OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY PAPERS

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

OVERVIEW OF THE COUNTRY PAPERS

This review is based on country papers prepared by the ministries of education of 34 Commonwealth countries[1] which discuss education and youth unemployment as they perceive them. The papers were written to a standard brief and have in common that they represent an official government viewpoint. Beyond that, there are, of course, marked differences between them: the nature of youth unemployment varies widely; statistics are collected in different ways in different countries; different people get the job of writing such papers in different countries. (Internal evidence suggests, for example, that some papers are written by ministers, some by educators, some by economic planners.) The papers do not represent the single view which would be obtained by a peripatetic scholar nor can they be expected to have a scholarly detachment. Generally, they are descriptive more than critical, and critical more of the familiar and conventional school systems than of unfamiliar and novel developments outside school. In contrast with these disadvantages stands one over-arching advantage: they represent a recent and authoritative statement of governments' views about the relation between education and youth employment or unemployment in the mid 1980s.

THE SCALE AND NATURE OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The great majority of Commonwealth countries[2] see unemployment among young people as a major social problem. This is true of countries as varied as India, which forsees a shortfall of over 4 million jobs by 1985, Barbados where the shortfall is put at 4,000, most of the Commonwealth African countries and the industrialised states of Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand. While statistics are patchy and incomplete they are consistent in showing that unemployment is higher among the 15 to 24 year old age group than among older workers. The raw statistics probably under-represent unemployment. Some people do not register, or describe themselves as unemployed; some remain at or return to school when they would have preferred to start work.

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

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

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

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

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

CAUSES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

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

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

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

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

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

WHO IS UNEMPLOYED

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

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

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

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

The second group are the pessimistic. Bangladesh, for

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

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

ORGANISATIONAL LINKS

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

LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

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

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

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

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

LINKS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

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

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

EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOLS

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

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

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

AIMS, OBJECTIVES, HOPES

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

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

towards national unity and economic development.

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

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

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

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

MECHANISMS FOR CHANGE

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

Primary school curriculum

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

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

Curriculum for general secondary schools

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

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

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

Curriculum for vocational schools and streams

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

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

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

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

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

Work experience

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

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

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

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

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

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

New kinds of course

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

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

Careers guidance

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

HIGHER EDUCATION, FURTHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

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

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

COLLEGES OF FURTHER EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

UNIVERSITIES

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

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

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

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

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

ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL

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

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

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

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

APPRENTICESHIPS, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOB CREATION AND TRAINING

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

Schemes in which the stress is on creating jobs in the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EQUIVALENCY

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

OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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