Approaches to Employment Problems of Asian Youth

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Note

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the International Labour Organisation.

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Klaus Bettenhausen

PART I: YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE ASIAN REGION

1. Youth unemployment: situation and prospects

Discussing problems of youth (15-24 years of age) in Asia means discussing vital problems of one-quarter of this continent's total working population. After all, we are talking about roughly 375 million people (1) in East and South Asia (Tables I, II and IV).

Although documentation is somewhat difficult, there is a consensus that unemployment and underemployment among youth are both large and increasing in most Asian countries. This holds true also for those countries which have quite rapid GNP growth rates. Not only is unemployment among youth growing in absolute numbers but the proportion of youth unemployment out of total unemployment is also steadily increasing.

Historically, general unemployment was primarily a rural problem which took the form of underemployment. In recent years, however, many countries have undergone rapid urbanization. While in the rural areas underemployment remains heavy, open and increasing unemployment and to some extent underemployment occurs mainly in the urban areas. Open unemployment counts for approximately 10 per cent of the total labour force in most Asian countries. Whereas underemployment in the rural areas has been in the past largely neglected, the problem became more evident when unemployment appeared in the towns, thereby adding a political element to the problem.

The most dominant factor contributing to the employment/unemployment situation and its prospects in Asia is the striking and unprecedented growth of both population and labour force recorded during the last decade. Equally serious is the age composition of Asia's population: Asia's population is young. A glance at any demographic statistics for the region reveals that in almost all the countries of this region young people - if we include also children - represent on average more than 60% of total population (Table II). Among the Commonwealth countries of this region, West Malaysia ranks first with 63.01%, India last with 58.26%.

This aspect is disturbing, particularly in view of its implications for future population growth. If we confine ourselves to the productive age-group of the young population, i.e. youth between 15 and 24 years, the picture is no more optimistic. During the Sixties youth constituted almost one-third of the population of most Asian countries. In the Commonwealth countries of Asia, the percentages vary between 30.2% (West Malaysia) and 25.0% (India) of total population. For the Asian region an average of at present 27-28% could be taken. This large proportion of youth in the total population implies an unfavourable condition for economic growth, as

substantial proportions of resources have to be allocated for providing necessary facilities (education, health, services, etc.) for the young.

Another observation made is that youth population is apparently growing at a considerably higher rate - on an average 3.5% per annum - than total population, (on an average less than 2.0% per annum for the region). This seems to be evident from computations done for five Asian countries (Table III). In all countries, with the exception of Japan, youth growth rates surpassed total population growth rates. Japan, where youth growth rates are lower than total population growth rates, seems to follow more or less the population growth pattern of European countries.

In the light of these projections, Asia will in future not only have to face an enormous population increase (in sheer numbers), but will also see the percentage of youth population within the total population steadily increase. Apart from the tremendous economic, political and social consequences resulting therefrom, a growing pressure on educational facilities and on the labour market is to be expected.

2. Youth labour force: size and growth

The increase in the total labour force of Asia (south, southeast and east Asia) is likely to develop according to the following estimates: (2)

Year	Millions	Net increase
1960	728	
1970	856	128 million
1980	1,029	173 million

According to these estimates, about 128 million new jobs had to be created during the last decade, merely to absorb the new entrants into the labour force; another 173 million will have to be provided during the current decade just to cope with the new labour force influx into the employment market. Asia's work force is young and the numbers of youth (15-24) within the labour force are steadily rising. If we analyse the labour force in Asian countries by age groups (Table IV) the great number of youth within the labour force of Asian countries becomes evident. In the early Sixties, youth constituted more than one-quarter of the total labour force, as compared with less than 25% of youth labour in the western countries.

The growth rate of labour force has been predicted to be in the region of about 2.5% in most of the Asian countries (Table V). This is an enormous increase, dependent upon past birth rates and near to or even outstripping the recent average population growth in a few Commonwealth countries (e.g. Malaysia and Singapore). The high growth rate represents more or less the annual growth of youthful new entrants into the work force (minus withdrawals from the labour force on the grounds of death, retirement, etc.). Consequently, the share of youth within the Asian labour force is likely to increase.

The present levels and types of labour force participation by Asian youth follow largely the traditional pattern that exists in Asia. However, participation rates of youth vary considerably in the region depending on the percentage of those working in the primary sector, the standard of the educational system, the degree of female participation, etc. (Table VI). In the Commonwealth countries, participation rates for youth in the 15-19

age group were among the lowest, particularly in Ceylon, whereas in the higher youth age groups (20-24), youth participation rates were about 50%.

3. Unemployment and underemployment: criteria, extent and trends

Although complete and comprehensive data pertaining to the extent of unemployment and underemployment among youth are not available on the regional level, there is a consensus that unemployment and underemployment in Asia are both large and increasing. The unemployment problem in the region has in the meantime assumed alarming proportions. From surveys and plan documents from various Asian countries, it can be estimated that an unemployment ratio of about 10% of total labour force is the usual average in the region. To cite one example: the backlog of unemployed in India increased from plan period to plan period and is now estimated to stand at present at 16 million. (3) The seriousness of this problem in the context of our discussion is that of the hosts of unemployed the majority consists of youth seeking jobs for the first time. From a survey conducted in five Asian countries during the early Sixties, it was learned that in almost all countries - with the exception of Japan - out of the total unemployed, more than 50% belong to the youth group, in particular in Ceylon (57.8%), West Malaysia (63.3%) and Pakistan (54.8%) (Table VII). This picture seems to be fairly representative of the majority of Asian countries. Not only does youth constitute the bulk of job seekers but their share within the total unemployed is apparently increasing.

Youth unemployment, estimated as a percentage of total labour force, gives a less alarming, but different picture (Table VIII). To get the full significance of the tables, the extent of unemployment has to be viewed against the perspective of the next three decades. "It is estimated that at the end of the century the net annual increase of labour force in developing countries will be three times the average increase that prevailed in 1960-65. To a certain extent new entrants to the labour force are absorbed in vacancies created in existing jobs by death and retirement, but with improved health and expectation of life there is a gradual increase in working life which reduces the rates of absorption in existing jobs." (4)

The most dominant characteristic of the unemployment situation in this region, however, is the widespread incidence of visible and disguised underemployment in urban and particularly rural areas. Underemployment thus occurs particularly among the unskilled. On the other hand, there is vastly more self-employment, much of it in agriculture, and self-employed people, especially farmers, are usually underemployed for a considerable period of the year. Rural youths in particular, employed in agriculture but not highly productive, are, by the seasonal character of their activities as paid labourers, but mostly unpaid family workers, underemployed. Whereas youth underemployment in the rural areas is mainly a problem of quantitative underemployment, underemployment in the urban centres is rather of a qualitative nature, insofar as it occurs mainly among more highly educated youth, i.e. among those who have been trained or educated for professional jobs but who are working far below their level of training.

Estimates for total moderately and severely underemployed run into millions, as widely reported from a number of Asian countries. In India alone the number of underemployed persons was estimated to be between 15 and 16 million. (5) These figures give an idea of the latent reserve of labour force which could enter the labour market at any time and given any incentive. Underemployment in Asia seems to be quite serious, even in

urban areas, though the magnitude of underemployment is much greater in rural areas in view of the large size of the population there.

4. Educated unemployed

Recently, serious concern has been expressed about one particular group of unemployed youth, namely the educated unemployed, connoting that part of the labour force which has completed secondary and/or higher education. The phenomenon is particularly evident in Pakistan, Ceylon and India, where it has been reported that out of every three engineers one is either unemployed or underemployed. Unemployment among even engineers, technologists and technicians was reported from India, Pakistan, Malaysia and the Philippines. (6)

Pakistan reported 'excessive unemployment' among educated youth, particularly among those with general education, while at the same time a shortage of skilled manpower is known to exist. (7) One-third of the educated population has been estimated to be unemployed or underemployed, totalling about 400,000 in 1970. (8) In India, the number of educated unemployed increased from roughly a quarter of a million in 1956 to more than one million in 1967 - a more than fourfold increase over ten years. (9) 13.4% of the educated manpower did not find any job opportunity in this country. (10) (Table IX).

In Ceylon, through the availability of free education (which is of a comparatively high standard), large numbers of well educated school leavers are thrown onto a market where lack of economic and, particularly, industrial progress means insufficient jobs and high educated unemployment. While over the period 1963-68 the output of graduates doubled, the number of unemployed graduates more than trebled. (11)

These figures, although only representative for parts of Asia, may be sufficient to underline the gravity of the problem and the serious proportions it has already assumed in this region. What is worse, unemployment among the educated in Asia is increasing and is likely to continue to do so in the future and at a higher rate than general unemployment.

Simultaneously, with the evident over-supply of highly trained youth, even in the technical fields (engineers, technicians, etc.), a lack of skilled manpower at the middle-level has been reported in a number of countries. The apparent disequilibrium for certain occupational groups, with surpluses in one category and shortages in another, has occurred in India and Pakistan, and seems to be a common characteristic for the lopsided manpower market of this region. A survey on the problem of the educated unemployed in Pakistan revealed that "This situation is characteristic of socio-economic conditions of an early stage of economic development, and deterioration of the present situation is inevitable until industrialization is more rapid and economic growth is faster." (12)

Because of the social and political implications inherent in the problem of unemployment among educated youth, the situation deserves particular attention. The increasing numbers of unemployed within this category seem to indicate that Asian governments have apparently failed to absorb such persons into employment: assumptions are that educated unemployment will be a permanent feature of the Asian labour scene and that future labour surpluses in this category will be inevitable.

PART II: CAUSES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

A fair judgment of the problem of youth unemployment in Asia and approaches to its solution is not feasible unless we are adequately informed about the chief causal factors. In enquiring into the numerous and complex causes of unemployment, we will confine ourselves to those factors which are of particular relevance to youth.

1. Demographic development

Mention has already been made of the high population growth rate in all Asian countries, resulting in a broad-based age pyramid, i.e. in an extremely high percentage of youth within the total population. Children and youth (0-25) represent around two-thirds of most Asian populations (Table II). The predominant reason for unemployment seems to be simply that population has increased more rapidly than total wage employment.

2. Economic factors

On the demand side of the employment market, factors related to the economic development process played, of course, the most decisive role in job creation. The experience over the two last decades seems to be that the growth in industrial and manufacturing output does not necessarily result in an appropriate growth in employment opportunities. Even in countries which showed an impressive annual increase in GNP, employment creation was unsatisfactory.

Industry in this region, characterized by medium-sized industrial establishments and concentrated mainly in urban areas, has failed to provide enough job openings - in quantitative terms - as compared with agriculture, where the majority of Asian population and youth is employed. The apparent obstacles to the creation of additional employment in size and continuity, as may be expected may be summarized as follows: (a) industrialization in less developed countries tends often to develop rather capital-intensive. This kind of inappropriate combination of labour and capital occurred not only in the manufacturing but also in other sectors, e.g. construction, where heavy equipment is replacing hundreds of unskilled work-seekers; (b) interest rates have made the import of machinery more attractive; (c) a very lenient tax legislation allowing high write-offs, i.e. short depreciation, has encouraged capital intensity; (d) high and rising industrial wage rates have resulted in a preference for the purchasing of labour-saving machinery. (13)

Higher mechanization does not, however, explain in full the under-demand for unskilled labour. Another reason for high unemployment, particularly among urban youth, is that youth, who represent the new labour force entries, are as a rule inexperienced and the most vulnerable in the labour surplus economy. In a unbalanced employment market, previous work experience results in keeping the job one holds rather than in a pay differential. (14)

While there has been an increasing surplus of unskilled labour, unabsorbable by industry, this sector required, on the other hand, quite sizeable numbers of skilled workers. Apparently the industrial sector was unable to undertake its own training (if one agrees that the educational system should not be over-burdened with the task of providing skill training (see below)).

Apart from Japan and the modernizing countries of the China perimeter (Korea, Republic of China, Malaysia), most of Asia's labour force is agricultural. The traditional sector (agriculture, forestry, fishing) in this region employs between 70-80% of total labour force, most of whom are for some time underemployed. Most of Asia's youth are living here (Table X). The seasonal character of traditional agriculture, which leaves the rural worker almost five months a year without any job in most countries, provides the major explanation for the phenomenon of underemployment among rural youth. Higher labour productivity in the farming and particularly estate sector (e.g. the rubber estates in Malaysia) has resulted in displacing rural wage labour rather than creating additional employment. This is an undesirable trend, increasing the already massive migration of rural youth to urban centres (see below). Agriculture is, however, bound to be the chief source of employment for the majority of Asian youth. To suppress rural unemployment by raising the vast employment capacity of this traditional sector is the chief concern of policy-making government bodies (see below).

The employment potential of the tertiary sector has only recently been realized. Many of the urban skilled youth in Asia have now been employed in this sector; more and more youth who have unsuccessfully tried to find jobs in industry have entered this sector, which provides ample employment opportunities for educated youth and offers very good opportunities for upward mobility. In the course of the gradual economic development process the service sector in less developed countries will provide more and better employment opportunities. Besides, since employment in this sector is indirectly induced by the activity of the primary and industrial sectors, additional employment creation in the tertiary sector can be expected. This positive prospect, however, must not mislead us into losing sight of the fact that in the service sector disguised unemployment is particularly high.

3. Rural-urban migration

The enormous exodus of rural youth to urban centres has been recognized as one of the chief reasons for heavy urban unemployment. It may be recalled that the rate of urbanization (urban population growth) in Asian cities has been on an average two to three times that of the average population growth. (15)

Rural-urban migration, which is contributing heavily to the urbanization process, thereby increasing the labour supply there, is caused by a number of factors, among which are (a) the search for and expectations of better employment opportunities; (b) high pay differentials; and (c) the search for better education. A survey on migratory movements of youth in the ECAFE region revealed that migration occurred most frequently among young adults, predominantly unmarried males. (16) Mobility seemed to be particularly high within the youth age-groups. Those who moved to the cities were mostly unskilled youth.

