Volume 15 Number 2 October 2012

Journal of International Cooperation in Education

SPECIAL ISSUE
Youth, Education, and Work

Hiroshima University
Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education

ISSN 1344-2996

Journal of International Cooperation in Education

The Journal of International Cooperation in Education is the official journal of the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), founded at Hiroshima University in 1997, as Japan's first center for developmental and practical research for promoting international educational cooperation. The Journal aims to publicize such research and is subject to a peer review process. It is published twice a year; one in English and the other in Japanese.

Editorial Office:
Journal of International Cooperation in Education
CICE, Hiroshima University
1-5-1 Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima 739-8529 Japan.

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN EDUCATION

VOLUME 15 NUMBER 2 OCTOBER 2012

CONTENTS

SPECIAL ISSUE
Youth, Education, and Work

ARTICLE

SPECIAL ISSUE

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.1 ～ 11

Editorial: Youth, Education, and Work

James H. Williams
Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education, Hiroshima University

On the Global Agenda

While youth, education, and work have long been recognized as important issues for the education system and human resource development policy more broadly, only in recent years have they (re)assumed a prominent place on the educational development agenda. Kenneth King, in calling for informed perspectives on these developments for *Norrag News*, cites a spate of recent reports, including UNESCO's *Global Monitoring Report* (2012a), the *World Development Report 2013: Jobs, the Long-Awaited EFA* (World Bank 2012), OECD's *Better Jobs, Better Lives* (2012), etc.[1]. One could speculate about the reasons for the recent highlighting of education's role in youth's transition to work—the large numbers of youth in countries experiencing the "youth bulge"; increased awareness of the political implications of large numbers of un-employed or under-employed youth, not only in North Africa, the Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia, but also in Europe; the rapid urbanization and "youthification" of cities in sub-Saharan Africa; slow economic growth and the realization of youth as a drag or an engine for economic development; the re-envisioning of shared development and education goals with the approach of 2015 deadlines for the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All. However, it cannot be denied that global policymakers have youth and employment on the mind.

This special issue of the *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*[2] looks at these issues from diverse geographical and theoretical perspectives. We attempt not to duplicate existing reports, which have thoroughly documented the issues they examine from their particular organizational perspectives, but to comment, question, and perhaps deepen the conversation around these issues by looking at national and grassroots cases; comparative studies of countries; empirical research; and perspectives from organizations

[1] Other reports King cites include: the ILO's *Global Employment Trends 2012* (2012) and its *World of Work Report 2012* (2012); UNESCO's *Transforming TVET: Building Skills for Work and Life* (2012c) and the *Shanghai Consensus from UNESCO's Third International Congress on TVET* (2012b); The McKinsey Global Institute's *The World at Work: Jobs, Pay and Skills for 3.5 Billion People* (2012); *Skills for Employability in Africa and Asia by Innovative Secondary Education for Skills Enhancement* (ISESE 2012). In addition, UNESCO's *World TVET Report* (WTR) is expected to be published in early 2013 along with the Asian Development Bank's *Skills Development for Inclusive and Sustainable Growth in Developing Asia- Pacific* in December (2012).

[2] Grateful appreciation to several dedicated George Washington University research assistants, who helped with background research and editorial assistance: Tianying Hao, Lidija Smiroff, Liu Yun, Xinxin Zhang, and Marilyn Hilarious provided invaluable assistance along with significant contributions by Eleanor Fitzgerald and Marianne Baesa as well.

that design and implement programs linking youth, education, and work. We begin by attempting a summary of what is known about the problems (and promise) of youth, education, and work; what needs to be done; and what we know and do not know about how to do what we know needs to be done. We then provide an overview of the contributions making up this issue.

Demographic change has led to the largest number of young people in history, with unprecedentedly high proportions of young people as proportions of the total population. This "youth bulge" means, in the words of the GMR:

> Around one in six young people in the world are aged 15-25. They are disproportionately concentrated in some of the poorest countries. The youth population is particularly large and fast-growing in sub-Saharan Africa. About two-thirds of Africans are under 25, as compared with about less than one-third in rich countries such as France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States. By 2030, there will be three and a half times more young people in sub-Saharan Africa as there were in 1980. There are also large numbers of young people living in the Arab States and in West Asia, where around half are under 25.
>
> To accommodate the growing youth population in the Arab States, South and West Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa, an additional 57 million jobs need to be created just to prevent unemployment rates from rising above current levels (UNESCO 2012b, p. 25).

Important to remember is that "current levels" refers to a normal state in which unemployment rates are often much higher among young people than among the working population as a whole. Contributors to this special issue alone find unemployment of around 25% for youth in Arab Mediterranean countries as compared with 10-15% overall (Rosso et al., this issue). In Kenya, nearly 40% of young people are neither in school nor working (Balwanz, this issue).

Youth bulges are often seen as a threat, and, indeed, dramatic shifts in the demographic make-up of society can be profoundly destabilizing. Research has found that large youth cohorts, or 'youth bulges' are associated statistically with increased risk of internal armed conflict and civil war (Cincotta et al. 2003; Urdal 2006; Urdal 2008). This is especially so when male secondary school attainment is low (Barakat & Urdal 2009). Indeed, policy attention can be mobilized most readily, it might be argued, when youth are seen as a threat (see Ignatowski 2007; Williams 2007). And much of the programming aimed at youth is predicated on what might be termed the "youth as problem" paradigm (Sommers 2007).

The events associated with the Arab Spring highlight the transformative role youth can play. However, with opportunities for education, livelihood and constructive civic

engagement, youth bulges can also be understood—theoretically at least—as a potential resource, or "youth dividend" and an engine of economic growth. Whether youth become a drag (even threat) to the social order or a driver of economic and social development depends in substantial part on: 1) the "skills" that youth acquire as they make the transition to adulthood, and 2) their commitment and the engagement they develop in the communities and societies in which they live.

Definitions of youth vary widely. The U.N. defines youth as persons of ages 15 to 25. While an age-based definition is necessary for coordination and programming purposes, youth are often defined locally in very different ways. The African Union defines youth as persons aged 15-34. In other than official circles, youth are generally understood as those in the transitional period from childhood to adulthood. Regardless of external and official definitions, youthness is defined by the cultural communities in which young people live. These definitions shift, in practice if not name, in line with economic, social, cultural, and educational conditions. The onset of adulthood is understood quite differently now as compared with 50 years ago. In many contexts, the passage to adulthood is related less to physical age than to achievement of certain milestones (Sommers 2012). Until those milestones are achieved—for example building a house in Sommer's study of rural Rwanda—youth remain in what he describes as "youth in waithood" a state of "endless liminality", regardless of physical age. At the same time, other milestones, such as marriage for women in many societies, mean an effective end to childhood and youth, with little connection beyond the onset of menarche to physical or developmental age.

A critical transition, and the focus of this special issue, is the transition young people make to work[3]. Education systems, in general terms, do a poor job of equipping the majority of young people with the skills needed for productive and engaged work lives. First of all, schools rarely serve all young people equally well. In fact, many of their policies are implicitly anti-poor. Despite great progress in improving participation and completion at the primary level, few developing country school systems have places for all young people at post-primary levels of education, and some of the poorest do not have places enough in primary school. Few school systems offer a systematic and comprehensive array of second-chance programs for those who fall in their progression through schooling. There simply are not opportunities for all children and young people to acquire needed skills.

Additionally, in many cases, the quality of schooling has failed to keep pace with expansion of access. As a result, as recent early grades research has found (see for example, Gove & Cevilich 2011), children in many school systems do not acquire the basic reading and mathematics skills sufficient to enable them to continue formal learning. Beyond these "foundational skills" (UNESCO 2012a), even among students who

[3] In addition to work, researchers define other critical transitions, such as Lloyd's characterization of transitions to citizenship, to marriage, and to parenthood (2005).

successfully gain admission to and complete higher levels of education, many complete their schooling without the technical skills needed by employers or what UNESCO terms "transferrable skills" (also known as "soft skills") including the ability to be punctual and a team player, to think critically, act entrepreneurially, communicate effectively, work in teams, persist, use technology and speak foreign languages (UNESCO 2012a; Muskin, this issue). Mismatches between training received in school and the skills needed in the workplace are common. In some regions, unemployment is higher among more educated young people than among the less educated (Rosso et al., this issue). Even in cases where secondary education is accessible and of high quality, the curriculum is often academic, preparing students for university and formal or public sector work, when in fact there may not be sufficient places for students to continue their education, and wage employment may be impossible for many to come by. As a result, there may be too many well-educated graduates in fields with little demand, and too few in areas of great demand. School systems do not have a good record in predicting labor demand. Yet expanding the current model of schooling beyond the economy's "carrying capacity" is likely to produce many individual "failures," higher expectations than can be met by the job market, and insufficient skills relevant for available opportunities. This is not a recipe for success. Finally, globalization and economic change mean that competition for skills is increasing, even as employment opportunities flatten (see Okada, this issue).

The demands on schools are clear. Schools need to enroll students, keep them in school, and ensure that students learn the foundational skills on which future formal learning is based. Additionally, schools are called to ensure that students acquire a range of transferrable or soft as well as (constantly-evolving) technical skills (UNESCO 2012). Schools need to reach and teach increasingly large numbers and diverse kinds of students and to teach them with curriculum relevant to their likely opportunities yet not so basic or applied as to consign them to permanent poverty. These demands are an understandable, necessary, and likely near impossible order for many countries.

Still the question remains: What good is schooling if graduates cannot, at a minimum, use the knowledge gained to gain gainful employment to provide for themselves and their families?

Among the challenges: Most poor countries remain solidly agricultural, even as they urbanize. Agricultural labor accounts for a large proportion of opportunity for work, and a low proportion of young people's aspirations. Balwanz (this issue) reports that only 5% of Kenya's youth surveyed were interested in life on the farm. Yet Africa is still primarily rural; 61% of Kenya's youth live in rural areas. And skill enhancement training programs are often set in the city.

The informal sector in poor countries is often much more vibrant economically than formal or government sectors. In Kenya, Balwanz reports in this issue, the informal sector represents 80% of all jobs. In Ghana, 80% of skills training takes place through apprenticeships in the informal sector (Sonnenberg, this issue), yet the informal sector jobs are often poorly-paid, insecure, and lack both protection and permanence. Some

governments have taken steps to attempt to reform and upgrade traditional apprenticeship arrangements (see Sonnenberg in this issue for cases of policy initiatives by Senegal and Ghana and Balwanz, also this issue, on programs in Kenya). However, the effectiveness and impact of such policies and programs in Ghana and Senegal have not been demonstrated, and existing programs appear to reach the better-off poor as opposed to the truly marginalized. Kenya may be more successful in its youth polytechnics, though youth surveys suggest a clear preference for formal or public sector work when those choices are available.

Programmatically, the provision of skills to disadvantaged young people is quite challenging (Butler & Taggart, this issue; Williams 2007; Sommers 2007). First of all, teaching the most disadvantaged is generally not a priority of national elites, who make policy and develop programs; the social distance between truly marginalized young people and even their better-off peers is great (Sommers 2007). Even when there is the will to serve the most marginal young people, it is difficult. Marginal children and youth live on the margin. They are often difficult to find. Once found they are difficult to enroll, once enrolled they are difficult to retain; if retained, they can be difficult to teach. Their needs for services and support generally extend far beyond the scope of conventional education and training programs. And often, immediate survival trumps education and training. Outcomes of the type envisioned by youth programmers are difficult to define, and even more difficult to measure. As a result, program impact is difficult to assess, infrequently carried out, and policymakers and practitioners have little cumulative sense of what works and does not.

Program goals are similarly complicated. Youth's needs for income and livelihood are basic and undeniable. Yet income, while critical, is not all that young people need to thrive as self-reliant, economically productive adults. A sense of connection, belonging, and social value (Muskin; Vinall & Murphy-Graham, this issue) and a sense of efficacy and contribution are also critical and may be necessary to ensure livelihood (Vinall & Murphy-Graham; Butler & Taggart, this issue).

Yet even limiting the focus to income, provisioning individuals with skills is often insufficient to address the problems of youth unemployment (in this issue, see Balwanz for Kenya; Vinall & Murphy-Graham for Honduras; and Kusakabe for in rural Bangladesh). Larger "structural issues" and social barriers may prevent young people from utilizing their skills. However entrepreneurial an individual may be, lack of access to credit represents a substantial barrier for poor youth starting a business. Innovations in farming have little impact on individuals who lack access to land. "Supply-side" interventions often require "demand-side" changes to be effective.

So while the need for skills—foundational, transferrable, and technical—is undeniable, sole reliance on what Balwanz calls "skills for jobs" thinking may "blame the victims" for not having the right skills, when in fact, they (also) lacked a mediating context that would permit them to use such skills. Moreover an exclusive focus on the skills young people lack makes it more difficult for programmers, youth, policymakers,

their teachers, trainers, families and community members to see the skills they do possess.

Provision and acquisition of skills tends to be an individualistic sort of arrangement. Yet as Vinall & Murphy-Graham and Kusakabe remind us (all, this issue), the fate of young people in rural communities is often inextricably tied to the communities where young people live and their roles in their communities. Even so, the possibilities for work and community life are conditioned by external factors, i.e., conflict and structural violence in Honduras, or in the case of Bangladesh, proximity to internationally-financed development or ability to wangle a work visa for the Middle East.

Just as provision of skills is a necessary but not sufficient condition for young people to gain gainful employment, provision of necessary skills is not a simple classroom task. At the individual level, attitudinal and behavioral changes are necessary along with the necessary academic learning. Young people, especially those on the margins, need support, coaching, and active guidance to successfully transition to work. As a field, we are just learning how to program these services effectively, consistently and to scale. Beyond the programs implemented, one of the important contributions of the EQUIP3 project (Butler & Taggart, this issue) was the learning of how to develop and carry out programs targeting transitions to employment for marginalized youth. Effectiveness in working with disadvantaged out-of-school youth may be less about filling their gaps in skills than in working with them holistically to manage the transition to work. Of course, this includes the provision of skills. Working with youth to manage the transition involves recognizing and building on youth's assets as well as filling their deficits[4]. Youth are able to contribute to service provision, and to learn while doing so, though with more careful planning, training, scaffolding, and supervision than is necessary when programs are implemented solely by adult professionals.

In thinking about youth, education, and work, it is important to consider the particulars of gender, ethnicity, location, class, and disadvantagement as relevant to the young people being targeted. Particularly at adolescence, opportunities and life trajectories often diverge for females and males. Programs for boys may not work for girls. Targeting the most marginalized is difficult, and prone to unanticipated outcomes, yet failure to do so often means the well- or better-off capture the benefits.

Yet youth often fall through the cracks. Responsibility for youth tends to fall on several ministries, which may mean no ministry takes responsibility, or that youth programming is uncoordinated, fragmented, and incomplete. Okada notes that skills development is more difficult than most education sector work, cutting as it does across organizational boundaries, serving diverse clients, with multiple delivery mechanisms, and shifting market characteristics (this issue). Youth often lack the national and international constituencies of children or adults; they are largely invisible in policy terms until they become problematic. For these reasons, coordination of policies and programs assumes

[4] See for example the Search Institute's 40 Developmental Assets, [http://www.search-institute.org/content/40-developmental-assets-adolescents-ages-12-18] (accessed 15 January 2013.)

great importance. Yet governments and international funding agencies are only recently beginning to do this[5].

Youth are more difficult than children to deal with: They are more mobile, more aware, more dangerous. They have political ideas and ideals, and they are often ready to act on them. They are sexually if not psychologically mature. Their judgment is emergent, their choices consequential—for themselves, their families, communities, and societies. Their desire for affiliation and purpose are real. Often they get the most attention from anti-social elements—criminals, drug rings, fighters. Often religious organizations pay most attention, be they liberal, conservative, or fanatic. Work is a necessary but insufficient requirement for productive adult participation in society. The skills to get, keep, and thrive at work are the necessary (though insufficient) lessons owed our young people.

The Articles

Arguably the most youth-related news story over the past two years is the Arab Spring. Rosso, Bardak, & Zelloth begin with an overview of school-to-work transitions in the Arab Mediterranean countries. They begin with a sobering statistical overview of youth employment in the region, where education levels are not so very low, yet the numbers of young people out of work (and also out of school and training) are quite high. Unemployment is particularly high among more educated youth. The authors analyze the problems accounting for the poor school-to-work transitions that characterize the region, provide a comprehensive list of programmatic solutions, examine available evidence of program effects, and detail a series of recommendations in four main categories: 1) improving the qualifications of the workforce, 2) improving government programs aiming at smoothing the school-to-work transition, 3) improving the framework of transition support, and 4) including youth voices in program planning and implementation. Their detailed analysis provides a rich portrait of youth, education, and work in a region of the world where frustration with these problems has taken political form. The challenges mirror those of other poor regions, along with the programmatic recommendations for smoothing the transition.

Vinall and Murphy-Graham report on a segment of their longitudinal qualitative study of education in four Honduran villages. Organized around the relationship between work and social capital, the authors analyze the language young people use to describe life in their villages, their aspirations for the future—personal as well as for the community—and the role they see themselves playing in improving their lives and those of those around them. The research was carried out as part of a larger impact evaluation of an innovative secondary education program, SAT (*Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial*), developed to offer

5 USAID for example rolled out a new youth policy on 1 November 2012. See http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/Youth_in_Development_Policy.pdf

alternative secondary education equivalents to youth who would otherwise lack access to secondary education. In addition to core academic skills, SAT includes a substantial community service and student empowerment component. The authors watch as their participants mobilize their quite "thick" social capital to make improvements in their situation and those of their communities. But the contributions they can make are limited. "Without work, I can't solve anything," one sums up. Drawing on Bourdieu, the authors conclude that social capital can only be divorced from economic capital to a limited extent. Rich in social connections, the village youth were highly constrained in what they could actually achieve, by structural conditions beyond their control. Social capital could only mobilize the resources actually in the village and under its control, resources which were limited by these same structural conditions—poverty, lack of political power, marginality.

Kusakabe carried out another longitudinal study, a household study in two villages in Bangladesh. One, an isolated rural village, had few economic ties to the outside world. The other—a suburban town near the major city of Chittagong—was much more engaged in the national and global economy, despite its still rural character. Kusakabe visited the villages, once each in 1999 and 2001 and then again 10 years later. He visited the same householders and inquired about the academic and employment fate of young people who had been students during the earlier visit. In the first visit, Kusakabe asked parents about their aspirations for their children, and was thus able to gauge the extent to which parental aspirations were realized in the two villages over the intervening ten years. He found that while educational opportunities had expanded greatly, there appeared to be little relationship between educational attainment, employment, and improvements in overall well-being. Indeed, educational expansion had not led to a corresponding expansion of employment opportunities in the wage sector, and the wages that employment provided were overshadowed by rising prices and increased borrowing "for daily life". A few individuals got jobs they might not have gotten otherwise, but most either remained in school, ended up pretty much as expected according to social class and available work, or got jobs overseas or through connections. Certainly, economic opportunities were greater in the suburban village, and schooling had a long history there, but the expansion of educational opportunity accompanying Education for All-inspired policies had not led to a substantial improvement in prosperity for villagers.

Balwanz looks at new programs the Kenyan government has developed to help unemployed youth acquire skills for work. Beginning with a statistical overview of education and youth employment in Kenya, Balwanz locates the Kenyan government's efforts to develop youth training programs within the social, political and economic history of the country and in the global "skills for jobs" discourse. He details the programs and the conditions they were designed to address along with the issues in the larger context that "mediate" (and often prevent) the translation of skills into employment. These mediating conditions, he finds, are not addressed by increased provision of skills to individuals. Thus while necessary and useful, skills alone are unlikely to solve the

problems Kenya's youth face. The programs established represent useful moves toward education for skills for work. But they cannot address larger problems that keep youth out of work.

Sonnenberg details programs put in place by governments in Ghana and Senegal to address problems of youth, education, and work, especially in the informal sector. The informal sector is by far the major source of work in both Senegal and Ghana. Apprenticeships are the primary form of skills training, accounting for an estimated 80-90% of skills training in Ghana and 98% of skills training in Senegal. Apprenticeship training, while sustainable and relatively effective, is poorly paid, sometimes exploitative, and rarely leads to formal qualifications or the ability to move beyond the specific skill acquired. Both governments have put an impressive array of policies and programs in place to increase access and the quality of non-formal apprenticeship training. However, the impact of these programs is difficult to see. Often data are not collected in a systematic and comprehensive fashion. Most programs have not been evaluated for effectiveness or impact. Coordination and coverage remain challenges. Government-supported training programs have had some success, she finds, but existing training programs tend to enroll students from (relatively) better off families in urban areas, and not the most marginalized youth, who are the intended program targets.

Muskin draws on his experience as project leader of the USAID/ALEF (Advancing Learning and Employability for a Better Future) Project to reflect on the Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program (PDEE) implemented in secondary schools in four of Morocco's 16 regions from 2005-2009. The project developed an after-school curriculum to imbue participants with an "entrepreneurial spirit," helping them acquire the confidence and experience necessary to plan projects to improve their schools and communities. Muskin thinks hard about the qualities required to be entrepreneurial, regardless of whether one starts a business or not, and identifies ways in which schools can foster, or at least not stifle, the kind of learning required by employers and the larger society. These qualities—referred to by UNESCO as "transferable skills" and by others as "soft skills," etc—are widely recognized as important and yet poorly fostered by formal schooling offered in the traditional modes of teacher- and content-dominated instruction, examinations, recall of abstract information, individual achievement, and dissociation from the applied world. The project model was quite successful in enhancing participants' "vocational maturity," suggesting the real possibility of developing and running programs at schools and staffed by teachers to enhance students' soft skills.

Butler and Taggart review the lessons learned from ten years of implementing the EQUIP3 Project. Funded by USAID, EQUIP3 was designed to improve the "earning, learning, and skill development opportunities" for out-of-school youth in developing countries. Managed by a consortium of NGOs, the project established programs in 26 countries for marginalized out-of-school young people. The article describes the assumptions underlying the project—youth as assets, the need to foster opportunities for youth to earn, learn, and engage with their communities. It also describes how, in the

process of implementation, the project learned a great deal about how to develop programs to prepare out-of-school youth for entrepreneurial and employment opportunities. A number of tools, instruments and metrics were developed to create programs and assess progress. Effective youth programming was found to require a number of ingredients, including effective partnership with local implementing organizations; use of best available practices with adaptation as necessary to local conditions, resources, and needs; integrated packages of literacy, coaching and support services, access to credit, work readiness training, and work experience. The article ends with the ten most important lessons the project directors took from the experience.

Abdul Rashid Mohammed and colleagues from the Universiti Sains Malaysia highlight the critical role of skill in global languages, especially English, for individuals to contribute to national economic development in the global economy. They find a troubling inequitable distribution of that skill among secondary students in the Penang state of Malaysia. The English proficiency of students can be predicted, in part, by the socio-economic background of students, their ethnicity, and gender. These findings raise concerns about the ability of schooling to provide educational opportunity for all.

Aya Okada concludes the special issue with a review of skill development in India. Before long to belong to the world's largest country, young people entering the labor force are India's largest demographic. This demographic represents an enormous potential "demographic dividend," realization of which is stymied by lack of training, skills and opportunities for the vast majority of young people. The article summarizes the state of skill development in the country as a whole and then focuses on efforts in Karnataka state. The article ends with a cautious optimism and recommendations to: increase investment in education, ensure greater access to secondary education, offer second-chance opportunities for those who miss out, and "re-orient" schooling to demands from the informal employment sector.

References

Asian Development Bank. (2012). *Skills Development for Inclusive and Sustainable Growth in Developing Asia- Pacific*. Manila: Author.

Barakat, B. & Urdal, H. (2009). Breaking the Waves? Does Education Mediate the Relationship Between Youth Bulges and Political Violence? *Policy Research Working Paper 5114*. Washington, D.C.: Africa Region, Post Conflict & Social Development Unit, World Bank.

