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Discussion Paper N° 3

PROMOTING YOUTH EMPLOYMENT: POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

by

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N°3

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PREFACE

This paper deals primarily with programmes for expansion of youth employment opportunities, paying special attention to generation of self-employment through youth enterprises. Since these programmes cannot be considered in isolation of the nature of youth unemployment and of the overall policies for employment creation, the initial sections of the paper focus on the emergence, dimensions and characteristics of youth unemployment, and elements of employment-oriented strategies. This is followed by a discussion of various types of youth employment programmes. Three kinds of wage employment programmes are considered: job creation in the state sector, wage employment in private enterprises and training and apprenticeship schemes. The rest of the paper is concerned with self-employment promotion programmes, a distinction being made between conventional schemes and participatory initiatives. On the basis of the preceding discussion, some suggestions are put forward for promoting self-employment through youth enterprises. The paper covers both more and less developed countries with emphasis, however, on the Commonwealth developing countries.

In developing countries, the youth unemployment rate tends to be two to three times the overall rate and higher for teenagers, females, urban areas and for those with more schooling. Effective solutions to youth unemployment can only be provided by a comprehensive employment-oriented strategy. This will require both a faster expansion of the economy and a more labour-intensive growth path. The various youth employment programmes have at best made limited contributions to employment generation. Typically they tend to be high cost, reach a relatively small number of people and require continuing government assistance. There are, however, schemes which have been more successful in promoting employment opportunities in an efficient manner. In this regard, the experience of some participatory initiatives at grass-roots levels appears to be particularly promising.

In promoting self-employment through youth enterprises, it is important that the organization charged with this responsibility should have the necessary autonomy to ensure flexibility, speed in decision-making, experimentation and innovation. It should also operate in a

participatory style interacting continuously with youth organizations and others with relevant experience and knowledge. It is also necessary to take an integrated view of the various ingredients required for successful enterprises. These include not only technical skills, credit arrangements, marketing techniques, choice of activities but also such complex factors as stimulation of entrepreneurship, appropriate forms of business organization and institutional support for youth enterprises.

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Director

May 1988

Introduction 1/

Youth unemployment has come increasingly to be recognized as one of the more serious social problems confronting both developing and industrialized countries. The discussion of an item devoted to youth at the International Labour Conference in 1986, the publication of a report on youth unemployment by a Commonwealth Expert Group and its discussion by the Commonwealth heads of government as well as a number of studies by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and other regional and national authorities attest to the growing concern with this problem. 2/ While youth unemployment is part of the wider problem of growing unemployment in most countries, it also has some specific features and characteristics which justify its separate treatment.

There are many reasons why governments and societies feel increasingly concerned about this problem. At the human level, failure to secure satisfactory employment upon completion of schooling and training can cause intense frustration, despair and alienation. It may contribute to the emergence of problems of mental and physical health. It may also be associated with such social ills as drunkenness, drug-taking, violence, robbery and prostitution. From a material point of view, youth unemployment represents a tragic waste of skills and talents, resulting in lower production, increase in dependency burden on the rest of the society and, in the longer run, a gradual deterioration in the quality of national human resources. All these factors may contribute to increasing polarization, sharpening social conflicts and growing political instability. The potential consequences of high levels of youth unemployment at personal, social and national levels are thus serious enough to warrant sustained efforts to find solutions to these problems.

The main purpose of this paper is to discuss programmes for expansion of youth employment opportunities, paying special attention to generation of self-employment through youth enterprises. But youth unemployment cannot be seen in isolation from the overall unemployment problem. Thus, in order to provide the broader context to the consideration of the problems of youth employment, the paper reviews

briefly the emergence of youth employment and its dimensions and characteristics in relation to overall unemployment. It then considers some key elements of an employment-oriented strategy. This is followed by a discussion of various types of youth employment programmes. Three kinds of wage employment programmes are considered: job creation in the state sector, wage employment in private enterprises and training and apprenticeship schemes. The rest of the paper is concerned with self-employment promotion programmes — a distinction being made between conventional schemes and participatory initiatives. On the basis of the preceding discussion, some suggestions are put forward for promoting self-employment through youth enterprises.

The paper covers both industrialized and developing countries in the Commonwealth, but the bulk of the discussion relates to the situation in poorer countries. Illustrations are occasionally drawn from the experiences of non-Commonwealth countries.

A. Emergence of youth unemployment

As stated earlier, youth unemployment cannot be understood in isolation of the overall unemployment situation. In the majority of industrialized and developing countries, there has been a severe worsening of the unemployment situation since the late 1970s. To give a few examples, in the United Kingdom the unemployment rate has risen from 6.8 per cent in 1980 to 11.9 per cent in 1985, but has fallen somewhat over the past year. In Australia and Canada the rates have risen from 5.9 to 7.9 per cent, and 7.5 to 10.5 per cent over the same period, while in New Zealand it rose from 2.9 to 4.0 per cent. 3/ For developing countries, the figures on open unemployment give a misleading picture of the size of the employment problem as they do not cover underemployment and extremely low productivity employment. It is, however, clear from evidence from a variety of sources that there has been a distinct deterioration in the employment situation in the Caribbean region, sub-Saharan Africa and in Asian countries such as Bangladesh and Malaysia. Only countries such as Singapore and Hong Kong, and perhaps India, appear to have been able to prevent the worsening of the employment situation.

The fundamental reason for the worsening of unemployment in the industrialized countries is the slowdown in economic growth in the 1980s and rapid technological progress, especially in the manufacturing sector. This, combined with restrictive expenditure policies, has created and sustained relatively high levels of unemployment. In the developing countries, the basic reason for intensification of the employment problem is also to be sought in economic stagnation or decline. This has been due principally to weakness in primary product markets, increasing debt burden, reduced net public resource inflows and stagnation or decline in private foreign investment. All these factors have created severe foreign exchange shortages in the majority of developing countries, resulting in the curtailment of vitally needed imports and the reduction of public expenditure and investment.

Youth unemployment is a derivative of the wider employment problem, though especially in the developing countries it also has deeper, structural roots. In the industrialized countries, a period of recession and slow growth is accompanied by either little expansion or a net contraction of jobs. It is evident that in a situation of this sort, it is the new entrants to the labour force, i.e. the youth, who are likely to suffer most. Combined with their lack of previous work experience, youth are doubly disadvantaged. If this situation coincides with a bulge in the labour force because of the past baby booms, youth unemployment can rise to high levels.