As has also been recognized, once youth have left the countryside for higher education in towns they rarely return there, but look for work in the towns after completion of their studies. This trend is likely to increase the imbalance on the urban labour market.

4. Educational system

Apart from having fulfilled successfully its cultural and political objectives and the growing social demand for it, the educational system seems to have failed to a considerable extent to meet the manpower requirements of most Asian countries. Although during the last decade education facilities have expanded tremendously and enrolment at all levels, particularly at the second and third, has continued to rise, the failure to orient the educational system towards satisfying occupational requirements has become evident. (17)

At the primary level, the drop-out rates remained high (which means high educational wastage), particularly in rural areas. This is likely to widen the already existing disparity between urban and rural areas. Furthermore, enrolment of girls at all levels continued to be very low.

At the secondary level, while enrolment increased at much higher rates than before 1960, the quota of enrolments in the vocational/technical type of education continued to remain almost stagnant (around 5%) and even decreased in a number of countries. This is all the more undesirable since in a number of Asian countries, in particular the Commonwealth countries, the need for skilled craftsmen has become quite obvious. The vocational preparation and employment of out-of-school youth could and should be linked to the process of rural transformation. Even in the vocational/technical stream (or where a comprehensive educational system has been introduced at the secondary level), heavy emphasis has been laid on theory and related subjects rather than on proper workshop practice. Furthermore, a shortage of technical staff and technical inadequacy of teachers was reported in a number of countries (Malaysia, Singapore), resulting in a further deterioration of the student/teacher ratio. (18) Nationwide apprenticeship schemes, which can provide training opportunities for out-of-school youth, have so far been introduced only in a few Asian countries.

At the tertiary level, the predominance of art subjects in the curricula as against science and technical subjects continued to prevail during the last decade. In the region, "academic" subjects account for the major share (63%) of total third level enrolment. This tendency has been partly responsible for the existence of the educated unemployed, the "misproducts" of the educational system in Asia.

While the countries in this region have made great endeavours to bring about a quantitative expansion at every level of the educational system, their efforts towards qualitative development have been insufficient and inappropriate in terms of making youth fit for employment. Instead of adjusting curricula towards future manpower requirements, the educational system in the past has been developed without providing a real linkage to employment.

5. Socio-cultural factors

There are other factors which are known to be partly responsible for the imbalanced situation in the employment market in this region. They

can be attributed entirely to the value system of society and the aspirations and ambitions of youth in Asia.

In this continent particularly, we find that the question of religion and ethnic origin can be of paramount importance for and play a decisive role in successful employment. History as well as education can partly explain this phenomenon. Another difficulty for Asian youth in finding employment is their apparent limited flexibility and lack of adaptability to changes in working and living conditions, as compared with European youth. This applies in particular to academics from Asian countries who have been trained abroad.

Unemployment, particularly among urban youth, can be connected to the expectations and aspirations of job-seeking youth. Although occasionally denied, a bias against manual work and a preference for white collar jobs can be noted among youth in most parts of Asia. However, the number of such jobs is limited and the majority has to go in for some sort of manual labour. The prejudice against manual work, resulting in low enrolment for technical subjects, is a historical and traditional one passed on to successive generations. That this outlook is still vital among Asian youth of today is manifested in their attitudes towards vocational education, as has been reported from a number of countries. In discussing problems of youth in Pakistan, it was commented that "Pakistan suffers from a preference for white collar occupations". (19) It was reported that in Malaysia "vocational education has always been surrounded by an aura of inferiority". (20) The same can be reported from the writer's own experience in Thailand, where most of those who have not qualified for the general secondary level enrol in the vocational stream in the hope of finally receiving a degree which would qualify them for some sort of white collar employment. The examples given are likely to be fairly representative of the attitude of youth in other Asian countries.

The same applies to income expectations: a school leaver's preference to stay unemployed until the "right" job has been found seems to be a "perfectly sensible one" (21) in the light of his attitudes to income and status. This applies in particular to the educated youth. "The level of open unemployment in these circumstances depends on the size of the premium for waiting, the willingness to wait and the ability to maintain living standard while not working." (21)

6. Organizational shortcomings

The limited transparence of the labour market has to some extent been responsible for the existing imbalance between employment opportunities available and occupational qualifications offered. Employment exchange services are about to be introduced in most Asian countries; where they already exist, they are based almost exclusively in towns and do not work too efficiently. Their effectiveness has been considerably reduced by lack of occupational, industrial and geographical coverage and by lack of progress control. In all, employment exchange services have, in most Asian countries, not yet fully achieved the objective for which they were created. In a study on youth unemployment in Pakistan, it was admitted that "employment services have hardly improved during the last 20 years." (22)

Rural youth in particular will find it difficult to learn about occupations in demand and jobs offered, even in the rural areas. To what extent the government should get involved in vocational guidance will depend

on the rate of employment creation outside the agricultural sector. The almost complete lack of a government agency to assist youth in making free and voluntary occupational choices has been particularly felt by those youths who are entering the labour market for the first time. This has, furthermore, hampered labour mobility to a considerable extent.

PART III: EMPLOYMENT TARGET-SETTING

1. Analysis of youth unemployment

In summing up the background information given, it may be stated that there exists in this region a serious quantitative and qualitative imbalance in the labour market as regards to youth employment. The extensive population growth during the last decade has resulted in the facts that: (a) youth represents a substantial proportion of Asia's population and of the individual country's labour force; (b) the youth population and youth labour force are increasing at a higher rate than total population and total labour force; (c) unemployment occurs in particular among those who are looking for a job for the first time, i.e. youth; this trend is likely to intensify, due inter alia to the heavy rural migration into the towns; (d) particularly in the metropolitan areas a disequilibrium for certain occupational groups can be observed which could be partly ascribed to a misconceived educational system, resulting in an over-supply of educated youth and a strong demand for middle-level skilled manpower; (e) underemployment is particularly noted among rural youth, where it is known to affect a large segment of the rural youth population.

The inconsistency in these trends is likely to intensify rather than to diminish; chronic underemployment of youth will be a customary characteristic of the Asian labour scene. In addition: (f) the imbalance in the labour market is aggravated by the job-seeking individuals themselves, as far as their ambitions and attitudes towards work and their limited adaptability are concerned.

(g) On the demand side wage employment has not increased at the expected rate, due to slow economic growth and development. (h) In particular, industry has failed, by and large, to be a substantial employment creator.

The apparent imbalance in the employment markets in most Asian countries can be in part ascribed to (i) insufficient planning on the part of governments to streamline the system of education and training of their youth labour force in relation to future manpower needs; (j) the insufficient implementation of manpower plans has proved to be a considerable obstacle to higher employment creation.

2. Employment objectives

It will be seen from the foregoing that even in developing countries which are economically a little better off the employment situation for youth remains extremely serious and is bound to deteriorate unless immediate action is taken. The problem is not new to the governments. The develop-

ment plans of all Asian countries (covering the second half of the Sixties) have recognized the urgent need for accelerated employment creation and the importance of better manpower planning. Employment planning for the massive and crucial sector of Asia's youth population has two basic dimensions: (a) appropriate education and training or skill formation, and (b) the provision of current opportunities for the productive employment and constructive participation of youth in national development.

All development plans have devoted separate chapters to manpower and have set out in quantitative terms employment targets to be achieved during the respective plan period. In examing these it seems that the Asian planners have been led by a number of basic considerations (23):

(a) It was realized that full employment could not be achieved unless the countries obtained an appropriate rate of economic growth;

(b) Expansion of employment opportunities should be combined as much as practicable with the highest possible economic growth rate;

(c) In setting quantitative targets, most plans indicated the aim of creating at least as much additional employment as to absorb the new entrants into the labour force, viz. India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, i.e. countries where population growth and the increase in labour force are very high;

(d) In a few other countries, employment targets aim not only at absorbing new labour force entrants into productive work but also at reducing the current backlog of unemployed and underemployed (Ceylon, Pakistan, Republic of China, Republic of Korea) with the intention of bringing down the unemployment rate.

If we compare the anticipated trends in both the labour force and the employment increase during the individual plan period (Table XII), it is obvious that in most Asian countries the increase in annual employment creation is equal to or even slightly higher than the annual labour force increase, foreseen during the individual plan periods.*

Commenting on the planned employment creation by sectors of the Asian economies, it can be noted that in almost all countries the major employment potential has been expected to rest with the agricultural sector. This could be expected, since approximately three-quarters of this continent's population is living in rural areas and is engaged in agriculture and related activities. In particular, the problems of widespread visible and disguised rural underemployment will, it is hoped, be successfully approached by rural work programmes, which have been introduced in a number of Asian countries, notably India, Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan. As a percentage of total labour force, however, the share of the agricultural sector is expected to decline.

The industrial sector, as can be seen from the plan documents, is not foreseen to be able to generate large employment opportunities;

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* It should be remembered here that planned targets for employment increase have, by experience, occasionally fallen short of set targets and there exists always the eventuality of unreliable data.

percentages of total labour force vary between around or less than the 10% mark (Malaysia 13.2%, Korea 12.0%, Thailand 5.9%). (24) In terms of percentages of labour force, not only the numbers of people employed in industry have increased, but also the industrial sector's share within total labour force, even if only slightly. Compared with agriculture, this sector's employment potential is likely to remain limited.

Finally, several countries expect the service sector to contribute considerably to employment during the individual plan periods, e.g. Malaysia (34%), Korea (29%), Pakistan (around 25%) and Thailand (6.8%). To expect this sector, however, to create more employment makes the existence of a well organized administrative infrastructure a mandatory prerequisite.

PART IV: APPROACHES TO YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

1. Some basic issues

To fight the unemployment problem among youth and to create additional employment for this segment of the population is a task which rests almost entirely with the governments. It is fully appreciated that the youth employment problem cannot be solved in isolation but must be tackled in the context of economic and social development as a whole. Any real improvement in the youth employment situation will depend on an improvement in the overall employment situation, i.e. on the results of general employment strategy. Youth employment and training activities of all kinds must be solidly linked with the long-term objectives of overall employment strategy and an integral part of the activities undertaken to attain these objectives.

Employment planning and programming must be placed at the heart of the development process. In pursuing this, the Asian governments will in particular have to focus their measures on (a) general policies, i.e. policies that will reduce in the long run the over-supply of labour (through family planning), and guarantee the establishment of an institutional framework (through effective manpower planning and implementation); (b) providing a package of policies in the educational sector, aimed at improving the employability of young people (through skill formation, vocational training, apprenticeship schemes, etc.); (c) economic policies (fiscal, wage, investment policies, etc.) with the aim of additional employment creation in the different sectors of the economy, and finally (d) autonomous programmes with the objective of training the young work force and employing them gainfully on a temporary or permanent basis.

The Pearson report (25) was to note that employment policies (a) should be absolutely free from political objectives; (b) should give incentives to private entrepreneurs to employ more human labour instead of investing in labour-saving equipment; (c) should encourage the rural population to stay in the countryside; and (d) with a view to rural labour should not inspire the pursuit of mechanization of agriculture at any rate.

2. General policies

a) Population control

From the foregoing it appears only logical that the first and immediate approach must begin with a step to curb effectively the future oversupply of youth to the labour force, i.e. with population policies. Any family planning programme is a long-term strategy, aiming at balancing manpower supply and demand.

In almost all Asian countries population policies based on national family planning programmes have been adopted and made an integral part of the national development plan. India hoped to reduce its population growth to 2.5% and has made the family planning programme a part of the community development programme.(26) Pakistan envisages bringing down the present birth rates of 45 per thousand to 40 per thousand during the plan period and has set aside large funds, mobile publicity teams and training programmes to accomplish this objective. (27) The Republic of China (28) plans to decrease the growth rate from 3.5% to 2.9% during her plan period. Korea (29) effected a reduction of from 2.9% to 2.7% during the first half of the 1960s but the new rate is considered as still being too high. A new target rate of 2.0% has been set for the plan period. Malaysia (30) has established the National Family Planning Board of Malaysia which is operating together with voluntary Family Planning Associations, so far only in West Malaysia. The Board plans to reach 34% of the relevant female population during the plan period. Nepal(31) is planning to maintain the present growth rate of less than 2% and reduce it progressively to 1% by 1985. Finally Thailand, with one of the highest birth rates in Asia (3.3%), officially sanctioned family planning when a cabinet decision in March 1970 made it respectable - after private bodies had begun family planning already in 1958. A five-year propagation scheme is being drawn up and family planning has been made one of the main objectives of the Third Development Plan (1972-1976).

Family planning programmes face quite considerable social resistance in this region, especially in the countryside, where the most traditional part of society is living. There is an open desire among the rural community to have many children (particularly sons) for social as well as economic reasons. It seems, therefore, that family planning reaches first the urban and educated part of the population, bypassing the poorer groups of population, particularly in the rural areas. The success of family planning would seem to depend, therefore, on proper methods by the government agencies as well as the attitude and the educational background of the relevant part of the population.

Even where family planning programmes have been adopted by developing nations, and where they have been successful, it will take a considerable time before any substantial impact on the birth rate will be realized. Furthermore, it will take seven more years until any levelling-off in school enrolment will be felt and another seven or so years before the number of youth seeking entry to the labour force is going to decline. In other words, the timelag from the start of any family planning programme is at least 15 years; the effect of programmes initiated now will not be realized in this region before 1985 at the earliest.

b) Institutional framework for employment promotion

(i) Manpower planning

Unemployment cannot effectively be overcome if the governments have not yet acquired a complete and thorough picture of their manpower resources. To tackle this problem the establishment of an institutional framework is prerequisite. Manpower planning and surveys require refinement and extension of manpower planning techniques which should be introduced in this area where they are not yet applied. To work effectively, a manpower planning organization should have the full support of and should be placed at the highest level of government hierarchy, so as to ensure that manpower will be able to function as vital parts of overall development planning. The ILO Convention and Recommendation 122 could serve as useful instruments for initiating action in respect to effective manpower planning.