Center for International Cooperation in Education. (2007). *Vulnerable, Excluded, Invisible & Ignored: The Margins of Education for All*. Special issue of the *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*. Vol 10:1. Hiroshima, Japan: Hiroshima University.

Cincotta, R.P., Engelman, R. & Anastasion, D. (2003). *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict After the Cold War*. Washington, DC: Population Action International.

Gove, A. & Cvelich, P. (2011). *Early Reading: Igniting Education for All. A report by the*

Early Grade Learning Community of Practice. Revised Edition. Research Triangle Park, NC: Research Triangle Institute.

Ignatowski, C. (2007). "Framing Youth within the Politics of Foreign Assistance," *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 2(3), 222-229. [http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/rcie.2007.2.3.222] (Accessed 15 January 2013)

International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2012). Global Employment Trends 2012. Geneva: Author.

_____ (2012). *World of Work Report 2012*. Geneva: Author.

Lloyd, C.B. (Ed.) (2005). *Growing Up Global: The Changing Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries*. Washington DC: National Academies of Science, Committee on Population, Board on Children, Youth, and Families, National Research Council and Institute of Medicine. [http://books.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=11174&page=R1] (accessed 15 January 2013)

McKinsey Global Institute. (2012). *The World at Work: Jobs, Pay and Skills for 3.5 Billion People*. Washington, D.C.: Author.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2012). *Better Jobs, Better Lives*. Paris: Author.

Results for Development Institute. (2012). *Skills for Employability in Africa and Asia by Innovative Secondary Education for Skills Enhancement*. Washington, D.C.: ISESE Project.

Search Institute. (n.d.). *40 Developmental Assets*. Minneapolis, MN: Author. [http://www.search-institute.org/content/40-developmental-assets-adolescents-ages-12-18] (accessed 15 January 2013)

Sommers, M. (2012). *Stuck: Rwandan Youth and the Struggle for Adulthood*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

_____ (2007). "Creating Programs for Africa's Urban Youth: The Challenge of Marginalization," *Journal of International Cooperation in Education, 10: 1*, pp. 19-31.

UNESCO. (2012a). *Global Monitoring Report 2012: Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*. Paris: Author.

_____ (2012b). *Shanghai Consensus from UNESCO's Third International Congress on TVET*. Paris: Author.

_____ (2012c).*Transforming TVET: Building Skills for Work and Life*. Paris: Author.

Urdal, H. (2006). 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence', *International Studies Quarterly,* 50(3): 607-630.

_____ (2008). 'Population, Resources and Violent Conflict: A Sub-National Study of India 1956–2002', *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 52(4): 590-617.

Williams, J.H. (2007). "Vulnerable, Excluded, Invisible & Ignored: The Margins of Education for All: Editorial," *Journal of International Cooperation in Education, 10: 1*, pp. 1-18.

World Bank. (2012). *World Development Report 2013: Jobs*. Washington, D.C.: Author.

_____ (2007). *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*. Washington, D.C.: Author.

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.13 ～ 34

Youth Transition from Education to Work in the Mediterranean Region: The ETF Experience with Partner Countries[1]

Francesca Rosso, Ummuhan Bardak, and Helmut Zelloth
European Training Foundation Turin, ITALY

Abstract

Countries in the Arab Mediterranean region (AMC) face several daunting challenges. Changes in the nature of work and employment have weakened prospects for secure, long-term jobs, just as the 'youth bulge' caused by rapid demographic transition means that almost 30% of the population in these countries is between the ages of 15 and 30. Governments have been challenged to respond to these problems. Compiling information from a wide range of sources, this paper assesses issues and policy responses necessary to improve school-to-work transitions in AMC countries, analyzing complex inter-relationships among school, work, economic development, and policy. Economic growth, in particular job creation, has not kept pace with educational expansion. At the same time, school graduates frequently lack the skills that employers need. Thus, while more children and youth are completing higher levels of schooling, the education they receive is unlikely, for many, to lead to improved well-being. Recommendations are specified around four broad policy areas of improvement, and one of inclusion: 1) improving the level of workforce education and qualifications; 2) improving the content (and evaluating the impact) of government programmes aimed at easing the transition from school to work; 3) improving the framework for transition support, while equipping youth with skills that better match labour market needs; and 4) including youth voices in planning and implementation of the programmes.

Socio-Economic and Demographic Context

The political turbulence experienced in many Arab-Mediterranean countries (AMCs) over the past few years is partly attributed to the lack of democracy, employment and social equity. The years 2011 and 2012 will be remembered for the 'Arab spring'. A wave of revolts led by young people swept through Tunisia and Egypt, and then with less intensity through Algeria, Morocco and Jordan, with violent conflicts in Libya and Syria. This led to regime changes and a transition to democratic processes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya; pre-emptive reforms in Algeria, Morocco, and Jordan; and sectarian

[1] Adapted from a larger report, Youth Transition from Education to Work in the Mediterranean Region: The ETF Experience with Partner Countries, prepared by the European Training Foundation (ETF) for the IIEP Policy Forum, Paris, 16-18 October 2012.

violence in Syria. The uprisings underlined the importance of governance at all levels, and highlighted the deep resentment of people, particularly of youth, of rising social inequalities, unemployment, corruption, and lack of democracy.

Eighteen months on, many things have changed in the region. Social demands and expectations of citizens, in particular of young people, have exploded dramatically. The selection and direction of future policies will depend on the economic and social development model chosen by each country, but there is a high risk of instability if people's voices are not heard by governments. The new governments and international donors have been quick to place employment policy at the core of their cooperation agendas as one of the root causes of the revolts. This has led to increasing funds in the short term for the proliferation and diversification of active labour market measures and public work programmes, some wage increases, and the emergence of new social partners in the field.

AMCs face important employment challenges: changes in the nature of work and employment have weakened the prospects of long-term and secure jobs. The youth employment challenges faced by AMCs are daunting. The 'youth bulge' caused by rapid demographic transition in AMCs means that almost 30% of the population of these countries are between the ages of 15 and 30, and this ratio will be maintained for at least the next two decades. This youthful and positive energy needs to be planned for, and education systems need to become more relevant to the needs of the current and future young generations.

Two key constraints affect employment in AMCs. There is insufficient labour demand to meet the labour market supply (in particular for qualified labour), and a skills mismatch, which can be attributed to failures in the education system, has caused youth employability to suffer. The first constraint is well documented in national and international studies, and is partly linked to specific structural features of the economies in AMCs. Positive trends in economic growth in the region for 2011–2012 have deteriorated, but even during the period 2002–2007, when AMCs were characterized by sustained growth, job creation performance was still weak. Aside from the high levels of agricultural employment in some countries, business is largely dominated by small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which tend to have lower levels of productivity and face greater obstacles to competing in international markets. SMEs create 60 to 70% of jobs, but most of these are low skilled and low paid, and they are mainly in the informal sector.

Improvements in the level of education of the population and recent economic growth have not translated into employment growth. Despite the great efforts of governments to enhance the level of education of the population (particularly in some countries, such as Morocco), the increase in education levels has had only a limited effect on national labour markets. Labour markets in the region have on average the lowest activity rates in the world (between 40 to 50%), mainly because of very low female activity rates (an average of less than 25%). Unemployment rates remain high (between 10 and 15% over the past decade), but they vary across regions inside countries, and are

persistently twice as high for women and youth as for adult males. Youth unemployment is close to or above 25% in almost all AMCs [2], despite the extremely low activity rates. The majority of unemployed (up to 80% in some countries such as Egypt) are first job-seekers with no previous work experience. Female unemployment (and inactivity) rates are very high even among the young, despite the increasing levels of education and aspirations of women for jobs. Labour market opportunities, which are rare for young men in the region, remain almost nonexistent for young women.

Another striking feature is the inverse correlation between education and employment. Unemployment rates tend to increase with education level, particularly for women, and are highest of all for female university graduates. The growing number of 'educated unemployed' underlines the weak links between the education and training system and the labour market. The specific skills required to enter the labour market do not appear to be provided by national education and training systems. For example, there is a demand for soft or generic skills (team work, communication and social skills, adaptability, languages, skills in information and communication technology (ICT), analysis and synthesis, critical thinking and work discipline), and a need for job search skills. The changing nature of the labour market, and the changing nature of skills required by the labour market, need to be reflected in the curricula of education and training systems, as soft skills become increasingly important for young people to access and maintain employment (Sisson and Jones 2012).

Young people who are not in employment, education or training (NEETs) are particularly vulnerable to social exclusion. Although no statistics are available, surveys for some countries show that this category might account for more than 40% of the youth population [3]. The main reasons are the high numbers of early school leavers, and the social norms that restrict mobility and access to work and further education for young girls after they complete compulsory lower secondary education. Evidence points to NEET rates close to 25% of the young male population in countries such as Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, and close to 70% for young women. This 'youth employment gap' represents a waste of human capital and educational investment, a devalorization of (scarce) national human resources, and leads to an increased risk of social instability.

Main Challenges for Transition from School to Work

The transition from education to work can be very difficult for all young people. Many have to face unemployment for several months, if not years, before finding their first job after leaving school. Although a period of transition is normal, a slow or difficult transition to the labour market can have a lasting impact on an individual's career and future income (Eurofund 2012).

[2] Extremely high youth unemployment rates are observed in Tunisia (42%), OPT (39%), Lebanon (30%), Jordan (28%), and Egypt (26%) (ETF 2012).
[3] Union for the Mediterranean regional employability review. Turin: ETF 2012.

The main obstacle to youth entry into the labour market in the Mediterranean region is the lack of labour demand. Insufficient jobs are being created, with a particular lack of jobs of the kinds that fit the demographic dynamics and educational attainment of the population. This is related to the socio-economic context of each country and the legislative rigidities of its labour market. A number of factors contribute to make entry into the labour market difficult:

A weak business environment. The amount of red tape and bureaucracy involved in creating a company, and in particular the conditions prevailing in the financial sector, do not encourage self-employment and SME development, despite positive experiences regarding their impact on labour market entry and employability. In Syria, a survey found that becoming a self-employed worker is linked to a high probability of labour market success, with the highest wages and almost no risk of subsequent unemployment (ETF 2012).

Low levels of qualifications and enrolment in technical and vocational education and training (VET)[4]. Despite improvements in educational coverage and achievement, school drop-out and illiteracy rates are still relatively high, and upper secondary enrolment rates are relatively low. This still poses a major challenge to the employability of large numbers of young people[5]. The low proportion of young people opting for VET, the strong gender segregation in VET occupations, and the preference for humanities subjects are other factors that make the transition to the labour market more difficult. According to ETF studies (described below), in some countries such as Algeria, Egypt, and Jordan, young people refuse to enroll in VET programmes because they do not fit with the expectations that they and others have of their future type of employment. Those who can afford to decline work are often unwilling to take up manual jobs or craft professions[6]. Enrolment in VET is often used by students not as a preparation for the labour market, but as a relatively easy way to gain access to university. There is still a strong preference, in particular among graduates, for obtaining a public sector job because of the associated job security and social benefits, despite the fact that many young people find the work involved unproductive and unsatisfactory.

A lack of generic and/or soft skills (key competences) and skills mismatch. All studies point to this as a major shortcoming in AMCs. Soft skills are closely linked to cultural attitudes, and acquiring them needs to be seen as a process rather than something that can be achieved by a single intervention. Teachers' professional development and

[4] In this paper the term VET (vocational education and training) is used synonymously with the term used by UNESCO, TVET (technical and vocational education and training).

[5] More than half the students in Syria, Morocco, Egypt, and Algeria drop out of school before the upper secondary level. Other countries struggle to maintain enrolment rates of between 60% and 75% at this level (Albania, Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Tunisia) (EFT 2012).

[6] Except in Egypt, where half of all students enrol in VET, the proportion of upper secondary education students enrolled in VET is low: 11–12% in the Maghreb, 6% in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and 15–20% in Jordan and Syria (EFT 2012).

changes to school and university curricula and teaching methods could contribute much more to an improvement in soft-skill levels than the proliferation of programmes currently being implemented in some countries. A skills mismatch is often identified as the main obstacle to hiring young people, because the formal school system does not provide the skills needed by potential employers[7] [8].

Weak job-matching services and fragmented labour market information systems. Most jobs are found through personal contacts and social networks by those who are already employed, rather than through transparent and merit-based recruitment mechanisms involving open competition and/or job intermediation by public employment services (PESs). Youth without social contacts suffer the most, and are most likely to remain without any job.

Lack of relevant work experience. Work experience opportunities can help young people to take important decisions about their future career, and at the same time, allow them to use and adapt the skills acquired at school in the labour market. As in the current economic context, labour supply exceeds labour demand, and employers tend to hire youth who already have relevant work experience, regardless of their level of education, while getting a first job represents the biggest step. The majority of the unemployed in AMCs are seeking their first job and have no previous work experience.

Territorial disparities and weak geographical mobility. Job availability is very diverse across (and within) countries. Some young job seekers may be unable to afford the cost of daily transportation from their homes to the places where jobs are available. There is often not the infrastructure to allow ready travel to a place of employment. It is important to encourage measures to support job seekers' access to training or employment opportunities by facilitating their mobility. This would increase social cohesion and improve equal opportunities. The *Confédération générale des entreprises au Maroc* (CGEM), in its 20 propositions for labour market reform in Morocco (CGEM 2012), proposed that specific financial support be given to job seekers who need to travel for a job interview.

Patterns of school-to-work transition are rarely studied, and the concept is relatively new in AMCs. No data are available on trends in the duration of school-to-work transitions, though there are strong indications that it is increasing in most countries in the region[9]. It may be assumed that as a consequence of these barriers and others, the transition from school to work is taking much longer and is becoming more difficult for young people to achieve.

[7] Union for the Mediterranean regional employability review, ibid.

[8] According to Business Environment and Enterprise Surveys (BEEPSs: World Bank, various dates), an average of 42% of the private companies questioned in AMCs indicate that the main obstacle to hiring young people is that the formal schooling system does not provide them with the skills needed for the labour market. Skills mismatches are particularly identified as a constraint to business development in Syria (60% of all firms interviewed), Lebanon (56%) and Egypt (50%).

[9] According to an ILO study, the average duration between leaving school and obtaining a fixed-term and/or a satisfactory job is 29 months (Matsumoto and Elder 2010).

The vast majority of young labour market entrants resort to jobs in the informal economy as a way of entering the work force, and some never leave this sector. In Egypt only 15.7% of employed young people have a formal job contract (Population Council 2010). Young people with low education levels are more likely than adults to engage in unpaid family work, mostly in the agricultural and service sectors. Given the very high number of informal jobs created in these economies (60–80% of new jobs created are in the informal sector) and the close correlation between being a young/first job-seeker and having an informal job, it is perhaps fair to say that the majority of youth in the region work in informal, poor-quality jobs at subsistence wages and without any prospects for advancement (Martin 2009).

Young women encounter more difficulty than do men in trying to enter the labour market, particularly in AMCs. Although in all these countries the gender gap in education has been reduced, or even reversed as in Tunisia and Algeria, gender discrimination is still a serious problem in relation to labour market access, in terms of both activity rates and access to work. A critical issue for women especially–which largely determines both their entry into the labour market and their ability to remain within it–is the high level of job insecurity and low pay that they are typically offered in the private sector. Often the conditions on offer are so poor that they do not feel they would benefit from taking up such jobs. Educated women in the region have tended up to now to work almost exclusively in the public sector (upto 50% in some AMCs) , where there is not the same disparity between the job offers to men and women, and the wages and working conditions are much more attractive to them as a result (ETF 2010b).

According to the *Survey of Young People in Egypt* (*SYPE*) (Population Council 2010), a number of interrelated factors could contribute to the disadvantaged position of females in the local labour market, including discouraging working conditions, fewer networking opportunities, lower levels of mobility, and difficulties in engaging in entrepreneurship. The factors most often mentioned in relation to the low female activity rate are the lack of jobs that are deemed ‘suitable for women’, the lack of affordable child care and part-time jobs, and the social and cultural perceptions of gender roles, including the fact that women are less able to travel significant distances to work because of family constraints.

The large number of NEETs represents one of the most serious social problems in AMCs. The employment issues for some NEETs (predominantly women) are also connected to the international financial crisis and its consequences for the labour market. Here the recession has worsened an existing problem. Additionally, statistics and analysis on NEETs are poor, making it more difficult for policy-makers to adopt specific measures to facilitate their inclusion in the labour market. Sissons and Jones (2012) describe the NEET cohort as a diverse group. Some may be unemployed and looking for work; others may have family care responsibilities, health problems, or specific disabilities; others may have left school with no or too many qualifications; some have low qualifications because they have left school early; others may suffer from a lack of substantive work experience

and need to be supported while taking the initial (and the hardest) step into employment (Sissons and Jones 2012). Poor language skills also represent a major impediment to the entry of some youth into the labour market. More analysis has to be conducted in this area, in order that policy measures can be taken to eliminate the barriers that impede their entry into the labour market.

Methodologies

There has been limited analysis of the transition from school to work in ETF's partner countries, particularly in the Mediterranean region. Enhancing the capacity of national and local stakeholders to undertake evidence-based analysis that feeds social dialogue and the policy-making process is crucial to ensure smoother transition paths. What is a successful process of transition from school to work? To what extent can the transition be deemed successful, and why? Methodologies designed to create a more informed policy-making process include:

- *transition studies and reports* (e.g. the EU-funded Comparative Analysis of Transitions from Education to Work in Europe [CATEWE] project for EU Member States, and ILO transition studies implemented in the past and planned for the future in a number of northern African countries);
- *graduate tracer studies*[10];
- *transition surveys* (e.g. ETF studies); and
- *school-to-work transition information bases* (e.g. UNESCO in the Asia-Pacific region).

Transition studies have shown that youth experience increasing difficulties in completing the transition to economic independence and adulthood. A small number of large-scale survey-based studies have been carried out during the past few years by the ETF (in Serbia and Ukraine in 2007, in Syria in 2010 [ETF 2010a], in Kyrgyzstan in 2011), and the ILO (two surveys carried out in 2005 in Egypt and Syria). A comparative analysis of school-to-work transition surveys was also carried out in eight developing countries, including Syria and Egypt, by the ILO (Matsumoto and Elder 2010). This highlighted a relatively poor performance in school-to-work transition in AMCs. Some major conclusions from these transition studies and surveys are:

The overall context of an institutional setting needs to be taken into account in order to properly understand and evaluate the effects (and the effectiveness) of a particular transition channel. This implies that the transition from school to work needs to be considered together with the characteristics of the education system and

[10] 'Tracer studies take a retrospective look at the evolution of the situation of a sample of children already provided with or exposed to a specific intervention. It is an enquiry approach at a single point in time that generates data on already achieved impact' (ILO 2011).

the labour market, and that individual policy measures (or institutional reforms) should be judged against the wider background of the national institutional framework, social and institutional structures within which they are intended to function (Van Trier 2005; Matsumoto and Elder 2010).

The effectiveness of a particular transition measure needs to be considered in light of the specific social function and policy objective that the measure is intended to achieve (Van Trier 2005; Matsumoto and Elder 2010).

Cross-country comparisons are difficult to make, as the definition of transition status and the methods of data capturing are diverse and vary considerably from country to country.

A more coordinated approach in conducting transition surveys would provide more complete information regarding transition. Cooperation with national authorities and national statistical offices would facilitate translation of the analysis into concrete policy actions. Consultation with national stakeholders, including youth representatives, would improve the overall quality of surveys, questionnaire design and interviewing.

Some tracer studies have also been conducted in AMCs, in order to examine the occupational search patterns, employment experiences, relationships between training and employment, promotion records, and job changes experienced by former graduates. The findings could be used to plan reforms of workforce education systems and institutions in order to improve the school-to-work transition for future students. A tracer study on agriculture and street work in Morocco was scheduled to be published by the ILO at the time of writing.

Analysing the Transition from Education to Work

The ETF has developed a set of tools for analysis of these issues, including a conceptual and analytical framework and a school leaver survey. Both can be used to provide insights into the complex and dynamic process of labour market integration, to better analyse education-to-work transition in the ETF partner countries, and to better link analytical research and policy-making on the education system and the labour market. The ETF methodology for transition surveys was developed during research in Ukraine, Serbia, and Syria. A desk review was conducted in Egypt, and most recently the methodology has been applied in Kyrgyzstan and (in 2012) Tajikistan. The tools have been piloted and refined so as to better incorporate specific aspects of school-to-work transition processes.

The EU-funded CATEWE project was used as a starting point to develop these tools. The CATEWE conceptual framework describes some of the pathways followed by young people when making the move from full-time education to the labour market, and explains the extent to which differences in national institutional structures could account

for differences in transition patterns and outcomes for young people[11]. Building on this conceptual framework, the ETF developed a set of questions and indicators guiding the research on education-to-work transition, by developing a list of topics to be included in any country report of this type. Three key questions to measure the effectiveness of school-to-work transition are:

- How do young people move through the education system, and what factors determine the differences in their educational achievements?
- How and through which channels do young people move from the education system into the labour market, and what factors determine their success at labour market entry?
- Do processes, patterns and outcomes of early labour market entry influence the labour market outcomes and careers of young people at a later stage in life?

The project concluded that country reports need to include:

- Existing available information on the relationship between education and employment. This is sometimes available as micro-data: for example, there might be a large-scale household based school-leaver survey implemented on a nationally representative sample of youth aged 15–30 who left the education system during the last five years.
- A description of the education system, the labour market structure, and the institutional framework governing the transition from school to work.
- A review of social and political developments affecting changes in education and labour market institutions in recent years, and recent policy initiatives undertaken.

Overall considerations emerging from the country reports analysed included:

A clear disconnect between the educational structure and the labour market. The national education system may have many good features, but still fail to instil in students the skills requested by the labour market. This is clearly the case in many of these countries. It is therefore essential to adapt the content of education programmes to the needs of the labour market. Education and training systems need to be flexible and proactive in their efforts to adapt their content, taking into account the general economic

[11] The framework consists of five interrelated building blocks, each of them pointing at variables capturing the main characteristics of the major factors influencing the transition from school to work: i) different aspects of the macro-context in which national transitions occur (demographic situation and development, industrial structure and economic cycle, and characteristics of the labour market); ii) differences in national education/training systems (extent of standardization existing within an education system); iii) characteristics of and differences between national labour market structures; iv) interfaces between the national education and training systems and the labour market; and v) characteristics of the transition process and variables related to the transition outcomes.

trends of the country.

Subject selection by students is often not driven by job market considerations or availability of jobs in that specific sector. Note also that many young people choose to remain in the informal sector even if formal jobs are available, since they receive higher short-term rewards. This is often the case in Egypt, for example.

Expansion of higher education does not ensure better labour market prospects, and in some instances encourages emigration by trained young people who cannot find appropriate employment in their home country.

Transition policies should focus on two main challenges: how to make labour markets more inclusive to facilitate greater transition to formal jobs, and how to ensure that there is transition towards more productive jobs. Improving the overall functioning of the economy, the business environment, and the work organization of firms are some of the policy responses that can help. Measures to improve the productivity of all workers, prevent social exclusion, and facilitate upward mobility towards better jobs are also methods to enable easier transition to better jobs. In the countries examined, the small role played by formal permanent jobs in the education-to-work transition emphasizes the need to develop an inclusive employment policy that can tackle informality and support the creation of more and better jobs.

Range and Types of Programmes and Services

Transition measures aim at improving the interface between the education system and the labour market. From a demand-side perspective, they try to affect the behaviour of employers, for example by regulating the employment relationship and providing incentives for investments in training. From the supply-side perspective, they aim at improving access to education and training, and its quality and relevancy, to ensure a supply of workers with skills to match labour market needs. Despite their widespread use, the effectiveness of these types of transition support measure has been the subject of lengthy debate.

