

Commonwealth Youth Programme

Government Policy on Youth Affairs

Report of a
Commonwealth Meeting
Chandigarh, March 1979



Commonwealth Secretariat

COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME

GOVERNMENT POLICY
ON YOUTH AFFAIRS

REPORT OF A COMMONWEALTH MEETING

CHANDIGARH, 9-13 MARCH 1979

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CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	v
LEAD PAPERS	
Recognising Youth Identity: Need for National Youth Policy	1
Towards a Democratic Youth Policy. A Young Western European View	12
Some Problems in Community Development in the Commonwealth Caribbean	24
Partners in Policy	35
Youth Policies - Some Principles for Consideration	44
RECORD OF DISCUSSIONS	51
PRINCIPLES AND THEN WHAT?	61
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Opening Ceremony	
Address by H.E. Mr. Shridath S. Ramphal Commonwealth Secretary-General	64
Address by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy The President of India	68
Appendix B: Summaries of Country Papers	71
Appendix C: List of Participants	104

INTRODUCTION

The decade from the late sixties has witnessed an increasing interest on the part of governments in the field of youth policy. As more and more governments delve deeper into the complexities of this area of social policy so the problems, if not the solutions, become more clearly identified.

The Commonwealth Youth Programme arose out of the concerns expressed in the late sixties. It began its work in 1973 and through the creation of three Regional Centres it has already made a significant contribution to the provision of trained youth administrators and field workers. It has done less in helping Commonwealth countries to find solutions to the policy problems which confront them.

There are, of course, limits to the extent to which measures appropriate for one social and political structure can be applied to another. However, the Commonwealth approach is to look, listen and learn from each other's experiences. The CYP is able to facilitate this process by exchanging information on youth policy initiatives and this is done particularly through its regular News Service publications.

In addition, the CYP can act as a broker of effective policy practices by holding meetings on specific policy aspects of youth work. By the beginning of 1979 several of these had been run under the auspices of the Programme at the regional or national levels and a pan-Commonwealth meeting of Young Leaders had also been held. But there had been no meeting on a pan-Commonwealth basis to explore the basic principles involved in the development of national youth policies.

The meeting scheduled for 9 to 13 March 1979 in Chandigarh, India, was designed to remedy that deficiency.

The Commonwealth Meeting on Government Policy on Youth Affairs was attended by 50 representatives of 26 Commonwealth countries - including ministers and senior officials. It was opened on the morning of 9 March by the President of India. This was followed by a key-note address by the Commonwealth Secretary-General.

Working sessions began that afternoon, with discussions ranging across the broad spectrum of government policy on youth affairs, facilitated by five major presentations. Mr. P. Sabanayagam, Secretary of the Indian Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Culture, delivered a paper dealing with the areas involved in formulating national youth policies. Mr. P. Mandelson, Chairman of the British Youth Council, delivered a paper on national youth policy from the

perspective of young people in industrialised Commonwealth countries. Professor Douglas Hall of the University of the West Indies delivered a paper on national youth policy in the Caribbean context. He introduced his paper as a layman and independent observer of comparative Caribbean approaches to youth policy and community development.

The fourth paper was delivered by participants of the Commonwealth Diploma Course in Youth and Development at the Commonwealth Youth Programme's Asia-Pacific Centre in Chandigarh. This attempted a comprehensive overview of youth policy, as seen by young practitioners, many of whom had already accumulated experience as middle-level youth workers and departmental officers in their home countries. As part of their studies all course participants had been required to contribute their individual opinions; these had been fashioned into a collective statement by an elected editorial committee with the assistance of the Centre's senior tutor. The course participants were invited to take part in the Meeting as a whole, thus adding to the pan-Commonwealth approach to discussion.

As a summary of these four papers and the discussion they generated, the Commonwealth Assistant Secretary-General, Professor K.S. Murshid, delivered the final presentation as a guide towards the Meeting's final agreed statement on government policy on youth affairs.

Chairmen for the various sessions were selected from among those present. They included Professor Murshid, Mr. Sabanayagam, Dr. Z. Onyanka of Kenya and Mr. T. Sandiford of Guyana.

RECOGNIZING YOUTH IDENTITY: NEED FOR NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY

Mr. P. Sabanayagam

I Why Youth Policy?

Why should a country have a youth policy? Is there really a need for it?

Questions such as these have acquired a new relevance in the present context. Youth are becoming clamorous in all parts of the world; they are unwilling to conform to the pattern of behaviour set for them by the older generation; in increasing numbers they are resorting to escapes such as consumption of drugs; and they take to thoughtless violence with an ease unthinkable in the past. The traditionally held assumption that they should devote most of their early youth in institutions of formal education and enter the world of work immediately after conclusion of their studies is no more valid - because the formal system of education does not satisfy young men and women and the employment opportunities are just not enough.

Most governments are not able to handle this situation. In disparate situations and in distant countries, youth power is shaking the traditional systems of government and social relationships - in Thailand, in France, in Japan, and in a number of provinces in India, particularly Gujarat and Bihar. The common element in all these situations is a dissatisfaction among youth with a given situation, political, educational and socio-economic. In most cases the youth do not have the answers; they seldom have the patience to look for them, try and test them. But they are convinced that what exists is not satisfactory, that there has to be a change.

It is true that this situation mainly reflects the urban milieu - as it exists in the campuses and in the metropolitan areas. It is the restive youth in the urban areas, by precipitating the need for recognition of youth identity, who have forced the issue of the need for formulating a youth policy. Not very far from this urban situation is the other reality - the vast majority of the youth living in the rural areas, and working long hours in arduous occupations. They have had little formal education and they exist at a subsistence level, often below that. This sharper reality cannot be lost sight of. And the whole question of recognition of youth identity has to be viewed in this context in each country. When such a view is taken, there would be some fundamental reasons calling for recognition of youth identity.

Recognizing youth identity

(a) The demographic tilt

The foremost reason which calls attention to youth is the demographic balance in their favour. In practically all developing countries, due to improved health care and lack of success of population control programmes, the population is much younger than before. And there is a continuing tilt in this direction.

Another aspect of the demographic tilt is that owing to an increase in life expectancy and improved nutrition and health-care the vitality associated with youth lasts much longer. (It is perhaps for this reason that the wide age range of 15-33 is now almost universally recognized as the period of youth).

The phenomenal increase in population in this age group is causing deficiencies and shortages in a number of critical areas. These include

- educational facilities, which results in dissatisfaction with the present system
- employment opportunities, causing bitterness and wide-spread disillusionment.
- health services, causing an increase in morbidity and debility, and
- recreational and sports facilities, depriving youth of healthy outlets

In addition, youth in rural areas face a number of other additional deprivations, including housing, malnutrition and other basic needs.

(b) Organized assertion

The second reason which calls attention to youth identity is that youth now have much greater opportunity for organized assertion. As a result of expansion of the system of formal education, the student body in practically every developing country has increased enormously. To take the Indian example again, the increase of students in the relevant age group is as follows :

(figures in millions)

Year	Enrolment in secondary classes	Enrolment at the university level
1951	1.22	0.42
1961	2.89	1.09
1971	6.58	3.50
1977*	8.77	4.70

* Figures in millions are provisional

While education provides an opportunity to the youth for articulation, it also provides the opportunity for association and unionization. As a result, youth in institutions of formal education have a power quite disproportionate to their numbers vis-a-vis the total number of youth in the corresponding age group.

In addition to the increase in the number of youth in institutions of formal education, spread of trade union movements and youth wings of political parties have also contributed to increasing assertiveness among the youth. Practically every political party of consequence in all countries has a powerful youth wing. Although often led by a senior political leadership, these youth wings have their own identity and they influence the working of the political system. Membership of trade unions and women's organizations is also often predominantly of the younger sections. Whatever the political system, youth exert considerable influence through their organizations as well as through the organizations of workers and peasants, men and women.

Another factor which has increased articulation and organized assertion by youth is expansion in the communication network. Even in technologically underdeveloped societies, the isolation of communities has been reduced as a result of improvement in transportation and communication. Mass media, not only the printed word, but particularly radio and TV, are facilitating the emergence of youth power as a factor in national development. Information regarding happenings in one university, agitation in one industrial unit, reaches the length and breadth of the country within hours, cementing distant groups and giving them a power which would have been unthinkable before the contemporary communication revolution.

(c) New development strategies

Most developing countries have a colonial past, which has influenced their economy, the educational system and even the social relationships. Hence they tended to emphasize the increase in GNP and per capita income without squarely facing the problems of social justice. However, in recent years, there is an increasing awareness of this fact and the approach to the computation of GNP is radically changing in almost all developing countries. Greater emphasis is being laid on rural development, improvement of the lives of the people in villages, fostering of small scale and cottage industries. Almost all countries are emphasizing the importance of reduction in inequalities and sharing of resources, and the emphasis has shifted to human resource development rather than on the ends.

The implications of this strategy of development for youth are obvious. The emphasis on human resource

development must lead to widening of educational opportunity, including organization of non-formal education courses for school drop-outs and illiterate youth. Expansion of health services and improved nutrition are also a corollary of the emphasis on human resource development. Undertaking of employment oriented policies and organization of large programmes of small and cottage industries must necessitate the establishment of facilities for technical and entrepreneurial training. Systematic programmes of rural development are difficult to implement without creating dynamic organizations of youth.

II Present Policies and Programmes

It is not as if an awareness about the importance of youth, their needs and their potentialities, is emerging with suddenness. Within an undefined policy frame, youth programmes have been organized in practically all developing countries. Before delineation of an outline of youth policy it would be useful to undertake an appraisal of the significant youth programmes, their objectives and the present status. While each country has its own programmes and each country must undertake its own appraisal, an attempt is being made here to briefly describe some significant programmes in India.

(a) Non-formal Education

The growing emphasis on education of the out-of-school youth is a recognition of the limitations of the formal school system. It is also an acknowledgement that those who have remained excluded from that system also have an important role to play in the country's development. In India, extensive non-formal education programmes are being organized for school drop-outs up to 14 years of age. Part-time education programmes with relevant curriculum, with an assurance that they would not be required to dissociate themselves from their daily work, are to be provided for 16 million children within the next five years. These children would have the opportunity to re-enter the formal system of education, should they so desire. It is hoped that within about five years it should be possible to universalise elementary education, through expansion of the formal school system and through the non-formal education programmes.

In April 1977, the Indian Education Minister made a pronouncement that in addition to elementary education, the Government would give the highest priority in educational planning to adult education. A Policy Statement on Adult Education was formulated after extensive consultations and the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) was launched throughout the country on 2 October 1978, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. It is estimated that there are approximately 100 million

illiterate persons in the 15-35 age group and NAEP aims at extension of educational facilities to this entire population within the next five years. Special attention is to be paid in NAEP to women and to the poorer sections, particularly those living in the rural areas. The year 1978-79 has been treated as the year of intensive preparations and necessary arrangements have been made for training, preparation of teaching and learning materials, appointment of staff, etc.

NAEP is based on a number of assumptions, which have been clearly spelt out in the Policy Statement. These assumptions are :

- (i) that illiteracy is a serious impediment to an individual's growth and to the country's socio-economic progress
- (ii) that education is not co-terminus with schooling but takes place in most work and life situations
- (iii) that learning, working and living are inseparable and each acquires a meaning only when correlated with others
- (iv) that the means by which people are involved in the process of development are at least as important as the ends; and
- (v) that the illiterate and the poor can rise to their own liberation through literacy, dialogue and action

NAEP is visualized as a means to bring about a fundamental change in the process of socio-economic development; from a situation in which the poor remain passive spectators at the fringe of the development activity to being enabled to be at its centre, and as active participants. The learning process involves emphasis on literacy, but not that alone; it also stresses the importance of functional up-grading and of raising the level of awareness regarding their predicament being poor and illiterate.

NAEP is to be implemented through voluntary agencies, institutions of formal education as well as through government agencies. The implementation strategy envisages taking up of compact projects closely linked with the local developmental administration. The total expenditure on NAEP would be approximately Rs. 1,000 million. The Government has declared its firm determination not only to provide necessary funds but also to use all available resources to make this programme a success.

Being a youth programme par excellence, NAEP visualizes that an adult education centre would also be a youth

organization where sports, recreation and cultural activities would find their rightful place. Besides, there is emphasis on organization of post-literacy and follow-up programmes. These programmes would not be confined to provision of library and reading room facilities; functional training, group action, radio and television viewing, etc. would form an essential part of it.

(b) Programmes for the rural youth - Nehru Yuvak Kendras

In India a distinction is made between student youth and non-student youth. As is obvious from the term, student youth are young persons over 15 years of age who are studying in institutions of formal education. The phrase non-student youth is generally used for persons who did not pursue education beyond the primary level, or who remained altogether excluded from formal education. A nationwide programme for non-student youth was launched in 1972, with the establishment of Nehru Yuvak Kendras (Nehru Youth Centres - NYK) in a few districts. More than 50 per cent of the total of 400 districts in the country now have a NYK.

An NYK is expected to co-ordinate the work of the various agencies working for development of non-student youth and to fill in the gaps. The main objective of this programme is to involve youth in developmental activities through their education and organization. The NYKs organize programmes of adult education, youth leadership training, work camps, games and sports and cultural and recreational activities. An effort is being made to link NYK activities with NAEP. The new learning and awareness centre to be organized by an NYK would provide facilities to young persons to participate in programmes of non-recreation and cultural activities.

In a large number of villages we have youth clubs and women's clubs established as a part of rural development programmes. These clubs organize vocational and recreational programmes for youth and women. The NYKs are expected to work closely with these clubs.

(c) National and Social Service - Student Youth Activities

As in several other developing countries, the need to provide national and social service activities for students had engaged the attention for the Central and State Governments in India also. Soon after independence there were proposals to make such services compulsory for all students. However, this advice was not accepted and it was decided to start the National Service Scheme for students of degree classes on a voluntary basis. Started in 1969 with a coverage of about 40,000 students, the programme has now increased and its coverage is 400,000 students. It now extends to all States in India.

Over the years, NSS has attracted considerable attention, sympathy and support of the community. It has also succeeded in generating among young students, enthusiasm and the urge for social service. Social service activities of students and teachers have been of a wide variety like intensive work for social uplift in villages, carrying out of socio-medical and health surveys, setting up of medical centres, imparting training to rural women in crafts (such as sewing, knitting and embroidery), propagating improved agricultural practices, promoting kitchen gardening, etc. Social service in urban areas has included work in slum areas, mass immunization, sanitation drive, and participation in campaigns for blood donation, family welfare, etc. Social service has also been rendered in the form of help to patients in hospitals, inmates of orphanages and other welfare institutions. NSS Units have also rendered assistance to the local authorities and communities in relief and rehabilitation work in the wake of natural calamities like cyclones, floods, earthquakes, fire, etc. As part of the constructive involvement of the youth during their vacation periods, a few large-scale camping programmes were organized. Involvement of NSS in such camps have enabled the students to work side by side with local non-student youth.

(d) Programmes of Discipline and Adventure - Scouting and Guiding and National Cadet Corps

One of the oldest youth activities in India, as indeed in several other countries, is Scouting and Guiding. Scouting and Guiding starts very early in schools and continues throughout the school period. There are at present approximately 800,000 children participating in this programme. However, this programme does not extend to post-secondary stage and also does not serve the non-student youth.

The National Cadet Corps (NCC) was started in 1948. It was a compulsory activity for all students at the university stage between 1963-67, whereafter it was again made voluntary. The programme aims at development of leadership, building of character and discipline, and training of youth to face a national emergency. NCC activities are organized at secondary as well as graduate stage, the strength at these stages being 400,000 and 700,000 respectively.

Emphasis on drill, weapon training and other conventional subjects is being reduced and those aspects of training which develop leadership, comradeship and the spirit of sportmanship and the ideal of service are being encouraged. Adventure training and social service are being progressively emphasized in training. More and more cadets are taking to mountaineering, hiking and trekking, para-jumping and gliding, cycling and sailing. Selected NCC officers and cadets are also being attached with regular Army, Navy and Air units, for purposes of training

The new feature recently introduced in NCC is involving Cadets in social service activities like helping in flood and famine relief operations, blood donation, cleanliness of slums and roads, traffic control, planting of trees and propagation of family welfare and improved health programmes.

(e) Engagement of youth in rural development

One of the perceptible recent developments in the youth programmes is the involvement, on a voluntary basis, of a large number of youth in various programmes of rural development. A large number of youth have felt disillusioned with the fast and materialistic life in the cities. They explore avenues of service to their disadvantaged brethren, particularly those living in the rural areas.

The Central Government has a scheme under which financial assistance is provided to youth groups desirous of taking up such activities. Although the scheme has just been started and the number of youth groups benefiting from it is small, there is a pointer that an increasing number of youth groups would want to live and work in the rural areas. These groups range from highly trained professionals, engineers and scientists to educated youth of rural areas who wish to systematically work for rural development programmes. The common element among all of them is a commitment to work for rural upliftment, particularly of the weakest sections of society, and a spirit of service. They shun government employment, the comparatively hectic life of the cities and adopt a rural way of life.

III Policy Perspectives

An analysis of the existing programmes will highlight the need for a National Youth Policy. The programmes outlined in the foregoing pages bring out the following :

- (a) The programmes have been organized without any well-defined overall objectives having been kept in view. Naturally, the programmes do not subserve any pre-determined objectives. They are sporadic and isolated from each other.
- (b) Although seen separately the programmes seem impressive enough, they suffer from serious imbalances. For example, there is no rationale in allocation of funds between programmes meant for a comparatively small number of student youth and those for the non-student youth who number several times more. Among student youth, as is often argued, the funds allocated for one programme are disproportionately higher than others.

- (c) The role of various agencies remains nebulous. For example, while some provincial governments have been taking up large and effective youth programmes, most of them have paid scant attention to it. There is an obvious need to spell-out more clearly the role and responsibilities of the Central Government, provincial governments, institutions of formal education, voluntary agencies, etc. Effective machinery has also to be established for co-ordination.
- (d) A common weakness of practically all programmes is the lack of systematic in-built evaluation. It is true that periodic evaluations have been undertaken in the past, but they are seldom thorough and generally take the place five years after the programme has been in operation.

Parameters of youth policy

It has been possible to give only the bare outline of some of the programmes meant for youth. It would be necessary for every country to undertake a thorough appraisal of their programmes before the parameters of a policy frame can emerge. The policy itself would generally have four components :

- (1) acknowledgement of youth identity
- (2) the content
- (3) the priorities, and
- (4) administration and co-ordination

Acknowledgement of youth identity means an acceptance of priority in favour of the youth. The critical role of youth in development is self-evident, but emphasis should equally be on youth identity being viewed in the country's historical and cultural context, as well as in the perspective of the nationally held objectives e.g. in the Indian situation secularism, faith in democratic institutions and in equality of status and opportunity.

The content is the substance of the policy. With reference to the situation obtaining in most developing countries, the main areas of content would be :

- (i) Adequate and relevant educational system - In countries which have clearly spelt out educational policy, guideline indicators of the educational system would find a place in that policy statement. No youth policy would, however, be complete without a reiteration about a relevant and adequate educational system.
- (ii) Work opportunities - Seen as a basic need of man, as well as the means for subsistence, work opportunities must be viewed as the second most significant parameter of youth policy.

- (iii) Health services - Facilities of minimum essential health-care including family life education, must form the third element of a youth policy. Health-care has to include not only relief in sickness and with family planning, but extend to nutrition, mental health, overcoming drug addiction, etc.
- (iv) Recreational and cultural activities - These would include the facilities for joyful living, sports and games, adventure programmes, participation in cultural activities and access to the mass media.
- (v) Participation in decision making - This is a matter of content as well as the process of implementation of youth policy. It is necessary to emphasize the desirability of participation of youth in decision making at all levels of formulation, implementation and evaluation of the various programmes which affect them.