(ii) Employment service

Another action as part of a general strategy towards employment promotion among youth would be the establishment of an effective national employment service, the aim being to reduce the imbalance between demand for and supply of young workers. Where these services already exist, the organization structure has to be strengthened and the operational basis enlarged. Employment services should collect, analyse and disseminate information about the labour market, should be particularly designed to reach and attract rural youth and oriented towards greater labour mobility. This requires a combination of all means of mass communications so as to allow for a better understanding of the labour market situation, not only, but particularly, in the rural areas.

(iii) Vocational guidance

Side by side with an efficient labour information service (to be based on an appropriate occupational classification), a comprehensive national vocational guidance and employment counselling programme should advise youth on trends in the labour market and the type of jobs required, i.e. a kind of employment counselling programme for youth, so as to put the young workers into a position to make real and free occupational choice and, on the other hand, to enable the employer, private or public, to staff the vacancies with exactly the type of person he requires.

Vocational guidance services have been born of the need to help young people choose the type of work they wish to do in the light of changing employment opportunities. The need for guidance in the developing countries, though not so marked as in the industrialized countries, is nevertheless great, especially for employment information for rural youth contemplating migration to the city. Freedom of occupational choice for young people in most Asian countries is, of course, very restricted by the economic environment and the generally huge and increasing surplus of manpower. Employment information and vocational guidance services can help reduce certain prejudices about work, e.g. a disinclination for work on the land or manual work, and can help counteract a drift towards overcrowded occupations. Preliminary guidance and employment information should be provided at schools; methods may include personal interviews, medical examinations and aptitude testing.* This is the theoretical concept. What has been done in this respect so far in Asia?

Pakistan (32) admits the "inadequacy of public employment service, and a lack of facilities for employment counselling" and plans to improve existing

* In accordance with ILO Vocational Guidance Recommendation No.87,(1949).

employment exchanges and to increase their numbers during the current plan period. The Republic of China (33) mentions in its plan document that in some cities "employment agencies exist only in name" and plans to build up "a sound network of employment service agencies". These will focus attention particularly on the placement of educated youth. Furthermore, an employment counselling programme for adults plus vocational guidance services for junior high school graduates will be established, linking up with an extensive network of national employment agencies and vocational training courses. Career pamphlets in respect of trades are issued for use by school leavers and new entrants into the labour market. Aptitude tests also will be introduced. In all, investment in this sector will increase at 40% during the plan period (1969-72). The Philippines (34) proposed to create five additional employment offices "in key labour market areas" during the plan period (1967-70), whereas Thailand (35) set aside funds amounting to over 13 million baht for the establishment of employment services and occupational counselling during the plan period (1967-71). Employment services and counselling centres have been set up by the Department of Labour in nine provinces.

In summary, the majority of Asian countries seem to have realized that the non-existence or malfunctioning of an appropriate institutional framework can decisively contribute to the unemployment problem they are battling with. There remains much to be done, however, in almost all countries with a view to improving the efficiency, effectiveness and purposiveness of manpower planning, employment services and vocational guidance programmes. To accomplish this task, particularly with a view to adequate counselling, proper placement and quicker labour mobility of youth, the improvement and extension of these services in terms of full geographic, industrial and occupational coverage becomes imperative.

3. Restructuring of education

Educational planning includes a wide variety of measures aimed at restructuring education by upgrading, training and retraining youth, orienting their educational background more to future job requirements and absorbing them finally into employment. There is need for educational reforms to provide education for living, providing for termination at suitable points. Vocational training for both rural and urban youth, related to the country's manpower needs and supported by vocational guidance (see below) and youth employment services are essential in mobilizing the skilled young workers needed for development.

a) Reform within the formal educational system

A major strategy in the context of changing requirements for youths is to make the education system more functional with respect to the future needs of the developing economies.

In the case of rural youth who terminate with primary education - if they do not drop out at an earlier stage - positive attitudes towards rural development should be inspired. This requires profound positive attitudes on the part of the teaching staff as well as a combination of general education with agricultural practice (school gardens, small nurseries, poultry raising and animal husbandry programmes). Efforts in this direction have been made, for example, in Ceylon, where agriculture is a compulsory subject from grades 3 to 8.

At the second and third stage, the target of better functionalism calls for wider and more diversified school curricula and effective preparation of students, terminating at intermediate points, to enable these to enter the labour force. For some time has this been recognized by the educational authorities in the Asian region, as was noted at the Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education in Singapore in June 1971. (36)

The thinking of educational planners in Asia seems to be that education at the secondary and third levels should be reshaped in direction of greater diversification; the diversification could be by type of education (general, vocational, etc.) or by type of course (terminal, university preparatory). In a few countries (Ceylon, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore) comprehensive secondary schools have been opened in recent years, combining both general and vocational types of education within a unified structure. Ceylon intended to emphasize scientific and technical teaching through this type of school, geared to manpower needs,whereas Thailand had so far introduced comprehensive education on a pilot scale in 20 secondary schools. In Malaysia, comprehensive education at the secondary level has been introduced. At present, some 40% of the upper secondary enrolments are in vocational schools, technical schools and in the science, vocational and technical streams of the general secondary schools. The most vigorous efforts towards more vocational training seem to have been made in Singapore, where the first two years of secondary education have been converted into a comprehensive system which requires the student to take obligatory workshop practice.

In the majority of the Asian countries, a clear-cut division between academic and technical/vocational streams at the secondary level seemed, however, to be favoured. Most countries tried to reform and reorganize the curricula and strengthen the scientific and vocational elements in general education. In Indonesia, diversification at the secondary level resulted in vocational subjects being integrated into the school curricula. Pakistan reported that secondary education would, during the present plan period (1970-75), undergo further orientation towards scientific/technical and vocational programmes, to reach a ratio of general to scientific/technical education of 40:60.

In another group of Asian countries, industrial arts and practical subjects were integrated into the curriculum of the first cycle of general secondary education, while diversifying the secondary cycle into scientific, technical and other streams; this is the case in Iran, where the secondary level is divided into two main branches: academic and vocational/technical education. At the end of each branch, specialized fields of study are introduced.

Finally, in some other countries, for example in Nepal, a vocationalization of secondary education was apparently seen as a much more extensive permeation of practical work in all academic subjects. Nepal, realizing the importance of skilled personnel for its economic development, has since 1961 been gradually converting the traditional schools into vocationally-oriented multi-purpose schools with the ultimate aim of converting high schools into vocational schools.

Each of the above-mentioned approaches aims at reorienting secondary education in a way not simply to train only those who proceed to higher levels of education, but to prepare also those who have completed school and are ready to enter the labour market. The signs seem to have been understood by Asian youth who have enrolled in increasing numbers in the vocational streams. The

majority of Asian countries registered over 100% increases in vocational enrolments over the last decade. In actual figures this increase is, however, comparatively small if compared with the increase in secondary enrolment (at the general level). Singapore ranked first with a rate of increase of 684% in vocational enrolment (1969-1257 students, 1970-8994 students). In other Asian countries, high enrolment increases for the technical/vocational streams at secondary levels were reported, e.g. Korea 160%, Pakistan 130%, Thailand 107%, Indonesia 103% and the Republic of China 85%.

These changes could not, of course, have been realized without an enormous expansion of educational facilities. In most countries, expansion was the dominant feature of the educational landscape of the 1960s. (37)

Furthermore, the teacher/pupil ratio has in all countries considerably improved during the last decade. However, both issues - lack of and/or inappropriate equipment of educational facilities as well as insufficient staffing - are still some of the main bottlenecks in the educational system of most Asian countries. There are numerous examples of this: the Technical Education Department in Singapore in its Second Annual Report stated that "the critical factor over the next few years in the development of technical education and industrial training is the availability of well-qualified teachers and instructors".(38) A severe shortage of qualified teachers and instructors is also reported from Malaysia. The Mid-Term Review of the First Malaysia Plan (1966-70) commented that "the shortage of teachers is the main inhibiting factor in the restructuring of upper secondary education towards greater emphasis on science and technical education". (39) Insufficient training facilities and poorly trained instructors together are not likely to produce a qualified output. Thailand has been an example in that, in spite of expansion and gradual improvement of vocational trade schools, the performance of students has, by and large, remained poor. This, together with the lack of employment opportunities, has led to the unemployability of large proportions of trained middle-level technicians. Employment expectations and reserved attitudes on part of youth have also played a decisive role.

Side by side with the gradual expansion and improvement of educational facilities as well as with more favourable and more adequate teacher/pupil ratios, the quality of education must be intensified. Tremendous efforts have been made during the last decade to achieve substantial improvements among the teaching staff as well as within the curricula. Limitations are set, however, by the very costly type of education which the vocationalization of secondary education (equipment plus maintenance of workshops) implies. For Thailand, costs per student in the vocational stream were reported to be six times higher than in the general stream; in Singapore they were $420:$180. (40)

During the last decade, the percentage of national income spent by the Asian countries on education has sharply increased. The Pearson Report estimated the annual rate of increase in expenditure on education between 1960-65 in Asia to be around 13%. Since it is questionable whether this rate of increase can be sustained during the next decades, the application of new training methods is essential to cut down significantly on educational costs.

Turning to higher technical education, enrolment figures have been steadily increasing. Expansion of higher technical training facilities has been impressive. Enrolment for technical and science subjects has been on the increase, but a strong preference toward academic subjects could be observed through almost the whole region. In India, while a significant increase of students enrolled in science subjects at university level was reported, heavy unemployment among engineers (10-11,000) and technical diploma holders (45-46,000) persisted (1968).

In this context a word on the educated unemployed may be appropriate. Leaving aside the question of inadequate employment opportunities for educated unemployed, the problem has been recognized as being one of complete educational misguidance of youth. Thought has been given to relieving the problem by retraining the educated unemployed towards self-employment, for instance in India. Also some thought has been given in a number of other countries to train this particular group in rural leadership training centres, so as to secure their services for the social mobilization of rural youth.

It might be worthwhile to discuss here whether the problem of educated unemployed could have been reduced from the very beginning by more adequate and more functional education, which should be given not only at local institutions but at a "peripatetic university" in the developing countries as suggested by Rozental. (41) The concept of a peripatetic university is, in short, to secure the services of overseas university personnel to teach at local institutions on a revolving system. The advantages, as Rozental sees them, lie inter alia in the fact that the local students will be trained within their own environments and be less subject to alienation from their own families and communities.

b) Training through the non-formal education system

That the formal school systems in this region are only in the exception capable of providing all youth, particularly rural youth, with a complete general and specialized education is clear from what has been said earlier. The high birth rate in the less developed countries imposes a heavy burden on education and training institutions and limited resources make it difficult to meet the requirements of the young. The long and costly methods of youth training developed in the industrialized countries are, where they already exist, often inappropriate. It is essential, therefore, to open up education opportunities for Asia's children and youth who have been left outside the normal school circuit. Although information is scarce and the plan documents rather evasive, it is known that a high propertion of children and youth in many Asian countries are educated and trained through institutions outside the formal education system, e.g. pre-vocational training, vocational training, apprenticeship schemes, and youth employment and training schemes.

Drop-out rates at the first level are still extremely high in a number of Asian countries whereas in others, particularly in Malaysia, Ceylon, Singapore and the Republic of China, the problems seem to have already been efficiently solved. High drop-out rates - if the term 'drop-out' has any meaning at all in Asia - appear particularly among rural youth as a consequence of their involvement in agricultural work. (42) The large numbers of youngsters below the age of 15 who have either dropped out at some level or never attended any regular schooling are either idle or will enter the labour force without any kind of special skill.

(i) Pre-vocational training

Pre-vocational training has been mentioned as being a feasible means of either preparing those outside the school circuit, particularly rural youth, for further training or making them more qualified for employment. The theoretical concept (43) of pre-vocational training is such that it tries to (a) give this pre-youth group training in basic trades, e.g. working with wood, metals and building materials for boys and home economics, cooking, sewing for girls; and (b) tries to identify, side by side, those who could presumably be the future leaders (productive agitators) of rural society. While skill

training is the main role, it should ideally be connected to some productive work, e.g. in a community development plan.

Pre-vocational training has been introduced on a trial basis in a number of countries, more particularly in Africa, and in Asia in Korea, Thailand, Malaysia and India. In India (44) 65 pre-vocational training centres have been established with the support on UNICEF and ILO, catering for more than 3,000 students, all boys, by December 1966. The Malaysian experiment, setting up a pre-vocational centre in Tunsun Tua (1968), has not yet been fully evaluated. In Korea, pre-vocational training has, since it was established, changed gradually into a full vocational training scheme. The experience seems to show that pre-vocational training has not yet successfully been introduced in this region. Fuller research is necessary, it seems, to make pre-vocational training a realistic and more viable instrument for improving youth's chances of employment.

(ii) Skill development

Vocational training outside the formal education system has, however, been widely introduced in Asia. Whereas in the industrialized countries practical training is very well organized, it can be said that in the developing countries the largest part of the skill-building process occurs outside the formal and organized vocational education system. Taking different forms of training in the individual Asian countries, the basic philosophy is the mobilization of youth and their training towards fuller integration into the development process, more specifically their training in skills which are 'saleable' and make out-of-school youth employable. The emphasis must be laid on the training of skills which can immediately be transformed into gainful employment. As to the methodology, short and strictly conducted courses are likely to be more effective than long training programmes, leaving upgrading to be carried out on the job. Furthermore, experience shows that it is wiser to give a broader training than specializing and thereby narrowing the training from the very beginning, so as to guarantee occupational flexibility in the widest sense. (45)

The first problem faced in the training of out-of-school youth is the proper grouping of trainees, since - as can be imagined - structure, educational background, age and number of out-of-school youth differ quite widely. The grouping has to be done according to age, literacy and capability of trainees so as to find out to what extent youth are at all trainable. The logical steps to be taken within the non-formal system of vocational training of urban youth would be (a) vocational orientation, (b) vocational guidance and (c) aptitude testing.