In developing countries, the effect of such conjunctural factors is reinforced, on the one hand, by a rapid expansion in the labour force due to high rates of population growth and, on the other hand, by the desire of the majority of school leavers to seek jobs in the relatively small modern sector. The rapid expansion of the educational system serves only to intensify competition for the stagnant or slowly expanding jobs in the modern sector.

B. Dimensions and characteristics of youth unemployment

While it is possible to measure with reasonable accuracy the levels and trends in youth unemployment in industrialized countries, it is much more difficult to do so in developing countries. Even in urban areas, there are few countries which conduct regular employment

surveys. Even if they did so, it may be difficult to capture irregular, periodic, part-time employment that is becoming an increasing feature of the urban landscape in developing countries. Nor is self-employment in the formal sector easy to measure. The problems of measuring unemployment and underemployment are multiplied several-fold in the rural areas. It is, therefore, not surprising that there are few, if any, developing countries which have any usable data on the underutilization of rural labour at a given period of time, much less trends over time.

Despite these limitations, as a result of employment surveys, population censuses and special enquiries, a certain amount of information has become available on the dimensions and characteristics of youth unemployment in some countries. Table 1 provides data on estimated rates of open unemployment in selected countries. For the majority of countries, youth unemployment rates are quite high, ranging from 15 to over 42 per cent. Furthermore, as shown in table 2, the rates of youth unemployment generally tend to be between two to three times the adult rates. Interestingly enough, in this respect there does not appear to be a marked dissimilarity between developing and industrialized countries.

The available evidence further indicates, as might be expected, that unemployment rates tend to be higher for teenagers than young adults. In 1986, for instance, the unemployment rates for teenagers and young adults were 18.3 and 9.8 per cent respectively in Australia. In Canada, the corresponding rates were 16.6 and 12.9, and in the United Kingdom, 21.6 and 19.7. In Sri Lanka in 1980, 38 per cent of the males between the ages of 15 to 19 were unemployed as compared with 21.7 per cent in the 20 to 29 age group. 4/ In Zambia, the unemployment rate for urban males in 1980 was 79 per cent at age 15 to 19, 41 per cent at age 20 to 24, and 15 per cent in the 25 to 29 age group. In Kenya in 1977/78, the corresponding figures were 74, 39 and 9 per cent respectively. 5/

Concerning unemployment by sex, the recorded data show a mixed picture with respect to industrialized countries. While, as shown in table 1, female unemployment is lower in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it is higher in Spain, Italy and West Germany, and similar in the United States, Sweden and Japan. In

developing countries, on the other hand, female unemployment is usually higher in the urban areas, despite a lower labour force participation rate. Furthermore, female unemployment persists at a higher level through the adult age range. There may be a particular problem of educated female school leavers, especially those looking for clerical and similar jobs.

According to a number of surveys carried out in developing countries during the 1960s and 1970s, urban unemployment rates were typically at least twice rural ones (excluding underemployment which is of greater significance in rural labour markets). In Malawi, the male unemployment rate in the age group 20 to 24 was 9.8 per cent in urban areas compared with 3.7 per cent in rural areas. The comparable figures in Zambia were 41 and 14 per cent. 6/ In India, unemployment among urban youth (15 to 29 years) was 13.4 per cent compared with 4.5 per cent in rural areas. In Bangladesh, the unemployment rate in the 20 to 24 age group was 6 per cent for rural males and 11 per cent in urban areas. However, in Malaysia in 1979 there was little difference in male unemployment rates in the age group 20 to 24 between urban and rural areas, being around 29 to 30 per cent. 7/

Another feature of youth unemployment in developing countries is that it generally tends to rise with the level of education up to secondary level, and in South Asian countries even to the college level. For instance, in Malawi, the unemployment rate for urban males increases from 6.6 per cent among those who never attended school to 9.6 per cent for those with primary education and 12.0 for those with secondary education, a similar progression existing among girls, and also in the rural areas. 8/ Likewise in India, the rate of total unemployment for the age group 15 to 29 years rises from 4 per cent for illiterates to 8 per cent for primary middle school leavers, 21 per cent for secondary school leavers and 27 per cent for graduates and above. In Malaysia, in 1979, the unemployment rate for females in the 15 to 19 age group rose from 8.7 per cent for primary to 17.8 per cent and 41.6 per cent for lower and upper secondary school graduates. The unemployment rate was nearly 52 per cent for pre-university students. A similar progression is observed for those in the 20 to 24 age group and also for males with a somewhat lower unemployment rate at all levels. However, unlike India and Malawi, the unemployment rate in Malaysia for those without any formal education was larger than for primary or lower secondary school leavers. 9/

In terms of socio-economic background, in the developed countries those with the greatest difficulty in obtaining work have been either to poor schools or are least successful in their schooling. But the most acute incidence of youth unemployment affects racial, immigrant and other minority groups. For example, in both the United States and the United Kingdom, joblessness among black youths in 1985 was twice that of white youths. Rates are also significantly higher in Australia among aborigines and certain immigrant groups with English-language problems. On the other hand, in developing countries the open unemployed youths tend to be of higher status, relative to others of their age group, than those in the developed countries.

A final observation concerns the likely future trends in youth unemployment. As discussed in the next section, a great deal will depend on the international economic environment and the national strategies and measures for employment creation. But the demographic aspects present a sharply contrasting picture for the developing and the industrialized countries. Whereas in the latter the number of economically active youth rose by only 6 per cent over the period 1970-1985 and is projected to decrease by 10 million between 1985 and 2000, in the former the youth population rose by 50 per cent over 1970-1985 and is projected to increase by a similar proportion over the next 15 years. This statistic brings out the dramatic challenge posed by youth unemployment to the governments and peoples of developing countries.

C. Imperative of employment-oriented strategies

The issue of employment-oriented strategies has received a great deal of attention over the past two decades from international organizations and national authorities. In particular, the World Employment Programme of the ILO has organized comprehensive employment missions in several countries and sponsored world-wide research on strategies and measures to attack unemployment and poverty. 10/ The purpose of mentioning this subject at this stage is to emphasize that neither general nor youth unemployment is likely to yield to scattered ad hoc measures and schemes to create employment. A durable solution to this problem requires a comprehensive and coherent set of policies. Before

turning to them briefly, it may be useful to make three general but important points relating to employment which are often overlooked.

Firstly, in developing countries open unemployment is often the tip of the iceberg and may not necessarily be the most important problem. The people who can afford to be fully unemployed do not generally come from the poorest strata. From an economic and social point of view, the more serious problem is that of underemployment — i.e. of those who can only find part-time, seasonal or irregular employment — and of low productivity employment — i.e. the poor who work long hours but for one reason or another draw pitifully meagre returns.