The priority without doubt must be given to the disadvantaged youth. All types of disadvantages and deprivations get accentuated in the case of women and therefore, they who account for approximately 50 per cent of the youth have to be given the main priority. In addition, other identifiable disadvantaged sections (for example, persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in India) should receive due priority. Generally speaking, poor and illiterate young persons in the rural areas have to be provided special programmes of education, functional improvement and creation of an awareness among them of their rights and responsibilities. It needs to be underscored that unless the priorities are kept constantly in view, youth programmes may tend to neglect the under-privileged groups.

An important element in administration of youth programmes is the agencies through whom the programmes are to be implemented. It is necessary to be clear not only about the role of various agencies, but also about the nature of their inter se relationships. Government, educational institutions and voluntary agencies are the obvious agencies through whom the various programmes are to be implemented. Youth development cannot be the concern of only one Ministry or Department - its parameters are so wide that practically every aspect of government activity is touched by it. This realization must pervade all agencies. Multiplicity of agencies, and their mutual interdependence call for effective co-ordination. This has to be established at all levels - national, provincial, district and the field.

IV Commonwealth Co-operation

The importance of formulating of National Youth Policy has been made clear, it is well to acknowledge that the experience and expertise in this regard vary widely from country to country. There are countries which already have a youth

policy, others who have well developed youth programmes and a discernible outline of a youth policy, others who have rudimentary programmes and still others who have neither programmes nor any clear view of policy. Yet there is an unreserved commitment to development of youth among all countries of the Commonwealth, and most of them are also exploring means to arrive at a youth policy.

In this situation the Commonwealth ought to identify its role. The role can comprise one or more of the following activities:

(a) Securing the services of experts to assist in formulation of youth programmes and policy

This should be undertaken discriminatingly and only on the basis of explicit request from the member country concerned. It should be recognized that youth development is an extremely sensitive area and it is most desirable that countries develop endogenous capability. Selection of experts should be from countries with relevant experiences and as far as possible the member country wishing to have experts should have the choice to select suitable personnel.

(b) Exchange of ideas

The Meeting on Youth Policy should be followed up by regional and sub-regional seminars and workshops for discussion among policy level as well as field personnel. At these seminars intensive analysis should be undertaken of the various issues connected with this subject.

(c) Clearing-house services

There is rather insufficient information among the member countries about the programmes and policies of other members of the Commonwealth. This situation can be overcome through necessary effort. CYP Regional Centres can play an important role in this. Effort should be made not to confine clearing-house services in respect of information pertaining to countries who are members of the Commonwealth, but about other countries as well.

TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC YOUTH POLICY
- A YOUNG WESTERN EUROPEAN VIEW

Peter Mandelson
Chairman
British Youth Council

Young people are not often asked to contribute their views on the subject of youth policy. I am glad that our Meeting is an exception. In presenting my paper, I am doing so as a young person and as a representative leader whose responsibility is to articulate the feelings and views of others.

I wish to advance the view that, in developing a coherent national youth policy, the most legitimate group to define the needs of young people are young people themselves and, therefore, we must have autonomous structures within which to do so. That if policies for young people are to be implemented by governments, all the major pressure groups, including the political parties, must be active in developing them. And that if such bodies as trade unions claim that young people do have special needs, they have a responsibility to change their own structures so that young people can participate in them effectively on their own terms.

At two recent meetings, in Ocho Rios and Ottawa, young leaders from Commonwealth countries have met and exchanged views. There will be a further opportunity to do so in May in Sri Lanka. I attended the Ottawa meeting and I remember being struck by two things, apart from the realisation of how ignorant are most people in Britain about the Commonwealth and especially about how far the Anglo-centricity of the Commonwealth has been dispelled. The first thing that struck me was the excitement and also the simplicity of talking in such an international group, where there was a basis of respect and friendship. The descriptions of our countries, and of our social and economic conditions, came tumbling out. We all became aware of the great variety that exists in the Commonwealth, and it is important to bear that in mind in our Meeting.

But the second thing that struck me was this: there are clear differences in our political systems and in our stages of economic development, but amongst the young there are a lot of common problems and attitudes. There are problems which are of concern to all of us, no matter the social or political background from which we come together at this Meeting, and I know you appreciate them.

OUR NEEDS

Our needs as young people are central to the issues of national and economic development. They relate to at least three areas.

The first is educational provision which equips us to understand how our society works and its history. It enables us to play our part in producing goods and services, as well as to enjoy cultural and leisure pursuits. It also enables us to be active political citizens rather than passive bystanders. The second area of need is work which satisfies our aspirations and potential abilities, as well as giving us an adequate income. The third area of need is the opportunity and ability to play a full part in democratic processes which perhaps, fundamentally, is the most important of all.

These needs are not restricted to young people: but they are especially important to the growth of the young and to our ability to become active, balanced citizens.

As young people, we have energy and ideas to contribute to our society; we also have rights and responsibilities. We do not understand why political leaders and officials frequently appear to wish to cut us off from debate, from decision-making or from elections. Furthermore, the fast expanding youth population in our countries creates an urgent need for national leaders to consider how we are to be integrated into the process of policy debate and government in order to make democracy work now and for the future.

In my opinion, this is as true for Britain as it is for any other Commonwealth country involved in nation building. At least in new Commonwealth countries, there are the over-riding objectives of national development which do tend to unify and motivate the population as a whole.

But in Britain, and in other industrialised countries, our economy, our living standards and our democratic values are at stake because there is not adequate consensus, mobilisation and dedication amongst the population as a whole. This is particularly true for young people and we must ask ourselves why the young have an ambiguous identity, why there is little sense of mobilisation and why there is more disenchantment than dedication.

There will be different answers to these questions from different parts of the political spectrum. But I think there are some explanations which will be common to whatever the political analysis.

The most obvious explanation is that as we grow up we are going through all sorts of new experiences which make up our transition from childhood to adulthood, from school to work and from dependency to independence. There is bound to be confusion, tension and conflicts. But the reasons for our behaviour and apparent lack of motivation can be more specific than this.

We are growing into responsibility and independence, and yet we come up against a brick wall in society which consists of patronising adult attitudes, positions of authority and party-political influence which can only be filled by adults, and of media which usually portray us as hooligans or naive idealists. Either way, our status is not high. Furthermore, we are educated to expect fulfilling work to do when we leave school but find ourselves in the most menial and the poorest paid jobs, or without jobs at all.

In our lives outside school or work, we have little chance to develop our leisure pursuits or our social skills because of the limited number of opportunities available. There is minimal contact between ourselves as individuals and wider community activities and organisations in which we can find identity or formulate group responses to the problems and conditions of our lives. This is because only a small minority of young people are ever engaged in any organisation at all.

Few young people have the chance to travel within our countries, let alone to other countries, and this is important because it allows us to get out of a dull routine and exposes us to different values and attitudes and a broader spectrum of activity. This is something that schools cannot provide and, indeed, for many young people school does not provide a great deal else either. The rituals of discipline are oppressive and the academic domination of teaching is boring and seems irrelevant. For many of us, it is not surprising that school merely heightens our sense of frustration rather than offering employment and prospects.

I wanted to raise these issues at the outset because they are the important questions for us as young people. What additional education and experience can we obtain outside the school? Why are existing leisure facilities not what we want in our free time or too expensive for us to use? Why is it so difficult to find decent, satisfying work? Why can't we travel more? Why can't we change things and take decisions like older people?

These are the questions to which youth policy must be addressed. They are questions which are not only relevant to those young people who, in industrialised countries, have been traditionally regarded as the subjects of youth policy in the years between 14 and 21 but are also relevant to us as young adults.

BRITISH EXPERIENCE

The symptoms of these problems and unrest amongst young people are there for all to see, even if the bulk of young people manage their transition to adulthood with apparent ease. In Britain today, violence amongst pupils and growing levels of truancy are beginning to threaten the normal operation of

secondary education. Juvenile crime is rising: over 50% of all arrests in London are of people below 20 years of age. Racial hostility is experienced between blacks and whites. Vandalism is widespread, particularly in inner city areas where community relations have broken down and many traditional leisure pursuits, as well as sources of employment for young people, have been destroyed. Alcohol and drugs are used amongst a greater number of young people as forms of escape.

These actions symbolise unrest amongst young people. There are, of course, class dimensions to young people's struggles and there are struggles which are particular to nationalities and to races. Young women face further obstacles in their lives. But this does not deny that some struggles are common to our age. There is a struggle for recognition of us as a legitimate force in society; for greater control of our lives and greater influence in institutions where wisdom is seen only to come with increasing age: for greater financial means and opportunities to enjoy leisure and recreation; and for improved conditions and ideals in society. These struggles are ones that we would ask governments to recognise and respond to.

I come from a country in which successive governments have recognised these problems and they have made large sums of money available to meet the needs of young people. However, this response has tended too often to be limited to the expansion of academic education. There has been no coherent, national policy to create other channels through which we can express ourselves and gain practical learning. The development of our social and political skills remains unaccepted as an objective of policy, as does our participation in our local communities and places of school or work, except in terms of general endorsement.

Most out-of-school activities have been left to voluntary bodies to organise, with tiny grants of government money. The youth service funded by local authorities is small and limited in resources. Only recently have levels of unemployment of young people reached such heights that the British Government, like others in western industrialised countries, has been forced to spend millions of pounds on activities for young people apart from the traditional pursuits of academic education and leisure.

This is a significant development: for the first time, governments have really been forced to think about the needs of young people out of school. Formerly, they have been able to assume that the conditions of the labour market will provide the experience, adjustment and skills needed for adulthood. They now have to consider what (in addition to a job) can provide the self-respect, status and a sense of security needed by young people if the personal effects of unemployment are to be minimised and the unstable social consequences which are emerging, are to be channelled into more positive avenues.

The rising levels of unemployment are posing this challenge to governments. We can see that they relied on secondary education to provide learning for the masses, leaving a labour market, inexperienced in the problems of youth, to pick up where education ends. Except for those continuing to pursue education at the tertiary level, government interest and responsibility has tapered off.

Why has there been an absence of imagination in policy? Why, within the machinery of government, has there been a lack of co-ordination between departmental functions for those who continue studies? I think that there are three parts to the answer.

The first part is that the basic needs of young people are seen by government as the same as those for the population as a whole - housing, medical care, transport. These are provided universally as part of Britain's enlightened social planning. In this context, young people have not been regarded as a special target group and have received the benefits of this social provision like everyone else.

The second part of the answer lies in the exaggerated expectations and demands of formal education. The development of the school system has been regarded as virtually the sole requirement for equipping young people for adulthood and for those who leave the formal education system, there seems to have been an assumption that there is nothing further the government should or could provide.

The third part of the answer, I think, is based on fear. Politicians and officials have been frightened of giving us too many opportunities to question and to criticise, and to mobilise our views and strength as a social force, especially at the transition stage of the late teens, for fear of what we might say and what effect we might have on the established social order.

We are now coming to see that these past attitudes have not served society well. Of course, young people need not be a special target group for all areas of social provision, and the solution of many young people's problems cannot be isolated from the solution of problems for the community as a whole. However, there are areas where the young do have needs arising from their age; for example, personal counselling, single housing, and employment. Furthermore, the important but limited character of formal school and its ability to meet all needs is being questioned; and the frightened response of those in authority to demands by young people is giving way in some instances to a more accommodating approach. It is now necessary to develop further a wider and more imaginative policy.

A MORE COHERENT YOUTH POLICY

Young people ask governments to consider the merits of a coherent youth policy which both draws on current aspects of provision and expenditure (such as education, training, recreation and the youth service) and also consists of new activities (such as opportunities for leisure, travel, community work and political participation). We believe that the policy should be based on the following recognised needs: - more realistic and technical preparation for vocational work as well as academic learning; - informal education opportunities out of school, in leisure pursuits, youth group activities in clubs and the local community and travel; - higher political status in society, through access to decision-making wherever we learn, work or live; - and greater financial independence through an extension of student grants to those in training or otherwise engaged in worthwhile activity up to a certain age, between school and full-time work.

These are the ingredients of a youth policy; it should have certain operational targets which need not, of course, be pursued by a single ministry in government but should be part of a co-ordinated strategy in government.

The first target should be a guarantee for all those in the first three years after leaving compulsory secondary school of a place in full-time education, a full-time job with proper training, a full-time training place with associated work experience, or full-time worthwhile activity in community work or abroad.

The second target should be a national wage paid to all under nineteen years, either by employers or by the State in whatever activity, and income support for those who choose to do nothing.

The third target should be national standards of leisure and recreation provision in each locality, approved by central government.

The fourth target should be rights of representation. There should be access for young people's representative councils and forums to established local and national government institutions; and membership of other directly relevant bodies, for example, school and university governing boards, youth service committees, trades councils, political associations, sports councils. Where possible, this representative access should be secured by law.

These targets clearly constitute a major claim on national resources and the economic constraints of developing countries need to be recognised. But the right of representation and participation is not an expensive one and we believe that, taken as a whole, they are necessary targets

because they occupy areas of policy which are relatively under-developed at present and because they can make a major contribution to creating greater equality in society.

At the moment, the economic status of adults and families depends largely on their families, their experiences and their education and training when young. Everyone would have a better chance and place later in life if they had more equal opportunities and more equal access to resources and political processes when growing up. This means making the resources currently available to the most fortunate young people - that is, those who remain as students - also available to those who leave full-time education and have their needs in informal, leisure and community activities.

A QUALIFIED APPROACH

The development of a youth policy (which is mostly, but not entirely, in the hands of the government) needs to be qualified in certain ways and by certain principles. The first major qualification is that there is a limit to the feasibility and desirability of drawing young people into institutions, activities or courses.

The important principle which is at the root of this is non-compulsion: individuals must retain the right to opt out and they must be able to choose between education and work and unemployment. This means that enforced, as opposed to voluntary, national service is not the right approach to meeting young people's needs: we would say that this infringes individual rights of freedom and does not enable young people to find the most satisfying activity or to establish their identity in the way that is best for them.

The second qualification is that the means and vehicles for implementing youth policies should not be in the exclusive hands of the State. Voluntary agencies and organisations have proven ability to work locally and flexibly amongst young people, and to fill needs which may be ignored by statutory services. Last of all, the third qualification to youth policies is that they will lose their validity to the extent that they are not determined and accepted by the young people themselves.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S VOICE

This last point is very important and it is at the heart of what I want to say today. There are normal democratic processes in society in which some young people will participate and one aim must be to increase this participation. Furthermore, I do not argue that everything young people advocate is necessarily correct or feasible. But if young people count at all in society, they surely must count enough to be given their say about how things are run for them. They must participate in these policies as well as being given their own channels to overcome the age-domination which

militates against their natural involvement in voluntary and political associations. But how does the head of a school, let alone a Ministry of Education or Youth Affairs, involve all school students in policy and decision-making? How does the full-time worker in a youth club, let alone the area youth service officers, get the young people together who may use local youth club facilities and enable them to help determine how much money is spent on which clubs and activities

There is no simple answer. But how many times has any attempt been made? More often than not, it does not occur to the adults to consult us. There is a tacit assumption that we will not care to be involved, or we will not have sufficient experience to make a proper judgement or we will not be expressing a view that is representative of all the young people concerned.

But what a state of democracy we would all have if these same criteria were applied to the electorate as a whole in any election or vote. We have seen on many occasions what happens in countries when leaders decide that the electorate are too unconcerned, or too ill-informed or too unrepresentative to be worth consulting.

Therefore, I think that adults' assumptions about us are wrong because many of us, if not all, are willing to be and capable of being involved. Furthermore, democracy cannot afford to make judgements at whim about who may and who may not be involved in democratic practice. In this context, also, I want to repeat something I said at the beginning. If there was greater consensus, mobilisation and dedication amongst the population our economies could work better for all and our democratic processes would be strengthened. For this reason, society can ill afford to ignore young people's views and to deprive us of the educational and practical opportunities to be better informed and to exercise our democratic rights.

How can this be done? What real effect can we have on the policies you construct? One example I would like to describe in Britain is a project called 'Into Work' which the British Youth Council originated. It is funded by the Manpower Services Commission in three areas of the country to collect the views of young people who are participating in or eligible for its special employment programme. The 'consumer view' which is being presented is a unique and constructive statement about the government's measures and has many lessons for the capacity of young people to determine the content and delivery of government policies.

But to extend these lessons, three developments are necessary. The first is that those in authority and with power, should recognise the political wisdom of meeting and talking to young people. Ministries of Education and Youth Affairs, area boards responsible for youth service or other

provision, head teachers and youth club leaders must understand the necessity of communicating with young people effectively at the appropriate levels and in the appropriate contexts.

This leads me to the second development. We must be allowed and encouraged to set up our own school or club committees, our own area youth forums and our own national youth councils with which the authorities can consult. These bodies need to be representative and democratic (that is elected from an identifiable constituency of school students, club members or youth organisations) and they need to have control over their own business and be accountable for what they do to their constituency as a whole.

Such bodies cannot be conjured up by magic; they need working at by trial and error, and they will rise and falter on occasions. But they cannot be created in a vacuum. The will must be developed amongst all those in authority, the politicians, officials and others, to sustain the efforts of the young to participate.

The third development that is required is political education-not political indoctrination. Such political education should consist of factual information about political procedures, information about who takes decisions and how they do so, and information about the issues which are important to us. In this education, actual practice and experience count for a great deal. That is why all these developments go hand in hand. Young people must be invited to get involved; we must have our own representative forums and structures to do this; and we must have a framework of knowledge and practice to make us skilful and effective in our interventions. This, obviously, not only has implications for the democratisation of youth policy, but applies to young people's interest and involvement in democratic practice throughout society.

ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS AND THE VOLUNTARY YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

In Britain during the past two years (and this is only the beginning) the British Youth Council and other bodies have stimulated much discussion about these issues. At the national level, the Council has fought for recognition as a national forum of young people from all voluntary youth organisations (non-party political as well as party political) which is competent and equipped to intervene with the young people's voice in policy matters of interest to us. The National Union of Students in Britain has demonstrated how effectively this can be done. We now receive public funds to promote political education and develop local youth councils, where mobilisation and involvement can take place in a more relevant setting.

But the speed with which we have progressed should not disguise the battles we have fought or the obstacles we face. Those in government still tend to be wary of political

education and mobilisation of the young. And many of those adults who work with young people still believe that we are too fickle and too inexperienced to organise ourselves, and they still prefer to talk on behalf of us rather than let us speak for ourselves. This must now become something of the past.

In this context, I think the voluntary youth organisations have a great role and responsibility. One of the original qualifications I made to national youth policy was that its operation should not rest exclusively with State agencies. I also observed that a great deal of out-of-school activity has been created by voluntary youth organisations which has tended to reduce the pressure on government to provide facilities directly itself.

There needs to be better balance in this provision. The operational target for youth policy of 'national standards of leisure and recreation provision in each locality, approved by central government' can never be realised unless public funds are used by authorities to create directly the sort of facilities desperately needed by young people in many localities.

At the same time, government aid to voluntary youth work organisations should be considerably increased. But, equally, our expectations of these organisations should be higher. If they choose a regimented style or a religious framework for their activities, that is up to them. They are voluntary organisations. But we ask for more from them. There should be opportunities to raise discussion of the problems facing us as young people, whether they be political, social, racial or sexual. This does not mean that we want the ideas and prejudices of adult workers forced upon us. But equally these subjects should cease having a taboo attached to them in the traditional youth service organisations.