The type of transition programme chosen by a country depends on its perceived needs. In most cases a combination of programmes are implemented to help overcome specific employment barriers. The main types of transition programme are employment services and employment intermediation services; career information, guidance and counselling; vocational education and training (VET) programmes; other education combined with work experience opportunities, including internships, traineeships and public works; entrepreneurship promotion; and incentives for employers.

Employment services and employment intermediation services: Employment services aim to enhance job search efficiency mainly for the unemployed, through measures such as providing information on job vacancies, assisting in matching workers to jobs, career counselling, and assessment and testing to determine job readiness (Angel-Urdinola, Semlali, and Brodmann 2010). These services can be provided by either public

or private agencies. Public agencies typically focus on individuals with lower skills and limited education, while private agencies tend to offer services to those who are better trained and have higher skill levels. Note however that the reverse tends to be true in some AMCs, such as Morocco. Many AMCs do not regulate private employment intermediation services, and this affects the quality of services provided. Evidence suggests that these services are more effective for individuals with good skills and better labour market prospects than for more disadvantaged people. Success is more likely when there is a systematic follow-up of individual cases by the job counsellor (Angel-Urdinola, Semlali, and Brodmann 2010). The Internet and web-based tools can also be extremely valuable in providing information for job seekers. Transparent mechanisms that match existing vacancies and potential applicants tend to constitute a first point of contact between employers and job seekers, and these can then be supported by tailored-made assistance.

Career information, guidance and counselling services: The provision of career guidance plays an important role in easing the transition of youth from school to work. It results in better access to information on educational options, the skills needed for different careers, and job opportunities. All this improves the ability of young people to make informed decisions about their education and careers. However, ETF reports indicate that no country in the region has an adequate career information system in place, and in many cases where such information does exists, it is fragmented (Sultana and Watts 2007). While the demand for career guidance in Mediterranean countries is huge, and the topic has been moving up the policy agenda in recent years, service provision is still very limited (Zelloth 2009)[12]. Career advisers often use a psychological model based on what jobs an individual is most psychologically suited to, while a more pedagogical model where one learned career management skills or a labour market-oriented model focusing on what jobs an individual is qualified for and what jobs are actually available would be more appropriate. Rather than 'testing and telling' the individual what s/he can do, establishing career education within the curriculum is a better option to empower individuals. Young people in transition to work need both immediate support shortly before and during their transition to employment, and career advice at earlier points during their education. More technological modes of advice delivery, including harnessing the potential of the internet, social networks, SMS messages and the like, might also help contribute to increased career guidance as well as overcoming stereotypes and barriers against choosing VET pathways as viable career options.

[12] Countries in the region are at various stages of development. Egypt, for example, completely lacks career guidance provision in its education system, apart from a few small-scale donor-supported projects which yet have to prove sustainability. With ETF support, a National Task Force developed for the first time a concept and proposal for introducing career guidance (2009–2010) which focuses on 'key transition points' of young people. In Lebanon, the Ministry of Education is planning to retrain teachers to become career counsellors in schools, and the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) has introduced career guidance sessions for Palestinian refugees in schools. Jordan adopted a career guidance strategy targeting on community colleges and employment centres in 2011, and in 2010 Syria piloted its first career centres at universities as part of a new policy linking higher education with the labour market.

Vocational education and training programmes: VET programmes include those offering classroom training, on-the-job training, and apprenticeships, providing youth with either general skills, such as languages, ICT, and the like, or specific vocational skills, generally industry-sector-specific skills. In the Mediterranean region, the size of the VET sector remains generally limited (ETF 2012), and work-based learning programmes for young people constitute a minor part of overall VET provision (Sweet 2009b), but there is potential for growth in both the sector and the training programmes. International research has proven that multiple pathways and a variety of VET options, including second-chance opportunities, lead to successful transitions from education to work. The transition pathway quality is even more important than the size or type of VET. Training can have a more positive impact on labour market outcomes and on ensuring a smooth transition when it is offered as part of a comprehensive package. Issues and aspects to be considered include public–private partnerships, flexible schedules, combinations of training courses and internships, and monitoring the impact of the programme, particularly for young women. There has been a trend away from in-classroom training towards more comprehensive approaches. Involving end-users in programme design and management, and giving end-users a strong role in accrediting qualifications and institutions, can further contribute to the positive impact of the programmes (Sweet 2009a).

Work experience opportunities: Work experience can help young people develop and acquire important labour market skills, insights into working life, and can also boost their soft skills. Research from the United Kingdom suggests that when work experience is of good quality, it is disadvantaged youth who benefit the most (ACEVO 2012).

Internships and traineeships can provide a valuable link between education and employment, and in some cases lead to long-term even permanent contracts (Eurofund 2012). When properly designed, they can provide youth with important skills and valuable experience for their selected career paths. Besides allowing youth to acquire practical experience and put into practice their existing skills, internships should help them determine future professional choices and increase their ability to integrate into the labour market. Valuable experience can be gained in private enterprises, and also in the public and voluntary sectors, as is the case in many EU countries[13].

One risk associated with internships is that many young people find themselves moving from one unpaid or low-paid internship to another, rather than moving from an internship into conventional employment. Another is that employers might make use of work experience to reduce the size of their paid workforce, and thus the number of genuine job opportunities available. The lack of a regulatory framework setting clear standards for working hours, remuneration, and the learning component of the internship often reduces the positive impact of the experience. It is therefore important that the content and modalities of internships be well-structured and monitored to ensure that the

[13] In Italy, for example, the 'International civil service' offers the opportunity to work with non-government organizations (NGOs) in developing countries.

intended learning outcomes of the programmes are achieved.

The results of traineeship/internship programmes also depend on the business environment of each country, such as the existence of companies which can provide good-quality training for youth, which is crucial to the success of traditional dual systems. The majority of companies in the region are SMEs, and this is a drawback in this context, since the capacity of smaller companies to deliver training is generally very weak. This design of the traineeship system needs to take into account this predominance of SMEs in the region. Some positive initiatives have occurred in AMCs. In Morocco, for instance, the government has introduced a *Contrat de prise en charge sociale*, whereby the government covers the social security of young trainees (for 12 months, renewable once), and a *Contrat d'intégration professionnelle*, whereby the government compensates companies that offer disadvantaged young people a permanent contract after a period of traineeship[14]. Research suggests that professional and learning objectives of the traineeships should be defined; that a personal supervisor should be designated; that certification stating the knowledge, the skills, and the competences acquired during the traineeships should be issued; and that proper remuneration (particularly for postgraduate traineeships) and social security coverage should be ensured (European Commission 2012).

Another avenue for work experience, public works, is a quick way to inject financial resources into the economy, create jobs over the short term, and provide income support to vulnerable social groups. This can be done throughout a territory, contributing to the construction or maintenance of community infrastructure or the environment[15]. As such, public works are a widely used policy tool for tackling poverty and a buffer mechanism in times of crisis. Public works programmes create jobs mainly for unskilled and semi-skilled male workers, and can be oriented to both rural and urban areas. They are by nature short lived, and often do not contribute to enhancing the employability of their participants in the longer term. The challenge is to find ways to link the short-term strategy of job creation and income support with the longer-term objective of labour force employability. To enhance employability, such programmes could potentially include the following elements: making the subcontracting of public works programmes to private contractors conditional on their hiring a proportion of new labour force entrants and including a training module; linking public works programmes to existing VET programmes and centres, thus providing students with employment or apprenticeship opportunities; launching, as part of these programmes, labour-intensive social services focusing on

[14] Some international evaluations have shown that employer incentives can have a positive effect in the short run but a poor effect on the long run, while training programmes are more likely to achieve results with a longer-lasting impact. It is therefore important that employer incentive measures are properly designed and targeted in order to avoid dead-weight effects (OECD 2010, quoted in Eurofund 2012).

[15] Public works are not properly 'transition measures', but they are widely used in the region and can represent the only policy measure targeted at low and unskilled youth (although often the work is for males only). Therefore, they constitute a specificity of the region that deserves to be mentioned in the analysis.

training and employability enhancement; and linking public works programmes to SME support programmes (ETF 2011). Public works programmes are high on the economic agenda of the new governments in Egypt and Tunisia (with the support of international donors), and in Algeria, public investment in infrastructure has become the key instrument of economic policy in successive Economic Recovery Support and Public Investment Programmes since 2002.

Entrepreneurship promotion: Entrepreneurship promotion includes measures such as financial and advisory assistance for those starting up small businesses and taking advantage of microcredit programmes. Entrepreneurship promotion often comprises direct financial assistance for business start-ups, training in entrepreneurial skills, and mentoring. In some countries, specific programmes have been adopted to promote entrepreneurship as an entry point to the labour market. Often public employment services provide training and consultancy on business planning and development, but specific training and mentoring measures to foster entrepreneurship need to be included in schools and universities to promote entrepreneurial thinking among youth. Access to financial and tax relief for young entrepreneurs and fiscal incentives for business transfers (for instance within the family) are also fundamental to encouraging people to start up or continue a business. Financial incentives for micro-companies to hire young people can also represent a good method to further improve the entry of youth into the labour market. There has been limited follow-up on self-started businesses, and this makes it difficult to design the appropriate policy measures. It would be useful to obtain better information on, for example, the failure rate of newly established enterprises, and their impact on net job creation. While rigorous evaluations are still scarce in AMCs, recent reviews in other regions suggest that training in self-employment has a positive impact on the sustainability of businesses (Angel-Urdinola, Semlali, and Brodmann 2010). Youth entrepreneurship programmes that focus on non-cognitive skills, such as critical thinking, decision-making, teamwork, and flexibility, can be beneficial, as in the long run young people cannot count on jobs for life, but need to face the reality of 'portfolio careers' (Angel-Urdinola, Semlali, and Brodmann 2010). In Morocco, the Moukalawati programme is financed by the government and aimed at supporting business start-ups and self-employment. It offers financial support (*prêts facilités*) and business plan support programmes. Although an official evaluation of the programme has not been made public yet, the results seem to have fallen far short of the initial objectives. Only 4,000 young people have as yet benefited from the programme, while the projection was for 30,000. It is not yet clear whether the projects financed will prove viable and sustainable, and whether they will generate new employment.

Employer incentives: Employer incentives include subsidizing wages and reducing the social security contributions required from employers when they hire young workers. They are widely used in the region to facilitate the transition to the labour market. These types of measures can stimulate the demand for young employees (or trainees or interns), and can help with the entry of young people into the labour market. In the long term, a job

provided under such a scheme could lead to a permanent contract or at least a more stable position. Failing that, the experience should provide the young person with a better chance in the labour market (Eurofund 2012). There have not been any recent impact studies in this area to show the long-term concrete impact of such measures. The evaluations that have been made have shown that employer incentives can have a positive effect in the short term, but that their net impact on the future employment prospects of participants can be poor. Training programmes are more likely to have positive results (Eurofund 2012). Specific targeting of employer incentives is needed in order to avoid dead-weight effects (when the same individuals are hired as would have been taken on in the absence of the programme), substitution effects (jobs created for the target group replace jobs for other groups), and displacement effects (a possible reduction in the number of jobs elsewhere in the market).

Evidence of the Impact of Programmes and Policies

Evidence of the impact and effectiveness of policies and programmes aimed at supporting youth employment is severely lacking, and programmes are sometimes repeated and refinanced with little evidence of effectiveness. However, there are some research findings about their limited impact on employability. In Tunisia, the placement rates of the *Stage d'Initiation à la Vie Professionnelle* were 23%in 2010 (Angel-Urdinola and Leon-Solano 2011, quoted in ETF 2012). In Algeria, evaluations suggest that wage subsidies benefit companies rather than young unemployed people. Companies obtain a virtually free workforce as they replace formal workers with trainees, with no obligation to hire them at the end of the traineeship, and continue the process with further batches of trainees. Again in Algeria, apprenticeship training has been found to achieve higher employment insertion rates (60%) than school-based VET. Transitions to employment are also faster, as many apprentices are recruited immediately after the completion of training, while it is not uncommon for other VET graduates to spend a year or more looking for a first job[16].

In Morocco the three main state-funded employment programmes (Idmaj, Taehil, and Moukalawati, which provide respectively work experience possibilities, training, and support for self-employment) are far from being able to provide a holistic response to youth unemployment in the country. Concerns have been raised about their quantitative and qualitative impact (in particular, their scope and the targets of their interventions), as they have reached only a very limited portion of the population, targeting mostly well-qualified youth and excluding disadvantaged groups.

Some governments have introduced wage subsides or labour market programmes which are unlikely to be sustainable in the long run. In Tunisia, the Amal programme –

[16] The Algerian Ministry in charge of VET, quoted in a press release on the results of the German-Algerian cooperation project, March 2011 (in ETF 2012).

financed in 2011 following the 14 January revolution – does not seem to have achieved its initial goals. Although it was originally planned to have 50,000 beneficiaries, places on the programme were granted to more than 150,000 people, and there was a budgetary allocation exceeding 1% of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2011. The programme was aimed at graduate first-job seekers, and granted them a monthly 200 dinars allocation plus social coverage for a maximum period of one year and training to support their entry into the labour market. To enhance employability, the Amal programme had foreseen the provision of very basic compulsory career coaching and soft skills development through three-day courses, and subsequent personalized follow-up for each individual. When the three-month placements that were offered in public institutions expired, the beneficiaries were rarely if ever offered permanent positions, which caused much frustration, and only a small proportion of the Amal programme participants benefited from the placements. Overall, participants felt that they had received useful revenue support, but not an effective programme to help them get jobs.

Recommendations

There are a number of issues relating to the employability of youth, and transition from school to work, which governments could consider embedding into national programmes:

1. Improve the level of workforce education and qualifications

1a. Increase enrolment in, and the quality of, post-compulsory education (especially for females). The quality of primary and secondary education must be improved in order to retain students, reduce drop-out rates, and better prepare students for post-compulsory levels of education. Education to at least upper secondary level is crucial if students are to be adequately prepared for the labour market. Their level of qualifications is an increasingly important determinant of whether young people transit smoothly from school to work (Matsumoto and Elder 2010). Reducing drop-out rates should also reduce the number of youth that become NEET. Increasing enrolment in, and the quality of, post-compulsory education also helps promote future engagement in lifelong learning activities.

1b. Enhance and diversify high-quality VET programmes to provide valid alternatives to general education programmes. In view of the increasing demographic pressure on upper secondary and tertiary education levels and the need for further expansion of upper and post-secondary schooling to address this challenge, VET systems need to expand significantly in many countries. The attractiveness of VET can be increased with modernized curricula, enthusiastic and well-prepared teachers, up-to-date workshops and equipment, and schools and training providers that have strong links with the business world, offering work-based learning opportunities. More labour market

related VET programmes need to be made available to female students, and mixed-gender enrolment across the occupations should be actively encouraged by the system.

2. Improve the content of government programmes aimed at easing the transition from school to work (and evaluate their impact)

2a. Strengthen public employment services (PES) for a more efficient service delivery. One of the core tasks of PES is to place job seekers in gainful jobs. More effective placement and job-matching systems should be developed. Better designed and equipped labour market institutions can facilitate the transition of young people to more satisfactory and secure jobs. PESs can have also a fundamental role in providing career guidance and counselling. Strengthening the job-matching services of PESs might also be a key factor in decreasing the segmentation and exclusion of labour markets, and enhancing the employability of young people, and in particular of vulnerable groups. PESs need to be strengthened through increased budget allocations, higher staffing levels, and better infrastructure, to enhance their capacity to design and implement transition measures (and labour market policies in general) at national and local levels. This exercise would include: capacity development, including regular staff training and increased financial resources, particularly for active labour market measures, and in rural areas; monitoring development, including analysis of data gathered.

2b. Set up appropriate career guidance systems. These are necessary for all levels and types of education, including VET centres and public employment services, in order to help young people choose their studies and career paths in the face of rapidly changing labour markets and education provision. Particular attention needs to be given to the choices of women. Career guidance also needs to reflect the informal labour market and local needs. To be most effective, career guidance needs to start at an early age, and to be embedded in the curriculum, to equip young people with career management skills which can give them an increased capacity and empowerment to self-manage various transitions and to become or remain employable throughout their lives. Youth and student organizations can play an important role in promoting and setting up career guidance services to complement government actions.

2c. Improve the targeting of transition programmes so that they can reach a greater part of young labour market entrants, with particular attention devoted to the most fragile categories, namely the low qualified, NEETs, and women. In the short term, governments should support those who are already NEET through reintegration policies. This includes providing clear information about labour market possibilities; ensuring that young people have the right skills and work experience to access employment; and ensuring that support programmes are flexible and diversified so as to satisfy the needs of the different groups of NEETs. In the long term, preventive measures should be adopted such as:

- reducing the number of early school leavers and school drop-outs to ensure that all young people receive some labour-market-related training;
- supporting the access of young people to their first sustainable job;
- better coordination of the support provided at national and local levels;
- supporting local services (in particular, locally embedded organizations that are best placed to engage with youth in a specific territory);
- providing clear guidance to young people who follow non-traditional career paths;
- enhancing the level of qualifications of youth, so that they can better face the process of transition from school to work; and
- ensuring that traineeships and apprenticeships offer productive careers with opportunities for progression (Eurofund 2012).

2d. Gender-sensitive measures (specific career guidance, counselling, job search and intermediation, gender quotas) are needed to improve the participation and advancement of young women in the labour market. Governments could:

- provide targeted training programs for women,
- establish gender targets for the participation of women in the public sector and in private enterprises,
- establish the necessary infrastructure that would ease women's responsibilities such as child-care and safe public transport system (ETF 2010b),
- encourage the use of part-time contracts and new teleworking opportunities.

2e. Ensure that all youth can obtain a first work experience placement when leaving school. Work experiences need to be of good quality, with rewarding tasks that promote personal improvement and learning. There must be adequate monitoring. Incentives could be provided to enterprises that also offer training for their employees, which should be targeted at those who need it most. Apprenticeships (including informal apprenticeships), which are often outside the formal education system, and formal economy, traineeships, and other practical training modalities in enterprises and training institutions need to be recognized as valid learning opportunities.

2f. Support entrepreneurship and self-employment support programmes. Entrepreneurship and self-employment support programs are a key component of employment policy in AMCs, and should be extended and enhanced, particularly for the high-skilled instead of as a last-resort initiative for the low-skilled or unskilled. As the economies of AMCs consist mainly of SMEs and micro-enterprises, a business environment conducive to the creation and growth of SMEs is vital for promoting job creation. Specific programmes should be implemented for rural enterprises, as agriculture still represents one of the pillars of most AMCs' economies. Entrepreneurial and innovative thinking should be instilled through education and training, and high achievers

in particular should be encouraged to become entrepreneurs as a matter of choice rather than necessity.

2g. Encourage local employment initiatives, which use a bottom-up approach and mobilize local social and economic stakeholders. In order to promote regional development, reduce territorial disparities, and offer tailor-made solutions that take into account local needs and realities, transition measures should include a local and/or regional touch. Encouraging commitment of local partnerships for employment could constitute an important asset, as local actors can more easily identify the needs of the communities in which they operate and suggest viable corrective measures.

2h. Establish a reliable monitoring and evaluation system for transition measures and government programmes. The actual impact of programmes on beneficiaries should be properly monitored and assessed, so that problems regarding their proliferation, targeting, and effectiveness can be avoided. Feedback on the employability of specific target groups, such as higher education or VET graduates, should be used by education/VET institutions in a strategic manner.

3. Improve the Framework for Transition Support, Equipping Youth with Skills that Better Match Labour Market Needs

3a. Strengthen the cooperation between education and business through a participatory approach. This is pivotal not only to shaping educational paths and training successfully, but also for effectively organizing apprenticeships and work-based learning experiences. Cooperation between VET institutions and local stakeholders (a form of social dialogue), in particular enterprises and youth representatives, is a key factor for success in implementing transition measures. Employers and youth groups need to be consulted when designing policy measures, as proper consideration of their interests and concerns should improve the pattern and the outcome of the programmes. It is important however not to exclude women and informal workers, who are generally not represented by trade unions.

3b. Strengthen transition analysis and set up labour market information systems that can help identifying the current and future skill needs of the labour market, and translate them into measures to create appropriate education and training provision. This includes greater transparency and dissemination: of existing data collection instruments such as labour force surveys and public employment service registers; of active labour market policies; and of analysis of relevant labour market trends. School-to-work information base systems that collect data on the quantitative and qualitative demand and supply for skills could benefit governments, schools and VET institutions, and ultimately young students[17].

[17] A school-to-work information base is a set of policies and practices for collecting information about the skills needed by employers and the types of employment found by graduates (UNESCO 2012).

4. Include youth voices in planning and implementation of the programmes.

4a. Identify early those who are likely to experience a difficult transition into work. If they fail to gain work in a short time, they might disengage from the job-seeking process, and support should be provided in time to ensure this does not happen.

4b. Monitor the progress of state-sponsored schemes and follow up on participants. This is required to evaluate the impact of any programme and, if necessary, to correct and improve it. Surveys conducted in EU Member States have shown that young people believe that the education system does not adequately equip them with the skills needed in the workplace. This creates a gap between education and 'real life' which often leads to feelings of disillusionment. Those who fail to make a successful transition feel particularly disempowered.

4c. Transition measures need to be diverse and to address the different needs of all specific youth groups, since youth are not homogeneous. The large inequalities that characterize society in the AMC countries create disparities in opportunities between different youth groups. Differences of gender, education, family background and wealth, and the places where young people live—in cities or rural environments, in places with many or few employment opportunities—all create different conditions for different youth groups, which need to be considered in planning and implementing policies.

References

Angel-Urdinola, D. F., Semali, A. and Brodmann, S. (2010). Non-Public Provision of Active Labour Market Programs in Arab-Mediterranean Countries: An Inventory of Youth Programs. Social protection discussion paper no. 1005, July. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOCIALPROTECTION/Resources/SP-Discussion-papers/Labor-Market-DP/1005.pdf] (Accessed 25 September 2012).

Association of Chief Executives of Voluntary Organisations, ACEVO. (2012). *Youth Unemployment: The Crisis We Cannot Afford*. London: ACEVO Commission on Youth Unemployment.

Confédération générale des entreprises au Maroc, CGEM. (2012). Propositions de la Confédération Générale des Entreprises au Maroc.
[www.cgem.ma/upload/flashinfos/Propositions%20-%20Loi%20de%20Finance%202013%20-%20VF.pdf] (Accessed 2 October 2012).

European Training Foundation, ETF. (2008). *Transition from Education to Work in EU Neighbouring Countries*. Turin: Author.

——. (2010a). *The Transition from Education to Work in Syria: Results of the Syrian Youth Transition Survey 2009*. Turin: ETF.

——. (2010b). *Women at Work: Access, Limitations and Potential in Tourism and ICT. Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia*. Turin: ETF.

——. (2011). *The Torino Process: Evidence-Based Policy Making for Vocational Education and Training*. Turin: ETF.

——. (2012). *Union for the Mediterranean Regional Employability Review*. Turin: ETF.

Eurofund. (2012). Recent Policy Developments Related to Those Not in Employment, Education and Training (NEETs). Dublin: Eurofund.

European Commission. (2011). *Youth Employment Measures, 2010, European Employment Observatory Review*. Brussels: European Commission.

——. (2012). *Quality Framework for Traineeships*, Commission staff working document SWD (2012) 99 final, 18 April. Brussels: European Commission.

International Labour Organisation (ILO). (forthcoming). *Tracer Study: Morocco, Agriculture and Street Work*. Geneva: Author.

Martin, I. (2009). *Youth Employment in Arab Mediterranean Countries: The Key to the Future*. Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales and Florence: Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute.
[www.iemed.org/anuari/2009/aarticles/a229.pdf](Accessed 25 September 2012).