Secondly, the employment problem is deeply embedded in the political, social and economic system of a country. It is thus the outcome of a wide array of social and economic structures and policies. 11/ By the same token, an effective solution to the employment problem requires a comprehensive and coherent set of measures touching on all major aspects of development policies. As youth unemployment is becoming an increasingly large proportion of the total unemployment, especially in developing countries, it follows that a youth employment strategy cannot be conceived in isolation of an overall strategy.

Thirdly, from what has been said above, it is clear that each country would need to elaborate its own national strategy for employment promotion in the light of its economic and social structures, resource endowments, stage of development, economic size and role in the world economy. Thus it is not possible to have ready-made blueprints which can fit all situations and circumstances. Nevertheless, at a somewhat general level, it is possible to indicate certain approaches which have proved quite effective in meeting the employment challenge.

In this connection, the first point to make is that it is extremely difficult — if not impossible — to effectively attack the unemployment problem without high rates of economic growth sustained over long periods. Given an increase in the labour force in developing countries of 2 to 3 per cent per annum and a "normal" productivity increase of a similar amount, the economy needs to grow by 4 to 5 per

cent each year just to keep the employment problem from getting worse. Since the modern sector is the focus of employment demand by a majority of young people, this sector needs to expand even more rapidly to make a dent in youth unemployment. It is possible to conceive of institutional arrangements which could secure reasonable work opportunities for all — even in conditions of slow growth and economic stagnation — but this would be at low levels of productivity and with low or declining incomes.

A rapid rate of economic growth is, of course, not a sufficient condition for generation of full and productive employment. The contrast in the Brazilian and South Korean experiences provides an illuminating lesson in this respect. While both the countries achieved extremely high rates of economic growth over the past 35 years or so, the former is plagued by widespread poverty, under- and unemployment, while the latter is nearing full employment with a relatively even pattern of income distribution. The cases of countries which achieved high rates of growth due to oil and other mineral exports also demonstrate that it needs more than growth to eradicate unemployment.

A key factor in this regard is that the growth path should be labour-intensive. This has implications for asset and income distribution, the choice of technologies, nature of technological progress, investment patterns, growth sectors and composition of output, wage, exchange and interest rates, and trade, fiscal, monetary and price policies. A given rate of growth will be more labour-absorptive the wider the dispersion in ownership of assets, especially land, the more labour-intensive are the growth sectors and products, the greater the use of efficient labour-intensive technologies and the closer the factor and product prices reflect social costs. In many countries this would call for greater priority to small farmers, small-scale rural industry and the urban informal sector.

For most developing countries, the rate of growth is determined to a large extent, at least in the medium to short run, by developments in the world economy. In recent years, the growth in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and some South-East Asian and Pacific Ocean countries has been negatively affected by weakness in commodity prices, declining development assistance, rising debt burden, falling foreign private investment and increasing protectionism, especially

against labour-intensive exports. These adverse external circumstances have set severe limits to the growth potential in the short to medium run of small, primary product-exporting countries. This in turn has limited the scope for supplementary employment promotion measures such as extensive public works programmes, and for expansion of literacy classes and primary education, and basic health and sanitation services. Nevertheless, even within the limits set by a hostile international economic environment, it is possible for governments to take measures to arrest the deterioration of — if not to significantly ameliorate — the employment situation.

D. Youth employment promotion programmes

Most countries have devised a variety of schemes to provide employment or training to school leavers as part of their policies to ameliorate youth unemployment. Consequently, there exists an enormous variety of programmes, projects and policies in industrialized and developing countries to expand work opportunities for youth. It is not the intention here to present an inventory or undertake an analysis of such schemes — a task which has been attempted elsewhere.12/ However, the fact of the matter is that while there are more or less adequate descriptions of the main features of several such schemes, it is rare to come across serious evaluations of their performance in terms of job creation, skill acquisition, sustainability, long-term viability, institutional arrangements, etc. The purpose of the discussion in this section is to review briefly the main types of youth employment programmes as a prelude to analysis of employment generation through youth enterprises.

It is convenient to divide the various youth employment schemes into four categories: job creation in the public sector; wage employment in the private sector; vocational, technical and craft training; and self-employment promotion through community and youth enterprises. The last category is discussed in section E. 13/

1. Job creation in the public sector

This is one of the commonest and one of the oldest methods of employment creation. It comprises jobs in the civil services and

parastatal organizations as well as employment in socially useful public works programmes. While these may not necessarily be youth employment schemes in all countries, young persons have been their major beneficiaries. First, we will discuss job creation in civil services. Most countries, high- and low-income, have attempted at some stage to reduce unemployment by expanding jobs in the central and local governments. Thus, especially in developing countries, it is not at all uncommon to find "overmanning" in many clerical and manual jobs. In recent years, because of the economic crisis, financial stringency and IMF- and World Bank-imposed adjustment and stabilization programmes, country after country has been compelled to close this avenue for absorption of unemployed youth. Indeed, the countries are currently faced with the opposite problem of retrenchment of public services.

In the developed countries, examples of job creation in the public sector are furnished by Arbeitsbeschaffunge Massnahmen (ABM) in West Germany, the Job Offer Act in Denmark, the Work Experience Programme (WEP) in Ireland, and the Regional Employment Development Scheme (REDS) in Australia. The essence of these schemes is that they provide public funds to cover all or part of the wages of the unemployed for jobs in central or local government for limited periods of time.

In developing countries, in one form or another, public services have provided job opportunities for the unemployed. The Tripartite Agreements in Kenya under which the government and private sector agreed to increase their employment by 10 to 15 per cent in exchange for wage standstill furnish one example. But perhaps the best-known examples are provided by Egypt, Sudan and Somalia where, until quite recently, the public services were committed to providing jobs for all graduates or secondary school leavers. These types of schemes are probably the least efficient methods of reducing youth unemployment. They add to already swollen civil services, contribute little or nothing to provision of useful services to the public, intensify "invisible" unemployment, and further increase tax burden or inflationary tendencies.