This leads me on to two related developments needed in these organisations if we, as young people, are to find the status and means of expression that we demand. At the moment, the way that youth organisations are run tends to reflect the age domination throughout society. In reality, young people have little say in the running of youth organisations. In many cases they are as undemocratic, paternalistic and exclusive as are most other bodies in society towards young people.

We would like to see firm principles and democratic structures being created in these organisations to allow young people within them to be involved in policy-making. Second, we would like to see these organisations providing a public platform for the expression of their young members' views. This should be done both from within the individual organisation and on the basis of collective actions and initiatives of a number of youth organisations nationally and locally.

The important principle to stress is that it is the young people taking the action for which the organisations provide the framework. If these dual developments took place, some of the questions I raised about how young people could be consulted and involved in decision-making might be answered.

As I said, we have the seeds of these developments at national level in Britain. But this is at a remote level from the mass of young people. Youth participation really must start at home, within youth organisations and in localities. It is partly an attitude of mind on everyone's behalf, and partly a question of creating the structures; and this must grow from daily practice and local situations. Only in this way will the prejudices against young people be overcome and the mass of young people find an outlet for their views and a means of influencing the conditions closest to them.

Of course, only a minority (although a large minority) of young people are associated with youth organisations and groups at any one time. This makes it all the more important for schools, workplaces and trade unions to provide a wider role for us.

Industry, in particular, is intensely hierarchical and although trade unions have done so much to democratise the workplace and obtain greater rights and benefits for working people, we, as young people, are allowed only a small role in this process.

Trade unions have traditionally opposed special mechanisms for young people to express their views and to organise as young people within the trade union movement. Their fear has been that this will be divisive when unity and solidarity are at a premium. The situation does not appear like this from our viewpoint. It is a battle for young workers to play their full role in trade union affairs and, far from wanting separate structures, we merely want special mechanisms and bodies through which we can get more involved in existing structures. This is a crucial issue for young people's relation and attitude to work. Our alienation from the production process must be overcome and one way of doing this (apart from raising the conditions and terms of employment) must be greater involvement in the political and social affairs of the workplace through trade unions, and with the co-operation of employers.

CONCLUSION

My purpose in this paper has been to say how, as young people, I think our isolation can be reduced and how we can obtain a fuller education in the widest sense as well as a more equal role in society. These should be the objectives of national youth policy, with the operational targets I have stated.

There is so little thought in the political parties on these issues and so little research in government. Parliament

does not bother to monitor the effects of its legislation on the welfare and the rights of young people. Trade unions have not established channels through which these issues can be brought to the fore and debated.

Even those in the youth service, who are most in touch with the everyday conditions, seem to lack coherence and commitment in their approach. And the reason for this, I think, is that they are not listening to what young people are saying and are insecure in their own views because they are members of a different generation.

The attainment of many national goals in our countries depends on the extent to which dialogue sufficiently exists between the generations. But in a Commonwealth gathering like this, we can realise that there are even wider objectives. These concern the relations and differences between our countries, the understanding of our peoples and the solution of our common international problems. They all depend, in addition to the actions of government, on the attitudes and mobilisation of the young.

We must make sure that nobody overlooks what is at stake. It is not just a question of the degree of success of youth policies: what is at stake is the whole future of popular democracy in our societies and the attitudes generated amongst young people towards this. Unless we succeed in making the changes necessary to give people a democratic voice when they are young, many of them will turn their backs on democracy, with the consequences for all of us to pay.

SOME PROBLEMS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

Professor D. Hall

On receiving the invitation to address you I felt honoured and equally surprised. Even to those who do not know me, my credentials must be immediately suspect, for clearly I am no youth. No doubt then, I have some professional qualification, some acknowledged expertise in the field of community development. Regretfully, I confess that I have not. I can only hope that the thoughts of an interested layman, who has tried to help, will be of some value; and I propose to offer a few comments on the problems facing those who must devise policies for youth and community development in the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Generalization will not be easy. In the Commonwealth Caribbean, some are tiny islands with meagre natural resources and populations measurable in the hundreds. Some are comparatively vast continental territories on the mainlands of Central and South America. Some are mountainous, some are flat, and some are both. Some are mainly dependent on agriculture, others are not. Most are poor, but one is counted among the richest nations in the world today. Some are peopled by a wide variety of ethnic types, others are more narrowly Afro-European. Some have been exclusively the colonial possessions of Britain, others have also been colonial possessions of other European powers. Most are now independent nations, but some are in a metropolitan relationship described as "Associated Statehood", and a few still remain as British colonies. If all I have managed to do by this recital is to confuse you, let me say that it is a confusing picture. I have therefore laid on the table a few copies of a publication of the Social Development Commission of Jamaica. It is called "The Caribbean Today" and it sets out the main geographic, economic, political and social features of the Caribbean territories in the early 1970's.

Fortunately, on the matter of the policies of Commonwealth Caribbean Governments with regard to Youth and Community Development, generalization is possible: there are no fundamentally considered policies. There are, instead, a wide and constantly changing variety of ad hoc measures. As far as they concern youth, these measures all began, and still are largely regarded as 'youth-rescue operations'. They are undoubtedly necessary; but youth policies should be designed to remove, or at least to reduce, those social ills which unavoidably make youth-rescue operations necessary.

One reason for this ad hoc approach is historical. In colonial days the youth of the country were, like their elders, seen to belong to one of three main categories;

there were those obviously of European descent whose privilege it was to inherit the management of the society and the economy; there were those whose determination to be recognized as metropolitan rather than colonial was noddingly approved by those above; and there were those, the majority by far, and in general the darker-skinned by far, whose duty it was to provide cheap and contented labour in the service of their patronising and benevolent betters. In our colonial societies, thus structured, measured approval recognized the advancement in society of the black-faced white; while deploring whispers followed the almost treasonable decline of a white-faced black. In our colonial societies, thus structured, community development planning had no place. What was important was the working classes should be kept content in their status. Occasional outbursts of discontent were met as they arose, and it took the general Caribbean labour protests of the late 1930's to awaken those in charge of our affairs to the fact that the twentieth century was upon them. But even then they did not fully understand what was happening. Even today, some who understand do not approve; for what was and still is happening is the gradual tumbling of the established social order with its categories previously described. And if there is time to name only one of those responsible for that assault upon establishment there is not the slightest hesitation in remembering Marcus Garvey, the one who first told the colonial blacks to shed their acceptance on their inferior status as servants of the Europeans, and to stand with pride as men and women of African descent inherently inferior to none.

Because of the labours of Marcus Garvey, and others who have followed him, the "ad hoc" approach, which was never justifiable in moral principle, is now also in the Commonwealth Caribbean untenable in terms of desirable policy. We, like others, need policies for community development, not occasional treatments for occasional troublesome disorders. That is now the generally accepted view. Nonetheless, there are obstacles in the way of translating view into action, and I plead my profession as I once again refer to our history.

In the nineteenth century, after the British abolition of slavery, governments, both colonial and metropolitan, encouraged population growth in support of cheap labour for the sugar industry. Blacks were encouraged to breed, and immigrant labourers were sought out and brought into the Caribbean from Africa, India, China, North America, and Europe. These inflows enriched our cultures, but because of the nature and purpose of the importations, and the concurrent encouragements to population growth by natural increase, they also led to social tensions which were, and still are, strongly felt in those territories to which the immigrants came in the largest numbers. Such tension clearly impedes both social planning and the successful implementation of whatever plans are in fact designed.

Another obstacle arising out of rapid population growth in

the later 19th and 20th centuries, is the simple fact that there are more people to be considered. Unfortunately, economic growth has not kept pace with population growth; consequently, the incidence of unemployment and underemployment has increased, and the need for assistance daily outgrows the means by which assistance can be afforded. In such circumstances there is a very clear inducement to continue in the "ad hoc" path, trying to cope with each critical demand as it arises, rather than to use scarce money in the initiation of basic, but long-term preventive policies. The poor are always made poorer by their poverty.

But not all the obstacles are of 19th century origin. One of the greatest deterrents to successful community development planning in the Commonwealth Caribbean today is political rivalries which, after the introduction of universal adult suffrage in the 1940's, were spread by the wider political campaigning. These rivalries are based in part, on real differences of view and proposal, in part, on racial divisions; and in part, on a simple lust for power and the "perks" that go with it. Drive, in Jamaica, from east to west through Kingston and you will pass, not through communities of Jamaicans, but through camps of PNP and JLP, and, not improbably, through gunfire. Drive in Guyana, from Georgetown to New Amsterdam, and you will pass through communities of blacks and communities of east Indians, but seldom through communities of both. Clearly, in both places, though perhaps from different causes, there is little possibility of doing more than agitating differences or pacifying conflicts. Community development planning must be in the interest of the people at large, not of any particular group, political or other. It is always the conceit of a governing party that what they do is best for the nation; it is always the conceit of an opposition party that what they would do would be best for the nation. This is understandable party polemics. What is not so clearly understandable is what they mean by "the nation". More often than not it seems to mean "those who voted for us" or, alternatively, "those whose votes we hope to get". That is no basis for true community development.

What should by now be clear to all observers in the Commonwealth Caribbean is that the youth are becoming increasingly disaffected - not simply by their growing unemployment and frustration, but also by their distaste for impropriety in high places; for dishonesty, especially at the expense of the poor; and for government by verbiage rather than by deed. What should be equally clear to all, and perhaps of greatest import to those in search of votes, is that our Caribbean populations fall preponderantly in the age-range under 25. The disaffection, consequently, is large.

This disaffection, and the politicians' awareness of it, lead to other distortions of youth and community development planning by which, for instance, the community is neglected while the youth are singled out for almost exclusive attention. A clear example of this was the setting up in the

Social Development Commission in Jamaica of a Sports Division replete with Director, and staff for office and for field. The Division engaged itself exclusively in the encouragement by coaching, and the sponsorship by competitive fixtures, of the more vigorous national sports, especially football and cricket; and it was perhaps most concerned to discover and to bring to competitive maturity young people of promising talent in those games.

Now if the purpose of the Sports Development Division were only to develop sports and players that would have been a perfectly reasonable way to go about it. But a Social Development Commission has much wider and much more fundamental concerns than the making of world-class footballers, or cricketers, or swimmers, or others. A Social Development Commission is, presumably, concerned with social development. As such, its "Sports" Officers (and a more appropriate designation would help) might better be concerned with broader enquiry into the uses of leisure in the society; the encouragement of vigorous sports, yes, but not to the exclusion of the gentler pastimes of the old, or the preferences of others such as players of chess or of dominoes. After all, those who now because of age or infirmity are content with cards, were at one time players of cricket; and those who now play cricket will one day be satisfied with cards. Moreover, a Social Development Commission should, through its field staff, do more than facilitate the employment by young and by old of recognized games. It should also research, and develop means by which the range of leisure-time activities might be increased to include all sorts of pastime pursuits; games of all kinds, creative arts, hobbies - all means by which the very young, the adolescent, the adult, and the aged, in all their conditions of physical strength or weakness might find relaxation and employment. How did cricket begin? At first, perhaps, with a stick and a stone. There are many simple things that children do that might be elevated to the rank of popular, national sports or pastimes.

And so, I would suggest, that the temptation to treat the youth as though they alone form the community should be avoided. The temptation is strong. It is paternalistic; but youth do not wish to be treated in pseudo-paternal fashion. It might appear, because of the preponderance of the population under 25 years of age, to be vote-catching; but the youth do not count themselves as votes. It is disciplinary, because we feel unsettled by the rudeness and the threats of the youthful unemployed; but real discipline is self-imposed and the youth see indisciplines of the same and other sorts among their elders.

I do not argue that the youth should not be given special place in our planning. They should. But they are not alone in the streets, or in the homes, or even in the jails. Let us plan for communities including young and old. That is the best way for the benefit of both. Years perhaps bring wisdom, but they also sap the vigour, and perhaps the courage; years lean on the proven pillars of experience, but

they weaken in the vision of the untried. Those with years make youth, and youth become those with years, and on that understanding of the cycle of life we should plan for our youth in our communities. We should plan - meaning young and old together, each contributing to the general purpose, the strengthening of the bonds of understanding and the enrichment in all its aspects of life in the community.

But here again we run into difficulties, for we always, generation after generation, seek to mould the youth in our own image. The never dying "generation gap" so-called is not to be deplored. It is the indication of differences of view between the older citizens whose attitudes and habits are formed and the younger who are shaping theirs. In the Commonwealth Caribbean the historical development of our societies has bred in us master-servant attitudes and authoritarian habits. We tell the youth rather than guide them.

Nowhere is this more evident than in our school rooms. There, far too many teachers, uninformed and untrained, rest their authority on their titles, and their confidence on the whip or on the verbal assault. The fact of poverty always cramps our style. No Minister of Education can really be happy at the thought of thousands of children being badly taught, wrongly taught, without recourse to books, equating education with exposure to a series of multiple choice questions. Equally, no Minister of Education will happily announce the dreadful state of affairs. Better by far to explain that within the past five years 300 schools were built and 300,000 more school children now attend. But attend to what?

In reference to Jamaica - but the comments can with safety be more widely applied - I once wrote that even twenty years ago the education of Jamaicans was practically empty of relevance to Jamaican needs. We were brought up on English literature, English history, English geography, and mathematical quizzes about the times trains took to travel from London to Glasgow if they ran at x or y miles an hour. In the process of learning, where the facts are irrelevant and the imagery foreign, we learn to develop powers of memory rather than powers of understanding and analysis. Now we would like to change, but can we? With teachers who so often lack understanding of what they teach? With ministeries that have too little money to provide the training and the books? And with populations growing at a little under 3 per cent per annum?

But we must give to our youth the chance to develop their understanding, their creative talents, and thus to build a solid basis for a proper confidence. Let them learn to think, help them to develop faculties of enquiry and discernment; and this is not achieved by simple instruction. Let me give just one illustration:

In Guyana I find myself asking questions to which for various reasons I have not had unequivocal replies.

Guyana is known as the "Co-operative Republic". That is one thing: it suggests that the Guyanese people are willing to co-operate with others and among themselves - a highly desirable condition. In the Co-operative Republic great emphasis is placed on teaching about co-operatives. Indeed, I believe that such instruction is now compulsory in all the government supported schools. I have never attended in Guyana (or anywhere for that matter) any course of learning which dealt exclusively or even mainly with co-operatives; and I do not therefore know what the syllabus includes. I can only assume that it informs about the history and the aims, organization, and structure of co-operatives as a form of business enterprise. Going by occasional information in the Guyanese press I am led to a second assumption: namely that it is also taught that a co-operative is the best form of business enterprise and should be widely adopted as a means to the real economic development of Guyana.

Here is where my questions begin. Do the courses on co-operatives include fairly presented comparative information on the aims, organization and structure of other forms of business enterprise such as family firms, partnerships, private companies, public companies and whatever else there may be? And is it on the basis of such fair and reasonable comparisons applied to the social and economic conditions of Guyana that is claimed (if it is so claimed) that co-operatives are best? And if so, is that claim advanced on challengeable opinion? Or is it simply handed down as incontrovertible fact determined by those who know for those who do not? I am not here criticising the policy of encouragement to co-operative enterprise. I think that there is much to be said in favour of it - and this has been amply demonstrated in some of other small self-help employment enterprise in a number of Caribbean territories.

I am simply asking whether our youth are being instructed that co-operatives are best, or whether they are being asked to examine, accept, reject, modify - in other words to look for understanding, and to exercise their creative talents.

There is, in fact, much to be said in favour of informing the youth about co-operatives and other forms of small business enterprise. One of the major weaknesses of our educational systems in the Commonwealth Caribbean is that they were designed to train people for employment by others. This involved emphasis on comprehension, rather than on expression; on obedience, rather than on initiative; on job security, rather than on enterprise; and on understanding of the social and economic hierarchy, and one's place in it, rather than on self-confidence in dealing with others.

Even today, when we talk of youth development programmes we tend to think in terms of para-military training, of trade training, agricultural training, and, where necessary, basic or remedial training in numeracy and literacy. What help really are these in kindling the sorts of confidence our youths should have?

Military training emphasises quickness of physical action, obedience to superiors, and such initiative as is likely to win medals which are bestowed by superiors. It offers nothing to the imaginative except visions of death or of glory. It numbs the finer sensibilities. Soldiers are trained to avoid their own deaths at the hands of others, and with their own hands to ensure the deaths of others whom they are instructed to destroy. Such training may well be necessary for the protection of the nation against foreign assault, but never in any sense can it be claimed to be good for community development.

Trade training is obviously more desirable. It can be productive, whereas military training in its true sense is training for destruction or, at best, for preservation. Fortunately, in certain branches of the military, trade training is even more important than weapons training. But trade training alone does not suffice. The skilled or semi-skilled tradesman must either work for someone else, or be self-employed in his own business or joint venture. Working for someone else means finding a job. Trade training, therefore, should be associated with regular projections of manpower needs and with job placement services. Additionally, to serve the self-employed, it should be associated with credit facilities to allow the qualified tradesman to set up in business; and also with the basic elements of small business management to help him run the business successfully. Without these ancillaries, trade training is likely to bring frustration rather than fortune to its graduates. Frustration does not subscribe to community development.

As far as agricultural training goes, much the same sort of comment seems appropriate. Agricultural workers need jobs, farmers need land and substantial credit with which to establish their farms.

Basic literacy and numeracy training projects are of a different order. Perhaps the most extensive, and expensive, of these is the JAMAL programme in Jamaica. It is, in a very real sense, community-based. Classes are held in towns and villages throughout the island and they are attended by men and women, boys and girls. In short, they cater to all in the community who wish to learn to read and write. But JAMAL is, in the other sense, a perfect example of the 'rescue operation'. The questions we must ask are: Why are there so many who need JAMAL? and is there no substance in the argument that if the very substantial resources now being put into Jamal were put into the schools there might be less need for a rescue operation in the future?

In summary of all of this I would say that although training should form one important aspect of community development, the training programmes now engaged in (even including to some extent military training) are 'rescue operations' offering to the drop-outs, the unqualified, the unemployed, the unemployable, a chance to get what they should have got from the formal educational system. Since our formal

educational system is not ever likely, any more than anybody else's, to be able to satisfy everybody, these 'rescue operations' will no doubt continue to form part of any large programme of community development; but we should not allow ourselves to fall into the trap of thinking that social or community development is essentially a reclamation exercise.

What then should ministries or other agencies of community development do? Clearly, I think, they should help communities to develop, and I should like to conclude by making a few proposals.

First of all, I would emphasize that the growth and development of a community rests on a wide variety of factors, and on services which no single agency of government or of assistance can provide. It seems to me then, that a most important aspect of the work would be to provide a liaison service for the community. Let us suppose for instance, that the Ministry of Health proposes to hold a one-day seminar on the importance of a well-balanced diet for the physical growth of the child. Should not the Ministry of Education and perhaps also the Ministry of Agriculture, and the ministry responsible for internal trade and food distribution be involved? I do not mean that the Ministry of Community Development should become a post-office or a clearing-house, and thus may be even an abominable nuisance, to its fellow ministries. I suggest that the field-staff of that Ministry should be trained to look for linkages and relationships between various services, events, programmes, and to try to develop those relationships. The mother who is told that her children should eat more carrots might like to feel more confident that she can grow them or find them in the market. Such field staff should be well equipped to advise individuals and communities where to go for particular kinds of information or assistance in all sorts of matters.

