while making it possible for them to follow new productive avenues over and above the range of economic activities already pursued by the family - such as diversified farming or rural crafts. The Malaysian National Development Corps gives short-term training to young people from rural areas in the hope of promoting an awareness of the possibilities of rural occupations.

Training programmes, to attract young people, must offer some way forward towards employment. Too close a link with immediate employment prospects, however, may lead to disillusion and wasted investment in training. Programmes, therefore, should generally concern themselves with providing training in skills of general applicability, so allowing for later specialisation or retraining.

(b) The balance between vocational and non-vocational elements

Many countries, concerned at the impact of uncontrolled mass media on young people, have felt the need to provide their youth with a sound basis for exercising judgement and discrimination. This becomes even more important when the young people are additionally vulnerable through having failed to gain a school place or a job. Training programmes which concentrate solely on teaching skills may provide technicians and craftsmen; they will not necessarily produce useful citizens. The balance in any particular programme must be adjusted in the light of several variables: the social and educational background of the trainees, their employment prospects on completion of training, the relative influence and spread of the mass media.

(c) The role of social youth programmes

The Seminar recognised the gravity of social problems in the region caused by such factors as the breakdown of the joint family system in some areas with consequent lack of security. In

addition to social programmes designed to compensate for such situations, the need for unification of multi-racial and poly-cultural societies, the desirability of integrating handicapped young people into their communities, and the importance of providing support for young people recently immigrated into towns, all serve to illustrate the need for such programmes. In Papua-New Guinea it has been observed that tensions exist often between unschooled young people and secondary school leavers; social programmes where they could meet on common ground could well help to ease the situation. Activities such as the summer programmes and social service projects in Hong Kong or those of the Freetown Boys' Society in Sierra Leone show the value of programmes which both bring young people together informally and enable them to contribute practically to their communities. In implementing its national programme of physical education, India is endeavouring to provide young people with healthy social programmes which are modest in cost and devoid of political implications, regimentation or indoctrination. Social youth programmes complement vocational training and meet needs which, though less publicised, may in their eventual effects, be as grave as the need for jobs.

Programmes for women and girls

In principle the Seminar deplored the need to mention separately the needs of women and girls, considering them as full and equal members of the population; in practice it accepted the importance of so doing because of the particular difficulties to which they are subject. The conclusion of the Seminar was that a minimum of special kinds of programmes should be devised to cater for the needs of young women and girls. Essentially, their needs should be recognised and means to meet them incorporated into general programme plans. As far as possible, programmes should involve boys and girls together in mixed organisations. Youth work should treat young women on equal terms with men, but recognise certain different needs arising from local circumstances.

In many countries girls are removed from school at an early stage, so that they have special needs in out-of-school education. In societies where women are considered to be subservient to men, they will tend to be so regarded by youth workers, and attempts to change attitudes may result in severe social tensions. Exhortations at the national level will have little effect if not restated with conviction by local leaders. The complexity of the problem, however, should not lead to its neglect. In most countries

women comprise more than half the total population and their right to equal opportunities for education and training should be established, not least because of the benefit to the nation at large. "Men cannot be fully educated if women are not."

The principle of equal opportunities for men and women enjoys at least acceptance in principle in most countries and is actively encouraged in some, for example, India, Hong Kong and Singapore. Certain new difficulties can arise, as when the employment of women on equal terms with men aggravates the employment problem and they are seen as usurpers. Where women are admitted to employment it is not infrequently found that those jobs ascribed to them are those which offer a lower financial return.

Youth workers

As the quality of formal education depends upon the teachers so does the quality of the youth service depend upon its personnel. Planning tends to be dominated by economists seeking measurable increments of productivity, but development should be more than this. Training programmes for young people should not overlook the human factor; if such programmes are to be of maximum benefit the youth workers directing them must themselves be of high calibre and professionally trained.

Training policy for youth workers can best be devised through the joint efforts of government and non-official bodies. A national policy so constructed should be realistic in its recog nition that young people should be prepared for responsibility. Youth workers, therefore, should be able to nurture this in the young people in their care, not all of whom will realise the need for such training. The training of youth workers thus becomes a matter of direct importance to the future of society. Young people generally acknowledge their limitations and welcome positive leadership. The task of the youth worker is to advise and befriend those among whom he is working and inspire them with confidence in their ability to carry out the role which will be theirs.

Top-level youth workers need to be exceptionally able if they are to train and encourage a number of group leaders in their area. They should be skilled in case work, group work and community work. They must be familiar with informal educational techniques and competent in administration and management. They should be able to train associates to work with them. People of this calibre are in short supply in any

country and are sought eagerly for many posts other than that of youth worker. In the future, leaders may be expected to emerge from among young people themselves, but at the present stage of youth programmes, leaders, particularly at higher levels, will frequently have to be recruited from among adults who have not passed through the system.

The present status of the youth worker does not make it easy to recruit suitable people.

By and large the status of the full-time youth worker falls between those of the teacher and the social worker without the security or career prospects of either. Means should be sought to ensure parity of status with other similar professionals and methods devised of facilitating an interchange of functions (as happens to some extent with school counsellors). Inter-disciplinary training in third-level institutions preparing teachers and other educational and social workers might help to this end.

When selecting youth workers it should not be overlooked that the roles of youth trainer and youth worker are not mutually exclusive. Perhaps the most hopeful way to raise standards in youth work is to use high-level youth workers to improve the training skills of group and club leaders. If youth workers are to organise training for group leaders then they themselves must be able to pass on the fundamentals of economics and political science as well as psychology and sociology. Leaders should be politically and socially aware. Essentially, a course of training for youth workers should include three elements: the personal development of the student to meet the social and educational demands of the job; elements of psychology and sociology for the better understanding of individual and group behaviour; and training in the practical skills necessary to operate effectively.

At levels below that of the professionally qualified youth worker, suitable training schedules should be formulated. As far as possible training should be carried out on the job rather than in institutions. The Seminar commended the scheme in Hong Kong whereby youth workers operate among families in apartment blocks, observing their life styles and behaviour patterns. It is hoped that in this way the youth workers will gain an increased understanding of the backgrounds of the young people with whom they are involved, a knowledge vital for effective social work.

Nor should the value of on-going training be overlooked.

Training should be conceived as a continuing and progressive process. This may well involve the assignment of youth workers to theoretical and field work in turn, and the provision of facilities for comparative studies at home and overseas. The recognition of additional training by means of a formal qualification should be considered.

The efficient deployment of youth workers presents every country with difficulties. One such problem is whether to allocate staff to tackle the problem of maladjusted and anti-social young people, or to concentrate limited resources on provision for the much greater numbers of ordinary young people who can also benefit from help and guidance. The potential value of peripatetic training teams of experienced youth workers was commended, as was the effective contribution which can be made by "detached" youth workers - individuals whose responsibility is to seek young people in need of help within the community rather than waiting for them to present themselves at a youth club or office.

Reaching the "unclubbable"

Those young people who do not make use of youth services decline to participate because they see little advantage by so doing. Too many programmes are geared not to the real needs of youngsters, but to the needs which adults think youth have. Such a lack of communication in the design of programmes may not only do little good, it may do positive harm by further alienating those young people whose response to the youth services is antipathetic.

This implies that the first step towards reaching the unclubbable is to give them what they want, be it study places as refuge from their overcrowded homes, or informal entertainment as a contrast to the constraints of traditional family life. The second step is to present a challenge which young people are likely to pick up. The Canadian Opportunities for Youth Programme has attempted just this. Public funds have been set aside and young people invited to produce worthwhile projects. Some 40,000 young people have been involved in the programme in 1971, which will undoubtedly have long-reaching effects on society and the government. Acceptance of the contribution which young people can make, and the presenting of opportunities for idealism and adventure, are likely to bring far more youngsters into the ambit of the youth services than any exhortations based on self-interest, ethics or patriotism.

The organisation and publicising of such programmes will depend on the production of youth workers who can develop unstrained relationships with young people. These workers will have to adjust their approach to the local situation, by acting as club leaders, detached workers or in peripatetic teams, by recruiting help from the commercial entertainment industry, the mass media and interested individuals, but above all, by seeking the opinions and co-operation of the young people themselves.

Young delinquents

The causes of delinquency - anti-social behaviour of a type necessitating formal sanctions - are to be sought in a wide variety of sources, social, economic and psychological. Rehabilitation programmes, therefore, should have the flexibility necessary to deal appropriately with each of these causes, singly and conjointly. As far as possible programmes for young delinquents should be designed to reintegrate the offender fully into his society and may often be carried out in the community. One country is understood to refuse employment in any capacity in the public sector to any young person who has spent time in an approved school. This attitude can serve only to prove to the youngster that his rehabilitation will never be complete. Rehabilitation of young offenders should be regarded, like all youth work, as training in social development. Satisfactory completion of a rehabilitation course should leave the youngster as a full citizen with full rights.

Youth workers should examine the legislation relating to the young offender and put forward suggestions for emendations, so ensuring that legal provision remains apposite to current conditions.

Youth workers, too, can play a valuable part in preventing delinquency. The Seminar commended the experiment in Hong Kong whereby workers try to reach youngsters in street gangs by meeting the groups in an effort to build a bridge between them and the community.

Involving educated youth

Young people who have left school and those who are in higher education represent both common problems and prospective solutions. Schooling frequently breaks traditional bonds and leaves young people dissatisfied and alienated from their own community without the compensation of an alternative philosophy

or social grouping. The disorientation of the educated youth of humble origin was mentioned in relation to both Ceylon and New Guinea, but is certainly a phenomenon common to all countries. An interesting experiment in Hong Kong has been the enlistment of university students to help with programmes for young people with behaviour problems, so bringing the issues home to the privileged groups and enabling them to play a practical part in remedial treatment. In helping to reintegrate the deviants into the life of the community the students must come to terms with their own situation which is, not infrequently, alienation of a different order. This approach to the situation indicates an appreciation by the authorities of the need to build into educational programmes some opportunities for students to take on responsibility for community improvement. The adoption of villages by individual institutions in India also serves to illustrate to the privileged young people the real problems of their fellow countrymen.

Where pools of educated unemployed young people exist, useful activities can be undertaken provided that morale is maintained. In Tonga, for example, such young people organise group "working days" when they help out with jobs on their parents' holdings. In Sierra Leone, the Freetown Boys' Society started a voluntary programme of beautifying their city by cultivating flowers and shrubs at petrol stations. Young people do not lack initiative and constructive thought provided that family and social pressures do not stultify them.

When young people are allowed to participate the results frequently exceed the expectations of their elders. The Fiji National Youth Council, like the Malaysian National Youth Consultative Council, is consulted by the government, so bringing young people directly into the decision-making process. The organisation by the Malaysian Youth Council of the National Youth Week in 1971 served to demonstrate the administrative and executive ability of young people, once the challenge and opportunity are presented.

Conclusion

As the Seminar recognised, an essential role for educated youth is to educate their elders into an appreciation of the problems and potential contribution of young people. What young people need is an inspirational situation, a worthwhile example set by their elders, and the opportunity to put their altruistic idealism at the service of their communities. Young people are already among the leaders of many nations; to brush aside the

claims of youth in other countries is but to delay the inevitable. It is the youth of today who must live in the world of tomorrow. They should not be denied the opportunity of participating in its construction.

CHAPTER 4

Commonwealth Co-operation

Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Pacific channel their co-operative activities through a number of organisations to which they belong. In addition, much is achieved on a bilateral basis, countries negotiating directly with each other. Co-operation on the basis of Commonwealth membership should be designed to make a specific contribution which is not made in other ways and to meet needs which are not met by other arrangements. Commonwealth co-operation should take advantage of the unique possibilities of this world association, making maximum use of informal relationships and avoiding undue parochialism, while recognising the need to relate activities directly to real national needs.

Within this context the Seminar affirmed the need to promote Commonwealth co-operation to assist members in resolving the serious and growing problems associated with the increasing numbers of young people in their countries. Such co-operation should not be limited to programmes of education and training. This would be to treat the symptom rather than the disease, an essential part of the operation but by no means meeting the whole need. The effects of international trading patterns and international aid, for example, exert direct influence on employment and development, and cannot be omitted from a consideration of areas of mutual concern in relation to the youth problem.

The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

The recently approved Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation offers a range of possibilities for assistance in the youth field. At their meeting in Nassau on 21 September, 1971, for example, the Board of Representatives of the Fund decided that its scope should be widened to include export market development. This meets a need emphasised by several participants at the Seminar. Both the technical assistance function and

the training element of the Fund offer extensive scope for mutual assistance among developing Commonwealth countries. Among possible uses of the Fund mentioned by the Seminar were the construction and reappraisal of manpower surveys, advice on the development of tourist industries, evaluation of development programmes, the training of entrepreneurs and managers, the retraining of personnel needed for reorganised education programmes, and the training of youth leaders.

Exchanges of personnel and information

The Seminar considered that the Commonwealth Secretariat, in addition to its administration of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, should augment its activities related to the exchange of personnel and information, endeavouring always to identify major problem areas and to avoid duplicating the services of other agencies.

(i) Exchanges of personnel

Under the general heading of personnel exchange the Seminar discussed exchanges at three levels: key personnel, including administrators and trainers of youth leaders; operational staff, such as youth workers and youth leaders; and young people themselves. Although general programmes of training youth workers outside their own culture are to be discouraged, the contribution made by a small number of workers who have been trained in this way may give a valuable leavening of comparative experience. As for exchanges of young people, it was felt that the exchange of young farmers, young teachers, young scientists, young politicians, etc. would be more worthwhile than the simple exchange of young people as young people.

Suggestions were made for facilitating such exchanges and for reducing the foreign currency difficulties which often operate against an expansion of exchange arrangements.

The Seminar agreed that when youth exchanges were arranged it would be helpful to provide a work experience for the youth in the receiving country; it was not considered adequate merely to provide familiarisation visits. Both from a training angle as well as a social development one, work experience was regarded as necessary. In this connection, it was felt that more attachments, of, perhaps, six months to one year, should be encouraged and that resources should be made available both at the local level and at the international level to enable a comprehensive

programme of exchange to be initiated and sustained. An expansion of the Commonwealth Secretariat Clearing House Fund was recommended. The limitations of exchange within a region were pointed out and, while the financial constraints were recognised, it was felt that every opportunity should be taken to promote inter-regional and Commonwealth-wide travel.

(ii) Information exchange

The Seminar suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat should assume responsibility for finding out from all Commonwealth countries such on-going projects as were likely to be of interest to others. These should be carefully studied and reported upon. The production of follow-up reports on settlement schemes and co-operatives were particularly mentioned. It was important to produce concise, objective reports rather than verbose discursive accounts. The Secretariat should also compile a handbook of evaluation techniques for youth programmes. The view was expressed that not enough was known about some of the resources available, such as the Clearing House Fund and the Technical Assistance Fund. The Secretariat would be well advised to give greater publicity to these, especially through voluntary agencies. It was suggested that the Secretariat might keep a register of existing training facilities, key organisations and personnel in the field.

It was suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat should sponsor a youth journal in which reports of innovative and successful projects could be included, designed essentially for the benefit of those involved in similar activities. The difficulties of producing this kind of publication were recognised, but it was agreed that the idea should be further explored, the more so in view of the time lag which frequently occurs at present between action and reporting.

It was recognised that the Secretariat could disseminate only such information as was supplied to it. Additionally, little purpose would be served by increasing the flow of paper unless it filled a positive need. The distribution of material in the form of abstracts offered one positive solution to the dilemma.

The Seminar commended the Secretariat for organising pan-Commonwealth and regional meetings on topics related to the needs of young people. The Seminar welcomed proposals for a Commonwealth Conference on Teacher Education projected for 1973, and two series of regional meetings, one on educational

planning and administration, the second on methods of selection, testing and measurement. It was suggested that a meeting of youth representatives from Commonwealth countries should be convened just before or after the World Assembly of Youth World Assembly to consider matters of particular relevance to Commonwealth members. The Seminar noted that this principle had been found economic by Commonwealth medical representatives who arrange to come together at the time of the World Health Organisation general meetings.

Training

It was suggested that there should be established an institution for providing appropriate training for the trainers of youth leaders and other senior administrative personnel, something in the nature of a staff college. While the idea gained some support, it was emphasised that the question of institution building as opposed to on-the-job training should be approached with extreme caution. The Seminar agreed that the most realistic way of approaching training for leadership at most levels is in the field. Where this is not possible certain courses already available in higher education might be considered appropriate to particular needs. Only if such alternative arrangements proved inadequate should a special institution be created.

Other activities

Attention was drawn to the fact that an inadequate number of requests was received for some forms of assistance. This, it was thought, might have been due at least in part to the fact that there is little expertise available for formulating projects appropriately. It was suggested that the Commonwealth Secretariat might be of some assistance in project preparation.

The need has arisen in the Commonwealth countries of the region, notably in Australia, for assistance in the teaching of Asian languages. In so far as this need could be met through youth exchange schemes and other appropriate strategies, the Commonwealth Secretariat could play a useful role in their organisation.

The Commonwealth Secretariat

The Seminar recognised that its suggestions would involve the Commonwealth Secretariat in a considerable increase in its activities. It recommended, therefore, that the Commonwealth Secretariat should be significantly strengthened in both personnel and financial resources in order to discharge effectively the role envisaged for it.

PART II

Opening Addresses

Address
by the Hon. Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Hussein
Prime Minister of Malaysia

Mr Chairman, Mr Lule, Dr Maraj, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am happy and honoured to be here this morning to declare open this Seminar on "The Role of Youth in the Development Process".

I take this opportunity to extend a very warm welcome to distinguished delegates who have come from so many countries of the Commonwealth to participate at this Seminar. A gathering such as this will no doubt be of great benefit to all of us as it provides an opportunity not only to exchange views and ideas on problems that face us, particularly the role that youth can play in the development process, but at the same time to promote closer understanding especially among youth of the Commonwealth.

I do hope that while attending this Seminar delegates will enjoy the visits to Penang and to the Youth Land Scheme at Bukit Goh in Kuantan which have been arranged for them. Above all, I hope they will have a pleasant stay in our country.

Youth and development have a special appeal for me, since the task of national development is one to which I have devoted the greater part of my political life. Long ago, in fact, the two became inseparable to my mind. If it is the future for which we plan, then any social or economic progress we achieve will be mainly for the rising generation to enjoy. The concept implicit in this Seminar's theme takes this stage a little further. Youth who are to inherit the future have, therefore, a greater vested interest than any of us in the development task and a natural right to be actively identified with the development process.

I am well aware that youth today is a subject that all too frequently occupies the headlines of the world press. The youthful protest movement has become so widespread that some see it as an inescapable 20th century phenomenon which is bound to manifest itself in all countries. However, I do not subscribe to this view. Youth in developing countries pose problems that are real enough but they differ in nature and in magnitude from

those in some of the more affluent societies of the world. I do not, therefore, regard our youth as a potential drag on development but rather as a most important asset to the nation.

In most emerging countries, youth represents the majority of the population. In our country, for instance, over 60% of our people are under the age of 25. And when this Seminar talks about the youth that you collectively represent, you are referring to millions of young people with aspirations towards a better world, who in themselves form untapped resources of energy and vitality which we can harness.

Today happens to be the day Apollo 15 reaches its destination and man will once again repeat the incredible feat of reaching the moon. I am forcibly reminded of what a vastly different world today's youth have been born into. They belong to what has been so well described as the "accelerating century". Already they have been exposed by modern science and technology to a pace of change undreamed of a generation ago. With modern communication, youths throughout the world have been made familiar with these technological triumphs. And, if the evidence of my son's comic books is anything to go by, their imagination has also been fired. In fact, in the process, they have already been conditioned to enter the Space Age.

And so we who direct our respective national development efforts are concerned to modernise, to industrialise, and to bring our countries into the technological era. Part of the drama of the developing nations' drive for modernisation lies in the fact that we are attempting, in the space of one generation, to accomplish an economic and social revolution which occupied the industrialised countries for the better part of two centuries. Those of us who knew the more leisurely world of the past are very conscious of this and fear that too rapid a transformation may produce both social and cultural dislocation in which youth would be the greatest casualties. But today's youth, who are witnesses to the type of space adventure that is being enacted, are probably more apt than we are for the new imperatives of a scientific environment.

In development, we work - and I think most countries do - to the order of the Five Year Planning. Our time horizon is mainly the Seventies. But we must not forget that our youth will live to see the 21st century. This is a sobering thought for the politician - or should I say "statesman", remembering that Chesterton distinguished between the "politician who works for

the next election" and the "statesman who works for the next generation". If we are to be true statesmen, we must take into account the needs, the desires and the ambitions of the generation for whom we plan our development. No architect would build a house without consulting the wishes of those who are to live in it and designing the house to their own way of life. Development is after all a form of social architecture and requires both consultation and active involvement on the part of youth. Without consultation, we should be unable to anticipate the changing mood and the emerging priorities of the generations that will follow us.

Our experience has shown that, unless the proper channels are set up for a meaningful dialogue with youth, this necessary consultation is hard to achieve. We in this country have therefore set up a Youth Consultative Council which I like to think of as a Parliament for Youth. Through this, the younger generation can articulate their grievances, their aspirations, their ambitions, and involve themselves in the formulation of youth programmes and policies. Their views can then be taken into account at the decision-making levels and assist the policy makers towards a genuine contemporary awareness. In this way, we hope that the youth of this country will participate meaningfully in the work of development, and that personal involvement will be an effective antidote to the alienation from society from which the youth of some countries seem to suffer.

This is not to make light of the problems confronting youth in our own countries. In developing countries the problems are different in kind. Of course, it is true that anyone born into the second half of the 20th century belongs to a generation that confronts a crisis of values. The very swiftness and, at times, violence of scientific change impose a degree of stress unknown in more leisurely centuries. Whilst landing man on the moon, our scientific advancements have also demonstrated a capacity to obliterate mankind from the earth. Traditional norms and values are breaking up under the impact of science and technology. All these contribute to a greater sense of insecurity.

These facts of contemporary life are common to youth everywhere. But beyond this commonalty, the problem may be sharply differentiated as between the advanced countries and the developing world. Where there is a surfeit of material well-being, youth tend to become estranged from society and the established order, creating the phenomenon of the hippie and the drop-out, who are as yet relatively unknown to the emerging nations.

Our problems in the developing world, on the other hand, are more concerned with the economic plight confronting many of our youth. The impetus to development has been described as the revolution of rising expectations. These rising expectations can soon turn to a dangerous frustration unless there are clear opportunities for their realisation. The problem of unemployment endemic in the developing world, which bears down relentlessly on the school leaver, is a social time bomb in our midst, easily ignited by youthful resentments.

Where there is a sizeable rural population - another characteristic of the emerging nation - this encourages the drift to the towns. The rural migrant, who is invariably unskilled, joins the urban poor. Leaving the security of the traditional kampong or village life, he becomes disoriented in the cultural and economic environment of the city and lives a hand-to-mouth existence on the fringes of urban society. Enforced idleness quickly leads to juvenile delinquence and urban crime. This accelerating trend must in my view be arrested.

Youth, therefore, becomes the focus of our development effort. Development, as I have always seen it, is a means of achieving social justice where the wealth of the nation is distributed fairly among the people. The challenge is not just to provide more job opportunities. This must be accompanied by schemes of technical training. Our youth must be equipped with the skills and the scientific know-how to sustain our programmes of industrialisation, since our aim is to create a technically competent generation.

At the same time we must guard against the dangers attendant on urbanisation and industrialisation. We have before us as warning the behaviour patterns of youth in today's advanced societies, bent on self-destruction through drug addiction and other forms of alienation. Like other forms of pollution, we must anticipate and minimise the social pollution that could overtake us too. Devoid of values and a sense of purpose, youth become more than what I call flotsam. We must inculcate in them a feeling of belonging and of identification, and inspire them with a sense of purpose in life.

So far, we have talked of what development can do for youth. We now reach the point of the supportive role youth can play in the developing process. It is dangerous to keep youngsters too long in a state of dependence without giving them the responsibility which helps to mature them. If their energies are

harnessed to the national purpose, they can provide so many tributaries - tributaries that are swift and forceful - in the mainstream of development. It is better this way than to allow them to form dangerous cross-currents impeding the nation's progress. For this, we shall need to do more than train our youth - we shall have to motivate them so that they are fully committed to a purposeful and meaningful life in the service of the nation.

Some will contend that the generation gap serves to divide the cadres of youth from the forces of the Establishment. If we might here return to the subject of Apollo 15, we may find in this a symbolic significance. The astronauts, the epitome of fitness and vitality, are symbolic of the venturesome spirit of youth. But they are guided on the ground by the cumulative knowledge, expertise and judgement of mature men of science. When a common objective unites them youth and experience are both compatible and complementary. From our own experience, the objective of development is progress, national unity and nation building.

I have often described development as a trinity comprising planning, implementation and evaluation. Of this equation, the most difficult to secure are the skills of implementation - the ability to translate plans into action. We have now established a Youth Service Corps. We also encourage student exchange programmes. The interflow of students between South-East Asian countries has done much to generate a genuine regional outlook. The Commonwealth has, of course, always enjoyed this type of interchange and I do hope that this Seminar might consider schemes for a more comprehensive and varied programme of student exchange in future.

The thought with which I leave you is that all our schemes in our respective countries should aim collectively at the peace and stability which are a necessary pre-condition for development. Let us strive to ensure that our youth will come of age in a world secure from conflict and in which they can enjoy the fruits of their efforts. Then, and only then, can we contemplate the space achievement of Apollo 15 as heralding a new era where the youth of today, by then adults, will be free to enjoy that same technology applied to the material well-being of all citizens of the world.

On that note, I declare this Seminar open and wish the distinguished delegates success in their deliberations.

Address
by the Hon. Dato Hamzah bin Haji Abu Samah
Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Malaysia

Honourable Prime Minister, Mr Lule, Dr Maraj, Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I should like on behalf of the Government and of our people to extend the hospitality of Malaysia, especially to those delegates in this room who have travelled many miles to Kuala Lumpur to attend this Seminar. It gives me very real pleasure to do this. You are not just delegates from abroad but our special friends from within the Commonwealth. You are always welcome amongst us and because of our shared background we always feel supremely comfortable with you. I hope you feel just as comfortable with us. At least we can be sure that Malaysia will present in many ways a familiar world - where English is spoken, where the pillar boxes are red, where the traffic drives on the left and all the other features of our mutual Commonwealth heritage make you feel at home.

I should like to assure the Commonwealth Secretariat that we deem it an honour and a privilege that Malaysia was chosen as the venue for so important a seminar. As Minister for Culture, Youth and Sports, I must also record my personal gratification at the theme for the Seminar, which gives recognition to the crucial role that youth must play in the development process.

We are also particularly fortunate to be able to call upon the Honourable Prime Minister of Malaysia to inaugurate today's proceedings. I am sure when he saw the topics he accepted this task with alacrity because his first love has always been the task of development.

I would like to say something about the organisation that is responsible for the assembly of people we see in this room today. For what has brought us all together is the community of interests and purposes we inherit from the Commonwealth and which endures, despite our new separate political destinies and the diversity of our respective languages, cultures, styles and ways of looking at life. Many of us have reason to be grateful to Britain for the graceful way she bowed out of her Empire in order to bestow on us the precious sovereignty of independent nations.

In all cases, she left us with numerous legacies - a

respect for equality before the law, and an honest and effective administration, for instance, which provided a sure foundation to our own nation building. We remain members of the Commonwealth with all the advantages of mutual co-operation and with its potential for influence in world affairs, besides being in communication with a great proportion of mankind.

Above all, after the political ties have been severed, and when the military and economic ties are weakened, what is left is goodwill. This forms the essential basis for the type of contact and consultation that generated this Seminar and which can be the source of so much in the way of fruitful co-operation. As the world, through modern communications, gets smaller and smaller, we value the security of tried and proven friendships. Again, we may rejoice that, whatever nostalgia we like to indulge, the Commonwealth is not addicted to the view from the rear mirror. It has proved a dynamic organisation adapting itself to change and reinforcing the residual goodwill of the Empire in new forces of association which preserve the new-found freedoms of independence.

Development is in fact a product of independence. With the dissolution of the Empire we were let loose on the adventure of self-determination. The challenge was to realise our great expectations of social, educational and industrial progress. Once the struggle for political freedom and justice had ended we embarked on the struggle for social justice which is the basic significance of development. The greatest pressure for change comes from the youthful sector of the population. The young can be impatient and demanding. They are naturally future-oriented and possess an appetite for modernity. In dress, in hair-styles, in social behaviour, it is youth who seek to innovate.

A common feature of most developing countries is a predominantly youthful population for whom we must cater. It is incumbent on us, as part of our continuing leadership, to move more in the direction of ground level aspirations and attitudes. It is no good being like the leaders who lead the last generation or the general who is fighting the last war. The past independent generation inherits a young nation which must be alert to the idiom and accents of youth. Ours is a new society which in many cases we are restructuring in the process of development. This is something that youth, in search of its own identity, can well understand.

When we confront the task of development, however, we face the reality of underdevelopment and the facts of scarcity. Too many of our countries still manifest in their rural sector the sub-standard life from time immemorial - with poverty, illiteracy,

disease and over-population. The spectre of unemployment is one that above all affects our young people. The answer lies in development towards economic growth to eradicate these social ills and provide for the next generation the range of opportunities consonant with the freedom of sovereign nations. This also means education and training geared to the pace with which we modernise our society and emphasis upon technical skills and scientific manpower.

This is where co-operation within the Commonwealth and technical exchanges can be of enormous benefit to the developing nations. Britain, for instance, has always been an educational magnet to students throughout the Commonwealth. There are some 42,000 of them studying there while Britain exports some 3,000 teachers, 6,000 educational experts and 11,000 technical experts. This Seminar is an opportunity to explore other ways and means of expanding the training opportunities for our youth and other concrete ways in which we may get them to participate directly in economic projects and other aspects of development work.

As the world gets smaller, we have to learn to live together more and more. In the Commonwealth, and especially for us in this region, we have a life-belt of contacts and friendships we may look to for effective international co-operation. This spirit of co-operation is well known in this country: in the kampongs or villages it is known as 'Gotong Royong'.

I wish you every success in your deliberations, which I am sure will generate the maximum by way of this essential co-operation.

Address
by Mr Y.K. Lule
Assistant Commonwealth Secretary-General

Mr Chairman, Honourable Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is my privilege as representative of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, and as the Co-Chairman of the Seminar, to extend to you a very cordial welcome on this occasion.

The Commonwealth Secretary-General has asked me to convey to you his greetings and best wishes for a truly successful meeting. The question of the role of youth in the development process has occupied the attention of the Secretariat for some time and arose from the instructions of the Heads of Government in 1969, in response to an initiative from the British Government that attention be given to the field of youth. The Secretary-General himself is personally interested in the challenges facing governments in this regard and in his name as well as in my own I welcome the participants to this important Seminar.