Creation of jobs for the young through public funds to build infrastructure, improve environment and provide socially useful services has great justification and merits consideration in appropriate cases. In the industrialized countries, examples of this category of programmes are provided by Public Relief Work in Sweden and Travaux d'Utilité Collective (TUC) in France. Projects which may be organized by national or municipal authorities or by private employers, relate to areas such as care of children and the elderly, medical care or municipal services. 14/

In developing countries, public works programmes — construction of rural roads, clinics, schools, community buildings, site and service houses, water catchment and small irrigation, soil conservation, reforestation, etc. — have been a feature of the development programmes of many countries. While the experience has been mixed, depending on organizational framework, choice of projects, involvement of the people, wages and working conditions, etc., there are many successful examples where a significant amount of employment was created, usually in the off-season, the participants gained useful experience and assets were created to enhance the productive potential of the area. 15/ An oft-quoted example of a successful scheme of this type is the Employment Guarantee Scheme in Maharashtra State in India. The Rural Access Roads Programme in Kenya is widely regarded as having been successful in providing employment and constructing rural roads on an efficient basis in linking up remote rural areas. The Development Works Corporation in Mauritius also functions in part as a production-cum-training programme in public works.

2. Job creation in the non-state sector

These are variants of the schemes discussed above but with the difference that jobs are created in the private sector or by community organizations. Examples of such schemes are the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) in the United States, the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) and the Community Programme in the United Kingdom. The latter programme provides employment for up to one year for the long-term unemployed on projects of benefit to the community. It is run by local communities and non-profit organizations with guidance from the Manpower Services

Commission. The CJS provides training and job opportunities for those who have been without employment for six months or who face other barriers to working. Wage subsidies and training costs are provided. Employers may sponsor projects under this programme. The JTPA is the major federally funded training and employment programme for economically disadvantaged groups. It operates under a system of block grants to states which are responsible for their allocation to service delivery areas. At the local level, private industry councils, the majority of whose members consist of employers, provide policy guidance in partnership with locally elected officials.

There are few examples of such schemes in developing countries. This is no doubt in part because of the limited resources available to the state to subsidize fully or partly the wages of young persons for jobs in the private sector or in community organizations. Nevertheless, some of the youth community service schemes may be classified under this category. One example is provided by Botswana's Community Youth Service, Tirelo Setshaba. This takes male and female school leavers at the upper end of the educational pyramid for a one-year programme of service in rural areas. The participant devotes half of his or her time to primary school teaching and the rest to other activities such as health or agricultural/livestock extension, social work, literacy classes, promotion of rural industry and assistance on drought relief programmes. Such programmes represent transitions to full-time jobs.

3. Training and apprenticeship

The growth of youth unemployment has generated a plethora of training schemes in both industrialized and developing countries. In the former, three types of measures have been taken to ease the transition from the school to the world of work. Firstly, the period of compulsory education and/or training has been extended. Notable examples have included Japan and Sweden where most students continue schooling to age 18. Secondly, there has been an extension of existing and an introduction of new technical, vocational, business and craft training in a number of countries. Thirdly, a number of countries have introduced schemes which combine training with job experience.

The Youth Training Scheme in Britain is an example under which, in 1986, nearly half of 16-year olds not continuing education received some sort of training and planned work experience lasting up to a year. The period has now been extended to two years and the majority of participants are placed with employers. Australia's Participation and Equity Programme and New Zealand's Work Development Scheme have similar features under which young people spend a certain period as employees of a participating organization. This is combined with training.

Perhaps the best-known scheme of this nature is the apprenticeship system in West Germany. This represents the main training system for school leavers and combines theoretical training at vocational schools with systematic practical work experience in firms in all branches of the economy. 16/ The apprenticeship period lasts two to three and a half years and at the end the participants become "qualified tradesmen" by passing an examination. The yearly intake is about two thirds of all 16-year olds. Although the youth unemployment rate has risen in recent years along with the overall growth in unemployment, the apprenticeship scheme has played an important role both in keeping the youth unemployment rate below that of other countries as well as in minimizing the mismatch between the supply and demand of skills.

Developing countries too have taken similar measures to prolong the period of schooling as well as to provide post-school training and job experience. But the limitation of resources and the small size of the industrial sector has inevitably limited the scope of these measures. In most developing countries, there has been a gradual increase in the proportion of young persons pursuing education beyond the primary schools. But in many cases this has been at the expense of the quality and coverage of primary education. These are hard choices to make but it is now increasingly recognized that, apart from being an "entitlement", universal primary education of good quality is a necessary foundation for a broad-based pattern of development.

There is an enormous variety and range of vocational, technical, business and craft training being offered in developing countries.

This subject has been covered in many other documents. 17/ Suffice it to say that too often the training is excessively formal, abstract, class-room based and divorced from the real world of work. Attempts have been made in recent years to evolve innovative training and work experience schemes in several countries. They combine in varying degrees training and practical work experience. Perhaps the best way to convey their flavour is through selected illustrations.

The Youth Polytechnics in Kenya represent one end of the spectrum in that they are largely a training programme. Their significance lies in the fact that they offer low-cost useful training in practical subjects with modest facilities to mainly rural primary-school leavers who would otherwise be unemployed. The programme has expanded steadily over the years since its creation in 1963 and now covers about 5 per cent of primary school leavers. The polytechnics offer training in carpentry and masonry for boys and tailoring/dressmaking and home economics for girls. Those who complete the training usually work on their own in villages or seek wage employment.

A related example is provided by the Life Skills Programme in Sri Lanka. The programme is designed to make schooling more relevant to the world of work. The curriculum consists of "learning events" based on the "life skills" of survival, maintenance and improvement of the quality of life. Examples include making an improved tool for harvesting fruit; compost making; and mending a puncture in a bicycle tube. At least two "learning events" may be selected from each of the following groups: agriculture and gardening; electricity; woodwork and metalwork; ceramics and weaving; home economics; and a miscellaneous group.

An extension of this idea is to combine training with actual work experience. In this regard, interesting schemes have been devised in some countries to link training with apprenticeship in traditional industries and informal sector activities. For instance, the National Apprenticeship Board of Sri Lanka has developed a "village apprenticeship" in which village craftsmen take on local youth for one year of training designed to make them "employable". The apprentices are paid the same state allowance as in formal city-based schemes. Likewise the Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment (TRYSEM) in India has trained almost a million young people aged between 18 and 35.

Participants receive a stipend while undergoing training with master-craftsmen or artisans, or at technical institutes and training centres of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission. About half the participants have been recorded as having entered self-employment. A final example of this type of scheme is provided by the Oyo State Integrated Self-employment Scheme (OISES) in Nigeria. A technical/vocational programme for secondary-school leavers is made up of 80 per cent practical training received through apprenticeship to local artisans and of 20 per cent theoretical instruction obtained through attachment to state polytechnics and technical schools. During the training the state government pays artisans in respect of the apprentices supervised, with trainees receiving allowances.