I suggest that the field-staff should include chroniclers and collectors of the lore of the community.

I have already hinted at this in my remarks on leisure-time activities. What local songs, what local games, what local dances, what local stories, what local recipes and ways of making things? And here let me make another point. There may well be a Ministry of Sport, there may well be a Ministry of Culture, and it would be, presumably, their respective responsibility to develop sports on the national level, and to cherish and preserve the national heritage. But the Ministry of Community Development is, must be, a real grass-roots, village-centred, community-centred agency. From its local efforts, others may gather the material for the national effort. Not all the lore of the village will find its place in the national record; indeed most of it may not; but that does not deny its local importance.

So far, I have dealt with only one aspect of the local lore. There is another. In every community, rural and urban, but more so in the rural areas where the landscape is less subject to rapid changes, there are monuments. Old sugar mill

old lime kilns, old churches, old shops and taverns, old houses, great and small, old trees around which a market used to gather - all of that is part of the local history, and it should be also part of the awareness of the local community. That is the sort of history that is not, cannot, easily be taught in schools where formal education operates on set syllabuses geared to established tests of skill and knowledge. But it is important, for it helps the people to find their links with the past, and that is what so-called 'cultural roots' are all about. I do not say that community development field staff should be local historians or antiquarians. I mean that they should look and ask and constantly invoke in the community the spirit of enquiry.

And that leads me to another function which I think community development field-staff might well perform. With one notable exception we, in the Commonwealth Caribbean are poor. We are poor because of the long years of disadvantage we have endured as the small sellers of raw or semi-processed agricultural products, and the buyers of machinery and manufacture from larger, richer and more powerful trading-partners. This may not be the proper place for it, but allow me, even parenthetically, to mention the current proposals for consideration of a new world economic order. The producers of food have as much claim to a full and decent life as do the canners of food and the sellers of canned foods.

We, in the Commonwealth Caribbean are poor also because of financial mismanagement, political gamesmanship, wasteful expenditure, and plain corruption; but let me observe, that in all of this it is only in our poverty that we differ from the rich. They can afford mismanagement, waste and corruption. We cannot.

The poor man cannot afford risk, however well-calculated the chances of success. Moreover, as I have already indicated, our educational system has been geared to the production of job hunters rather than entrepreneurs. (It is remarkable how many of our successful businessmen were no more than average performers in the classrooms, and how quickly they removed themselves from those deserts of initiative).

We now have two very large tasks to fulfil; we must, as poor people, constantly be on the alert to recognize, and bring into productive use, new or still unused resources. In Jamaica, in our present hard times of little money and soaring prices, we are under pressures beginning to do this. The little yard that previously grew stones or graas now grows callaloo. There is much more to be done. In the past, the wood of the rose-apple tree was used, because of its suppleness and strength, in the making of paths of horse-drawn buggies and coaches. We no longer have buggies, but we still have rose-apple trees. Are they not good for anything else? Others, in other parts of the world, have shown us what can be done with bamboo, with coconut-shell, with turtle-shell, and a variety of other materials. We have followed their example. Are there no

other materials, under our very noses, that we have not seen as sources of income? In all of this the community development field-staff should play a part.

We have had enough of the little gatherings of boys and girls making mats and coconut cake. We need more alertness, more imagination, more zest in our search for means to help those in the community to recognize for themselves their own resources. Too much is the idea of community development linked with the attempt to do things for people. Much more should it be based on a determination to move individuals, as members of the community in which they live, to come alive in their own and in the community's interest.

In other words we must encourage enterprise and entrepreneurship. But, if we are to do this among those whose enterprise, because of poverty, is small, we must encourage them by finding means to protect them from their present fears and perhaps from the future consequences of failure. The first has to do with training in small business operations, skills, marketing, and all the techniques that will give confidence for the adventure. The second has to do with insurance against failure. I do not say that community development ministries or agencies should largely engage in providing such assistance. What they can do is to recruit whatever local resources may be available in a community to serve this need and, at the same time, put pressure on others whose business it is to make educational and financial provision.

So far, I have pictured the local community development office as a catalyst, looking, pushing, encouraging the community to move for itself. In doing this, however, the local officer should come to know the community well. Indeed, the job could not be done if ignorance of the community prevailed. An important part of the local officer's work therefore could be the provision of information, at regular intervals, about the community. The landscape and changes in it as they occur; the major employment and occupation; the population and, in rough terms, its various distribution by age, employment, physical location, and so forth; the available local resources which might be better utilized; the availability of social services and amenities; and a number of other matters.

I say that this could be rather than would be, an important part of the local officer's work because I am not unaware of the temptation there would be to use that officer as a sort of political informer. That would be disastrous. The purpose of the reports would be to indicate the measure of well-being in the life of the community, not the political affiliations of its members, or the political gossip in its rum-shops, or the activities of the supporters of one political side or the other.

I have said that one of the great present deterrents to community development in the Commonwealth Caribbean is political rivalries. There is no doubt of it, and yet, I want to recommend the establishment, where they do not exist, and

the annoblement where they do, of local community councils. That may seem paradoxical, but it is not. The community councils I would wish to see would be community councils, not local bodies of a governing or an opposition party. Their officers would above all be servants of their communities. and not of ministers of government. Their politics would be local, and not national party politics. It should be they, the local community councils, rather than local political party organizers, who should be heard in the assessments of the conditions of the people in their local communities. And it might serve as well if those now engaged in constitutional reform could find the ways in which these local councils would be, not simply the monitors in their communities of policies already made by government, but also in some measure the advisers in the making of these policies. I have very serious doubts that in our present political and economic circumstances, the welfare of the people will be put above the welfare of the ruling political party; and in some way I should like to see the people, in their communities, called in to redress the balance.

I am aware that in this, as in much else that I have said, I might well be accused of making vague generalization rather than usefully specific comment and proposal. I plead guilty; but I also plead the necessity of the crime. It is tempting to pretend that we cure the illness by alleviating the symptoms. That, in terms of social development planning, is simply to persist in the ad hoc approach.

I hope that in some measure I have succeeded in uncovering these basic causes which, in our ex-colonial societies, militate against strong community awareness and growth. I speak of our long and adverse economic history as suppliers of raw materials, and purchasers of more expensive commodities of value added. I speak of our lack of self-confidence born of long advocacy of the social and intellectual superiority of the metropolitan elite. I speak of the cultural problems, as well as the cultural diversity, of societies formed through the centuries of adventuring, dominating, and, indeed, domineering Europeans, uprooted Africans, and transplanted Indians, Chinese, and others. And, arising out of all of that, and in case you have never heard Bob Marley, I remind you of the "rat-race" of our daily lives: the "rat-race" in search of food and favour. Those are some of the factors which contribute to our present social ills, and in any well-founded youth development programme they must be the prime targets of attack.

Ladies and gentlemen I thank you for your patience, and I apologise for the apparent presumption with which, as a layman, observer, I have declared my piece.

PARTNERS IN POLICY

Synopsis of a paper presented by participants
of the 4th Diploma Course in Youth and Develop-
ment Asia-Pacific Centre

THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY

There are three principal reasons advanced why governments should initiate national youth policy

- 1.1 The present situation of youth requires it -
 - 1.1.1 In more than 30 Commonwealth countries, young people under the age of 30 comprise at least 50 per cent of the population;
 - 1.1.2 Youth constitute more than 60 per cent of the economically active population of the Commonwealth;
 - 1.1.3 To ignore youth by doing without a national youth policy is to fail to grasp the significance of the youth contribution in a rapidly changing society.
- 1.2 National Development objectives require it -
 - 1.2.1 Governments should view youth as a valuable asset in the national development process;
 - 1.2.2 They are a comparatively mobile labour force;
 - 1.2.3 Given scope, they are a dynamic force for change;
 - 1.2.4 A national youth policy which develops the talents and potentials of youth in a conscious manner is vital to the national interest;
 - 1.2.5 In the efforts to construct a new international economic order, government will have to explain to youths why and how their contribution is needed;
 - 1.2.6 The option is not to do something for the youth, but to work with the youth; and
 - 1.2.7 The alternative is to perpetuate frustration and bitterness, leading to apathy.

- 1.3 The needs and aspirations of youth cannot legitimately be ignored -
 - 1.3.1 Democratic governments cannot ignore the needs and aspirations of half their populations; and
 - 1.3.2 In a "no policy" vacuum, government and non-government agencies working with youth cannot articulate to government what youth are saying.
2. The existence of a national youth policy makes it easier to co-ordinate the resources and funds invested in young people at all levels and by various ministries and voluntary organisations.
3. A national youth policy should take into account -
 - 3.1 The regional diversity within each country;
 - 3.2 The diversity of the youth population;
 - 3.3 The necessary level of autonomy for youth workers; and
 - 3.4 Sufficient avenues for feedback and suggestions from youth workers and young people themselves.

SCOPE OF A NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY

(1) YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

In order to achieve a meaningful participation of young people and their organisations in the process of development we recommend the following specific provisions be contained under the scope of a national youth policy.

- 1.1 Youth to participate effectively in all major decision-making processes of all levels of government in respect to social, economic, political, cultural and religious matters;
- 1.2 Government to recognise the importance of contribution by youth to national development and invite and consult with youth representation in the planning, implementation, operation and evaluation of policies and programmes;
- 1.3 Youth representation in the forums of government, if necessary introducing legislation in national and state parliaments;

- 1.4 Formation of federations of youth organisations at various levels, such as national and district youth councils; and
- 1.5 Training programmes and facilities for young leaders.

(2) EMPLOYMENT

The scope of a national youth policy should make specific provisions in regard to youth and employment and in particular confront the situation of unemployment, the single most common problem faced by the Commonwealth countries today.

2 The scope of the national youth policy should make provision for:

- 2.1 Adequate and fulfilling employment to all sections of the youth population;
- 2.2 Preventing exploitation of youth in the workforce;
- 2.3 Re-training and on-the-job training to keep pace with technological change; and
- 2.4 The immediate implementation of temporary and ongoing assistance to out-of-work youth.

3 In firstly easing the unemployment situation it is suggested that the policy should include:

- 3.1 Regular unconditional assistance through either cash payments or alternative schemes to provide an adequate life while unemployed;
- 3.2 Medical and hospital coverage while unemployed
- 3.3 Innovative programmes and alternatives to employment that counteract the social and psychological effects of unemployment, through education in living skills training that will equip the individual to cope better with being unemployed;
- 3.4 Vocational and business skills training which increases the employability and hence productivity of young people through initiatives in work co-operatives, community based self-help schemes; self employment and entrepreneurship schemes;
- 3.5 Increasing rural employment opportunities and incentives in an attempt to avoid the worsening and more difficult urban unemployment problems.

(3) EDUCATION

The ability of a society to provide more adequate and better education for its members can be regarded as one of the objectives of economic development. But as well as being an end of development, it should also be seen as a significant instrument in achieving it.

2 If education is to act as an instrument of development policy, and we maintain it definitely should, governments need to initiate new policies towards realigning the education system in this context as a stage and strategy of national development.

3 The scope of a national youth policy should include under education, provisions for:

- 3.1 Free and meaningful education within easy access for all young people;
- 3.2 The cost for all levels of education to be borne by the state not the individual or the family;
- 3.3 Out-of-school non-formal education for young people who do not participate in the formal education system or whose learning requirements are not met by the formal education system;
- 3.4 Special educational facilities for the physically handicapped, mentally retarded emotionally disturbed and hospitalised young people;
- 3.5 Vocational guidance and job placement services linked to the educational system via departments of employment and manpower planning;
- 3.6 For youth to contribute towards evaluations of the current education system so that their views may be taken into consideration in modifying educational policies by providing youth representation on school or academic boards;
- 3.7 Civic education as a means of broadening the range of learning to include the opportunity for young people to learn aspects of international cultural, social and national functioning.

(4) NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

Non-formal education is an organised and planned educational activity operating outside the structure and routine of the formal school-oriented system of education. It is a process of understanding the individual's own need, the environmental situation, the societal goals, and their mutual inter-relationships.

In the context of a national youth policy the fundamental aim is to help the young people to develop their learning needs, which are related to health, nutrition, family planning, functional literacy and numeracy, skills for improving family life such as building up good personal character traits and positive attitudes, increasing agricultural productivity, developing skills for gaining full or part-time employment to supplement the family income, co-operating with local government and voluntary organisations in development programmes and activities.

(5) SOCIAL CHANGE

In many of the Commonwealth countries there is too great a gap between the objectives and policies as pursued by existing political, social and economic systems and those which youth can accept. It is not being advocated that the views of those systems must be identical with those of youth. However within the systems there must be sufficient room for the free expression of opinion, activity and self organisation of young people. Otherwise it might lead to the existence of a static society in which youth fails to play its vital role as a stimulator and agent of change.

2 The National youth policy therefore should:

- 2.1 Create accessible structures for youth, through which youth can effectively mobilise public opinion to bring the developmental needs of their fellow citizens to the attention of the authorities. The structures should include new ways of utilising modern media of communication - periodic youth forums on radio and television, youth columns in national dailies, and publication of youth magazines;
- 2.2 Encourage youth to educate the community through folk plays, work camps and public forums on issues of local and international concern;
- 2.3 Facilitate the greater interchange of young people from developed and developing areas of the world as a step in breaking down racial barriers and fostering greater understanding.

(6) INFORMATION AND DATA BASE

In most of the Commonwealth countries, there is not sufficient knowledge on the current situation of youth. This results in authorities formulating policies on youth concentrating on superficial issues, thus directing attention from or obscuring the real aspirations and needs of youth.

2 The scope of the national youth policy should make provision for:

- 2.1 Development of a comprehensive information and data base for the planning and evaluation of programmes relevant to young people and broad national objectives;
- 2.2 Establishing a youth information and research unit within the national department having primary functional responsibility for youth to perform these tasks;
- 2.3 Creating opportunities for youth and government to evaluate and assess the programmes designed to develop and harness youth potential.

(7) LEISURE RECREATION AND SPORTS

Recreational programmes serve a useful purpose in the overall planning of youth programmes; the need therefore must be borne in mind for a balance to be established between those of a purely recreational nature and those aimed, for example at training the youth in various skills, with a view to either personal development or more appropriate employment.

2 Hence, the scope of the national youth policy should make provision for:

- 2.1 Educating the youth and their leaders on the philosophy and fundamentals of recreation and sport;
- 2.2 Assessing youth's leisure needs and recreational interests at both national and community levels, and formulating comprehensive programmes and plans that make the best possible use of available physical, social, financial and human resources;
- 2.3 Providing appropriate structures for promoting, planning, developing, implementing, co-ordinating and advising on recreational and sport activities for youth;

- 2.4 Training of professionals and leaders in the field of recreation and sport with good understanding of modern recreation philosophy and programme areas concerning youth;
- 2.5 Enabling the youth to contribute their ideas, suggestions and potentials in planning, leading, participating and evaluating their recreational and sport activities.

(8) RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

We believe a committed programme by governments in rural regeneration would play a major role in halting the rural-urban drift in many of our countries.

2 The enormous exodus of rural youth to urban areas has been recognised as one of the chief reasons for heavy urban unemployment.

3 The scope of the national youth policy should focus on:-

- 3.1 Providing more productive employment opportunities and incentives in rural areas;
- 3.2 Enhancing the quality of rural life to reverse the present migration to towns;
- 3.3 Reducing the traditional dependence of rural areas on a few primary products;
- 3.4 Achievement of a fuller utilisation of available physical and human resources;
- 3.5 Increasing agricultural efficiency for all farmers. Development must not result in prosperous farmers growing richer while peasants grow poorer.

(9) POLICY AND PROGRAMME INTEGRATION

The scope of a national youth policy should ensure that there are adequate administrative arrangements to integrate the youth policy with other national policies; and to integrate the delivery of youth services across the separate government departments and the non-government organisations implementing programmes affecting youth.

2 These arrangements should apply at the ministerial and bureaucratic levels. Arrangements should also be made at the scale at which programmes are implemented - local and district-regional.

3 We propose a decentralisation of decision making on programme expenditure within national guidelines. In our view, policy creation is a national level function; programme development may be shared between the national and regional levels- but programme implementation can conveniently be left to the regional-district level.

4 Our concern is to ensure that national policy intentions actually get carried out on the ground. Youth involvement in national development has to be on a mass scale. The youth contribution will be weakened if the programme implementation results in only a selective outreach to young people.

EVOLVING A NATIONAL YOUTH POLICY

National governments committed to introducing a national youth policy have a number of options open to them by which a policy can be formulated.

2 It is the specialist working group which we have chosen since we believe it is the approach most likely to be adopted by the majority of Commonwealth countries.

3 In the paper we outline a logical sequence of procedures covering:-

- establishment and composition of working group
- terms of reference
- drafting stages
- public consultation and research
- circulation of draft report and feedback
- additional resources and assistance
- final report and recommendations

4 The consultation process we have recommended including a representative working group appears to us to meet the criteria of efficiency, credibility, comprehensiveness and sensitivity to diversity that should characterise the process of formulating a national youth policy.

ROLE OF COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME

There is a vital and ongoing contribution to be played by the Commonwealth Youth Programme but we suggest certain shifts in emphasis to encourage flexibility of design and implementation and programmes to meet the individual needs of Commonwealth member governments through:

- fellowships and study grants
- short term national training courses
- short term courses at the regional centres
- development of small mobile training teams
- international exchanges of youth leaders
- national and international meetings of young leaders.

YOUTH POLICIES - SOME PRINCIPLES FOR CONSIDERATION

Prof. K. S. Murshid
Assistant Secretary-General
Commonwealth Secretariat

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of my paper is to review the arguments, the ideas and the proposals that have been placed before us by the lead speakers and delegates over the last three days. I shall be looking for common ground and for those propositions which have withstood the critical examination of this meeting. I hope that in the end I will be able to commend to your attention some of the principles which have already been defined in the course of our discussions and which might form the basis of a youth policy.

Why have a youth policy?

Delegates will recall that Mr. Sabanayagam commenced his paper with a challenging question: "Why should a country have a youth policy?". In part, his answer was that of the practical administrator - because urban youth is restive and unless the youth can be appeased, they will rock the boat and may even sink it. But he also demonstrated the concern of a social reformer - rural youth is grossly underprivileged and some better way must be found for meeting their urgent needs.

Peter Mandelson, speaking as a young person from a Western industrialised country, considered that a youth policy was necessary because there were areas of social policy where young people had special needs arising from their age.

The Diploma Course participants had three principal reasons why there should be a youth policy - first, the numerical importance of youth (Mr. Sabanayagam's demographic tilt); second, the contribution they can make to national development; and third, the needs and aspirations of youth cannot legitimately be ignored.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, there was no serious challenge made to the concept of a youth policy, although if I remember correctly, some delegates felt that the case of youth's special needs had not been fully established.

An Integrated Policy

The question of the integration of different aspects of a youth policy concerned Mr. Sabanayagam, Mr. Mandelson, and the course participants.

Indeed, Mr. Sabanayagam's point was that although India had several youth programmes - the NAEP, the NYK, the NSSP and the NCC - this plethora of initials does not spell out YOUTH POLICY. As he put it:

"The programmes have been organized without any well-defined overall objectives having been kept in view. Naturally, the programmes do not subserve any pre-determined objectives. They are sporadic and isolated from each other."

Peter Mandelson called on governments to fill in the gaps in youth programme content to provide a coherent youth policy.

The authors of "Partners in Policy" stated that the scope of a national youth policy should ensure that there are adequate administrative arrangements to integrate the youth policy with other national policies and to integrate the delivery of youth services across the separate government departments and the non-government organizations implementing programmes affecting youth.