As most of those present will be aware, this Seminar is the third in a series of three regional meetings at which small groups of experienced participants have been invited to discuss problems of youth training and employment. Eighteen months ago a pioneering group met in Nairobi to discuss the situation in Commonwealth Africa and nine months later the second meeting in Trinidad considered the position in the Caribbean countries. In the period between these two regional meetings a full Commonwealth Conference on Education in Rural Areas was held in Ghana and this included an overview of many of the related problems. Now we come to the last regional seminar in the series prior to a gathering of officials and a Commonwealth Meeting of Ministers responsible for youth matters, to take place at about this time next year.

Links between the three seminars have been ensured. Participants have been invited from other regions in order to give perspective to the discussions and share what is relevant in their experience. We are particularly fortunate to be able to welcome here today a representative from the Commonwealth Caribbean, Mr Tyndall of the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Secretariat, and a representative from Commonwealth Africa, Mr Kaphwiti Banda, Assistant Commander of the Malawi Young Pioneers and a

veteran of our first regional seminar in Nairobi.

We are pleased, too, at the enthusiastic response of the international agencies to take part in this meeting. Our Commonwealth countries are also members of several international and regional groupings. Our aim as a Commonwealth Secretariat is not to supplant or to duplicate such organisations but rather to work with and through them for the general betterment of our member countries. We therefore extend to their observers a sincere welcome and an invitation to play a full part in our work over the next week.

We are also fortunate in having lead speakers of such quality and experience as Dr Premadasa Udagama, Permanent Secretary and Director-General of Education in Ceylon, Dr Fred Milson of Westhill College, Birmingham, a recognised authority on youth matters, and Mr Abdullah Malim Baginda, Assistant Director (Youth Affairs) of the Malaysian Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. In addition we have Mr Klaus Bettenhausen of the International Labour Organisation who at short notice accepted our invitation to deal with some approaches to the employment problem in Asia.

We in the Secretariat try not to impose unduly on the generosity of those countries which invite us to hold meetings in their territory. As usual, only a certain amount can be done by remote control and, despite our best endeavours, we must rely extensively on local support. This has been given unstintingly and I believe that all is set fair for a successful meeting.

I should also like to place on record our warm appreciation for the assistance which we have received from the Commonwealth Foundation in holding these regional meetings. Without their generous help, it would not have been possible for many of the delegates from the developing countries to be with us and we record with gratitude the Foundation's contributions to this meeting.

Mr Chairman, I do not propose at this stage to deal with the complex problems with which the seminar will be concerned. My colleague Dr Maraj has already given us much food for thought and the professional issues he has identified will undoubtedly provoke discussions of a high quality. I would like to confine my observations to two points. The first is that resolutions and conclusions are relatively easy to formulate. Implementing them is a problem of another dimension. This demands confidence and resolution on the part of governments and the maximum possible co-ordination of all bodies, official and non-official. The problem

is not divided neatly into subsections of education, training, welfare, culture, economic and industrial development, agriculture, rural development, labour, national service and so on. Let us remember that what we are here to discuss are problems of the lives and futures of young people and their countries, cross-disciplinary problems covering all the aspects which I have mentioned and others besides. Co-operation and co-ordination are essential for efficiency and success. How to achieve this joint effort we hope to learn at this meeting.

The second point I wish to stress, Mr Chairman, is that participants do not speak as official delegates of their governments but as experienced individuals actively engaged in grappling with the problems which we are here to discuss. Thus they are able to promote a frank and free exchange of information and experience without feeling constrained by the niceties of protocol which must be observed by official spokesmen. In such circumstances, we expect to emerge with a consensus of opinion on principles and strategy, together with a wide range of tactical approaches and varied programmes for their implementation.

In conclusion, may I, on behalf of the Commonwealth Secretary-General, express our gratitude to the Government of Malaysia for its spontaneous invitation to hold the seminar in the excellent facilities located so pleasantly in this beautiful city. The ready acceptance by the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Dato Hamzah bin Haji Abu Samah, of the chairmanship of the Seminar indicates the importance with which this meeting is regarded here and we are grateful to him.

Finally, may I say that we recognise fully the honour bestowed by the presence here this morning of the Prime Minister, Tun Abdul Razak, and assure him that we shall do our utmost to justify the implied expression of confidence in the value and success of our gathering. We are conscious of our responsibility and shall endeavour to conduct our discussions to a final report of positive and practical value towards the solution of the massive and urgent problems with which they will be concerned.

Address
by Dr James A. Maraj
Director, Education Division, Commonwealth Secretariat

Mr Chairman, Honourable Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Honourable Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We have met this morning in the pleasant surroundings of Kuala Lumpur to mark the opening of the Commonwealth Asia-Pacific Regional Youth Seminar. Many of you are extremely busy at this period but you have taken time off from your several occupations to come and witness this opening, and in appreciation of your presence I feel that there is perhaps need for someone from the Commonwealth Secretariat to put the Seminar into perspective. I do this not only in recognition of your presence, but also because there has been no dearth of seminars in this region on the topic of youth activities and I suppose we ought to justify the present meeting.

At the Heads of Government Meeting in 1969, Commonwealth Heads of Government instructed the Secretariat to undertake surveys and studies and to embark on a programme of work related to youth. Nine months later, the Secretariat, following a survey in Commonwealth Africa, mounted a seminar of this kind in Nairobi and nine months thereafter a similar exercise was undertaken in the Caribbean. In January 1971 Commonwealth Heads of Government commended us for the initiatives we had taken and suggested that our work in the youth field should be expanded. They also instructed us to organise the present seminar which is the third and final in the series. Commonwealth Heads of Government further instructed us to convene, at the earliest opportunity, a full meeting at ministerial level to review the whole complex of youth problems. This is scheduled for 1972.

By way of providing justification for yet another youth seminar, let me indicate, that we are not unaware of the valuable national and international meetings which have been held in this region on this topic in recent years. On these meetings, especially those convened by the United Nations agencies, we have drawn heavily. Since we started along this road, Mr Chairman, we have learned many lessons, we have gained new insights, and many dimensions of the problem have become somewhat clearer. It is on the basis of such experiences that we have decided, on this occasion, to sharpen the focus and to concentrate on the role of youth in the development process.

It might be asked why we have decided to concentrate on this particular aspect. The only answer I can give you at this time is that the Commonwealth Secretariat exists to meet the needs and demands of Commonwealth countries, and we are responding in this way to the challenges facing governments in their attempts to meet the expectations of youth for closer involvement in the development of their society.

Within the general theme of the role of youth in national development, the Seminar will deal with three major elements. We have called these youth problems, youth training and employment. I need hardly remind a distinguished audience such as this that the issues with which we are dealing are very complex indeed. I would hasten to add, however, that the issues are intertwined and that solutions to them will require an integrated, systematic and total approach. It is my submission, Mr Chairman, that no piecemeal or ad hoc activity will suffice.

Allow me for a moment to attempt to illustrate some of the complexities which I believe underlie this field. We are told that people are maturing much earlier, in the sense that the physiological concomitants of maturity seem to appear much sooner. Attention has been drawn in previous work to the large dependency ratios; because of the greater proportion of young people in the population, there are increasingly more people relying on the breadwinners. I should also like to draw attention to the fact that in the East you are perhaps more fortunate in having held on to some of your traditions than those of us who have subscribed throughout our lives to a more westernised pattern. It is not without significance, I think, that youth finds itself with a sort of schizophrenic self-image. On the one hand, we treat young people as though they are children, yet we expect them to behave as if they are adults. In other situations, they are treated as adults, yet we require from them a kind of childish subservience. The transition from childhood to adulthood, too, is much less marked in western culture: there are no fixed criteria or rites of passage, as it were, such as are known to exist in the East and elsewhere.

I would like to inform this distinguished gathering that considerations of a demographic kind will play a large part in this Seminar. In attempting to develop a total approach we must be careful not to disregard the structure of the population - the structure in terms of class or ethnic groups, the distribution of the population in terms of the age make-up, or the rural/urban

distribution, or patterns of migration, either internal and external. The fact that the population is expected to be doubled in twenty years cannot be brushed aside in our deliberations.

The Seminar must also give some attention to concepts of development. What are appropriate models? How much longer will we continue to import from more developed societies or rather the so-called "more developed"? How much longer shall we be subscribing to the view that modernisation necessarily means progress or that technological re-orientation is our only salvation? Are we not producing in most of these countries merely a breed of consumer societies? Is there not also the question of the pace of change and strategies for accelerating growth? And what about costs in human, personal terms, as different from those calculated by my economist friends?

I would like to draw attention, too, Mr Chairman, to the third sector of our concern. This will be a reconsideration of education. The Seminar cannot disregard the fact that many countries are now faced with having to spend as much as one-third of their annual budgets on formal education, only to find that such schooling does not necessarily solve the problems of the society. Surely the whole concept of the school must be re-examined. Isn't it a fact that those of us who read the same books and talk to the same people come to think alike and to perceive similarly? We must also ask serious questions of the universities, which, while essentially academic institutions, should also be perceived as instruments of development. This Seminar will call into question conventional patterns of education and training; it will examine the role of government and non-governmental agencies, and the tendency to look towards governments on every occasion for initiatives will also be challenged. We shall give attention, too, to the whole question of the involvement of young people in decision-making and how best this might be implemented.

There is another point to which I believe attention needs to be drawn. We are becoming a little concerned as a result of our previous experience at some trends which are evident in discussions on the youth problem. I believe it is important for us to realise that the disorientation, the dissatisfaction and the disillusion which is manifested in many societies today is not necessarily a youth problem. We seem to want to put youth into the dock and accuse it of being impatient and of being idealistic, as if these were crimes. I am inclined to the view that what we are talking about are essentially population problems, problems of people - of people who are dissatisfied and disillusioned, of people who are disoriented - and because in our societies the

population structure is such that most of these people happen to be young, these have come to be perceived as youth problems. I think it would be dangerous to isolate a section of the population, to have it studied, to have it analysed and to have it prescribed for, in the same way that I believe it is equally dangerous for some people to claim that older people are not aware of the problems of "youth". It would be a mistake to believe that those who have a prerogative on energy, vision and enthusiasm are in fact young people themselves. I should point out, Mr Chairman, that we will not be concentrating on evidences of disorientation. We are not here primarily to talk about drugs, hair styles, or dropping out. In so far as these are symptomatic of illnesses we shall attempt to treat the illnesses rather than the symptoms.

Just before the African Seminar, the Commonwealth Secretary-General reminded us that populations grow but they also grow younger. He said that social problems change and old restraints go, and when the city calls it is the countryside that loses. The swelling numbers of school-leavers and of those who have not been to school are phenomena which create a major problem for the world today. This is so not only in Asia and in the Pacific region: it exists in Europe, the Americas, the Caribbean and elsewhere. The problem is a universal one and it is by no means to be under-estimated. All thinking people, Mr Chairman, are not a little disturbed that millions of people are being radically disengaged from their traditional societies. They are rapidly becoming what Stanley Diamond called "marginals". The net result of all this is the creation of marginal producers, marginal consumers, and people who survive on the remotest fringes of what constitutes the contemporary industrial society. It is not for me, Mr Chairman, certainly not at this stage, to attempt to indicate solutions to the problems, but I would like to say that the world's unemployed and the world's underemployed would seem to me to constitute part of the side effects of modernisation and, in some cases, of exploitation. More significantly, the young and the not so young stand as a monument to the unfinished revolution which can sweep individual countries and continents into extremely turbulent waters, precipitating internal strikes, dissension and dislocation, while we concern ourselves with wars and rumours of wars.

Mr Chairman, participants of this Seminar will have to face these and other issues squarely and honestly. They will have to come up not only with analytical and scholarly statements and a report that makes good reading; they will also have to produce practical and politically feasible action.

It has been said that while young men see visions, old men dream dreams. In my view, both visions and dreams carry a connotation of unreality, but we must endeavour to harness the visions and the dreams if we are to create a future of hope and achievement. It is my belief that the discussions on which we will engage over the next week will play a not inconsiderable part in sketching the views whereby young people, acting within and through their societies, may help to bring us closer to such a future and to put it within our reach.

PART III

Lead Papers

YOUNG PEOPLE IN CHANGING SOCIETIES

Dr Fred Milson

Head of Youth and Community Service Section
Westhill College of Education, Birmingham

PART I: GUIDELINES

I would like to begin by suggesting one or two guidelines for our thinking together, approaches to our group discussions. They spring partly from reflections upon the short history of this seminar: our life together so far has led me to propose for your consideration ways in which we may come to practical and well-founded conclusions. I hope that nobody will think that what immediately follows is presumptuous or that it sounds severely didactic.

First, there is the question of how we relate to each other and how we bring some cohesion out of our different national experiences of young people. There is a temptation sometimes, I think, to generalise from our experience of young people in our society and think that it is the same everywhere. This is human and natural since we are deeply involved with and committed to our own people. But it will not lead to wise judgment or coherence or practical programmes which can be put before our respective governments. We have already learned in a fascinating session of the varying opportunities and problems that there are in our different countries. There can be no unconsidered transplant operations from one culture to another. But where it is hopeful we want, of course, to learn from each other. The question to ask about the Penang Youth Park, for example, should be: 'Is this right for Penang?' We can, of course, go on to ask whether the same idea would work in our own country but if the answer in this case is 'no', the Penang Youth Park may still be right for Penang. In this way we shall recognize in the practicality of our recommendations that in one sense youth are the same the world over and in another sense they are different in every place.

It goes without saying, of course, that in our discussions we shall be open with each other. This means a willingness to talk about our failures as well as our successes: understanding grows when we admit our perplexities. Again it is natural and human to concentrate on what we have been able to do. But what we have not been able to do may be more useful to talk about for all of us and even in the end for ourselves. It is in the gaps of

our provision for young people that there lie the growth points. It is not entirely unknown among some assemblies (present company excepted) for people to describe some new youth method or organisation in glowing terms. But on enquiry it is found that it has gained a response from a tiny percentage of the total youth population. Since our constituencies and our problems and opportunities are so large, numbers are the essence of any solutions.

Secondly, in my view, we must in our deliberations distinguish between long term and short solutions, or, to put the point differently, we must steer between the Scylla of utopianism and the Charybdis of despair. Perhaps in this form the thought is a little obscure. I mean that in many countries those who wish well to the young find themselves confronted by some daunting problems. Take the one which like a spectre must be present at all our deliberations - unemployment. We shall not keep faith unless we constantly remember how widespread this problem is and how discouraging for the young in particular, both in terms of poverty and a sense of social rejection and loss of social identity. Very little knowledge and thought is required to realize how complex and yet inter-related are the causes of this unemployment. It is a paradoxical fact known to all of us that those very means which might be presumed by all reasonable men to alleviate the problem may in fact make it worse. The introduction of technology into a country may reduce the number of jobs. The expansion of education may, with certain emphases, produce still more unemployed. We here cannot provide instant solutions: we lack the means. But because we cannot do everything, it is wrong to conclude that we can do nothing. (It is better to light a candle than to grumble at the darkness). We have in fact cases of contributions by youth programmes to the needs of unemployed youth. It is on these practical projects that I feel we need to concentrate our attention.

There will be those who will accuse us thereby of only patching over the problem, of only dealing in social amelioration. There is a not insignificant number of people - and they are well-represented among the young - who feel the old world has to be smashed before the new world can be built; they support the use of violence for a political creed. I personally think they are wrong. Reformation is to be preferred to revolution in that sense. It is a fruitless and doctrinaire approach which will sacrifice the happiness and well-being of individuals for the purity of a political orthodoxy. But these people serve to remind that, whilst looking round for immediately feasible programmes for youth in its plight, we must not withdraw from the struggle for larger and

deeper answers which deal with the reasons for the diminishing of the young. Sometimes, in order to protect the sheep from the wolf, it is necessary to go out and kill the wolf.

Thirdly, because we cannot everywhere do everything even in our specialised field of youth programmes, we shall face the painful necessity of having to decide priorities in our national programmes. We shall want to encourage success, for example, but not so as to further neglect those unresponsive youngsters who have not taken up our offers. We may have to decide between the priorities of certain social groups of youngsters in our society as, say, between rural and urban, educated and uneducated. If I may venture on a 'shopping list' which should be examined in the separate lights of each of our national situations, it would run as follows:

(a) a national policy for youth which is well-supported politically and administratively, and which includes among its personnel those who constantly probe the frontiers of their needs, aspirations and opportunities;

(b) the search for an effective and dynamic partnership between government and non-government agencies;

(c) the search for new sectors in the community, as in industry, which can be involved in youth welfare and social education;

(d) the mobilisation of total available resources and their proper utilisation;

(e) the recruitment, selection, training, assessment and deployment of leadership.

A useful 'shopping list' from another point of view was provided at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in January 1969, emanating from British proposals drawing attention to:

> "the special problems of rural youth, the special problems of urban youth, young social offenders, leisure, the best means of enabling young people to be more involved in the development of their country, the administrative framework at national level which is necessary for this involvement to become a reality and

the formulation of creative inter-Commonwealth relations among people through an expansion of existing facilities for youth and young teacher exchanges, school travel tours and students' work schemes within the Commonwealth".

PART II: FRAMEWORK

Almost without exception human societies are deeply interested in their young. The literature of almost every culture shows this perennial interest in youth. The reasons are obvious and twofold. First, the young are seen properly to represent the future: they are always 'the writing on the wall'. The national identity and the perpetuation of the culture is in the hands of the young, hence their socialisation is a major concern. But there is also a humane and liberal reason for this preoccupation. The young appeal to us by their innocence and vulnerability and we want them to have a good chance in life. (On a recent visit to the U.S.S.R. I was interested to find how strongly motivated by this notion are Russian parents in their attitudes to their children). Nevertheless, since it is unsophisticated, much of the public interest in the young proves not to be helpful, as we shall see.

The traditional norms of a society's attitudes to the young are seriously disturbed by rapid social change; in fact the young are in many ways the chief victims of rapid social change.* If I can tease out the argument a little it would go like this. All times are times of change. But some are times of rapid social change which are much more far-reaching in their consequences. Some social groups - like the intellectuals, for example, - are affected by rapid social change earlier and more profoundly than others. City dwellers are more quickly and profoundly affected than people who live in rural areas. Amongst those most affected are adolescents, and this is for a clear reason. In settled times, the society presents the youngster with a clear pattern of values; it clearly defines the social role of the adolescent. This was the meaning of the initiation rites for adolescents in earlier societies. They told him exactly where he stood, what he could expect from the community, and what the community expected from him.

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* The classic work on this subject, a magnificent tour de force, is S.N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation, Free Press of Chicago. His main argument is that in times of social change the family is no longer adequate for the total socialisation of the youngster, hence the need for youth movements.

Contrast that with the experience of youngsters in countries of rapid social change. He has perhaps more freedom but receives less emotional support. He may become a 'rebel without a cause'. Of some affluent modern countries it has been said that they have been able to give everything to their youngsters except a faith and a set of values: the signposts have been taken away. Among all the other psychological phenomena of young people today there is often confusion.

We cannot, however, lump together all the countries where rapid social change is taking place and say the experience of young people is the same in every one of them. Other factors have to be taken into account, and they reveal in a most interesting way that adolescence is more than a universal psychological experience: it is partly determined sociologically.

One of the big differences in our world in the social position of the young is whether or not they are being indoctrinated with a particular religious, political or nationalistic creed. I am using the word 'indoctrinated' in a specialised sense and I ought to define it. I mean an educational process where the young are not encouraged to think for themselves and come to their own conclusions about serious matters of philosophy and politics, but where there is a party line which all the youngsters must be made to toe. There is an official way to think, and moreover this ideology is for export. It is seen in totalitarian countries as a universal truth which everybody ought to accept. In East Berlin, for example, I know a girl who performed brilliantly at high school and applied for a place in the medical school of the university. The authorities, however, were interested not only in her school record; they wanted to know if she was a member of the Free German Youth Movement, the Government-sponsored state-run teaching youth movement. When she told them she was not a member, they replied that she could not have a place in the medical school until she joined.

The 'democracies', of course, shrink from this regimentation of their young. Whatever the inconsistencies of their practice, they regard attempts totally to direct the thinking of the new generation as one of the worst denials of human freedom and dignity. But the question has to be asked whether in recoiling from indoctrination they have not over-reacted against teaching social responsibility to their young.

There are several important issues here. Are we degrading or humiliating youth if we ask them to define the social

and national tasks as well as to share them? If the invitation is to 'come over and help us', is that not a form of respect? Is this not also a way of giving them status and identity, so ending the dilemma of the social role for the young in modern societies? Finally, is not the blunt truth that we need the young for community development - their ideas, their idealism, their energies, their decision-making, as well as their strength and loyalty? In times of rapid social change, it looks as though the 'democracies' have been overtaken by events. In eschewing regimentation they have not reached out to teaching discriminating social responsibility. This they cannot neglect.

One other fact needs to be noted. In the totalitarian countries where the young are mobilised, there always seem to be adequate resources. Ideology, it seems, is not enough. There must be the availability of adequate support for youth programmes of all kinds. In the democracies, too, the involvement of young people in the developing life of the nation will call for more than the right attitudes; it requires the production and availability of adequate resources.

In other ways, too, we have to think more carefully and analytically about our task. Very often in thinking about young people we are tempted to generalise. We must take the trouble to identify different areas of the situation.

It is easy, for example, to assume that there is in any society one fixed attitude of the older people to the younger generation; in fact there are many. In many countries in the world today public opinion tends to be compounded of four elements when it thinks about the young. There is first the view that the community has a responsibility towards the young; secondly, that the young have a responsibility to the community and have to be socialised; thirdly, there is a feeling that the young will have ideas of their own; lastly, the young are expected to enjoy themselves.

Where we have the development of unhelpful social attitudes to the young, it is because one of these elements is taken and exaggerated out of all proportion. Those who exaggerate the responsibility of the community tend to indulge the young; they cosset them and do not look for a positive contribution. A stress on the socialisation process leads to older people who are always critical of the behaviour of young adults and seem afraid of them, identifying them as enemies. If we identify in strongly revolutionary terms, we fail to see that though they should not be

enslaved by the past they should certainly be enriched by it. To overstress the hedonistic expectation is to fail to challenge the young with a destiny which they share to some extent with the rest of the community.

Even more common is the tendency to group together all the young people in a society and find one word which describes them all. Apart from the fact that every adolescent is a unique individual, there are discernible different social groups who can be measured by their dominant attitude to their society.

One brief typology that can be offered is as follows:

(1) the assenters, the conformists, those who are content to go along with the tide and on the whole get a fair share of the benefits that are going;

(2) the 'socially rejected', those who suffer serious deprivation relative to the majority, or to a favoured elite, or to the majority of youngsters in other countries of the world;

(3) the 'socially rejecting', those who have the confidence, the education and the independence to look at their society and say they do not like a large part or even all of what they see and aim to change.

In conclusion, may I suggest that the following are our tasks and that if these are acceptable, we must keep to them, resolutely probing all the time (whatever our perplexity) for the growth points:

(a) We want to have a clear picture of the youth situation in each country, concentrating on their problems, training and employment;

(b) We need to see where we can help each other (because the features overlap) and what elements are unique to each national situation;

(c) We shall work out national policies for youth which contain most hope and discuss how they can best be reinforced by political and administrative structures;

(d) The availability of resources will feature in our thinking. What further possibilities are there in Commonwealth co-operation? in discovering new sources of support, say, amongst industrialists? What strength can come through developed patterns of co-operation between government and non-government agencies? Are the non-government agencies in a better position to play a pioneering role?

(e) Can youth programmes for the support, welfare, freedom and community involvement of young people have more influence and power if we can gain stronger support from an informed public opinion? If this is so, how can this improvement best be secured?

(f) One of the few universals about youth work is that it is heavily dependent on the quality of its leadership, especially at ground level. Do we have proposals here? A skilled, imaginative and devoted leader can very often overcome many other discouragements. This is probably in many countries the most direct line to some success. Have we thought through our training programmes and methods? Do we see the youth worker 'doing the job' as still being in a place of training?

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING POLICY

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Government of Ceylon

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I. INTRODUCTION

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(b) Problems of young people remaining in their community of origin, obtaining humble employment or none

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I. INTRODUCTION

Today's grave concern for the problem of youth is of fairly recent origin. Two decades back hardly anybody spoke of it. There was, of course, the problem of adolescence but that was a different animal - it was one of adjustment and transition and was mostly a concern of the psychologist. There was no conflict between the interests of the adolescent and those of the adult; there was no generation gap to worry about. But today it is very different. Right round the world the youth appear to be wanting to tell the adults "You are messing up things, and in consequence we too suffer. For Heaven's sake if you cannot manage the affairs of the country allow us to take over."

What developments of the last two to three decades have brought about these changes? Why are the youth unwilling to integrate themselves into the existing social order and to try to reform it from within? Why are they hostile to the existing order? Or, as one would expect,are both sides to blame? Is adult society unwilling to adjust itself to accommodate the surge of new blood flowing from the democratic revolution and the educational revolution of the post-war years? These are difficult questions to answer. However, in our part of the world we can recognise a sharp distinction between, on the one hand, the young person who obtains a position in government service or in a major private sector institution and, on the other, the young person living with his parents and numerous siblings in humble circumstances with no permanent employment other than to assist the family with subsistence cultivation (if the family has land to cultivate). It is appropriate at this point to touch upon the problems of both these groups of young people although the bulk of this paper will be concerned with the problems of the latter group - those not in 'permanent' employment.

(a) Problems of young people entering government service or other 'permanent' employment

It is dangerous to draw facile comparisons between one society and another. However, as a first approximation one might say that the problems facing young people engaged in higher studies for the professions or in 'permanent' employment are broadly similar in Asia and in the more 'developed' societies. Young people following intensive courses of academic studies undergo considerable strain, on account of difficulties in their work, fears of failure, financial problems, etc. They may be torn between rebellion against the 'system' and the urge to find a

secure place within it. Their studies cut them off from the community at large, which in their working life they are often paid to serve. This alienation from the bulk of the population is also serious at the personal level in the case of students whose own origins are humble, since they may be torn between loyalty to their traditional culture and adherence to the middle class urbanised values of a university or college. These problems are perhaps especially acute in a 'developing' society but they are to be found throughout the world.

As regards this group of young people who have obtained or are moving towards employment, the problems are thus not too dissimilar from those found in the more 'developed' countries,about which there has been much discussion. There is already a fund of experience to draw upon in respect of different approaches to their needs - recreational,cultural, personal, etc. For this reason the present paper will hereafter leave this group aside. It is indeed important that schemes of voluntary service during college vacations, etc. be devised to help bridge the gap between this privileged group and the community at large, and schemes for voluntary service by employed youth would also be of value. To say nothing more about this topic is emphatically not to deny its importance; however, the problems facing the other group of youth, who constitute the majority, have been less thoroughly analysed, since these problems have only recently come to the fore. To this group we now turn.

(b) Problems of young people remaining in their community of origin, obtaining humble employment or none

Let us now consider the magnitude of the youth problem facing Asia today. In a country as small as Ceylon, with a total population of about 12 million, there are no less than 2.3 million young people in the age-group 14-25. As regards educational status roughly four-fifths of these will have completed several years of schooling; roughly one-half will have completed six to eight years of primary education and about one in three will have completed the junior secondary course leading to the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level). In contrast less than 4 per cent will follow a course at university, technical college or teachers' college, and one might conjecture that a total of 10-15 per cent gain 'permanent' employment in government service or with major private sector employers. What of the rest, especially those with a completed primary or junior secondary education? This question is being asked with increasing urgency, not only in Ceylon but in all parts of Asia and elsewhere.

Two major problem areas may be noted in connection with this group who do not find employment in the 'modern' sector. First, what special schemes might be set up to provide employment suitable for these young people? What are the possibilities of setting them to work, either individually or on a collective basis, on land presently not in use or not used for intensive cultivation? That is, what place should agricultural settlement schemes play in remedying the problems of youth unemployment or underemployment? Or again, what is the case for a Youth Service or Youth Corps of some kind, in which young people undertake development work for a certain number of years? Another alternative would be to build up a programme of employment or supplementary employment for youth residing in their homes. This would have the advantages of maintaining the social structure of the family and of lower costs. Can one bring about social 'change from within' using this approach?

Important questions arise too as regards the aims and objectives of the educational programmes that these young people follow in the schools. Can an educational programme be devised that will avoid the formation of unrealistic aspirations for 'white-collar' work? a programme that will in contrast bring the coming generation to find new forms of productive employment by means of which they may derive personal benefit and furthermore assist in the work of national development? This is a matter to which we are paying a great deal of attention in Ceylon. The traditional school curricula are so much a world apart from the life of the village community, and they are so much imbued with the ethos of 'white-collar' life, that they are dysfunctional for the young people who have to join in the life of the village community when they leave school. These young people have become book-oriented and see the solution to their problems in very theoretical terms; they can be attracted by highly facile solutions to complex social problems, as was attested by the actions of a group of Ceylon youth launching a programme of crime and destruction under the illusion that it was a revolutionary movement. Is it possible to bring about that other kind of revolution, in which education will lead young people to take up work in such fields as horticulture, fishing or small-scale industries, so that they can make a genuinely positive contribution to the national welfare? Educationists must at least take up this challenge and do their best to bring about this latter revolution. There are so many questions but so few answers that one can give with confidence. Some tentative thinking on these matters is the best one can offer and this is what follows.

II. THE CREATION OF OUTLETS FOR UNEMPLOYED OR UNDER-EMPLOYED YOUTH: SOME ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

(a) Settlement schemes

Ceylon has seen youth settlement schemes of varying degrees of success, and no doubt the same is true of most countries in Asia. The factors which go to make success or failure would well repay investigation, since these schemes provide a relatively straightforward way of providing employment for young people. The chief disadvantage is the cost per youth placed. This is very high in a country like Ceylon where the uncultivated land lies in the dry zone and can only be brought into use as the major irrigation projects are completed. Moreover, the youth settlement programme has the disadvantage of separating young people from a balanced social group - the family and neighbours, who act to some extent as a stabilising force under normal circumstances, and who can also provide invaluable support in times of personal stress. In view of the high unit costs of the settlement approach and these other difficulties, it would seem that its role in solving the youth problems of Asia is limited. Nevertheless, it would be useful to include some carefully planned employment projects for youth in the settlement programmes associated with new irrigation schemes.