As to the skills to be taught, they depend on the environment of youth. In urban areas they will have to concentrate mainly on basic industrial skills, whereas in the countryside more basic agricultural subjects, poultry raising and livestock keeping and forestry, etc., should be included in the curriculum The basic objectives should, however, not be lost: to train skills which are in need and saleable and will, therefore, lead to employment or income through self-employment.

Insufficient training facilities are another bottleneck which make teaching in short courses, evening classes, shift courses, etc., mandatory and more economical (see above). This lends weight to another axiom: existing training facilities should be built into any training scheme to the widest extent possible. The localisation of facilities is dependent on local

conditions, e.g. on the number, qualification, etc., of trainable youth, the availability of local industries, workshops, etc., which are likely to absorb skilled labour. These conditions would best be met in a district town (where training factories are likely to exist already).

Skill development in the form of short skill training, accelerated training programmes, upgrading and retraining of youth who are already in the labour force, has been introduced in a number of Asian countries. In Singapore accelerated training of welders for the shipbuilding industry was successfully accomplished in 1970. (46) Thailand, in view of the high drop-out rates among students at primary and secondary levels, introduced Mobile Trade Training Units, a project which is operated by the Department of Vocational Education together with USOM. The target is the training of out-of-school and semi-skilled youth in basic vocational fields; there were 36 Mobile Trade Training Units operating in 27 provinces in 1970. (47) Pakistan (48) reports in her latest five-year plan the creation of skilled labour training centres for out-of-school youth, where the emphasis is "on the practical rather than the theoretical aspect". These centres have been set up with assistance from ILO and a number of industrial countries. Their expansion is highly recommended in the document. In the Fifth Four-Year Plan for Economic Development of the Republic of China (1969-72) (49), it has been proposed that "all drop-outs will be provided with an opportunity to enter some kind of job training course". The establishement of job training centres is suggested, to train out-of-school youth in industrial subjects, business, agriculture, fishery, home economics, etc. The practical training content will represent 90% of the curriculum. In Malaysia (50) the accelerated training programme was progressing satisfactorily and further expansion of training facilities was considered. The Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan of Korea (1967-71), without going into details and without mentioning youth, plans "long-and short-term vocational courses (including in-plant)" for a total of 100,000 workers, "including many who are presently unemployed". (51)

These figures, although not too detailed, may give an indication of what is planned and being carried out in the field of industrial training, side by side with the formal educational approach. The Development Plans seem to indicate that the Asian planners are sincere and concerned in their efforts to speed up the process of gearing vocational training to the occupational requirements of their economies and to strip this process from red tape as much as possible.

(iii) Apprenticeship schemes

Apprenticeship training is a form of vocational/technical training outside the conventional educational system but is, on the other hand, a formal training system insofar as it is established in law and is administered through regulations and ordinances. Apprenticeship schemes in Asia are known to exist in India, Pakistan, Malaysia and the Republic of China. Apprenticeship training has definite advantages over the formal vocational training, insofar a as there is a thorough relationship between job requirements and on-the-job training. Furthermore, in-plant training, by the very nature of this type of training, can be moulded more specifically and geared much more easily towards production - since equipment and instructors can be shifted between production and training - than would be possible within the conventional vocational system. Finally, on-the-job training under an apprenticeship scheme is likely to produce much more highly qualified technicians, due to its close relationship with the production process and the greater competence of the instructors.

Apprenticeship schemes, as taken from the European countries whereby the trainee is trained for a certain period in a private or public enterprise, are based on three basic principles: (a) the trade must be "apprenticeable" according to the trade and training standard; (b) the proper in-plant training must be guaranteed by a contract between the apprentice and the enterprise; and (c) the government, through a specific public authority (central apprenticeship board, etc.), together with employers in some cases, supervises the standard of training and the qualification of trainees.

In Pakistan (52) apprenticeship programmes have been set up since 1966 under the Apprenticeship Ordinance. The annual training capacity under these schemes has been estimated to be roughly 30,000 youth by 1975. In addition, "long apprenticeship schemes" with the aim of enrolling boys of 12-13 years of age who are outside the school system for a period of five years are planned, in collaboration with industry. No recent information is, however, available so far on the steps taken in this direction. That much still seems to be desired is evident from a study on "Manpower and Educational Requirements of Pakistan", which states that the Apprenticeship Ordinance "has been enforced only in certain geographical areas, industries and trades; the number of establishments providing such training is small". (53) India proposes to increase the number of apprentices from 20,000 to 100,000 under the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74). (54) In Malaysia, it was claimed that "every factory and every large commercial house should be treated as a potential training institution". (55) That the training opportunities had by far not yet been exhausted becomes evident from the fact that a total of only 540 apprentices had completed their training between 1965-1968. (56) The Republic of China, which during the Fourth Plan Period (1965-1968) was still struggling with the establishment of an organized apprenticeship scheme, planned during the present Plan Period (1969-72) to train the estimated demand for 52,000 skilled workers by training 28% within the formal system and 72% outside the school system (see Table XI), which gives a very interesting distribution among different types of training schemes. (57)

The concept of apprenticeship schemes, as developed in the industrial countries, cannot straightforwardly be transferred into the Asian region without major shortcomings and frictions. One limiting factor is definitely the role played by the local employers, who tend - if their plants are considered to be suitable for training - to be reluctant to take on 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". (58)

Financial expenditure involved in any apprenticeship scheme is another obstacle that cannot easily be overcome. The budgetary demands of the formal educational systems are very high and have, particularly recently, increased at an annual rate of 13% (see above). It can be realized, therefore, that the governments, already heavily burdened with expenditure for the formal educational system, are trying to involve more and more industries in the skill building process. Several measures to accomplish this have been suggested, inter alia special taxes to be paid by enterprises, with the possibility of refund, so as to induce the entrepreneurs to do their own skill training, e.g. in Pakistan. Another stricter measure would envisage the compulsory intake of trainees by order of government authority.

To raise the training responsibility for the industries own labour force - while simultaneously reducing the strain on the formal education system, which is run by the government - it is suggested that private enterprises be given encouragement, if necessary through physical incentives, to undertake their own training.

c) Training of rural youth through less conventional methods

The high percentage of rural youth among youth in Asia (Table X), as well as the high drop-out rates, has already been touched upon. Agriculture in Asia is now in a state of immense transition. Since employment opportunities other than those basically 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 rural youth labour 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, and rural "growth centres" (see below) which will 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 outline 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 organizations, 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, through vocational farm training and through rural youth clubs. The fourth concept, finally, is the community school.

(i) Youth training and employment schemes

The concept of special youth employment and training schemes, as outlined in ILO Recommendation No. 136 (1970), is such that they should "enable young persons to take part in activities directed to the economic and social development of their country and to acquire education, skills and experience facilitating their subsequent economic activity on a lasting basis and promoting their participation in society". Included are:

"a) Schemes which meet needs for youth employment and training not yet met by existing national education or vocational training programmes or by normal opportunities on the employment market;

b) Schemes which enable young persons who have educational or technical qualifications which are needed by the community for development, particularly in the economic, social, educational or health fields, to use their qualifications in the service of the community."

In other words, most schemes have a training and an employment component. In this context, it is the training aspect* of schemes which

* The employment aspect will be discussed in Part V: Youth Mobilization Schemes.

concern us directly. Although national youth schemes for out-of-school and unemployed youth have been introduced for a number of different purposes and in quite a number of countries, particularly in Africa, relatively few schemes have been established so far in Asia. Schemes with a relatively low training component, however, have been set up by the governments of Pakistan, Iran, Ceylon, Malaysia and Nepal, e.g. the National Farm Guide Movement of Pakistan; the Extension Development Corps of Iran; the Youth Settlement Schemes under the Ministry of Land, Irrigation and Power together with the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, as well as the schemes under the National Youth Service Council,in Ceylon; the schemes under the Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) and the National Youth Development Corps in Malaysia; and the Nepal Land Reform Volunteers in Nepal. These are known to mobilize mainly rural youth, train them in basic agricultural vocational skills and equip them, partly, with means of production. Information on the performance of these schemes is, however, very scarce and vague, but from what has been reported, it seems obvious that the achievements so far are not at all satisfactory.

Some general characteristics of and criteria for special service schemes for out-of-school youth, reported from Africa and Central America, may be given here so as to ascertain to what extent they are valid for the Asian region. (59) At the very beginning, a distinction must be made between special youth training and employment schemes (special schemes) and volunteer services, both of which - in particular the former - are run by the government. A further distinction between voluntary and compulsory types of special schemes seems, however, to be rather theoretical, since hardly any developing country has the power to carry through compulsory schemes.* The other basic distinction is made on the educational level of the participants. Most of the programmes - particularly in Africa - aim at giving uneducated rural youth courses in general education and basic vocational skills, which are almost exclusively agricultural; whereas in other schemes the participants, possessing a rather high level of general knowledge in vocational skills, go out to teach and train the communities - as in Iran and Nepal - as teachers, extension workers, youth leaders, etc.

The experience gained so far in the different special schemes for youth seems to show that their success calls for a number of requirements, (61) e.g. (a) guarantee of fullest support by the government, free from inter-ministerial rivalry, with the prime minister's office assuming direct operational authority, as, for instance, in Ceylon and Thailand; (b) special schemes should be completely built into the country's national development plan, so as to secure the professional future of the participants; (c) avoidance of any collision of interest between the tasks to be performed by youth in the service schemes and their proper training. It must be realized that participants have a right to proper vocational training. Governments should therefore be prepared to appreciate that training youth in special schemes is a very costly affair and that self-financing of schemes is not likely to be ever achieved. The financial aspect may be one major reason for the rather limited role special schemes have played so far in this region.

(ii) Vocational farm training

As in vocational/technical training, innovations within the field of agricultural production, management and farming techniques can be

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* In Mainland China, for example, every school leaver is required to do physical labour for about two years in factories or communes. (60)

efficiently transmitted only by putting rural youth more to practical farm work than to theoretical classroom teaching. A suggestion was therefore made to introduce farm-based training programmes in this region. The idea is to encourage rural youth, who are either coming from farm families or working as unpaid family workers, to stay on their own farmland and give them training plus services. Experience has been gained through a pilot project in vocational farm education conducted in Ceylon. (62) According to this concept rural youth, actively engaged in farming on their parents' land, are trained on the soil by one qualified agricultural trainer. The basic idea is to train 60-80 rural youth by one vocational agricultural teacher-cum-extension worker. (63)

Under this scheme, it was envisaged that a supervised farming programme would alternate with classroom instruction during the slack period. During the farming season, emphasis would be laid on frequent visits by the instructor to the trainees' farms, at least once per week. In support of the programme, credit, market services and farm inputs should be provided for the trainees. It was further advised that the period considered most favourable for this intensive vocational farm training should not exceed one to two years; during this time suitable trainees should be converted into agricultural extension workers, while the teacher moved on to another training community.

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 organization and full support by the government, vocational farm training as described should have potential for the successful training, and finally employment, of rural youths.

(iii) Agricultural training through non-governmental organizations

Our discussion on training rural youth would be incomplete without at least mentioning the considerable efforts made in the field of agricultural training and related problems by private organizations in this area.

The Junior Free Farmers in the Philippines promote agricultural education and business matters among rural youth. In India, the Young Farmers Association of India has been organized "to mobilize youth resources in rural areas for introducing improved methods of agricultural and modern techniques of farming". (64) In Ceylon, 2030 young farmers club were registered in 1968, although, however, less than 400 actually functioned. (65) In Pakistan, rural youth clubs known as Ghand Tara Clubs have been established. (64) Finally, 4-H Clubs have become very active in agricultural development. In the Republic of China 4-H projects are concentrating on a number of agricultural activities, e.g. introduction of improved rice growing, poultry and rabbit raising and vegetable production. The clubs are organized by a local adult voluntary leader who guides and advises about 15 to 20 youth club members. (66)

All these voluntary movements are fairly representative of the private efforts made, mostly at the village level. It should be emphasized here that the success and even the existence of the private organizations

(as shown by Ceylon) depends largely on the spirit and enthusiasm of rural youth themselves. Incentives given by governments are necessary to make these organisations operational.

(iv) Community schools

In search for a more appropriate training for rural population (youth plus adults) the concept of the "community school" has been evolved. The basic features - as discussed at the Third Asian Regional Conference of Ministers of Education in June 1971 - are

> "(1) to develop a meaningful and relevant teaching programme in the school;
>
> (2) to reorient the school to serve as an instrument of development; and
>
> (3) to make the school a centre for the education and training of those members of the community who are outside the normal school age." (67)

In particular, it is envisaged that the curricula of the community school should "reflect the problems", especially the living conditions of the rural community, both youth and adult. This calls for the inclusion of agriculture and related subjects plus training in the school curriculum, since agriculture is the main source of livelihood in rural areas.

Community schools, which provide facilities for the educational training of out-of-school, youth and adults, represent a complete new educational approach, which still has to be proved to be practicable in and applicable to Asia.

4. Sectoral approach to youth employment problems

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.

a) Employment promotion through general economic measures by governments

The concept of additional job creation by increasing the effective demand on the part of the state has in the industrialised countries been successfully applied since Keynes. In the less developed countries, however, due to their governments' limited possibilities to increase their fiscal revenues through taxes, tariffs and by raising loans on the local capital market, any effective increase of demand can only be materialised through money creation. In the less developed countries, the inapplicability of the concept of deficit financing in less developed economies, with under-employment prevailing side by side, becomes obvious, however. The increased effective demand - e.g. by youth or adults who are employed in rural work programmes - meets with unutilised production factors which

are, however, not in the proper complementary relation. The elasticity of supply remains low, since the complementary factors of capital and/or management are missing. This phenomenon becomes evident in the siphoning off of multiplier effects which are only monetarily effective but will not result in increased production or additional employment.