The need to integrate youth policy with other related national policies is an important point. The Secretary-General, you will recall, at the inauguration of this meeting, asked the question. "Do we need a single youth policy or a set of policies? Do we need a single blue-print or a series of integrated programmes articulated to meet specific needs but consistent each with the other and with a total social policy strategy?"

Professor Hall gave his answer - the total community approach. He rejected ad hoc policies which were reactions to pressing problems as they arose. He asked us to resist the temptation to treat youth as if they alone formed the community. We should plan for communities including young and old.

I found the Professor's approach persuasive, but why has the community development approach not found more favour in the social service systems of the world?

Although the Professor based his case upon the experience of the Caribbean and saw in the region's history a partial explanation for current policy responses, I would suggest that the Caribbean is by no means alone in adopting policies which are reactive to specific situations and which may be categorised as rescue operations.

Throughout the world, both in the developed industrial countries and in the developing countries, we still have fences at the top of the cliff, but each year we are placing more ambulances at the bottom.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the contribution from our colleague, Dr. Onyanka from Kenya, who reminded us of the political imperatives.

If, nevertheless, Commonwealth countries are persuaded to search for a more integrated approach to youth policy, they will need to consider the training implications.

It is an indication of how well we have applied our minds to

the selected topic of youth policy that we have not given much attention to the question of the training of youth workers. Professor Hall proposed that the field staff of the Ministry of Community Development should be trained to look for linkages and relationships between various services, events, programmes, and to try to develop relationships. Clearly, if a community development approach is to be adopted, the training of all social service workers should be closely related. Perhaps such officers as social workers, student counsellors, community health nurses, recreation and youth workers should be given the same basic course in human services, with the specialist subjects which differentiate their respective callings being added as required. This would not only aid communication between community-based workers, but would also assist in the movement of social service workers between the various groups as age and changing interests might dictate.

Youth Participation

A recurrent theme in all of the papers presented has been youth participation. The young people's voice - the need for it to sound and the need for it to be heard was at the heart of Mr. Mandelson's paper.

The need for consultation and involvement of those affected by government decisions is, of course, generally accepted as desirable. But only rarely is it achieved to a satisfactory degree. Consultation can delay decision-making, it can promote confusion rather than achieve clarification and it can serve the needs of the articulate minority rather than the silent majority. These are some of the reasons advanced by administrators the world over to explain why policies for the benefit of the community are devised in offices in the capital and not in the meeting place in the village.

But youth has a further hurdle. Their very lack of experience, their tendency to think laterally and their disrespect for proper channels, for approved procedures and for due process make them uneasy partners for the administrators.

Some countries have adopted youth policies which involve compulsory service - sometimes military in nature but always involving some form of community work. Delegates will recall that Mr. Sananayagam did not favour the compulsory approach to community service, because in that way the necessary spirit of dedicated service was unlikely to be forthcoming.

I notice however that many countries with quite liberal attitudes to personal freedom accept compulsory education and compulsory trade union membership. Those countries which favour compulsory youth service need, I would suggest, to be particularly careful to ensure that they mobilise their young not only in body but also in spirit.

The involvement of young people in community service is for their benefit just as much as it is for the benefit of the

community that is served. If they are given the opportunity for commitment and total involvement, they will achieve personal growth and enrichment of life.

I recall that Peter Mandelson pointed out that the apathetic young of today are the apathetic old of tomorrow. Apathy is no basis for national development. An educational system which is based on instruction and which fails to engage the understanding or to develop the creativity of the young is an advance order for later rescue operations.

Diversity and the Policy Response

In designing our procedures for participation and consultation, and indeed in constructing our entire youth policy strategy, we must recognize the great diversity of the youth population.

I recall that Mr. Sabanayagam noted that the vitality associated with youth now lasts much longer and this may have led to the extension of the age range of our clients up to 35.

Of course, age is a very relative matter. A prime minister at 35 would be young indeed, but a footballer of these years would be coming down the hill fast.

In identifying the dimensions of the youth sector for the purpose of policy-making, I would, personally, prefer to work on the basis of 15 to 25, although I accept that many youth ministries will be concerned with the out-of-school activities of school-aged children.

Within that relatively narrow age range, there will still be closely defined client groups. As the Secretary-General pointed out, a young tradesman of 24 with a job and a wife and two children is more likely to identify with a married tradesman twice his age than with a 17 year old apprentice.

Let me here enter a special plea for the young women of the Commonwealth. Let us be sure that our youth policies meet their special needs. If the young find the transition from the relatively protected environments of home and school daunting and the search for work dispiriting, how much more so is it for the young women who have to face, in many countries, a discrimination which is based on sex.

The diversity within the client group dictates the need for a diversity in policy responses and the need for a very sensitive and delicate formula from those designing, implementing and administering youth policies. It brings to the fore once again the need for consultation and participation of the young and it emphasises the need for a policy which is both comprehensive and flexible.

Both these points are made in "Partners in Policy". As the students rightly put it, "a policy is not a strait-jacket and as youth workers we would expect that a national youth policy would take into account the following variables :

- regional diversity within each country
- the diversity of the youth population
- the necessary level of autonomy for youth
- workers who are interacting with young people"

I dealt earlier in this paper with the need for an integrated policy. The fact that there are many different types of need among many different categories of young people brings to the fore the need for policy integration and for a clear concept of the overall objective of youth policy. Otherwise we are back with what has been termed ad hoc and fragmentary approach.

All social policy systems and programmes need to be flexible because societies are organic - they grow, develop, change their contents and nature.

Policies must be able to adapt to ensure that they maintain relevance.

Policy and Programme Evaluation

A policy once established has its very existence as its main justification. The administrators tend to like what is, rather than the uncertainties of what ought to be. The politicians favour a status quo which does not upset existing beneficiaries.

Moreover, it is not always easy to establish that an ongoing programme has lost touch with reality.

That is why, I believe, Mr. Sabanayagam was right to stress the need for systematic evaluation of all youth programmes.

National Policies and the CYP

A further conclusion arises from this need for comprehensive, flexible and relevant youth policies. Youth policies must be tailored to the specific needs of individual countries - it would not be feasible, let alone wise, to produce a blueprint policy suitable for all countries. To do so would require the adoption of a degree of generality which would descend to the banal.

As Mr. Sabanayagam said in his paper, youth development is an extremely sensitive area. Countries of the Commonwealth must seek their own solutions on the basis of their own needs and their own experience. But the experience of other Commonwealth countries may well help them to decide that they should avoid certain courses of action or, more positively, adopt some other policy option.

It is not surprising in a meeting which has adopted a very constructive and positive approach to youth policy making

that comparatively little thought has been given to the obstacles which lie in the way. It is probably true to say that youth policy rarely receives the high rating it deserves in the national policy priority list. All the more reason, therefore, for the practitioners of this delicate art to seek help from each other in devising policies which will be convincing to those who determine financial and legislative priorities.

Both Mr. Sabanayagam and the course participants saw a role for the CYP in helping Commonwealth countries to develop youth policies.

Mr. Sabanayagam proposed that the CYP should, on request and with appropriate discrimination, secure the services of experts to assist in policy formulation.

The CYP does have the ability to do this, either through its own funds (it has £ 20,000 set aside in 1979/80 for Advisory Services to Governments and for consultancies and commissions) or through the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation.

He also proposed that the CYP should continue to help in the exchange of ideas by following up on this meeting with further meetings at regional or sub-regional level. This too would be possible.

His third suggestion was that the CYP should act as a clearing house for information on the activities of other countries in the youth field. This is indeed one of the CYP's functions and the information we are gathering will have from the country papers provided at this meeting will be of great assistance in updating our present information and I hope that those representatives to this meeting who were not able to provide a country statement will recognize their value and send one to the Commonwealth Secretariat as soon as possible. We may well wish to publish the statements, in whole or in part, in the publication which will be produced as a result of this meeting.

The authors of "Partners in Policy" recommended an increasing emphasis on fellowships and short term national training courses. They will be pleased to know that there will be increased provision for fellowships in the 1979/80 financial year. I am less hopeful that we will be able to run more national training courses. However, should the funding of the Programme be increased, this will be one of the first priorities.

Conclusions

Summing up what I have presented in this paper, I suggest to you that we might agree that the following six principles or conclusions might be used to guide our thinking in the area of youth policy :

- (1) A youth policy is necessary;
- (2) The policy has to be integrative and not divisive;
- (3) It must provide for participation by the young in policy formulation, implementation and administration;
- (4) It must recognize the diversity of the youth population and the great variety of needs; the policy must therefore be comprehensive and flexible;
- (5) To ensure relevance is maintained, it must be continually evaluated;
- (6) Although each country must determine for itself the nature and content of its own youth programme, it should both learn from the experience of others and help others itself by providing information on its own experiences through co-operation through the Commonwealth Youth Programme.

Mr. Chairman, this is no prescription for a detailed youth programme, but I hope a useful set of principles to which we could all subscribe.

I hope that it will contribute to the new ideas, or the new variations on old ideas for policy which you will take back with you to your own countries. What you do with them there, in the words of the distinguished delegate from the Solomon Islands, will be your business.

RECORD OF DISCUSSIONS

1. International and Historical Constraints

In his paper, Professor Hall criticised youth policies which amounted to nothing more than ad hoc, short-term "rescue" operations. His point was well taken by delegates. Some stressed, however, historical reasons why this had been so. They said that temporary "rescue" measures had been unavoidable in the post-independence period, because of colonial conditioning. "Historically, we were lead to believe that, once capital resources had been harnessed, development would follow." An emphasis on capital resource accumulation had meant little attention to manpower resource development.

Such an emphasis was compounded by the international economic situation. Delegates referred to the North/South Dialogue and the search for a New International Economic Order. But what had the search produced? "Year after year, conferences and meetings are held and, year after year, promises are made." Apparently to little effect, since governments continued to lack funds to develop human resources and to provide long-term, coherent policies for youth. Delegates were reminded of Professor Hall's quote from Bob Marley about the "rat-race" of daily life, in which youth policy had suffered.

Nor was youth policy alone, as one delegate pointed out. "Our experiences of youth policy are typical also of so many experiences we have had in other areas of development policy. Very limited resources have been a major constraint."

The need to turn away from emphasis on capital resource accumulation to human resource development was advanced by some delegates. "Political infra-structure," moreover, "is required to mobilise for a national development that will last from one generation to the next....a change is required in our national values."

Such change saw human resource development and community services as the "core element in national development policy".

2. Youth Policy and National Experience

While delegates saw common historical and international constraints on successful development of youth policy, they agreed particularly that no single blueprint for a youth policy could be formulated. Within countries there were, notwithstanding shared constraints, vast differences in social cultural and political backgrounds.

This point was made very strongly, both in the opening discussion following Mr. Sabanayagam's presentation, and in

the extended period of free discussion before Professor Murshid's summary. Reference was made to the President of India's opening address:

"The youth policy of every country should grow out of the experience of that country and it should be consistent with its social and economic goals. It should provide a firm basis for the development of youth and its participation in society."

Delegates strove, therefore, to reach broad consensus on principal issues. They recognised the long standing interest of the Commonwealth Youth Programme, at the behest of Commonwealth governments, in the development of youth affairs, and recognised that their own responsibility lay in "percolating" agreed ideas and principles back to those in authority in their own countries for application in national terms.

3. The Gravity of the Problems facing Youth

In agreeing such a general approach, however, delegates recognised the particular problems that young people were facing, and that these problems were expanding. Professor Hall reminded the Meeting that, in Jamaica, of 40,000 secondary school leavers only 10,000 would find employment. What did the future hold for these young people? They were idealistic, had expectations, were not politicians. The young could well turn their idealism and energies to overturning a system which they felt neglected them.

This point was returned to later in the Meeting, when one delegate commented: "We should not underestimate youth. Youth have changed governments. They have even changed military governments."

Some delegates felt that an order of priorities was required. It was impossible to solve all problems. Crucial areas should be identified, priorities within them allocated, and work loads assigned.

Professor Hall's concern for youth unemployment as a crucial area was shared by the Chandigarh Diploma Course participants. They argued that special attention required to be given to those who were in "the most effective stage of working life". In the course of economic regeneration in each Commonwealth country this would seem a natural proposition.

4. Two Major Lines of Debate

Whether or not it was a natural proposition was extensively debated. Some delegates felt that the young were more imperilled by the rigours of development than other sections of society. They indicated, for instance, the urban drift in many Commonwealth countries - where destitution in rural areas had forced huge groups of predominantly young people to attempt an often fruitless migration to the cities in search of employment.

Delegates recalled earlier Commonwealth agreement at the 1978 Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council in Ottawa, that programmes for youth would have a more significant impact if designed as part of an overall youth policy in each country.

Should such a youth policy, however, be distinct from other policies to do with national development, or be a part of them? Those delegates who supported a distinct youth policy referred to the need of a nation to harness the energies of youth; they argued that the young seemed to lack commitment in nations without a specific youth policy; nations without a youth policy were able to channel provision for youth only to a small section of young people at large. They further argued that a specific youth policy was an ideal means of ensuring that the voice of youth was heard and that it carried influence in shaping policy.

These delegates did not advocate that a youth policy should be formed in isolation of other policies for national development; they agreed that, while specific, youth policy should be carefully related to other policies.

The essential difference between the two lines of debate was the degree of relationship deemed necessary. The second line of thought considered that development should be considered in its totality. Youth policy was one branch of this totality; youth policy derived from it and did not stand in special relationship to it.

The division was expressed by the delegate from Guyana, who characterised the choice as "either a policy for youth, or a policy in which youth can be participants". The delegate from Sierra Leone found it "very difficult to divorce a youth policy from an overall national policy for development". The delegate from Tanzania also stated his views clearly: "Youth form part of an integrated sum total of the political, social and economic setup of a particular nation. They must not be isolated from the many aspects which are part and parcel of national development."

One delegate did observe, however, that the call for a specific, separate youth policy might well arise from the failure of other national policies to improve the plight of the young.

5. Objectives of Youth Policy

After much discussion along these lines, delegates felt that common objectives were involved - whether as a result of specific youth policy or youth policy as part of overall national development. Meeting the essential needs of young people was agreed as fundamental. Such needs could best be serviced, firstly through education. The use of both formal education and non-formal education programmes - for youth in and out of the normal schooling system - was recognised.

Mr. Sabanayagam in his paper had emphasised the commitment of the Indian Government to educational provision. In the field of non-formal education, India launched the National Adult Education Programme on 2 October 1978. The Programme aims to reach the entire population of 100 million illiterate persons in the 15-35 age group within the next five years. Mr. Sabanayagam, in reply to questions from the floor, stressed that non-formal education was not of a lower quality than that provided through the formal system. The Government of India, he said, lay great store in its drive to eliminate illiteracy because it felt that literacy was a cornerstone for self improvement and self reliance, particularly among young people.

Secondly, the need to mobilise and interest youth in national development was recognised. The energy, idealism and commitment of young people could be harnessed beneficially. Full participation in the "decision-making process" was, therefore, a requisite.

Youth policy required particular attention to the needs of young women. It was recognised that, in existing programmes, women effectively received only the fringe benefits, in the sense that their special needs were generally not met. Starting from a point of disadvantage, without special provision, the effect of existing programmes meant that women as a group were falling increasingly behind. The special needs of young women were perceived as existing both in education - in and out of the schooling system - and employment opportunities. Their needs existed in both urban and rural settings.

The needs of young women were, therefore, felt to require special application of comprehensive youth policy. For a youth policy to be comprehensive, the areas of education, participation and employment required to be covered in urban and rural contexts.

6. Mutual support between Youth and Governments

In determining the objectives of youth policy, delegates noted the costs involved in attaining them. It was noted, for instance, that employment-generating schemes were expensive; developing such schemes might be impracticable because of financial constraints. In discussions arising from the presentation by the Diploma Course participants, the question "What can governments afford?" was turned on its head. The course participants posed the question "Can a government afford not to develop such employment-generating schemes?" It was argued that young people were poised to make strategic and major contributions to national development. Conversely, if their energies were not utilised, particularly in a manner that left youth disillusioned, a large gap could grow in social commitment to development goals; the future economic regeneration of the nation might be adversely affected.

Discussion on the presentation by the course participants broadened with the consideration that perhaps the young were asking too much of their governments. Delegates asked whether, instead, the approach of youth should be "What can youth do for their governments?", not merely "What can governments do for youth?"

Discussion focused on the question of the rural-urban drift, and the acute employment problems this reflected. The Diploma Course participants acknowledged that there were no simple solutions. Delegates were reminded that urban migration had its roots in development strategies based too strongly on capital resource accumulation, capital investment and industrialisation. The change "required in our national values" could here be implemented. The course participants agreed that youth should contribute its energies and idealism to rural development, but that governments had a definite role to play in providing incentives and infrastructure for the establishment of rural industries, and in emphasising labour-intensive activities in rural areas. In this way, youth and governments would help each other.

Delegates agreed the attractiveness of such a co-operative approach. They recognised the need for rural development. The delegate from Malawi, himself a farmer, felt that "youth should be able to work with their hands", in their contribution to national development. The delegate from Kenya agreed that youth should participate to the fullest in rural development, "and be assisted in participation. They should have a choice of employment when they leave school, or be given opportunities to become productively self-employed in rural self-employment. Life in the rural areas should be such as to advance the contribution of youth."

It was agreed that training of young people was of particular importance in facilitating youth's contribution to national development, particularly in the rural sector.

7. A Unified Approach

Bearing in mind agreed objectives for youth policy, and the fact that youth and governments should co-operate in national development, it was agreed that the two lines of debate - whether youth policy should be specific or part of an integrated whole - overlapped considerably. Individual countries would naturally emphasise the approach they deemed most desirable, but all aimed in the same direction.

8. Policies of High Quality

Delegates also agreed that youth policy required certain attributes in order to retain its effectiveness and continue to mobilise the enthusiasm of its "clientele".

Youth policy required first to be comprehensive, in line with earlier agreement. This was necessary because of the extent of the problems facing youth. It required to be flexible,

due to the diversity of the problems and their changing nature. Delegates agreed that nothing could be of greater disservice to the young than static, moribund youth policies. Finally, to aid comprehensiveness and flexibility, youth policy required to be regularly evaluated. Delegates felt that such attention would ensure youth policies of high quality.

9. Government Machinery

While agreeing that the two lines of debate overlapped, that a partnership between youth and governments was necessary, that youth policies - however addressed - should be open to evaluation, delegates recognised that there are different approaches to the kinds of government machinery that may be used in executing youth policy. Should specific ministries be established to cover youth affairs, or should youth policy proceed via established government organs in the wide variety of fields of concern not only to youth but the population at large?

Delegates agreed that structures were required to co-ordinate the formulation and implementation of policy. They disagreed as to whether such co-ordination should be the province of a special ministry or of a co-ordinating agency with access to several ministries. With a comprehensive youth policy involved with so many areas of national affairs, (education, manpower planning, rural development), all requiring financial subventions from treasury departments or development corporations, no single ministry could assume co-ordination without dangers of tokenism or mere "window-dressing".

Conversely, it was pointed out by the Diploma Course participants - who had accumulated field experience in youth affairs - that, in their joint experience, programme implementation of policies for youth had rarely been satisfactory. Different programmes from different ministries and agencies often overlapped, or even conflicted. Programmes tended to be a series of vertical operations with little horizontal inter-action. A lack of resource integration often meant wastage.