The YMCA Mobile Training Programme in Fiji is aimed at promoting self-employment activities for village youth. The mobile training courses are offered in outboard motor maintenance, carpentry, wood-carving, chain-saw milling and sewing machine maintenance and repair. Instructors move from one village to another conducting short courses in specific skills. Some trainees have used their skills to establish enterprises while most, already self-employed, have used them in their existing occupations.

There are fewer examples of training combined with placement in modern-sector enterprises. A programme which has attracted a great deal of attention is the Jamaican Human Employment and Resource Training Programme (HEART). This is a comprehensive programme intended to develop, encourage, monitor and provide finance for vocational training schemes; provide employment opportunities for trainees; direct or assist the placement of persons seeking employment in Jamaica; and promote employment projects. It includes programmes for school leavers, building skills, apparel and sewn products, craft and agricultural skills training. The school-leavers programme provides one to three years of on-the-job training in private-sector firms including some of Jamaica's largest corporations. Funding for the programme is based on a 3 per cent levy on the salary bill of private-sector employers, less any expenditure they incur on stipends to HEART trainees they employ.

There are of course many other examples of training schemes such as the National Youth Training Centres in Malaysia, the Non-formal Youth Skills Project in several Caribbean countries, and national service schemes in a large number of countries. Our purpose here has been to highlight some of the innovative schemes which appear to have been relatively successful in imparting useful skills and combining skill acquisition with work experience. In the space available, we have been able to provide only sketchy descriptions of their main features. A proper assessment of their performance can only be obtained from in-depth evaluations which have been done only in a few cases. Having examined various schemes for creation of wage employment, provision of training for employment and apprenticeship arrangements, we now turn to programmes to promote self-employment.

E. Programmes for self-employment promotion

The bulk of the training and employment schemes are concerned with wage employment, although the distinction is not always easy to draw, especially with respect to training and apprenticeship schemes. This emphasis makes sense in the industrialized countries where, outside the farming sector, the great majority of the work force seeks livelihood through wage employment. But the situation is reversed in developing countries where only 10 to 20 per cent of the labour force are in wage employment. Even if we exclude farming, a high proportion of the non-farming labour force derives incomes and livelihood from self-employment on individual and family enterprises. Any strategy for youth employment must, therefore, examine closely the possibilities for developing programmes aimed at self-employment. In this section we provide a brief description of some of the schemes which have attempted to move in this direction.

In the industrialized countries, two such examples are provided by the Enterprise Allowance Scheme (EAS) in the United Kingdom and the Small Co-operatives Enterprise Scheme (SCOPE) in New Zealand. The EAS is designed to help those unemployed who wish to start up a business of their own. 18/ It provides an allowance of £40 a week during the first difficult year of operation when income from a new business may be low. The applicant must work full-time and have £1,000 available for investment in the proposed business. The main restrictions

on the type of business being established are that it should be new and independent. The successful applicants are eligible for up to three free counselling sessions from the Small Firms Service or Scottish or Welsh development agencies.

A recent evaluation of the scheme indicated that since its establishment the proportion of youth and of women benefiting from the scheme has increased steadily, being 25 and 23 per cent respectively in 1985/86. The largest number of business enterprises were in construction (16.0 per cent), retail distribution (16.0), repair of consumer goods and vehicles (12.0), insurance, banking and business services (8.5), agriculture (5.7), local public services (4.0), and hotel and catering (3.8). Eighty-six per cent of those in the scheme were still operating after 15 months and every 100 new businesses created 68 new jobs. In terms of business organization, 10 per cent were partnerships, 4 per cent limited companies, 1 per cent co-operatives, and the rest individual enterprises. Finally, those firms which were still operating after 15 months showed a median gross weekly income of £187 and a net weekly pre-tax income of £80.

The SCOPE in New Zealand is also designed to promote self-employment with emphasis on co-operatives and community groups. 19/ It is particularly targeted at those who are disabled or alienated from society by social, physical or cultural factors and are committed to working in a group situation. The scheme provides for advice and help in relation to planning, finance, marketing and group processes. Participants also benefit from advice from accountants and lawyers. Start-up grants for up to $1,500 are available for use for initial research or purchase of tools and equipment. Additional grants and loans can also be secured for equipment, vehicles, purchase of a business, lease, etc. Although no in-depth evaluation has so far been carried out, it is stated "that the scheme was judged by both government and the community to be successful". 20/

In developing countries most of the schemes to promote entrepreneurship and self-employment form part of the programme for small

enterprise development. There are relatively few schemes aimed exclusively or largely at the unemployed youth. Nevertheless, some attempts have been made in this direction and it may be useful to mention a few of them briefly. One of the best-known of such schemes is the rural brigades in Botswana. Started in 1965, their aim was to provide school leavers with some continued general education as well as practical skills in a number of different trades. 21/ A characteristic feature of the brigades is an attempt to combine training with production, thus ensuring both income and acquisition of practical skills. It was also expected that the brigades would gradually evolve into self-reliant, co-operative ventures. A brigade centre may comprise a variety of specialized brigades dealing with carpentry, building, textiles, leatherworks, farming, hotels, afforestation, etc. The number of trainees rose to a peak of 1,144 in 1978 and had fallen to 683 by 1985. Ironically, the scheme has been most successful in obtaining wage employment for their trainees, especially in building, carpentry and mechanics. There are relatively few successful self-employment schemes. Nevertheless, Botswana's brigades represent one of the few innovative schemes to develop self-employment on a group basis for young school leavers.

The Small Business Centre in the Bahamas has also attempted to encourage businesses run by young entrepreneurs. 22/ The centre offers a wide range of services including organization of training seminars on specific business topics, advice on marketing and finance, access to computer services and sponsorship of exhibitions where successful entrepreneurs can show their work to the public. The centre also arranges financing through the Young Entrepreneurs Fund. The Self-help Income-generating Scheme in Saint Lucia, which ran from 1978 to 1983, was designed to assist two or more people to start businesses. 23/ The scheme provided funds, technical and business skills, and assistance with marketing. The trades covered included baking, furniture, tailoring, welding, leatherwork, fishing and tyre repairs. However, the project encountered problems of inadequate staff and a high default rate in loan repayment.

