

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

(A summary)

Professor Archibald Callaway
Institute of Commonwealth Studies
University of Oxford

A. THE PROBLEM IN OUTLINE

1. Within Commonwealth nations of Asia - as well as in other low-income countries - attention is being focused on wide-spread 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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