The same points had been raised by Mr. Sabanayagam in his address. He had commented that the youth programmes in India highlighted the need for co-ordination. Programmes as they stood were sporadic and isolated from one another. Although individually impressive, programmes generated serious imbalances. There was, he said, no rationale in the allocation of funds between programmes meant for a comparatively small number of student youth and those for the much larger group of non-student youth.

The course participants indicated several instances of successful co-ordination, including ministries of youth affairs. One example was the Samoan Ministry of Youth Affairs and its use of a 'seminar' system of consultation and co-ordination. While not confining their views to

ministries of youth affairs, the course participants advocated a central body to plan for youth within the framework of the national economy to ensure co-ordination of youth programmes, to recognise voluntary organisations working for young people and to disburse financial resources to those that met established criteria.

As discussion proceeded it was noted that, in several African countries, young people were already playing key roles in government. In one country, the average age of Cabinet members was 32. The observation was made, however, that while this indicated that some young individuals were in positions of power, this did not mean that young people generally had an effective influence on policy, or that satisfactory arrangements existed for the effective execution and development of youth policy.

Delegates re-emphasised their agreement that co-ordination was necessary for effective government policy on youth affairs. Clearly, however, the choice of co-ordinating structure would vary from country to country.

10. Youth Participation

Discussion broadened to the question of youth participation in policy formulation. The bridge between governmental co-ordinating apparatus and the concept of participation was made by Mr. Mandelson, in replying to questions on his paper. He had no time, he said, for imitation parliaments, in "separate fora or committees for youth," divorced from the real decision-making process. "I'm not in the business of talking about policy for hours on end without the ability to do something about it."

His point was taken up by some delegates, who questioned whether - even given every opportunity - young people generally had a desire to become participants in policy-formulation at a high level. Where was evidence of motivation? They pointed to levels of youth apathy evident in many countries. Young people generally had the vote at age 18. Opportunities for participation therefore existed widely. The question was not one of deliberate exclusion on the parts of governments, but of failure on the part of youth to utilise opportunities.

Other delegates differed, believing that special institutional structures were necessary to facilitate participation by young people. If young people had the chance and the structures to participate in an orderly fashion, there would be less likelihood of political protest and disaffection. Delegates indicated the experience of member Commonwealth countries which had provided for active and responsible involvement of young people in, for instance, university and local government structures. Such involvement had encouraged and facilitated creative dialogue and co-operative action.

The majority view was that a need existed for mechanisms for youth participation. Differences existed as to whether these should provide for increased access to present political platforms, or for specifically created structures for the expression of youth.

There were three divergences from this view. One held that limits should be set as to the extent of special provision for youth participation, lest democracy be seen to have undue preferences. A second held that youth should not merely plead their case in the form of a search for concessions. The delegate from Zambia recommended that the young should "organise themselves into pressure groups", to make policy organs respond to their case. The third observed that bureaucratic forms were often ineffective. The case of rural development was cited. What youth needed in such a case was not access to participation, but access to land.

Great enthusiasm was expressed, however, for Professor Hall's paper, in which he had argued forcibly for participation at community level. Westminster styles of government, the Professor said, were founded at a time of no mass media, of no developing countries with their special needs. What was now required was a style of government that included continuing dialogue among all sections of the nation - government, party and people. The needs of development required mass commitment; the facilities of mass media could integrate this on a national level. Professor Hall believed that community councils provided a forum for ordinary men and women to become involved in the debate on policy.

The Diploma Course participants also attached great importance to community participation. They proposed a decentralisation of decision-making on programme expenditure and conduct within national guidelines. It was their view that, while policy creation was a national level function, programme development could be prosecuted with the national and regional levels working in concert, and programme implementation could properly be left to the regional/district levels. They were concerned that national policy decisions should be effectively carried out on the ground. Community involvement would ensure that young people were involved in national development on a mass scale.

11. The Role of the Commonwealth Youth Programme

Delegates recognised the Commonwealth Youth Programme's (CYP) long standing interest and concern for government policy on youth affairs. They viewed the presentation by the Diploma Course participants as evidence of the Programme's ability to disseminate information on policy widely and to good effect. They recommended that awareness of the various approaches to youth policy should be a mainstay of the Diploma Courses in Youth and Development.

In turn, the course participants felt that the most significant attribute of the CYP was its flexibility in responding to the needs of Commonwealth countries, notwithstanding its lack of

financial resources. They suggested, as further courses of action by the CYP, increased national-level training courses, the institution of mobile training teams, and an increased emphasis on meetings of young Commonwealth leaders.

The lack of financial resources was, naturally, a source of great concern to individual countries seeking to implement comprehensive youth policies. One delegate recommended that the CYP should organise a high-level meeting on the subject of aid for youth programmes.

Delegates discussed the role of the CYP, recommending action in the areas of fellowships, short-term training at national level, and the increased collection of useful data which would be of use to policy-makers. Emphasis was placed on the problem of youth unemployment and in meeting of young Commonwealth leaders - on local, national and regional, as well as pan-Commonwealth levels.

The Meeting regretted the CYP's increasing problems with finance. They regretted, in particular, the suspension of job creation projects authorised by the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council in April, 1978. Turning to the question of best results for funds available, delegates requested an enhancement of the CYP's information service. Co-ordination with other international agencies was also considered desirable.

The delegate from Britain spoke on the subject of highest quality from scarce resources. "What the Commonwealth Youth Programme cannot give in quantity, it can certainly make up in quality. A quality programme has certain attributes, of which the level of sharing and interchange among members is one. I look, in particular, to such meetings as the Meeting of Young Commonwealth Leaders in Ocho Rios, and the Second Meeting due to be held shortly in Sri Lanka, as evidence of quality in interchange at a crucial level."

TEN PRINCIPLES OF YOUTH POLICY

After the presentations and discussion, delegates agreed the following ten basic principles which could be regarded as having common application to all Commonwealth governments in formulating, evaluating and revising government policy on youth affairs:

1. A youth policy or full co-ordinated set of policies for young people is necessary.
2. It should be consistent with and supportive of the national development strategy.
3. It must recognise the diversity of the youth population and the great variety of needs; the policy must therefore be comprehensive and flexible.

4. The policy must be integrative and not divisive. Provision should be made for appropriate machinery for the co-ordination of policies of various government departments as they affect youth.
5. It must provide for participation by the young in policy formulation, implementation and administration.
6. Consistent with 3, above, it should ensure that youth programmes make appropriate provision for young women.
7. It must provide training programmes for people working with youth, consistent with the overall objectives of the youth policy.
8. To ensure that relevance is maintained youth policy must be continually evaluated.
9. Although each country must determine for itself the nature and conduct of its own youth programme, it is suggested that each country take the opportunities provided to learn from the experience of others, and to assist others by providing information and practical help based on its own experiences through the Commonwealth Youth Programme.
10. The Commonwealth Youth Programme must keep informed on the youth policies of member states through meetings such as the Chandigarh Meeting on Government Policy on Youth Affairs, meetings of the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council and pan-Commonwealth Meetings of Young Leaders.

The Meeting concluded with a discussion on general points of interest in the field of youth affairs.

PRINCIPLES AND THEN WHAT?

The ten principles are no more than a starting point for further consideration by Commonwealth Governments of youth policy content and practice. The so-called principles might more properly be considered as a "code of good practice" or a checklist rather than a set of principles. They are certainly not a set of commandments.

The principles themselves should be open to challenge and to reassessment. They may be added to or subtracted from.

We hope that this document will serve to stimulate study and discussion. We hope it will be used by future training courses, seminars and workshops run by the CYP Regional Centres for Africa, the Caribbean and Asia-Pacific. We hope too that governments will use the document to facilitate their own reappraisals of youth programmes and the development and selection of policy options.

The important point is to ensure that the ten principles are used as a starting point and that there is a firm intention to use the apparatus of the CYP to continue the policy dialogue and to continue to learn from each other's experience.

Appendix A

Commonwealth Meeting on Government Policy

on Youth Affairs

Opening Ceremony

COMMONWEALTH MEETING ON GOVERNMENT POLICY ON YOUTH AFFAIRS

OPENING CEREMONY

ADDRESS BY: H.E. MR. SHRIDATH S. RAMPHAL
Commonwealth Secretary-General

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, The President of India, Commonwealth colleagues.

You do us great honour, President Reddy, by being with us today and opening this Commonwealth Meeting concerned with government policies on youth affairs.

The Government of India has been a consistent and constructive supporter of the Commonwealth Youth Programme. This Asia-Pacific Centre provided through the generosity of the Indian Government is testimony enough. And it is fitting that this young Programme, both idealistic and practical in concept, should have one of its regional centres established in a young city and especially in this city. Chandigarh is a dramatic social statement: an affirmation of belief in man's ability to live in harmony with his environment. The Commonwealth Youth Programme is also a social statement: an affirmation of belief that by working together the countries of the Commonwealth can provide a better life for its young people.

The Commonwealth Youth Programme was first contemplated in 1969. In part, it was a defensive reaction to the wave of student unrest in the late 60's. But there was also a positive side to the Commonwealth's reaction to the frustrated energy of the young - acceptance of the challenge to better organize our societies, to harness this energy, to make constructive use of the enterprise and the idealism of the young, to recruit youth to purposes which are socially constructive and not socially destructive.

The conclusion of Heads of Government in Ottawa in 1973, that a Commonwealth Youth Programme should be established, was a brave decision. Not everyone is enamoured of the idea of youth policy; and this is not just the reaction of the diminishing tribe who eschew State action in social matters and who believe that youth is best left to the schools, the Scouts, and the Church. Some young radicals look with a cautious eye on the hand extended by the State to help youth lest it be the clasp, the grasp that applies restraint and re-direction. Others, less suspicious, worry lest policy, instead of being socially responsive and integrating, becomes divisive - creating barriers between the young and other sections of the community.

A further difficulty is, of course, identifying the young. Who are they? Should a youth programme be concerned with all

young people - from birth to, say, 25 or 30? Can age alone be the touchstone? Will a young tradesman of 24, with a job and a wife and two children, identify as readily with a 17 year old apprentice as with a married tradesman twice his age?

And these are only some of the rocks around which we must navigate in the uncharted waters of youth policy. Do we need a single youth policy or a set of policies? A single blueprint or a series of integrated programmes articulated to meet specific needs, but consistent each with the other and with a total social policy strategy? And must not that social policy strategy be concerned with the wider well-being of the national community rather than with youth mainly? Must it not deal with policies related to education, health, welfare, community development, and national development? With so integrated an approach, can cohesive social action programmes counter the charge that youth policies are divisive? Perhaps, above all, can the authority to determine youth policy, be used not to impose and coerce but to stimulate and liberate.

Youth policies which recognise these variables and are responsive to them - which convince the sceptical young that here is a programme for them and, to some extent at least, by them, have some chance of harnessing the resources of youth to the highest purposes of national progress.

It is in the nature of things that those who determine policy are, with rare exceptions, no longer young. So youth policy makers have a problem of credibility. Both wisdom and prudence dictate that those who advise their governments on youth policy should listen carefully and with receptiveness to what youth has to say. The techniques governments have adopted to ensure that the voices of the young are heard in the corridors of power where youth policy is made can bring a valuable dimension to your deliberations. And they have relevance for our collective programmes also.

Youth participation in the Commonwealth Youth Programme has been a recurrent issue since the inception of the Programme. I cannot claim that we have solved the problem of effectively getting the voice of youth into our deliberations; but we have tried. For example, in May 1977, under the auspices of the CYP, young leaders (the great majority were under 35 years of age) from 35 Commonwealth countries met to consider such matters as youth participation in decision making, and education in its broadest sense. In May next, young leaders will again meet, this time in Colombo, Sri Lanka. They will consider strategies to deal with Commonwealth youth unemployment and the search for a New International Economic Order.

And we have sought to involve young people in the administration of the Commonwealth Youth Programme. At the last meeting of the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council in Ottawa, the Programme paid for the attendance of one young representative from each country. Moreover, their attendance was on the understanding that they would participate in the discussions and seek to make an impression on the shape of the Youth

Programme. It was largely because of the work of the young representatives at the Ottawa Council meeting that the Council agreed to promote and fund a Second Young Leaders Meeting. The Council also agreed that the arrangements for that meeting should be placed in the hands of a representative group of young leaders. It will be their show; it will be our job to listen to what they have to say.

And we shall have to go on listening to - and hearing - the demands of the young to be more involved, to have a greater influence on matters that affect them. Right here at this Chandigarh Centre, such a dialogue could take place. Some of you who are participants in the current diploma course may feel that your role is too docile, too passive, that you are being fed facts and information with too little opportunity to contribute, to toss around ideas within the group and to seek out for yourselves a concept of youth work which would be exciting to you and would make what you do more helpful to others. We must give weight to such opinion and be ready to respond when it is valid. If we are to expect our youth workers to be creative innovators, to be responsive to the demand of the young for participatory processes, then it may not be unreasonable that they should themselves be trained by a participatory process.

Like its sister Centres in Zambia and Guyana, the CYP Asia-Pacific Centre is a most important Commonwealth enterprise. In its first five years, some 300 participants have been through the Commonwealth Youth Programme's diploma courses. This does not mean that we have yet saturated the market, or that we have done anything but make a slight impression on the Commonwealth's need for more trained youth workers. But those 300 or so graduates from the Programme's courses are now working effectively in the countries of the Commonwealth, and some of them are involved in national training courses and so multiplying the constructive effect of the Chandigarh course.

The Commonwealth Youth Programme does not, of course, advocate a 'one best way' approach to youth programmes. A national youth programme has to relate to the special conditions of each country. Each programme is unique and each, in a sense, is experimental - continually adapting its scope and content in the light of results and changing circumstances. But it is this experimental and flexible nature of youth programmes which lead them to the borrowing and adaptation of ideas from other countries. One of the great advantages of this meeting is surely that youth policy makers will be able to find out what is being contemplated and what is being accomplished in youth work in the various Commonwealth countries. You will get to know the faces behind the programmes and I trust that this will encourage regular contacts between you as fellow practitioners in the area of youth affairs. You will return to your own countries with new ideas, with new friends, and with the knowledge that the Commonwealth connection facilitates a learning process that is the very essence of the experience of youth.

And the Commonwealth association offers another opportunity which I hope you will not ignore as you look ahead to youth policy in the 80's and beyond. It was, I believe most perceptively underscored last week in Bangalore by Shri Morarji Desai when he inaugurated the first Commonwealth Industry Ministers Conference. In a world regrettably characterised by adversary relationships and a striving for exclusive rather than mutual progress the Prime Minister of India lauded the Commonwealth for recalling the world to the value of competition in service. Let our pride in potential be matched by the deeper satisfaction of performance. Let those precepts of service to a wider humanity be not alien to your own deliberations so that they may better inform the youth policy of Commonwealth countries. It may be the vocation of youth in the last half of this century to snap humanity to its senses lest we forfeit the privilege of inheriting the century beyond the year 2000. In the precept of service may well lie the codes of global survival. Let us not be too timid in acknowledging the contributions we all can make - here in Chandigarh and, beyond Chandigarh, in your several capitals the world over.

ADDRESS BY:
THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA
SHRI N. SANJIVA REDDY

I am very happy to be here to inaugurate the Commonwealth Meeting on Government Policy on Youth Affairs. I should like to extend a special welcome to the delegates who have come from different parts of the world to participate in this meeting and wish them a pleasant and useful sojourn in our country. The Commonwealth is a symbol of voluntary participation on the basis of equality and mutual self-respect among the developed and the developing countries and among countries of different races and culture. We believe that this fundamental principle of equality and mutual respect among the various countries is the foundation of civilised social relationship and equitable international order.

Youth is an important segment of population, all over the world. They comprise more than 50 per cent of the population in many countries. This represents a vast resource of manpower. Young people are more sensitive to the problems obtained in modern society. They are more responsive to new ideas and to change. Due to technological advance in the mass media, youth today are better informed and more articulate than their predecessors. They can be an asset to society, if they are properly understood, channelled and appreciated by the society. If properly oriented and developed, they contribute greatly towards development. At the same time, they could be equally dangerous if they are misunderstood and misjudged. Their efforts to achieve social reform should be appreciated, sympathetically analysed and constructively guided towards more positive action.

The potentialities of youth and their contribution to development are increasingly recognised by the governments of all countries in the world. They are becoming increasingly aware of the need to develop this vast resource to play a constructive role in society. Any developmental effort will remain weak without the active co-operation of youth who have an important contribution to make. They need to be intimately involved in community problems and community projects. This, in turn, will provide them with the stimulation for personal growth and satisfaction and for the development of social responsibility. There are a number of instances, all over the world, where youth is ready and able to contribute to national development in a wide variety of ways. The emergence of organised national voluntary services provides a useful mechanism for youth to express their urge for action in concrete terms and contribute towards social reconstruction and national development.

In India, the National Service Scheme was introduced about ten years ago for voluntary participation of students in social and national service. I am told that at present, only about one-tenth of students and institutions of higher education participate in this scheme. We should try to increase the number of students who participate in this programme and introduce national and social service as a part of the curricular requirement for all students. There is also a great opportunity for students in the National Adult Education Programme to serve their brothers and sisters who have remained excluded from the formal education system. This new programme, is essentially a youth programme because the emphasis in it is on the spread of literacy, functional education and an awareness of rights and responsibilities mainly among persons between 15 and 35 years of age. Here is a chance for students who come from comparatively better-off backgrounds to mix with and serve the disadvantaged youth. I would like to emphasise that every university and college should prepare its own programme in a way that will allow teachers and students to contribute to the National Adult Education Programme.

The Commonwealth Governments have, for a long time, been actively involved in organising programmes designed to help young people. During the last decade young people have received greater attention and many activities and programmes for and by youth are being implemented. If there is no meaningful co-ordination of the activities, there is a likelihood of their over-lapping. Resources being limited everywhere, the youth activities should be co-ordinated. The youth policy of every country should grow out of the experience of that country and should be consistent with its social and economic goals. It should provide a firm basis for the development of youth and its participation in society. The corner-stone of such policy should be self-help and co-operation, and development of personality and civic responsibility. I hope you will have a fruitful exchange of views at this meeting on this vital subject.

I should like to express my deep appreciation to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr. Ramphal, and his colleagues for their contribution through the Commonwealth Youth Programme to bring about a social awareness among the Commonwealth countries of the problems facing young people and for providing a forum for a Commonwealth exchange of experiences and ideas on effective utilisation of 'youth power' for national development.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this meeting.
I wish it every success.

Appendix B

Summaries

of the Country Papers Submitted

by delegates to the meeting

AUSTRALIA

1. Problems

The most pressing problem confronting young people in Australia is unemployment. Since the onset of recession in 1974, Australia has suffered from high rates of unemployment, of which youth unemployment constitutes a major portion. While 7% of the total work force were unemployed in January 1978, 23% of those aged between 15 and 19 were unemployed.

While the general employment situation now appears to be stabilising, high youth unemployment levels will continue into the 1980s. Efforts to confront the problem have largely centred around disadvantaged youth - those who left school early or who otherwise have low standing in the labour market.

2. Principles of youth policy

Australia has not normally followed policies tailored for specific client groups, such as women or young people, but has followed policies for functional areas, such as education and health. Of late, however, this emphasis - while not overturned - has begun to change. Rather than establish major client group policies, Australia has chosen to facilitate the various transitions young people progress through on the road to adulthood. The best use of functional policy, as it affects a particular group such as young people, is the aim.

To ensure that policy is properly formed, the Australian Government seeks better consultation and co-ordination between Government and non-government agencies involved in the delivery of services to youth, and seeks also better channels of communication with young people.

3. Structures

As recognition of the pressing problem of youth unemployment, the Australian Government established a Department of Employment and Youth Affairs under a Minister of Cabinet rank, at the end of 1978.