Masood, A. (2012). Youth Unemployment in the MENA Region: Determinants and Challenges. Paper for the World Economic Forum. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund.
[www.imf.org/external/np/vc/2012/061312.htm] (Accessed 25 September 2012).

Matsumoto, M. & Elder, S. (2010). *Characterizing the School-to-Work Transitions of Young Men and Women*. Employment Working Paper no. 51. Geneva: ILO.
[www.apyouthnet.ilo.org/resources/characterizing-the-school-to-work-transitions-of-young-men-and-women-evidence-from-the-ilo-school-to-work-transition-surveys] (Accessed 25 September 2012).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2000). *Thematic Review of the Transition from Initial Education to Working Life: Final Comparative Report*. Paris: OECD.

Population Council. (2010). *Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE)*. Cairo: Population Council.
[www.popcouncil.org/projects/234_SurveyYoungPeopleEgypt.asp] (Accessed 25 September 2012).

Sissons, P. & Jones, K. (2012). *Lost in Transition? The Changing Labour Market and Young People Not in Employment, Education or Training*. London: Work Foundation.

Sultana, R. and Watts, A. G. (2007). *Career Guidance in the Mediterranean Region*. Paper for the ETF. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Sweet, R. (2009a). Understanding Youth Transitions.Presentation at the ETF.

Sweet, R. (2009b). *Work-Based Learning Programmes for Young People in the Mediterranean Region*. Paper for the ETF. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

UNESCO. (2012). *School-to-Work Transition Information Bases: Asia Pacific Education System Review Series, 2012*.

[http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002166/216661e.pdf] (Accessed 31 January 2013)

Van Trier, W. (2005). *Transition from School to Work in Europe: What, if Anything, Can Neighbouring Countries Learn from Studies on the Transition from School to Work in the European Union?* Turin: ETF.

World Bank. (2008). *Investing in Turkey's Next Generation: The School-to-Work Transition and Turkey's Development*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

——. (2009). *Shaping the Future: A Long Term Perspective of People and Job Mobility in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

——. Various dates. Business Environment and Enterprise Surveys (BEEPS). [http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/BEEPS] (Accessed 2 October 2012).

Youth Forum. (2009). Opinion Paper on Internships. Brussels: Youth Forum/Forum Jeunesse. [www.youthforum.org/fr/system/files/yfj_public/strategic_priorities/en/0076-09_FINAL.pdf] (Accessed 25 September 2012).

Zelloth, H. (2009). *In Demand: Career Guidance in EU Neighbouring Countries*. Luxembourg, EFT/Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.35 ～ 51

"I learn to seek solutions but without work I can't solve anything": Youth Education and Community Development in Rural Honduras

Kimberly Vinall, and Erin Murphy-Graham
University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

This paper draws on a social capital framework to explore the complex relationship between youth education, their roles in community development, and their future opportunities as they transition from school to work against the backdrop of the social, economic, and political realities of rural Honduras. Data is from a three-year qualitative study that followed a cohort of 6th grade students as they progressed through the *Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial* (SAT), an alternative secondary education program that facilitates the development of capabilities so that youth can take charge of their intellectual and spiritual growth and contribute to the building of better communities. We focus on the youths' own words to understand how they conceptualize the resources that exist in their communities, their access to these resources, when and how these resources are successfully mobilized for community development, as well as how youth perceive their limitations to create future opportunities, particularly with regards to work.

Introduction

In the summer of 2009 and again in the summer of 2011 we collected qualitative data in 4 rural Honduran villages as part of a larger impact evaluation of SAT (*Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial*), an innovative secondary education program (spanning grades 7-12) that provides educational access for youth living in marginalized rural communities. It was easy to witness the poverty that is endemic to Honduras, which is the third poorest country in Latin America, ranking 121 out of 187 countries on the United Nations Development Program's 2011 Human Development Index (UNDP 2011). Roughly half of the population lives in rural areas where the majority live in poverty or extreme poverty (IFAD 2011)[1]. In the villages where we conducted research, two in the mountainous areas of the Department of Santa Bárbara and two on the north coast in the Department of Atlántida, transportation can be difficult as roads are unpaved or vehicles non-existent, running water is lacking, and electricity is recent and at times unreliable. The primary

[1] Sixty-three percent of rural inhabitants live in poverty, and 50% of these are classified as living in extreme poverty http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/honduras (International Fund for Agricultural Development).

economic activity of all of the villages is subsistence agriculture. Prior to instituting the SAT curriculum the youth did not have access to secondary education.

During these weeklong visits, through in-depth interviews, we also heard youth describe the richness of their communities: their resources, social relations, and community development projects. Due to its emphasis on community transformation, the SAT curriculum fostered and further developed this sense of community. Most of the youth in the focal groups were hopeful for their own futures and those of their communities and most saw these futures as interconnected. Motivated to continue their studies at the university, they wanted to become nurses, doctors, teachers, and engineers. Many hoped to do so in order to further their communities' well-being. The unfortunate reality, however, was that few would be able to continue studying, due to a lack of resources and the need to work on local farms to support their families or to help with childcare.

In this paper we explore the tension between the community as agent, on one hand, which in conjunction with SAT, works to create new opportunities for young people to work for the betterment of all and, on the other, the structural realities that severely limit community development and students' work opportunities. More specifically, we address the following questions: 1) How do students understand their communities' resources and the problems that they face? 2) In what ways do students access these resources? 3) How are these resources mobilized in purposeful actions to increase the well-being of youth, their families, and communities, and what limits their mobilization? In our analysis we use the notion of social capital as a lens through which to examine the mobilization of the community as resource and the roles of the youth as they are socialized into social networks while transitioning from school to work.

Theoretical Context: Social Capital

Social capital is an "elastic term" (Moore Lappe & DuBois 1997, p. 119). It has come to mean different things, it has been applied and measured in different contexts in different ways, and it is attributed with very different outcomes, both positive and negative (Portes 1998). At the same time, it continues to influence numerous disciplines of study. Recognizing that it has been widely debated, we accept Bourdieu's understanding of social capital as: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu 1997, p. 51).

We adopt Bourdieu's concept of social capital because other theorizations of social capital do not fully account for the Honduran youths' realities or the tension between structural limitations, such as poverty, and the possibilities for community development and the youth's future employment. Here we break from the trend of numerous studies that understand social capital simply as a set of shared values or features—such as

reciprocity, trust, and cooperation—that are possessed by communities or individuals[2] (see Putnam 1994, 2000; Fukuyama 1995, 1997). In its application, researchers document evidence of these values, which can be measured to determine how much social capital a given community or individual has. This measurement implies that there is a direct causal relationship between social capital and the level of development of a community such that social capital is sufficient in and of itself to bring about community development (see Fine 2002 for an elaboration of these criticisms). In the Honduran villages however, as will be demonstrated, the youth's descriptions of their communities included all of these values, yet development and access to educational and work opportunities continue to be limited.

From Bourdieu's perspective, social capital does not reside in the individual or in the community but is constituted in social relationships and mobilized by individuals. This process of mobilization is dynamic and complex because social capital cannot be separated from other forms of capital, particularly economic capital (Bourdieu 1997). Therefore while there may be evidence of dense social relationships, such as those we found in the Honduran villages, the mobilization of social capital does not in and of itself generate resources where, for example, there are no jobs or no money to fix the roads. To explore the mobilization of social capital, it is also necessary to understand existing power relations that exert their influence through the larger structures of society. For this reason, Fine (2002) argues, it is important to ground social capital socially, historically, politically, and economically. In a similar vein, Morrow (1999) points out that social capital is frequently improperly contextualized in socio-economic history. For these reasons, we take pains to contextualize the social networks of the Honduran youth we interview within and in relation to the larger context of the nation and the world.

We specifically explore the *process* by which social capital is mobilized, and its limitations. Lin (1999) understands this process as involving three primary facets:

> Social capital can be defined as resources embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions. By this definition, the notion of social capital contains three ingredients: resources embedded in a social structure; *accessibility* to such social resources by individuals; and *use or mobilization* of such social resources by individuals in purposive actions. Thus conceived, social capital contains three elements intersecting structure and action: the structural (embeddedness), opportunity (accessibility) and action-oriented (use) aspects (p. 35, emphasis ours).

To investigate these three facets of social capital, we focus on the youths' own words to understand how they conceptualize the resources that exist in their communities, their access to these resources, when and how these resources are successfully mobilized

[2] See DeFilippis (2001) for an extended discussion of this understanding of social capital and its limitations.

for community development, as well as how the youth perceive their limitations in creating future opportunities.

Most of these youth will remain and work in the communities in which they currently live. We argue that despite learning to mobilize social capital to leverage the resources in the community to address community problems, there is no increase in opportunities for work. The process of learning to mobilize social capital reflects and forms part of larger socialization processes as youth transition to adult members of their communities and contemplate their future work and educational opportunities. As other researchers such as Raffo and Reeves (2000) have argued, youth socialization is a highly complex process that is on-going and continuously changing. For this reason we do not provide an analysis of a finished product but merely a snapshot of the process.

The National Context

Given that social capital is tied to economic capital and to the larger social and economic relations of society, it is imperative that we briefly consider the realities that have severely curtailed economic development in the villages where research was conducted. We will not attempt to establish a direct, causal relationship between national and global politics and village poverty but rather provide a context that denaturalizes poverty and highlights the structural limitations that operate directly and indirectly on youth's lives.

Though physically isolated, our villages in Honduras have been mightily influenced by global forces. For much of the 20th and 21st centuries the United Fruit Company and its various competitors and subsidiaries have had a tremendous impact on the political and economic landscape of Honduras. They have historically received vast concessions from the Honduran government, including land and water rights, and they have exerted their influence over the political system in order to control wages and profit (Acker 1989)[3]. Overall they have greatly affected economic life in Honduran villages directly and indirectly.

Then the 1980's saw the rise of the U.S.'s "new imperialism" as Honduras became the main staging ground for the military's counter-insurgency campaigns in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala (Grandin 2006). During this period Honduras became known as the "aircraft carrier USS Honduras" as U.S. military aid to Honduras rose from 4 million to 77.4 million a year (Grandin 2006). The U.S. trained local militias, such as Batallion 316[4], and supplied them with arms. Their tactics were particularly violent, relying upon death squads that systematically tortured and murdered people and burned entire villages. The negative consequences of this occupation continue to shape the rural

[3] For more information see also Chapman 2007.
[4] Many believe that Batallion 316 still operates today and that it played a lead role in the military coup in 2009 and the disappearances and murders of Resistance leaders. For more information see globalresearch.ca/articles/COH405A.html.

landscape, as communication and transportation in rural areas became even more difficult, if not outright dangerous, and resources were diverted towards the military, not the construction of schools, roads, and water projects.

In 2009, the first year of data collection, a military coup removed then president Mel Zelaya, whose reforms were oriented towards improving the lives of the poor. In 2008 Honduras was admitted into ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas), which provided tractors and grants for rural development. It also participated in Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez's Petrocaribe program. In a highly controversial move, Zelaya raised the minimum monthly wage from $157 to $289 dollars (except in the maquiladora industry), alienating business leaders who promptly began lay-offs. Finally, Zelaya resisted structural readjustments advocated by the International Monetary Fund, including his refusal to privatize Hondutel, the state telecommunications company, education, and water[5].

Porfirio Lobo was elected president in 2009 and most of Zelaya's reforms were discontinued, including money for tractors as well as scholarships for students to study agriculture and medicine, which greatly benefited poor, rural communities. According to some analysts, Lobo's administration has turned a blind eye to drug-traffickers, and Honduras has become the favored gateway for moving cocaine from South America to the United States (Frank 2012). Gang-related violence coupled with weak law enforcement have contributed to Honduras' lamentable status as the country with the highest homicide rate in the world. Human rights violations have also increased. The most vulnerable groups include journalists, human rights defenders, political activists, and transgender people[6]. Since 2010 22 journalists have been slain (Quiñones & Sandoval 2012). Whereas during Zelaya's presidency it was common for villagers to form cooperatives in rural areas, to purchase land and to work on community projects such as building dams, any form of collective action is now considered suspect and potentially subversive. This will likely have a long-term impact on the potential for mobilization of social capital in community development.

The Educational Context: The SAT Program

Designed in Colombia in the early 1980s by the non-governmental organization, *Fundación para la Enseñanza y Aplicación de las Ciencias* (FUNDAEC), the *Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial or* SAT program benefits youth and adults in rural areas of Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Colombia. The overall goal of the program is to help students develop capabilities so they can take charge of their intellectual and spiritual growth and to contribute to the building of better communities and the transformation of society (FUNDAEC 2007).

[5] See www.fpif.org/articles/behind_the_honduran_coup for more information on Zelaya's reforms.
[6] See www.hrw.org/americas/honduras

In Honduras, SAT spans lower and upper secondary education, or grades 7-12. While the program targets youth, student ages range from between 12 to 45. SAT groups normally meet five to six times a week for four hours. Along with a trained tutor, SAT students who complete the program study a set of roughly 70 interdisciplinary textbooks that divide the curriculum into five capability areas including technology (as it is relevant in rural areas), mathematics, science, language and communication, and community service. The pedagogical goal of SAT is to learn through dialogue as students exchange ideas and share experiences. The general theme that connects the curriculum is the promotion of rural development, the application of the knowledge to better the lives of youth and their communities. After finishing all of the SAT textbooks and practical activities, students receive the equivalent of a secondary school diploma.

SAT was originally conceptualized as a community development program, not as a secondary education system, but over time the educational authorities in Colombia recognized its potential to provide high-quality secondary education (Murphy-Graham 2012). Given these historical roots, the program emphasizes strengthening youth involvement in the community and on building community resources. Students complete community service projects and conduct small-scale research projects to examine community needs and resources[7]. Likewise, as part of their studies, students develop small-scale productive enterprises (e.g. raising chickens, starting tree nurseries) that teach them the skills required for running a small business. There is a growing body of empirical evidence that suggests that the SAT program is a promising intervention to promote the formation of social capital and education (Murphy-Graham 2007; Honeyman 2010; Murphy-Graham 2012).

Methods

Our data are taken from a larger, mixed-methods research project examining the impact of SAT (see McEwan et al., 2012). For the larger project, we collected data in 110 rural villages in 5 Honduran Departments. For the qualitative component of the study, we purposefully selected "typical SAT villages"[8] from each region. At each site, we wanted to examine a range of student experiences in SAT, so we randomly selected six focal students from each class roster for a total of 24 students.

Four research teams, each consisting of one North American doctoral student and one Honduran researcher from the National Pedagogical University, spent one week in each location in 2009, and conducted follow-up visits for another week in 2011. On each occasion, the research teams conducted in-depth interviews with students that lasted approximately one hour. These interviews probed a number of topics related to education

[7] See Murphy-Graham 2012 for a more detailed discussion.
[8] Using the quantitative baseline data we collected for our study, we identified villages with average levels of poverty, educational quality (as measured by test scores) and that were reasonable accessible geographically.

and community well-being, including the students' prior educational experiences, their current opinions about and experiences in school, and their assessment and participation in community life. In addition, researchers conducted approximately forty hours of classroom and community observations and took extensive field notes. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. Each interview team wrote a case study profiling the community where they conducted research. Drawing from the cross-cutting themes of these cases, we developed a preliminary deductive code list, and developed further inductive codes as we began to formally code our data using the software program Atlas Ti (Miles & Huberman 1994).

While the data from our larger study allowed us to examine a number of important themes related to issues of secondary schooling in Honduras, this paper looks at instances in which youth described where they lived and the problems in their communities, how they understood the resources in their communities, and how they mobilized resources in purposeful actions. We focused on the language youth used in order to explore their perspectives on the social realities they faced. In doing so we assume a perspective that sees language not as a transparent conduit to convey information but as socio-cultural practice in which participants co-construct meanings by engaging in social interactions. Ultimately, these interactions create the social realities where students live (Schieffelin 1990; Duranti 1997; Ochs 1988; Sapir 1949). The language that youth use to describe their communities and the issues they face reveal their understandings of its resources and the potential mobilization of social capital for development. At the same time, their language reveals the roles and futures they envision for themselves as youth participants being socialized into adult roles and the economic as well as social capital available to them.

Findings

Youths' Perceptions of Their Communities as Resource

Youth's descriptions demonstrate that they do see the community itself as a potential resource to be mobilized to address local problems. This was reflected in and further developed through their experiences studying in the SAT program. Overall, descriptions of their communities and its problems can be broadly divided into two categories, those that speak to the social relationships and the shared values in their communities and those that refer to the physical conditions of the communities, understood as its natural resources and man-made infrastructure.

Youth descriptions of community social relationships overwhelmingly emphasized unity, cooperation, and collaboration. More specifically, youth described their communities as: "united[9]", "safe", "humble", "friendly", "calm", "happy and not

[9] The authors are responsible for all translations from Spanish to English.

boring" and "the people are polite, they help each other", and overall there is "peace and harmony". In her 2009 interview Kristina[10] noted that her community is mostly "united" and in 2011 she elaborated, saying: "well I like the communication that there is, right, between people; I mean they always mutually help each other with their family problems". As demonstrated later, other youth echoed this sentiment that social relationships in the community were based on communication and mutual support. In terms of physical conditions youth mentioned the landscape such as rivers and trees, the available fruit, the variety of plants and animals, and the soccer field. They also referenced other markers that represent community prosperity. For example, Rebecca, from the town of El Edén, specifically explained: "it makes one happy to say 'yes, El Edén is prospering'… because it has a primary and secondary school and a health clinic". Overall youth saw a great deal of potential in their communities in terms of relational and physical resources.

These descriptions and the underlying values of shared resources and unity were reflected in and reinforced through the SAT curriculum. In his interview Aaron retells a story he had read in class about a dog that was walking in a stream with a bone in his mouth. When he sees what he thinks is another dog that is also carrying a bone he drops his own. Because the other dog is merely a reflection of himself, he loses the bone. When asked if he uses what he learns in school in his own community Aaron recontextualizes the story, the bone becomes a guava fruit that he is carrying and the other dog a friend. When he tries to take his friend's guava he loses his own. He notes the significance of this story in his own life in his vow "not to be envious".

Community problems were understood as either potential threats to the shared values of the community or limitations related to the allocation, use, access to, and maintenance of the shared resources. In terms of the former, youth mentioned either drugs, smoking, or alcohol use three times; community violence twice; and the following once: throwing trash in the streets, youth vagrancy, lack of acceptance of God, lazy people and those that live off of others. The vast majority of problems mentioned in both years of data collection were physical, namely water and roads. Youth stated that there was not enough water or none at all and that there were problems with the water tank such as blocked pipes. Youth complained that the roads were not paved and were in poor condition due to stones. Other problems included illness, particularly dengue fever; lack of housing and its poor quality; poverty; lack of food and malnutrition; lack of a community center; and the condition of the school. These are physical and infrastructural problems that are endemic throughout Honduras. They are significant in terms of mobilizing community resources to look for local solutions, as national solutions have not materialized.

Whereas there were no substantive differences between youth responses in 2009 and 2011 with respect to either social relationships within the communities or the problems facing communities, it is noteworthy that youth in general elaborated their responses more in 2011. This suggests that with increased maturity they became more aware of

[10] All names are pseudonyms.

the complexity of these issues and that they were better able to articulate them and their consequences vis-à-vis the community. They also had had the opportunity to develop them through classroom discussions and SAT projects that involved talking to the villagers about these problems.

The following exchange with Enrique took place in 2011. The interview occurred on his back porch. In the course of the interview, two small children crossed the road in front of his house. The interviewer asked him what the problems were in his community:

Enrique: The mal… what is it called? Malnutritioning!!
Interviewer: Malnutrition
Enrique: Malnutrition!, this is what most effects our community
Interviewer: uh huh
Enrique: That there is not much food well… those little kids that crossed there well I will tell you that they inspire pity, I mean to know that they don't have well… services… food… they suffer and it makes me feel pity. In this case the village suffers, there is not good nourishment, I mean if this were eliminated then… there would be more strength and good things like houses, good roads and everything… the suffering needs to be eliminated, that is the biggest problem

Malnutrition was the most significant problem in his community both at an abstract and personal level because the children's suffering was not only about an individual's lack of food, but, at a broader level it was connected to other structural problems such as the housing and road situation, all of which referenced a lack of resources for large segments of society. In this way, an individual problem became a collective issue that had consequences for the entire community, by making it "suffer." Of note in this explanation is the position of authority that Enrique assumed as a spokesperson for his community, particularly considering his youth status. "I tell you that they inspire pity" is an evaluative statement, which instructs the interviewer, as a community outsider, what he should feel, namely, pity. We would suggest that this also speaks to a process of socialization as Enrique is becoming an adult member of his community; He has internalized its shared values and is authorized to speak on its behalf.

When asked if he did anything to help solve this problem Enrique replied, "what we can do is work hard". Again he switched from an individual perspective, an 'I', to the use of 'we', indexing his entire community as responsible for realizing solutions. Thus, resources are not individual but belong to the community, and, although the youth as individuals can access them, ultimately their mobilization is a collective endeavor.

Youth did invoke the community as a resource that could be mobilized to enact solutions to these problems, both in terms of social relationships and physical conditions. Rebeca was specifically concerned about people doing bad things, such as smoking, drinking, and robbing as this disrupted the social networks in her community and its

shared values of prosperity and unity. As a solution to the problem, she identified the community as a resource capable of collective action, stating "it is necessary to call on the community and tell them we are going to do this and this so they come to an agreement". Edgar, who was worried about the roads, also suggested the need to organize a community group because without dialogue about the community's problems "there will be no help to fix it".

According to Edgar, the recognition that there is "no help" for his community suggests that there is no possibility of receiving assistance from either the national, departmental, or local governments. Nor did he consider the financial resources needed to repair the road. Of utmost concern in fact was the community agreement to undertake the project. In the end, the community cannot mobilize its social capital beyond its own networks, nor can it access economic capital beyond what is available. Road repairs for example will only be completed through the community members' own shared labor and resources.

Youths' Access to Community Resources and Their Roles in Purposive Actions

The youth consider the community itself as a resource that can be called upon to solve problems in order to maintain the cooperative social networks and to improve the physical environment. The process of learning to access these resources is part of their socialization as members of the community even if their participation appears to be passive. Community mobilization is evidenced through sharing knowledge and accessing community resources to achieve collective projects. To demonstrate this process three specific cases are explored.

Edgar: "Without dialogue the communities' problems won't be fixed"

In 2011 Edgar was 17 years old. He was interviewed one evening on his porch. In his front yard, by the main road, there was a very large tree that provided ample shade, and, below it there were plastic chairs and an old log on which community members would frequently sit. The researchers had noticed the tree because of these gatherings. However, their significance was not realized until this interview:

Interviewer: Are there other things that you like?
Edgar: Well the… the older people get together and dialogue like that there under that tree that we have, there they get together and talk, the family members
Interviewer: And, what things do they talk about?
Edgar: Well about the jobs that they do in agriculture
Interviewer: And do you learn something when you listen to them talk… about those experiences?

Edgar: Yes…
Interviewer: …about their experiences?
Edgar: …Yes
Interviewer: What types of things?
Edgar: Well there I learn how to… How they say that the plants are sown, what fertilizer they use is what I learn.

This village, like the others, relied on agriculture both as a form of sustenance and as a source of income. In fact, Edgar spent several hours a day after school working in the fields to contribute to his families' welfare. Therefore, one of the important resources in this community was this agricultural knowledge; their livelihoods depended on it. Edgar and the other youth who frequently gathered under the tree were able to access this knowledge by listening to the older family members. Edgar did not mention actively participating in the conversations. However, when he was asked what he had learned, he mentioned the use of fertilizer. By listening, he had gained important knowledge from the community, learned how to access it, and considered its future use.