(b) National Service schemes

The experience of African countries provides a stimulating example here (see 'Youth and Development in Africa', published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, 1970). Yet once again social and financial difficulties arise. Is it wise to separate young people from their home surroundings and bring them together for a full-time programme of National Service? And how many young people could be included in a scheme of this kind, in which full residential costs are incurred? Not very many, in fact, as compared to the magnitude of the youth problem of today. One solution which has been tried in Ceylon is the operation of a National Service scheme in which young people undertake Youth Service work while living in their homes. Projects such as construction of roads, minor irrigation works, reafforestation, etc., were organised by a District Youth Service Panel, with the local Government Agent in the Chair. Each youth was given a National Service Credit Card, which constituted a cumulative record of his work; in addition, he was awarded a cash allowance of three Rupees a day. The

accumulation of credits of National Service would be a pre-requisite for short residential training courses to be organised at a later date for a limited number of youth. This kind of programme has considerable potential as a way of lifting the immediate problems of unemployed youth, but places a severe strain on the cash flow of the Government. The disadvantages are that the young people do not have the opportunity of continuous service - they can work only when the District Council has thought up projects that groups of youth can undertake - and that these projects do not usually provide the kind of training that will help the young people later to take up work on their own account, growing certain new crops or setting up a 'cottage' industry.

It would seem, nevertheless, that a Youth Service scheme based on home residence can play a useful role in national development. The energies of youth can be harnessed to undertake tasks of value to the locality and this will indeed stimulate the people of the locality to think more constructively about what needs to be done. The young people earn an allowance, gain working experience and have the companionship of others of their own age. This type of 'public works' programme can, however, only be justified, under conditions of economic stringency, to the extent that the costs incurred bring economic as well as other benefits. The area in which investment must be mainly concentrated is in the creation of permanent forms of employment for the large number of young people entering the labour force each year. Some suggestions in this respect follow in the next section.

(c) Home-based production projects

Considerations of cost thus favour the system in which young people continue to reside with their families and perhaps to participate in cultivation of the family paddy land, etc. (if any). The youth employment programme would simply provide new productive avenues which young people might take up over and above the range of economic activities already pursued by the family. Suppose that the family has some uncultivated 'high land' as well as a paddy field. The youth employment programme would provide the seed or cuttings, fertilisers, weedicide, equipment, credit, marketing facilities and training so that this land could be brought into use for the cultivation of chillies or onions (both normally imported by Ceylon using precious foreign exchange) or pineapples, etc. (which could be exported) or for rearing chickens, etc. If the family has no land to spare, land could be made specially available for intensive cultivation by young people, on a rental basis. Alternatively, a fine handicrafts or small-scale production

programme might be set up, so that using simple equipment the young people could produce goods for the domestic or tourist markets or for export. Again the programme would need to be carefully organised in terms of economically viable occupational activities, markets, equipment and materials, training, etc. It has to be admitted that for this programme to succeed there has to be an organisation that will all the while engage in work leading to increased efficiency in the existing occupations or work out new occupational possibilities appropriate for the resources of the community. Such an organisation has been recently set up in Ceylon in the Divisional Development Councils under the Ministry of Employment and Planning. Some further suggestions as regards organisation are given later.

The advantage of this programme is that it builds upon the existing social structure and yet moves forward to meet the needs of the times. It starts from the premise that parents will not deny food and lodging to their children while they are setting up some new productive enterprise on their own account. The costs of the scheme are thus confined to such subsidies on equipment, materials, marketing facilities, etc. as may be deemed appropriate, and the costs of organisation. It would be possible to provide all equipment, etc. on credit but of course there are difficulties in full recovery of loans. As regards organisation, costs might be lowered by using the school system as the centre for a number of the youth employment programmes.

The cost argument therefore favours a youth employment programme designed to establish youth in gainful employment in their own community. As noted earlier, this also avoids various social problems: young men gathered together in isolated communities who may become frustrated with society and with their own personal situation, or the young wife coping with a sick child on a settlement miles away from her own family and friends. The need for young people to have companionship in their work can be met by the organisation of youth co-operatives, etc. in the locality concerned.

The rest of this paper is devoted to a more detailed analysis of the feasibility of this approach. The first point to be considered is the need for a fundamental restructuring of the educational programme, such that young people are prepared, attitudinally and in more specific ways, to undertake productive work on their own account or in youth co-operatives located in their own community. The provision of training, raw materials, equipment, etc. will also present a major organisational challenge. These issues are now considered.

III. EDUCATION AND TRAINING: THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH

We now turn to the matter of education and training, and in particular to the design of education and training for those young people who do not find places at university, technical college or teachers' college, and who do not obtain employment in government service, etc. This group represents the majority of youth in a country like Ceylon. The questions to be considered here are, first, what can be done, in the course of formal schooling, to assist this group of young people to find means of gainful employment? And second, what is the role of training schemes in preparing out-of-school youth for gainful work?

The point of departure for the discussion presented here is the principle, noted earlier, that avenues of productive employment for the majority must be built up in their home locality. This represents a real challenge. Perhaps the locality is one in which there is little economic activity besides shifting cultivation, where water is scarce and electricity non-existent. In this environment, young people with 8, 10 or 12 years of formal education have to be helped to find a way of life that will meet their material needs and that will also not run counter to their aspirations but rather bring them personal fulfilment. This challenge increasingly faces nearly all the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It lies at the heart of the recent tragic occurrences in Ceylon.

Such a major challenge must be confronted in every possible way. In particular it must be confronted in the design of the school curriculum, so that children are as far as possible prepared to see their life-situation in a positive way as the microcosm of a situation which confronts the whole 'developing' world, in which they may help to pioneer a solution. It must be confronted also by the national and local administration, so that young people out of school are provided with the opportunity to undertake productive work, given the necessary training and guidance.

(a) 'Pre-Occupational Studies' for junior secondary pupils

It is now widely recognised that existing school curricula are in urgent need of radical revision. Essentially they were designed to prepare the 'few' for clerical and professional work. They comprise compartmentalised, highly academic subject matter

and have thus become obsolete and dysfunctional in an age when the 'many' enrol for formal schooling. The school curriculum still bears little or no relationship to the life of the community from which the pupils are drawn, and to which the majority must now inevitably return. The net effect is often the alienation of the pupil from his environment - the young man with the General Certificate of Education who waits in shirt and trousers 'unemployed' while his father does the heavy work of cultivation. The curriculum has done nothing to show him the desperate economic situation with which the country is faced or the fact that his generation must set to and invent new forms of productive activity, whether through intensive cultivation of cash crops for export or small scale manufacture. Nor has he been introduced to the skills and knowledge that such activities would require.

This problem is at last beginning to receive the attention it deserves. The experiment in Maharashtra, India, described in the volume "Maharashtra Action Research Project in Occupational Education and Training - Report and Papers of the programming workshop held at Poona, September 25-27, 1969 - Institute of Education, Poona, 30", provides some useful food for thought. In Ceylon, a major programme of curriculum redesign has begun to overcome this problem. The aim is to offer all children a common five year programme of elementary education, devoted to the development of the basic skills in language, number, etc. with the maximum of environmental studies and practical creative activities. The next four years will constitute the junior secondary stage, and here major changes are in store. Instead of a highly academic junior secondary programme divided between specialised science and arts streams (science facilities being concentrated mainly in urban areas), there will be a common programme of general education in which all pupils follow courses in the sciences, social studies, etc. These subjects will in future be taught in their specific application to the economic and social problems facing the country, and the occupational profile available in the school community. Biology should lead on to a discussion of how the principles concerned affect the country's major crops, and so on. In addition, a major slice of the curriculum, up to 20% of the time-table, will be devoted to a new subject which we have named 'Pre-Occupational Studies'. For children aged 11 and 12, this will entail the investigation of the wide variety of occupations to be found in the locality. For children aged 13 and 14, it will entail the intensive and systematic study of some of the principal occupations in the neighbourhood concerned. It may be useful here to look a little more closely at the rationale for introducing this programme. First, what are the objectives that one might hope to achieve?

One might begin with the negative goal. The programme should at the very least prevent pupils from thinking that by attending secondary school they can forget about their home environment because they can look forward to escaping from it. They will know the facts about what forms of employment are available, about the number of vacancies arising in different fields, and so forth, since they will have visited different kinds of workplaces and talked over and studied the different occupational areas in situ.

Of course, one aspires also to more positive goals. The objective really sought is to open the pupils' eyes to the opportunities for them to play a vital part in the life of the community, either by taking up and performing with especial efficiency or skill the activities that are already to be found there, or by taking up new activities that will meet a presently unfulfilled demand for goods and services. Children in Ceylon, for example, will become aware of the problems facing the country, that much foreign exchange is spent on the import of food, and that the traditional exports face a declining market, as regards terms of trade. They will learn of the scope for intensive cash crop cultivation in their neighbourhood, and those living in coastal areas will learn about the scope for taking to fishing, perhaps with mechanised boats. Pupils will also learn something of the operation of small scale industries. Further, they will see in practice the support Government provides for new ventures by way of credit, etc. An important element in the philosophy behind the 'Occupational Studies' programme is that there is no question of training each child for some particular skill, such as carpentry. There has been altogether too much of providing courses in elementary carpentry, weaving, etc. to children who have no possibility of taking up such a trade in their locality; moreover, the country may well be adequately supplied with these traditional skills. In Ceylon, carpentry co-operatives cannot find enough work and the handloom industry is being contained at its present size because the market for handwoven sarongs, bed-sheets, saris, etc. is saturated. In any case, even if one knew the skills for which vacancies would arise in each locality one would not know, in a freely operating labour market, which of the children would be entering which occupations - fishing, cultivation, brickmaking, etc. So the strategic advantage lies with introducing all the pupils to a number of occupations relevant to the locality. This has the merit that pupils cannot feel disappointed (and cause difficulties to the Government) if there is no employment available in the field in which they have 'specialised'. It gives the pupils a general background so that

they can take the initiative in introducing new crops and new industries, as is essential if the unemployment crisis facing Asia today is to be resolved. There must, of course, be a Government scheme to support the introduction of these new fields of employment. But, as regards the orientation of the young person to take advantage of these new opportunities, this scheme will do all that the education system can do to help solve the problem. What will be the content of the 'Occupational Studies' course? Here, one can give only a tentative answer. Because of the need to match the subject matter taught to the occupational potential of each area, and because of the need to match the programme to the resource endowments of the school, it seems essential to use a highly decentralised system of curriculum development for this work. It seems wisest to ask interested teachers to develop units for particular occupational areas and, having tried them out, to bring their observations and materials for round-table discussion with Ministry of Education Curriculum Development Officials. In Ceylon, we have reached this stage. Sample teaching units dealing with the topics of fishing, paddy cultivation, the construction of roofs, etc. have been prepared, and volunteer schools are now being asked to try out these ideas and to develop curricular units dealing with other occupational areas. An important feature is that the material is presented in an intellectually challenging manner and not diluted to be cognitively anaemic elementary vocational training. We are beginning with materials for ages 11 and 12, but after a few months' experience with pilot exercises at this level, we shall begin curriculum development work for 13 and 14 year olds. This will require a new type of course, an amalgam of classroom and out-of-school studies, with as much practical work and on-site observation as can be organised, provided that it forms part of a coherent whole. There will have to be a new type of examination also, since 'Occupational Studies' is to be a compulsory examination subject at the school-leaving examination (at age 14); a detailed report of the pupil's investigations of each occupational area will have to be submitted for assessment, to supplement the written examination paper.

It is expected that each pupil will complete a certain workload of study, covering perhaps five to ten occupational areas, during his 13th and 14th years. It will be necessary to give different workload ratings to different areas, as, for example, fishing - a rating of 20, tobacco cultivation - a rating of 4, retail trade - a rating of 6, etc. In this way, each school will be free to use its own human and material resources, and the resources of the farmers and craftsmen in the community around, to give the

pupils the best introduction possible to the opportunities for productive work that they may seek to take up on leaving school. It is hoped that local expertise can be drawn into the scheme through assistance both in the school and in giving instruction to pupils as they visit various work-places. Ideally, the hard and fast barrier between teachers and others should be broken down over the years. We might even visualise a time when the present practice of "once a teacher, always a teacher" ceases to be, and at least a part of the teaching profession is manned by successful 'practitioners' in the different occupations who come in to serve as teachers for a period of time and then return to their jobs. Ideally the school should serve the community as a whole, acting as a centre of innovation and improvement in regard to the different productive activities of the country.

(b) In-service or other training

It is our view that pupils who have completed this course of 'Occupational Studies' will have the appropriate know-how and attitudes such that they will easily be able to learn any new skills required to take up a particular occupation which is being introduced in their district. The essence of the problem is not, in our view, that the Ministry of Education must initiate courses in pineapple cultivation for out-of-school youth. Rather, the education authorities in a certain district must form part of a team with other governmental agencies in that area, to provide pineapple shoots, fertiliser, credit, marketing facilities etc., to specific selected young persons. Given this institutional basis, the Ministry of Education will not find it hard to provide or arrange instruction in pineapple cultivation, nor will the young persons find the course of instruction difficult to follow.

It therefore seems useful to think of vocational education as falling into two main categories. The courses at professional, technician and craft levels, requiring two or more years of full-time study and often leading on to government service, should be confined to a carefully selected few, whose numbers should be determined by the employment opportunities in the 'organised' sector of the economy. The second variety of vocational education should be the short uncertificated course given to the young person in situ when he is prepared and equipped to begin a specific type of occupation in the less organised or 'small-scale' sector. The tutors for these latter courses might be government officers, local expert 'practitioners' of the occupation concerned, school teachers qualified in agriculture, handicrafts, etc., as appropriate. The courses would normally comprise a short spell

of full-time study, for a week or so, followed by part-time studies over the course of several months or a year, guidance being available to the young person as he grows his first crop or begins on some other productive process.

These short courses might be organised by various agencies - a youth agency, the Ministry of Agriculture and of Industries, the Ministry of Education, etc. The choice of agency is not so important, but it is essential that whichever agency bears operational responsibility for training should act in close collaboration with the other interested agencies, both at local and national level.

The possibility that the school might provide the focal centre for such training merits very careful consideration. There are disadvantages - young people may be 'fed up' with school. On the other hand, the widespread facilities provided by the school system, and the fact that the buildings are in use for only a part of the day, argue in favour of the Ministry of Education taking a leading role in the provision of training for out-of-school youth. This Ministry is also well situated to give in-service courses to selected teachers, who could take up training work on a part-time basis in addition to continuing with some conventional teaching work. In this way, a cadre of training officers could readily be made available over wide areas of the countryside. Another point is that the distinction between in-school and out-of-school studies may more easily break down if the school undertakes programmes of both kinds. It may be possible for the school to arrange with the district authorities for a certain number of pupils to take up a particular horticultural activity or small-scale craft and to be provided with the necessary facilities to begin production in a small way, even while still in their last year at school. The teacher or instructor concerned could then continue work with this group of pupils, on a one evening per week or per fortnight basis, until they were fully established in their trade.

It should be emphasised that these programmes for out-of-school youth need not be on the basis that each youth has a single 'occupation'. In the rural areas in particular there is scope for young people to supplement their 'basic' work on the family paddy fields or elsewhere by cultivating several cash crops, raising hens and undertaking some form of craft work as well, if they so wish. In this way the skill content of their work would be raised 'extensively', by undertaking a variety of skilled activities, rather than 'intensively', by merely focusing on one

particular occupational area. Some people may indeed come to see this way of life as intrinsically richer than spending each and every day behind a desk and typewriter. This would be the more so if a scheme of insurance contributions could be devised for them, to give something of the security for which state employment is so highly prized.

IV. RESOURCE REQUIREMENTS AND PLANNING

Education and training for employment are not in themselves sufficient to resolve the problems of out-of-school youth in Asia. This is something that the educationist must never cease to emphasise. It is arguable that the provision of work-oriented courses and vocational training, though by no means a simple matter, is yet by far and away the most straightforward and easy part of the package of measures required. What is needed is the institutional support that will enable young people to undertake successfully productive work once they have been motivated and prepared for it. Clearly, if this framework of support is lacking for tomorrow's generation, who have been motivated towards productive work of the kind discussed, then their frustration will be even greater than that of today's generation,who have to some extent been alienated from such work by their 'arts' or 'science' curricula.

The possibility of engaging young people inearth-clearing, road-building and related activities through a Youth Service has been discussed earlier. It is not discussed again here since it is only an interim measure. It occupies and helps to train young people and gives them working experience for a short time, but it does not provide them with a source of income on the basis of which they may settle down , get married and raise families. The role of youth settlements was cited also. Here it is indeed possible for the young person to establish himself for his life's work, but unfortunately the number of young people who can be helped in this way is limited. This brings one back to the problem of helping the young people(about 2 million in the case of Ceylon)who are living at home. Some of them will be fully occupied as labourers, etc., or working with a family group. Many will have time on the their hands.

The answer proposed here is more intensive use of land e.g. for cash-crop cultivation, more intensive use of the sea to provide fish for home consumption and export, and the introduction of small-scale industries and handicrafts of a kind which do not require a large capital investment. It might be said,

however, that this answer raises more questions than it answers. Some of these questions are now taken up for discussion.

(a) Identification of markets; supply of credit

It might be said that the heart of the youth problem lies in applied economics, in assessing the saleability of the different possible goods and services that young people might produce and in assessing the relative costs and difficulties of producing them. Of course, studies on this kind of topic are to be found in the planning offices of most Asian countries by now, but that has not solved our problems. What is needed is a small group of people, specifically concerned with youth employment, to work all out to draw up schemes of production and marketing for youth. This group will have to work in close co-ordination with the various development Ministries such as Agriculture, Industries, Trade, etc., so that specifications for economically viable units in the different sectors may be planned out and the details of the support needed to make them assimilable by the youth provided.

In Ceylon, the National Youth Council has general responsibility for this work,as for all other youth-related activities. In addition, a group within the Planning and Programming Unit at the Ministry of Education will address themselves to this problem, in connection with the design and implementation of the educational programmes noted earlier.

The question of markets is a key one. In some cases there is an obvious internal market. Ceylon has been importing rice, chillies, onions, dried fish, cotton, silk and other items which could be produced internally. In other spheres, the internal market may perhaps be saturated or nearly so, as in traditional handicraft production, for instance. Another internal market to be explored is the supply of 'services' by groups of trained young people. The question of export markets is also important. Various fruits, cut flowers, handicrafts, etc., could be exported if suitable arrangements were made for marketing and if sufficient supplies of goods were available regularly. How many young girls in Ceylon could be kept occupied supplying embroidered handkerchiefs to a chain store in the West! Those who are working on the side of youth must cut through red tape and get a definite series of orders that could be met by young people's producer co-operatives, spread across the length and breadth of the country.

The same goes for the supply of materials and credit. Youth is impatient and cannot wait. Land, equipment, materials, facilities or whatever is required must be brought within the reach of young people and explained to them. A young man from a poor family, fifty miles from a big town and with no influential connections, cannot be expected to find his way through the bureaucracy and produce and market his ware without adult guidance and some youthful companionship. The fact that Germans will buy cut flowers sent by air is as unrelated to his search for work as the fact that the Americans send men to the moon. Yet he could grow the flowers; he simply needs someone to give him a helping hand with seed or cuttings, general advice, and collection of the produce.

Different organisational solutions will be appropriate in different situations. It seems clear that each district should have a Youth Employment Committee specifically to deal with this problem, on which headmasters, field agents of the different Ministries, etc., would be represented, as well as members of local and national elected bodies. In Ceylon, we are exploring the possibility that the school may provide the centre for these various supporting activities. Seed and cuttings, equipment and raw materials might be brought there and the procedures for using them explained as part of a school course for 14 year olds and/or out-of-school evening course (not necessarily given by a teacher, though organised by the school staff). The school might also serve as a collection centre for produce to be sent to market.

These suggestions are radical in the context of Asian society, but then the situation facing young people in Asia is so difficult that nothing short of radical change can possibly ameliorate their problems.

(b) The training of Youth Production Officers

It is reasonable to assume that the success of in-school or out-of-school programmes designed to lead to self-employment or small group employment of youth will be increased several fold if the youth are within reach of a full-time, or at least part-time, Youth Production Officer. It would be the responsibility of this officer to co-ordinate plans for new types of production and to arrange the selection of participants, the supply of materials, equipment, etc. and the facilities for marketing. As the years pass he will have to service an increasing number of youth but the longer established groups of youth will, of course, require less attention. This officer will co-ordinate the initial training

with the dates of arrival of the where-withal for beginning the venture, and will ensure that supplementary training, e.g. on the cure of various crop diseases or the use of a new variety, is made available when required. He would also be available to counsel youth if they wished to embark upon cultural or social service activities as well as production of goods for sale and home consumption.

How will these Youth Officers be trained? There are very few trained social workers or youth workers in Ceylon, a situation we plan to remedy through staff training courses as a matter of urgency. Meanwhile, the possibility exists of allowing interested teachers to undergo an intensive course in Youth Production Work. The administrative framework of the Ministry of Education would be used for this purpose, and there would be the further advantage that these teachers might split their time between organising or co-ordinating the 'Occupational Studies' courses of a secondary school and the uncertificated vocational training courses required as an integral part of youth employment schemes. As noted earlier, this would assist in the break-down of the artificial barrier that now exists between the school and the community of which it is part.

(c) Organisational framework

As noted earlier, organisational arrangements must suit the national situation, but one aspect is vital- inter-agency co-operation and collaboration. The present situation, where the school-leaver is 'dropped' from the 'modern' environment of the school, where he is kept busy five days a week or more and is expected to fend for himself as regards taking up new kinds of employment not yet introduced in the locality, is quite obviously hopeless. Strong institutional support is required at this stage most of all. It is quite likely that Youth Employment Officers attached to the schools may provide a way of resolving this problem, if they are supported by an inter-agency committee determined to find markets for the goods and services that young people might produce. Whether overall administrative authority rests with the Ministry of Education, a National Youth Service or other agency is a matter to which one need not perhaps attach too much importance.

V. INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The foregoing analysis focuses on two principal difficulties which beset any attempt to resolve the problems

confronting Asian youth. It may be difficult to motivate young men and women to undertake productive work with their hands after completing eight or more years of formal education, but this motivation can surely be attained if the market for their production is assured. Secondly, the success of a youth employment programme will depend also on the vigour and skill which the cadre of Youth Production Officers can bring to their work. Yet facilities for training youth workers are limited by a lack of well qualified staff. These problems provide scope for international co-operation on a considerable scale.

First, the question of markets. The more that the more 'developed' countries of the Commonwealth or of the world at large can assist the less 'developed' countries in selling their produce for export, the more the problems of the less 'developed' countries become manageable instead of well nigh insoluble. It is difficult for a country with a massive balance of payments deficit to organise a round-the-world marketing drive, even where export markets are not limited by quota restrictions in the more 'developed' countries. The difficulty is especially acute in the case of smaller countries such as Ceylon. The possibility arises that co-operative arrangements might be reached in this respect. Would there be a place for a Commonwealth Marketing Scheme for Youth Produce from the less 'developed' countries of the Commonwealth?

The second area of co-operation would be through the training of youth workers to play a role similar to that described above as that of the Youth Production Officer. Possibly there is scope for sending persons selected for this work to follow youth leadership or social work courses in other countries. It is clear, however, that the type of youth work that cries out to be done in Asia is very different from the youth work required in the West. The possibility might therefore be explored of setting up a Commonwealth action research cum training course in Youth Production Work in a less 'developed' country, and bringing together a group of tutorial staff drawn both from the more and the less affluent societies. Such a course might cover the basic principles of group work - ideas of non-directive counselling and so forth - while at the same time the concrete problems of organising training and employment for out-of-school youth in a developing country might be studied on a project basis.

We in Ceylon must attempt to resolve both these problems - of marketing and of training-in a small way. We should be most interested to learn of relevant experience in other countries

and most appreciative of assistance that other countries may be able to provide. We should be willing to assist in the planning of a programme in this sphere and could provide facilities for getting it under way, if desired.

To conclude: the dimensions of the youth problem in Asia are almost beyond comprehension, with millions of young people, over a million even in a country as small as Ceylon, looking for means of gainful employment and finding none. Desperate situations demand radical remedies, and one may doubt whether even the structure put forward in this paper would prove adequate. One must at least try to take some steps in the direction indicated. In the resolution of the problems involved there will be much that each country can learn from the experience of others. This Conference is therefore most welcome, as it provides a forum in which our problems may be seen in a wider perspective and in which we may learn from one anothers' experience.

YOUTH AND THEIR TRAINING NEEDS

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Government of Malaysia

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The nation's interest in youth

Youth accounts for a large share of the world's population. It is now estimated that in the four decades between 1960 and the year 2000 the 15-24 age-group will increase from 519 to 1,128 million. Today more than 75% of this age-group live in developing countries - 59 million in Africa, 322 million in Asia and 44 million in Latin America.

The first inescapable fact is that government interest and action relating to youth work have increased greatly in almost all countries in the last few years. This has happened irrespective of ideologies or political systems, and for reasons which are many and well-known. The most important of these reasons may well be a combination of demography, as suggested by the above figures, the expansion of educational opportunity and the increased effectiveness of mass media for communication. This is neither the time nor the place to elaborate on the population problem; suffice it to remark that it has not, of course, affected all countries, nor is its impact the same on those which are affected by it.

The impact of increasing educational opportunities

In the developing countries, such as those in the Asia/Pacific region, great emphasis is being placed on education, both formal and informal, and a sizeable portion of the national budget is spent on education. Educational opportunity has increased for most young people, even though not everywhere has it kept pace with the increasing population. For the richer countries, this has meant the possibility of secondary education for all and higher

education for rising proportions of those who complete secondary education. In terms of percentage of the total world population, however, the figures are still comparatively small. For the majority of children increased educational opportunity has meant the possibility of perhaps six years of primary schooling. Paradoxically, this leads to increased frustration. Not only do they face the situation that what is possible for some is not possible for all who would like to continue their formal education; more disturbingly, the education received, however long or short its duration, raises expectations for the future which, either because of the insufficiency of its quantity or of its quality or of both, cannot be fulfilled. This situation is worsened by the spread of information, through the printed word and by the various media of audio-visual communication. Opportunities not only exist: they are known to exist. So, too, is the fact that only a few have access to such opportunity, and that it is denied to many.

Educationally and socially, therefore, the increased provision of services, facilities and opportunities of all kinds which are now accepted as basic rights has led to an insatiable demand for more. That such a demand at present cannot be met may be intrinsic to the nature of difficult processes of development. It is worth noting that owing, perhaps, to the spread of information, among other reasons, the key to youth problems seems to have changed in the last few years from the need to stir and rouse people from ignorance or apathy, and to create a demand for education or activity, to that of the difficulty of meeting the demand for education, for action, and for direct participation by youth at all levels.

If we are to accept that education is no longer a time in life but rather a dimension of life, the nation ought to grant each individual adequate education, guaranteeing him a certain number of years of training, with a first unit at the beginning of his life and the remainder to be spread out through the rest of it, according to his needs and aspirations. It is obvious that such a concept would necessarily involve a basic reform of the whole educational system and, particularly, the establishment of democratic structures to make it possible for everyone to be informed and to participate, as well as to achieve critical behaviour. This will enable them to become free, conscious and responsible human beings.

Social factors affecting youth

Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation are effecting vital changes in our social structure. The family unit, for example, is

slowly weakening and appears incapable of providing effective and acceptable guidance to the young. In developing countries, the generation gap may be further complicated by the fact that the parents of today were brought up in a way quite unknown and irrelevant to their children as they prepare for the world of tomorrow.

Human society is in constant evolution, economically, technically and socially: what was rare yesterday is taken for granted today and this is particularly true of information, communications and contacts. Young people avail themselves of these new facilities faster than adults. Their sense of solidarity, their thinking and their decision-making are affected by it and seem to differ in many ways from those of their elders. The effort of education is therefore not only to be made by young people but also by adults, who will safeguard what is valuable in their tradition only if they know how to communicate it, how to share it, and how to co-operate with the young in adapting it to the needs of today and tomorrow.

Permanent education of this sort involves long-range prospects for the future and consists essentially of reciprocal and permanent relationships among sectors hitherto dissociated: youth and adults, in school, out of school and at work, educational action without leadership (mass media) and with leadership, the educators and the educated, etc.

Formal education can equip the young with the technical skills necessary to absorb them into industries, but these skills will be insufficient in themselves. They must be supplemented with some forms of organised activities where youth can organise themselves and participate in group work in order to promote a sense of belonging and identifying with others, and to provide an opportunity for self-expression and the development of a sense of social discipline, civic consciousness and responsibility to self and the society.

Youth work and youth programmes

This group-approach youth work, therefore, is to provide young people with an opportunity to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit, so that they will be better equipped to live as mature, creative and responsible members of a democratic society. Through youth work young people can be helped to develop themselves and take an active role in nation building. Developing countries in this region are undergoing rapid industralisation and social revolution and the aim is primarily to

provide a better living standard for our people. In this attempt, our young people must shoulder a greater part of the responsibility. They must not only identify themselves with the efforts of progress but must also take an active part in national development programmes. Given proper guidance, leadership and motivation, youth will undertake this task in the proper spirit.

It is obvious, of course, that the need for developing leadership among and for youth in the Asian and Pacific regions is enormous, reflecting the size and significance of the youth population itself. If we classify youth as the group between 15 and 24 years of age, then this group makes up approximately 20% of the population of the region, i.e. around 322 million in all. This group, made up as it is of those who are completing school, who have recently left school or who have just come into the employment market, is clearly of the highest importance from the view-point of human resources development. We may also note that, both absolutely and proportionately, it is the major focus of unemployment and under-employment in the region, particularly of unemployment in urban areas, where the proportion of youth in the total population is highest. Reports on the region indicate two areas in which the planned development of Asian countries has proved rather deficient, namely employment promotion and the qualitative improvement of education. Not only are there too few jobs for the rapidly increasing population, but formal education at all levels seems in many ways dysfunctional to the needs of developing economies; these deficiencies affect youth most of all.

Serious short-comings in the fields of education and employment are among the factors which have brought youth to the fore in the major political scene in many Asian countries, though to a lesser extent in the Pacific area. In recent years, young people in these countries have played an increasingly important role in challenges to establish institutions and patterns of social behaviour, and in a few instances have been instrumental even in the overthrow of governments. The latter consideration, undoubtedly, is the key to the belated interest which governments are beginning to show towards the youth problems.

A growing range of programmes and measures aimed at youth are now appearing in countries of the region as an outcome of the pressures and processes that have been suggested above. Initial emphasis seems to have been placed upon programmes of education and training, including vocational training, for the very large groups of out-of-school youth, school drop-outs, and early school leavers. These have been followed by a variety of other

programmes seeking to involve young people in national development efforts. In addition, increased attention is being given to programmes which seek either to develop youth leadership or to provide adult cadres with special skills in dealing with the social problems of youth.