The Department is also responsible for cultivating the consultation and co-ordination referred to earlier, in seeking the greater involvement of young people in the decision-making process. A National Youth Advisory Group was established in March 1979, to advise the Minister of Employment and Youth Affairs on youth related matters generally. Members of the group are, for the most part, under 30, and represent Australia's ethnic, geographical and cultural diversity, as well as both sexes.

In addition, a National Youth Conference will be held in October 1979 to assist the further development of youth-related policy. The Conference will consider education, training and employment; the rights and responsibilities of young people; access to Government by young people; and the question, "where is youth going?"

BANGLADESH

1. Problems

In Bangladesh, the urgency of the development effort concerns the entire population. Among young people, the single, most immediate problem is youth unemployment. The problem is particularly acute in both the urban areas among educated school leavers, and in the rural areas where many families have little or no room for agriculture or agricultural development. Since 90% of Bangladesh's population lives in the rural areas, it is there that deprivation is most apparent. There is no solution in sight.

2. Principles of youth policy

The principles that motivate the Bangladesh development effort also inform the provisions made for young people. Particular attention is given to the struggle against youth unemployment. While cultural and sporting activities are not neglected, it is felt that leisure activities have no meaning for those who have little to do from dawn to dusk as part of a precarious life. "How to rescue the young people from this sense of despondency and build hope for a brighter future seems to be the heart of the problem."

3. Structures

The contribution of young people to the overall development effort has been sought through the following four channels: 1. the National Youth Service Project; 2. the Socio-Economic Programme for Youth; 3. population-control activities for out-of-school youth; and 4. Youth Welfare Centres initiated and operated by the Department of Social Welfare.

In the rural area, a pilot for an eventual rural youth programme commenced in January 1979. The pilot is principally concerned with serving literate but unemployed youth.

In order better to co-ordinate youth policy, the Government of Bangladesh has recently constituted a separate Ministry of Youth Services Development. Youth services are provided by several Ministries and Departments - such as Education, Local Government and Co-operatives, Sports and Culture, Social Welfare, Manpower and Employment, and Tourism. The new Ministry has a range of functions, including the co-ordination of youth services provided by other Ministries and Departments, with a target age group of 14-25. To assist in the formulation of youth policy, an Advisory Committee has been established within the Ministry.

BARBADOS

1. Problems

In Barbados, 60% of the population is under 25. Unemployment is highest among the age group 14-25. One factor in the growing youth unemployment is the direction of education and the expectations it creates.

Another major problem is the number of teenage pregnancies.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Ministry of Labour and Community Services which is responsible for youth affairs has stated that the Government "needs no convincing that there is an urgent need to accelerate the processes of change which would create meaningful economic activity for many more of our youth." The direction of the education system is also recognised. "Young people must be trained to fill the vacancies for skilled persons created by a rejuvenated economy instead of constituting as at present a vast reservoir of untrained and unused talent."

An underlying principle of youth policy is the desirability of having young people involved in the process of policy formulation. The ruling Barbados Labour Party regards this as "an important aspect of the Party's plan to mobilise this dynamic segment of the community to perform to the maximum of its energies and abilities."

3. Structures

With regard to the formulation of youth policy, the Labour Party has pledged to "create a National Youth Congress to advise Government on all matters relating to youth affairs." The Government now has this proposal under consideration, but no detailed plans have as yet been developed.

Meanwhile, a process of consultation with youth organisations continues. The Barbados Youth Council is represented on the National Council for Culture and on the Council of the Barbados Family Planning Association. The appointment of youth representatives to other bodies is also under consideration.

In order to provide maximum service, the community service offered by the youth affairs division has been merged with the community development division. At the moment, six ministries are associated with youth services. The youth affairs division comes under the Ministry of Labour and Community Services; the other Ministries are Education and Culture, Agriculture, Health and National Insurance, Trade, and the Attorney General's Ministry.

Encouragement by the community development division of the Ministry of Labour and Community Services for young people to become self-reliant and undertake self-employment is augmented by training schemes and community development projects.

Youth training centres, to be sited in existing community centres, will provide short-term training in a variety of vocational and agricultural skills. The Organisation of American States has provided consultancy services for this area of policy implementation.

The Ministry of Labour and Community Services also administers the United Nations Fund for Population Activity Project. It is designed to increase education on family life and population matters. In addition, the Barbados Family Planning Association (which receives financial assistance from the Government) is fielding a full programme of educational activities. Finally, the Ministry of Labour and Community Services is considering the establishment of a special youth centre to deal with the health problems of the young.

BOTSWANA

1. Problems

The present education system in Botswana is inconsistent with the needs of the nation. School-leavers are not suited to the employment available, and youth unemployment is in any case a growing problem.

Coupled with these basic problems are the lack of trained personnel in youth work, some districts not having even a single youth worker; the absence of sufficient funding to support any worthwhile youth projects; the lack of parental co-operation; and the increase in vandalism, especially in towns, and violence in the form of karate during "stray disorganised struts at cinemas and shopping centres".

2. Principles of youth policy

According to the Botswana Country Paper, "there is no policy that could be observed or used to direct youth programmes. Because of lack of a national youth policy it is difficult to negotiate enough funds to implement youth projects. The Botswana National Youth Council is, however, contemplating a conference at which a closer examination of national youth policy will be made".

The Botswana National Youth Council has, however, begun to identify projects that could train young people in vocational skills, and the establishment of producer co-operatives.

3. Structures

The Botswana National Youth Council was established in 1974, with the objectives of advising Government on youth affairs; to co-ordinate and plan youth activities, with an emphasis on young people who are jobless; to provide a channel for the disbursement of funds related to youth affairs; to encourage the active participation of young people in national development; and to seek to eliminate unemployment and to alleviate its ill-effects.

The organisational structure has at its apex the Minister of Local Government and Lands; below him is the Permanent Secretary and the Division of Social Work and Community Development with its Youth Section. Below the Division are regional youth councils, each of which is responsible for a number of area youth clubs.

It is hoped that by 1980 all 13 district and town councils will have at least one qualified youth worker.

Every village or town ward sends a delegate to the district youth council and, in August every year, at least one delegate at district level attends the National Youth Council meeting. At this meeting the Council Executive is elected. This Executive, together with the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, is charged with the implementation of the youth programme objectives.

BRITAIN

1. Problems

Youth unemployment has been recognised as a special problem requiring special measures.

In addition, there is growing national concern over the responsiveness of education and its relationship to eventual employment. The education debate ranges widely, touching on all aspects of the school curriculum and academic standards.

Traditionally, in Britain, there has been an administrative demarcation between education on the one hand, and training and work on the other. The need for closer rapprochement has recently been identified and collaboration between administrative units is increasing.

2. Principles of youth policy

Such joint approaches between, for example, the Department of Education and Science and the Manpower Services Commission mark a departure from historic inhibitions and represent a new element in youth policy.

Youth policy has never been a specialised function but, rather, an aggregate of a large number of social policies. Special reference may be given to youth within the wider contexts of various social policies - such as education, housing and employment.

3. Structures

Because of such pluralistic and pragmatic approaches, there is no minister or special government agency charged with overall responsibility for youth affairs. It is accepted, however, that all government agencies should recognise the needs of youth and that vigorous policies for youth might well span the interests of several Government agencies.

In order to advance the cause of youth participation in national affairs, by involvement of the young in democratic structures, the Department of Education and Science supports a number of projects. These include support for the British Youth Council and the Youth Charter 2000 project to study and develop local youth councils; support for various organisations in projects to do with the dissemination of political and social education materials; studies of ways to increase the skill of young people in decision-making; and testing of ways to increase social responsibility among the young.

It should be stressed that these are basically projects of preparation for young people. There are no exclusive channels whereby the young can participate in national affairs; rather they are encouraged to make use of the overall democratic processes.

Because of the severity of youth unemployment, however, a special long-term Youth Opportunities Programme has been established by the Manpower Services Commission. The Programme aims to benefit those aged between 16-19, who are school-leavers unable to find employment after six weeks. The target is to provide 230,000 opportunities in the course of a year. These opportunities provide a process of induction into working life, periods of training and advice on increasing personal 'employability'. Employability is the basic aim of the programme's various units, rather than the creation of permanent jobs. For this the programme has a budget of £140 million for 1978-79.

CYPRUS

1. Problems

The occupation in 1974 of Cyprus by Turkish forces created four major problems. Firstly, morale was lowered as a sense of injustice overtook the young, as well as concern for lost friends and uprooted families.

Secondly, educational problems were engendered, with 40% of all schools and libraries having fallen into alien hands.

Thirdly, with 70% of the island's economic resources captured, unemployment soared - with 50% of those unemployed within the age group 14-25. Industrial output fell by 50%, mineral output by 56%, and transport and communications were disrupted and social services severely curtailed.

Finally and most importantly, large numbers of young Cypriots were killed or went missing.

2. Principles of youth policy

It was natural that the young should be seen as a major force of survival and reconstruction. The Government of Cyprus recognises this and a number of Ministries have launched youth programmes which promote the welfare of youth and activities for self-development and community development.

3. Structures

The Ministry of Labour and Social Services has established a number of youth centres which encourage participation by the young in community action; a retraining scheme for high school graduates; an apprenticeship training scheme; (in association with the UNDP) a Hotel and Catering Institute; and (in association with UNESCO and ILO) a Higher Technical Institute.

The Ministry of Education has established several institutes for foreign languages and evening classes; a teachers' training college; and has reorganised adult education centres. Vocational guidance for school-leavers, and the Cyprus Organisation for Sports continue their pre-invasion activities; and youth clubs operate in most schools.

The Ministry of Agriculture has established a number of Rural Girls Clubs and Vocational Agricultural Centres; while the Ministry of Health has established a School of Nursing and Midwifery.

The activities of non-governmental organisations involved in youth work, such as the Cyprus Red Cross, the Scouts, and church groups are encouraged by the Government. In order to encourage them and to give them a role in youth policy formulation, the National Social Welfare Council has been reactivated, and the Inter-ministerial Youth Committee - the co-ordinating and planning body for Government youth policies - has extended its activities to encompass non-governmental organisations.

DOMINICA

1. Problems

Several constraints have hindered youth development in Dominica. These have included a rising youth population, growing youth unemployment, inappropriate educational curricula, and the lack of adequate financial resources to provide training in necessary skills and encourage entrepreneurial talent and self-employment.

Youth unemployment is a growing problem. 90% of all school-leavers cannot find work. 60% of all unemployed are under 25 years of age.

Such massive unemployment among the young causes insecure family life, drug addiction, mental illness, social rebellion, overcrowding and health problems.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Government of Dominica established a Youth Development Division in 1972, charged with discovering the abilities and initiatives of the young; improving these qualities through education and training; constructing cultural outlets; and seeking to widen opportunities for employment, as well as encouraging the young to participate in the economic, social and political development of the State. Accordingly, the Division's programme has four policy emphases: leadership development, cultural development, vocational training, and visits to youth groups. In addition, there is an emphasis on agriculture through the 4H clubs.

3. Structures

In order to facilitate youth participation, representation is given to Dominican youth groups through the National Youth Council. Youth representation also exists on the 4H Management Committee; the Advisory Committee of the Extra-mural Department of the University of the West Indies; the Dominica Education Board; the Film Censor Board; the Dominica Broadcasting Service, and the Children and Young Persons Committee.

Young entrepreneurs play a large part in the nation's economic development, through industrial, agricultural and co-operative enterprises. The Government is working with co-operative societies in order to integrate co-operative education into school curricula.

There is a need, however, for additional funding, in order to give adequate support to new entrepreneurial ventures. The active creation of self-employment opportunities is an important strategy, simply because there is otherwise insufficient employment available. Even though agriculture accounts for 70% of the GNP and 60 - 70% of total export earnings, no substantial employment opportunities are available in agriculture. The young merely turn to it because there is nowhere to turn when enquiries in other sectors prove fruitless.

THE GAMBIA

1. Problems

Problems affecting young people in The Gambia centre around the growth of youth unemployment and its contributing cause of inappropriate education. As well as the irrelevance of school curricula, and the expensive nature of western-style education, there is also an insufficiency of schools - so that education is not only irrelevant and costly but available on a limited basis.

Large numbers never reach secondary or technical schools but, of those who drop out, very few return to the farm or traditional family work because of the values and aspirations already developed at school.

Accordingly, eight specific problem areas have been identified: poverty; unemployment; rural-urban migration; high illiteracy; the need for rural development; the problems of school leavers; the need for relevant, low-cost technology; and the re-establishment of cultural values.

2. Principles of youth policy

A Department of Youth, Sports and Culture was established in 1974, under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, since "it is a known fact that most of the human development problems we are facing, particularly in the field of youth, emerged out of the education system we inherited".

The need for planned attention to the problems and aspirations of youth became apparent since "no meaningful development can readily take place ... without the total participation of the ablest sector of the population - the youth". A number of fundamental planning principles were listed, including the need for integrated planning and co-ordinating machinery to include a number of government ministries, the need for recognition of the role of voluntary youth organisations, and the need for participation of the young in national affairs and decision-making.

There are problems attendant on action deriving from these principles. Firstly, there is the inadequacy of funds and, secondly, there is an under-utilisation of voluntary youth organisations in the alleviation of youth unemployment.

3. Structures

Nevertheless, a series of training programmes has been envisaged, complementary to those already sponsored by the Department of Agriculture and other agencies. These aim to provide non-formal education to young people in areas not as yet catered for.

A specific effort to make rural life attractive to the young is underway. A number of employment schemes are planned, as well as some adaption of the Kenya Village Polytechnic programme. The establishment of rural youth development centres, to provide training for rural life, is proceeding - with two pilot sites selected for the next three years. In existence also are 208 young farmers' clubs, established by the Department of Agriculture, with access to training in 21 mixed farming centres.

A multi-purpose Youth Training Institute is being established on the site of an already existing college, to train young people to professional level in a variety of relevant skills. This institute will also serve as a centre for the appreciation of culture and the inculcation of national character.

There are also plans to adapt two of the three existing vocational training centres to meet the needs of the rural areas.

GHANA

1. Problems

The Government of Ghana is concerned with the seeming structural inadequacies of its present administrative provisions for youth. Because none of the registered youth associations (with the exception of the National Union of Ghana Students) enjoys representation on the Board of Trustees of the National Youth Council, a feeling of alienation has developed between these associations and the Council under which, by law, they are required to register.

The Council, moreover, being confined to the formulation of policy for the guidance of more than 600 youth associations, exercises no sway over non-organised youth.

In addition, there is no agency or body, the National Youth Council notwithstanding, that has been acknowledged as having a co-ordinating role in the field of youth affairs - a field that now involves the Ghana National Reconstruction Corps, the Arts Council, the Ministry of Education, and The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development.

Finally, the individual youth associations are not very strong financially, receiving insufficient Government funds to realise their programmes and aspirations. There is insufficient vocational training, growing youth unemployment, a mounting rural-urban drift, and inadequate transportation and tools for those young people who are trained.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Ghana Country Paper concentrates on the principles behind and the structure of the National Youth Council. The need for radical reconstruction of the Council has been recognised by the Government, however, and priority areas are now being identified. They include greater direct representation on the Board of Trustees; the encouragement of entrepreneurial self-support schemes for youth associations; accelerated creation of youth co-operatives, expansion of community youth farms, workshops and vocational training; and the establishment of a recognised co-ordinating agency for youth affairs - such as a new Ministry.

In the meantime, the existing National Youth Council acts as an affiliating and guiding body. Registration under the Council is compulsory, thereby exposing all youth associations to wider experiences and orientations.

Current, major objectives of national youth policy include the provision of civic education programmes for youth leaders, skills training to promote employability, re-settlement programmes in rural areas, and the promotion of the spirit of community participation.

3. Structures

At present, the apex organisation in youth affairs is the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. The sub-structure consists of the Board of Trustees of the National Youth Council, the Council itself, and regional as well as district youth committees. At all levels, the Commissioner responsible for youth affairs exercises a right to appoint Council and committee members.

GUYANA

1. Problems

The context of Guyanese youth policy is found in a speech made by the Prime Minister, the Hon. L.F.S. Burnham: "The social, economic, political and other problems of youth are not peculiar youth problems, but problems of the society in which the youths find themselves."

2. Principles of youth policy

Accordingly, the Guyana Country Paper explains that in the light of Guyana's "limited financial and technical resources our youth policy has not been developed as a separate and distinct entity, but as part of a total plan that is designed to make the Nation and its young people self-reliant, productive, and responsive to the strategies for national development."

Because the economic development of Guyana depends heavily on agricultural development, young people are involved in programmes to remove the stigma of agriculture as a profession and in the establishment of co-operatives. The Youth Division of the Ministry of National Development, while fielding a range of programmes to do with the organisation of young people, the removal of social barriers among them, the provision of training for development and the provision of technical assistance, nevertheless emphasises rural youth work through the introduction of F.C.H. Clubs (comparable to 4H Clubs) with their concentrations on self-reliance and vocational training. Finally, owing to the fact that Guyana is a multi-racial society, the nation's youth programme stresses the need for national unity.

3. Structures

One major instrument for the cause of national unity is the Guyana National Service. Established in 1973, it gives both a national orientation to its members and imparts training and new skills to them. In turn, the National Service mobilises support for the cause of feeding, clothing and housing the people of Guyana.

Apart from the National Service, the aspirations of young people are catered for not only by the Youth Division of the Ministry of National Development, but by the Ministries of Education, Social Development and Culture, Agriculture, and Information and Sports. These various agencies provide funds for the implementation of specific youth programmes. Funds are scarce, however, and some projects have been forced to close for want of sufficient finance.

GRENADA

National youth policy in Grenada may now have changed, owing to the revolution which ushered in a new government and the active role many young people played in it. At the time of the Chandigarh meeting, however, the following information was presented in the Grenada Country Paper.

1. Problems:

Unemployment affects a large number of young people. This is compounded by the irrelevance of the education system, the lack of incentives for cultural performances, and the few avenues for the marketing of local arts and crafts.

Agriculture is one sector with most potential for absorbing unemployment, and there are opportunities particularly for self-employment in this area. The stigma of agricultural labour, however, growing out of its former association with slavery, results in few young people wishing to take up agricultural work. Even without such social and psychological obstacles is the fact that great uncertainty exists as to the development of markets for agricultural produce.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Government established nine guidelines for policy: a positive approach to the total development of the individual; the remedying of disease and delinquency; the continuation of such positive approaches to all aspects of life; the encouragement of young people to participate in all activities for their benefit; the integration of youth development strategy with strategy for national development; the establishment of training programmes for youth leaders; the establishment of national service; the development of vocational training for out-of-school youth; and the encouragement to form more youth groups.

3. Structures

The Ministry of Youth, established in 1970, comprised five staff members with a variety of duties to do with the translation of Government youth policy into reality; co-ordination and liaison with youth groups; and the organisation of leadership training courses.

In addition, voluntary youth groups were encouraged to form themselves into parish committees for greater co-ordination of their activities.

INDIA

1. Problems

In India 75% of those between 15-35 reside in rural areas and most of them are illiterate. Even those who are literate have not received an education beyond elementary level. The vast majority of young people lead lives of poverty and deprivation. Women, because of ingrained attitudes of male superiority, are at a further disadvantage. Persons of the lowest caste and tribal people in the rural areas continue to suffer even greater disadvantages.

2. Principles of youth policy

Poverty and illiteracy are regarded as two aspects of the same enormous problem. The struggle to overcome one cannot be waged without struggle against the other.