Belicia: "We are going to do it"

Belicia, who was 16 years old in 2011, was very concerned about the water problem in her community. In 2009 she mentioned that it was the biggest problem. Because of the water tank, some days they had water and some they did not. In the intervening years, her community mobilized its resources to fix the problem, as she explained in 2011: "they fixed the reservoir that they had said that we are going to do it, we are going to do it, and in the end they achieved it".

Just as in Edgar's description, Belicia's role in fixing the problem appeared to be passive. In fact she refers to a 'they', ostensibly referring to the adult members of the community. However, she learned an important lesson, that the community itself is a resource that can be mobilized because "they had said" that they were going to fix it and they did. Her changing positioning as indexed through the subject pronouns and verb tenses she uses is of particular interest. She begins from a position of outside observer describing a past action that others, namely 'they', participated in. Then she switched to the present progressive tense and the subject pronoun 'we' as she states "we are going to do it". This marks a change in perspective as she has become an active member of a collective identity, her community. She now sees herself participating in community mobilization on an ongoing basis. Therefore, although she did not directly participate in this particular community project, through it she can envision herself doing so in the future. This is particularly notable since there was also a feeling of pride that her community had overcome the problem it set out to address. From this experience she learned that community resources can be mobilized to make physical improvements, and though young, she too can participate.

This process of learning continued, as the project had also been a topic of conversation in her SAT class. She summarizes these conversations thus: "Well, sometimes we start on the community about the water as they have put they have put meters and sometimes it is good and sometimes it isn't because now they are charging, they use less water and they charge more than what they paid". From this lesson Belicia demonstrates active learning and critical thinking while articulating her evaluation of this project—the fact that the price of water had increased and that community members were spending more money even though they were using less water. This ability to critically reflect on community development is significant in terms of her future contributions to community mobilizations.

Gilberto: "I am helping my community"

Gilberto was also concerned about infrastructure in his community. His comments focused on the poor condition of the roads. In addition, he was the only student to mention his own participation in a collaborative project. The following is his description of the project and its perceived benefits:

Interviewer 1:	And do you participate in activities dedicated to the community Gilberto?
Gilberto:	No I haven't, only when they were fixing the road.
Interviewer 1:	You helped?
Gilberto:	Yes
Interviewer 2:	How did you help?
Gilberto:	Perhaps making ditches there with, with my mother that, we all worked, all of us from the village.
Interviewer 2:	And what do you think are the benefits from participating in this activity?
	Why is it good?
Gilberto:	Because I am helping my community.
Interviewer 1:	But, why is helping good? Why is helping the community good?
Gilberto:	I don't know.
…	
Interviewer 2:	Do you like to help?
Gilberto:	Yes.
Interviewer 2:	And why do you like to help?
Gilberto:	Because it is good to help others when, because if I don't when I have a problem they won't help me.

The importance of helping his community was the anticipation of future problems that will require accessing community resources to mobilize action of direct benefit to

him. Therefore, part of the socialization process is not only learning knowledge (Edgar) and critical evaluation skills (Belicia), but also learning reciprocity, because participating in community projects brings future benefits to the youth through expectations of reciprocity in future mobilizations.

The youths' descriptions suggest that the communities themselves provided significant actual and potential resources in order to realize development projects. Again in all cases there is no mention of the larger departmental or national networks of which the community is a part that could be mobilized, the communities must realize change on their own. The youth do not envision their role as that of individually mobilizing community resources. However, through the socialization process they were actively learning how to access these resources in their communities for the future.

The Future and the Limitations of Social Capital

At the end of the 2011 school year, most of these youth would be graduating from SAT and their future options included: 1) continuing their studies, which in most cases would require living in or traveling to another town; 2) working on their family farms or assisting in the care of the house and siblings as they potentially began their own families; or 3) moving to another town to find a job. All of the youth in the focal group positively assessed their experiences in the SAT program and its usefulness to their lives, and all hoped to continue their studies. Overall they had significant hopes in terms of their own future studies and work opportunities and the possibility of realizing change in their communities.

Alejandro was 14 years old in 2011 and he wanted to be a mechanic. He was asked to reflect on how what he had learned in SAT that would help him:

Alejandro: To be somebody to be an important person I mean um that in the future one can have a good job and if one doesn't know all this he isn't going to do well
Interviewer: What is an important person for you?
Alejandro: To be someone like that to be someone in the community, to have a position that works for the good of the community.
Interviewer: mm and for example, do you know someone that is working for the good of the community?
Alejandro: yes
Interviewer: yes, who?
Alejandro: there is a woman whose name is Lourdes that professor Saul knows.
Interviewer: yes… yes
Alejandro: Him and other people that live in Góngora but I don't know them
Interviewer: and what do they do for example for the community?
Alejandro: they get help for people that need it

His experiences in SAT are beneficial at two levels, first that he could be an important person, understood as somebody who helps his community, and secondly that he could use the information he learned to help obtain a good job and do well at that job. Even though the precise action of getting help for people is unspecified, he saw himself in the future position of having resources and being able to mobilize them and in doing so to contribute to the good of his community.

Many others also identified a direct connection between their own futures and those of their communities—through their studies, students would be able to contribute additional resources and achieve their goals. In her 2011 interview, Berta, who was 14 years old, wanted to go to Santa Bárbara to obtain a degree in rural well-being. In the following exchange she elaborates:

Interviewer: What plans do you have for the future?
Berta: Help the other people in the community, help the poor and all that
Interviewer: And personally what do you think will happen to you? Will you continue studying or work?
Berta: Yes, yes, I would continue studying, well studying and working the two things together
Interviewer: and what would you like to study?
…
Berta: a degree in rural well-being
…
Interviewer: What do you want to work in?
Berta: to go to create an organization… to go into to do something that… benefits the community

Despite this optimism, the reality is that most of these youth will not continue their studies due to the financial demands of living in another town or finding daily transportation while continuing to help their families. They would also not find jobs apart from working on their family farms, unless they moved to San Pedro Sula to work in the maquilas or immigrated to the United States as undocumented workers. The structural limitations and poverty in these rural areas prevented them from achieving their dreams. As their futures and those of their communities are intimately linked, there were severe limitations to their own contributions to community development. Enrique hoped to attend the university and to become an agronomist, also to further help his community and his future family. Yet, while he recognized that he had learned "to seek solutions" through his educational experiences in SAT and community socialization he also admitted that there were no jobs in his community, and, that "without work I can't solve anything".

Conclusions

Overall the words of these youth suggest that they see the social networks of their communities as resources that can be mobilized both at an individual level, to acquire important knowledge in anticipation of future reciprocal assistance, and to realize community development projects such as those related to water and roads, even if they did not position themselves as yet being able to individually mobilize these resources. However, Enrique's haunting words, "without work I can't solve anything", reveal the underlying limitations of social capital if it is divorced from economic capital and socio-historical context. As Portes and Landolt (2000) elaborate:

> Social capital can be a powerful force for promoting group projects but… it consists of the ability to marshal resources through social networks, *not the resources themselves*. When the latter are poor and scarce, the goal achievement capacity of a collectivity is restricted, no matter how strong its internal bonds….Social capital is not a substitute for the provision of credit, material infrastructure, and education. What social capital can do is to increase the 'yield' of such resources by reinforcing them with the voluntary efforts of participants and their monitoring capacity to prevent malfeasance (p. 546-547, emphasis ours).

Therefore, while Enrique and his group of classmates and neighbors in the village may have social capital, there is a disconnect between social capital and access to economic capital, which will potentially stymie the impact of SAT on fostering community development.

Our findings thus reinforce the theoretical orientation of Bourdieu and the criticisms of Fine (2002) regarding the application of the concept of social capital and the need to ground it socially, historically, politically, and economically. The social networks of these youth need to be understood as existing within and in relation to larger networks that compose the nation and the world. Furthermore, these networks cannot be divorced from their particular realities that have systematically favored the economic interests of multinational corporations and an elite oligarchy of business owners that controls ownership of rural land and urban business and that controls state policies that favor their continued economic prosperity at the expense of the poor (Grandin 2006).

This is not to belittle the great importance of transformative education for youth and of the critical perspectives that they have developed through their participation in SAT and the community development projects that have taken place in these villages. Indeed, the youths' words demonstrate that their communities are active agents that have participated in important changes that benefit all through improving access to water and functioning roads. However, our findings point to the limits of social capital and underscore that in and of itself, it will not alleviate poverty, nor will it necessarily provide Enrique and his

classmates with access to a job or a more prosperous future.

References

Acker, A. (1989). *Honduras: The Making of a Banana Republic*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1997). "The Forms of Capital." In A.H. Halsey, H. Launder, P. Brown & A. Stuart Wells (Eds.), *Education, Culture, Economy and Society* (p. 46-58). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chapman, P. (2007). *Bananas: How the United Fruit Company Shaped the World*. Edinburgh: Canongate.

DeFilippis, J. (2001). "The myth of social capital." *Housing Policy Debate*, 12(4), p. 781-806.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Fine, B. (2002). "They f**ck you up those social capitalists." *Antipode*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Frank, D. (2012) "In Honduras, a mess made in the U.S." *The New York Times January 26, 2012*. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/27/opinion/in-honduras-a-mess-helped-by-the-us.html?_r=0] (Accessed on January 7, 2013).

Fukuyama, F. (1997). "Social capital." *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, 19, p. 375-484.

Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

FUNDAEC (2007). Empowering Promoters of Local Prosperity. Unpublished grant proposal. Cali, Colombia: FUNDAEC.

Grandin, G. (2006). *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Honeyman, C. (2010). "Social responsibility and community development: Lessons from Sistema de aprendizaje tutorial in Honduras." *International Journal of Educational Development* 30(6), p. 599-613.

International Fund for Agricultural Development (2011). "Rural Poverty in Honduras". [http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/honduras] (Accessed 1 December 2012).

Lin, N. (1999). "Building a network theory of social capital." *Connections* 22(1), p. 28-51.

McEwan, P., Murphy-Graham, E., Torres Irribarra, D., Aguilar, C. & R. Rapalo Castellanos (2012). "The Impact of Alternative Secondary Schoolingon Rural Adolescents: Evidence from Honduras." Manuscript in preparation.

Miles, M. & M. Huberman. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. London: SAGE Publications.

Moore Lappe, F. & Du Bois, P. M. (1997). "Building social capital without looking backward." *National Civic Review*, 86(2), p. 119-28.

Morrow, V. (1999). "Conceptualising social capital in relation to the well-being of children

and young people: A critical review." *The Editorial Board of the Sociological Review*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Murphy-Graham, E. (2007). "Promoting participation in public life through secondary education: Evidence from Honduras." *Prospects* 37(1), p. 95-111.

Murphy-Graham, E. (2012). *Opening Minds, Improving Lives: Education and Women's Empowerment in Honduras*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Portes, A. (1998). "Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, p. 1-24.

Portes, A. & Landolt, P. (2000). "Social capital: Promise and pitfalls of its role in development." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, p. 529-547.

Putnam, R. D. (1994). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Quiñones, N. & Sandoval, E. (2012). "Another Honduran Journalist Slain." [articles.cnn.com/2012-05-16/americas/world_americas_honduras-journalist-killed_1_journalists-tegucigalpa-honduran authorities?_s=PM:AMERICAS]. (Accessed 1 December 2012)

Raffo, C. & Reeves, M. (2000). "Youth transitions and social exclusion: Developments in social capital theory." *Journal of Youth Studies*, 3(2), p. 147-166.

Sapir, E. (1949). *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*, D. Mandelbaum (Ed.). Berkeley: Universityof California Press.

Schieffelin, B. B. (1990). *The Give and Take of Everyday Life: Language Socialization of Kaluli Children*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

UNDP (2011). "United Nations Human Development Report". [http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/HND.html] (Accessed 1 November2012).

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.53 ～ 68

Impact of Education Expansion on Employment in Bangladesh: Comparing Two Cases of Villages in Remote and Suburban Rural Settings

Tatsuya Kusakabe
Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education, Hiroshima University

Abstract

A number of institutions and organizations such as the government, NGOs, international development partners and agencies and religious groups have been working to develop education in Bangladesh. Educational development projects related to the Education for All (EFA) have contributed to the development of the education sector. As a result, enrolment rates have increased significantly over the past two decades in Bangladesh, not only in primary schools but also at the secondary level. As a result, it is increasingly common to find individuals with Secondary School Certificate (SSC), Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) and even higher education degrees in the population at large. Still, 85% of the population of Bangladesh lives in rural areas. At this point, the most important questions are whether educated rural people are able to find employment after graduation and whether educational development policies expand people's life options. This study compares educational development in two regional settings, one in the western part of the country and the other in the east. The aim is understand educational attainment in two different geographical settings—one in a remote rural area far from industry and the other a semi-urban rural area closer to industry.

Introduction

Since 1990, a number of educational development efforts have been initiated throughout the world. Except for Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, worldwide primary net enrolment rates exceed 93% (UNESCO 2012). This is a result of the collective efforts of international organizations, governments, NGOs and religious groups. Educational development programs have greatly increased the quantity of education since 1990s; however, the issue of quality remains as an important issue in many developing countries. The paradox of increasing educational quantity and decreasing quality is a major concern for policy makers, researchers, teachers and parents. Despite such concerns, however, educational development programs such as EFA (Education for All) have led to ever-increasing numbers of primary and secondary school graduates. As a result, Secondary School Certificate (SSC) and Higher Secondary Certificate (HSC) graduates have become common even in the most remote areas of Bangladesh. Of course, some of them have

dropped out of school, and dropout is still one of the major problems facing education. Even so, newly-mushroomed schools are producing huge numbers of graduates. Are these graduates able to get jobs? Are they productively employed in the rural economy in Bangladesh? Most formal school graduates are produced in rural areas where 85% of Bangladesh lives. Yet the cash economy is relatively undeveloped, and formal sector employment is not commonly available in rural Bangladesh. Many rural graduates have to compete with each other in tiny rural job markets. As a result, many graduates move outside rural areas for work. Some move to urban areas such as the capital Dhaka, while others seek employment outside the country. Both those who successfully graduate as well as those who dropout struggle to find work in the very small rural job market, which has seen little change despite educational progress and expansion in the education sector.

This study aims to investigate this complex relationship between educational expansion and employment in rural job markets. While a great deal of research has focused on educational quality, there has been less systematic research on what happens to graduates after they complete schooling in rural areas. The methodology involves a household survey carried out once in 1999 and 2001 and a follow up survey 10 years afterwards in the same villages and households. This approach permits examination of changes in educational attainment in each household and a longitudinal assessment of education and work.This method also helps illuminate the educational visions and job career trajectories of individuals according to their place in the social and economic hierarchy. It also highlights the relationship between educational and occupational aspirations at one stage and their achievement, or not, ten years later. This methodology permits answer to questions such as: "Who was able to reach their educational and employment goals in ten years?" "How do villagers perceive the relationship between education and employment?" "What the minimum education requirements to get a wage-earning job beyond traditional agricultural work?" Rather than focussing on macro-level relations between school education and the job market, this study focuses on micro-level findings. The research objectives are organized under the following four categories:

1.To understand the effect of school education in rural areas in light of the socio-economic environment of surrounding areas over the last ten years.

2.To find out parents' goals and aspirations for their children vis a vis school education in a rural context.

3. To see whether educated rural people are able to secure employment even if they are from poor families.

4. To verify the impact of educational expansion on employment particularly in remote and suburban rural settings in Bangladesh in the two case studies examined.

Necessity of Linking Micro-level Research with Education and Employment

Much of the research on educational development and labour is dominated by human capital theory. For example, Psacharopoulos and other economists have found a positive correlation between human capital formation and increased wages using macro data and mathematical models to test economic theory (Psacharopoulos 1983, 1985; Psacharopoulos & Patrinos 2004). In another example, Duflo used cost-benefit analysis to analyze the effectiveness of Indonesia's largest school construction program between 1973 and 1978. Its impact was: "each primary school constructed per 1,000 children led to an average increase of 0.12 to 0.19 years of education, as well as a 1.5 to 2.7 percent increase in wages" (Duflo 2001, p.418). Duflo also concluded that the program "affected children likely belong to the poorest segment of the population because they were prevented from attending school by the lack of infrastructure. On the other hand, they took advantage of the opportunity once it arose" (Duflo 2001, p.445). These early studies based on human capital theory demonstrated the economic value to beneficiaries of the establishment of schools and construction of educational infrastructure. On the other hand, it is also clear that building educational facilities does not guarantee benefits for poor households. Many poor families are closely tied to local values, customs, traditions and the local economic context. Parents may not recognize the value of schooling, or understand the necessity of education especially when they are uneducated and living impoverished lives. Despite progress in increasing female enrolments, many rural girls live in a cultural context where parents arrange marriage for them at the age 15 or 16. Such cultural, religious, regional, and patriarchal elements should be examined to justify the effectiveness of particular educational programs. In many cases access to primary education and its quality remain challenging and have yet to be resolved. Therefore, many researchers are not concerned exit surveys of school graduates. Yet, given the costs of schooling to parents and the national treasury as well as the need for well-paid employment, it is important to inquire at the micro as well as macro level whether education has an impact on graduates getting jobs in the socio-economic context in which they currently live.

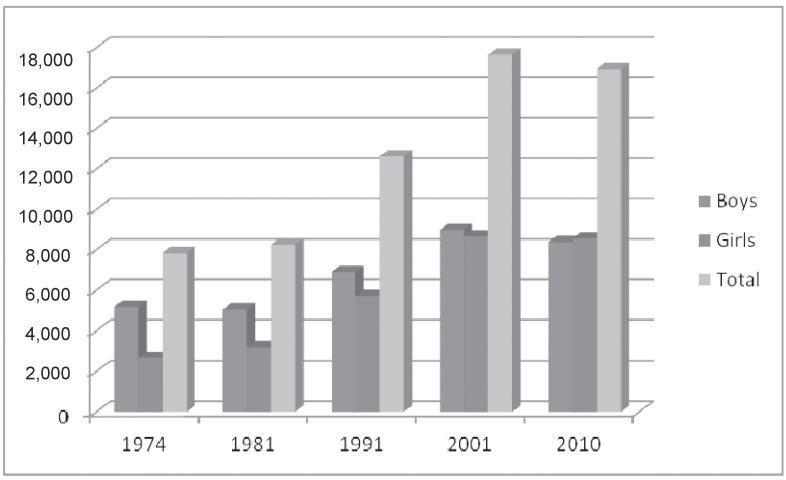
Many education researchers from Bangladesh also tend to focus on educational development. For example, gender studies in Bangladesh focus entirely on advocating equal educational opportunities for women (Sattar 1982, pp.23-25). However, micro-level empirical studies especially in rural Bangladesh could make a significant contribution to understanding gender disparities in education. Moreover, in much of the educational research, cultural, religious, regional, and patriarchal issues have been overlooked. Often studies focus on illiteracy, school access and drop-out rates among women in Bangladesh (e.g. Mubina 2003). However those studies have utilized only an education framework or human rights approach. While reviewing several issues of the journal "Teacher's World" published in Dhaka, I found hardly any research linking educational expansion and economic development. Yet one primary reason for promoting schooling is economic--so graduates can join the wage economy. This study looks at the economic as well as social

outcomes of education from a micro-level perspective.

Appropriateness of Bangladesh as Target for this Study

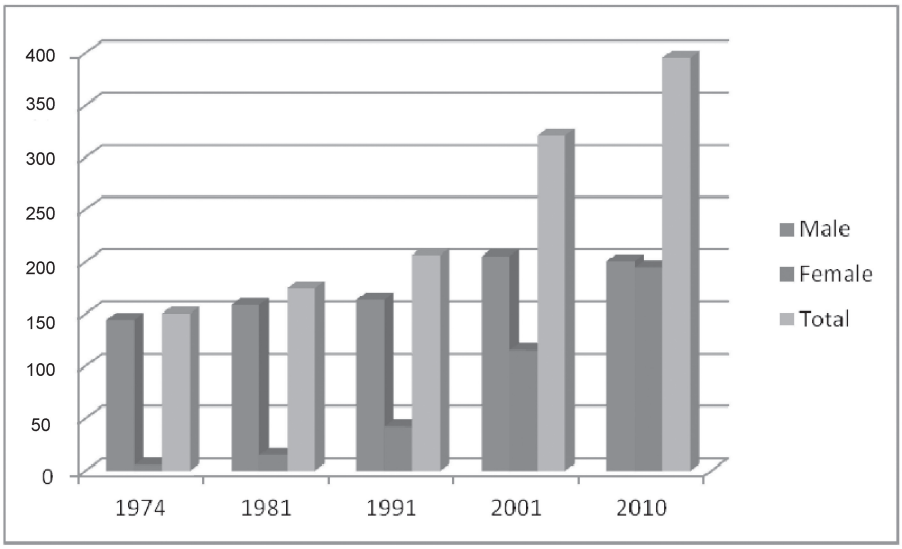
Bangladesh is an appropriate country for this study because from 1990, a series of policies have institutionalized the development of education. Initially the government instituted the Compulsory Education Act of 1990. This law declared and confirmed primary education as a basic human right. Following this, the government implemented two additional laws to make certain that poverty did not keep children out of school, the Food for Education Program (FFEP) in 1992 and the Female Secondary Education Project (FSEP) of 1994. According to FFEP, the government provides 10-12kg of wheat or paddy for students who achieve an 85% attendance rate. With FSEP, the government provides cash incentives to girls with school attendance of more than 75% per a month and earn scores higher than 45%. From 2002, the Stipend for Education Project (SFEP) provided 100tk cash in place of 10-12kg wheat or paddy of FFEP. As a result of these policies, the numbers of primary school students and teachers has increased significantly (see Figures 1, 2). The number of secondary students has increased as well.

Figure 1 Growth of Primary School Students (thousands)



Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) 1985, 1999, 2006.
Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) 1992, 2010.

Figure 2 Growth of Primary Teachers (thousands)



Source: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) 1985, 1999, 2006.
Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) 1992, 2010.

Methodology: Comparative Study of Two Villages

In order to identify the factors that contribute to greater socio-economic change in one area than in another, two villages with different geographic and socio-economic backgrounds were chosen and compared to see how each coped with changes in social and economic conditions. In both cases, rural rather than urban areas were selected for this study because the tremendous growth in participation in school is observed mainly in rural areas. Secondly, the distance from the village to the closest town was taken into account, since village location is directly related to penetration of the industrial economy, which incites school attendance. For instance, people residing far from industrial areas are more likely to remain engaged in traditional agrarian labour because of their limited access to chakri (wage labour), which requires a formal education. Development of the industrial economy and degree-issuing schools are positively correlated, even in the micro context. Given these conditions, two target villages, one from a remote rural area and another one from a suburban rural area were chosen.

Karamdi: A Remote Rural Village

Karamdi village is located in the Gangni county of Meherpur district, the westernmost region of Bangladesh. The village is close to the country's national border, which divides the area from India's West Bengal state. Many villagers cross the border to visit relatives in West Bengal, and until recently many engaged in small-scale cross-

border businesses. The construction of the Jamuna Bridge in 1999 shortened the journey from Dhaka to Karamdi from eight to four or five hours, but the village is still quite remote. The majority of farmers are landless peasants called *bhumihin*, who do not possess enough land (or any at all) to support themselves and their families. Thus, many are obliged to travel to other districts as labourers during harvesting periods because of the lack of agrarian labour opportunities intheir villages. What is worse, they seldom have an opportunity to work in factories, mills or in any other industries, and so remain largely outside the wage economy. This study attempts to understand the *bhumihin* and other poor households to see whether their children have begun to secure employment or more advanced educational certification as a result of educational development in the area.