As many of the above-mentioned measures are of recent origin, it is difficult to make an assessment of their achievements at this stage and information on them is rather scarce. However, a generalised prognosis may be attempted. In the economic sphere, radical policy departures are called for in order to generate employment on a massive scale and to appreciably reduce inequities of income and wealth in favour of the low income majority. In the closely-related political sphere, no less fundamental policy initiatives are required to broaden the base of public participation in national life and to democratise social structures.

The leadership of youth

In group situations, youth leaders are normally elected by their peers or contemporaries; a great majority of them serve as volunteers, especially when they act as leaders with small groups or local branches. Only a few youth leaders, however, are professionals and most of these work as organisers or administrators at regional, national or even international level. In practice, it is often difficult to draw an exact dividing line between adult and peer youth leaders, either by age or in respect of their role of leader, as seen either by themselves or their members. Increasingly, the ranks of professional adult leaders are being filled by those who have "graduated" as peer leaders. In many cases they have made the transition without any kind of formal training, either because no opportunities of training existed or because it is accepted that their practical experience is an adequate or more than adequate substitute for formal training.

However, until the number of young people involved in youth work grows considerably larger than at present and thus provides a sufficient base from which future adult leaders may be drawn, it is likely that a proportion of the youth leaders will have to be recruited and trained for the first time later in life. In any case, even though young people who have been in youth groups provide a sufficient number of recruits for leadership, it may still be useful to have a certain proportion of "outsiders" brought in at the adult leadership level, both to avoid "in-breeding" and the complacency and self-centredness to which it can give rise, and to strengthen the communication between the community at large and the youth sector within it.

The role of the youth leader is to teach, advise, befriend and generally assist young people on the basis of his knowledge, skill, experience and maturity, which will normally be greater than theirs. The function of a youth leader may be discharged in a wide variety of environments - educational, social, technical, industrial, agricultural, etc. It is usual to distinguish between the actual dedicative role of the school teacher or educator and the work of a youth leader.

His role in relationship to youth is dependent on ties of family kinship. In various societies it appears that one or both parents traditionally carried out, on a formal or informal basis, certain duties of instruction, advice and assistance. In periods of rapid social change, especially of change due to modernisation and the application of technology, many of these functions are no longer discharged within the kinship net-work. It can be argued that it is this default which has given rise to the need for the adult youth leader. This same process of the overtaking of traditional methods of instruction has been recognised in the realm of formal instruction in the basic necessities of a modern society. These affect vocational skills and requirements for survival involving food, shelter and the money economy, etc., and have been comparatively swiftly incorporated into a community structure in the form of an organised school system. Only gradually, however, has the need to provide similarly for the informal, out-of-school needs of young people been recognised.

The need for a training policy

In order to meet the increasing demand for youth leaders a training policy should be evolved, which could very well be a consistent part of a national youth policy, whether this be a policy of the government or of a non-governmental organisation. If it is a non-governmental organisation, the training and general policy for youth will have to be consistent both with governmental policy and with the principles and ideology of the organisation itself; they will also be closely related, with suitable modifications to suit local cultural conditions, to the international policy of the non-governmental organisation, if such exists. Problems may arise when the objectives of the government and of the voluntary organisation appear to be irreconcilable.

The training of youth leaders should be conceived and practised as a continuing and progressive process, involving the development of the individual personality of the trainee as well as the imparting of specific knowledge, understanding and skill. In

this sense, training is an unending process.

Responsibility for the training policy should be carried by the Ministry, council or organisation which has responsibility for national youth policy as a whole. The Minister or other senior governmental person responsible will find it useful to have an advisory body of specialists to make proposals about training policies and programmes. This body should be fully representative of the various forms of governmental and non-governmental youth work and also of allied educational and social fields.

The carrying out of training programmes should, wherever possible, be done on a decentralised basis, utilising local resources of government and non-governmental bodies wherever appropriate. It will usually be necessary to establish a system of financial subsidies for training programmes with funds from central government sources.

Most developing countries suffer shortages of middle and higher level manpower and a lack of facilities through which to train this manpower. Priorities will have to be established within the comprehensive planning of human and material resources as to which kind of employment and training should be encouraged. Youth leadership, therefore, finds itself in competition with a number of other professions. For it has only comparatively recently emerged as a profession, even in the highly industrialised countries, and there still appears some uncertainty about the content and method of training for it as well as its validity as a separate discipline or occupation. It is therefore likely to fare badly in comparison with the better established and recognised professions in education, health and social welfare. Nevertheless a strong case can be argued for giving youth leadership high priority in the present demographic, economic and social situation of most developing countries. But an adequate training policy cannot be expected unless certain prior decisions of policy have been taken which allocate priority to youth work as a whole.

It is therefore of the highest importance to secure a training staff of the highest calibre, dedicated and versatile enough to remain in touch with the realities of the young world. This might involve the provision of facilities to enable these workers and leaders to interchange between teaching or theoretical work and practical field posts, travelling domestically and abroad in order to make comparative studies of problems and techniques.

A national policy for training should prepare leaders and workers who can meet the needs of all young people, but there

should be special provision for training for work with different groups of youth, namely, those already involved in an organised fashion, those who are interested and the often forgotten masses. A comprehensive training policy should provide support for professional youth workers, for youth leaders working up through the ranks of youth organisations and for leaders emerging through spontaneous youth movements. Since the spontaneous youth leaders are sometimes considered suspect and difficult to manage, measures should be taken to maintain a dialogue with them and to protect them from being unduly harassed by the established groups. A national youth policy should set priorities as to the groups of youth for whom trained leaders are needed. Student groups usually produce their own leaders. The largest masses of youth live in rural areas. Their needs are often the most acute and merit priority, even though it may be easier to carry out work with urban youth because of the resources and the attraction of urban living for the youth worker. In some situations, rural youth drifting to the cities may prove to be the group most urgently needing training for leadership. Policies should make provision for attracting trained people to such work. Priorities should also be established by types of training and indeed several countries emphasise the training of trainers whose work can have the greatest multiplier effect.

In countries where no single governmental service is responsible for youth work, where various governmental Ministries and services encourage the training of youth workers, steps may have to be taken to define and locate a central body on which responsibility for policy and co-ordination is placed. Some measures for the co-ordination of effort are advisable; for example, responsibilities may be delegated to a special youth service, or a co-ordinating body such as a National Youth Board may be organised to plan and direct training.

The magnitude of the task is so great that governments must accept a role in promoting training; where government youth organisations are strong they may be expected to initiate training. In some countries it is considered desirable for governments to leave most of the initiative to non-governmental organisations and to support their work with financial assistance, advisory services, material aid and facilities, but not to interfere with their basic educational work except by way of assuring high standards of training. Government assistance should be provided on a regular and impartial basis according to criteria and conditions which are publicly established in advance.

In any event, in order that the best use may be made of scarce resources, there should be close co-ordination between the government youth services and non-governmental organisations for the development of a training policy. This co-ordination may take place through a governmental organisation with a representation from non-governmental bodies or by having representatives of the public authorities on a co-ordinating body of non-governmental organisations.

It is important that all youth organisations, including the political youth organisations, should join in the discussion on policy for training, even though the widely divergent political youth groups may wish to persuade youth organisations which have no political affiliation to adopt a particular line of thinking. Their presence is needed, since they often have a serious contribution to make to development. Their view-points often sharpen the youth need for questioning society and the experience may be valuable in the training of politicians who are sympathetic to the need for a comprehensive national youth policy.

A national policy for the training of youth leaders should not be an abstract formulation of what would be ideal for a country but should be based on the recognition that young people have an essential role to play in the development of the nation and on the realistic assessment of the resources likely to be available in the light of that recognition.

The professional youth worker

For both volunteer and professional workers there should be a deliberate policy of providing suitable incentives and rewards. For volunteers this will involve ensuring that they do not suffer hardship, material or otherwise, as a consequence of their voluntary service, and the provision of regular occasions and different means by which the government, and the community at large, can publicly express its gratitude and appreciation for the services rendered. For professional youth workers, it is necessary to provide financial remuneration, conditions of work, a career structure and professional status at least equal to or comparable with those in other professions with similar qualifications and levels of training.

Encouragement should be given to all professional youth workers to improve their capacity and efficiency by providing study leave, by generally improving their status and by establishing good public relations and a code of ethics, through professional associations of youth workers and allied professions. Care should

be taken to ensure that those professionally engaged do not become socially and culturally isolated, either because their work is exceptionally demanding or because as adults they are in danger of becoming separated from their contemporaries due to their attempt to identify with youth.

It may be useful to plan and organise youth worker training with certain special emphases. These might be administrative, counselling, organisation and direction of programmes, instruction in skills, etc. Some degree of specialisation should arise as the number of youth workers, both professional and volunteers, increases. However, most youth leaders will need to have a basic competence in all areas. A basic understanding of the determinants of behaviour, of the ways in which it can be influenced and the ways it changes at various stages of individual development will be required by all youth workers irrespective of the particular aspect to which they devote most attention. It is also probable that more understanding of and skill in administrative tasks will be required by those who reach the more senior positions.

If the academic status of youth workers is to be recognised there will have to be an increase in the number of courses in well-established institutions: universities and extra-mural departments, schools of social work, teacher training institutions, youth leader training colleges and community development training centres. It is known that a number of governments are setting up national training centres or training institutes for the advanced training of workers. In spite of the danger that these centres may offer too rigid a programme, they are generally considered worthwhile because they can fill the gaps in the training offered by institutions in the formal education system. They are important for the continuity of experimentation and progressive training experience. As residential centres, they contribute to a sense of national solidarity among the youth leaders of a nation, and for government personnel they can promote a trend away from specialised training towards polyvalent training, e.g. a sports leader can learn techniques of encouraging action in community development. In offering their facilities to non-governmental organisations, national training centres can encourage training in line with national priorities.

A national policy for the training of youth workers can no longer escape having some international perspective. Government officials, national youth council members and leaders of non-governmental organisations should have an overall view of the assistance available from various international agencies. They should develop a policy for the most strategic use of such

assistance and co-operation. While the value of assistance from external sources is recognised, it should be handled judiciously in order that it may be related to the needs and circumstances of the receiving countries. Imported assistance in training should not be conditional on the importation of foreign ideas which may be incompatible with local conditions.

It is known that in many countries where the whole approach to training has been imported a thorough-going reappraisal may become necessary after the gaining of political independence and the establishment of new priorities for social and economic development. Policy makers may not find it necessary to reject imported training simply because it is imported. In retaining forms of training used by other countries they may have the opportunity to compare their own experience elsewhere.

Mutual aid in training

Bilateral and multi-lateral assistance should be directed in large measure to the establishment and strengthening of local training institutions and programmes. The feasibility of collaboration by various international agencies in the establishment of multi-disciplinary regional training centres with special provision for youth training should be explored. The Commonwealth, being an international body, is considered appropriate to promote the setting up of such an establishment.

A number of people from abroad are being utilised as trainers. These include both experts and volunteers, many of whom are 30 years of age. In some countries their knowledge, technical skills, modern equipment and materials are accepted as positive elements in a society in rapid transition. Elsewhere there is a fear that they may be irrelevant because of the difficulties of the cross-cultural transmission of content and method. These experts and volunteers should be selected for their knowledge, understanding and respect of local cultures and circumstances, and for the particular function they will be required to carry out. It is important that their contribution correspond to real needs and that their methods be in line with indigenous thinking.

The training of youth in the local situation is essential to cater for national needs. However, it has long been felt that training beyond national borders is particularly necessary now that the concerns of so many youths around the world are similar and the issues affecting youth in one area so quickly arouse interest and influence the actions of youth in many others. These trends affect the work of the professional and voluntary leaders. But in

view of the fact that many youth leaders are unable on their own, or even with local support, to travel abroad for this purpose, there is a need for some form of organisation to provide travel facilities and scholarships for short-term visits or long-term professional training abroad. There is still a deep-felt need for experts, lecturers and highly competent trainers who can contribute to world-wide or regional training meetings dealing with youth education, organisational management, adolescent and youth psychology, sociology of youth, community development and human relations.

Training for unemployed youth

Unemployment among young people is one of the most critical problems facing the developing countries. While in the long run it can only be improved by the expansion of employment opportunities for all workers, a number of special measures can be taken to counter the problem of youth unemployment. This is a question which is receiving increasing attention. Unemployment and under-employment in developing countries affect all children and young people. One particular problem is that of educated unemployment among boys and girls who have completed secondary or higher education. A certain distaste for agricultural and other manual work in preference to office work, especially in government service, has led large numbers of young people to pursue studies preparing them for over-crowded occupations, though at the same time the demand for technical and scientific workers cannot be met. Some studies have been carried out by the International Labour Organisation and it was found, among other things, that, although extensive measures were being taken to develop technical and vocational training in certain countries, these countries still had difficulty in training enough highly skilled workers to carry out the many industrial projects undertaken under their development plans. The problem of unemployment in most developing countries has become increasingly prominent.

Generally speaking, research into special youth mobilisation schemes has shown the importance of the problems involved in the vocational guidance and training of young people, in utilising them as fully as possible for national economic and social growth, and in developing special programmes directed towards preparing young people for work and work opportunities.

Although vocational guidance has long been practised in most industrialised countries, it is only in its earliest stages in the developing countries. Only very recently have services been built up to help young people to choose an occupation and to find employment. The principles laid down in the Vocational Guidance

Recommendations of 1949 underline International Labour Organisation activities in this field. However, there is a clear need for research aimed at evolving methods and techniques better adapted to the special conditions of the developing countries. It is understood that the International Labour Organisation provides technical assistance to countries wishing to establish improved vocational guidance for youth employment services. In recent years there has been a considerable increase in the number of countries receiving expert assistance in the field of aptitude testing and other selection techniques, especially for the selection of trainees for the larger vocational training schemes. There has also been some increase in the assistance provided for youth employment service organisations.

National Youth Service as a training device

In order to meet critical problems, particularly in regard to the anomaly represented by large numbers of untrained, unemployed young people on the one hand and the acute need for economic development on the other, several developing countries have evolved a new form of training programme, popularly known as "National Youth Service". Such a programme is essentially catering for two distinct functions, i.e. the provision of training and the productive employment of unskilled unemployed youth. Some countries also have programmes which instil the community service concept among the educated youth.

A great majority of current programmes come under the first category, i.e. programmes for "disadvantaged" youth. Various criteria are being employed so as to provide as wide a distribution of facilities to as many young people desiring such training as possible. In most cases there has been no need to enforce any obligation, as most programmes attract more volunteers than there are openings available. However, in a small number of countries legislation instituting civic service is being enforced and this includes certain provisions making participation obligatory for certain age-groups and other categories of young people. This type of civic service is increasingly being accepted as fulfilling a national (as distinct from strict military) service obligation.

The training and work content of this programme varies according to the age, sex, individual needs and educational qualifications of participants, and the country's needs and financial resources. The proportion of actual training and work placement is determined by the choice between putting the emphasis on long-term consequences or on activities with short-term results.

Training is normally adapted to national needs and should be related to existing or future employment opportunities. Throughout the programme, productive work is aimed at social and economic development.

Any form of education and training increases the expectation of the individual for better living, although primarily it is considered merely a vehicle leading to such a goal. Trained youth must be syphoned out, either to be employed by some agencies or engaged in some form of occupation, in order to give way to new entrants. One of the objectives of training is to make young people self-reliant, independent and resourceful. However, the establishment of such a programme being a political and economic move, the authorities may have to embark on intensive programmes of constantly generating employment, which can be very restrictive particularly in a country with limited potential and slow economic growth. It is therefore essential to study the nation's resources and potential before resorting to this type of training programme.

Settlement schemes as an extension of training

A proportion of the graduates of the National Youth Service are inevitably channelled to settlement schemes where they embark on agricultural activities. In this way, relatively rapid growth of less developed areas can be achieved. For the nation, apart from the economic potential, a small part of the unemployment problem is being solved. For participating youth, the hope for better living rises with the progress they make in respect of their new venture.

Settlement schemes for youth came into being as a means of providing employment and hence a livelihood for the sons of farmers who, due to shortage of land, are unable to eke out a decent living on existing land. These schemes are seen as an extension of training in agricultural management and communal existence. Some of these schemes are sponsored by government agencies while others are organised entirely on a voluntary basis, with perhaps a small amount of subsidy from government sources. In the former case, taking Malaysian experience as an example, the responsible agencies make the necessary preparation of the land before the young settlers enter, whereas in the latter instance the youth work on the land right from the beginning and take part in all the processes, including the construction of their own rugged accommodation. The difference in the two types of settlement is evident and there is undoubtedly a greater amount of administrative procedure that needs to be observed in the former case. Both

require strict discipline and a clear-cut hierarchy of leaders and responsibilities.

While such settlement schemes are creditable, a number of sociological problems are inevitable. Most schemes, for obvious reasons, are located away from administrative centres and, indeed, even away from villages or communities. However, the pressure for a decent living drives a great many young people to take part in these schemes, despite all the hardships and self-denials that are imposed on them, by either the organisers or the environment itself. Critics are reluctant to support these schemes because of the social and psychological implications of such an existence.

The participants have to live in an artificial environment, as the community is mostly made up of young men of about the same age, without women, children or adults. Coming as they do from all parts of the country each participant brings his own set of norms and code of behaviour and therefore it is essential that a common standard exists. The period of social adjustment can be made more painful by the rigid discipline being enforced simultaneously throughout the whole life in the settlement. Living in very close quarters with people of about the same age over a period of time can be very irritating and such a situation may cause a great strain on the individuals. Despite all these drawbacks, the drop-out rate, as far as Malaysia is concerned, is negligible.

Settlement schemes for unemployed youth still have great political appeal, although the performance of the majority of such schemes has been of uneven quality. The sociological problems resulting from "youth only" schemes are becoming more evident. Selection of the youths is a critical factor. There is a need to relate existing agricultural education to settlement schemes. Fortunately greater emphasis is now being given to schemes in which youth are actively involved in all stages of their development, in order to minimise the sociological problems and the very heavy capital and operating costs of traditional settlement schemes. Despite some new promising approaches, settlement schemes still remain very costly and will therefore probably continue to play a limited role in any government's programmes for youth involvement.

Youth participation

The one common factor in the general unrest among students and young people in developed countries is the demand

for participation. This demand and a desire to conduct their own organisations is also appearing in the previously adult-governed youth movements. It seems quite certain that youth organisations for post-school adolescents will certainly have to ensure full participation of members, not only in programming, but also in all kinds of decision-making.

Recruitment for youth leadership can be seen as starting from within the youth groups themselves, through promotion and election of officers, etc. The recruitment and selection of trainees is directly related to and dependent on the motivation for providing the training in the first instance and the specific post of position and type of leadership which the trainee will undertake. Like training itself, selection should be a continuous and progressive process. To insist on selection in the form of educational, psychological or other forms of tests may not be realistic when the supply of leaders, as is most frequently the case, is considerably below the demand. However, some minimum requirements can and should be normally maintained.

The great shortage of youth leaders and youth workers gives rise to the need for a policy to promote the rapid development of training. There appears to be a difference of opinion as to the concept which governs the formulation of such a policy. A view has been expressed that research into the existing requirement estimates of expected need for the next 10-30 years should be undertaken and that planning techniques should be utilised in devising an overall policy. However, some organisations prefer a more simple and flexible approach so that their resources may be rapidly mobilised to most emergency needs. Hence, the training policy should have both long range goals and short term objectives. In countries where a national youth policy already exists, the national training policy should be consistent with it, or a high level decision should be taken to give priority to the training of youth leaders so that the standard of youth work may be raised and the youth policy carried out more effectively. In countries where decisions on national priorities have not given rise to a governmental youth policy or to a national planning office for youth affairs, there should be a great measure of harmony between the national policy for the training of youth workers and those elements relating especially to youth within more general governmental policies for political emancipation, through the development of resources, universal education, etc. Their training to this end could add dynamism to governmental programmes and provide evidence to youth that co-operation to meet the needs of society need not mean acceptance of any particular partisan political outlook on development.

The United Nations Report on Long-Term Policies and Programmes for Youth in National Development states that:

> "in very broad terms, a difference should be made between the bulk of young people in the developed and developing areas of the world. They are united in their liberal ideas, interest in music and the arts, their quest for education, aspiration for peace, human right and social justice, but certain distinctions are imposed by their respective economic situations and traditions."

The Report declared that:

> "In relation to youth, the action by the UN family would have three broad objectives:
>
> (a) to facilitate the contribution of young people to development and to ensure that their efforts are directed to feasible ends which are a relevant and integral part of the total development plan;
>
> (b) to strengthen the motivation of young people to participate in and contribute to programmes of self-help and mutual assistance;
>
> (c) to protect young people from exploitation and excessive participation in development activities which might harm their health or hinder their physical or mental growth and their development as individuals and as citizens."

Youth in developing areas should therefore become the agents and beneficiaries of development rather than its victims.

As already mentioned, young people in the developed world demand participation. In Africa, Asia and Latin America, however, there is already considerable participation by youth in public affairs. The United Nations Report states:

> "The demand for more education now should not be allowed to obscure the great strides in education which have been taken in these countries over a relatively short period, which have

> emphasised the educational differences between the older and younger generations. They have allowed all these younger people, able to read, write and understand political issues, to participate in a way seldom open to their parents. It has made them the agents of their families in outside affairs. As a result, it has been the younger generation which has generally been active politically and the younger generation which has often provided support for political movements."

It cannot be said that in the developing countries young people feel a lack of participation. The reverse is often true and young people in developing countries often direct and control political affairs. On the other hand, not all young people share in this participation and these countries have young populations with high expectations. The political leaders, therefore, must be attentive to the feelings of young people.

Participation by itself is not the only consideration in the examination of the future of youth work in developing countries. In many developing areas the development of resources that have either remained untouched for many years or been exploited for the benefit of colonial masters is a slow process, involving the accumulation of capital for investment and monumental increase in productivity. While the value of participation in terms of the individual's sense of involvement in the national destiny is undoubted, it should be recognised that not all programmes will meet with instant or complete success. The young people must be advised that the fruition of their labour may not be realised this year or next, but that they must be satisfied that they are contributing to some measure of progress towards personal and national goals.

The role of women and girls

Throughout this paper, there has been no special mention of the role of young women and girls. This is a deliberate omission in view of the fact that women's liberation movements are springing up everywhere; no doubt young women in developing countries will also rise and demand complete emancipation. They may well gain their victory, with equality in respect of privileges and also responsibilities. For this reason, what has been referred to earlier in this paper should be applicable to both young men and women.

Conclusion

The primary goal of youth work is the social education of young people. Such a definition is not unimportant since the aim changes as society changes. Developing countries are much concerned with basic education, economic needs and helping young people to create their place in a changing society: it is their critical involvement in their community which is the goal. We often hear statements of the aims of youth work, as for example, "to offer young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, formal education and work, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus the better to equip themselves to live the life of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society". This definition has not spent its force but it needs to be given fresh interpretation and emphasis in the light of contemporary society. It could be taken to mean that youth work takes place in special organisations, special places and at particular times, "complementary to home,formal education and work." Youth work should be seen to be present in many places, being concerned with relationships between generations and between young people and their community; it can take many forms and lead to different types of provision, of which organisations and centres are only examples. In the broadest terms, therefore, youth work is the response by informal methods to the personal, educational and social needs of the young in relation to society.

APPROACHES TO EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF ASIAN YOUTH

(A summary)

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The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of ILO

When we deal with approaches to employment problems of youth in Asia we should first in a short summary inform ourselves about the basic facts of youth employment and underemployment as well as the main causes. We should then examine the policies pursued by Asian governments, directed towards youth employment, and finally the possible employment potential within the different sectors of the developing economies.

I. SOME BASIC ISSUES

Asia's population is young. Just a glance at any demographic statistics for the region reveals that in almost all the Asian countries young people - if we also include children - represent on an average more than 60% of the total population. Youths in the 15-24 age-group represented during the mid-sixties more than a quarter of Asia's population and also of Asia's labour force.* The extensive population growth during the last decades has not only resulted in the fact that youth represents a substantial proportion of Asia's population and of the individual country's labour force. The youth population and youth labour force are increasing at a higher rate than the total population and the total labour force, with the exception of Japan. The share of youth within the Asian labour force is likely to increase further. Labour force participation of youth follows largely the traditional pattern that exists in Asia but varies considerably between the individual countries, depending on the percentage of those working

* Working forces equal population within the age-group 15-64.

in the primary sector, the standard of the educational system, the degree of female participation, etc.

As to unemployment, a ratio of about 10% of the total labour force is an accepted average in Asia. But unemployment occurs in particular among those who are looking for a job for the first time, i.e. youth. More than 50% of the total unemployed belong on average to the youth age-group. This trend is likely to intensify, owing to, inter alia, the heavy rural migration of youths to the towns.

In the metropolitan areas we can observe, in particular, a disequilibrium for certain occupational groups, which can partly be ascribed to a misconceived educational system, resulting in an over-supply of educated youth - who are, if employed, mostly qualitatively underemployed - and a strong demand for middle-level manpower. Underemployment is especially widespread among rural youth, where it is known to affect large segments of the rural youth population. Chronic underemployment of rural youth will be a customary characteristic of the Asian labour scene.

In addition, the serious qualitative and quantitative imbalance of the labour market towards youth is aggravated by the youth job-seekers themselves, as far as their limited adaptability, their ambitions and their attitudes towards blue-collar work are concerned.

On the demand side of the labour market we find that wage employment has not increased at the expected rate, on account of generally slow economic growth and development; in particular, industry has failed, by and large, as a substantial employment creator. It appears obvious that the greatest employment potential rests with the agricultural sector.

II. EMPLOYMENT-ORIENTED POLICIES

It is worth discussing here whether there is such a thing as particular employment creation for youth. Youth is part of the labour force, representing the youngest but in sheer numbers strongest age-group within the work force of Asia. Employment problems of youth cannot be solved in isolation but must be tackled within the context of economic and social development. Although private individuals, viz. the employers, are an important factor in the employment of youth, it is finally and above all the government which plays a decisive role, by pursuing policies designed to create employment or by actively stepping in to employ youth

gainfully.

It appears only logical that any sort of employment programme for youth requires a set of general and more specific, long- and short-term policies, in particular, policies with the aim of:

(a) intensifying the family planning programmes without limiting them to the cities and by-passing the poorer groups of the population in the countryside;

(b) creating additional employment in the different sectors of the economy. These could include fiscal policies to encourage investment - local and/or foreign - in highly labour-intensive industries, and wage policies that would make the employment of labour interesting for the employer, instead of encouraging him to invest in labour-saving equipment;

(c) granting of tax privileges for investment in specific industries, as is done in Malaysia and Thailand, or, in the case of the Republic of China, for investment in export-oriented industries (export processing zone).

Policies established with a view to assisting youth in search of employment would have to focus on the improvement of the administrative framework within the labour information system. This would include:

(a) the refinement and extension of manpower planning techniques, and the placing of a manpower planning unit at the highest level within the government hierarchy;

(b) the establishment of an effective national employment service, designed to reach and attract particularly rural youth and oriented towards greater labour mobility;

(c) vocational guidance service to put youth workers in a position to make free

occupational choices, and, on the other hand, to enable the employer - private or public - to fill the vacancies with exactly the type of person he is looking for.

Additional employment creation for youth requires educational policies which guarantee an education that is more streamlined to future job requirements. The education of youth could be implemented through the formal and non-formal educational systems.

Much has been said about the necessity to restructure and diversify the educational system. This has been implemented in almost all countries of this region, resulting in the splitting of secondary education into academic and vocational streams. The training of those outside school has also considerably improved in most of the Asian countries. In fact, it could be said that in these countries the largest part of the skill-building process is done outside the formal and organised vocational educational system, viz. in the form of short-term skill training, accelerated training programmes, upgrading, retraining of youth already in the labour force, etc.

The only system promising success in actual skill development, however, appears to be on-the-job training. Apprenticeship training has already been introduced in India, Pakistan, Malaysia and the Republic of China with varying success. Apprenticeship schemes, as developed in the industrialised countries, cannot be directly transferred into the developing countries without major shortcomings and frictions, one limiting factor being the employers, who would have to do the training of their future skilled manpower. Employers in this region are often reluctant to take apprentices, the reasons being numerous, e.g. uncertain economic perspective, the simple lack of productivity-mindedness and an inability to evaluate and even understand the possibility of future returns of investment made today. Some reasons are just biased and have their root in the attitude that all education and training is the business of the state.

Several measures have, therefore, been suggested to involve industry more and more in the skill-building process and to secure implementation through special taxing of industrial undertakings or even compulsory intake of trainees.

The high percentage of rural youth in Asia as well as the high drop-out rates have already been touched upon.

Agriculture in Asia is now in a state of immense transition. Since employment opportunities, other than in farming, can hardly be expected in the rural areas, the need for more diversified training in subjects associated with modern farming is urgent. Subjects to be taught could include modern agricultural production techniques, agricultural technology, technical training, management, etc. With a view to reducing unemployment and underemployment in rural areas, this would qualify youth in the rural labour force for the necessary introduction of modern techniques and practices, as well as for the demand by small-scale industries, by agro-based and agro-oriented industries, which are expected to be set up in rural areas during the next decades.

Greater participation of rural youth in the development process requires a more thorough and better training along the lines given above. The purpose is to make them more employable, while simultaneously training them towards responsible leadership in community affairs. Some governments in the region, as well as non-governmental organisations, have pursued different approaches for a more systematic and comprehensive programme of agricultural training, viz. through national youth services and settlement schemes which have a predominantly rural orientation, vocational farm training and rural youth clubs.

The concept of vocational farm training has been introduced as a pilot project in Ceylon and proved to be very successful. As in vocational/technical training, innovations within the field of agricultural production, management and farming techniques can be efficiently transmitted only by putting rural youth more to practical farm work than to theoretical classroom teaching. The introduction of farm-based training programmes in this region was therefore suggested. The idea is to encourage rural youth, who either come from farm families or are working as unpaid family workers, to stay on their own farmland and to give them training plus services. According to this concept rural youth actively engaged in farming on their parent's land are trained on the land by one qualified agricultural trainer. The basic idea is to train 60-80 rural youth by one vocational agricultural teacher-cum- extension worker.

This scheme of supervised vocational farm training has shown satisfactory results in Ceylon and is now being tested in the Philippines. The advantages seem obvious, as the trained youth are already committed to practical farming. Furthermore, the vocational farm training scheme profits from a favourable teacher/trainee ratio (1:60 or 80, as compared with 1:20 in

vocational agricultural schools), with the result of relatively low unit costs. Given proper organisation and full support by government, vocational farm training as described should have potential for the successful training, and finally employment, of rural youths.