3. Structures

The National Adult Education Programme is visualised as a means of bringing about fundamental change in the process of socio-economic development. This highly ambitious programme seeks, within five years, the extension of education facilities to "the entire illiterate population of approximately 100 million in 15-35 age group".

The Central Social Welfare Board, an autonomous organisation established by the central government, finances voluntary agencies involved in providing programmes of continuing education for young women. Various types of courses are provided for rural women who are paid a monthly maintenance grant.

There are 150 farmers' training institutes throughout the country, operating primarily for young farmers. These provide residential courses lasting 4-7 days.

Non-student youth have an opportunity for involvement in development through the Nehru Yuvak Kendras (Nehru Youth Centres). There are at present 200 such Centres with a total of 400 originally planned (one for each district). These exist to provide co-ordination of various existing official and non-official agencies. The Youth Co-ordinator attached to each is selected on the advice of the state government and given intensive training. The Centres also organise a variety of programmes, including vocational training. The Centres are now to be closely linked to the National Adult Education Programme.

Three other major schemes should be mentioned. Firstly, there are the Youth Clubs and Young Women's Clubs which are supported by the Department of Rural Development of the Central Ministry of Culture. These clubs, each of which has a paid part-time worker, receive programme support from the Nehru Yuvak Kendras. Secondly, there are programmes for student youth, including the National Service Scheme. This is intended primarily as a way of involving undergraduates in community work. Units of the National Service

adopt villages and establish medical centres, agricultural training, and vocational training for women. They are active also in urban slums and in the wake of natural disasters. Thirdly, there is the National Cadet Corps, for male students, concerned with training for disciplined leadership. Both the National Service and the Cadet Corps may be joined on a voluntary basis.

All the programmes outlined above, and many others, are undertaken by a variety of ministries. There is no separate and distinct machinery for youth programmes. In fact, most youth programmes - whether public or private - are the result of decentralised efforts, and include those originated and developed by the initiative of the young themselves.

The nodal ministry of youth affairs is the Ministry of Education, which has a Division of Youth Affairs.

The recent constitution of the National Youth Board provides a new thrust towards further co-ordination and policy advice. The Board's composition includes representatives from various ministries and state governments, Members of Parliament, student leaders and youth workers. So far, the Board has met only once, but has decided to undertake a thorough appraisal of existing programmes.

KENYA

1. Principles of youth policy

The National Youth Programme of Kenya was launched with a deliberate focus on one major aspect of youth development, "namely the economic aspect". This has been necessitated because of the gap between education and employment. In order to provide young Kenyans with further, more relevant training, the already successful Village Polytechnic Programme has been broadened into the Youth Development Programme - which allows for the inclusion of all youth training initiatives which meet the Government's policy objectives.

All Kenyan youth programmes are based on two major objectives: to enable the young to use their talents for the benefit of the rural communities in which they live; and to enable young people to develop income earning opportunities for themselves - as individuals, groups or co-operatives.

2. Structures

As technical back-up to the Youth Development Programme, the Kenyan Government has established a Centre for Research and Training. The Centre has surveyed employment patterns in the rural areas of Kenya, and sought to identify employment opportunities which can be expanded at low cost and through short courses.

In order to ensure proper co-ordination in youth work, a National Co-ordinating Committee has been established, with sub-committees concerned with research and training, and project finance. The Co-ordinating Committee does in fact take responsibility for the co-ordination of all national youth organisations, whether governmental or voluntary.

Two youth organisations exist under the Ministry of Agriculture. These are the 4K Clubs - which seek to develop greater agricultural skills and commitment among primary school pupils - and the Young Farmers' Association which caters for the higher grades in secondary schools.

The Ministry of Labour has been responsible for the National Youth Service since 1964. The Service now comes under the Office of the President. Young citizens, 16-30, carry out development projects in a disciplined environment. In its first ten years, the Service enrolled over 20,000 young people, laid 2,000 kilometres of road, cleared 8,000 hectares of bush, and planted over 100,000 trees.

The voluntary youth organizations of Kenya are also co-ordinated by a National Standing Committee on Youth - part of the Kenya National Council of Social Service - which sets aside one week a year as Harambee Youth Week, in which young people from all parts of the country participate in different development projects.

Many other structures exist in Kenya to further youth affairs. These include a fully-fledged youth wing of the ruling KANU Party.

LESOTHO

1. Problems

More than three quarters of Lesotho's population of 1,000,000 is regarded as youth. A very high percentage of the young work in the mines of the Republic of South Africa. The drift of these young men to the larger Republic causes many ill-effects in Lesotho: agricultural development is impaired; low, discriminatory wages in South Africa, as well as uncertain nature of employment continuity there, reduce any incomes benefit from migratory manpower; protracted absences result in divorces and delinquency.

2. Principles of youth policy

Clearly Lesotho must develop its human capital in order to further its economic advancement. Promotion of education and training as a means of creating skills and aptitude is therefore seen as a focal point of development strategy.

Lesotho hopes to attain an average annual rate of growth in GDP of not less than 10% in order to enhance youth development programmes and achieve other national aspirations. Agricultural development is essential, and efforts are being launched to make agriculture a respectable and rewarding vocation.

One over-riding consideration, in mobilising the opinion and commitment of young people, is the ensuring of direct involvement and participation of the young in national planning and policy implementation.

3. Structures

Accordingly, the Government is seeking, through the Department of Youth Affairs, the Ministry of Education, and the National University of Lesotho, as well as other agencies, to inculcate awareness among young people that the development of their country is their own responsibility. A National Youth Council is in the process of formation; the Department of Youth Affairs - under the Prime Minister's Private Office - is ensuring adequate legislative safeguards in youth matters.

A number of youth organisations are engaged in youth activities in Lesotho. These include Young Farmers Clubs - of which there are 102 with a total of 4,000 members averaging an age of 13 years. There is also the Lesotho Youth Service, founded as a direct result of the Prime Minister, Dr. Jonathan's personal concerns for youth and the experiences gained from his travels. The Service provides varied training for young people - including leadership training and training for self-employment.

MALAYSIA

1. Problems

The aim of Malaysian youth services was to prevent young people "from falling prey to the influence of undesirable elements and engaging in detrimental activities."

2. Principles of youth policy

After independence, the Government created a special agency to be responsible for young people and ensure their participation in national development. This was the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. Its policy has been to promote membership of organised youth groups - with the provision of support and facilities for the groups - as a means of facilitating inter-action between the young and the Government. The strategy is one of partnership and the Government does not seek to interfere in the administration of the groups.

With the principle of partnership in mind, the Government is actively inaugurating programmes of employment creation in the fields of business, agriculture and co-operatives. This is out of concern for economic problems of the young - as epitomised by growing youth unemployment.

3. Structures

The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports provides both finance and guidance to youth organisations who, in turn, mobilise their members to undertake activities in various fields. These include employment-creation activities - Government provision for which includes a range of supportive mechanisms, of which finance is only one. The initiative for and eventual success of each operation, however, depends on the young people concerned.

The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports heads a tiered structure with State Youth Offices and District Youth Offices below it. These are complemented, in turn, by the National Youth Council, State Youth Councils and District Youth Councils.

The views and grievances of youth may be aired through the National Youth Consultative Council, which comprises representatives elected by national youth conventions.

1. Problems

With the growing proportion of young people between the ages 15-29 (now 30% of the total population), Malta has a large group which requires attention in order that national economic and social development might progress satisfactorily.

2. Principles of youth policy

The education system of Malta has been re-oriented to the interests of the country. In particular, important measures have been taken in tertiary education. These include the introduction of a student-worker scheme, whereby students will be employees of public or commercial organisations - which will require their services after graduation. The periods of actual study are interspersed with periods of work.

Three emergency labour corps have also been established, which provide the young unemployed with emergency employment.

3. Structures

There has been no specific co-ordinating governmental body for youth affairs. Plans are now being studied, however, for a National Youth Council which will comprise representatives of the various youth organizations.

It is through the Ministries of Education, Labour, Welfare and Culture, and Works and Sports, that youth policies are at present being implemented.

NEW ZEALAND

1. Problems

The major concern of those associated with youth policies in New Zealand is unemployment. Though the proportion of unemployed youth to the total labour force is small and, by international standards, low, it has nevertheless been increasing over recent years. At the end of 1978 the number of registered unemployed was 23,144; of these 18,607 were under the age of 30.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Government recognises the need to confront the problem and has developed through the Departments of Labour, Internal Affairs, and Education a number of programmes to assist young people to enter the workforce. These do not detract from longstanding Government policy to encourage young people to take their place in society generally, while defining their own needs and seeking their own solutions to problems they encounter. In developing programmes, the Government has maintained a close liaison with the National Youth Council.

3. Structures

In New Zealand the Minister of Recreation and Sport is responsible for Government policy on youth. This involves a great deal of liaison with other Government Departments. It also involves close co-operation with the National Youth Council which affiliates 40 national voluntary youth organisations.

The Ministry of Recreation and Sport has provided \$3m. as grants to youth organisations for administrative purposes and leadership training. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries has made available one quarter of a million dollars for farm cadet training and young farmers' organisations.

The Government is also continuing to provide youth representation on a number of boards and committees particularly in the field of social welfare.

With regard to job-creation, the Government has introduced a number of programmes during the last eighteen months. These include the provision of subsidies to private sector employers; a farm employment scheme and a number of specific programmes for Maori and Pacific Island youth; a Temporary Employment Programme, providing work on low priority or deferred projects undertaken by local government authorities and non-profit organisations and a Student Community Service Programme, providing additional work projects mounted by local authorities and community organisations. The total cost of the wages for the last two programmes is provided by the Government.

The New Zealand government operates a detached youth worker scheme to support innovative youth projects and youth work not falling within the bounds of normal programmes or normal employment.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

1. Problems

Papua New Guinea lacks a single central body for the co-ordination of youth programmes and the collection of accurate data. Without such statistics it is difficult to plan youth development. Investigations were carried out between 1972 and 1976 but very few of the recommendations have been put into practice because the studies were themselves badly co-ordinated. In addition to the lack of planning there is the growing problem of youth unemployment and the disillusion that has grown from it, resulting in many young people turning to criminal acts and unsocial behaviour.

2. Principles of youth policy

Following a National Conference on Youth Development the following four objectives were adopted:

1. to foster human development spiritually, physically, mentally, socially and culturally;
2. to create a healthy equitable environment in which human development may flourish;
3. to promote opportunities through recreation, education, training and other services for the integration of young people into the community;
4. through these opportunities to promote qualities of good citizenship which include self-respect, reliability, discipline, industry, determination, initiative, stability, independence and self-reliance.

In addition, the major responsibilities of the National Youth Council are to formulate national youth policy based on the resources and development of Papua New Guinea.

3. Structures

The National Youth Council was established in 1978. It has fifteen members who serve together as an independent advisory body in youth policy to the Minister of Home Affairs. The Council also serves as a funding agency for youth programmes. The formation and funding of the Council has been supported through the Government's National Public Expenditure Plan. This Plan also provides support for projects established by the Council. The National Youth Council is to be supplemented by provincial youth councils which will provide a structure for policy development and project co-ordination.

The National Youth Council has a number of goals including the development of training facilities for the teaching of skills that are relevant to local communities and the stimulation of support for

self-employment schemes.

The National Youth Council still requires more time in which to consolidate its activities and to base them on constructive research. Debate is now taking place however, regarding the formation of a National Youth Service which could have a para-military structure, operating as a civic service to strengthen the efforts of voluntary and Government agencies. The debate has revolved around whether the Youth Service should in fact have a para-military structure, although the need for such a Service has been generally recognised.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

1. Problems

In the Solomon Islands only a small number of young people between the ages of 10-15 are fortunate enough to obtain places in the nation's secondary schools.

Youth work in the Solomon Islands is not at present properly co-ordinated. Such co-ordination as there is relying principally on the activities of various church groups. Of recent times a National Youth Council has been established to affiliate and co-ordinate the 200 different youth groups in the country. Progress has been slow due to the lack of full-time staff and financial support. Because of this no policy on youth development has yet been established.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Government is conscious of the need for youth policy and has requested information from the eight provincial assemblies and various associations and individuals which could assist in the drawing up of such a policy. It is envisaged that policy would provide for programmes of training, particularly training oriented towards rural development; an infrastructure at national, provincial and local levels for the promotion of youth activities; co-ordination of the various structures now existing in Government, the Church and other organisations, for the provision of youth services; the provision of necessary support for the National Youth Council; programmes to make the rural areas more attractive in order to reverse the rural urban drift.

3. Structures

The National Youth Council is an independent body but comes under the auspices of the Ministry of Youth and Cultural Affairs.

SRI LANKA

1. Problems

Youth unemployment is a growing problem in Sri Lanka. Since the 1960s the education system has released into the labour market increasing numbers of educated youth who are largely unwilling to accept the socio-economic environment to which their parents have been accustomed. The growth of the economy, however, has failed to keep pace with this large influx of young people onto the employment market.

In addition to the backlog of unemployed young people that this has caused, an additional 150,000 young people will now enter the labour force each year.

2. Principles of youth policy

For this reason the Government of Sri Lanka has given much consideration to youth affairs. The Government proposes to establish a Sri Lanka Youth Movement designed to recruit young people for a period of time in national development service, to impart training in decision-making and to instil a sense of national patriotism.

3. Structure

In 1978 a separate Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment was created. It has responsibility for providing a Youth Service Programme in the country and the preparation of young people for employment. Three institutions come under the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment. Firstly there is the National Youth Service Council which came into being in 1976. It organises on a voluntary basis, a large variety of national service projects and also provides an increasing range of unemployment opportunities for young people by the constructive investment of Government funds. The two major aspects of training by the Council fall into the categories of employment training & civic training. The Council maintains several residential training centres for agricultural training and training in cottage industries. Of the job-oriented projects the most conspicuous is the programme, Youth In Business, which seeks to harness the resources of both the public and private sectors in promoting self-employment opportunities.

Secondly there is the National Development Service which began as a branch of the National Youth Service Council. It gained independent status in 1978 in order to emphasise training conducted in a spirit of national consciousness and in a disciplined manner. Thirdly, there is the National Apprenticeship Board which was established in 1979 to provide skilled manpower for the nation's industrial development. Again, a wide variety of training schemes have been launched to cover over 140 trade and engineering disciplines. The Board also applies uniform apprenticeship standards and issues certificates to those who have qualified.

Among the voluntary youth organisations which exist in Sri Lanka, the most prominent is the Sarvodaya Movement. This is a rural reconstruction movement having a high proportion of youth participation and founded on a moral and spiritual base.

TANZANIA

1. Problems

Youth unemployment is a growing problem in Tanzania. This is aggravated by the drift from the countryside into urban areas. There is therefore a great need to plan economic and income earning projects for young people in the rural areas in order to encourage them to remain in the villages.

2. Principles of youth policy

Tanzania is most conscious of the need for a complementary approach to national youth policy. On the one hand there is the necessity to promote economic and cultural advancement. On the other is the necessity to promote political awareness among the young. Consequently youth affairs in Tanzania are governed by the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, and the political interests of the young are catered for by the Youth Organisation of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party.

3. Structures

The Government has adopted a great number of activities related to national youth policy under the current five year plan. These include the construction of cultural centres in all major towns; the establishment of both small and large-scale income-earning projects through the formation of youth co-operatives; the increased provision of training for young people; and collaboration between the Ministry and the youth wing of the Party to carry out programmes of political and cultural education to encourage young people in the role the nation expects them to play in national development.

In every region and district the Ministry of National Culture and Youth is represented by regional and district cultural officers together with supporting staff. In a complementary fashion, the youth wing of the Party also maintains regional and district youth leaders.

In carrying out economic projects the Ministry of Culture and Youth has established a number of guidelines and procedures. These limit "production groups" to a total of fifty young people drawn from two villages. The young people involved subscribe their own financial resources augmented by any parental assistance available. At least one acre per participant is allocated by local authorities in the case of agricultural projects. Planning assistance is given by the Ministry's District Cultural Officer. Such economic projects are not distinct from the life of the community in General. District or Regional Government authorities assist in the provision of seed, fertilisers and even ploughing facilities. Projects that are particularly successful can apply through the Ministry for additional assistance from the Community Development Trust Fund.

WESTERN SAMOA

1. Problems

Western Samoa has an expanding youth population. In a total population of 152,000 people, 93,000 are under 19. This places a growing strain on existing educational facilities.

The major problem comes when the young people leave school. Youth unemployment is rising, particularly in the urban area, and it is estimated that by 1981 there will be 5,000 unemployed school-leavers in the urban area.

2. Principles of youth policy

The Council for Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs is seeking to discover the needs of young people in order to draw up a national plan and programmes for youth; to co-ordinate programmes at a national level; and to co-ordinate the work of voluntary organisations.

The basic aim of the Council in the field of youth is to work with and through the voluntary youth organisations to harness the energy and idealism of youth for national development.

3. Structures

The Council for Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs was established in 1976. It has 15 members who act as an advisory body to the Government. At the same time the Government established a Ministry of Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs which provides trained specialists and financial assistance to help the voluntary organisations and to establish training programmes in those areas not covered by voluntary organisations or other Government agencies.

A complementary structure is thus utilised. The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs, with its Minister, Secretary and Assistant Secretary, exists side by side with the Council for Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs, the Chairman of which is the Minister. The joint office of Deputy Chairman and Secretary for Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs, is held by the Secretary of the Department of Labour. This ensures inter-departmental co-operation in youth affairs. The fifteen members of the Council are broken into three groups of five, representing equally youth, sports and cultural affairs. Beneath this joint-structure are the Western Samoan voluntary organisations and, beneath them, the assorted individuals and village-level youth, sports and cultural affairs groups.

ZAMBIA

1. Problems

Education requires to be reformed in Zambia in order to meet the needs of national development. Allied to this is the problem of youth unemployment: increasing numbers of young people leaving school at various levels of the education system are unable to find work. A great number of these young people lack proper skills and qualifications.

While much discussion and debate has concerned the reform of education, much major work remains to be done. While some changes are able to be implemented immediately, many require long-term application.

2. Principles of youth policy

In 1974 the Ministry of Education embarked upon a long and comprehensive exercise in re-thinking education policy. A draft statement was released in March 1976 and national debate followed, lasting six months. It is now the results of this debate which are being implemented in the short and long-terms described above. The reformed education system intends to provide nine years of good basic education for all children aged 7-16.

The guiding principle of all Zambian society, including education, is humanism. The principle regards all human life as precious, regardless of race, tribe, or ability. The importance and worth of an individual is therefore the central point in the Zambian approach to socialisation of Zambian society.

3. Structures

The Zambian Government has made strenuous efforts to overcome youth unemployment. A number of Rural Reconstruction Centres have been introduced since 1975, reflecting the nation's emphasis on rural development.

The Zambian Government recently established a Ministry responsible for Youth Affairs. Included among its responsibilities is the search for solutions of the youth unemployment problem.

In addition there exists a special Youth and Sports Affairs sub-committee of the Central Committee of the UNIP party. The Central Committee of UNIP is the supreme policy-making body in Zambia. The sub-committee on youth thus provides policy advice on youth affairs at a high level and, because young people are well represented on the sub-committee, it facilitates youth participation in national development.

There is also a National Youth Council which operates under the Party Youth League. 53 districts are represented on the Council and all non-party youth organisations are also represented. At present the Chairman of the National Youth Council is the Minister of Youth and Sports.

Finally, Zambia has a National Service Programme for school-leavers, providing national service of 20 months duration, of which six months are for military instructions while the remaining 14 months are for participation in production schemes.

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