Gohira: A Suburban Rural Village

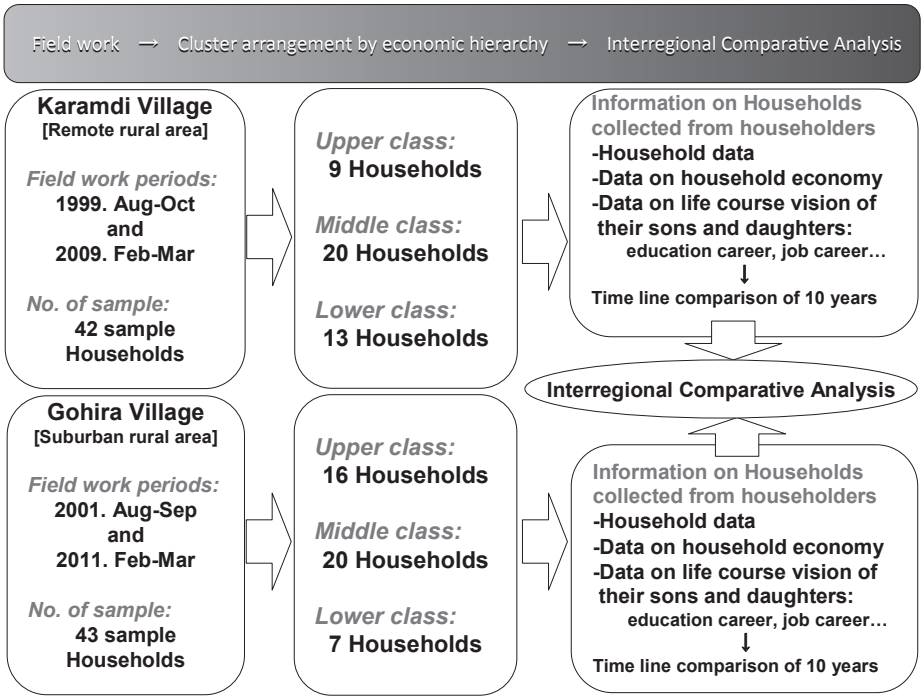
Gohira village is located in Raozan County in Chittagong district, the easternmost part of Bangladesh. From the 1960s to 1970s, industrial development progressed in this area. Chittagaong is the second largest city in Bangladesh. Japanese, American and other foreign companies have invested in garment manufacturing as well as heavy industry--chemicals, motor bikes and machine factories--in Chittagong's large Economic Processing Zone (EPZ). These industries come seeking a cheap labour force. Gohira supplies labour to these industries because of its close proximity to Chittagong, which can be reached in only forty minutes to an hour by bus. To obtain a job in a factory, at least a secondary school certificate is required and this, in turn, has promoted education in this village.

Research Framework

This study consists of a comparison of households in two villages (See Figure3). Field work was carried out in each village Karamdi Village in 1999 & 2009 and in Gohira Village in 2001 & 2011 in three main content areas.

First, I carried out a community census of householders in each village. 42-55 families per village were selected as sample households. I collected household data from each householder. Then I used the Census Scheduleto carry out one to two-hour interviews. Secondly, I visited all primary schools, secondary schools and Madrasas and carried out a school survey. Mainly I interviewed the head teacher or principal and collected factual data from schools (number of pupil/students, number of teachers, how the official work plan is carried out, whether teachers have side businesses or not, and so on). Third, I carried out an education administrative organization survey. I interviewed the County Education Officer (*Thana Education Officer*: TEO) and about present conditions of education in the county. Finally, I compared results from the two villages with an interregional comparative analysis.

Figure 3: Research and Analysis flow



Karamdi Village: 1999-2009

Difficulty of Development in Remote Rural Areas

Since the first field visit in 1999, Karamdi village has remained a remote rural area. While the construction of the Jamuna Bridge in 1999 shortened the journey from Dhaka to Karamdi village from seven or eight to four or five hours, corresponding increases in traffic jams in Dhaka mean that bus passengers have to spend more time than ever to moving back and forth. As a result, mobility was as difficult in 2009 as in 1999. In addition, neighboring towns or cities did not develop into attractive urban areas, and Karamdi villagers have little opportunity to become *chacree* (wage earners). As a result, there has been little change in their economic situation. For example, in 2009, brick firing was observed to be the heaviest industry in the village. This suggests economic development. Indeed, total annual income in 2009 in 42 sample householdswas three times greater than that in 1999 (1999: 1,160,565tk to 2009: 3,608,800tk). Additionally, the total amount of money villagers borrowed increased four-fold from 112,400tk in 1999 to 459,000tk in 2009. Again, this suggests steady economic development. On the other hand, this economic development was not connected to the outside economy. The other rural industries in evidence were blacksmithing, paddy husking, agricultural day labor,

grocery shop keeper, agricultural implement repair, cattle sales, etc., all occupations serving a primarily agrarian economy. Barter exchange remained common. Considering increases in prices over the intervening ten years, the quality of life had not improved. While the village economy, based on agriculture and rural industry, is steadily increasing, the quality of life of people in the village has not changed. And most jobs in the village do not demand education. The exceptionis civil servants, who are relatively few in number.

The Impact of Educational Expansion: Emergence of an Education Career-based Society

As contrasted with the gradual pattern of economic growth, educational development policies have been vigorously implemented in all areas since 1990. Karamdi has been greatly impacted by these policies as compared with other rural areas. As evidence of this, time line of school establishment shows us only four schools had been built in this village before EFA policies were put into place. Since then, the number of schools has increased to 14 including secondary level schools. This has led to accessibility to secondary schools in the village for the first time. The question then arises, "What effect does additional access to schooling have on students' employment prospects?"

Dates of school establishment in Karamdi village

1920	Karamdi Government primary school
1970	Japani primary school
1973	Karamdi Jr. High/High school
1974	Karamdi Aliya madrasa [Islamic school]
1991	Karamdi No.4 primary school
1994	Satellite primary school
1999	Karamdi KG primary school
2000	Karamdi Collage [for Higher Secondary Certificate]
	Karamdi Konranpur Jr. Secondary Girl's Collage
	Mathpara Karamdi Registered primary school
2007	Two BRAC [NGO] Schools
2010	Progoti primary school

The 42 sample households in this study include 77 children, 40 male and 37 female. To address the research questions, I examined the educational attainment and employment status of children in 2009 based on their parents' aspirations in 1999. Table 1 summarizes results of this analysis. Given the differences in expectations and roles for men and women, it is useful to separate the analysis by gender.

Table 1 : Decadal transitions of Children's life course in both villages

Karamdi Village (Remote rural area)			Gohira Village (Suburban rural area)	
Male 1 Female 0	1 (1.2%)	Higher education level	5 (4.2%)	Male2 Female3
Male12 Female17	31 (40.2%)	Finished SSC or HSC, Still primary or secondary school student	49 (41.8%)	Male 30 Female 19
Male 2 Female 0	2 (2.6%)	Waged job	21 (17.9%)	Male 15 Female6
Male23 Female 0	23 (29.9%)	Farmer, Labour, Business, Rural industries	11 (9.4%)	Male 11 Female0
Male 0 Female20	20 (28.6%)	House wife, domestic help	19 (16.2%)	Male0 Female 19
Male 0 Female 0	0 (0%)	Loafer, Lost job, others	12 (10.2%)	Male6 Female6
Male40 Female37	77 (100%)	Total No. of children	117 (100%)	Male 64 Female 53

Source: Field data 1999-2011

Most parents answered questions about their future aspirations for their children in terms of educational attainment and employment. There were essentially two groups, those who basically realized their parents' ambitions and those who were sidetracked.

Males in Karamdi

First, we can see that one group of 23 boys became farmers, agricultural laborers, or other rural industry workers. These data suggest the difficulty of finding wage employment in rural Bangladesh. Looking at the extent to which boys realized the aspirations of their parents in 1999, one group of five cases meets the definition according to 2009 research results. Those include the son of HH136 who is working in Malaysia, a son of HH16 who is in the Army, a son of HH69 who is seeking a college degree, a son of HH35 who earned a Secondary School Certificate, and a son of HH131 who earned a BA in Dhaka. Only the son from HH131 is from a rich household. Three are from middle class families and one from a lower class background.

The son from HH131 was typical of traditional access of village elites (elite by local standards) to education and wage employment. During fieldwork in 1999, son 131 was a 4th year primary school student. By 2009 he was 20 and enrolled in a bachelor's

degree program in Dhaka. When asked about his aspirations for his son in 1999, the father answered “Machine College Engineer”. HH131 is the richest household in the village. The father is a member of the air force engaged in border security work. He earns a monthly income and also runs a farm. In 2009 his annual income was 172,000tk. The son used his advantaged socioeconomic background to achieve his father’s ambitions. Though not typical of his village, the pattern is typical in South Asia, where only the wealthiest families send their children to higher education.

The question arises of how sons of households 136 and 16 got wage jobs. On questioning, it appears that the son of HH136 paid 220,000tk to a broker to purchase a visa for work in Malaysia. The son of HH16 answered an open recruitment call in a news paper from the national army. This suggests that successful employment in rural Bangladesh may be depend on the job–seeking skills of individuals rather than a consequence of educational attainment and increased skill.

One son of a well-off household turned away from a "better job career". In 1999, the son of HH24 was a high school student in grade 10. His father’s ambition for his son was “College Degree~Teacher”. The son however dropped out later that year and started helping his father. Surprisingly the household was the 3rd richest in the village. However, we cannot say he "failed". When I returned in 2009 HH24 had increased his landholding from 0.5 bigha owned and 4 bigha borrowed in 1999, to 0.5 bigha owned and 6 bigha borrowed. The son’s father had expanded the agricultural land under his management. For the son in that situation, the decision to drop out made economic sense.

The remaining 12 sons were still attending primary or secondary schools. Future field visits will trace their activities.

Females in Karamdi

As for the females, 20 daughters dropped out of school and married at a comparatively early age. This makes very clear the gender disparities within the village in school, and family obligations. Considering families in 1999 with further aspirations for their daughters, only the daughter of HH143 fits into such a framework. In 2009 she was trying to pass the SSC examination. She had failed twice, but was going to take the Secondary School Certificate examination again in 2009. The other 16 daughters were still attending primary and secondary school.

Thus, school attainment has almost no relationship with employment for young male villagers. What might be considered orthodox career paths in Japanese or Western contexts were quite rare in this village. However, most children, both male and female, were able to complete primary school, and maybe continued with secondary education. Educational expansion had expanded school enrollment, but the payoff in terms of employment was not yet manifest. If school is intended to lead to work, the school-work system is malfunctioning in the village. On the other hand, some males were more successful than their family background would likely have led them to be 20 years earlier.

Gohira Village: 2001-2011

Various Effects of Mega-city Chittagong and the Economic Processing Zone

Chittagong is the second largest city in Bangladesh, and it is often seen as the economic capital. A number of satellite villages surrounding the city supply it with labor. When I carried out field work in 2001, Gohira was a typical suburban area. It was a one-hour ride to the industrial area of Chittagong named the EPZ or Economic Processing Zone. This gives Gohira a clear advantage over Karamdi in terms of commuting proximity to a city. Though both rural, the nature of the rural economy in the two villages, for example regular traffic service, construction service, etc. differs. Gohira villagers can easily access *chacree* (wage labor). Hara has explained this phenomenon of "semi rural village" (1969). In 2001, I observed a number of householders maintaining small-scale agriculture while also engaged in *chacree*. Chittagong is also a supply area for workers in the Middle East, where many Bangladeshis seek employment. When I visited a Bangladeshi community in Dubai, many workers reported coming from Chittagong.

Ten years later, I revisited Gohira and interviewed the same villagers I visited previously. I also carried out a school visit survey and interviewed thana (county) education officials. In 2011, 6 of 44 sample households had moved to Chittagong. One household traveled home on weekends. (I caught two households by mobile phone). There were now 24 persons who had sought employment out of the country, in Dubai, Saudi Arabia, Oman and United States, up from 14 in 2001. The number of part-time farmers hadn't changed much, from 13 in 2001 to 12 in 2011. More people were taking jobs in Dhaka or Chittagong. Significantly, a number of cloth factories were constructed on the road between Chittagong and Gohira. The village has been semi urban for some time; it now has an urban economy.

Those economic developments affected the villagers. For example the total annual income in 38 households (excluding the six households that moved to Chittagong) increased two and a half times from 2,816,700tk in 2001 to 7,328,550tk in 2010. However, price inflation had also increased significantly. The total amount of money borrowed from all sample households also increased from 185,000tk in 2001 to 1,621,000tk in 2010, an 8.7 time increase in 10 years. The reasons given were almost always "for daily life". This suggests that villagers have an increased dependency on the monetary economy.

Autonomous Acceptance of School System

Since establishment of the first primary school in 1884, primary and secondary schools have increased in number until 1996. Recently, enrollment has stabilized as there are a sufficient number of educational institutions to serve the population. That no schools have been established since 1996 suggests that village people sought education by themselves, rather than receiving it as a result of EFA policies. Gohira developed its

school system comparatively early. Economic development in Chittagong is likely to have had its first effects on village education after 1970. A number of private companies and factories have long required applicants to have the SSC or HSC.

Dates of school establishment in Gohira village

1884	Shingha Gov PS	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1908	South Doroinagor Gov PS	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1915	Gohira Gov PS	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1929	Chikdail Munsipara Gov PS	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1930	Gohira High school	
1932	Dokkin Gohira Kansahe Gov PS	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1938	Gohira F.K Madrasa	(1973 accredited as Gov PS)
1946	Gohira Madrasa Gov PS	
1960	Kundeshori Barika Bidha Mondir Girls High School (SSC)	
1970	Kundeshori Barika Biddaroi (HSC and Degree)	
1970	Gohira Degree Collage	
1980	Chikdail High School	
1989	Gausia Monia Madrasa	
1991	Saied Bodolurunesa KG Madrasa	
1994	Santildir Adorsho KG PS	
1996	EGR Gov PS	

*Qawmi madrasas (unrecognized Islamic education institution) also have established from 80s.

Impact of Educational Expansion:Emergence of an Education Career-based Society

Follow up research of the 43 sample households in this study included 117 children, 64 males and 53 females. As in the Karamdi case study, we look to see what sort of children realized their parents' aspirations between 2001 and 2011. Here also, it is also helpful distinguish male and female data.

Males in Gohira

As compared with Karamdi, the male children in sample households in Gohira were much more diversified in terms of their current education and occupational status. Nine were engaged in service work or business; six were jobless or loafers; nine had moved to the Middle East and one had moved to another country. One was a day laborer, and one was a farmer. Full-time farmers are quite rare in this area, but most households maintain

some fields. Of the six households that had moved to Chittagong, there were five male children from the sample. The remaining 32 children were still in school. Most parents considered sending their children to Chittagong to seek *chacree* (wage labour). Young people who start working as *chacree* in Chittagong are able to earn at least 5,000-7,000tk per month. This is not a high income but sufficient for a modest household's everyday expenses. The cash economy influences the village even here. There is almost no space to farm and so no safety net (as observed in Karamdi) for young people who lose their jobs. Instead of farming, the safety net is the opportunity to seek work outside the country. For example, a son of HH20 now lives in Dubai. This is a lower middle income level household, so parents are limited in their ability to send their children to higher levels of education. One son's father was working in Dubai. The father called the son and prepared him to come to Dubai after the son graduated from college. One man working in the Middle East can send home approximately 5,000tk a month. Villagers say that in the Middle East does not require a school credential. Rather what is needed is a connection or cash for a foreign visa broker. Working overseas has become a meaningful career path.

Most of the sons in the sample, except for the six jobless youth, had attained parents' aspirations to a certain extent. At least they were employed. The following cases illustrate. A son in HH3 is one success. He passed the HSC (Higher Secondary Certificate) examination at age 19. He started a real estate business after graduation and earns 7,000tk monthly. In 2001, the son was an upper secondary school student. The father had no specific aspirations for his son but he answered that "any person should earn at least a degree". This household was categorized as upper middle class, so it was not so difficult for them to send their children to upper secondary school. There were six other sons who were now engaged in service or business in the village. 2011 field data tells us their salary helped the household economy. While is not a "big" success, these sons succeeded in achieving their fathers' visions, becoming *chacree*. Thus, small successes such as becoming chacree were quite very common in this village as compared with Karamdi.

In contrast, despite the fact that a son of HH23 is 27 years old, he lost his job several years before. Fortunately, since he dropped out of junior high school in the 6th grade, he found a job in a packing factory in Chittagong. Unfortunately, his father's death led to mental illness. Now he has nothing to do in the village. His household is poor. Once a poor householder gets into trouble, particularly a health problem, there are many obstacles to continuing children's schooling. Despite the opportunities for access to the nearby job market, six of the sons were unemployed despite their education. The cash economy has eliminated farming as a safety value, thus pressuring the males to find work or to fail.

Females in Gohira

Twenty two of the female children in the sample remained in school; six were jobless or loafers; 19 were married, one had become a teacher, and five had migrated to Chittagong. A daughter of HH4 became a primary school teacher after dropping out of

a college degree program. She is the only female in the sample who became a *chacree*. Still, the female children in the village are interested in social mobility because of influences from Chittagong. Their awareness of social mobility facilitated establishment of a girls' high school in 1960.

In Gohira, most children entered secondary school. Even so, pressure from the monetary economy on poor households coupled with relatively few jobs and no local safety values restricted the benefits of educational development to the poorest families. Graduation from primary school was completely accepted by villagers, and almost all young people, both females and males, had access to secondary school. It was clear that job opportunities in the Gohira were better than in Karamdi. In addition, there was the alternative of work in Middle East for male children. The linkages between education and work were clearer than in Karamdi village except among poor households. Still among females there were a considerable number of dropouts and marriages. However in relative terms, educational levels were higher than in Karamdi village and as we saw with the daughter of HH4.

Conclusions: Comparing Villages

First of all, the educational options in both villages have expanded. EFA had a greater impact on Karamdi in the remote rural area because schooling was relatively undeveloped there as compared with Gohira in a suburban rural area. Gohira had developed schools much earlier in response to pressure from the monetary economy and economic development. Educational development in Gohira added value to the labor force. Some graduates were successful in business or service work, earning 5,000-7,000tk per month. Others took jobs outside the country, where they also sent 5,000tk home every month. "Becoming *chacree*" is a "big" success in Karamdi, whereas in Gohira village, chacree has a much more common meaning.

These economic contexts are deeply related to educational development. In Karamdi, educational development based on EFA has little coherence with the labour market. In Gohira, coherence between economic development and the labour market led to expansion of schooling prior to EFA. Comparing the two villages shows the importance of the linkage between educational development and the social and economic structure.

Even in remote areas, parents' aspirations for their children's education have increased in the last ten years. In Karamdi, EFA policies expanded schooling for their children. However, most children dropped out of secondary education.

These field data suggest that there is little relationship between schooling and work and that educational development does little by itself to lead to employment opportunities for very poor households. In neither village could very poor households recover from disasters, diseases and so on. These case studies suggest that educational development has not yet ended poverty, and the middle class still has an advantage in both education and the job market. One of fundamental reasons for schooling education is to improve social

mobility. Perhaps poor Bangladeshi will have to wait another ten years for the promises to be fulfilled.

References

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2006). *Bangladesh Education in Statistics*. Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (2003). *Population Census 2001 National Report (Provisional)*. Dhaka: Ministry of Planning, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (1985). *Bangladesh Education in Statistics*. Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. (1999). *Bangladesh Education in Statistics*. Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS). (2010). *Primary Education Statistics*. Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS). (1992). *Primary Education Statistics*. Dhaka: Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Duflo, E. (2001). "Schooling and Labor Market Consequences of School Construction in Indonesia- Evidence from an Unusual Policy Experiment," Pp. 418-447, in McMahon, W.W. (Ed), *Education and Development- Major Themes in Education*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hara, T. (1969). "*Paribar* (Family) of a Moslem Rural Village of Chittagong District, East Pakistan," *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* 34-3, pp.253-254.

Mubina, K. (2003). "An Empirical Assessment of Women's Limited Access to Education and Higher Rate of Drop Out," *Teacher's World* 24-25, pp.127-134.

Psacharopoulos, G. & Patrinos, H.A. (2004). "Human Capital and Rates of Return," Pp 1-58, in Johnes G. & Johnes, J. (Eds), *International Handbook of the Economics of Education*. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1985). "Returns to Education: AFurther International Update and Implications," *Journal of Human Resources*, 20(4), pp.583-597.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1983)."Education and Private Versus Public Sector Pay," *Labour and Society*, 8(2), pp.123-133.

Sattar, E. (1982). *Universal Primary Education in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: University Press Limited.

UNESCO UIS Fact Sheet,
[http://www.uis.unesco.org/FactSheets/Documents/fs19-2012-universal-primary-education-en.pdf] (accessed on Jan 17. 2013)

Map: Location of Target Villages

(Source) www.nationsonline.org

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.69 ～ 91

Youth Skills Development, Informal Employment and the Enabling Environment in Kenya: Trends and Tensions

David Balwanz
University of Maryland

Abstract

Youth skills development, poverty and unemployment are prominent global concerns. Pressure to expand post-basic education in countries with low to moderate enrollment and concerns of high youth unemployment have encouraged the development of a "skills for jobs" education reform discourse. The discourse argues that post-basic education focus on skills development with the hypothesis that such a focus will help reduce youth unemployment. Following post-election violence in 2007, promoting youth employment has become an increasingly important policy issue in Kenya. In 2011 nearly 40% of Kenyan youth were neither in school or working, and the informal sector accounts for nearly 80% of jobs. Despite the complex and unclear relationship between education and employment, post-basic education in youth polytechnics and skills development programs have been identified as potential solutions to employability challenges facing Kenya's youth. This paper identifies some of the possibilities and limitations of these reforms and of the broader "skills for jobs" discourse. The paper presents critiques and perceptions influencing recent post-basic education reforms, outlines factors in the economy and the non-economic environment which mediate the relationship between education and employment in Kenya, identifies tensions involved in efforts designed to prepare youth for informal sector employment and discusses two recent reforms designed to provide "skills for jobs."

Introduction

Governments in sub-Saharan Africa are under great pressure to expand access to post-basic education. Increased popular demand for post-basic education is fed by progress toward universal primary completion, growing youth populations and increased levels of household wealth in sub-Saharan Africa (UIS 2006; World Bank 2005). A doubling of the number of primary completers over the next decade is expected to further increase demand for post-basic education (Lewin 2008)[1]. Pressure to expand post-basic education also comes from the desire of governments to address broader economic and social issues.

[1] In 2009, GER for lower and upper secondary in sub-Saharan Africa was 43% and 27% respectively (UIS 2011).

Many countries face high levels of youth unemployment, lackluster economic growth, persistently high levels of poverty and inequality and perceived threats to country stability and social cohesion from youth who are in neither education nor employment. From this perspective, pressure to expand access to (and reform) post-basic education is part of a multi-sectoral policy response to the economic and social challenges represented by a growing number of youth.

These pressures co-exist with and influence a third concern, the perceived inadequacies of existing education systems. Historically, education has been recognized as the main channel through which individuals secure access to wage employment and join the middle and elite classes in most countries in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in the past decade, enrollment growth in post-basic education has far surpassed enrollment growth at tertiary institutions and job growth in the formal sector. Limited and increasingly competitive access to tertiary education and formal sector jobs and increasing joblessness among secondary and tertiary educated youth have led to some disillusion with the promise that education will lead to a better life (EDC 2009; Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola 2011).

In the face of these multiple pressures, policymakers in countries with low to moderate access to post-basic education, face many choices, dilemmas and trade-offs. In considering policy options, countries are likely to revisit some basic assumptions which shape the goals of post-basic education. Some of these questions may include: What are the purposes of post-basic education? Which areas of learning or skills development should be prioritized? Who does (or should) make and influence education policy? What are the equity dimensions of different policy directions and education models?