Financing through money creation in the less developed countries results in an extensive inflationary process which will be felt long before any employment effect is achieved. Examples of this phenomenon are frequent in this region, e.g. Burma and Indonesia. The scope of deficit spending in the promotion of additional employment is hence rather limited.

The process of economic growth,which is - although limited, if at all - necessary for reducing unemployment (68), is dependent inter alia on a diversification of export products by the developing countries. The international division of labour is enforcing a lopsided production structure on the less developed countries, turning them mainly into suppliers of agricultural and raw mineral materials, whereas the industrialised countries focus on industrial production. (69)

Prices for raw materials have a tendency to decrease relatively, whereas the prices for the import of industrial goods continue to rise, a fact which has resulted in a deterioration of the terms of trade in many developing countries.

A remedy could be seen in two actions: first, diversification of exports. This, however, would imply a change in the policies of the developed countries, regarding the opening of their markets for agricultural products and manufactured goods from less developed countries (by reduction of tariffs and import restrictions). This is, however, rather unlikely; all three economic giants - EEC, Japan and USA - give an eloquent example of this. Secondly, in a move to make use of their most abundant factor, labour, the Asian countries could encourage industries from industrialised countries to invest in local industries (joint venture) or to establish manufacturing branches in their countries, as is already done in a number of countries, in particular Singapore, Thailand, Republic of China, Korea and Malaysia. As an incentive tax concessions are granted to local entrepreneurs or joint ventures (local plus foreign investors), e.g. in Thailand (promotion privileges by the Board of Investments) and Malaysia (granting of "pioneer status").

In a step further, export processing zones could be established which seem to imply a high employment potential. So far only one export processing zone, in Kaohsiung (Republic of China), has been heard of. As of January 1970, 129 enterprises were at work, employing more than 36,000 people, of whom 85% were girls, mostly belonging to the age-group 16-24. Recently, Ceylon has been reported to be considering the establishment of an export processing zone.

In formulating policies for employment creation, the Asian governments may provide incentives and will have choices for investment within the different sectors, among different industries and among different production techniques. The main factors limiting employment creation in most developing countries - as is generally recognized - are the inappropriate combination of new available workers and the money available for investment, due to the tendency for larger-size establishment, the trends to mechanise very fast, and the emphasis on the establishment of heavy

industries. In pursuing the generation of additional employment, the governments of this region will have to give their policies certain priorities with regard to employment-creative investment.

Fiscal policy could, besides, be adopted in introducing and implementing labour-intensive techniques in the production process, e.g. payment of subsidies for employing workers, abolition of high write-offs for capital intensive projects, protection against competitors, etc. Other measures could include the reduction of overtime with the objective of increasing employment or the introduction of the 5-day week.

b) Employment opportunities for youth in agriculture

From what has been said in the previous chapters, it becomes evident that the maximum employment potential for youth has in the long run to lie mainly with agriculture. This is for three reasons: (i) the majority of Asian youth live in rural areas, (ii) the high labour intensity of agriculture, traditional or modern, and (iii) the limited freedom of movement of labour from the agricultural into the modern and the service sectors due to the fact that both, in particular the former, create far 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 the traditional subsistence farming into a 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, moving the farmers away from the subsistence level by introducing intensive farming, with the aim of changing the cropping pattern. 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 more agriculture output and higher income - stable prices provided - but, more important in this context, in greater demand for manpower. (70)

In connection with employment promotion, the raising of land productivity (per hectare, acre) under labour-intensive methods should be given higher priority than productivity/labour (which will, in any case, follow as a fringe benefit in the course of the development process). Mention is made in almost all Asian plan documents of improvement of agriculture (through land development, double cropping, improvement of irrigation, etc.), designed to raise the productivity of cultivable land and to acquire higher labour utilisation. (71)

Diversification of agriculture means, in short, the introduction of high yielding varieties, crop-rotation, and higher and more sophisticated

inputs (irrigation, fertilizers, plant protection, more intensive cultivation and mixed farming, i.e. poultry and small livestock raising).* The immediate consequence is that a higher demand not only for labour - due to the high labour intensity implied in diversified agriculture - but for more educated and better trained labour will arise. In a monograph on "Jobs and Agricultural Development" it was reported that an increase in demand for additional labour of between 20-50% in the overall demand for labour has been experienced. (72)

It is without any doubt that the increased demand results in job openings, particularly tailored for rural youth; so much the more 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 fertilizer application, marketing and sale of inputs to agriculture, control of insects and weeds, and of soil preparation, cultivation and harvesting.

Closely related to the problems of raising land productivity is the issue of land mechanization. Farm mechanization is prerequisite for increasing land productivity, but it has to be introduced slowly and cautiously in labour surplus countries so as not to displace labour. This does not mean that mechanization is completely ruled out, but it is possible to mechanize on limited scale, so as to optimize the level of employment. Experience shows that farm mechanization - if used meaningfully and selectively - stimulates rather than reduces the demand for rural labour. Again, increasing mechanization requires more technically trained and skilled people - an ideal job opportunity for skilled rural youth.

It is to be noted here that many countries of the region tend to have over-mechanized their agriculture instead of using it as an instrument for supplementing farm labour. The erroneous policies adopted in most Asian countries during the industrialization process should not be repeated again in the field of agriculture.

Side by side with the diversification of agriculture, a redistribution of land, i.e. land reform, should be enacted that gives a ceiling and also a floor on land holdings. The Philippines' Four-Year Economic Program underlines the correction of an "outmoded land tenure system" as a most urgent measure in the country's agricultural development program. (72a) Land reform creates the "necessary motivational background for increasing agricultural production" says the Fourth Five-Year Plan of India. (73) Particularly here, and in Pakistan (74), the implementation of land reform, partly under the "land-to-the-tiller" programmes, is progressing, even if the number of tenants is still enormous in both countries. Other countries, e.g. Thailand, show a rather reverse development with the number of tenants increasing year by year. The opening up and cultivation of hitherto fallow land will generate new job opportunities.

The introduction of land reforms can thereby act as an important incentive in keeping landless, land-hungry youth on the soil and halt their move to the cities.

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* The inputs necessary within the context of shortages of various types of inputs pitted against the constraints of obtaining them (due to lack of foreign exchange, poor infrastructure, etc.) will have to be closely studied and adjusted to the requirements of the country.

It has been argued (75) that the prosperity to be expected from the Green Revolution is likely to be shared by only relatively few, viz. the farmers with larger holdings, more capital and more agri-technical know-how. They are in most cases the more progressive farmers, on whom the benefits of government-supported programmes concentrate. The higher output through new and better inputs has led in a few countries to a tendency to purchase more land - thereby increasing the number of landless tenants - and buying labour-displacing machinery. The small farmer and many rural youth come from this social group - with poor educational background, lack of required skills and reluctance to take risks they might not be able to participate fully in the general prosperity to be expected. This would furthermore widen the income disparities in the rural areas. If this is so, it underlines once more the demand for qualified, skilled and receptive young farmers.

Consideration should be given here to the extent to which cooperative farming, whereby the individual ownership of land remains untouched, should be enforced (by law) or supported (by economic policies) where holdings are too small to be operated economically. The introduction and implementation of cooperatives would again require large numbers of specially trained people, preferably youth who are more open-minded and less traditional in outlook. Apart from this, the educated young by their initiative and dynamism could modernize agriculture on more scientific lines. The agricultural sector can absorb a larger proportion of the additional labour force, provided the growth of output is on more scientific lines.

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

Indirect employment effects are induced by the establishment of agricultural services and sophisticated 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. Shaw (76) estimates the indirect employment effects to be at least as high or even higher than the direct job generation effects through the Green Revolution.

The constitution of regional "rural growth centres" (77) may be mentioned here. These could best be called focal points, located between the towns and villages, which could provide for the establishment of various agricultural and governmental services, storage facilities, marketing agencies for agricultural products and inputs, agricultural repair shops, vocational training institutes, etc. In addition labour-intensive small scale industries, based on agricultural and forest products (agro-industries), could be grouped here. Rural growth centres would be, furthermore, an ideal market for products of rural craftsmanship - both utilitarian and artistic - as well as for vegetable gardening and horticulture, both of which industries are highly labour-intensive.

The employment creation potential of such growth centres appears to be considerable. Although the concept of rural growth centres has scarcely been implemented in this region*, the Asian governments should encourage the establishment of these "market towns" in a move also to stop the exodus of rural youth to the towns.

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 or extension, etc., could act as innovators in the process of rural transition and would represent an ideal pool of appropriate labour force.

What is the response of Asian youth? The general 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 the basic necessities of life could be met with income derived therefrom. There are still some others where the educated young 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 (see above), 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 mobilize rural youth is to give them financial incentives and pride in their work.

c) Employment opportunities for youth in the modern sector

The industrial sector is comparatively small in size 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 were pursued and the available capacity fully utilized. 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, industrialization with its rising labour productivity provides the dynamic element for the development process.

The policies in respect of industrialization 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 industrialized countries. Advanced production techniques create, by experience, little additional employment and lead, incidentally, to a drain in foreign exchange,

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* Nepal has planned the establishment of growth centres in its Regional Development Plan.

thus making it difficult to expand and achieve economies of scale, but also resulting in the adoption of labour-saving devices.

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 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, from experience, a high labour component.*

There are, however, conditions which will limit the implementation of labour-intensive techniques:

(a) Labour-intensive techniques for industrial production are not yet fully known and more research is necessary to make them feasible.**

(b) As can be imagined, not every capital-intensive production technique is exchangeable for labour-intensive techniques. There are industrial processes which can be performed only through highly capital intensive techniques (e.g. steel, petro-chemical industries, power, etc.).

(c) The implementation of labour-intensive techniques is also dependent, inter alia, on the wage policies of workers and trade unions. Wages in the less developed countries tend in general to be higher than the labour productivity due to reasons either political (minimum wage law) or social (influence of trade unions). Higher wages could encourage employers to hire less additional labour in favour of importing machinery.

(d) The employment of higher numbers of workers will require more and better management and organization. Competent management is, in general, in rather short supply in this region, with the exception of a few countries, particularly the more industrialized Asian countries of the China perimeter. Inefficient management would, therefore, limit the efforts to replace capital by labour. The problem remains whether, or how, the employers, who have after all to follow the principle of maximizing profits, can be motivated to apply labour-intensive production methods. In the highly competitive industrial sector, the implementation of labour-intensive techniques - which are not designed for profit maximization - does not yet seem to be feasible.

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. Besides, labour inputs can technically be kept high in small-scale construction projects particularly in housing, feeder roads, bridges, embankments, etc. The ramifications are, however, that construction has seldom been a continuous operation and employment, therefore, has been only seasonal. The other limiting factor in construction is shortage of capital. Where sufficient financial resources are provided, the construction industry seems to produce immediate and substantial prospects of additional employment.

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* The policy implications for the implementation of labour-intensive industries have already been briefly mentioned.

** Research in this direction has already been done by the Intermediate Technology Development Group, London. Also,India is known to have devoted considerable efforts in research for more feasible labour-intensive techniques.

The countries in the region, overstraining themselves to develop their own light industries, have already adopted - as can be seen from the plan document (78) - new policies, particularly fiscal measures, to promote small-scale and cottage industries. The majority of Asian countries have recognised small scale industries 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 and Pakistan, the Republic of Korea and Malaysia, (79) have in their plan documents expressed their intentions of developing this sector; in doing so the countries adopted various measures to harness local skill and entrepreneurship through small-scale and cottage industries as a means to promote employment.

Important in this context is the development of a viable industrial structure in conjunction with the growth of agriculture. Rural industrialization, in the context of the Green Revolution already touched upon, is likely to open ample employment opportunities, particularly for well-trained youth. Korea, in pursuing a policy of decentralising and dispersing industry in smaller production units - "to remove the possibility of only urban areas benefiting from economic development" - emphasized the promotion of processing industries for agricultural and marine products, to be established in agricultural areas and fishing villages. (79a)

Both India and the Republic of China have gone a step further. Whereas the constitution of a "number of labour-intensive industries, such as handicrafts and services" was envisaged during the Fourth Plan Period (1965-68) in the Republic of China, (80) emphasis has been shifted according to the new Plan Document (1969-72) "to gradually improve the structure of industry by developing sophisticated industries and heavy industry." (81)

Mention must here be made of the efforts undertaken by some governments in Asia, e.g. India and Ceylon, to retrain their educated unemployed. India, which is suffering from large numbers of unemployed technicians and engineers,is trying to solve part of this problem by grouping them together in cooperative societies, with the aim of undertaking construction work and establishing their own industries. (82) In Ceylon it was suggested that unemployed graduates be retrained by giving them a three-year apprentice training in consultation with the private sector, preferably new industrial and business undertakings. It was proposed that the government should contribute to a graduate apprenticeship scheme of this kind by providing for a training allowance. No details on realization, success and shortcomings are so far available, however.

What are the implications of these policies for the employment of youth? All countries have realized the particular employment problem of their 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, however, more suitable for employment is that they can be assumed to be, in general, better educated and/or have technical skills, i.e. experience; besides, 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 above - the employment possibilities of Asian youth in industry will depend on the governments' ability to induce entrepreneurs and the responsible authorities to create additional jobs. Those jobs will preferably be in small-scale industries and/or rural industries. 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 government will have to look for other ways of creating additional employment for their youth.*

d) 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% of the labour force (e.g. Ceylon 30%, Malaysia and Singapore 34%), 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. (83)

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 productively and gainfully be employed.

With the emergence during the last decade of tourism, which has spread in particular into the developing countries of Asia, considerable demand for qualified people to work as guides, interpreters, travel agents, in the airline and transport businesses, etc., has arisen. The tourist sector appears to be most promising for almost all Asian countries in terms of employment creation. Most of the jobs required in the tourist business can absorb educated youth of both sexes, as can be observed in Thailand, Singapore and Hong Kong. The disadvantages might be that tourism mainly focuses on urban centres and places of tourist interest.