Another example of promotion of self-employment through assistance to young entrepreneurs comes from the Pacific region. The Papua New Guinea Development Bank has established a scheme known as "Stret Pasin Stoa" (Straight Fashion Stores) under which suitably qualified youth are trained in retail store management. The bank purchases a retail store in an urban location and installs the newly trained person as proprietor. That person then takes a loan from the bank, subject to a mortgage on the property. The scheme has led to the acquisition of over 120 retail stores. Its success has depended on the provision of training, finance and continuous supervision within a single integrated package.

F. Self-employment promotion through participatory initiatives

The self-employment promotion schemes we have examined in the last section share some characteristics. For the most part, they cater for a small number of young persons in relation to those in the age group. The cost per participant is relatively high and they are dependent for their success on the provision of a wide range of assistance in terms of training, apprenticeship, funds, equipment, counselling, etc. Relatively few of them have emerged as genuinely self-reliant enterprises. They are sponsored and usually tightly controlled by ministries or community organizations. Finally, it is not clear to what extent they cater to the needs of the really poor and disadvantaged groups.

It may be useful to round off our review of the subject by a brief reference to a different approach to self-employment creation by the youth. This may be described as self-employment promotion through participatory initiatives of the youth. There is an increasing number of countries where such initiatives are being taken by the people themselves, often with the help of activists or animators from outside their villages or with the assistance of NGOs or autonomous government agencies. 24/ These initiatives are not wholly or even primarily concerned with employment generation but generally productive employment and higher living standards are important objectives. Nor are they confined to youth, though there is generally substantial participation by them.

Some of the characteristics displayed by such initiatives are that the participants come from the poorer strata of society; the stimulus to action is generally provided by some outside intervention; the initiation of economic activities is preceded by extensive discussions and dialogue; the activities are organized on a group basis; the initiatives provide for participatory, flexible and democratic structures; emphasis is placed upon mobilization of internal resources such as labour, group savings, local materials; and the projects embarked upon are those which the people themselves have decided and are capable of managing without undue reliance on outside expertise. However, outside assistance in the form of credit, equipment, training, knowledge, or technology has and can play a critical role in the success of the project.

There are several examples of such efforts to mobilize resources and promote self-employment through participatory initiatives. Some of the better known are the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Self-employed Women's Association and the Working Women's Forum in India, the Participatory Institute for Development Alternatives in Sri Lanka, the Organization of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) in Zimbabwe and numerous self-help efforts in Kenya and other African countries. A flavour of these may be conveyed through a brief description of two such schemes.

The Grameen Bank gives credit to poor families to promote self-employment and incomes. Loan applicants must form groups of five persons and attend one or two weeks of training organized by the Bank. Loans are mainly for activities already familiar to the participants — both men and women — such as livestock rearing, food processing, trade and handicraft activities. Loans are also made for collective enterprises such as digging tubewells, constructing rice and oil mills, and acquiring agricultural equipment. They are made without collateral and are repayable over one year by weekly instalments; contributions to an intra-group savings scheme and to the Grameen Bank Emergency (Insurance) Fund are also required. The participants are part-owners of the bank. In 1986, the bank had 241 branches serving almost 200,000 borrowers (over half of whom were female) in 4,300 villages.

The bank has been notably successful in raising incomes, generating productive self-employment, initiating social security schemes, enhancing self-reliance and raising the status of women workers. One index of its success is its outstanding record in loan repayment: nearly 99 per cent of the loans are repaid in time.

ORAP in Zimbabwe is attempting to achieve broad-based development through mobilization of the resources of the rural people. It has a membership approaching 50,000 persons — both men and women — organized in village groups which in turn federate at higher levels. The members themselves decide on the activities the groups will undertake. A wide variety of group projects have been launched, including carpentry, netwire making, sewing, building, livestock grazing, vegetable gardening, poultry keeping, sisal and cement sheet making, bakery, grinding mills, food storage, water and sanitation. Many of these projects have received external donor support. The members may provide raw materials, tools, etc. but their principal contribution is in the form of labour. These projects have thus resulted in productive self-employment generation, especially in the off-season period.

G. Some suggestions for promoting self-employment through youth enterprises

In this concluding section we put forward some tentative ideas that might be borne in mind when developing schemes for self-employment through youth enterprises. In order to restrict the scope of the paper, the discussion is confined to employment generation in the non-farming sector, though it is recognized that in most low-income countries, the bulk of the employment opportunities for the next decade or two will need to be found in agriculture and related activities.

In many ways youth constitute an ideal group for experimenting with enterprises for self-employment generation. Youth are known to possess qualities of enthusiasm, motivation, enterprise, risk-taking, flexibility, energy, resourcefulness and willingness to try new approaches. In terms of initiating business enterprises, their

obvious handicaps are lack of experience, skills, knowledge and a habit of disciplined work. A successful programme for employment generation through youth enterprises must build upon these assets and seek to remedy the potential drawbacks.

In devising schemes for self-employment promotion, it may be useful to bear in mind some general points. Following from the discussion in the previous section, there are many advantages in adopting a participatory approach to employment generation. In specific terms, this implies that the participants in the scheme should themselves determine the activities they wish to embark upon, that an adequate preparatory period should precede the launching of activities and that institutional mechanisms be created for the effective representation of the members in all phases of policy formulation, project implementation and evaluation.

The success of a scheme will depend on sound decisions on such aspects as the set-up of the national agency, the choice of activities and sectors for employment generation, training, form of enterprises and financial arrangements. These issues are discussed briefly in the following paragraphs.

1. A responsible agency

The development of youth enterprises should ideally be placed in the hands of an organization which can take an integrated view of its role. Generally speaking, a training institution, for instance, may not be fully equipped to undertake the task of entrepreneurship development. In some countries, there already exist organizations to promote small industry and they may have developed an approach appropriate to this task. But their preoccupation is typically with adults. It may then be necessary to adapt the programmes in various ways to suit the needs of the youth.

In many countries, a bank or a credit organization has played a pioneering role in spearheading the growth of small-scale enterprises. Two examples that readily come to mind are the Grameen Bank already referred to and the Agricultural Development Bank in Nepal which has initiated and managed the highly successful Small Farmers' Development

Programme. Although starting as credit institutions, they soon develop competence in other relevant areas or secure specialist services from other sources. The important point is that the organization entrusted with the task should be able to take an integrated view of its role and be willing to secure the necessary expertise from appropriate individuals or organizations.