Our discussion on training rural youth would be incomplete without at least mentioning the considerable efforts in the field of agricultural training and related problems made by private organisations in this area. The voluntary movements, as for example the Junior Free Farmers in the Philippines, the Young Farmers Association of India, the Young Farmers Clubs in Ceylon and the 4-H Clubs in various countries of this region, are fairly representative of the private efforts taken in Asia, mostly at the village level. The success and existence of these private organisations, however, depends largely on the spirit and enthusiasm of rural youth themselves. Incentives given by governments are necessary to make these organisations operational.

III. APPROACHES TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

(a) Employment opportunities for youth in agriculture

International experience has shown that the maximum employment potential for youth lies with agriculture. This is for three reasons: the high labour intensity of agriculture, traditional or modern, the majority of Asian youth living in rural areas, and the limited freedom of movement of labour from the agricultural into the modern and the services sectors, owing to the fact that both, in particular the former, do create much fewer employment opportunities than the traditional sector. This pattern is not likely to change in the less developed countries and the number of youth dependent for their livelihood on jobs in the agricultural sector will continue to grow. The reality of this issue becomes evident from the plan documents of Asian countries.

The objective of creating more income-earning job opportunities in the rural areas implies two sets of actions:

(a) to develop traditional subsistence farming into more intensive agriculture, supported by agricultural services;

(b) to conduct land reforms, where these have not yet been introduced, to enable the farmers to work on their own holdings.

The first objective implies a package of measures by introducing intensive farming. In the course of the "Green Revolution" the traditional agricultural pattern, with stagnant production and seasonal employment, will be changed into a new type of farming through the use of high yielding varieties, inter-cropping, multiple cropping or mixed farming. As has been experienced in a number of countries, more intensive farming will not only result in increased agricultural output and higher income - providing prices remain stable - but also, on account of the high labour intensity implied in diversified agriculture, in greater demand for manpower - not just for more labour but for better educated and better trained manpower.

Without any doubt the increased demand results in job openings particularly tailored for rural youth, since their training can be assumed to be much better and their "development-mindedness" considerably higher than those of the older generation. Young people can be profitably employed to do such work as transplanting, scientific fertiliser application, marketing and sale of inputs to agriculture, control of insects and weeds, soil preparation, cultivation and harvesting.

Intensified and diversified agriculture is not likely to be implemented successfully without a viable structure of agro-services. This again calls for more well-trained, articulate agricultural technicians. Diversified agriculture is highly dependent on inputs which have to be purchased, processed and marketed (or stored). This requires facilities for agricultural credit through governments or co-operatives, warehouses, processing plants and marketing facilities. Finally, extension services, which are an indispensable complementary instrument in modern agriculture, would require a permanent pool of qualified and experienced technicians for production, marketing and co-operatives.

Indirect employment effects are induced by the establishment of agricultural services and sophistication of agro-industries which will complement the diversification of agriculture. Job creation can be especially expected from distribution and marketing facilities for agricultural inputs, as well as the processing and marketing facilities of output. It has been estimated that the indirect employment effects will be at least as high or even higher than the direct job generation effects through the "Green Revolution".

From the short summary given above, it is learned that

the technical implementation of intensified agriculture, as well as the indispensable constitution of additional agricultural services and industries, carries a very high employment creation potential. Furthermore, the job requirements are such that preferably young people, if properly trained in agriculture, small-livestock raising, agro-technical skills, marketing, banking, organisation, extension, etc. could act as innovators in the process of rural transition and would represent an ideal pool of appropriate labour.

What is the response of Asian youth? The generally poor educational background, the mental reservations against manual labour, in particular against farm labour, have already been mentioned. Asia's youth cannot, however, be treated as a complete entity. There are some countries where the young people could be easily persuaded to work on farms, provided that the basic necessities of life could be met with income derived therefrom. There are others where educated young people are reluctant to engage themselves in farming. In the latter case the main objection seems to be low income, coupled with the lack of so-called 'status', in societies that show wide disparities between the urban and the rural young. The traditions, social conditions and economic aspirations of Asian youth vary from one country to another. In formulating an acceptable programme of work for each country of the region these constraints will have to be taken into account. All efforts can, however, be successful only if - as the First Malaysia Plan puts it - "the conditions of living and the material rewards of agriculture become relatively attractive". What is necessary to mobilise rural youth is to make the rural areas attractive, and give the youth financial incentives and pride in their work.

(b) Employment opportunities for youth in the modern sector

The industrial sector is comparatively small in most Asian countries compared to the predominance of agriculture. The prospects of additional employment creation, particularly in the modern manufacturing sector, are therefore somewhat limited, at least in the short run of three to five years. The impact on the unemployment problem appears only marginal, even if rapid expansion is pursued and the available capacity fully utilised. Due to its small - even if gradually increasing - share in GDP and employment in most of the Asian countries, its absorptive capacity is limited. As a long-term instrument, however, industrialisation with its rising labour productivity provides the dynamic element for the development process.

above, the employment possibilities of Asian youth in industry will depend on the government's ability to create additional jobs or to induce entrepreneurs to make more investments, preferably in small-scale industries and/or rural industries. However, not only will the possibilities of creating employment in the industrial sector be limited; it will also take considerable time for new jobs in industry to be made available. In the meantime the governments will have to look for other ways of creating additional employment for their youth.

(c) Employment opportunities for youth in the services sector

The importance of the services sector is dictated for the most part by the overall growth of economic activities. In the course of economic development in Asia the services sector has for long been a potential employment creator. Opportunities for increasing productive employment were created mostly through the partly rapid growth which could be observed during the last decade within the modern sub-sectors. The services sector, which accounts in a number of Asian countries for up to 30 per cent of the labour force (e.g. Ceylon 30 per cent, Malaysia and Singapore 34 per cent), is credited with a high future employment potential. Many plan documents mention expected shortages, particularly in the education and health sector and in the field of management.

In the less developed countries, many youth, particularly those who do not find employment in the modern sectors, turn to the services sector in search of white-collar clerical or related jobs. The high preference among youth for this type of work has already been touched upon. There are other fields, in the public and private sectors, where youth could be productively and gainfully employed. In the private sector tourism has recently created a considerable demand for young qualified people. Furthermore, there is a great demand in most Asian countries for qualified middle-level management. Less optimistic is the picture among self-employed youth, where heavy disguised unemployment can be observed, particularly in urban areas. Government-supported self-employment schemes, as pursued in India and Ceylon, are too new a concept to comment on. As to the public sector, there are ample employment opportunities for educated youth to work in the rural areas as teachers and para-medical staff (particularly in family planning programmes), as well as limited openings in general government employment.

The policies in respect of industrialisation adopted in the past by the governments of the region have been rather detrimental to long-term growth of employment. Industry in the Asian countries is still too dependent upon the capital-intensive technologies developed by and for industrialised countries. The application of labour-intensive techniques as an instrument to absorb labour surpluses has, in the meantime, become a big issue in almost all plan documents of Asian countries. The Asian planners have underlined that emphasis should be laid on labour-intensive industries, such as construction of all types and light industries (electronics, optical industries, etc.). Both industries hold a high labour component.

As to construction, experience (gained particularly in India) has proved that the input of substantial numbers of workers rather than investment in heavy earth-moving equipment has shown satisfactory results in large construction projects.

As to light industry, the majority of Asian countries have recognised small-scale industry as an important instrument in employment strategy. The basic argument for encouraging small enterprises is that a given investment in this sector will result in a higher employment effect over a large area without sacrificing output, if it is made in small units. Besides, the capital/output ratio is known to be, in general, higher in small-scale industries than in medium and large sized industries. Countries like the Republic of China, India, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea and Malaysia have in their plan documents expressed their intentions of developing this sector. Rural industries, which have already been mentioned in the context of the "Green Revolution", are likely to open ample employment opportunities, particularly for well-trained youth.

What are the implications of these policies for the employment of youth? All countries have realised the particular employment problem of the youth population. In the highly competitive industrial labour market, however, there do not exist special preferences for youth at the threshold of employment. What makes these new entrants to the labour market more suitable for employment, however, is the fact that they can be assumed to be, in general, better educated and/or have technical skills, i.e. experience. In addition, youth will progressively become less traditional in outlook and will be more adaptable to occupational requirements and new challenges.

Chances are, therefore, that, as has been outlined

The above measures are only indicative. They give, however, a general view of what the requirements, suggestions and actions taken in countries of this region are regarding employment generation for unemployed youth in the services sector.

In concluding the issue of employment opportunities for youth in the traditional, modern and services sectors, we may say that the agricultural and services sectors appear to be major sources of employment for youth, while the outlook for recruitment by the industrial sector remains limited. More specifically, the agricultural sector must in future attract youth from the countryside. Out-migration of youth from urban to rural areas in search of work in agro-industries is not to be expected. Rural underemployment will, in the long run, not completely be abolished.

Employment generation in the modern sector will remain, for the time being, limited. Even if significant additional employment could be generated in this sector, this will be a lengthy, long-term process. In the immediate future there appears to be no possibility of any spectacular rise in job opportunites.

The rush of youth into the services sector in search of white-collar jobs is likely to continue. The successful employment of the backlog of educated unemployed youth in this sector frequently requires their retraining, as has been seen. This again could turn out to be an arduous, time-consuming undertaking. Youth cannot wait that long, and they will not. The employment problems of youth in most Asian countries can satisfactorily be solved only over the long term. This requires governments to step in with immediate crash employment and relief programmes, as otherwise the backlog of unemployed youth plus the annual additions to the labour force will continue to be a burden on the entire development effort

(d) Youth mobilisation schemes

Conventional measures are, as has been outlined, likely to operate too slowly and too indirectly to absorb immediately out-of-school youth into productive activities. What is required is a comprehensive attack on the problem. For this reason, therefore, most governments in this area have taken autonomous measures to combat their problem of increasing youth unemployment. The approach in the individual countries is through youth mobilisation schemes of all kinds, operating under different institutional structures, pursuing different economic objectives

with emphasis on either rural or urban programmes, on training or employment catering for youth with different educational achievements, etc.

The basic argument in favour of these schemes from a macro-economic point of view is the temporary absorption of new entrants to the labour force, viz. youth from the labour market. The success of such interim solutions will be highly dependent on whether in the meantime the rate of job creation will be higher than the increase in the labour force. In other words, to justify the heavy financial burden involved in the realisation of mobilisation schemes and to avoid politically dangerous frustration on the part of youth, it is imperative that jobs must be created where youth can be employed prior to their being discharged from the schemes. For the individual youth this means that participation in a special scheme is only an interim affair and limited to a certain period, usually 24 months.

Without going into too much detail about what has been done in the Asian countries - agricultural development schemes, settlement schemes, rural work programmes, urban schemes - a few words should be spent on their effect. A major limitation is the relatively small contribution such schemes can make to the gigantic problem of youth under-employment and unemployment. Their coverage seems, by experience, too small. This makes the problem of proper selection of participants an important and highly delicate matter. By far the most prominent obstacle which seems to have handicapped a more widespread distribution of schemes in this area is the heavy financial costs involved. Calculation of benefits is a difficult and complex affair, particularly in schemes with a heavy emphasis on training and small provisions for productive work. An analysis of cost and benefits of the schemes seems to have proved that expenses for the administrative set-up represented the lion's share of total costs.

Summary

The solutions to youth unemployment being offered by special schemes are somewhat difficult to achieve. The successful implementation of special schemes is too dependent on a multitude of different factors. Whereas the additional employment (and income) creation, the skills taught and the change in attitudes effected may be listed as positive results, the final implementation of the schemes still seems to encounter many shortcomings and frictions, particularly as far as organisation is concerned. The expenditure on administration seems to be on the rise. Besides,

the financial burden and obligations of special schemes are of such an extent that it might be advisable to start first with pilot projects in selected areas and with small batches of selected participants, in order to make the establishment of schemes a successful undertaking. Proper planning, linkage to the country's development plans and high level administrative control are prerequisites for a successful accomplishment. As may be realised, however, even the successful implementation of special schemes does not provide a spectacular solution to the grave and continuing unemployment problem of Asian youth.

IV. SUGGESTIONS

(1) Policies for employment creation should aim:

(a) to make rural areas more attractive through the establishment of an efficient infra-structure (in the widest sense) viz. opening-up of road net-works, establishment of agro-industries, banking, recreational facilities and provision of amenities;

(b) to improve the labour information system through efficient and widespread employment services (in the rural as well as the urban areas) and vocational guidance (including aptitude tests) at school level.

(2) The training of youth should aim:

(a) to avoid drop-outs and to ensure that would-be drop-outs will be trained at least up to Grade 5;

(b) to pursue, where possible, the concept of on-the-job training for farmers, as outlined, i.e. vocational farm training through vocational agricultural-cum-extension workers;

(c) to set up highly operational apprenticeship schemes, supported by sufficient legal powers to enforce apprenticeship training on private (or public) enterprises;

(d) to reduce the number of grants given to students for higher studies abroad and establish instead a "peripatetic university" where qualified personnel from abroad would teach.

(3) The employment of rural youth

Since intensive farming is not just a question of technical inputs, but can only be materialised if skilled manpower is available, it is suggested that rural youth should be employed as:

(a) extension workers;

(b) co-operative specialists;

(c) agricultural technicians.

(4) The employment of educated youth

Since the well-functioning of developing economies requires a pool of efficient educated manpower, it is suggested that educated youth should be employed as:

(a) family planning advisers, particularly in rural areas;

(b) teachers, particularly for rural primary schools;

(c) land development administrators;

(d) middle-level managers.

PART IV

A Selection of Documents

SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS

Note

The documents prepared for this seminar were classified as (a) lead papers, (b) background papers, and (c) country papers.

The lead papers are reproduced in Part III of this Report. It should be noted that Mr Bettenhausen's paper "Approaches to Employment Problems of Asian Youth"is included in summary form. The original paper is available on request.

Included among the background papers were five papers which summarised the findings and recommendations of the previous Commonwealth Regional Youth Seminars in Africa and the Caribbean, and of the two ECAFE seminars held in Bangkok in 1966 and 1970. These summary papers are not reproduced in this Report but are obtainable on request from the Secretariat.

The selection which follows includes a summarised version of the background paper "Educational Planning and Unemployed Youth", prepared by Professor A. Callaway. The original paper may be had on request.

Country papers outlining developments in the youth field were submitted by most of the participants attending the Seminar. It has not been possible to include them all in the Report. An attempt has been made, however, to include a representative selection covering as far as possible the range of geographical, economic and social variations to be found in the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

A complete list of the seminar documents and background material is included at Appendix 3 of this Report. Copies of papers not reproduced here may be obtained on request from the Secretariat.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

(A summary)

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A. THE PROBLEM IN OUTLINE

1. Within Commonwealth nations of Asia - as well as in other low-income countries - attention is being focused on widespread and growing unemployment among young people. Most of these job-seeking youth have attended schools for varying lengths of time (some, indeed, have university degrees), but they cannot find work which matches their aspirations or their potential abilities. Largely a phenomenon of the last decade, this type of open unemployment has tended to be cumulative: each year the numbers of uncommitted youth have grown. Thousands of unemployed have increased to tens of thousands - in some countries, to hundreds of thousands.

Among economists, recognition has now come that concentration on raising growth rates of per capita income is not enough; development designs for the 1970s must also include strategies for creating productive work for the vast numbers of unemployed and underemployed. For those concerned with education, a similar turning point in ideas has occurred. The continued expansion of formal education along existing lines is no longer considered adequate. Questions are being asked: How can education systems be geared more closely to economic and social realities? In particular, what types of education have a more direct effect on generating employment on a wide scale ?

In the less developed nations, the problem of unemployment is critical in the high proportions of youth involved. While economies have been growing at fairly high rates, they have not been developing in directions which open up anywhere near enough job opportunities to absorb the large numbers of educated young people arriving each year to join the labour force.

Compounding the problem has been the dramatic acceleration in population growth. Over the past two decades

the wider dissemination of modern health education and services has reduced infant mortality and prolonged the life span of adults; in only a few countries has a compensating attempt been made to lower the birth rate. The strain of sheer numbers against the developing economies can be seen not only in the rising numbers of unemployed but also in the tightening land supply and increasing poverty in some rural areas, the worsening slum conditions in cities, jammed urban transport systems, over-crowded hospitals and child-care clinics, the inability of governments to meet the popular demand for more schools and universities.

In many countries the rapid extension of formal education has itself been a significant factor in the growth of youth unemployment. This vigorous expansion took place in line with the generally-held belief that massive increases in education would help to generate economic growth. Gradually it became revealed that large numbers of young people completing different stages of schooling were not finding work that represented a reasonable payoff for the years spent in classrooms. In tropical Africa, for example, by the early 1960s primary school leavers were unable to secure the kind of jobs they hoped for; now in some countries secondary school leavers experience similar conditions. In India for some years the problem of settling university graduates has been a major urgency - a fact which tends to obscure the adjustment problem being met by those who leave the education system at earlier stages. While some countries of Latin America have difficulties of landless peasants without jobs, in most countries the great numbers of unemployed are educated youth or those partly educated. Throughout the developing world, governments have become alert to what appears to be a major imbalance between expanding systems of education and malfunctioning economies.

This situation is described as "open unemployment among school leavers", "graduates without jobs", or "surplus youth". What meaning do these phrases have for educational planners? Can unemployment of educated youth be solved (or partly solved) by cutting back education at the appropriate levels and thus not producing "surpluses"? Or is this condition the result, as is sometimes claimed, of the "wrong" kinds of education - for example, too much rote learning of dead facts rather than learning, say, rural skills? Or will the employment problem solve itself in the long term without taking any specific action?

For the educational planner questions of resource use become even more vital against the background of mounting unemployment among educated youth. How high a proportion of national

resources can reasonably be spent on education? Are the priorities within education consistent with national interests? How can existing programmes be operated with greater efficiency? Also significant is the relevance of classroom education to the society in which pupils will have to build their careers: modifications in expensive formal education may be called for. And, too, there may now be required greater emphasis on out-of-school education more closely attuned to the economic scene: farm extension, on-the-job training, functional literacy programmes.

While certain principles can be discerned relating the problem of youth unemployment to educational planning, there is clearly no blueprint that can assist all countries. The magnitude and distinctive kinds of unemployment differ in each country according to the level and pace of the individual economy, the rate of population growth in relation to resources, the historical development of the educational system, the particular social and political framework. Planners in each country will have to examine their own unique situation. By identifying the employment problem, analysing its relation to the education system and the economy, they can determine policy options. The problem can be alleviated only from within.

2. In most developing countries educated youth account for half to three-quarters, at least, of those openly unemployed. Evidence of the growing numbers of these jobless youth may be gleaned from various sources; statements by responsible policy makers, labour exchanges vastly over-crowded with young registrants, employers requiring higher qualifications for many jobs. Even the number of experimental programmes launched in recent years to provide work and training for young people tells not so much about successful solutions as it does about the feeling of urgency for taking action.

While the problem is widely recognised, statistical assessments of the extent of unemployment among educated youth (and even more so, of the underutilisation of human resources generally) are difficult to achieve. For example, those school leavers who remain in villages and rural towns are often only partly committed to work, justifying their living costs by helping at peak periods of the year on the family farm or in a local workshop. Quoted numbers normally refer only to the openly unemployed in urban areas. These recorded statistics do not reveal the difficulties of (a) those who are employed part-time, usually as a means of helping to pay for personal living costs, while they seek work with better prospects, (b) those fully employed but below

their present capabilities and with little chance of developing their talents later, and (c) those insecurely employed. Also, girls and young women, who have attended schools and are without jobs, are sometimes not recorded as unemployed unless they have additional specific qualifications: for example, as teachers, nurses, secretaries.

For policy purposes it is important that each country should know more about the numbers and also the characteristics of these job-seeking youth: ages and education, positions in families, background and living conditions, migratory movements, aspirations, periods unemployed, as well as incidence of unemployment in different parts of the country.

Although the evidence is fragmentary and not immediately comparable among countries, the following examples provide indications of the problem. Ceylon, in 1966, had a total of nearly half a million unemployed, of whom 35 per cent were aged from 14 to 18, 43 per cent from 19 to 25, and the remaining 22 per cent over 25. In Malaysia, 50 per cent of the 15 to 19 age group are known to be unemployed, while the unemployment rate of those aged 15 to 24 is twice that for the labour force as a whole. In the Philippines, in 1965, the young age group (14 to 24) formed 65 per cent of total unemployed in urban areas; among this group were a high proportion of educated girls and young women. In India, the Education Commission estimated that there are about one million educated unemployed, overwhelmingly young persons and including a high proportion of matriculates.

In most developing countries, out of every 1,000 who reach a standard of permanent literacy in primary schools, only 10 to 20 per cent go on to secondary schooling. At the end of the primary stage 800 to 900 seek work. Those who come from rural areas and farming families often reject the occupations of their parents. They feel (and their families usually support them) that their schooling has fitted them for tasks with better prospects. Many migrate to stay with relatives in towns and cities and hope that with persistence they will get wage-paid jobs. They are now able to read and write in the national language, to deal with numbers of a reasonable complexity, but they have no particular vocational skills to offer an employer. Many of them hope to find an attachment which gives them training on the job and develops their potential skills. But very few jobs are available and competition is intense; many remain without work for long periods.

3. How do the employment difficulties of those school leavers differ from those who never went to school at all? Those without formal schooling usually follow the occupations of their parents or relatives and learn on the job from an early age. Their world is thus circumscribed, their possibilities for choice are limited, and for the most part they lack the confidence to search for jobs in the modernising economy. In most cases they have few hopes of breaking away from the certainty of a life-time of poverty.

School leavers, on the other hand, have acquired aspirations as a result of formal education and their unemployment may thus be defined within the gap between those aspirations and the facts of the economic environment. Nor is it only the ambitions of school leavers themselves: there are also the hopes of parents and relatives who have usually denied themselves other forms of expenditure in order to promote their children's education and to prepare them for a better way of making a living.

The school leavers' employment problem may be explained in terms of a simple model: the rate at which young people leave the educational system continually outpaces the capacity of the modernising economy to provide jobs at an acceptable money return, actual or prospective.

While primary school leavers and dropouts from the early years of secondary schools make up the great bulk of the unemployed, increasingly secondary school graduates are noted among the jobless - a situation familiar for some years in several countries of Asia. In a few countries, graduates from universities have to make a prolonged effort - sometimes up to two or three years - to get jobs which seem to them to match their qualifications. The indications for the years ahead are that graduates will have to accept jobs with lesser starting salaries and slower chances for promotion, and secondary school leavers, too, will need to lower their expectations.

To complete the educational picture, there are the highly-educated - those with advanced degrees in various professions, who in recent years have been leaving their home countries in greater numbers for economically-advanced countries where they find positions with better salaries and more favourable conditions of work and living. While these medical doctors and "Ph.D.s" are very few in proportion to total numbers seeking jobs, their migration makes a particularly poignant comment on the difficulties many developing countries have in harnessing their educational progress to national economic and social development.

The employment problems of the educated, then, appear to run the whole length of the educational system's outputs with clusters at different levels and types for different countries. The incidence and intensity of unemployment vary according to the facilities for education and also, in some measure, to the varied cultural settings - the strength of family life and the continuity of family association between rural and urban areas. But though these variations do exist, there is nevertheless one constant element: the educational systems are not sufficiently in harmony with the abilities of the economies to absorb educated youth into productive work. Education is thus still far from making the contribution that it could make to development.

4. It has been said that unemployment of young educated people is not so serious, that in time they will find something to do. But, for the following reasons, this condition of widespread youth unemployment must be considered of critical importance.

(a) The numbers of educated youth without jobs are already considerable and are continuing to grow. The condition is not correcting itself and, in fact, in the immediate future is likely to grow worse.

(b) Such unemployment has a high social and economic cost. Those not working reduce the standard of living and the potential savings of family members who are. For the nation, heavy expenditures of scarce public resources (as well as private funds) have been devoted to the education of these youth. When development is urgently being sought, unemployment means a tragic waste of human resources.

(c) Given that the distribution of income and property is unequal in most developing nations, unemployment of this magnitude accentuates these inequalities by pressing down wages and the earnings of the self-employed. The situation within countries thus tends to polarise: "The rich get richer, while the poor get poorer."

(d) Too great an exodus of educated youth from rural areas can lower farm production and retard agricultural modernisation. So long as rural areas are depressed, then there is a powerful stimulus for young people to go to cities. Since cities and towns cannot absorb them into meaningful employment, education merely converts underemployment of the countryside to open unemployment of the cities.

(e) Too rapid an influx into cities brings strain on municipal water supplies, sanitation, transport systems, community health services, and housing, sometimes leading to urban squalor and shanty towns. Governments are then pressed to provide vast expenditures on amenities, which may further widen the contrast between rural and urban development. Many cities are presently growing at 6, 8 and even 10 per cent net increase in population each year.

(f) When unemployment stretches over a long period with consequent insecurity, there follows the threat of increasing juvenile delinquency and crime, physical ill health, mental disturbance, and resort to drugs. If the society becomes more and more divided into those who enjoy the conspicuous comforts of modern living and those who are excluded, large numbers of youthful unemployed present a distinct threat to national stability and thus risk the success of programmes for national economic development.

B. APPROACHES TO SOLUTIONS

1. Finding suitable work for educated youth is part of the wider concern for the existing unemployed and underemployed: youth and adults, male and female, the educated and those without any formal education, in urban and rural areas. Unemployment among educated youth thus brings into focus the widespread underemployment, characterised by extremely low economic productivity, of much of the labour force - in farming, petty trading, small workshops. At present, 25 to 30 per cent of the labour forces of most developing countries are underutilised. For the 1970s no economic issue is more critical than the more productive involvement of more eligible people within the processes of development.

Social and economic objectives are clearly defined by most developing countries as the reduction of poverty, the provision, as soon as possible, of acceptable standards of food, health, housing, education, and opportunities for work at decent rewards. In the meantime, immense numbers of potential workers cannot contribute their abilities, not only because jobs do not exist but also because they are poor. They suffer from malnutrition and endemic diseases. Their housing conditions are bleak. Their outlook on the world around them and the outlook of children dependent upon them suffer accordingly. The assault on poverty must come simultaneously from many directions. Ultimately, the only effective way to redistribute income and to reduce the wide,

unacceptable disparity in living conditions between the few rich and the many poor is to provide more opportunities for employment.

Generating significantly more jobs - and creating a milieu in which further meaningful employment can be self-created - depends on measures taken throughout the economy. Manpower policy and practices will have to be concerned not only with the provision of higher-level skills but also with the productive employment of the maximum possible numbers. Strategies for greater labour intensity consistent with rising output of goods and services would become of central importance to leaders at national and local levels. Policy-makers and administrators - including politicians, civil servants, private employers, trade union leaders, heads of farmers' and of producers' associations and marketing co-operatives, voluntary organisations - all will need to extend and co-ordinate their efforts in this direction. Information about programmes and progress need also to be fully conveyed to all reaches of the society.

Because of the heavy dependence of most developing countries on international economic relationships, efforts must be continued to ensure that the balance of international trade and payments reflects the best interests of the economy through suitable exchange rates, exports that are truly competitive, imports guided by local production and consumption urgencies. Foreign trade, aid, and domestic investment will have to be kept in harmony. Donors of external aid and providers of low-interest international loans will need to be persuaded that their arrangements should be designed to generate much greater local employment than at present.

Further investigations are required in most developing countries to determine just where the margins of advantage really are as between labour-intensity and capital-intensity in promoting development. For some establishments (for example, industrial firms, major public works) the economic advantage, measured by cost of the desired quality of the final product, may prove to be with the use of large units of plant, equipment, and specialised organisation - requiring relatively few employees compared with capital invested. But greater intimacy with the aptitudes and the modest accomplishments of peasant farm families and small-scale, low-capital crafts and industries will reveal, almost certainly, a wider range of possibilities for creating jobs at no great further expense. In many instances it will be discovered that an increasing number of productive jobs and rising output are more harmonious than is commonly supposed. In any case, and as a last resort, one-half of one per cent less in the growth

of national economic output - resulting from the spreading of available capital more widely and enabling even further jobs in the immediate future - may prove a small price to pay for social stability in the short-term and a vital advantage to the society and the economy in the long-term.

Any one economy has not one environment but many. Planning for substantially more employment along with rising output and getting these plans into action within the constraints set by scarce national and local resources is a difficult, continuing exercise that requires intimate knowledge of people's responses to various familiar and new incentives.

Transforming the rural areas (where, in most developing countries, from 60 to 90 per cent of the people live) must take high priority. Patterns of land ownership and tenure, of crops grown, marketing arrangements and transport systems, however, are so varied among different parts of the same country (as well as among countries) that it is obviously wrong to characterise the rural situation as if it were everywhere the same.

Strategies for expanding and diversifying agricultural production include the provision of seeds, fertiliser, credit, extension assistance, and some assurance on prices of products. The aim of policies would be to enable agriculture to pay better dividends to more farm families. This would be achieved by raising output per acre while retaining relatively labour-intensive techniques, where this proves to be economically desirable. (The relation of the size of the farm holding to output and employment is a topic largely unexplored in most countries.)

When farm families earn greater returns, then the higher money circulation in the villages creates more jobs off the farm, in trading, transport, on building sites. Small-scale industrialists (processing farm products or working with wood, metal, cloth, leather) have more scope to meet local consumer demand. Efforts also should be made to foster new entrepreneurs through help to the indigenous apprentice system by which young people learn from established master traders, artisans, and small-scale industrialists, and, of salient importance, new major industries need to be set up in rural towns or in newly-created rural industrial centres.

These policies will have to ensure that farm incomes are not depressed in the process of expanding output of farm products, that labour is used to the full through the application of

low-cost but progressive technologies, that self-help in creating community amenities is encouraged, that capital is saved in order to promote a multiplicity of projects.

The bias, by which cities have shared disproportionately in expenditure for infrastructure, will need to be removed. Public works in the countryside will have to be stepped up on a wide scale to provide and maintain secondary roads, clean water supplies, rural markets, health clinics, schools, meeting halls. Components of self-help will vary according to the situation. In some cases rural people would undertake the projects entirely themselves, with some help in planning and perhaps with supplementary finance and materials provided by central or local government; labour would be voluntary, making use of slack periods during the farming year. In other cases, the work would be undertaken in more direct alliance with government, perhaps with those who are unemployed providing labour and being paid directly by government. Such projects would require greater administrative activity and more money, but would add to the demand for food and other local products.

So long as the more exciting economic and social activities are clustered exclusively in the cities, young school leavers will continue to trek to the cities and stay away from their home areas as long as they possibly can. Forbidding them to migrate from their villages to the cities, perhaps by use of a city permit system, is ultimately futile and, assuredly, no effective substitute for well-administered rural development. When opportunities for rural jobs are raised, then young people should be told about them through the use of mass media (radio diffusion and transistor sets, for example, are increasingly available in villages).