Less optimistic is the picture among self-employed youth, where heavy disguised unemployment can be observed, particularly in urban areas. (84) The Third Asian Regional Conference of Ministers of Education, discussing the problem of unemployed trained workers, suggested that governments could provide capital for the establishment of small industries, in which they could be self-employed. (85) It is interesting to note that both India and Ceylon had already considered the same measures for unemployed engineers and technicians and for graduates. The fields listed where graduates could be self-employed included rural insurance, food packing, distribution and sales. Further details are not yet available. Government support to the self-employed is, however, a concept too new to comment on.

The issue of lack of qualified managers has already been mentioned.

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* This will be discussed in Part V: Youth Mobilization Schemes.

India emphasized in the current Five-Year Plan the need for trained management, particularly middle-level management for the private and public sectors. This requires youth with a qualified background to be trained, according to the Indian proposals, in educational institutions "or industrial and business establishments". Ceylon, as already mentioned, is concentrating on the retraining of unemployed graduates through a 'Graduate Apprenticeship Scheme'. A three-year apprentice-training is foreseen for graduates in collaboration with private employers, to train these graduates in managerial skills, business administration, etc.

The public sector can certainly absorb more young educated persons in development work. In the course of the Green Revolution the demand for qualified extension workers will increase. This is a very important and responsible job, which could - as has been outlined elsewhere in this paper - be filled by youth.

The shortage of qualified teachers is a common issue in most Asian development plans, particularly the need for teachers in rural areas. This would open favourable job opportunities for educated youth in the event that they were ready to take up a post in the countryside. Since apparently the educational output in the teaching field is not sufficient, thought should be given - with a view to the educated unemployed - to train these youth in crash courses for becoming teachers. A similar programme is reported from Pakistan and Ceylon. (86) These "teachers" could be placed, under certain circumstances, in rural primary schools where teachers and youth leaders are especially needed. Adult education presents another field where educated unemployed youth could be successfully utilized.

The medical field is another potential source of absorbing youth manpower. With a view to filling the urgent demand for health services in the countryside, youth could be employed as para-medical staff. One important field where trained, capable female youth could very effectively be engaged is - as contemplated by Pakistan - in family planning programmes.

Government employment, which forms in general most of the employment in the services sector, offers wide employment choices for educated but unemployed youth. According to measures suggested for reducing the backlog of unemployed graduates in Ceylon and Pakistan, general administration was assumed to absorb significant numbers in general services, viz. postal, statistical and immigration services as well as services for industrial standards enforcement and enforcement of policies in general. It must be recalled here that only recently the new government in Ceylon, in a move to remedy the pressing problem of educated unemployed, employed 10,000 graduates within the administrative infrastructure.

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.

e) Summary

In concluding the issue of employment opportunity for youth in the traditional and modern sectors, we may state that in the short run the agricultural and services sectors appear to be the major sources of employment for youth. More specifically, in the absence of any spectacular expectancy of additional employment generation by the non-agricultural sector, the traditional sector will, in future, have to absorb the main bulk

of the young labour market entrants. Since in most Asian countries the labour force increase appears more rapidly than the creation of new jobs - particularly in rural areas - the prevalence of underemployment among rural youth will be a characteristic of the Asian labour scene for the next decades to come.

Employment generation in the modern sector will, for the time being, remain limited. Even if significant additonal 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 opportunities.

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 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, as has been pointed out, only satisfactorily be solved 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, which could have most undesirable economic, social and particularly political consequences.

PART V: YOUTH MOBILIZATION SCHEMES

Conventional measures are, as has been outlined above, likely to operate too slowly and too indirectly to absorb immediately the 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 done through youth mobilization schemes of all kinds, operating under different institutional structures, pursuing different economic objectives with emphasis on either rural or urban programmes, catering for youth with different educational achievements, etc. ILO Recommendation No. 136* has differentiated in particular between two types of youth employment and training schemes ('special schemes'):

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* Recommendation No. 136 - Recommendation concerning special youth employment and training schemes for developing purposes.

Type I - "Schemes which meet needs for youth employment and training not yet met by existing national educational or vocational training programmes or by normal opportunities on the employment market."

Type II - "Schemes which enable young persons, especially unemployed young persons, who have educational or technical qualifications which are needed by the community for development, particularly in the economic, social, educational and health fields, to use their qualifications in the service of the community."

For the purpose of our appraisal, we will try to follow this classification.

1. Some basic remarks

The economic rationale behind any youth mobilization scheme is that, while the contribution of unemployed youth is nil, the absorption and productive employment will add to current output and this will push economic growth (unless the consumption level of the unemployed is higher than the output and this increase is at the expense of investment).

The basic argument, from a macro-economic point of view, is the temporary absorption of new entrants to the labour force, "youth", from the labour market into manpower mobilisation schemes of Type I or Type II, side by side with educating and training them for employment (I) respectively, making use of their qualifications (II), while trying to create employment in the meantime for these youth, who will be available for productive employment after discharge from the schemes. This implies that the success of such interim solutions will be highly dependent on the question of whether the rate of job creation will be higher than the increase in labour force. In other words, to justify the heavy financial burden involved in the creation of mobilisation schemes and to avoid politically dangerous frustrations on the part of youth, it is imperative that jobs must have been created where youth could 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, mostly 24 months.

From what has been mentioned above, it would appear that programmes for special schemes should concentrate on rural work, more specifically on agricultural production, extension of arable land and rural infrastructure (see below). The task then would be to formulate concrete programmes for employment creation that could be implemented locally, while simultaneously covering local requirements. What is important is that the activities of any scheme should be linked with viable development projects, whereby labour-intensive methods should be applied.

The productive work content of schemes would thus include:

(a) Development of agriculture. Direct participation in intensification of cultivation; introduction of more labour-intensive and more diversified farming.

(b) Land Reclamation. Soil conservation, afforestation, land settlement and land colonisation.

(c) Rural infrastructure. Minor irrigation and feeder channels, excavation of water tanks, construction of embankments for drainage, small irrigation and flood control projects, terracing, land levelling, construction and repair of wells and tanks, drinkable water supply, construction of storage facilities for agricultural products and inputs, building of village schools, construction and repair of feeder roads, bridges, culverts, etc.

2. Type I schemes in Asia

As already outlined, youth training and employment schemes (special schemes) have been implemented in Africa and South America on a much wider scale than in Asia. In the Asian countries, it seems they are still run on a trial and error basis. Where they have been already introduced, the great majority come under the type I category. The concept of having a special scheme for unemployed youth seems to have been favoured and the need is being recognized by the majority of the countries of this region. In the plan documents, mention is made of a variety of activities to be carried out under special schemes, but the objectives and emphases vary widely, which makes generalization difficult.

a) Agricultural development schemes

Programmes of this type lay emphasis on work mainly in the agricultural field, aiding farmers, farmer groups or cooperatives, as extension workers or "rural leaders". This requires a sound agricultural background. The programme will, therefore, have to draw mainly on rural youth. Examples are the Agricultural Development Corps in Ceylon, popularly known as the "Land Army", which employs 15,000 youth mostly from rural areas (21-35 age group). The main task of the Corps is to assist in general farm activities, particularly during peak periods, while simultaneously giving training in agricultural field work. An annual budget of 30 million rupees has been provided.

Another programme in Ceylon, the National Service Scheme (NSS) falls partly in this category. The scheme, set up only in 1969, plans to mobilize 500,000 youth. As of December 1969, 85 centres were functioning with a total of 9,000 youth participating on a voluntary basis in the work project. These are mainly labour-intensive and intended to support agricultural production and improve the rural infrastructure. A credit system is introduced by which those who have earned enough credit will be permitted to enter into another scheme (Residential Training Scheme) where civic (6 months) and vocational training (6-18 months) is given. The budget for 1970/71 foresaw about 16 million rupees.

Under the same category falls the National Farm Guide Movement of Pakistan, although only small in size and only partly designed for youth. The project aims at creating more job opportunities in the villages, providing physical inputs to farmers and trying to eliminate the middleman. Finally, a Rural Leadership Training Centre has been set up in Thailand, under the auspices of the National Youth Promotion Council (Prime Minister's Office). At the centre, a first batch of 80 youth (both sexes) will be given training in farm practice, pre-vocational training and rural leadership. After a training period of a total of 2 years (with alternating 3 months' practical farm work assignment) these rural youth leaders will return to their villages, where they will attempt to introduce modern farming systems.

b) Settlement schemes

This category applies to schemes where youth are mobilized and trained with the final aim of settling them, mostly in reclamation areas. Again, Ceylon has set up under the Ministry of Land, Irrigation and Power 235 youth settlement schemes between 1965-69. These settlement schemes will - according to the plan (88) - concentrate mainly on land colonization under different ecological conditions and bring under cultivation at least 60,000 acres. The absorption capacity was estimated to be 20,000-25,000 youth in all. Although international financial assistance and food supplies had been taken into calculation, the Government's expenditure of 7,650 rupees per settler appears to be exceptionally high.

The land settlement schemes of the Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) in Malaysia have operated very efficiently and successfully over the years. FLDA schemes are set up mainly in former jungle areas which have been transformed into highly intensive rubber and oil palm plantations. From the sources available (89), it is not clear whether any particular preference for the settlement of rural youth is given.

c) Rural works programmes

Mobilization schemes for youth in Asia are mainly of this category. The basic concept is that rural youth could be mobilised for the construction and maintenance of rural public works and community development projects. In addition to the direct employment effect, such projects would also stimulate the development of agricultural and rural-based industries.* These schemes could thereby contribute to productive employment and to the development of infrastructure facilities. Such labour-intensive public work programmes could, furthermore, be supported by bilateral or international food aid (World Food Programme), as has already been done in a number of Asian countries. The idea of rural capital formation through rural public works has been realized in a number of Asian countries. The National Service Scheme in Ceylon - with its two-pronged attack on agricultural and infrastructural projects - has already been mentioned. Examples of the work projects are minor irrigation works, construction of feeder roads, restoration of village tanks, land reclamation, construction of community walls and playgrounds, etc.

Similar in their objectives, although differently organized, are the Rural Works Programmes in India and Pakistan. Both programmes do not appear - at least from what emerges in the plan documents (91) - to be particularly tailored for unemployed youth, but they seem, on the other hand, to offer ideal possibilities for rural youth who are characterized by lack of money and lack of apitutude. The Rural Work Programme(92) in India, launched during the Third Plan, was mainly designed to reduce agricultural underemployment during the slack period. Against an employment target of 2.5 million only 400,000 could be employed under the Programme. Pakistan's Fourth Five-Year Plan underlines as objectives "provision of larger employment opportunities" and "rural infrastructure", whereas the Indian Five-Year visualized a work programme of 2.5 million people (for 100 working days) under the Plan period. As in Pakistan, the objective in India was to employ rural manpower during the slack season and to impart "skills to rural youth in the age-group 15-25".(92a)

* Programmes of this type have been successfully implemented in Tunisia and Morocco. (90)

d) Urban schemes

Urban oriented programmes, oriented toward industrial employment, are not very frequent, but they are reported from Singapore (93) and from Malaysia.(94) In Malaysia the constitution of a National Youth Pioneer Corps has been considered, aiming at practical training of hitherto unemployed youth, side by side with providing productive work. It should be mentioned here that in a study on the "Unemployment Problems Among Educated Youth in Pakistan" (95) a scheme of compulsory youth employment, by which qualified but unemployed youth could be employed, was recommended as an emergency employment policy. According to the source, urban youth should be employed with selected and approved firms on an experimental basis, the cost being shared between the employer and a public fund. Again, no further information of implementation of the recommendation is available.

e) Provisions and problems

Duration of participation in these special schemes varies slightly, depending on the project purpose. Rural work programmes last for the most six months a year; agricultural development schemes are designed for mostly two years, whereas settlement schemes have no time limit since they are designed for permanent settlement.

Participation in most of the Asian settlement schemes is voluntary. This complies with the provision given in ILO Recommendation No. 136. As has been mentioned already, serious consideration has been given in this area, not only in Pakistan but also in India, to establish compulsory national service schemes. The objective is to involve youth more in elementary development work, such as "removal of illiteracy, eradication of social evils", etc. (96). Pakistan again was advised to set up a Development Corps, formed by the educated unemployed. The Development Corps should be employed under a two-year training-cum-work programme, to perform mainly tasks "in major agricultural and industrial projects all over the country".(95)

Shortcomings are reported from most of the schemes. The causes seem to rest mainly with the organizational set-up, the financial expenses involved and with the fact that only a fraction of unemployed youth can be included. In particular, organizational shortcomings are reported from Pakistan, due to lack of qualified personnel.(97) Other prerequisites, likely to effect the success of the programme considerably, e.g. the linkage of any programme to the development plan of the country, a central authority for the schemes at highest administrative level, have already been mentioned elsewhere in this paper.

A major limitation of this type of scheme is the relatively small contribution such schemes can make to the gigantic problem of youth underemployment 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 are 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 type I schemes (98) seems to have proved that rising expenses for the administrative body represented the lion's share of total costs. In another publication on youth schemes in Morocco and Tunisia (99)

it was reported that 55% of the operational budget accounted for staff expenses. From the limited information available it appeared, however, that the objective of self-supporting schemes would hardly ever be achieved.

3. Type II schemes in Asia

The basic concept of this type of special scheme is to enable educated youth without employment to render service to their own country. thereby gaining themselves experience and being usefully employed. As in the case of Type I schemes, these schemes are administered and financed by the government.

a) Government supported schemes

Most prominent examples of this type of scheme are the different corps in Iran, namely, the Education Corps, the Health Corps and the Extension and Development Corps. A number of conditions apparently facilitated the establishment of this type of project: (i) the heavy unemployment among educated youth, (ii) the critical shortage of teachers, extension workers and medical staff in the rural areas, and (iii) the amendment to the Conscription Act, enabling the draftee to enrol for community work rather than for military service.(100)

About 16,000 young Iranians work in the three corps mentioned, which are concentrating on projects for the development of rural areas. This is an exceptionally high number, meaning that on average 1,625 people are covered by one corps member. Within the Education Corps the education corps man has been seen from the beginning as a multi-purpose village-level worker rather than merely a school teacher. Adult classes have been started as well as courses in farming techniques and rural leadership.