There are many advantages in having an organization which, even though financially supported by the government, is run on an autonomous basis. Although there are some excellent programmes run and controlled directly by ministries, experience shows that qualities required in a project dedicated to development of youth entrepreneurs such as flexibility, speed in decision-making, learning-by-doing, experimentation and innovation, will be difficult to realize in a typically bureaucratic and hierarchical organization. The best arrangement may be to have an agency with a board consisting of members drawn from the business world, trade unions, NGOs, youth organizations, church groups, committed individuals and representatives of appropriate ministries. The choice of the right director or chief executive officer who should enjoy considerable autonomy is of course vital to the success of the enterprise.

2. Choice of opportunity sectors

The second point relates to the desirable scale of enterprises and choice of activities. For obvious reasons, it is clearly out of the question to begin with large-scale operations. Nor does it make sense to initiate operations at the lowest level of the economic ladder. The "informal sector" is already crowded with shoe-shiners, car cleaners, street-hawkers and mini-retail store owners. The youth with schooling and some specific skills are unlikely to be excited by the prospect of further swelling such niches in the economy. The desirable range of scale of operations and activities must be determined by the conditions existing in each country. But it would seem that, in many countries with flourishing low-level informal sectors, it would be useful to aim at what might be described as small-scale intermediate range of activities, preferably in areas characterized by excess demand and growth potential.

These have to be investigated at the country level, but to give some examples which are relevant in a broad range of countries, one might mention construction (low-cost housing, simple community buildings, small irrigation schemes, roads); repair and maintenance of simple and durable consumer goods (bicycles, radios, watches, televisions, cars); plumbing, electrical installation; repair and maintenance of tools and equipment (tractors, water pumps, electrical appliances); manufacture of simple agricultural tools and construction materials; hotelery, catering and tourism for middle and low incomes; transport (taxis, rickshaws, buses); supply of agricultural inputs and consumer goods to relatively inaccessible rural areas; food processing; and specialized services like education, literacy, and basic health care. These activities require some technical skills, improved technology and organizational abilities. They overcome scarcities and constraints, and offer reasonable income prospects. The fact that the great majority of the unemployed youth have already primary, secondary or in some cases even higher education, and often vocational and technical skills, are assets to capitalize on in the choice of enterprise activities.

3. Appropriate training

Development of individual or group entrepreneurship is something different from training in specific skills for a job. A successful entrepreneur, in addition to possessing skills specific to his or her trade, must have a wider range of competence in such matters as financial planning, simple accounting, marketing and selling techniques and ability to work with many different sorts of people. There are few countries which have good training facilities for young entrepreneurs. Both the content and the method of training are important. With respect to the latter, experience has shown the value of practical problem-solving, learning-by-doing, case study material and work experience or apprenticeship in the modern or traditional enterprise

4. Enterprise organization

The choice of the appropriate form of business organization cannot be discussed in the abstract. A lot will depend on the customary form of business enterprise. In principle, it is best to give the maximum freedom of choice to potential entrepreneurs. Often the

activity selected would determine the appropriate enterprise organization; for instance, a construction enterprise will typically require a team with a variety of skills. In other cases, the size of the operation may be such as to require several participants. In many cultures, youth from the same extended families may prefer to work together. But, irrespective of precise business form, it has proved extremely useful in many programmes for participants to form groups or associations for mutual help, discussions and representation vis-à-vis other bodies. This not only encourages group spirit, participation, solidarity and co-operative behaviour, but may also contribute to success in business operation.

5. Financial aid

Finally, there is the critical question of finance both for working capital as well as for longer-term loans to purchase equipment and premises. Default on loan repayment has been the Achilles heel of many a scheme to promote small- or, for that matter, medium- and large-scale enterprises. A great deal of thought would need to be given to this matter prior to the initiation of a loan scheme. Experience with regard to loans for extremely poor people in some programmes such as the Grameen Bank, Small Farmers' Development Programme and Self-employed Women's Association, has demonstrated that quite astonishing repayment rates have been achieved. Interestingly enough, in none of these cases is collateral required from the loanees. 25/ An important role is played by pressure from members of the group themselves. Careful selection of the loanees is important, as is initial training in explaining the philosophy, objectives and rules of the programme. Frequent repayments in small amounts, close interaction between the representatives of the credit agency and the participants, and supervision are also crucial. In general, it would be necessary to adapt the organization and rules of the loan scheme to the specifics of the situation for the programme to be successful even if this should involve departures from conventional, time-honoured practices.

6. Role of international organizations

It has been stressed in an earlier section of this paper that employment strategies of all types must be tailored to fit the

specific economic, social and demographic realities of the countries for which they are intended. As is clear from the section immediately preceding, this is very much the case with enterprise-centred approaches, a fact which has significant implications for the role of international agencies.

With perhaps limited exceptions at the regional level, it is not possible to develop enterprise promotion programmes internationally as a "package deal" for adoption by national governments, nor is it feasible to deliver financial assistance effectively to individual youth enterprises according to a single internationally valid set of criteria. Effective action by international agencies requires working through and in support of national mechanisms.

There are several ways in which international agencies can assist the development of youth enterprises for employment generation. As indicated earlier, not enough information is available on national experiences in this field. The international agencies can promote in-depth case studies of such experiences, especially the successful ones. It is important that, in addition to describing the main features of the schemes, the studies undertake a critical evaluation of their performance.

The international agencies can promote knowledge of the schemes among the interested parties by sponsoring study tours and seminars. They can arrange consultancy services to organizations and countries interested in starting youth enterprise schemes. It would be highly desirable to draw consultants, whenever possible, from those who have themselves been involved in creating and running successful schemes. Furthermore, there is a need for a variety of training programmes in different fields and at different levels. The international agencies can pool their resources and expertise to help establish at the regional or national levels a programme for training of young entrepreneurs along the lines discussed above. A particularly useful form of training is the attachment of individuals to established and successful schemes for periods of varying duration. Finally, the international agencies can assist in the establishment of loan schemes as part of youth enterprise development programmes including the provision of funds for the pilot phase.

Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to outline the reasons for the emergence and persistence of serious youth unemployment problems in both industrialized and developing countries. It was argued that youth unemployment, although having special characteristics of its own, is an integral part of the overall unemployment problem. A solution to this problem calls for wide-ranging changes in social and economic structures and policies. Special employment schemes and programmes, whether for overall or youth employment, have a supplementary role to play in the battle against unemployment, but in isolation they cannot be expected to provide enduring solutions.

We examined a wide range of youth employment creation programmes, both wage and self-employment. While descriptive material exists on several of these programmes, there is a paucity of evaluative and critical studies of their performance. Initiatives for participatory development, although not conceived as youth employment schemes, have some attractive features which can usefully be adopted in devising self-employment programmes. Finally, we put forward some suggestions for self-employment generation through youth enterprises.