The confluence of pressures described above has supported the emergence (some would say the re-emergence) of a "skills for jobs" construct in global and national education discourses. The "skills for jobs" idea draws on the assumptions of human capitol theory to answer normative questions on the purpose and content of education. The notion is that education should prioritize workforce development and economic growth objectives, and as such, should focus on the development of particular skills. The "skills for jobs" construct hypothesizes that increased skills will help address youth employment challenges and promote economic growth. Given low formal sector job growth over the past decade, the skills development discourse in sub-Saharan Africa often highlights post-basic education and skills development for employment and self-employment in the informal sector.

The "skills for jobs" argument is echoed in several recent reports and policies. The 2013 World Development Report and 2012 EFA Global Monitoring Report identify expanding and improving youth skills development as a critical priority for reducing youth unemployment and strengthening the economies of lower-middle income and lower income countries (World Bank 2012a; UNESCO 2012). In sub-Saharan Africa, several recent presidential campaigns (e.g. in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana) and conferences (e.g. ADEA 2008 and ADEA 2012) evidence the pressure on governments and the policy

community to expand access to and to improve the quality and relevance of post-basic education and training. In Kenya, pressure to expand and reform post-basic education and government interests in using skills development programs to help address issues of youth poverty, unemployment and inequality has led to several recent reform efforts intended to provide "skills for jobs."

Despite the complex and unclear relationship between education and informal employment, post-basic education in youth polytechnics and skills development programs have been identified as potential solutions to employability challenges facing Kenya's youth. This paper identifies some of the possibilities and limitations of these reforms and of the broader "skills for jobs" discourse. The paper presents critiques and perceptions influencing recent post-basic education reforms, outlines factors in the economy and the non-economic environment which mediate the relationship between education and employment in Kenya, identifies tensions involved in efforts designed to prepare youth for informal sector employment and discusses two recent reforms designed to provide "skills for jobs." While several authors (e.g. McGrath et al. 1994; Lauglo and McLean 2005) have written on the topic of education, skills development and the informal sector in Kenya, this paper identifies recent changes and reforms in the post-basic education and the labor market and offers preliminary discussion on non-economic factors which may also mediate skills utilization.

The next two sections lay out in more detail some possibilities and critiques of using a "skills for jobs" framework to inform education policy and offer some background on Kenya. The fourth section provides data on recent economic trends and the informal sector and discusses implications of directing youth toward informal labor. The fifth and sixth sections discuss youth perceptions of post-basic education and youth employment interests and provides background on two recent post-basic education reforms focusing on skills development and workforce preparation. Section seven provides a brief discussion on non-economic enabling environment factors likely to mediate skills utilization. The last section provides a brief summary discussion. Information used for this analysis include data from an extensive review of available literature, including recent labor market surveys and reviews of post-basic education and youth policy in Kenya; in-country interviews with staff involved in creating and implementing post-basic education policy and youth skills development programs; and secondary data collected from nine youth focus groups in Kenya[2].

Post-Basic Education and "Skills for Jobs"

Post-basic education occupies the space in between basic and tertiary education and can be assigned any (and several) of a large number of purposes. The 2007 World Development Report expects education to prepare youth for transition to further education

[2] This data from youth focus groups is discussed further in the penultimate section.

and training, the world of work and adult roles and responsibilities (World Bank 2006). A broader framework could draw on the Delors Report and suggest the following purposes of post-basic education: To share and create new knowledge and prepare youth for tertiary education; to support economic growth and improve individual employability and livelihood prospects; to develop and nurture identity (e.g. national/citizenship, cultural, religious), community and citizenship; to empower disadvantaged groups; to support other types of learning and human development including emotional and spiritual intelligence, learning habits, and proficiency in sports and the arts (UNESCO 1996; World Bank 2005)[3].

The intended purposes of education inform the design of learning environments and experiences, content presented and the skills developed. The landscape of post-basic education includes a diverse set of learning environments within and beyond formal schooling. Post-basic learning environments include secondary schools, vocational and technical schools, short-duration skills development courses, apprenticeships and other forms of casual labor. Curriculum and pedagogical practices among and within these different categories may vary greatly, as well as their credential value. The discourse on "skills for jobs" emphasizes the role of education in developing cognitive, non-cognitive and technical (or sector specific) skills –with an emphasis on the latter two skill categories. According to Adams (2011, p. 1), "cognitive skills are the basic mental abilities we use to think, study, and learn. …Non-cognitive skills in turn refer to personality traits and behaviors." Technical skills are skills geared toward a particular occupation[4].

A "skills for jobs" approach draws on some existing critiques of secondary education and offers a point of entry for reforming post-education curriculum and delivery. The secondary curriculum, with its focus on factual and academic knowledge and exam preparation, is perceived being out of date with the needs of the labor market. The structure of the curriculum and high rates of failure on secondary leaving exams in many countries systematically produce a large annual cadre of students classified as academic failures and poorly prepared to succeed in the world of work. To address these short-comings, a "skills for jobs" approach argues for revitalization or expansion of youth technical education, skills development, job-preparation and alternative education programs, increasing the priority placed on teaching non-cognitive skills and sector-specific technical skills and improving the relevance of education to the needs of the local employers (UNESCO 2012; World Bank 2012a).

However, a "skills for jobs" approach to education reform faces several critiques. King (2011) among others, recognizes that skills are not utilized in a vacuum, but rather require an enabling environment. The enabling (or disabling) environment may

[3] Education may also promote a hidden curriculum and /or reinforce social norms and structures which perpetuate differential treatment of groups and the reproduction of inequality.

[4] The skills lexicon has metastasized in the past two decades. A brief review of concepts used to frame skills include: behavioral, soft, employability, entrepreneurial, life, transferrable, 21st century and knowledge economy. Burnett and Jayaram (2012) provide a recent iteration of this discussion.

include factors in the local and national economy, differences between informal and formal sector labor markets, cultural practices, and inequality along social, economic or political dimensions. Skills utilization is mediated by several factors in the local enabling environment. According to King (2011, p. 2), factors influencing the utilization of skills in the labor market include, "the growth in the economy and availability of more and better employment opportunities; the advancement, accessibility and adoption of technological capabilities; the development of an equitable infrastructure for formal and informal enterprises; the presence of meritocratic access to both the formal and informal labour markets; and the availability of financial capital."

A "skills for jobs" lens does little to explain patterns of unemployment and poverty and is blind to the influence of historical inequalities and unequal power on access to employment and other social goods. Skills (or skills gaps) are but one of several variables explaining the persistence of unemployment, sluggish growth and economic and social inequality in Kenya. Finally, a "skills for jobs" construct narrows the construction of education to workforce development and thus severely limits the potential contribution of education to society.

Promoting skills development to prepare youth for informal sector employment also raises questions. Specifically, "What are we promoting when we promote education for informal labor?" With weak formal sector job growth in many countries, the informal sector has absorbed the majority of new workers. Free of regulations hindering formal sector growth, the informal sector has been characterized as innovative and entrepreneurial. However, informal and casual workers generally do not benefit from the rights and social protection available to formal sector workers (World Bank 2012b; Omolo 2010; MoYAS 2012). A "Skills for jobs" approach does not acknowledge that informal labor is unattractive to youth, nor does it work to change the conditions of work. The remainder of this paper considers these issues by reviewing recent changes in education and employment in Kenya. The next section provides some general background.

Background

Kenya has a young, ethnically diverse and predominately rural population. In the past two decades, the population in Kenya has nearly doubled, from 21.4 million people in 1989 to 39.1 million people in 2009. Seventy-five (75) percent of the population is rural. Kenya's youth (aged 15-34) account for 35% of the population. Sixty-one (61) percent of Kenya's youth live in rural areas (Sivi-Njonjo 2010).

A near majority of Kenyan households fall below the poverty line and the distribution of wealth is highly unequal. In 2005, 47% of the population in Kenya was living in poverty (KIHBS 2005/06, cited in World Bank 2008). Using KIHBS 2005/06 data, the World Bank (2008, p. 17) notes that "almost one out of every five Kenyans was in severe poverty, in that they could not meet the cost of a basic food bundle even if they spent their entire budget on food." Eighty-five percent of households living in poverty are

in rural areas and household consumption is highly unequal in both rural and urban areas.

Nearly 40% of youth (aged 15-34) in Kenya are in neither education nor employment. Unemployment among youth aged 15-24 stands at 25%, twice the national average. If unemployment and inactivity are combined, 38% of youth are neither in school nor working (Omolo 2010; MoYAS 2011). Unemployment not only contributes to material deprivation but also diminishes youth democratic participation and exacerbates vulnerability and exclusion (EDC 2009). Violence following the 2007 presidential election confirmed these fears. The Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence identified unemployed and poor youth, many of whom were recruited for pay to join political campaigns and criminal gangs, as both the primary perpetrators and targets of the post-election violence (MoYAS 2011; EDC 2009). Following the post-election violence, issues of youth poverty and unemployment were identified as critical issues and led to a series of recent post-basic education reforms promoting "skills for jobs."

While Kenya is rapidly urbanizing, rural areas still account for the majority of the youth population and the preponderance of households living in poverty. High levels of youth unemployment, poverty and inequality have persisted over time, affect multiple dimensions of youth participation in society, and leave youth vulnerable to incentives and manipulation associated with criminality and violence. In order to understand education reforms designed to provide "skills for jobs," it is useful to discuss Kenya's economic and labor environment.

Skills, Jobs and the Informal Sector

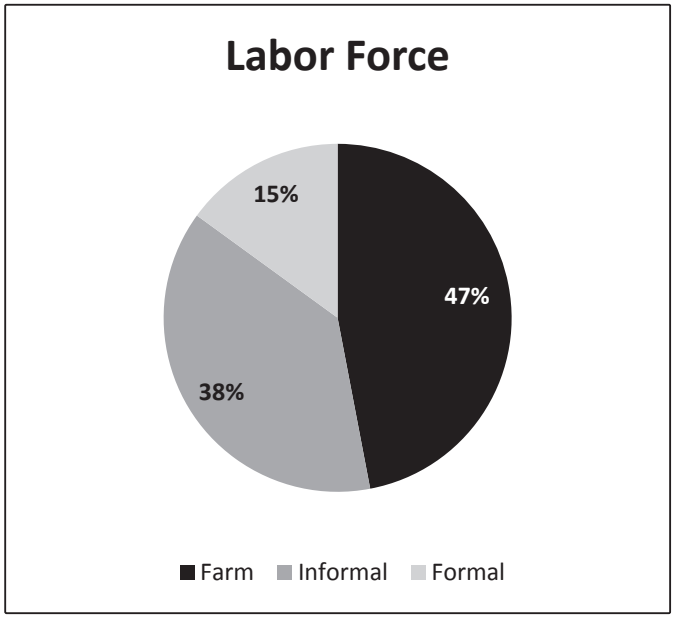
Every year over 500,000 youth leave basic and post-basic education and seek access to further education and training or employment (MoYAS 2012; Adams 2011). Constraints to accessing further education and training leave the majority of youth searching for work. This section discusses factors affecting unemployment and economic growth, provides data on labor market trends and the informal economic sector, and discusses the implications of directing youth toward informal sector labor. The informal sector is discussed for two reasons: (i) the informal and farm sectors account for 80% of the jobs in Kenya and have accounted for the majority of job-growth in the past decade, and (ii) the "skills for jobs" discourse often identifies non-agricultural self-employment, entrepreneurialism and small enterprise development as offering pathways out of poverty (see World Bank 2008; World Bank 2012b).

In Kenya high unemployment and lackluster economic growth are explained by several factors. Omolo (2010, p. 3) notes, "Kenya's unemployment is mainly attributed to the slow growth and weak labour absorptive capacity of the economy, mismatch in skills development and demand, imperfect information flow and inherent rigidities within the country's labour market." According to an Investment Climate Assessment, firms in Kenya identify tax and regulation, infrastructure services, corruption and cost of finance as greater constraints to growth than worker's skills (World Bank 2008). These factors,

among others, limit the absorption of job seekers into the labor market.

Kenya can be characterized as having a dual economy including a large and growing informal sector and a relatively small formal and modern jobs sector. The vast majority of Kenyan workers, including 90% of employed youth, work in the agricultural and non-farm informal sectors. In 2005, the labor force in Kenya had 10 million workers with the farm, informal non-farm and formal non-farm sectors accounting for 47%, 38% and 15% of the workforce, respectively (World Bank 2012b, using KIHBS 2005/2006 data) (see Figure 1). Distribution of employment among young workers (15-34) among the farm and informal non-farm sectors is 48% and 42% respectively (World Bank 2012b). The remaining 10% of youth are employed in the formal non-farm sector[5].

Figure 1: Share of Kenyan Labor Force by Occupation



Informal workers are defined as non-wage workers (own account workers, working employers, unpaid family workers), apprentices, and self-employed workers. World Bank (2012b) in a review of KIHBS 2005/06 data considered workers' status by looking at answers to four questions

(i) Participants' reported status (informal or formal),
(ii) Participants' employment status (wage employment, self-employed, unpaid family workers, apprentices, paid employees in the jua kali sector),
(iii) Employers registration status (whether the participant's employer was

[5] These percentages are collapsed from a range. Actual figures may vary by +/-2%.

registered with the Registrar of Companies) and

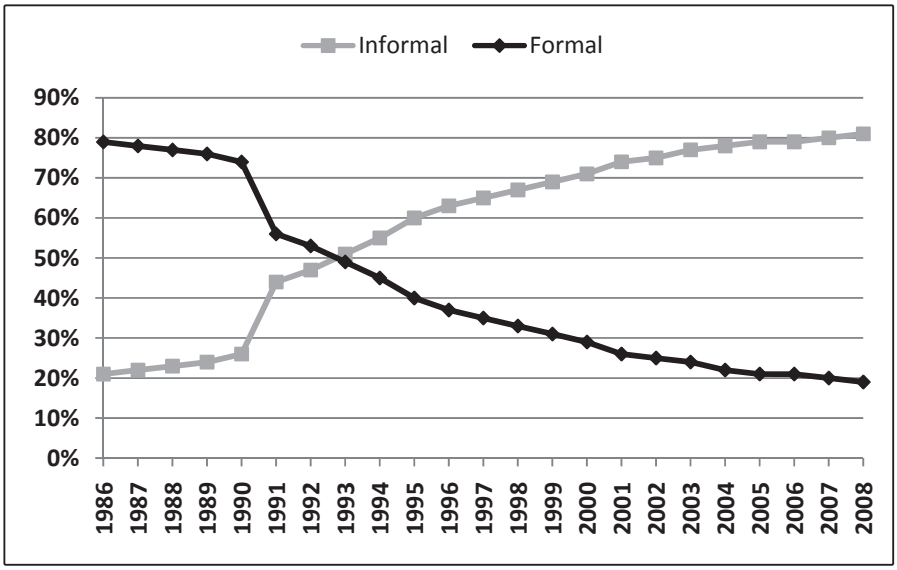
(iv) Firm size (does the firm have more than 10 employees).

Depending on the lens used, the informal sector accounted for a 61% - 66% share of total non-farm workers in 1999. The definition used in the World Bank analysis of 2005 KIBHS data hews closely to the second bullet, participant's employment status.

The informal sector has realized extraordinary growth in the past two decades and accounts for the majority of jobs (56%) in rural areas. Figure 2 identifies the share of jobs in the informal and formal sectors over two decades. In 1986, the formal sector accounted for 79% of jobs while the remaining 21% of workers were employed in the informal sector. In 2008, the formal sector accounted for 20% of jobs while the remaining 80% of workers were employed in the informal sector[6]. During the same period, the number of workers increased six-fold, from 1.5 million workers to 9.9 million workers (Sivi-Njonjo 2010). Omolo (2010, p.9) notes:

This period of rapid growth in informal employment in Kenya (1991 onwards) coincided with the period when the Kenyan labour market started suffering formal sector employment losses triggered by liberalization policies, renewed government strategy towards promotion of growth and development of the informal and jua kali[7] sector (1992), and broadening of the definition and more consistent capturing of informal sector data in the national statistics.

Figure 2: Share of Jobs by Informal and Formal Sector Classification (1986-2008)

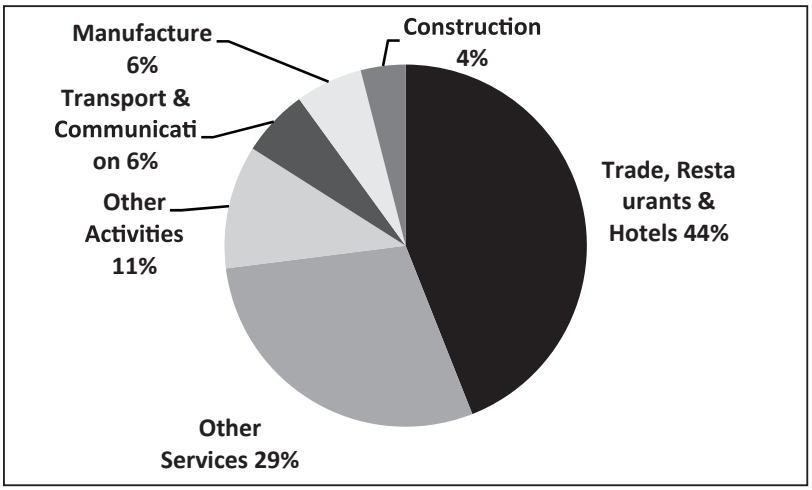


[6] Omolo includes both farm and informal non-farm workers in his figure for informal sector workers.

[7] *Jua kali* includes "artisanal makers in the informal sector who produce consumer and capital goods under minimal regulation and protection from the government, (King, 1996, cited in Daniels 2010).

Service jobs account for the majority of work in the informal sector. Figure 3 shows distribution of employment in the informal sector (World Bank 2012b). Trade, restaurants and hotels and other services account for 44% and 29% of non-farm informal sector jobs, respectively. Manufacturing and construction account for 10% of jobs. The structure of the informal sector points to numerous possibilities for skills development programs. Notably, several jobs in the formal sector (e.g. trade, transport, building, agriculture) correspond with the jobs in the informal sector which suggests that workers in the informal sector can transition to formal sector work.

Figure 3: Distribution of Employment in the Informal Sector(2005/2006)



An increase in the share of informal and casual labor over the past two decades has increased the uncertainty Kenyan workers face in securing predictable employment and livelihood. The number of "casual workers" in wage employment has increased from 18 per cent in 2000 to 30 per cent in 2010. Omolo (2010, p. 13) notes,

> Most employers in Kenya, including the public sector ones have resorted to the increasing use of casual, temporary, part-time, contract, sub-contracted and outsourced workforces to ostensibly reduce labour costs, achieve more flexibility in management and exert greater levels of control over labour.
>
> …Overall, the casual relationships between employers and workers have impaired labour relations, eroded worker protection and transferred additional responsibilities, such as social and trade union protection, job security, and wage negotiations to the worker. This leads to lack of motivation and increases shirking, which decreases effort. This could partly explain the persistently low levels of labour productivity,

low enterprise competitiveness and the slow economic growth rates in Kenya.

In a speech on youth employment in Kenya, the Minister for Youth Affairs and Sports notes that casual workers often do not have access to "freedom of association and collective bargaining, right to paid leave, and the right to social protection as provided under the National Social Security Fund and the National Hospital Insurance Fund" (MoYAS 2011, p. 7).

Given the some of the attributes of informal sector labor, it is worth asking, "What are we promoting when we promote education for informal labor?" To what extent is policy supporting skills development for informal sector work improving livelihoods or perpetuating economic and social inequality? If the majority of labor in the informal sector remains an insecure means of livelihood with low pay and poor benefits compared to formal sector employment, then we should not be surprised if youth continue to compete heavily for limited formal sector jobs.

In considering the above questions, it is useful to recognize that the distinction of work as "formal" and "informal" is a social construct, a matter of definition and government regulation. Rights and benefits (e.g. access to publicly-funded health insurance and social security) associated with formal sector jobs represent political and public policy decisions, not intrinsic features of formal sector work. Improving social protection could increase the attractiveness of informal sector employment to youth. However, absent improvements in workers' rights and social protection, skills development promoting informal sector employment may do little to increase the attractiveness of work in the informal sector.

Before concluding, it is important to note that "governments can draw on a range of tools to boost the retention of existing jobs and the creation of new jobs as the economy slows down," Ernst (2012, p. 13). Policies supporting job retention and job growth include increasing direct hiring by the government, providing fiscal stimulus to boost aggregate demand, providing subsidies to boost private sector hiring, expanding the monetary base for improved liquidity or making changes to trade policy to strengthen job retention. Put another way, "skills development" is but one of several strategies to meet job retention and creation objectives.

This section identifies lack of skills development as one of several factors contributing to unemployment and sluggish economic growth. It also notes trends and characteristics of the labor market. While the informal sector has absorbed the majority of new workers over the past two decades, the conditions of informal sector work are likely to be unattractive to most job seekers. The unattractiveness of informal sector work to youth is echoed reinforced in the following section. Subsequent discussion will look at post-basic education and youth to discuss criticisms of the current education system, youth employment interests and recent reforms in two skills development programs.

Youth Perceptions of Skills Development and Informal Labor

There is a long history, internationally and in Kenya, of resistance to supporting youth technical and vocational education (McGrath et al. 1994; Lauglo and McLean 2005). Secondary schools in Kenya are identified as privileging knowledge associated with formal sector work over that associated with work in the informal sector. This sentiment is echoed by data identifying youth employment interests. In both cases, there is a strong bias against agricultural work and jua kali employment. However, with secondary schools increasingly unable to facilitate student access to further study and wage employment, there is some evidence of the increased value youth are placing on skills development and technical education.

The elite model of secondary education, developed during the colonial era, provided secondary access to a small number of pupils. In this system, success in secondary education often led to tertiary access and the guarantee of wage employment. Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola (2011) note, in the dominant model of education, success is defined by securing a good (e.g. formal sector) job and is mediated through an "exam-driven" culture. Increased participation in secondary education combined with limited access to tertiary education and low formal sector job growth have severely compromised the elite model: success in post-basic education is increasingly unable to facilitate student access to further study and wage employment. Instead, the majority of secondary leavers transition directly into the world of informal, casual or part-time labor. EDC (2009, p. 41) notes, "the education system raises expectations, leading school leavers to disdain agricultural work, without providing the knowledge, skills, and disposition to seek livelihood through enterprise and self-employment."

A 2003 survey completed by the Institute for Economic Affairs, a think tank based in Nairobi finds that youth skills development and employment interests do not align well with existing labor possibilities (see Figures 1 and 3). Forty-one (41) percent of youth preferred to work in the services, 25% in enterprise, 14% in social service, 7% in industry and 6% in public service. While the near majority of the labor force in Kenya is employed in the agricultural sector, only 5% of the youth in the 2003 survey, indicated an interest in working in agriculture. One stakeholder working on the reform of Youth Polytechnics notes that, "the majority of youth see agricultural work as punishment."

There is some, albeit limited data, that perceptions of youth polytechnics many be changing and of the possibilities of technical training to lead to employment – especially in rural areas. Ohba (2011) finds such evidence in a study of the impact of secondary school fee abolition in rural areas. The majority of families participating in the study were employed in subsistence agriculture and lived in areas with few formal employment opportunities. Ohba finds many primary leavers identifying technical and vocational training as a more promising route to securing a livelihood than secondary. Over 50% of the participants in the Ohba study opted to attend youth polytechnics and made the decision after receiving secondary school admission letters. One study participant notes, "If

you go to polytechnic, you can get a job immediately after you complete the course. But it is difficult for secondary leavers: I've seen such people around here. They either go to a polytechnic course or help at home," (Ohba 2011, p. 407).

In tracing a random sample of 110 youth polytechnic graduates, Kinyanjui notes, "PGs [polytechnic graduates] have a niche in the rural labour market …with regard to the spatial dimension of the labour markets, the graduates are employed or self-employed in small towns within the study area or in villages," (Kinyanjui 2007, p. 55). Recent enrollment growth in public and privately run polytechnic schools and technical training institutes also point to the value households place on technical education.