The Education Corps was established in the early Sixties. The two other corps were established later on account of the favourable results gained by the former. The achievement of these three corps during the last seven years has been impressive; e.g. by the end of 1967 about 10,000 new schools had been built, almost 1 million persons literalised, 12,000 demonstration plots established, etc.(101)

In addition to the agricultural, educational and infrastructural work performed, the fringe benefits may have been even more important, insofar as changes have been brought about in the rather traditional society. Furthermore, it has been reported that upon completion of their studies roughly 80% of the recruits apply for assignment as government teachers in rural areas.(102)

Machinery to mobilize these young men for assignment in one of the three corps and for work in the rural areas was provided by the Conscription Act. Training given to the corps man consists of practical and theoretical training, depending on the types of corps, i.e. training in public health, agricultural subjects and extension even for the member of the Education Corps, since he is expected to be more than just a teacher (see above).

Pakistan is also considering the constitution of an Education Corps and other corps as part of compulsory military training, patterned on the Iranian Corps. The objectives to be pursued would focus mainly on a number of different local development programmes. So far, however, plans have not yet been implemented.

Finally, the Graduate Corps in Thailand is very small in size (roughly 150 volunteers). The Corps is supervised by the Community Development Department, Ministry of the Interior, which is also organizing the placement of volunteers. The volunteers are supposed to stay for 18 months in a village where they work as social and agricultural extension workers. One factor limiting the performance of this programme is insufficient training of the volunteers,most of whom aim at finally securing a government post.

b) Private schemes

In India, a voluntary movement known as the National Service Corps has been set up. It has been established with the objective of sending India's educated youth, students and graduates, on camp projects throughout the country. Camp projects will last for 8 to 10 months a year, with each student participating for 20 days. The students are in addition asked to do 150 hours of "social service". (103) There are other volunteer services, organized by private organizations, such as the Shramadana Movement in Ceylon, which have worked with considerable success.

In concluding, it may be said that the most effective results of Type II schemes are mainly in their education and training aspects, whereas employment, however limited, follows as a fringe benefit. The relatively successful performance of the special schemes, it appears, particularly of the various corps in Iran, can be attributed, to a considerable degree, to the strict organization of the programme, the high educational qualification of the volunteers as well as, of course, to the huge number of corps men enrolled in the scheme. The experience gained in Iran has thrown light on the high potential of human resources which could be tapped in most other countries of this area, given proper training, competent organization and reasonable funding.

4. A National Youth Service Wage Scale

In the course of an employment strategy mission to Ceylon in 1971, launched by the ILO and supported by various other U.N. agencies, the establishment of a National Youth Service Wage Scale was suggested for Ceylon. According to the proposal, it is designed to establish a maximum wage scale, graded by age, with small variations for differences of skill and responsibility. The first three years of every young person's working life would be paid on the basis of this scale, whatever the employment might be, in the public or private sector. In the private sector, normal wages would be paid by the employer, the employee receiving the appropriate wage according to the wage scale and the difference being paid into some special fund; a training fund for employees or for a general employment development fund to finance youth schemes or special work projects for those without particular employment. In the public sector the wage scale makes possible an expansion of (government) employment, particularly for young people, without an increase in the salary budget. An incentive toward self-employment is generated, correcting the present strong tendency of youth to settle quickly into secure wage employment. A young school leaver would not be paid more for clerical work than for manual.

The sense that all youth faces, in this respect, a common life situation should help to break down divisions in society and foster a spirit of common purpose and commitment to national development. It would remove the major disability and source of frustration experienced by youth mobilized in special

work schemes, as well as engaged in manual work, i.e. their resentful awareness that they are being paid much less than those more fortunate classmates who have been lucky enough to get regular jobs.

So far, the youth service wage scale is a theoretical concept only; none of the proposals has so far been implemented.

5. Summary

In summing up, the solutions to youth unemployment being offered by special schemes are somewhat difficult to materialize. The successful implementation of special schemes is too dependent on a magnitude of factors. Whereas the additional employment (and income) creation, as well as 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 of an organisational nature. The expenditure for administration seems to be on the rise. Besides, the financial burden and obligations of special schemes are so great that it might be advisable to start first with pilot projects in selected areas and with small batches of selected participants, to make the establishment of the scheme 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 a special scheme does not provide a spectacular solution to the grave and continuing unemployment problem of Asian youth.

PART VI: CONCLUSION

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 total population (table II). Youths in the age-group 15-24 represented during the mid-Sixties more than a quarter of Asia's population (table II) and also of Asia's labour force (table IV). The extensive population growth during the last decades has not only resulted in the fact that (a) youth represents a substantial proportion of Asia's population and of the individual country's labour force; youth population and youth labour force are (b) increasing at a higher rate than total population (table III) and total labour force, with the exception of Japan. The proportion of youth within the Asian labour force is likely to increase further; (c) labour force participation of youth (table VI) follows largely the traditional pattern that exists in Asia but varies considerably between the individual countries, depending on the percentage of those working 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 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. (d) More than 50% of total unemployed belong, on average, to the youth age groups, as can be seen from unemployment figures for youth in certain selected Asian countries (table VII). This trend is likely to intensify due, inter alia, to the heavy rural migration of youths to the towns.

In the metropolitan areas we can observe, in particular, (e) a disequilibrium for certain occupational groups, which partly can 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. As to (f) underemployment, this is especially widespread in the rural areas, 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.

Besides, the serious qualitative and quantitative imbalance in the labour market as to 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 (g) wage employment has not increased at the expected rate, due to general slow economic growth and development (table XII); in particular, (h) industry has failed, by and large, as a substantial employment creator. It seems apparent, therefore, that the greatest employment potential for youth in Asia will rest in future with the agricultural sector.

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 governments which play a decisive role, by pursuing policies designed to create employment or by actively stepping in to employ youths 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.

General policies should aim at:

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

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

(iii) granting tax privileges for investment in specific industries, as is practised, for example, in Malaysia and Thailand, or, as in the Republic of China, for investment in export-oriented industries, through the establishment of export processing zones;

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

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

(ii) the establishment of an effective national employment service, designed to reach and attract particularly rural youth;

(iii) vocational guidance services to put the young 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.

The employability of youth demands, finally, policies which guarantee an education that is more streamlined to future job requirements. Educational policies could be pursued through the formal and through the non-formal educational system. The urgent need to restructure and diversify the educational system has been widely realised and has already been partly implemented in a number of countries of this region.

Educational policies would require:

(i) a revision of the traditional school curricula, which bear little or no relation to the future life and employability of youth. Appropriate policies in this respect are the more urgent since existing school curricula seem, so far, to have a tendency of instilling in youth a preference for white collar life and a dislike for manual, particularly farm, work - an attitude which has largely been responsible, inter alia, for the appearance of a tremendous number of educated unemployed or unemployable youth;

(ii) the actual skill building process to be placed outside the formal and organised vocational educational system, through all forms of on-the-job training programmes (apprenticeship schemes, accelerated training and retraining programmes, etc.), as is already done in a number of Asian countries. Apprenticeship schemes - which seem to be very promising in actual skill development in the long run and on a large scale - must not be allowed, however, to be put in jeopardy through lack of cooperation on the part of the employers. Policies in this respect must ensure a stronger involvement of local industries in the skill building process and the implementation of apprenticeship schemes through special taxing of industrial undertakings or even the provision of compulsory intake of trainees;

(iii) a more diversified training in subjects associated with farming (e.g. modern agricultural production techniques, agricultural technology, management, etc.), particularly with a view to the high percentage of rural youth in Asia (see table X) as well as their required qualifications for the expected demands by agro-based and agro-oriented industries. The approaches pursued so far by a number of Asian countries towards more systematic and comprehensive programmes of agricultural training could be through vocational farm training, partly through national youth service schemes and settlement schemes (which have a predominantly rural orientation), and through rural youth clubs.

Coming to the employment opportunities for youth in the different sectors of the Asian economies, it can be noted that the agricultural and service sectors appear to be the major sources of employment for youth, while the outlook for recruitment by the industrial sector seems to remain limited. More specifically, the agricultural sector, through the implementation of intensive and diversified farming, as well as the indispensable constitution of additional agricultural services and agro-industries, is likely to carry a very high employment potential, particularly for well trained rural youth. In the long run, however, rural underemployment will not be completely abolished.

Although employment opportunities in light industries and in construction seem very promising, the overall employment generation in the modern sectors will remain limited for the time being. Even if significant additional employment could be generated in this sector, this would be a lengthy, long-term process. In the immediate future, there appears to be no possibility of any spectacular rise in job opportunities for most Asian countries.

The services sector, the importance of which is for the most part induced by the overall growth of economic activities, seems to bear a high future employment potential for Asian youth. A considerable demand for qualified youth could particularly be expected in the field of tourism and middle-level management. In the public sector there seem to exist wide opportunities for educated youth as teachers and para-medical staff, particularly for work in the rural areas, as well as limited opportunities in general government employment. This increased demand in the services sector is meeting the preferences for white-collar jobs by youths. The run of youth into this sector - which in a number of countries offers employment opportunities for already up to 30% of the total labour force - can be expected to continue.

The autonomous measures taken by various Asian governments with the aim of creating immediate employment for youth, through the implementation of youth mobilization schemes of all kinds, has not, in spite of the best intentions and greatest efforts, been very successful. Shortcomings have particularly occurred in respect of the organization of the schemes and the financial requirements involved in their establishment. Even where those schemes have been successfully implemented, the relief they offer has been mainly temporary and they have not offered a permanent solution to the unemployment problem of youth in Asia.

The following suggestions seem to be a logical follow-up of the aforementioned conclusions:

(a) With particular regard to policies for employment creation

(i) 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;

(ii) to formulate the fiscal and monetary policies in such a way that the target for employment creation is met by the actual figures (which should be carefully checked in a close follow-up).

(b) With particular regard to the training of youth

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

(ii) 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;

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

(iv) 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.

(c) With particular regard to the employment of rural youth

(i) since intensive farming is not just a question of technical inputs, but can only be effected if skilled manpower is made available, to put particular emphasis on the employment of extension workers, cooperative specialists, and agricultural technicians;

(ii) to pursue a higher rate of employment creation of jobs in agriculture by splitting up the rate of interest on short-term loans - used for buying fertilizers, seeds, etc. - and long-term loans - used for the import of machineries - in such a way that the interest on short-term loans will be much lower than the one on long-term loans (the difference between both interest rates should be dependent on the number of jobs to be created);

(iii) to put more emphasis on the regionalization of industrialization, i.e. to ensure the establishment of industrial undertakings in the rural areas, far from the main metropolitan centres.

(d) With particular regard to the employment of educated youth

(i) since the well-functioning of developing economies requires a pool of efficient educated manpower, to retain and employ educated youth as family planning advisers and teachers, particularly in rural institutions, land development administrators and middle-level managers;

(ii) to restructure salary scales in such a way as to give financial incentives to those educated youth who are willing to work in rural areas.

LIST OF TABLES

Table I

Total population of youth (15-24) in East and South Asia ('000)

Year		East Asia	South Asia
1950			
	M	65,901	68,611
	F	63,610	66,230
	T	129,144	134,841
1960			
	M	71,833	80,092
	F	69,894	78,982
	T	141,727	159,074
1970			
	M	87,022	100,973
	F	84,262	100,049
	T	171,284	201,022
1980			
	M	98,076	138,019
	F	95,564	136,185
	T	193,940	274,204

Note: Computed from Yearbook of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva 1970.

Table II

Child and youth population and their percentages in Asian countries

Country		Total population	Child and youth population (0 - 25)	Percentage of youth	Youth population	Percentage of youth
Ceylon	1963C	10,582,064	6,445,710	60.9	2,854,532	27.0
China (Taiwan)	1968E	13,650,370	8,364,033	61.3	3,690,292	27.0
India	1961C	438,774,729	260,514,527	59.4	110,066,918	25.1
Indonesia	1961C	96,318,829	57,631,390	59.8	21,994,358	22.8
Iran	1966C	25,078,923	15,701,450	62.6	5,951,471	23.7
Japan	1968E	101,408,800	46,241,600	45.6	26,836,200	26.5
Khmer Rep.	1962C	5,728,771	3,595,875	62.8	1,542,924	26.9
Korea	1969E	31,139,000	19,082,640	61.3	8,787,120	28.2
Malaysia (West)	1957C	6,278,758	3,973,550	63.3	1,894,048	30.2
Nepal	1961C	9,412,996	5,512,134	68.6	2,395,144	25.5
Pakistan	1961C	90,282,674	55,922,403	61.9	20,817,102	23.2
Philippines	1968E	35,883,000	24,213,000	67.5	10,106,800	28.2
Singapore	1968E	1,987,900	1,241,520	62.5	569,500	28.7
Thailand	1960C	26,257,916	16,648,997	63.3	7,182,262	27.4
Vietnam(North)	1960C	15,916,955	8,869,015	55.7	3,774,477	23.7

Note: Computed from sources quoted below. Since proper proportions for an accurate calculation of the figures against the class intervals 0-25 and 12-25 are not available, the individual mean of the respective class interval items has been used for the purpose.

C = Census E = Estimate

Source: 1. Demographic Year Book, 1969 - United Nations

2. Year Book of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva 1970.

Table II Additional notes

1. Khmer Republic: Excluding foreign diplomatic personnel and their dependants.

2. Ceylon: Data exclude adjustment.

3. China (Taiwan): Excluding the population of Quemoy and Matsu Islands, armed forces and foreigners.

4. India: Including data for the Indian-held part of Jammu and Kashmir (population 3,560,976 of which 1,896,633 males and 1,664,343 females) and an estimate (626,667, of which 302,534 males and 324,133 females) for population of Goa, Daman and Diu. Excluding part of North East Frontier Agency (population 297,853, of which 147,100 males and 150,753 females).