Where there are obstacles to migration based on ethnic, political, or religious differences, then incentives to mobility of labour are required: widely circulated information about job opportunities available and also, in some cases, practical assurances of personal safety and job security. Similarly, restrictions on individual opportunity due to caste or class division will have to be removed.

Relative prices, throughout the economy, for factors of production and commodities alike, will need to reflect more accurately the objectives of national production of goods and services. Central among these prices are those for human labour: the real value of industrial wages will need to be kept in

closer correspondence with rewards received elsewhere, particularly with the incomes of the rural community.

The economies of Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Pacific area differ considerably from one another and thus, too, the extent and the causes of youth unemployment. While some broad principles of economic reform have been outlined here (and, indeed, these represent the basis for action in many of today's developing countries), it is only through analysis of specific national situations that detailed policies, likely to be successful, can be designed to generate substantially more employment.

2. A solution to the problem of unemployment among educated youth often put forward is to restrain the rate of expansion of educational opportunities. The reasoning goes that if more and more school leavers are migrating to the cities and towns and remain unemployed, then facilities for primary education (in particular) should be cut back or at least not expanded to match the growing school-age population. The money saved by not investing in primary education can then be used for general economic development or projects providing employment for the fewer school leavers.

This is a logical and compelling view. But it cannot be sustained in the climate of today. Cutting back education means widening the already existing inequalities in societies where education has for a generation or so provided a means for progression by merit rather than by status at birth. The desire for education has already spread among families in rural areas as well as cities. Another benefit of high proportions of children completing primary school is the resulting greater mobility of labour. This competition for available jobs can be a spur to the economy provided, of course, that procedures for selecting merit are given a chance to work.

Perhaps the solution most universally argued is the one advocating vocational subjects for primary schools. This suggests that if farming were effectively taught, then school leavers would become farmers and not drift to the towns and cities. In practice, this approach has never been successful. Pupils who complete the primary course should be able to read and write fluently in their own and in the national language, to do a certain amount of arithmetic, to understand enough science and history to interpret the world around them, and to learn sufficient civics to be aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. This

does not make pupils into farmers or carpenters or nuclear scientists: it is basic to all these careers. Education is not meant only to adapt pupils to their society, but also to equip them to alter it. It may well be that widespread primary schooling provides the foundation for modernising agriculture - not by trying to teach pupils to become farmers, but by giving them the tools of literacy and the confidence to try new techniques.

Radical curriculum reforms in many countries may well be necessary to relate schools more closely to community and national life. Often subject content has been developed in a foreign country very different in its cultural and economic background and, not only that, it is drastically out of date. In these cases, obviously, new textbooks and teaching materials are needed. Language lessons should be developed from national life and literature; mathematics might include simple accounts using typical farm and market examples; science studies would start by analysing elements in the familiar environment; geography and history would begin with reference to the local and national scene. Much more participation in indigenous culture could be encouraged through music, dance, art and folklore. With these changes in subject matter, methods of instruction must be improved. The rigid authoritarian manner still used in so many schools to scare children into rote learning has its counterparts in nineteenth-century Europe and America, but has little justification for being continued in any part of the world today. When these reforms are brought about (and in many developing countries the beginning steps have been taken), then primary schools will become much more relevant and vital to the life of local communities and for the nation.

Debates have also proceeded on the need for changes in the curriculum of secondary schools. The central issue is whether the employability of many secondary school leavers would be heightened if more of them were qualified in specific skills rather than being prepared solely through an academic course geared for university entrance. Whatever validity there may be in this view for a particular country, much will depend on whether the jobs exist and the wages proposed are related to the expensive education they have received.

Allied to this is another issue: the necessity to merge the skills derived from classroom experience with the realities of the economy. For instance, what is the relation between technical and vocational education and on-the-job training given by public and private establishments? A step-up in technical and

vocational education is undoubtedly needed for most economies, but careful attention should be given to what types of training can be done on the job (paid for by industries) and what types need the greater theoretical background given in technical institutes.

A few countries are finding that their university students have to settle for work inconsistent with their specialised training. Difficulties of this kind can be adjusted and there is some prospect that they will be lessened as manpower planning techniques become more refined and thus better able to assist the design of enrolments in different departments - not only as between the arts and sciences but within these broad groupings.

Yet whatever alterations are set in motion in the quantity and quality of formal education at the primary, secondary, and university levels to accord more accurately with the requirements of the changing society and economy, time is required for them to take place. And there is no sense in talking about providing education that is job-creating and the basis for innovation unless parallel efforts are made to reform the economy.

3. An area relatively neglected by educational planners has been out-of-school education - that is, the array of learning activities going on outside schools and universities. These include programmes of literacy for youth who have had little or no formal schooling; apprenticeships and other forms of on-the-job training; continuing education for those with professional qualifications; extension programmes to assist youth involved in farming or within small-scale industries; and a wide range of educative services designed to encourage community improvement.

What types of out-of-school training activities can provide youth who would otherwise be unemployed with skills to enable them to take up specialised jobs? Or create their own jobs? What part can such education take in intensifying the drive for rural improvement? How can group activities - such as youth clubs and young farmers' clubs - be spread more widely and given greater meaning for generating useful employment?

As discussed in the previous section, a main principle in reforming the economy for employment creation is the substitution of labour for capital in new development, wherever this is technically and economically feasible. This gives rise to the necessity to work with the smaller economic units in the countryside and in the city, encouraging family farms and small-scale industries, and helping them to introduce low-cost, progressive

technologies and innovations of management. Such assistance requires a high component of on-the-job training and other types of out-of-school education.

It is clear that farmers, artisans, and small-scale industrialists cannot teach practical skills to their children and apprentices which they do not themselves possess. Any assistance, therefore, to raise the technical performance of adults - through agricultural extension or technical assistance given by visitation or short courses - will eventually help these young learners. This is an indirect means of helping youth: to raise the skills of fathers and masters (and to make their work more profitable) is to help sons and apprentices. To help women in their duties in farm or market work means helping daughters and others working with them. Added to this can be such direct means as short courses for young men in particular aspects of farm work or for young women in poultry-keeping or sewing.

Similarly, experiments in introducing "functional literacy" for adults with the objective of combining instruction in literacy and help in heightening productivity in particular lines of work can also have meaning for unschooled youth, either by taking them later as adults or by extending the programme to younger people.

Vocational training for rural school leavers must necessarily differ from that of unschooled youth. Because of six to ten or more years in the classroom and of aspirations linked with acquiring literacy, school leavers have, in some measure, lost the continuity of rural life. They may not have learned the traditional skills which the unschooled youth in their age-group are likely to have mastered through constant practice. In any case, school leavers want to apply themselves to something (however vague in their minds) more modern. Although they may be well aware that wage-paid jobs are scarce in the cities, they do not see any models for building a life's work in their home areas. The problem of helping rural school leavers, then, is not only to provide vocational training but an associated plan in helping to get them established in rural occupations. Eventually, patterns will emerge which school leavers will recognise as the steps for successful rural careers.

Where vocational training has a known outcome with wage paid jobs in modern rural establishments, there has been considerable success. On completing their courses, the trainees become tractor drivers, mechanics or technicians on large plantations or

in modern rural industries processing farm products. But where training is given without being tied to specific jobs with the intention that trainees would find opportunities within traditional family farming and other small-scale rural enterprises, there has been only limited success. In parts of Asia reforms in land tenure are a prerequisite to the emergence of greater numbers of modern young farmers.

Clubs for youth are important and need further emphasis, particularly in cities where so many young people are displaced from their home communities, but also in rural areas where traditional forms of recreation and association have disappeared and no new forms have taken their place. They are significant for boys and girls in their early teens as well as for older youth. Those organisations which are relatively low-cost may need encouragement to become self-perpetuating and self-multiplying. They are worth extra administrative attention from voluntary organisations and from governments.

4. It is evident that reforms within formal education alone cannot solve the problem of unemployed youth. Even though imaginative changes are made in methods of instruction and content of courses at varying levels of education, still young people eventually will confront the harsh realities of the employment market. Unless more farm, artisan and professional jobs are generated in the rural areas, and unless the rest of the economy is able to absorb more educated youth, then the numbers of unemployed will continue to rise. Of first priority, then, are significant - even drastic - modifications in the functioning of economies.

Development policies for the 1970s in poorer nations will undoubtedly emphasise the provision of jobs for many more people. Education, as an integral part of the processes of social and economic development, will have its important place in this new emphasis. In the efforts to mesh education more closely with the newer economic strategies, educational planners will take on a wider role.

Adjustments within formal education will be necessary according to national objectives. Improvements in teaching, for example, could enhance the spirit of initiative and adventure and thus the employability of youth as they address themselves to the world of work. The search for economies in the use of public and private expenditure on education, while maintaining or improving quality, must be a continuing exercise in every nation.

The less charted area, where educational planners must now give greater concentration, lies beyond the schools and universities. This is the field of out-of-school education which substitutes for or extends formal classroom learning. While attention has been given to specific types of out-of-school learning processes (by governments, voluntary agencies, United Nations specialised agencies), little attempt has been made to look at out-of-school education as a whole - to discern its dynamics in meeting needs of changing societies, to see its complementary links with formal education at all levels, and thus to bring it within a comprehensive design of educational planning for the nation. Analysis along these lines would result in a firmer understanding of the relations among formal education, specialised training and on-the-job experience. It would help also in aligning classroom learning with the needs of the employment market of the future.

Education has multiple functions to perform: passing on cultural values, developing critical minds, training specialised skills. But the promise of education cannot be fulfilled if school leavers and university graduates become dissatisfied, disillusioned and abject because they cannot put their abilities to work.

The conspicuous misfortune of economic performances in the countries of Asia and the Pacific during the 1960s has been the failure to provide adequate employment opportunities. Although strenuous efforts are being made, for most countries the problem cannot be fully solved during the 1970s. Educational planners can contribute by reducing the discontinuities between education and the growing economies.

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NOTES ON THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP

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Australia

Introduction

As Australia has a markedly different cultural heritage and markedly different patterns of socio-economic development from most of its near neighbours, it does not seem very useful merely to describe aspects of our youth programmes. Most of them would be quite irrelevant to the needs of other countries within the Asian-Pacific region. Accordingly, I have decided to deal with a topic of central interest, making use of the extent to which my experience (which is mainly Australian) enables me to set down some analytic ideas which may be useful for further discussion. I have chosen what is generally termed "leadership" as this is a matter of central concern and interest whenever youth programmes are examined. The previous regional seminars of the Commonwealth Secretariat were no exception to this, and so I think I can safely assume that the participants in the present programme will also be interested.

It seems to be universally accepted that "leadership" is fundamental to the success of any youth programme. Unfortunately, the term "leadership" is used in a bewildering variety of different ways in the youth field, and many programmes have failed simply because the organisers and planners had not thought clearly enough about just what they meant by the term, and what the implications of this were for planning.

Before entering into this theme, perhaps I should make one of my basic assumptions clear. I believe that in any country which values individual freedom there must be a diversity of different kinds of youth programme, and that each young person should have a number of options open to him or her between which he or she may make a choice. I believe that unless we can offer such a choice, we are failing to provide our young people with an adequate basis for citizenship in a free society. There are many reasons why we may lose sight of this ideal. We may be facing immense youth populations with a great shortage of leadership or other resources; we may feel that it will be more efficient to direct our efforts through a single organisation; or we may feel that a society is not yet ready for

freedom of choice. I am prepared to accept that at a particular time in a specific situation arguments of this kind are valid, but only if we design programmes which will at a later stage lead to diversity of opportunity and freedom of choice.

Perhaps it is also useful at this stage to draw attention to the rather peculiar popularity of emphases in youth programming. Let me illustrate this by referring to two major conferences on youth in the Asian region held under the auspices of ECAFE. One such conference, held in 1966, focused upon the "protection and development" of children and youth and emphasised programmes in which the adult generation might provide for the "care" of young people. The second, held last year, focused upon the contribution of young people to national development and emphasised programmes in which young people might participate significantly in decision-making and action. I think we all recognise that this kind of polarity is but a reflection of the rather ambiguous status of youth in any complex society, but I do suggest we need to try to achieve a more effective meeting and integration of these two quite different approaches.

Workers and leaders

As a starting point for clarification, let us distinguish between the two major categories of persons who are called "youth leaders". The first are those who could be much more accurately described by the term "youth workers" who act to organise or to guide programmes for young people. They may be salaried or volunteer workers; they may be any age, but are generally accorded "adult" status relative to the population with whom they work; they may be specifically trained for this role or may operate without any formalised training. If we subscribe to my assumption above about the importance of diversity, they will comprise a wide variety of types of person undertaking a wide variety of separate tasks.

The second major category are those young people who assume (or are given) particular responsibility among and as one of their peers. These young people may be formally appointed or elected by their fellows and the office which they fill may have a formal title. However, many of them will undertake such a task or role without any formal recognition. Similarly, they may or may not have opportunities of formal training for these roles.

Of course, many of those who become particularly effective "youth workers" have been young people with a background of experience in taking responsibility among their peers. My two major categories above are therefore not exclusive ones, and there will inevitably be movement of people from one to the other. However, I would suggest that we must not confuse these two very different kinds of role in our programme planning. Further, we must not stultify our programmes by relying only upon young people with experience in "peer leadership" to fill the "youth worker" ranks, nor should we limit the growth potential of our "peer leaders" by trying to direct them towards becoming "youth workers".

Who are the policy makers?

One of the somewhat vexing questions which is beginning to be raised in regard to youth programmes is concerned with the proper structures and patterns of involvement for policy-making purposes. We have all seen "youth policy" determined solely by adults, at either government or voluntary levels of organisation; we know there are conflicts about the question of the extent to which the professional worker should be involved in policy-making about his own area of expertise; we have seen young people acting as a pressure group to try and effect change in policies which concern them; we have seen young persons appointed or elected to policy-making bodies so that they may "represent the young people". It seems important to me to develop machinery for policy-making about young people which can involve in an effective partnership people of all ages, and which can make good use of the professional expertise available. I am not convinced that we have yet succeeded in doing this effectively, and the evidence available to me suggests that other countries have also failed to find satisfactory patterns in this.

I have spent a few words on this area because one finds a tendency to look towards certain categories of persons as "the policy makers", and in our field of concern they are also seen as being "leaders" of young people. This concerns me, because I feel that when we can point to specific individuals as policy-makers, then our policy-making procedures have failed to be thoroughly democratic. We need to develop procedures to which we may look for evolution of policy, and these procedures need to involve many people, rather than,as is our present tendency, to vest policy-making functions in specific sets of persons.

Kinds of youth workers

The most significant youth workers are, to my mind, those who work in direct contact and relationship with young people. There are many ways in which these might be classified, but for present purposes I would suggest these fall into three broad but quite distinctive areas of function. The first are those who work with children, developing and helping to operate programmes which meet the social and developmental needs of those children. The second perform a similar function in regard to adolescents. The third are those whose focus of work is not upon the total needs of the young people with whom they work, but rather upon a specific task, e.g. the teaching of a skill.

Some people may be surprised at this division into three kinds of front-line worker, but I believe that it is an important division if we are to attain our optimum effectiveness. The psycho-social needs of children are so markedly different from those of adolescents that a completely different orientation is demanded of the youth worker. Similarly, there are important differences in the orientation of a worker who is concerned with the achievement of a specific task in contrast to one who is asked to be sensitive to the needs of a specific target population and to assist that population to meet its needs, whatever they may be. The kinds of section and training programmes which we establish for each of the major reasons for the failure and irrelevance of most youth programmes aimed at the adolescent group is that youth workers have been inadequately selected and trained for work with this stage of human growth.

Perhaps I should also add some comment upon the dominance which the task-oriented youth worker has enjoyed in many youth programmes. In many places and in many agencies, youth work is essentially activity-centred and transmissive in character. It is often important that this be done, and programmes of this kind will probably always have a place. The current emphasis upon youth work as "out-of-school education" can readily lead to an excessive emphasis upon this of programme. Where it does do so, I concur with the recently published comment of Salter Davies, a leading British educationalist, that it "tends to limit the full educational opportunities of the youth service". We must remember that learning occurs in many other ways than being taught, and that some of the most important of our learning cannot be taught.

I would further suggest that as many as possible of these front-line youth workers should be volunteers. I would justify this belief in two ways: first, that youth programmes should be a demonstration of community concern and responsibility in a very practical and personal way, and secondly that any programme dependent upon professional workers in the front line will either be inordinately expensive or will leave enormous areas of unmet need. I have been told by colleagues from many new countries that this is difficult in their society because they do not have people willing to volunteer "like they do in Australia". Let me assure you that there is no over-supply of volunteers in Australia, and that there are difficulties in any adequate volunteer programme. I suspect, for a variety of reasons, that most new countries, given a properly designed programme, would find many more volunteers than we do in Australia. My suspicion of this is, admittedly, based upon limited contact, but I know many new countries where I would be far more confident of success in the development of volunteers than my own.

Backing and supporting these frontline workers, any sound youth programme will have a group of workers acting as trainers, planners, administrators, consultants and researchers. Hopefully, most of these will be drawn from those who have front-line experience. Although some may well be volunteer workers, it is quite essential that there be a solid core of professionals (in the full sense of the word - I do not just mean salaried) who will take the continuing responsibility for these vital functions.

I cannot see any rational reason why we should treat professional education and professional development in youth work in any less adequate way than that of other professions. The task of the youth worker is probably as important as that of the engineer and it is certainly much more complex and demanding. Rationality would therefore indicate at least the same attention to the education and role of youth workers as that accorded to engineers. However, we all know that society is not rational, that youth work as a profession is in its infancy, and that we must work at achieving more adequate professional standards. However, one significant question which should be raised is whether it is valid to train youth workers as such, or whether the professional cadre within youth work should be built from those with basic training in a variety of relevant disciplines, e.g. education or social work. Although it now seems clear that my own country has opted for youth worker training, I sometimes wonder if a richer youth service might not have been developed by an inter-disciplinary approach. Unfortunately, the other option of no professional education is all too likely to be adopted if

specific education is not available, and I regret to admit that this has been the general Australian pattern until very recently.

Civic and social responsibility

As I have perhaps foreshadowed in the opening part of this paper, rather than talking about young people undertaking "leadership" of their peers, I find it more useful to talk about responsibility, particularly civic and social responsibility. I think this is what we really mean when we use "leadership" in this context. Moreover, I am sure that if we think in terms of social and civic responsibility, we are much more likely to develop programmes which will foster a more equitable sharing of this responsibility among all young people, and surely that must be our aim. It seems a false concept to develop programmes which aim at concentrating powers of real leadership, which is one aspect of social responsibility, in a few people, rather than spreading some leadership qualities as widely as possible throughout the population.

There seem to be two particular ways in which we can develop this. One, which is appropriate and may even be essential at certain stages of development in specific countries, is the development of a national youth movement, in which all young people are expected to give a period of civic service and training to their own country. Others would be able to comment on this far more adequately than an Australian, but it does seem to me personally that that approach cannot be accepted as a long-term solution in any country which values personal freedom or a democratic form of government.

If we keep in mind the patterns of human psycho-social development, it seems to me that ultimately this development of responsibility in young people can only come about by giving responsibility to young people, and, furthermore, that this must start at a relatively early age in small groups. Moreover, because we need many different patterns of leadership, we must offer a diversity of many different kinds of small groups in which this responsibility can be undertaken and fostered. These should include small groups in schools, in community living, in industry or elsewhere. Some groups might be task-centred ones; some might centre upon personal relationships and working together to improve these; some might be groups entirely of young people, and some might have the guidance (but not direction) of a youth worker of the right type.

Given this pattern, one would see training for this responsibility development as taking place largely within the small group setting, or at least closely related to it. Formal training of this type should surely be intimately related to the context within which the young people are taking responsibility and developing experience in widening this, although at the same time training can have a most important horizon-widening function. Again, if we accept the concept of many different kinds of opportunity for developing social responsibility, we must discard the notion of any unitary training scheme, and plan rather for a thoroughly penetrating pattern of varying kinds of training.

A great deal of attention has been placed upon various schemes of volunteer service by young people, particularly on an international basis. I hope some of the new countries have benefited from the work of our young Australians who have worked under the auspices of our own Australian Volunteers Abroad programme and others which operate from this country. I am certain Australia has benefited, but not because our young people have become "leaders" as a result or because they have learnt about social responsibility as a result of their experience. They entered into this experience because they already had a well-developed sense of social responsibility, and the benefit is that we now have an increasing number of young people who understand much more about other nations and other peoples. My personal view is that the missing component in our present schemes of international voluntary service is that young people from the new countries do not come to Australia as volunteers, and I would hope for the day when this happens. Again as a personal view, I believe we need many young Asians who could come to this country as teachers of their own language.

Conclusion

I feel I must conclude by saying that I do not see leadership as being important for its own sake, but only in terms of what it might do to make this world a happier and more satisfying one in which people may live in peace and security. Again, this demands a great diversity of types of leadership, and certainly it demands programmes which will help each and every person to contribute his or her particular share of responsibility for the common good. The more effective design and development of these programmes will not be easy, but I believe this is one of the urgent social and educational tasks facing all nations.

NON-STUDENT YOUTH: PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

P.K. Patnaik
India

Attention has been focused in the recent past on the need for development of youth services as an integral part of national development planning. The question one might feel prompted to ask is, "Is there any justification for a youth service and, if so, what should be the rationale behind the same?" In a monistic society, when there was adult consensus about norms of belief and behaviour, older people were considered to be able to teach youngsters all they needed to know. The motto "A Scout is loyal and a Scout obeys" enjoined on a Boy Scout was observed as a categorical imperative, but in the pluralistic society of today, where all beliefs and behaviour have been called into question and the entire system of values is subject to a searching scrutiny, it will be difficult to predict if the above motto could hold any longer its sacrosanct spirit. The revolt of youth is the most outstanding characteristic of the last decade, which witnessed serious upheavals of youth both in the campuses and outside. One asks the question: Are the youth themselves to blame for this sorry state of affairs? The answer, to my mind, would be in the nature of the reply given by Cassius: "The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our stars but in ourselves."

An important phenomenon of the present time is what may be termed as the "crisis of want". Attainment of separate statehood by developing nations of the world and the efforts being made by respective national governments to launch an ambitious programme of economic development to eradicate social and economic inequality and poverty result in a rising of expectations, particularly among youth, and consequential frustration when these national economic goals are not achieved fast enough. When nine-tenths of the people in most of the developing countries have for themselves standards of living worse than what the bottom-tenth of the American people enjoy, it is small wonder that there is so much restlessness among the youth who expect innovations quickly. About 60 per cent of the total population in the ECAFE region is under 25 years of age. It therefore requires no particular emphasis to suggest that any plan for national development which does not sufficiently recognise youth as an integral part of society

in such matters as planning and decision making is not likely to register its impact on the community or the country.

Secondly, the rapid change, characteristic of modern times, tends to widen the gap in the cultural orientation of generations, bringing in its wake lack of understanding and appreciation of each others' point of view, if not a complete break-down of dialogue between generations, restlessness among the youth and revolt against authority and the establishment. The present phenomenon of social change has been aptly expressed by an American sociologist in a searching analysis of the problems of the American youth in the following words:

> "Whereas the elders were usually reared in a rural and relatively stable environment - where the youth had well-defined social and economic roles - young people today are increasingly being reared in a dynamic and changing urban environment. Growing up in a dynamic society they tend to accept innovations quickly, while their elders generally wish to perpetuate the values and behaviour patterns with which they were familiar in a more rural setting."(1)

The above analysis would hold equally good in respect of any society emerging from the traditional stage to modernity.

Youth represents that phase of life marked by growth and development. The youth population needs situations in which opportunities exist for enabling the young people to enjoy a meaningful life and realise their full potentialities. A radical thinking on the position of young people in society and adult attitudes to the young is required. We must therefore provide opportunities for the young to learn, grow and live creatively by re-ordering our national priorities. The objectives of youth service and its approach need to be reappraised in the light of the changing social scene. In order to be meaningful and effective, youth services should concentrate on preventive and remedial measures and not simply leisure provision. A youth service that wishes to be relevant must estimate the social scene, and particularly that part of it which affects the lives of young people.(2)

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(1) Prof. Preston Valien of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Brooklyn College, New York - "Problems and Promise - A Sociologist's View of American Youth".

(2) Youth and Community Work in the 70s - Report of the Youth Service Development Council, U.K. (HMSO)

Many of the problems are rooted in the educational system. The courses of studies, methods and curricula of education are for the most part out-dated and unrelated to the needs of the youth or the community and fail to provide any stimulus or change to the developing minds. Education and training are, therefore, two important aspects of youth services. Any ameliorative measure for the youth should be co-related to a simultaneous need for educational planning with the basic objective of injecting relevance into the educational system. As H.G. Wells has said, "Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe". This futuristic statement of H.G. Wells, it seems to me, has no greater relevance to any other age in history than the present times. We are now witnessing a parallel growth of education and unemployment. While of late there has been a great upsurge in educational activities, there is a corresponding lack of job opportunities for the educated youth, which brings in a hiatus between education and society, and frustration among the educated youth. Any attempt, therefore, to tackle the youth problem in a realistic manner would call for educational planning and long-term investment in education of the youth.

Development of an action programme for educational reconstruction of India could itself form the subject of a detailed study, and it is not the intention of this paper to explore the problem areas in greater depth with a view to devising solutions except to the extent necessary to supplement the requirements of the present study. The object of this paper is to present the problems of the non-student youth, indicate in broad outline the several measures being undertaken by the Government for the non-student youth, and highlight their role in the development process of the country.

In a vast country like India, where the population is estimated at 540 million, the problems facing youth are of a varied nature and relate particularly to the absence of suitable facilities for recreational and cultural activities as well as opportunities for effective participation in the task of national reconstruction and development.

Youth Services cover two groups, namely student youth and non-student youth. The former fall under the purview of colleges and universities, and programmes for them are being implemented jointly by the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission in various fields, e.g. National Sports Organisation, establishment of student service institutes (Nanak Bhavans)

and provision of facilities through the National Service Scheme to ensure student participation in service to the community, etc. Whereas some institutional facilities are available for the student youth there is almost a complete lack of such facilities so far as non-student youth is concerned. It is, therefore, the non-student youth, broadly covered by the age-group 18 to 30 and numbering approximately 100 million, which present special problems because of of their large numbers, their predominantly rural composition and the lack of institutional opportunities. With a view to evolving a suitable programme for non-student youth, the Ministry of Education and Youth Services (now redesignated as the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare) took the initiative in convening a Conference of Representatives of Youth Organisations, Youth Service Agencies and Youth Leaders from 30th April to 2nd May, 1969, which considered various aspects of the problems relating to non-student youth.

The Conference considered, among other things, that:

> "the objective of youth services is to provide opportunities to the non-student youth for self-expression, self-development and cultural attainment, preparation and training for work and family life, enabling them to assume social and civic responsibilities, developing in them a spirit of comradeship, patriotism, cultural outlook and participation in planning and implementation of the programmes of community and national development."

The Conference emphasised that the purpose of youth programmes is not only to ensure what youth can do for the society, but also to enable the society to fulfil its obligations to the youth in providing facilities for the development of their personality and making them socially useful, functionally efficient and economically productive.

The Conference suggested programmes under the following three broad categories:-

(a) developmental programmes relating to non-student youth;

(b) activities and programmes of non-student youth directly beneficial to the community; and

(c) programmes of training for youth leaders and personnel of youth services.

The Conference also recommended that there should be a National Advisory Board on Youth Services at the centre, comprising representatives of Central Ministries, State Governments and non-official voluntary youth organisations which would co-ordinate the various programmes for youth.

The National Advisory Board on Youth was constituted under Government of India Resolution No. F.2/9/70-YS I(3) dated 15th July, 1970, and its first meeting was held in December, 1970. The National Youth Board recommended that the following measures be adopted:

(a) Setting up of State and District Youth Welfare Boards;

(b) Setting up of Youth Centres, one in each District, and two centres at Block level in each district, with facilities for sports and games, hobbies, vocational guidance to improve the skills of youth, social education, promotion of national integration, and training of resource personnel for these tasks;

(c) Establishment of Work Centres in selected places and in the vicinity of technical and engineering institutions for imparting training to non-student youth in short-term trades and skills, which will have potential for self-employment;

(d) Establishment of Reception Centres in metropolitan cities with lodging facilities for the purpose of giving useful vocational information to the non-student youth coming from rural and urban areas in search of employment;

(e) Development of adventure facilities for trekking, hiking, mountaineering, coastal sailing etc., and development of camping sites at different places in the country;

(f) Training of youth leaders, and provision of facilities for the purpose; and

(g) Grant of financial assistance to voluntary organisations engaged in youth welfare

activities, e.g. conducting research in youth work, carrying out significant experimental or pilot projects, training of personnel for youth work, conducting workshops devoted to problems of youth welfare, organising camps and programmes conducive to promoting national integration.

In the light of the recommendations made by the National Youth Board and also on the basis of the Report of the Working Group on Youth Programmes, set up by the Planning Commission in 1966, detailed schemes indicating the pattern of assistance to be given on each type of activity mentioned above have been prepared and are to be implemented through the State Governments and national voluntary organisations.

The various schemes formulated by the Government for non-student youth cover:

(a) programmes relating to the welfare of non-student youth themselves;

(b) programmes for non-student youth directly beneficial to the community.

Most of these activities are such as would fall within the purview of State Governments, and hence the priority which the State Governments would accord to these programmes would be a relevant factor. It is for this reason that most of the schemes designed are in the nature of centrally sponsored pilot projects, with financial assistance from the Government of India, while the State Governments would be the agency for implementation of the schemes within their respective jurisdiction. The importance attached to the role of national voluntary organisations engaged in youth welfare activities in the implementation of the various youth programmes listed above is another significant characteristic of the programme administration. It is with this objective in view that priority has been accorded to programmes of training for youth leaders and personnel for youth services.

Work among non-student youth is a new venture and the sheer magnitude of the task presents special problems. Unlike the student youth the non-student youth are not a homogeneous group. The problem, therefore, is how to register non-student youth and how to bring them together into identifiable groups under some kind of institutional rubric. Student youth can be easily

identified with reference to their educational institutions. Employed uneducated youth can be identified through their employers or places of employment. But unless there is some system of recognising them through social or institutional bodies, uneducated unemployed youth will present problems.

For identification of the task, non-student youth could be grouped under the following broad categories:-

(a) out-of-college and out-of-school youth who may be, by and large, unemployed; the educated unemployed;

(b) the uneducated unemployed youth, both urban and rural,who might never have attended school; and

(c) school leavers who drop out at different stages before completing their secondary education.

Each category has its own special problems and needs and the aspirations of one group may vary considerably from those of another. An integrated approach to the problem is therefore necessary,with a view to meeting the basic needs and aspirations of the several groups involved.