Table 1

ESTIMATED RATES[a] OF OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT IN TOTAL AND AMONG YOUTH IN SELECTED COMMONWEALTH AND NON-COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES, 1985 (PER CENT)

Country	Total Unemployment			Youth Unemployment		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Commonwealth countries:						
Jamaica	25	15	36	40	26	58
Seychelles	21	15	28	31	25	40
Barbados	17	13	21	32	26	39
Mauritius	17	17	17	29	31	26
Trinidad and Tobago	16	15	20	31	30	34
United Kingdom	12	14	10	20(b)	22(b)	18(b)
Canada	10	10	11	17	18	15
India	9	10	6	22(b)	23(b)	16(b)
Australia	8	8	8	14	15	13
Singapore	4	4	4	6	6	7
Hong Kong	4	4	3	5(b)	6(b)	5(b)
New Zealand	4	4	4	6(b)	6(b)	5(b)
Cyprus	3	2	3	4(b)	3(b)	5(b)
Ghana	1	1	1	2(b)	3(b)	2(b)
Non-Commonwealth countries:						
Spain	21	18	32	42	36	51
Italy	11	7	20	29	22	39
Germany	8	6	9	10	7	10
United States	7	6	8	13	13	13
Sweden	3	3	3	6	6	6
Japan	3	3	3	5	5	5

Note: These figures vary slightly from those in other tables since the denominators (for the labour force) are estimates.

(a) Total unemployment as percentage of total labour force, and youth unemployment as percentage of youth labour force.

(b) Figures relate to the age group 20-24 only.

(c) Figures relate to 1980.

Sources: ILO: Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1986, tables 1, 9A and 9B; and ILO: Economically Active Population Estimates and Projections, 1950-2025, vols. I-V, 3rd. ed., Geneva, 1986.

Table 2

RATIO OF YOUTH TO ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, SELECTED COUNTRIES, YEARS OF LABOUR FORCE SURVEY

Country	Ratio
Australia (1985)	2.5
Canada (1985)	1.9
United States (1985)	2.5
France (1984)	3.7
Federal Republic of Germany (1984)	1.4
Sweden (1985)	2.5
Italy (1985)	6.7
Japan (1985)	2.1
New Zealand (1981)	4.5
Seychelles (1985)	2.3
Mauritius (1984)	2.6
Trinidad and Tobago (1985)	3.1
Barbados (1983)	3.5
Uruguay (1984)	3.2
Costa Rica (1985)	2.8
Panama (1984)	3.2
Philippines (1985)	3.1
Singapore (1985)	2.2
India (1981)	4.3
Bangladesh (1983-84)	2.1

Sources: ILO: Yearbook of Labour Statistics, Geneva, 1986; for Bangladesh, Bangladesh Labour Force Survey, 1983-84.

NOTES

1/ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the meeting of the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council convened by the Commonwealth Secretariat in Western Samoa from 17 to 23 May 1988. I am grateful to Raja Gomez and Brian Gilhuly, Director and Assistant Director, respectively, Commonwealth Youth Programme, Commonwealth Secretariat, for discussions on the content of this paper; to Hans Singer and David Freedman for comments; and to Sonia Srivastava for research assistance. I was a member of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Youth Unemployment and have drawn on the report of the group in several parts of this paper.

2/ See, inter alia, ILO Report V: Youth, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1986; Jobs for Young People, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1987; Employment and Youth, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1975; The Nature of Youth Unemployment, OECD, Paris, 1984; Youth Employment and Youth Employment Programmes in Africa: Synthesis Report, JASPA, ILO, Addis Ababa, 1986; R. Thamarajakshi, Youth Employment in Asian Countries, ARTEP, ILO, New Delhi, 1987.

3/ Unless otherwise stated, the data are drawn from the report, Jobs for Young People ...

4/ Thamarajakshi, op. cit.

5/ Youth Employment and Youth Employment Programmes ...

6/ Ibid.

7/ Thamarajakshi, op. cit.

8/ Youth Employment and Youth Employment Programmes ...

9/ Thamarajakshi, op. cit.

10/ See in particular reports of the comprehensive employment advisory missions to Colombia, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Philippines, Iran, Sudan and Egypt. A summary of the research carried out under the World Employment Programme is available in compendiums of research issued periodically.

11/ This message is brought out in many of the country employment mission reports referred to above. The same point is made with respect to youth unemployment by Yash Tandon, Priority Needs and Regional Co-operation Concerning Youth in English-speaking Africa, UNESCO, Paris, 1987.

12/ Among others, in ILO Report V ...; Jobs for Young People ...; Youth Employment and Youth Employment Programmes ...; as well as a series of country studies in Africa undertaken by JASPA; Robinson G. Hollister and David H. Freedman, "Special employment programmes in OECD countries", International Labour Review, vol. 127, No. 3,

ILO, 1988; Ian Livingstone, Youth Unemployment and Employment Programmes, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1987 (mimeo); Philip Toner, "Public sector and private sector employment programmes as competing solutions to unemployment", Australian Journal of Social Issues, Canberra, 1985.

13/ Unless otherwise stated, the examples of employment schemes are drawn from the report, Jobs for Young People ...

14/ Hollister and Freedman, op. cit.

15/ J. Gaude and others, "Rural development and labour-intensive schemes: Impact study of some pilot programmes", International Labour Review, vol. 126, No. 4, ILO, 1987.

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17/ ILO Report V ..., and numerous ILO documents on vocational and technical training.

18/ David Allen and Amanda Hunn, "An evaluation of the Enterprise Allowance Scheme", Employment Gazette, London, 1985.

19/ Information supplied to the Commonwealth Youth Programme by the Government of New Zealand.

20/ Ibid.

21/ Wim Hoppers, After Training, What? Youth Training and Self-employment in Botswana and Zambia, Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1986.

22/ Information supplied to the Commonwealth Youth Programme by the Government of the Bahamas.

23/ Information supplied to the Commonwealth Youth Programme by the Government of Saint Lucia.

24/ M.A. Rahman, Alternative Strategies for Rural Employment Promotion, International Labour Organisation, Geneva (mimeo); Dharam Ghai, "Participatory development: some perspectives from the grass-roots experiences", Journal of Development Planning, No. 18, United Nations, New York, 1988.

25/ P. Egger, "Banking for the rural poor: Lessons from some innovative saving and credit schemes", International Labour Review, vol. 125, No. 4, ILO, 1986.

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