5. Indonesia: Data are based on a 1% sample of census returns. This is provisional. Excluding West Irian (population estimated at 700,000).

6. Iran: For settled population only; unsettled population (numbering 244, 141 for both sexes) and nomadic tribes (numbering 462,146 for both sexes) were excluded.

7. Japan: Excluding diplomatic personnel outside country, and foreign military and civilian personnel and their dependants stationed in the area.

8. Korea: Excluding alien armed forces, civilian aliens employed by armed forces and foreign diplomatic personnel and their dependants.

11. Pakistan: Data exclude adjustment for under-enumeration. Excluding data for Jammu and Kashmir, Junagasdh, Manavadar, Gilgit and Baltistan. Excluding data for Frontier Regions of Pakistan (population 3,437,939, of which 1,791,755 males and 1,646,184 females)111 ,369 foreigners (64,824 males, 46,545 females) and probably also a considerable number of nomads.

13. Singapore: Excluding transients afloat and non-locally domiciled military and civilian services personnel and their dependants.

15. Vietnam (North): Source: Nham Dan (The People), 2 November 1960, North Vietnam and three years of Cultural and Economic Development in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Directorate General of Statistics, Hanoi, 1961.

Table III

Trends in annual rate of increase of total and youth population in some Asian countries

Country	Period	Total population	Youth population (15 - 24)
China (Taiwan)	1964-68	2.8	6.1
Iran	1959-68	3.5	4.1
Japan	1964-68	1.0	0.4
Korea, Rep. of	1965-69	2.2	4.3
Philippines	1965-68	3.5	3.7
Singapore	1957-68	2.9	3.7

China (Taiwan)
1964 - Excluding armed forces and foreigners.
1968 - Excluding population of Quemoy and Matsu Islands, armed forces and foreigners.

Iran
1959 - Data are based on results of a nationwide sample survey.
1966 - For settled population only; unsettled population (numbering 244,141 for both sexes) and nomadic tribes (numbering 462,146 for both sexes) were excluded.

Japan
1964, 1968 - Method of rounding has been used in calculations. Excluding diplomatic personnel outside country and allied military and civilian personnel and their dependants stationed in the area.

Korea, Republic of
1965, 1969 - Excluding alien armed forces, civilian aliens employed by armed forces, and foreign diplomatic personnel and their dependants.

Philippines
1965 - Method of rounding has been used in calculations.
1968 - No details stated.

Singapore
1957 - Method of rounding has been used in calculations.
1968 - Excluding transients afloat and non-locally domiciled military and civilian services personnel and their dependants.

Note:

The countries which have comparable breakdowns by age group in their recent data have not presented the data pertaining to the past years in the same pattern. Therefore a table containing all Asian countries in respect of trends in annual rates of increase of total population and youth population is not possible. Making use of the available materials, either the censuses or estimates, the figures arrived at give at least an approximate idea of the different trends within the population under various categories.

Source: Demographic Yearbook - United Nations - 1965 and 1969.

Table IV

Proportion of young people (15 - 24) in the labour force

Country	Year	Labour force	No. of youths in labour force (15 - 24)	Percentage
Ceylon	1963	3,458,994	852,514	24.7
China (Taiwan)	1956	5,993,009	957,617	32.0
India	1966	188,675,500	47,526,654	25.2
Indonesia	1961	34,578,234	7,939,249	23.0
Iran	1966	7,584,085	1,732,920	22.9
Japan	1965	48,568,767	10,984,357	22.8
Khmer Republic	1962	2,499,735	687,849	27.5
Korea, Rep. of	1966	8,654,360	2,074,940	24.0
Sabah	1960	176,626	48,909	27.7
Sarawak	1960	294,285	82,318	28.0
Malaysia (West)	1957	2,164,861	590,488	27.3
Nepal	1961	4,306,839	1,295,029	30.1
Pakistan	1961	30,205,981	6,995,761	23.2
Philippines	1960	8,536,000	2,525,260	29.6
Singapore	1967	480,267	126,852	26.4
Thailand	1960	13,836,984	4,129,516	29.9
Vietnam (South)	1964	5,741,508		

Note:

Computed from the source quoted below. Labour force does not include students, women occupied solely in domestic studies, retired persons, persons living entirely on their own means and persons wholly dependent upon others. Wherever suitable data are not available, the individual mean of the respective class-interval items has been used to arrive at the figure required for the purpose.

(continued overleaf)

India: Economically active population figures do not include persons seeking work for the first time, unemployed and the active population of a part of the North East Frontier Agency.

Indonesia: Figures based on a 1% sample tabulation of census returns.

Iran: Excluding unsettled population (127,953 males and 116,188 females).

Japan: Including Amami Islands and Togara Archipelago, but excluding Okinawa and certain other Ryukyu areas. Economically active population figures by age group do not include 659,073 unemployed (453,659 males and 205,414 females) who appear only in the grand total in the source.

Korea, Republic of: Economically active population figures do not include armed forces.

Pakistan: Excluding Jammu and Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan, Junagardh and Manavadar. Economically active population figures do not include armed forces and foreigners.

Philippines: Economically active population figures do not include armed forces and institutional households.

Source: Yearbook of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva 1970.

Table V

Projection of labour force in selected Asian countries

Country	Plan period	Labour force		Annual rate of increase (%)
		At the beginning of the period	At the end of the period	
		(millions)		
Ceylon	1968-72	4.2	4.6	2.4
China (Taiwan)	1968-72	4.8	5.5	3.5
India	1966-71	181.6	203.4	2.3
Iran	1968-72	7.0	8.0	2.7
Japan	1965-71	48.2	51.5	1.1
Korea	1967-71	10.1	11.4	2.4
Malaysia	1965-70	3.2	3.7	2.9
Pakistan	1965-70	37.2	41.4	2.2
Philippines	1967-70	12.1	13.3	2.3
Thailand	1967-71	14.8	17.1	2.9

Note: a) The figures in the Table have been taken from the Plan documents unless otherwise indicated.
b) The annual rate of increase given in the Table does not necessarily coincide with the figure given in the Plan documents in all cases, as it is calculated with reference to the totals which are rounded off.

Sources:

1. Paper on Employment and Manpower prepared for the Conference on the Process of Development Planning in Ceylon held at Sussex in September 1969, Ministry of Planning, Government of Ceylon.
2. Report on the Population Projections worked out under the guidance of the expert committee set up by the Planning Commission under the chairmanship of the Registrar-General, India - Office of the Registrar-General, New Delhi 1968.
3. Long-term Manpower Forecast and Development Policy 1967-86, Government of the Republic of Korea, December 1968.
4. Four-year Economic Program for the Philippines, 1967-70; and Socio-Economic Development Program for 1966-67 to 1969-70 (Draft), National Economic Council, Manila, May 1966.

Reproduced from "Manpower Planning in Asian Countries" by V.R.K. Tilak, ILO Regional Office for Asia, Bangkok. December 1970. p.6.

Table VI

Participation rates of youth labour force in selected Asian countries

Country	Year	Under 15	15-19	20-24
Ceylon	1963	2.1	34.1	56.9
China (Taiwan)	1956	5.3	59.7	54.7
India	1961	8.0	-	66.2*
Indonesia	1961	3.9	48.5	53.9
Iran	1966	6.7	41.7	50.3
Japan	1965	n.a.	37.1	76.7
Khmer Republic	1962	7.0	62.5	75.5
Korea,Rep. of	1966	1.1	41.0	42.0
E. Malaysia				
Sabah	1960	n.a.	58.0	69.9
Sarawak	1960	n.a.	64.4	73.3
W. Malaysia	1957	2.1	44.0	61.6
Nepal	1961	n.a.	84.7	82.0
Pakistan	1961	6.6	45.7	52.1
Philippines	1960	4.1	43.4	53.1
Singapore	1957	1.4	42.0	58.6
Thailand	1960	9.5	80.7	87.4

* 15-34

Source: Yearbook of Labour Statistics,ILO, Geneva, 1970.

Table VII

Unemployment among youth (15-24) in certain selected Asian countries

Country	Year	Total unemployed	Youth unemployed	Percentage
Ceylon	1963	263,809	152,670	57.8
Japan	1965	659,073	236,400	35.9
Korea, Republic of	1966	691,290	292,000	42.2
Malaysia, West	1962	147,455	93,290	63.3
Pakistan	1961	217,642	119,203	54.8

Ceylon: Based on tabulation of 10% sample.

Japan: Census count.

Korea: Estimates based on quarterly sample survey of households.

Source: 1. Yearbook of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva 1970.
2. Statistics on Children and Youth, supplement to Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Far East, 1968.

Table VIII

Estimated rates of unemployed youth (ages 15-24) as percentage of labour force

Below 10%	Between 10 and 25%	Above 25%
Rep. of China (1966)	Rep. of Korea non-farm (1966)	Ceylon-urban (1968)
India-urban (1961-62)	Malaysia-urban (1965)	
Thailand-urban (1966)	Philippines-urban (1965)	
	Singapore (1966*)	

* Related to 1966.

Source: David Turnham - The Employment Problem of Less Developed Countries - A Review of Evidence (Paris, OECD, 1970), quoted by Datar, B.N. in "Poverty and Minimum Living Standards in Asia" (Unemployment and Underemployment - Appendix IV, page 4). Unpublished ILO Note prepared for the DG's Report dated 16.4.1971.

Table IX

Registered unemployed by level of educational attainment in India

June of	Total registered	Matriculates and above	(2) as % of (1)	Matriculates	Intermediates	Graduates
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1961	1,754.0	567.5	32.35	447.1	69.7	50.7
1962	2,081.0	686.2	32.97	531.0	73.5	81.6
1963	2,605.0	779.5	29.92	600.8	108.7	70.0
1964	2,542.0	801.1	31.51	599.4	128.2	73.5
1965	2,527.0	840.8	33.27	590.3	170.6	79.6
1966	2,610.0	888.8	34.05	605.8	190.8	92.2
1967	2,706.0	1,002.6	37.05	681.0	211.3	110.4
1968	2,903.0	1,168.2	40.24	771.3	259.1	137.8
1969	3,148.9	1,417.3	44.91	-	-	-
1970*	3,621.3	1,625.9	44.89	-	-	-
Average compound annual rate of increase	8.4%	12.4%		8.1%	20.6%	15.3%

* Provisional.

Source: Note on the Employment and Unemployment Situation in Urban Areas in India. J.F. Weerstra. Table 20. April 1970.

Table X

Urban and rural distribution of youth (15-24) in selected Asian countries

Country	Year	Total	Urban	Rural
Ceylon	1963 1/	1,907,170 (100.0)	399,760 (21.0)	1,507,410 (79.0)
India	1961 2/	78,215,089 (100.0)	14,872,513 (20.3)	58,342,576 (79.7)
Indonesia 3/	1961	15,499,140 (100.0)	2,891,825 (18.7)	12,607,315 (81.3)
Iran	1966	3,787,500 (100.0)	1,726,300 (45.6)	2,061,200 (54.4)
Japan 4/	1965	19,920,577 (100.0)	14,753,915 (74.1)	5,166,662 (25.9)
Korea, Republic of 5/	1960	4,545,336 (100.0)	1,415,377 (31.1)	3,129,959 (68.9)
Nepal	1961	1,596,426 (100.0)	66,972 (4.2)	1,529,454 (95.8)
Pakistan	1961	14,335,353 (100.0)	2,356,385 (16.4)	11,978,968 (83.6)

1/ Based on tabulation of a 10% sample.
2/ Census of population, 1961.
3/ The grand total in the source excludes an estimated 700,000 in West Irian, so the youth present in 700,000 are not included in the figures.
4/ "Rural" is termed as towns and villages.
5/ As at December 1960 - excluding alien armed forces and foreign diplomatic personnel, etc. Age groups have been converted from the Korean to the Western system. The total refers to the territory under the administrative jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea.

Note: Percentages on the total are given in parentheses.

Source: Statistics on Children and Youth - Supplement to the Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Far East, United Nations, 1968.

Table XI

Estimated demand and supply of various kinds of skilled workers

Republic of China (1969-1972)

	Estimated demand of various kinds of skilled workers	To be supplied by schools				Estimated supply of manpower in need of training						
		Industrial vocational schools	Technical training centres	Other vocational schools	Total	Apprentice training	On-the-job training for newcomers	Short-term training	Accelerated training by demonstration	Trained by the military sectors	Total	Grand total
Annual average	52,000	10,000	3,060	1,500	14,560	7,800	20,890	2,700	1,650	4,400	37,440	52,000
Total in 4 yrs.	208,000	40,000	12,240	6,000	58,240	31,200	83,560	10,800	6,600	17,600	149,760	208,000

Note: The above table is based on manpower demand. The manpower to be created by industrial vocational schools and junior colleges of engineering may be expanded with anticipated international loans.

Source: The Republic of China's Fifth Four-Year Plan for Economic Development of Taiwan, 1969-1972. CIECD, February 1969.p.261.

Table XII

Rates of increase in labour force and employment

Country	Period	Annual rate of increase in (in percentages)		Employment - labour force co-efficient Col (4) + Col(3)
		labour force	employment	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Ceylon	1968 - 72	2.4	3.1	1.3
China (Taiwan)	1968 - 72	3.5	3.6	1.0
India	1966 - 71	2.3	NA	NA
Iran	1968 - 72	2.7	2.8	1.0
Japan	1965 - 71	1.1	1.6	1.5
Korea	1967 - 71	2.4	2.6	1.0
Malaysia	1965 - 70	2.9	3.0	1.0
Pakistan	1970 - 75	2.9	2.9	1.0
Philippines	1971 - 74	3.2	3.7	1.2
Thailand	1967 - 71	2.9	2.8	1.0

Source: Manpower Planning in Asian Countries. V.R.K. Tilak Bangkok, December 1970. p. 9.

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