The problem of the educated unemployed has been assuming serious proportions. While it would be difficult to form a correct estimate of the unemployed and under-employed in this country, figures available at the employment exchanges indicate that the number of applicants on the live registers at employment exchanges during 1969 was estimated at 34.23 lakhs, of whom 25,726 were post-graduates, 189,512 were graduates, 401,326 intermediates and 909,686 were matriculates. The immediate problem in respect of the educated unemployed, therefore, points to the imperative need to devise the mechanics of putting this category of the country's manpower to various streams of employment, including self-employment. This would call for sustained efforts on the part of the State to make productive investment for development of the infrastructure and generation of the potential for gaining employment.

In a long range view of the problem, the millions of educated unemployed in the country will have justifiable reasons to point an accusing finger at the educational system which brings them past the university stage and thereafter leaves them on the road. In other words, this would point to the urgency of relating

education to environmental needs. The Education Commission, which was seized of this problem, was of the view that a vast majority of students feel more or less compelled to follow the single track to the university after completing their secondary education because of the absence of other suitable alternatives. While selective admission to universities could provide an answer to the problem on a limited scale, what is needed is a realistic programme of diversification of courses of studies and vocationalisation at the secondary school stage.

The Education Commission therefore recommended a strong vocational bias to secondary education. The Commission found this "of special significance to the Indian situation where the educational system has been training young persons so far mostly for government services and the so-called white-collared professions". The Commission felt that vocational education courses at the school stage should be predominantly terminal in character, with adequate opportunities for the exceptionally gifted child to rejoin the main stream and move higher, through further study.

The need for a concerted and sustained programme was emphasised by the Commission to ensure that enrolment in vocational courses is raised to 20% of the total enrolment at the lower secondary stage and 50% of the total enrolment at the higher secondary stage by 1986.

Similarly, higher education needs to be co-related to the technical manpower requirements of the country to avoid the unwelcome spectacle of mass unemployment. This will require a survey of the technical manpower requirements of the country and the ordering of our educational priorities accordingly.

In a country where agriculture provides more than half of the national income and export earnings as well as the means of livelihood to over 70 per cent of the population, it is an imperative necessity that agricultural work experience should find a dominant place in our educational set up.(3) The Education Commission has recommended the establishment of agricultural polytechnics where students can acquire the necessary technical skills so as to contribute towards the growth of scientific agriculture. These recommendations are receiving the consideration of Government.

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(3) M.S. Swaminathan, "Agricultural Transformation and Opportunities for a Learning Revolution" (Dr Zakir Hossain Memorial Lectures, Sept.4-5, 1970, University of Delhi).

The problem of uneducated unemployed youth is even more serious in its magnitude since it calls for efforts to implement a minimum educational programme for the illiterate and uneducated and, at the same time, to provide opportunities for the rehabilitation of unskilled and semi-skilled personnel in some worthwhile employment. For the youth under this category suitable programmes will have to be identified for (a) urban youth (b) rural youth and (c) tribal youth. While the basic problem of unemployment and under-employment is common to all the three groups specified in this category, each group also has problems peculiar to it.

The problems that could be identified in respect of urban youth would include those arising out of illiteracy and lack of facilities for education, medical health and hygiene, proper housing, recreational sports and cultural activities.

As regards rural youth, in addition to the above problems, which apply to them in equal measure, the following specific problems may also be identified; casteism, lack of communications, observance of outdated customs and practices, untouchability, as well as agrarian problems. In so far as the economic problems of the rural areas are concerned, the main points are those of the prevalence of unemployment and under-employment among the rural youth. It has been estimated that even those who are employed in agricultural work have employment for only 125 days in a year on the average. More than one third of the youth in the villages have only seasonal employment opportunities, resulting in mass migration of unskilled youth to urban areas in search of the basic needs of life. The main task, therefore, of any scheme of social service in the rural areas is to orient its objectives towards preventing the drain of such surplus young men and women into the cities where they do not find employment opportunities but only intensify the already existing imbalance.(4)

This pin-points the need for a more serious application to agriculture and the setting up of agro-industrial centres in rural areas, promotion of handicrafts and cottage industries, greater provision for recreational facilities, thereby making rural life more attractive to those sections of the youth who would otherwise drift towards the cities. Another priority need is the promotion of urban-rural integration, which is the only way to change the

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(4) Report of the Conference of Representatives of Youth Organisations, Youth Service Agencies and Youth Leaders, April 30, May 1 and 2, 1969 (Ministry of Education & Youth Services, Government of India, 1969).

traditional society and arrest the de-humanising process already set in motion by the evil effects of urbanisation.

The problems of tribal youth, which are similar in many respects to those of rural youth, would call for a high order of priority in view of the economic backwardness of the tribal society and the exploitation of the tribals by vested interests.

The problem of school leavers in the early school stage is one of the biggest handicaps being faced by those in charge of educational planning and administration in India. The Constitution of India enjoins on the State "to endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years". The National Education Policy, enunciated in 1968, further stipulated that strenuous efforts should be made for early fulfilment of the directive principles of the Constitution. While the enrolment of students in this category has been very encouraging, a common problem that is being faced relates to wastage and stagnation. Of every 100 children that are enrolled in Class I only about 40 reach Class V and about 25 reach Class VIII. Of the 75 per cent of the children who drop out at the primary stage, about half drop out in Class I. This is the most serious problem of the present system of primary education and it has been due to (a) the poverty of the people, which compels them to withdraw their children from school to earn something to supplement the family income, and (b) the dull and uninspiring character of the primary schools, which do not attract the children for an adequate period. Suitable programmes need to be developed to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in the schools and to ensure that every child who is enrolled in school successfully completes the prescribed course. But the problem remains of how to bring back the school drop-outs into the educational stream. The number of pupils who drop out of school at several stages before completion of their secondary education consitute a significant proportion of the productive sections of manpower of the country. Any serious efforts at manpower planning should therefore be concerned with this cross-section of the labour-force, with a view to devising suitable measures to increase their work-efficiency and train them in occupational skills having the potential of self-employment. This is an educational priority area which calls for immediate attention, and focuses the need for the development of crash programmes for the education of out-of-school youth.

The schemes to be designed for non-student youth in this sector should therefore have a utility bias and develop around a

strong vocational core so as to convert the available unskilled manpower into skilled and semi-skilled manpower. This would call for a programme of employment rehabilitation by means of identification of various short term trades and skills having an immediate demand in the market, and imparting training in these occupational skills to the out-of-school youth. In other words, apart from giving them the rudiments of instruction to read and write and do simple arithmetic, it will be necessary to impart training in vocational skills for the youth of this category in the urban and rural areas. The establishment of urban youth centres and work centres is designed to provide for these amenities.

The foremost problem, however, is how to secure the involvement of the youth in the community. The specific measures that need to be taken in this regard will have to be identified.

The National Service Scheme introduced in the colleges and universities two years ago aims to provide under-graduate students with opportunities for devoting their leisure time to a variety of social service and developmental activities alongside their academic work. Under the Scheme, which is an alternative to the National Cadet Corps and the National Sports Organisation, any male student in the first and second year of his collegiate career can volunteer for social service. He will have to render 120 hours of service per year for two years. A minimum of 50 students must participate from each college, subject to a maximum of 200, in order that the college may qualify for Central Government assistance. While opportunities for social service are available to about two million college students, the non-student youth have no such opportunities. It would perhaps be a truism to suggest that mass participation of youth in development will help to generate a climate of dynamism in constructive activity and will engender in youth the experience and self-confidence necessary for embarking upon a career of self-employment. I would therefore voice a strong plea in support of the argument that college or university level programmes of social service need not necessarily be limited only to students of the particular institution but should have sufficient flexibility to draw in others from the community, particularly those who drop out of schools.

Mention may be made in this context of the domestic volunteer service schemes in operation in several countries, e.g. the VISTA and Teachers Corps of the United States, the Community Service Volunteers (CSV) of the United Kingdom, Iran's Four Corps of Development, the National Youth Service of Kenya, Operation HOPE (Help Our Pre-schools Everywhere) and

Volunteers for Improvement of the Philippines (VIP) - the two long term domestic development service programmes run by the Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD) of the Philippines - to mention a few. We would wish to share the experience gained in the field in respect of those countries which have made considerable headway, as well as the impact of the Malaysian National Youth Pioneer Corps and the National Development Corps - programmes undertaken by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. This Seminar could fruitfully discuss how best to utilise the energy of out-of-college youth in a realistic domestic volunteer service programme, and the mechanics for involving non-student youth in the national drive for reconstruction will have to be evolved.

The Seminar may also consider the problems of rural youth. The special problems relating to the rural youth will have to be identified, and effective measures to tackle them, harnessing the energy of the rural youth for purposes of national reconstruction, have to be enunciated. These problems are of a global nature, and require the serious consideration of youth leaders, intellectuals, social workers and others working in the field.

The current world crisis is essentially psychological. We must remember that it is basically impossible to do anything about the youth problem unless we realise that the youth problem is not an island-like phenomenon, but a manifestation of the malaise afflicting society everywhere. The basic problem, therefore, is how to achieve the right relationship between human beings. The future belongs to the young, and the future will depend to a large extent on how far we succeed in motivating youth to strive for excellence and canalising their energies into constructive fields. Those of us who are involved in this fascinating experiment have an obligation to contribute the share of our efforts in this endeavour.

THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

Dr P.D. Shukla
India

With a few exceptions, all the countries of Asia and the Pacific region belong to what are called "developing" countries. India is one of them. There are certain matters in the field of education, training and general welfare of youth which would seem common to these countries. It may be worthwhile to take note of these matters as they constitute the background against which proposals for the education and training of youth are to be considered.

These matters include low literacy, low standard of education, pressure of expansion of educational facilities, disparity in the provision for education between urban and rural areas, special backwardness - social and economic - of some particular communities and regions, inadequacy of financial resources for education and other social services, lack of industrial development, low rate of economic growth, unemployment among educated and other young people, and higher social prestige of white-collar jobs.

India, which became independent in 1947, may be taken as an example. In spite of efforts since then, the literacy rate, as revealed by the 1971 national census, rose only to 29.4%. In other words, more than two thirds of the population is still illiterate. Similarly, 70% to 75% of the population still live in rural areas, and practise agriculture, although there is a continuous movement of men, women and children from villages to towns and cities. Simultaneously, the villages are themselves becoming quite prosperous.

In the area of educational expansion, the country has made considerable progress. For example, the enrolment of children of ages 6-11 has risen from 10.9 million to 54.2 million between 1947 and 1971. This means that approximately 80% of children of primary school age have already been brought into schools. The average quality of primary schooling, however, needs considerable improvement. There are isolated schools, mostly located in urban areas and charging high fees, which can compete with the best in the world. But most of the government, local body and recognised private schools, where the bulk of students receive their education, suffer from inadequate physical facilities such as

buildings, furniture, science apparatus and other teaching aids, and lack financial resources for co-curricular activities, mid-day meals, and free supply of books, stationery and uniforms, all of which are considered to be essential ingredients in any modern system of education. To avoid any misunderstanding, however, I must say that since becoming independent India has made good progress in education in several directions. Practically all over the country education has been made tuition free up to the first 8 or 10 classes; free books, stationery and uniforms are being supplied to poor children, and a beginning has been made in the provision of mid-day meals to school children. The available financial resources have, as a matter of policy, been concentrated to improve the quality of teaching personnel with a staggered programme for the construction of school buildings and staff quarters. The situation at the secondary and the university stages of education is similar.

It would appear from this that, while the problems of out-of-school youth have to be appreciated, understood and tackled, it may be difficult to attend to them at the cost of the young people already enrolled in educational institutions. Out-of-school youth deserve attention on human, social, and political grounds, particularly in a democratic society. But for the purpose of creating enlightened leadership, growth of efficient manpower and economic development of the country, institutional education and training need to be planned properly and whatever institutions are established should be well-provided and of adequate standard.

To avoid competing claims in this area, it may be best to consider the problems of in-school and out-of-school youth together and to make the best use of the available resources. This approach is dictated also by the concepts evolved by the modern science of management. Such an approach may be found more economical and fruitful even for countries with richer financial resources.

Take the problems of secondary education, for example. In India, as in most of the developing countries, secondary education is more or less a single track system. There are in this country more than 35,000 high and higher secondary schools. The enrolment in each of them varies from 400 to 2000 approximately. Nearly 20% of children in the 14-17 age-group have already been admitted to these schools. They are usually full to their capacity. By and large, however, they provide only general education in the subjects of humanities and sciences. In order to improve the employability of the school graduates and also to fit them better in the national economy, various recommendations have been made

from time to time to vocationalise secondary education and to introduce job-oriented courses. Thinking in this direction has gone on for quite some time, but with little progress.

The main hurdles in this area are lack of resources for the schools, the social and economic value of a university degree, and the preference of the professional colleges for students with a good knowledge of basic sciences. The country has a number of polytechnics, industrial training institutions, commercial schools, agricultural schools and schools of Fine Arts including music and dancing. Most of the parents belonging to the elite and the educated class wish their children to obtain general education at the school stage so that they become eligible for higher education in professional or other institutions. At the same time, educational planners, policy-makers and economists go on urging continuously that a good proportion of the school students should be diverted to courses of a practical character.

Under the circumstances, one of the possible ways of tackling this problem is to include in the curriculum of general education at the secondary stage some job-oriented courses on an elective basis. For example, a secondary school child may offer, out of the five subjects which he is required to choose, four of general education and one which is job-oriented in character. The new scheme of studies should also provide bridges with the help of which children can change over from general education to job-oriented courses and vice-versa, in case they wish to do so at a later stage. Such an approach would be a practical solution to the kind of difficulty mentioned above.

The introduction of such courses will require additional funds for the organisation of the workshops required for practical work and for expenditure on buildings, technical personnel etc. In a co-ordinated plan of development, it should be possible to so locate the institutions and so organise their programmes that the same facilities may be utilised by school children during the day and by young people out of school at other times. In this arrangement, it should be possible for the established examining authorities to evaluate also the progress of out-of-school youth in the job-oriented courses and to issue appropriate certificates to them. Provision of evaluation will add to the seriousness of their work. The certificates will raise the prestige of the work, will function as an incentive, and will also help them in getting employment after completing the course.

In this arrangement, it is also possible to introduce in the job-oriented courses for out-of-school youth some essential

elements of general education, namely, citizenship education, hygiene and health, and simple skills in reading, writing and arithmetic.

Some of the job-oriented courses which the Central Board of Secondary Education, lndia, is currently considering are:

(1) Secretarial practices
(2) Principles and practices of trade and commerce
(3) Catering technology
(4) Maintenance mechanic's course
(5) Industrial science
(6) Arts and crafts
(7) Agricultural sciences
(8) Medical laboratory techniques
(9) Optometry
(10) Orthoptics
(11) Physiotherapy technician's course
(12) Health educator's course

The above courses have been selected out of a large number. This selection is based on the results of a study of demands for personnel made on the Employment Bureaux in the country as well as on the opinion of persons with expert knowledge of potential areas of employment in various sectors of the economy. Because of technical and industrial development, expansion of professional knowledge and its application, and growth of trade, commerce, transportation, administration etc., a large variety of new areas of employment and work are emerging. Shown hereunder for each of the suggested courses are the specific jobs which are linked with these courses, higher posts to which course students may aspire, and possible areas of self-employment:

1. Secretarial practices

Jobs: Accounts clerk, audit clerk, cashier, bookkeeper, bill clerk, ledger clerk, store clerk, storeman, receptionist, telephone operator, record keeper, steno-typist, stenographer, personal assistant.

Promotion posts: Office assistant, office superintendent, accountant, junior auditor, senior cashier, store supervisor, private secretary, reporter, instructor (shorthand and typing).

Self-employment: Establish a private coaching/commercial institute for shorthand and typing. Organise a pool of typists/stenographers and accountants for ad hoc work of professionals such as lawyers, authors, journalists, shopkeepers, businessmen, chartered accountants, and undertake on a commercial basis shorthand, typing or duplicating work.

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2. Principles and practices of trade and commerce

Jobs: Salesman, canvasser, demonstrator, order supplier, commercial traveller, clerks/ assistants in export-import organisations, marketing clerk, purchase clerk and general clerk in establishments concerned with wholesale and retail trade, business, small scale industries, import-export houses, export promotion councils, banks, department stores, emporia.

Promotion posts: Export assistant, export manager, purchasing agent, sales supervisor, buyer, purchase manager.

Self-employment: Set up private trade, business shop, packaging establishment, or export and import business.

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3. Catering technology

Jobs: House-keeper, care-taker, linen supervisor, laundry supervisor, kitchen supervisor, floor keeper, pantry man, pantry supervisor, steward (air, ship and institutional), flight purser, hotel receptionist, tourist hostess.

Promotion posts: Senior supervisory and managerial positions in hotels, restaurants,hostels and boarding houses, hospitals,clubs, government and private guest houses and as air hostess.

Self-employment: Establish an eating shop, cafeteria, restaurant, bakery, confectionery, dry cleaning plant or laundry.
Work as caterer for marriage and other parties.
Take contracts for running canteens in schools, colleges, hospitals, nursing homes, air companies, travel agencies, etc.

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4. Maintenance mechanic's course

Jobs: Motor mechanic, scooter mechanic, I.C. engine mechanic, tractor operator-cum-mechanic, farm machinery/implements mechanic, dairy machinery mechanic, mechanic (electrical appliances), chemical plant mechanic.

Promotion posts: Supervisor/foreman.

Self-employment: Establish a private repair and maintenance workshop for all types of automobiles, farm machinery and implements and dairy machinery.
Set up agro-service centres and custom service units engaged in hiring out tractors, agricultural implements, and their repair and maintenance.
Take up hiring of electrical/sound equipment for festive and other occasions.

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5. Industrial science

Jobs: Sub-overseer, estimator, planning assistant, engineering assistant, blue-print reader, design assistant, works supervisor, clerk of work, estimator (engineering), pharmaceutical chemist, pharmaceutical laboratory assistant, dyer, drier, glass blower, clay toy maker, potter.
Seek employment in industries manufacturing soap, cosmetics, ink, polishes and paints.

Promotion posts: Supervisory positions in manufacturing establishments, or with building contractors and architects.

Self-employment: Set up one's own engineering workshop or repair shop, or units for manufacture of pharmaceutical products, soap, ink, cosmetics, paints, polishes, varnishes, textile bleaching and dyeing.
Set up small scale industry for manufacture of ceramic products like toys, pots, bangles, crockery, glasswares.
Take up trade or commission agency in the above products.

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6. Arts and crafts

Jobs: Salesman and storekeeper in emporia or departmental stores, handling or selling of handicrafts in the State and the All-India Handicrafts Board.

Promotion posts: Supervisory positions in the same areas.

Self-employment: Establish one's own workshop or business in village arts and crafts such as cane and bamboo work, carpet making, coir products, textiles, embroidery, doll making, leather goods, metal ware.
Establish co-operatives for production, sale and export of handicrafts.

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7. Agricultural sciences

Jobs: Agricultural/horticultural assistant, fieldman, agricultural/horticultural overseer, dairy assistant, warehouseman, fishery overseer, hatchery operator.

Promotion posts: Managerial positions in agricultural/horticultural/fishery/dairy farms.

Self-employment: Set up one's own horticulture, floriculture or live-stock farm or dairy, nursery, poultry, fish, hatchery, piggery, etc. Start workshop for repair and maintenance of agricultural implements and tools. Establish fruit preservation and canning centres and small scale units for manufacture of products such as jam, jelly and pickles. Take up warehousing, stocking and sale of agricultural produce or implements.

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8. Medical laboratory techniques

Jobs: Laboratory assistant in various medical colleges, hospitals, schools and laboratories.

Promotion posts: Laboratory technician, technical assistant, technician tutor.

Self-employment: Organise laboratories for carrying out various types of tests required for patient care, research and development in the field of medical sciences.

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9. Optometry

Jobs: Optometrist in medical colleges, eye and other hospitals.

Promotion posts: Senior optometrist and technician tutor.

Self-employment: Start own establishments as optometrists, prescribing and dispensing visual aids under the guidance and supervision of an opthalmologist.

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10. Orthoptics

Jobs: Orthoptist in medical colleges and eye hospitals.

Promotion posts: Senior orthoptist, and technician tutor.

Self-employment: Get gainful employment with various eye specialists and private medical practitioners.

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11. Physiotherapy technician's course

Jobs: Junior physiotherapist.

Promotion posts: Senior physiotherapist.

Self-employment: Establish own clinics as masseurs and physiotherapists.

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12. Health educator's course

Jobs: Health education technician/field technician in medical colleges, schools, public health departments of various corporations, medical and district boards.

Promotion posts: Health education technician Grade I, health educator, lecturer etc.

Self-employment: Join voluntary organisations engaged in problems of sanitation, hygiene and prevention of diseases.
Set up private enterprise producing literature and other material in the field of health education.

There is one more important area of education and training for youth which deserves careful consideration. This is the area of physical education. The importance of games, sports, athletics and similar other activities has been duly recognised by all educationists and others interested in the growth of youth because these activities are essential for the proper up-keep of health, for better social adjustment of children and for character formation. In educational institutions in India, physical education has been provided for as an activity only. A stage seems to have come when

physical education can be considered to be an independent discipline of study, for over the years sufficient theoretical knowledge and factual information has accumulated around this subject. A few colleges of physical education have been established in the country already. They provide courses of study leading to university degrees. The Central Board of Secondary Education is now planning to introduce physical education as an elective subject of study. When sciences were introduced into the school curriculum, the concept of practical examination was introduced in the techniques of evaluation. In the Board's examination of each science subject, therefore, there are two question papers in theory and one practical examination. It would appear that in the technology of evaluation in physical education, there should be one paper in theory and two practical examinations. One of the latter examinations could be with special reference to sports and the other with special reference to games.

Several advantages would seem to accrue from the introduction of physical education as a subject of study in the school curriculum. First, this would provide an avenue for growth for those children who have a special aptitude for sports, games and allied activities. The more talented children among these, who are selected for the various meetings at local, regional, national and international levels, have to undergo some loss in their studies due to the time they devote to preparing themselves for and participating in the meetings. The inclusion of physical education will provide for such children an opportunity of growth at par with those who have aptitudes in other areas of study. Secondly, this would raise the general importance and status of the various physical education activities in the country and would thus create a welcome and healthy outlet for the enthusiasm and energy of both in-school and out-of-school youth. In other words, this would help to minimise the misdirection of energy of young boys and girls in the form of protests, strikes, defiance of authority, destruction of property, etc., on trivial or wrong issues. Thirdly, usable facilities in physical education can be well organised even for illiterate and uneducated youth, and such facilities, if created within educational institutions, can be well utilised by both in-school and out-of-school youth.

The modern technology of education has given birth to a number of techniques which are relevant to the provision of education and training for out-of-school youth. These include the use of modern audio-visual aids and the organisation of correspondence courses, morning and evening institutions, condensed and sandwich courses, and public libraries.

The great advantage of each of these techniques is their flexibility. They also provide an atmosphere of informality and freedom. Unlike a regular educational institution, none of these programmes follow a rigid time-schedule or necessitate complete uniformity in age and scholastic achievement of the pupils in a particular class.

The modern audio-visual and other aids, such as radio, films, exhibitions, excursions and television, are potential means of education and training. They can also be well utilised to improve the general attitude of youth. Clubs, community centres, field trips, inter-regional exchanges of young people, various associations and societies organised for constructive purposes can make a tremendous contribution in bringing youth together for self-study, co-operative work, useful and productive activities and healthy entertainment.

The medium of postal services or correspondence has been tried with success in many countries for various programmes of education and training. The courses organised through this medium are variously known as correspondence courses, own-time courses, postal courses or distant-control courses. This technique can be used for providing instruction, education and training at both the school and the university stages. In some places, an effort is being made to utilise such courses to reduce the pressure of enrolment in universities. This technique has also been utilised with profit to provide avenues of training and promotion for skilled and semi-skilled workers in industry.

Morning and evening institutions are regular educational institutions except for the fact that they are particularly helpful in providing facilities for the education and training of employed youth. Such persons cannot otherwise take advantage of the regular educational institutions. Apart from serving the felt need of youth in centres of large population, such institutions also seem to reduce, to some extent, the pressure for enrolment on the existing institutions.

The scheme of condensed courses is specially helpful to certain categories of youth and other persons. For example, those who discontinued their education at an early age and entered the world of work can take advantage of condensed courses. Widows and unmarried or neglected women, who may otherwise be a burden on the society, can also take advantage of condensed courses and with the help of a certificate, diploma or a degree, which they may obtain through such courses, they can lead a better and happier life.

The essential condition of success of any scheme of condensed courses is that it should prepare the pupils for a regular examination which should be of value in getting suitable employment or independent work. Any scheme of condensed courses or sandwich courses can be well supported and supplemented through correspondence courses and radio and television programmes.

Public libraries play a crucial role in the modern world. A library is no longer simply a store-house of books, a centre where one can consult books or borrow them. To serve the community successfully, the library must also move and go to the community. To this end, it should organise various activities such as adult literacy classes, debates, discussion groups, audio-visual programmes, dramas, excursions, and establish branch and circulating libraries. In the context of education as a life-long process, the usefulness of a public library is unlimited. Through schemes of reference, bibliographical services and otherwise, the public library can be extremely useful both to the educated as well as the neo-literate and illiterate youth.

One word about the special attention which must be given to the girls and women. They can obviously take advantage of all programmes and activities which are organised for youth in general. However, most young girls and women have to attend to the household affairs too. Accordingly, in any programmes for education and training for young people special timings convenient for girls and women should be provided. Similarly, there are certain areas of special interest to the fair sex. Activities like tailoring and sewing, needle work, knitting, cookery, gardening, horticulture, modelling, painting and salesmanship seem to be of special interest and benefit to them. Even if such courses have not been organised in the general programme for youth, they can be introduced specially for girls and women.

Thus, while it is important to take note of the separate attention which should be paid to the education and training of out-of-school youth in any country, it would appear more feasible to organise appropriate courses for them jointly with in-school youth. It is also necessary to reorient the existing curricula and other programmes of education and training to improve the employability of youth. It is desirable to take note of the modern growth in educational technology and to supplement institutional education and training with other methods which are specially appropriate for out-of-school youth. Some of these techniques can be well utilised by in-school youth too.

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF FIJI

Tomu Vunakece
Fiji

This paper attempts to cover the general social and economic issues in Fiji with special attention to the role of youth in the development process

Historical background

In terms of background, it is necessary to give a sketch of the history and geography of Fiji.

Fiji consists of 300 islands in the mid-South Pacific, 100 of which are inhabited, comprising a total area of 7,055 miles. The two large islands are Vanua Levu and Viti Levu. Viti Levu is about 88 miles long and 64 miles wide, covering an area of 4001 square miles and accommodating two-thirds of Fiji's population. Vanua Levu, 2,137 square miles, is about 112 miles long with an average width of 20 miles.

The Fiji Islands were first sighted by Tasman in 1943 but the significance of his discovery was not then realised. Captain Cook visited the island in 1774 and Captain Wilson visited the Lau group in 1767. It was Captain Bligh, however, of the "Bounty", who recorded most of the islands. After this Fiji was known as the "Bligh Islands". Shipping companies became interested in Fiji in connection with the sandalwood trade. It was through these traders that firearms were introduced to the Fijian and rum and muskets became regular articles of trade.

Missionaries came first from Tonga and later from elsewhere. In 1854, Cakobau and other high chiefs were converted and thus became the champions of the missionaries. The religion of the king became the religion of the people. With this conversion, cannibalism and other savage practices ceased.

A confederacy was formed by the chiefs in 1865 but failed. New problems arose and there was no adequate system of government. The chiefs once again appealed to Britain to take over rule, although Britain had refused once before. Finally, on the 10th October, 1874, Fiji was proclaimed a possession of and dependent upon the British Crown.

Sugar began replacing cotton as the major crop. By 1885, indentured labourers from India were introduced to work in the cane fields and prosperity began to emerge. The indenture system was finally abolished in 1920. About 40,000 - 50,000 Indians were introduced to Fiji and only a very small number returned after their service. The Indian population doubled in 25 years and by 1945 the number of Indians exceeded the number of Fijians.

The present situation

The present population is a little over half a million and is made up of:

Fijians	214,948
Indians	256,152
Europeans and part-Europeans	22,412
Chinese	5,388
Other Pacific races	13,162

Population density varies from 6,900 to the square mile (Suva city) to about 12 to the square mile. A large area is of mountainous jungle and is virtually uninhabited. The growth rate is high and it is significant that 47% of the population are under 15 years of age.

In terms of composition, the urban areas are mostly multi-racial. The Fijians generally live in close-knit villages scattered along the coast in river valleys, while the Indians, by contrast, live in separate homesteads on individual farms.

The pattern of employment is as disparate as the pattern of population. Only 3,716 Fijians are engaged in sugar cane growing as compared to 22,813 Indians. On the other hand, Fijians are engaged in subsistence or village agriculture. In commerce, 5,446 Indians are employed as compared with 1,301 Fijians. In professions such as accounting, pharmacy, medicine and law, Indians again are more numerous. Only in nursing and in ecclesiastical positions do the Fijians predominate.

Virtually 100% of the Fijians are declared Christian according to the last census, of whom 83% are Methodist and about 13% Roman Catholic. Among the Indians, 80% are Hindu and 15.4% Muslim. Only about 1.3% of the Indian population are Sikhs. The remainder are of other religious sects.

Urbanisation

Urbanisation is a trend all over the world and this includes the Pacific. To take Fiji as an example, about one third of the population live in urban areas and about one fifth of the total live in Suva, the capital. Urban development in this area is largely a product of contact with the western world. There is a considerable increase in the percentage of the population which have drifted in to find employment outside agriculture. Inevitably a large number of people will drift to town to find new ways of making a living and thus a new way of life.

Why do young people move to town?

There are obviously a great number of individual motivations but the following reasons seem to be somewhat general:

1. The attraction of what has been called the "bright lights" of the town: the excitement of urban life with its cinema, bars, recreational facilities, sports events, big shops etc.

2. The town is the only place where proper education is offered, at least at the secondary level; the type of education they have already received may develop in youth aspirations that can only be fulfilled in the town, e.g., individual independence, white collar jobs etc. This is especially true in Fiji where all the secondary schools are placed in the large urban areas, although future plans call for the dispersion of secondary and junior secondary schools in the rural areas.

3. The existence of employment and money giving access to a number of goods and satisfactions that are not available in a rural subsistence economy.

4. Freedom from the authority of chiefs, elders, parents, and the authoritarian culture of the village.

The problem of housing has led to the creation of a Housing Authority, which has attempted to build low-cost housing in urban areas. One example is the Raiwaqa Housing Estate in Suva with a population of over 12,000, of whom 7,000 are young people under the age of 21. These people are crowded into two and four storey high-rise apartments.

The availability of this housing has tended to quicken the process of urbanisation by encouraging more and more people to come to the city - where they discover there are no jobs for them. The Housing Authority talks about building so many "housing units" but never a word about creating communities. The planning of the Estate has ignored an integrated system of social services, recreation and parks (which are mostly mangrove swamps and drainage ditches) and the traditional Fijian way of life. Young people find themselves out on the streets with nowhere to go and nothing to do. Despair characterises those young people who have fled the countryside hoping to find new jobs in town, only to discover that there are no jobs for them. This is where they end up in committing undesirable acts.

Over the 10 years 1959-69, the total population increase was 38% while the urban population increase was 167%. In the city of Suva 40% of the population is under 15 years of age.

Education

Education from primary to university level is available to people of all races in Fiji. It has been considered for a long time to have free and compulsory education in Fiji, but the Government resources are such that this is not yet possible. Although there is no policy for racial segregation in the schools of Fiji, segregation has taken place as a natural outcome of the fact that Fijians and Indians do not live together in communities, have different backgrounds and speak different languages.

An Education Commission in 1969 drew up a report on education in Fiji and focused on the weaknesses of the present system. The following are some of the vital points which the Commission singled out:

> 1. The operation of separate communal schools either allowed or persuaded by Government has failed to promote the cultural, social, economic, and political development of the several races in Fiji as a single nation.
>
> 2. In order to instil a sense of consciousness so vital for the building of a nation that is new, the learning experiences of Fijian children need some radical redirection. Much more emphasis needs to be placed on education for better understanding among all the races in Fiji. Children need to

read about their proud tradition, on which very little or nothing has been written, and also about the achievements of new independent countries.

3. There is a need for a more diversified type of education at the secondary level, in order to provide for the shortage of teachers, agricultural assistants, technologists, medical technicians, foremen and secretaries. For a developing country, secondary education is more crucial than higher education.

4. There is a large disparity at various levels in the number of examination passes between Fijians and Indians as various factors tend to hamper the education of the Fijians. These include, to mention a few, the geographical dispersion of Fijians so that the schools are not large enough for effective staffing, rural poverty, the social distractions and lack of privacy and study facilities in the "koro" (village). Other factors arise out of the traditional Fijian way of life, which militates against continued application to routine tasks. Authoritarian traditions are weakening but have not been replaced by a more autonomous discipline.

These factors of social change are reflected in the disparity between the performance of Indians and Fijians. A Fijian is well aware that at present he does not compete with the Indian in land utilisation, education, business, the professions, or any other field except sports, and it is depressing that the same pattern can be seen at the University of the South Pacific. This situation is not due to lack of intellectual ability on the part of Fijians but to difficulties in adjustment, especially in developing habits of sustained application to study in an environment where the student's time is not rigidly controlled for him as in boarding school.

Race relations appear to be harmonious, but for a newly independent country there is a great deal to be done to achieve a more viable multi-racial society. The language provides the main point of contact. Through common learning of the English language, the lingua franca, and also through multi-racial schools which are becoming more common but are mostly on the secondary level, the different races and nationalities are brought closer together.

The role of youth in developing Fiji

Today there is a dramatic shift of interest, expectation, and life style among the youth of Fiji and this has challenged the youth serving organisations and the adult community generally.

The standardised formulae of the past are no longer acceptable to youth. When I am speaking of youth here, I am referring in particular to the ones who have committed themselves to what I formed as "youth activism" and have actively participated in the building of the nation. They do not want a say only in the decision-making process of youth organisations and service projects but also in the practices of their educational institutions and the government, and indeed in the very direction the society is taking. Their interests are focused more than they were ten years ago on services which contribute to social change. Many are no longer satisfied with the self-centred life but want to be involved in projects where they can get to know and work with people who are either underprivileged, ill, or live on the "dark side" of society.

Within the past few years, more attention has been given by some youth organisations to the needs of unemployed youths, particularly early school leavers. While a start has been made, much more needs to be done in this area of vocational training. The Y.W.C.A. in Fiji has taken the lead in running courses for school leavers in typing, cookery, child care, tourist guides and household workers. Nausori Youth Centre has also become involved in organising courses in welding and carpentry. Mrs. Elmyria Hull, a Vocational Consultant to the Y.W.C.A. describes the situation in Fiji as the following:

> The need for job skill training courses for unemployed early school leavers and other young adults lacking in entry level employment skill was recognised early as a programme priority in the Fiji Y.W.C.A. While nearly all schools receive some Government assistance, the Government has stated that it cannot foresee the time when education will be free or compulsory in Fiji. Therefore the continued expansion of this course is even more urgent today according to the current increase in the number of early school leavers and the predicted increase in the next ten years. This group of potential semi-skilled and skilled workers is also handicapped by literacy limitation (and some are more literate in the second language than the first), an incapacity for long range planning, distracting

family and environmental problems, underdeveloped academic abilities and social immaturity. This training is carried out with the purpose of providing training in the basic job skills necessary for earning a living as related to current and future employment opportunities for: (a) early school leavers who would otherwise have no further educational opportunities; (b) young adults seeking employment or upgrading possibilities; (c) youths already in employment who have had no special training; (d) workers with some skill or experience who wish to improve their prospects or change employments.

An associated need is to create new job categories in a society of high-level youth unemployment. Both the Y.W.C.A. and Nausori Youth Centre are addressing this need by making new kinds of jewelry and selling them on the tourist market.

Youths and youth organisations have increased their voluntary service in the field of education during the past years. Diploma students have conducted night classes and helped in the supervision of study groups in schools near the University campus. Many have also participated in the running of youth organisations.

A new trend of social service by youth emerged last year. In a youth conference held last year, it was moved to accept and support the establishment of a voluntary service scheme which is to begin with the students and be a part of the Fiji Student Christian Movement, becoming an independent body at a later stage. The objective and aims of the scheme are:

1. To give appropriate service to people who are in need.

2. To promote understanding between the highly educated and the less and uneducated people of Fiji.

3. To promote cultural understanding among the different cultures in Fiji.

4. To localise the voluntary services given by overseas groups.

Six months after its establishment, a group of volunteer students from various colleges and institutions spent six weeks during their Christmas holidays in one of the outlying islands, helping to establish a new secondary school. The work done included the construction of teachers' quarters (under the supervision of students from technical institutes, with the villagers providing the labour), the cataloguing of books in the new library by University students, work on the school garden by agricultural students, and the teaching of health education to parents and the community by medical students.

The volunteers also returned with the answers to questionnaires which they had obtained from the rural community and submitted these to the Ministry of Social Services to give information on the needs and the required future development of this area. Many of these young people consider some form of social service as an urgent necessity for their personal growth. They believe it builds up their knowledge and experience and develops skills. Through co-operation in voluntary labour in backward areas, they find reality less remote. They become more mature as far as human relations are concerned and are confronted with the limits of possibility in realising their own ideas.

Looking at the future, I see that the youths, especially in youth organisations, the university, and colleges here in Fiji, have an important role to play in educating the adults to think as responsible citizens in an emerging nation. I have mentioned the human problem which faces the Fijian as he seeks to take his place in a new and much more competitive world along with other ethnic groups. There is a lack of cross-cultural studies. There is a need to change social attitudes and to narrow the gap between older and younger generations.

There is also a need to increase the productive capacity of individuals to meet the demand which the new nation is going to make upon them. I see that in a developing country like Fiji students and youth organisations can be a valuable resource. New organised extension programmes during the vacation period can give them the opportunity for involvement. Through their involvement in all these issues which are crucial to Fiji, the larger youth organisations are quickly presenting a positive image in the society.

The Government is indeed very much concerned with the increasing youth problems for it has recently set up a new

Ministry - the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Rural Development. This new Ministry is seeking the co-operation and help of all youth organisations in trying to meet the needs of the youth of Fiji. Discussions are currently going on with respect to a new National Youth Service which will involve a crash programme in vocational training. It is important to note that the Government is actively seeking the advice of the Fiji National Youth Council, a representative co-ordinating body of all national youth organisations, in implementing its plans. Through this policy of active consultation, it is seeking to involve youths in the decision-making process. It still remains to be seen as to how successful this new Ministry will be.

THE TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH IN HONG KONG

Basil Leung Koon Chiu
Hong Kong

Introduction

One of the features that Hong Kong shares with many other developing countries is the marked youthfulness of its population. In 1945, the estimated population was 600,000. The age-group 15 to 24 years then formed only a small percentage of the population. In the 1961 census, the total population had risen to 3.1 million, of which 367,841 were young people. Such an increase in the proportion of young people in the population can be an invaluable asset and yet at the same time cause tremendous socio-economic problems for the society. If these young people are given a favourable environment in which they can develop their potentialities to the full, they will be the builders of our future society. They can provide great impetus not only to the processes of industrialisation and technological advancement which all the developing countries are undergoing, but also, by virtue of their idealism and creativity, to the search for a more meaningful form of human existence, from which agonising struggle not even the developed societies are exempted. In short, in this rapidly changing world where old values are constantly being replaced, youth are our vision for the future. Yet on the other hand, if these youths are frustrated and neglected, they are capable of creating numerous disruptive problems for the society, ranging from economic dependence and unemployment to juvenile delinquency and youth activism. To say the least, this represents a tremendous wastage of human resources.

The important question that all societies must consider at this moment is: How are we to assist in the training and the development of our young people at this particular phase of the evolution of our societies, so that they will become assets rather than liabilities to our community? Note that I do not say "develop" our youths, but rather how we are to "assist in the development" of our youths. The distinction is more than a play on words. We have learnt from experience that our young people do not want to be moulded into a prescribed model. They want to develop in their own fashion, according to their own definition of themselves and and the world at large. We are forced today, more than ever

before, to recognise the value of the youths themselves. What remains to be answered is: How are we going to work out a societal pattern in which adults and young people can work closely together for the development of each individual, especially each young person?

Historical development of youth work in Hong Kong

Before we proceed to answer this question - the first step obviously being an analysis of the present youth situation in Hong Kong - it may be most helpful to review what the situation has been in the past twenty five years. The study of history should have taught us that the past is a part of the present. We shall attempt to trace as far back as the end of the Second World War, when Hong Kong could claim a population of only 600,000. On account of the sharp influx of refugees, especially since the Communists took over mainland China in 1949, and the post-war baby-boom, this figure rose sharply to 2.6 million in 1957 and to nearly four million today. This swell in population, unexpected and overwhelming in proportion, was the largest single factor guiding the social development of the Colony in the post-war period. Its impact was inevitably great and far-reaching. With such a large population on hand, most of whom were destitute, houseless and illiterate, the Government and the voluntary bodies could not but gear themselves to the most immediate relief of the urgent problems of housing, water supply, sanitation, material relief, employment and elementary education, which were paramount in the 1950's. Child and youth work was then focused chiefly on free meals, material relief, institutional care and the teaching of the 3R's. This exclusive concern with the most tangible and basic necessities of life appeared perfectly justified, partly because of the magnitude of the demands, but also because of the common belief that Hong Kong was to be no more than a temporary refuge. Thus most of the provisions were ad hoc and no co-ordinated long-term planning was thought necessary.

With the coming of the 60's, however, these hundreds of thousands of residents, as well as the Government, began to realise that they had to stay in Hong Kong for a much longer period than they had anticipated. They were unwilling to return to the Chinese mainland or Taiwan. They had to admit, not without hesitation at first, that Hong Kong was to be the place in which they were to work, live and perhaps die. More important still, this was to be the place in which their children were to grow up and be educated. They were therefore bound to examine and evaluate the quality of this environment, yet the weight of the "ad

hoc" mentality of the 50's was probably too great to be cast off over-night, particularly with reference to children and youth work, and the tendency to provide improvised services was still prevalent in the early 60's. The dearth of social research, experimentation and co-ordination was sound witness to this trend. It was not until riots broke out in 1966 and 1967 that we were forced to sit back and re-think the whole situation. For the riot was not only a political issue, as many claimed it to be, but an outburst symptomatic of a deep-seated and growing dissatisfaction and unrest among the local residents, particularly the youths. What could possibly have led them to mount this onslaught against an apparently prosperous and healthy society, an onslaught that had potential power to threaten and upheave the very roots of our social and economic life? The mounting crime-rate and increasing prevalence of physical violence were telling facts too, and one could hardly draw any comfort by attributing them to the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation and citing other advanced countries as examples of fellow sufferers.

The threat of the 1967 riots drove home to many the realisation that there must be something wrong with the way we handled our youths in the past. Did we really appreciate what our youths were and what their needs and aspirations were? Did we provide for them sufficiently, in accordance with their needs? The urgent tasks seemed to be to appraise realistically the needs and aspirations of youth so that, on the basis of such an appreciation, a long-term, comprehensive and meaningful youth policy might be formulated, and to assess the role that youths can and should play in the development of our society. This problem is inevitably bound up with another question: What is our image of our youth? Do we look at them as potential contributors to the development of our society, as well as consumers of our services? And again, if our youths are to participate in the development of our society, what are the developmental goals we are aiming at, and what should we do to facilitate participation by our youth?

These are inevitably disturbing questions, and passive minds will tend to find an easy way out. The answer looks simple: "Youths are semi-civilised creatures with an abundance of energy that needs to be exhausted somehow." Thus we should on one hand provide them with leisure time recreational activities that can legitimately use up their excess energy, and on the other hand institute educational programmes and laws that will mould them into law-abiding adults like ourselves and deter them from doing evil to the society. I need not repeat here that this view of the general public overlooks the valuable assets in our youths, and it

is most unfortunate that many of our social leaders and respectable citizens still adhere to this view. Youths do have more than "nuisance value". Their energy, their creativity, their idealism and its concomitant discontent can serve more constructive purposes than merely causing headaches to the society.

This brings us directly back to the question of the role of youths in the developmental process of our society. Some general ideas must already exist at the back of our minds: our youths are energetic, better educated and more open to change, and thus will provide a valuable labour force in our commercial and industrial economy, which is as yet struggling hard to keep pace with the rapid technological advancement of other developed countries. Moreover, they are to be the social leaders and administrators of tomorrow. The education they receive is bound to affect the role they play in the future, and we must ensure that a sense of responsible citizenship is inculcated in the early years. We must be prepared, however, to do some serious and solid thinking on the questions I have outlined above, to consider them from both our point of view and that of the youths themselves, and to recognise that our youths have changed over the years.

The present youth situation in Hong Kong

It may be helpful at this stage to review briefly the existing "youth situation" in Hong Kong, and to look at the various factors that are at play in shaping our youths' mentality.

(a) Breakdown in traditional family pattern

The traditional view that children are to be a "continuation" or "extension" of their parents is no longer accepted without question. Youths tend to regard themselves as separate human beings with a right to lead their own lives, which may be widely different from those of their parents. Their relative economic independence, the attraction of outside peer groups, and the vanishing of the family's traditional social and economic functions in an industrialised setting all help to weaken the old family ties, and lead our young people to assert more and more their individual rights.

(b) Educational opportunities

The wide spread of educational opportunities, especially with the introduction of free primary education in the coming school year, affords our young people more freedom and opportunity

in society, and at the same time raises their level of aspiration and makes them more articulate. The increasing social awareness and activism among college and secondary school students is a good indicator of this change. It also widens the generation gap as our youths receive more education of a type different from that of their parents.

(c) Employment patterns

With the increasing affluence of our society, our young people usually have little difficulty in finding employment. This enhances their economic and social independence. Yet at the same time we are suffering, as many other developing countries geared towards grammar school education do, from an excessive supply of white collar workers and a lack of technicians and skilled blue collar workers. This necessarily causes discontent in certain sectors, especially when the provision of technical education is still largely inadequate.

(d) The impact of western culture

Hong Kong is known as a meeting place of eastern and western cultures, and thus affords rich opportunities for the birth of a new culture. Before such integration is reached, however, a state of "anomie" is bound to prevail, and our youths today find themselves in this painful transitional stage. They are subjected to an influx of different values, and they have yet to sort out their own value system which might give their life a meaningful shape.

(e) The political climate

We can imagine that the Hong Kong youths, owing no allegiance to either Nationalist or Communist China and being subjected to British colonial rule, about which they have no choice, must find their national identity a constant source of irritation and discomfort. Further, the colonial administrative structure does not prepare citizens for real participation in public affairs and thus hinders the development of a "Hong Kong citizen" identity which their counterparts in Singapore have found. This must add to their frustration. But we are witnessing among our youths, especially in recent years, a growing identification with Hong Kong - the place where they were born and are being brought up - which has led to greater demands for participation in the policy-making and implementation of public affairs. The campaign to make Chinese the official language last

year testifies to this rising aspiration and the youths' desire to fight for a more responsible position in society. Fortunately, the Government is beginning to recognise this need too, and the recent proposal made by the Commissioner for Resettlement to set up Estate Councils in the larger and more remote resettlement estates is surely a step in the right direction, since through these local residents will be able to solve their common problems by joint effort.

Our approach in working with youth

Having thus briefly analysed our youth situation, we must proceed to examine the way in which we have responded to the needs expressed in one form or another by our youths, and to consider the approach that we should adopt in the future. As I have mentioned above, our approach in the past has essentially been a passive one, responding only to crisis situations with quick, stop-gap measures. Yet to pretend that this represents the total picture is to do the Government and many voluntary bodies a grave injustice. Changes, though slow in coming, are evident in many fields of endeavour. We see, for example, in the schools growing numbers of social service groups and other extra-curricular activities. These give the students more opportunities to develop their personality, to cultivate their cultural interests and leadership potential, and to acquire the habit of serving their community. In the field of youth work, we see also a shift in emphasis from recreational clubs and interest groups to voluntary social service, leadership training and youth councils. Forums on social issues are organised to stimulate young people's interest in the society and to learn their opinion on such matters. Self-programming groups are encouraged to let young people devise and run their own programmes. Youth counselling and "out-reach" programmes are attempting to help maladjusted youths beyond the reach of traditional clubs. P.H.A.B. (Physically Handicapped and Ablebodied) programmes have been initiated to allow both groups of youths to learn from and to help each other. Voluntary service in various fields is encouraged to educate youths in service of their community. Members of youth clubs today are usually given more say in the planning and execution of their own programmes. Most of these programmes may still be new in Hong Kong and have not moved far from the experimental stage, but, all in all, there is evidence of an increasing awareness in all sectors of the society of the need for responsible participation on the part of all its citizens if this community is to be a truly healthy and integrated one. Gradually, the value of the community development approach is gaining the recognition that it deserves.

Future trends

As for our future endeavours, I feel that the following areas must be attended to:

(a) The enunciation of a clear overall youth policy which would take care of the total development of youth, taking into account their physical, psychological, social and cultural needs, and which would embrace all sectors of the youth population - students and workers, educated and uneducated, handicapped and able-bodied, delinquent and non-delinquent. The formulation and implementation of this policy must involve all Government departments (Social Welfare, Education, Medical and Health, Labour, Urban Services), the voluntary organisations concerned, and the youths themselves.

(b) The identification of the developmental goals of our society and the delineation of the role of youth in this process. The constructive abilities and potential contribution of our youths must be recognised. The use of the mass media and other means must be utilised to educate the masses to these ends. In short, we ought to remember that the relationship between adults and youths should be one of responsible partnership, imbued with mutual respect and trust, and not one of leader and follower.

(c) The present inclination to encourage the participation of youth in the affairs of society ought to be continued and strengthened. Through this process, the two parties will learn to work closely with each other for the development of a society which belongs to both of them.

Conclusion

It will seem a little redundant to re-stress here the important role that youths can play in the development of their society. The widespread youth unrest and activism in the contemporary world should give us an idea of the possible bleak future if we continue to ignore this legitimate demand of our youth. Of course, youth cannot always be right in everything they say - they are as prone to human error as we are. We must, however, learn at least to listen to them and to respect their opinion, and work out with them a solution to our many social ills. We must

remember that young people, with their idealism and freshness of vision, are often more sensitive to breaches of promise than we are to our failures to live up to our proclaimed beliefs and values. Their criticisms, admittedly extreme and hard to bear at times, should sensitise us to our inadequacies rather than put us on the defence. It is only through working closely together, in earnestness and good faith, with our young people - who can be our children and our partners at the same time - that we can hope to build a better society for tomorrow.

YOUTH AND INDUSTRIALISATION IN SINGAPORE

Tan Kin Hian
Singapore

Somewhat typical of the developing countries, Singapore has more than half of its 2 million population under 21 years of age and about 70% are under 30. In other words, the proportion of the dependent population is higher than that of the providing population. Singapore, moreover, is a small island state of about 225 square miles, with no natural resources worth speaking of at its disposal. Under such unfavourable circumstances, to support the livelihood of two million people and to create adequate job opportunities for the thousands of school leavers every year is an extremely difficult, if not totally impossible, task.

For the past 150 years, Singapore has been playing the role of the entrepot trade centre in this part of the world, mainly because of its strategic position. However, entrepot trade, while still important to Singapore's economy, can no longer cope with the growth of population and the increasing number of job-seekers every year. Moreover, it is likely that Singapore will gradually lose its importance as the entrepot trade and process centre.

In order to survive and prosper, Singapore has to diversify its economy so that it is not dependent completely upon its traditional role and function as the middle-man of the region. In the early 1960's, an ambitious, massive and imaginative industrialisation scheme was launched despite the realisation that Singapore has no natural resources and has very limited capital, both of which are essential for any industrialisation programme to succeed. As there is no alternative available, the Government has to solve the problem one way or another and, so far, it has been quite successful in doing so. I do not want to discuss how Singapore solved the problem of capital, industrial raw material and a market big enough to support the industrialisation programme. I merely want to address myself to the problem of manpower in the process of industrialisation and to demonstrate how Singapore involves its youth in this key process of national development.

Manpower is the only native asset of Singapore and it must be fully and properly utilised if the industrialisation programme is to succeed at all, considering the lack of other favourable

conditions conducive to the success of such a programme. Industrialisation requires labour, especially skilled labour. As was to be expected, Singapore faced and is still facing the problem of a shortage of skilled labour, which is a problem confronting all developing nations in their attempts to industrialise. The traditional education system, passed down from colonial days, does not adequately prepare young people for careers in industries. General academic studies have been the rule rather than exception. Besides this problem of lack of technical or vocational training in the traditional education system, there is also the problem of a lack of proper psychological orientation towards industrial life. Youth, in diminishing degree, still prefers "white-collar" jobs to "blue-collar" jobs, which is a prejudice handed down from colonial days.

The task of the Government to involve youth in the industrialisation process, not only in the interests of the nation but also in those of the youth themselves, has therefore two dimensions. One dimension is to make school leavers employable skill-wise. The other is to orientate them psychologically to industrial life.

While for the time being skilled and semi-skilled labour has to be imported from the neighbouring countries to meet immediate needs, long-term policy has been drawn up by the Government to solve the shortage of industrial labour on a more permanent basis. The role of education, especially at secondary level, has been re-examined and re-structured. In 1969, a common curriculum was adopted for secondary education in which obligatory workshop subjects were introduced in the first two years of secondary education. After the completion of the second year, students can proceed to complete their secondary course either in academic or commercial or technical streams. The target is to ensure that one out of every three secondary school leavers receives technical training by 1975. At present, there are three vocational institutes and four industrial training centres to prepare young men and women for semi-skilled and skilled work in industry. This apart, the Government also encourages and helps industries to provide on-the-job training for young workers, with a tax exemption incentive. In addition, the Singapore Polytechnic and the Ngee Ann Technical College provide training in the fields of technology, supplying the much needed engineers and technicians for the industrialisation programme, and also technical teachers. The Polytechnic, in particular, offers part-time studies on most of its courses, thus enabling a great number of working youth to further their technical training in their

spare time. In a few years' time, the problem of the shortage of semi-skilled and skilled labour is expected to be solved to a large extent.

While a shortage of skilled labour is understandable, currently there is also, surprisingly, a shortage of unskilled workers, which has made it necessary for the Government to liberalise its work permit policy and to import a large number of unskilled workers, especially from West Malaysia. One of the reasons behind this phenomenon is the fact that Singaporeans have become rather choosey about employment. Although there are about 4,000 registered unemployed, the figure is undoubtedly misleading. Those who allege to be unemployed are actually either under-employed or are looking for better jobs. Many of them do not want to work in factories, largely as a matter of attitude. It is therefore also on this aspect that the Government has increasingly focused its attention. The aim of the task is to prepare youth psychologically for industrial life and whatever it implies. To this end, social education, besides formal education, can contribute in a certain way. Trade unions, community centres and other social education agencies are playing a positive role.

In this connection, I would like to inform the gathering briefly of what the National Youth Leadership Training Institute has done in the area of social education for young people in Singapore. Social education is one of the many aspects of training for young people provided by the Institute. Our aim in the social education of youth is to keep them informed of the problems and socio-political realities of the nation, and to instil in them a sense of social responsibility and national consciousness. We want youth not to think of employment simply in terms of their own personal needs, namely, of getting a job by which to earn a living. We want our youth to think beyond these personal terms and to see their working in industries as participation in national development, participation of which they should be proud. This awareness of their role in national development will not be possible if they do not see national development in its right perspective.

These, then, are some of the many problems facing Singapore in its attempt to industrialise and to involve the young people in a conscious way in the process of industrialisation.

APPENDICES

1. Seminar Arrangements

2. Directory of Participants and Secretariat

3. List of Seminar Documents and Background Material

SEMINAR ARRANGEMENTS

This Seminar, which was held in Kuala Lumpur from 29th July to 7th August, 1971, was the third in a series of regional meetings organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat on youth problems, youth training and employment.

The first meeting, held in Nairobi in 1969, dealt with the situation in the Commonwealth countries of Africa. The second, held in Trinidad in 1970, reviewed the position in the Commonwealth Caribbean. The third and final seminar focused upon youth in the Commonwealth countries of Asia and the Pacific region.

As at previous seminars, fruitful and constructive discussion of the various topics was ensured by the attendance of delegates in their personal capacity as people of experience actively engaged in the youth field, rather than as spokesmen for their governments or organisations.

The Seminar was attended by some 50 participants, among whom were delegates from Ceylon, Fiji, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Papua and New Guinea, Singapore, Tonga, Western Samoa, Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand. Also present were representatives from Africa and the Caribbean, who provided a link with the two previous seminars, and observers from several international organisations. A complete list of participants is included at Appendix 2 of this Report.

The Secretariat was fortunate in being able to draw upon the knowledge and experience of four people with considerable expertise in particular areas of the youth field. They were Dr Fred Milson, Dr Premadasa Udagama, Mr Abdullah Malim Baginda and Mr Klaus Bettenhausen. Each presented a lead paper and took an active part in the discussions.

The working document of the seminar grouped the topics for discussion under three main heads: basic considerations, the determination of policy, and the implementation of programmes. Lead papers were delivered on each of these themes, and a fourth dealt specifically with the employment situation in some Asian countries, detailing the problems and offering possible solutions. The working programme afforded opportunities for discussion in plenary sessions following the presentation of each lead paper, and for further intensive discussion of particular items in smaller groups.

Two special plenary sessions were arranged for discussion of (a) problems of employment and (b) possible avenues of co-operation in the youth field. In addition to working sessions, participants were enabled to familiarise themselves with some aspects of youth work in Malaysia through three field visits kindly arranged by the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. The first of these was to the National Youth Park in Penang, the second to the National Youth Settlement Scheme in Kuantan, and the third to the National Youth Pioneer Corps.

The Seminar was honoured by the presence of the Hon. Tun Haji Abdul Razak bin Dato Hussein, Prime Minister of Malaysia, at the opening ceremony, where he delivered the inaugural address. The full text of his address is included in Part II of this Report, together with the speech given by Hon. Dato Hamzah bin Haji Abu Samah, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, who served as Chairman of the Seminar.

The Secretariat wishes to record its gratitude to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, and officials of the same Ministry. Special mention must be made of the assistance received from Mr Abdullah Malim Baginda and Mr Wilfred Vias, upon whose shoulders responsibility for local preparations rested.

On behalf of the developing countries involved, the Secretariat acknowledges with gratitude the assistance given by the Commonwealth Foundation in enabling representatives to attend the Seminar.

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Appendix 3

LIST OF SEMINAR DOCUMENTS AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Lead papers

LEAD/1	Dr Fred Milson	: Young People in Changing Societies
LEAD/2	Dr Premadasa Udagama	: General Considerations Affecting Policy
LEAD/3	Abdullah Malim Baginda	: Youth and their Training Needs
LEAD/4	Klaus Bettenhausen	: Approaches to Employment Problems of Asian Youth

Background papers

BP/1	Secretariat	: Youth and Development in Africa
BP/2	Secretariat	: Youth and Development in the Caribbean
BP/3	Dr Fred Milson	: Asia (1) ECAFE Regional Youth Seminar, 1970
BP/4	Dr Fred Milson	: Asia (2) Bangkok Seminar, 1966
BP/5		Asia (2a) Country Reports from Bangkok Seminar, 1966

BP/6	Prof. Archibald Callaway	: Educational Planning and Unemployed Youth
BP/7	Elery Hamilton-Smith	: Notes on the Concept of Leadership
BP/8	Brig.-Gen. A.B. Connelly	: Youth and the Colombo Plan

Country reports

CP/1	Prasanna K. Patnaik	: Non-Student Youth: Problems and Perspectives
CP/2	Dr P.D. Shukla	: The Education and Training of Out-of-School Youth
CP/3	Tomu Vunakece	: The Role of Youth in the Development of Fiji
CP/4	Tan Kin Hian	: Some Aspects of Youth Services in Singapore
CP/5	Quek Pin Eng	: The Role of Youth in the Process of Development
CP/6	Atanraoi Baiteke	: Youth in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony
CP/7	Elery Hamilton-Smith	: Youth Programmes in Australia
CP/8	Basil Leung Koon-Chiu	: The Training and Development of Youth in Hong Kong
CP/9	Tan Kin Hian	: Youth and Industrialisation in Singapore

CP/10	Peter Waliawi	:	Youth in Papua and New Guinea
CP/11	Viliami Fukofuka	:	Youth in Tonga
CP/12	Basil Leung Koon Chiu	:	The Community Approach in Work with Youths in Hong Kong

Background material

Youth and Development in Africa
Report of the Commonwealth African Regional Youth Seminar held in Nairobi, Kenya, November 1969

Youth and Development in the Caribbean
Report of the Commonwealth Caribbean Regional Youth Seminar held in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, August 1970

Education in Rural Areas
Report of the Commonwealth Specialist Conference held in Legon, Accra, Ghana, March 1970

Unemployment - The Unnatural Disaster
An Oxfam Special Report

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