As discussed here, youth prefer academic secondary education and formal sector employment. A "skills for jobs" lens identifies the elite secondary model as out of step enrollment pressures and the changing economy and argues for increased focus on skills development relevant to the world of work. While limited, some studies point to a niche role for youth polytechnics related to their historical mission of rural development. However, changing youth perceptions about skills development related to informal and agricultural employment appear to be a steep hurdle to increasing interest in youth polytechnic education.

Recent Skills Development Reforms in Post-Basic Education

Recent reforms in secondary education and youth polytechnic institutions and the development of short-course skills training programs reflect pressure to expand post-basic education and provide "skills for jobs." In addition to labor market factors, MoYAS (2012) and Omolo (2010) identify the following as barriers to youths' successful entry into the labor market in Kenya: youth skill deficiencies (sector specific skills and soft skills), mismatch between youth employment expectations and employment opportunities, weak links between education and employment, a weak entrepreneurship culture and unequal opportunities (MoYAS 2012; Omolo 2010). Recent reforms in youth polytechnic and short course programs prioritize youth development of sector-specific technical skills and are designed to support participant transition to the world of work. Short course programs discussed in this paper also emphasize pupil development of non-cognitive skills and target enrolment of marginalized and disadvantaged youth.

In the last five years, the Government of Kenya has abolished secondary schools fees and supported a large scale revitalization and reform of youth polytechnics. During this period, secondary school enrollment has doubled to reach 1.4 million pupils while youth polytechnic enrollment has increased three-fold to reach 75,000 youth. The past five years has also seen implementation of several short-course skills development programs. The short-course programs discussed here seek to provide unemployed and otherwise disadvantaged youth with short-duration skills training and internships to support their transition to employment. Skills development reforms emerged, in part, as a response to high unemployment and the youth violence following the 2007 presidential election.

Youth polytechnics are post-basic vocational and skills development institutions which operate under the authority of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MoYAS). Youth polytechnics emerged from the village polytechnic system which was created following Kenya's independence with a mission to support rural development. The vast majority of the 800 youth polytechnics operate in rural areas. Described as moribund in 2005, youth polytechnics have undergone a curriculum revision, massive expansion of infrastructure, and provided extensive professional development support to youth polytechnic instructors[8]. The new curriculum follows a two-year course: one year of study and training, one semester of attachment (an internship with a private employer) and one semester of exam preparation[9]. Exams in the new curriculum emphasize trainee demonstration of technical skills and allow for graduate transition to tertiary education or the world of work.

MoYAS has realized progress in a number of areas, but has also identified factors constraining the capacity of youth polytechnics to meet skills development objectives. In 2007, as a result of MoYAS negotiation with the Ministry of Finance, youth polytechnic students gained access to a Youth Polytechnic Tuition subsidy of 15,000 Kenyan Shillings per trainee per year. MoYAS has made improving youth perceptions around agriculture and agri-business as a high priority: A recent MoYAS partnership with Amiran, a greenhouse company, has seen increasing the number of youth interested in agriculture as a business and enterprise opportunity[10]. As for constraints, a survey completed by MoYAS in 2012 identifies generally low qualifications of youth polytechnic instructors and limited amount of modern equipment as critical barriers to meeting skills development objectives. MoYAS (2012) also finds that most youth polytechnic activities are delinked from the community and the private sector and that industrial attachments are haphazard and too short. MoYAS plans to implement tracer studies to track graduates' entry into the world of work and/or further education and training in the near future.

Short-courses offer a short-period (e.g. a few months) of training on non-cognitive and sector-specific skills with an internship under a professional supervisor or master crafts person. Programs emphasize partnerships with businesses in the formal and informal sectors and, in the two programs reviewed, suggest the possibility of targeting enrollment of marginalized populations. The Kenya Youth Empowerment Project (KYEP),

[8] The recent youth polytechnic reform is based on the National Technical Industrial and Vocational Education and Training (TIVET) policy framework of Sessional Paper No.1 of 2005 (MoYAS 2011).

[9] The youth polytechnic curriculum is comprised of twelve subjects: Agro-Business Development; Building Technology; Carpentry and Joinery; Electrical and Electronics Technology; Fashion Design and Garment Making Technology; Food Processing Technology; Hair Dressing and Beauty Therapy; Information Communication Technology; Leatherwork Technology; Metal Processing Technology; Motor Vehicle Technology and Refrigeration and Air Conditioning) and offers a general education stream (MoYAS 2011).

[10] Stakeholders at MoYAS and KEPSA indicated that as the majority of farmers in Kenya are more than 50 years old, youth skills programs should include support for developing the next generation of farmers and agri-business entrepreneurs.

implemented by the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) and funded by the World Bank, and the CAP-Youth Empowerment Institute (CAP-YEI), implemented by the CAP Workforce Development Institute and funded by the MasterCard Foundation, are two examples of short course skills development programs[11].

Both KYEP and CAP-YEI operate small scale skills-development programs in urban and peri-urban areas and target enrollment of marginalized youth[12]. Programs operate on a six-month schedule in which three months of training are followed by a three month internship. KYEP participants receive two weeks of life skills training, five weeks of core business training and a variable amount of sector specific training. Life skills training seeks to develop participant work-relevant attitudes, self-confidence, self-awareness and improve personal management and goal setting skills. Participants in the micro and small enterprise development course receive an additional three weeks of entrepreneurship training. CAP-YEI training includes content on job market skills, life skills, savings education and small business development support followed by a three-month internship. Technical training areas include micro and small enterprise development; hospitality, retail, automobile, agriculture and logistics. Based on the availability of internships, CAP-YEI recently expanded training to include courses on industrial garment manufacturing and electronics[13]. Sixty percent of KYEP participants enroll in the course on micro and small enterprise development. For the internship, participants are matched with a mentor who is often a master craftsman and a member of a jua kali association. In KYEP, master craftsmen mentors receive training on mentoring, pedagogy and business skills[14]. For internships, KYEP provides stipends of 6,000 shillings a month for interns and 3,000 shillings per month for employers. To support participant transition to employment, CAP-YEI offers pre- and post-job placement counseling and support.

KEPSA staff identified as valuable program elements youth's development of life skills, work ethic (by being at the work site) and the internship (bridging the gap between the youth and the employer). Initial observations of the CAP-YEI program indicate

[11] The Kenya Private Sector Alliance is a member organization representing the private sector at the national level and is responsible for implementing KYEP. World Bank (2012b) and Adam (2012) offer examples of other skills development programs operating in Kenya.

[12] To identify participants, KEPSA used the following criteria: Applicants must be (i) 15-29 years old, (ii) have been out of school for one year, (iii) be considered "at-risk," (iv) have a minimum of eight years of formal education and (v) be an unemployed Kenyan citizen. CAP-YEI targets 17 to 25 year old marginalized urban and suburban youth from slums. This group includes dropouts, young women, underemployed youth, internally displaced youth and migrants with a combined skill deficit profile (work skill deficits and self-management skills).

[13] KEPSA provides training in the following sectors: energy, finance, ICT, manufacturing, micro and small enterprise development and tourism. CAP-YEI sector training areas include Hospitality, Retail, Automobile, Entrepreneurship Development, Agriculture & Floriculture, and Logistics. MoYAS (2012) finds that additional courses in which youth would be interested include Kienyeji (indigenous) chicken rearing, fish farming, greenhouse farming, bee keeping, garbage collection and recycling.

[14] World Bank (2012b) suggests that improving the teaching and mentoring skills of master craftsmen mentors is an important part of supporting skills development in the informal sector.

that the program helps marginalized youth become less shy and develop more courage and drive in pursuing employment. Both KEPSA and CAP-YEI are in the process of evaluating participants development of skills and transition to employment or further education and training.

Recent skills development reforms reflect a number of choices and possibilities for post-basic education. Additional discussion on skills development and equity follows.

Short-course programs focus on helping participants develop non-cognitive and sector-specific technical skills, with an emphasis on the former. Interviews with MoYAS, KEPSA and CAP-YEI all indicated the importance of youth acquisition of life skills and business/employability skills. Some of the skills identified include work habits and attitudes, self-confidence, self-awareness and improve personal management and goal setting skills. One stakeholder from KEPSA noted that in addition to strengthening youth skillsets for employability, there is a need to change youth mindsets so youth learn "to appreciate the opportunities around them." The extent to which development of non-cognitive skills are integrated into youth polytechnic curriculum is unclear. A skills gap analysis conducted by MoYAS in 2012 indicated that youth polytechnic graduates do not have sufficient training in "soft" skills, including business management, communication, customer care and social skills.

Youth polytechnic and short-course programs also focus on pupil development of sector-specific skills or enterprise development. The extent to which course offerings are supply- or demand-driven and relevant to the local economy is unclear, however, it is likely that youth polytechnics have less flexibility in changing and updating courses, as curriculum must past through several stages of quality assurance. Survey data from youth polytechnic trainees, graduates and employers, identify important skills gaps as the capacity of YP graduates to use modern machines, equipment and tools, trade knowledge and practical exposure to the world of work (MoYAS 2012)[15]. Similar data for short course programs was not accessed.

Recent expansion and reform of post-basic schooling represents a significant policy step and financial commitment by the government of Kenya. However, as 50% of secondary-school aged youth do not have access to post-basic education, an equity lens and a "skills for jobs" lens suggest further expanding access to skills development. For formal education programs, the financial and opportunity costs of attendance may continue to exclude youth form the poorest households. Kinyanjui (2007) finds that youth from poor households were less likely than their peers from moderate-SES households to enroll in youth polytechnics and secure employment following graduation. In terms

[15] While the majority of youth express negative perceptions of agriculture, MoYAS (2012) finds that additional courses in which youth would be interested include Kienyeji (indigenous) chicken rearing, fish farming, greenhouse farming, bee keeping, garbage collection and recycling. This review does not provide extensive discussion on skills. What types of skills should every youth polytechnic trainee develop? To what extent should trainee interest and local context influence YP and short course development of cognitive, non-cognitive and technical skills?

of opportunity cost, the two-year duration of youth polytechnic courses is seen by many youth, researchers and educators as longer than required for students to develop desired competencies (MoYAS 2012; Kinyanjui 2007). Short-course programs suggest one possibility to reduce the opportunity cost of skills development training.

Skills development also takes places outside of formal education. King (2011) and Adams (2011) identify opportunities for skills development in the context of increasing use of casual labor and the World Bank (2012b) estimates that the jua kali sector may host as many as 180,000 youth apprentices. King (2011, p.7) argues "it will be important to get behind the rhetoric of skills for poverty reduction and growth …to recognize how particular cultures and traditions of work (e.g. casual labor) are already deeply affecting the poorest and most vulnerable young people."

As discussed here, these programs point to the influence and possibilities of a "skills for jobs" focus in education. Earlier sections identified factors contributing to unemployment and low growth in Kenya, characteristics of the informal sector and informal sector employment, youth education and employment interests and critiques of the secondary education. However non-economic factors may also mediate the utilization of skills in the labor market.

Other Enabling Environment Factors

The economic, labor and educational context should be considered when analyzing the possibilities and limitations of a "skills for jobs" approach to education reform. However, it is also likely that many non-economic factors mediate the relationship between skills and employment. Discussion in this section draws on data from focus groups where Kenyan youth identified factors which would shape the future of Kenya. While the data do not explicitly state that identified factors mediate skills utilization, they point to limitations in a "skills for jobs" framework and suggest a need to have a broader expectation of post-basic education.

Following the 2007 post-election violence, the Institute for Economic Affairs organized a "youth futuring" exercise where youth focus groups answered the question, "How will youth shape the future of Kenya?" The Kenya Youth Scenarios (KEYS) exercise collected data from youth focus groups in each of Kenya's nine provinces. Youth were presented with data in fourteen areas (e.g. culture, governance, agriculture, education, the economy) and asked to identify key drivers of the future and develop scenarios for what Kenya might look like in 2030 (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola 2011).

Factors youth identified as shaping the future of Kenya include high levels of poverty and inequality, ineffective governance structures and high levels of corruption at the local and national levels, ethnic discrimination and conflict and ongoing tension over land tenure and land reform (MoYAS 2011; Sivi-Njonjo & Mwangola 2011; MoYAS 2012; World Bank 2008). Many of the issues raised point to historical and structural inequalities and unequal political power. While the majority of focus groups identified

education as important to future development, disillusion with education was also evident. Education was identified as being without values and no longer translating into a better life.

Concern over corruption, political patronage and equal participation in the political system and government institutions was echoed in all KEYS focus groups. EDC (2009, p. 4) corroborates these concerns noting, "youth feel acutely disempowered by existing governance councils and procedures, where they often have only a token representation, and where policies are not implemented as stated due to a high level of corruption." Corruption and patronage in the political system, widely seen as divided along ethnic lines, is seen as a critical hindrance to country human and economic development (World Bank 2008). The investment climate assessment identified these same issues, corruption and regulation, as contributing to unemployment and lackluster economic growth.

Youth focus participants in four provinces (i.e. Nyanza, Rift Valley, Coast and Northeastern) identified land reform and agricultural matters as critical issues facing economic growth, poverty reduction and participation. The N'dungu Commission Report, based on a commission of inquiry on "Illegal and Irregular Allocations of Public Lands" notes, "Land retains a focal point in Kenya's history. It was the basis upon which the struggle for independence was waged. It has traditionally dictated the pulse of our nationhood. It continues to command a pivotal position in the country's social, economic, political and legal relations" (N'Dungu Commission, quoted. in World Bank 2008, p. 107). Notably, land inequality in most parts of Kenya has increased over the past decade (World Bank 2008). Two scenarios developed by the Rift Valley KEYS focus group identify how factors of ethnicity, governance and land reform could shape the future of the Rift Valley province.

> Bandaptai is a scenario where communal land injustices are addressed through comprehensive land reforms, ending communal grievances. Land is eventually privately owned on the basis of willing buyer, willing seller. Adoption of modern technological farming methods and agro-processing, lead to high productivity, high profit margins and improved quality of life. There is also stability and security due to resolved historical land issues.

> Bogoria is a story of very slow growth as a result of ethnic dominance in the private ownership of land. Other communities not considered indigenous are excluded causing inter and intra ethnic divisions that results to mass exodus and increased numbers of internally displaced persons. Political zoning escalates increasing the number of vigilante groups that are formed to protect communal interests. Government institutions protect certain interests, alienating others hence slowed productivity leading to a food crisis in the country (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola

2011, p. 41)[16].

The above scenarios identify the complex social milieu in which a "skills for jobs" paradigm would operate. Historical patterns of land ownership, class and ethnically based grievances, and untrustworthy governance structures and political process all impact the extent to which modern farming methods can be introduced and succeed. Youth polytechnic focus on agribusiness development identifies a critical need; however, the KEYS critique leads one to wonder whether improving youth skills is more important than land reform. What good are skills (for jobs) if the majority of the population does not have access to sufficient land, capital and credit? What is the likelihood that expansion of skills development programs in agribusiness will result in the creation of more and better jobs than comprehensive land reform?

Identity, by ethnic affiliation and gender, further shapes the enabling environment described by youth[17].Youth in focus groups from Northeastern and Coast Provinces indicated that they feel marginalized by the central government. Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola (2011, p. 28), paraphrase sentiments of the Northeastern focus group thusly, "we experience constant harassment and discrimination especially from the Kenyan police who often label us as foreigners mainly because they cannot differentiate between Kenyan Somalis and Somalis from Somalia." Perceptions offered by a focus group from Central province identify ethnic tension and feelings of mistrust from Kikuyu youth. "We feel like we have to pay the price for Kikuyu [political] dominance in the country. In fact, we feel that the problem of illicit brew [alcoholic beverages] in central province is a deliberate attempt to reduce Kikuyu dominance," (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola 2011, p. 32).

Gender constructs and expectations influence the education and labor possibilities and the political participation of women (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola 2011). Women have lower access to secondary and tertiary education and formal sector employment than men. The gendered nature of the youth polytechnic course enrollment and of the labor market is evidenced in other studies (World Bank 2008). Though disaggregated data are difficult to come by, several sources suggest that the majority of polytechnic trainees are male. The majority of female youth polytechnic trainees are enrolled in fashion and design, garment making, catering and ICT while male trainees dominate engineering related trades such as motor vehicle and electrical engineering and welding trades (MoYAS 2012). In terms of political participation, women in the Western Province focus group noted:

> As young women of this area, we feel particularly disadvantaged by certain cultural practices that hinder us from political participation. Traditionally, we do not have a

[16] Bandap is a Kalenjin word meaning journey and Tai means ahead. The phrase is used here to mean 'a journey to prosperity'. Bogoria Is a name of a place in Kenya with hot water springs due to volcanic geysers.

[17] Kenya's population by ethnic group is Kikuyu 22%, Luhya 14%, Luo 13%, Kalenjin 12%, Kamba 11%, Kisii 6%, Meru 6%.

> youth identity because when we are unmarried, the community views us as children who cannot 'address' elders and ask for votes. When we get married, young women 'belong' to their husbands. We are no longer youth but adults. We therefore cannot vie for political seats on a youth ticket even when we are within that age bracket (Sivi-Njonjo and Mwangola 2011, p. 36).

Ethnic and gender identity are freighted with historical and cultural meaning, identified with particular labor and political affiliations and provide differential access to political, cultural, educational and economic relationships and networks. These differences in social and cultural capital suggest the possibility of ethnic and gender identity as factors mediating the relationship between skills and employment.

The limitations of a "skills for jobs" approach, as indicated by the above issues, also point to a broader mission for post-basic education. Though writing about schooling in Ghana, Sefa Dei (2006) notes that many teachers view students as "disembodied youth," and avoid discussion of ethnicity, language and social class at school. Sefa Dei argues that teachers avoid these issues in order to avoid the conflict and because modern education is seen by teachers as a technical enterprise–focused on subject content such as mathematics or English. Education could, instead, be identified as intimately connected to youths' social and cultural lives, their transition to adult roles and responsibilities and their experiences of living and working in a diverse and socially constructed community and nation.

Discussion

Pressure to expand and reform post-basic education returns us to a fundamental question: What is the purpose of education? From this starting point, we can ask other questions: What knowledge and skills should education disseminate and develop? Who does (or should) make and influence education policy? What are the equity dimensions of different education policies and models? In the majority of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, policy-makers face pressure to expand access to post-basic education to accommodate increased demand for education and pressure to reform post-basic education based on the expectation that skills development will lead to more jobs, less poverty and inequality and strengthened economic growth.

This paper identifies some of the limitations and possibilities of the "skills for jobs" discourse and analyses this discourse with reference to the economy, the broader enabling environment and two recent reforms designed to provide "skills for jobs" in Kenya.

The discussion on the economy and informal labor identifies several factors other than skills, which contribute to high unemployment and sluggish economic growth. Recognizing slow job growth in the wage sector, the "skills for jobs" discourse highlights the possibility of non-agricultural self-employment in contributing to growth and providing a pathway out of poverty. However, while the informal sector has grown to

account for 80% of the available jobs in Kenya, the conditions of informal sector work are likely to be unattractive to most job seekers. Banerjee and Duflo (2011, p. 233-234) put the matter another way, noting:

> There are more than a billion people who run their own farm or business, but most of them do this because they have no other options. … we are kidding ourselves if we think that they [small enterprises] can pave the way for a mass exit from poverty.

If informal sector labor remains an insecure means of livelihood with low pay and poor benefits compared to formal sector employment, we should not be surprised if youth continue to compete heavily for limited formal sector jobs.

This paper identifies criticisms of the current education system, youth educational and employment interests and recent reforms in two skills development programs. Historically, success on the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education was seen at the gateway to further education and wage employment. However given the limited number of secondary leavers accessing tertiary education and wage employment, "skills for jobs" critics argue for increasing the relevance of secondary and post-basic education to workforce needs. In the push toward alternative models and different types of skills, it is worth asking why not implement these reforms in secondary schools (which account for over 90% post-basic enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa and in Kenya)?

Reformed youth polytechnics and new short course programs seek to prepare participants for entry into the workforce and prioritize development of sector-specific and non-cognitive skills. These trends merit some mention of cognitive and non-cognitive skills. First, to what extent should development of cognitive skills be de-emphasized? What is the rationale for de-emphasizing such skills? Development of higher order thinking skills (as defined in Bloom's revised taxonomy) is not part of on in the "skills for jobs" discourse. Why? The emphasis the "skills for jobs" discourse places on non-cognitive skills is likely to offer several important evaluative opportunities.

Given interest in stemming urbanization and the fact that the majority of youth and households living in poverty are based in rural areas, youth polytechnics could play potentially important role in leading rural development in Kenya. A participatory poverty assessment identified the following main factors contributing to rural poverty: limited employment opportunities, health factors, demographic realities, and land pressures and unanticipated shocks such as drought, theft and loss of property. In the same study, factors rural households identified as helping them escape poverty include diversification of off farm income sources (e.g. developing a small business), diversification of farm incomes (diversification of crops or livestock); improvement in farming practice (e.g. commercializing farm production); and social support (World Bank 2008).These issues suggest a number of possibilities for education within and beyond a "skills for jobs" paradigm. Youth polytechnics have historically focused on rural development and show potential to again play this role.

The short-term and demand-driven nature of short courses comes with benefits and drawbacks. The four-year and two-year full-time curricula offered by secondary and youth polytechnic schools respectively present a high opportunity cost to youth from low-SES households. Short-term and flexible short courses reduce this cost considerably. Given the large number of out-of-school youth in Kenya, increasing access to post-basic education through short-courses may be recognized as worthwhile if such access improves youth transition to employment. However, recognizing that such programs may also be designed with the intent of reaching youth from low-SES households or disadvantaged groups, it may be worth asking some critical questions: Are marginalized youth expected to learn a different set of skills or be exposed to different types of knowledge compared to youth enrolled in secondary schools?

High levels of poverty and inequality, ineffective governance structures and high levels of corruption at the local and national levels, ethnic discrimination and conflict and ongoing tension over land tenure and land reform were identified by KEYS focus groups as factors likely to shape the future of Kenya. Such challenges suggest a need for an educational vision broader than that expressed in the "skills for jobs" discourse and requiring expression in all forms of post-basic education. However, education which seeks to overcome these challenges and inequalities is, in many ways, at odds with education privileging the status quo: the success of some pupils and workers in the existing social, educational and employment context. This issue returns us to an important criticism of the "skills for jobs" education agenda: its political neutrality suggests that unequal power is not a hindrance to reducing youth unemployment, poverty and inequality.

References

Adams, A. (2011). The Role of Skills Development in Overcoming Social Disadvantage. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2012.

Adam, S. (2012). Skills Development for Secure Livelihoods. Paper presented on behalf of GIZ. Paris: Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA).

Banerjee, A. V. & Duflo, E. (2011). *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*. New York: Public Affairs.

Burnett N. & Jayaram, S. (2012). Skills for Employability in Africa and Asia. Washington, D.C.: Results for Development Institute.

Daniels, S. (2010). *Making Do: Innovation in Kenya's Informal Economy*. San Francisco: Creative Commons.

Education Development Center. (2009). *Cross-Sectoral Assessment for At-Risk Youth in Kenya*. Washington, D.C.: EDC.

Ernst, U. (2012). "The Looming Jobs Challenge." In, *The Jobs Challenge: Fresh perspectives on the global employment crisis*. Bethesda, MD: Development Alternatives International.

King, K. (2011). Eight Proposals for a Strengthened Focus on Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in the Education for All (EFA) Agenda. Background paper

prepared for the EFA Global Monitoring report 2012.

Kinyanjui, M. N. (2007). After Graduation What Next? A Tracer and Policy Study of Youth Polytechnic Graduates from Kwale, Kitui, Makueni and Taita Taveta. Occasional Paper No. 71. Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

Lauglo, J. & McLean, R. (2005). *Vocationalization of Secondary Education Revisited*. Netherlands: Springer.

Lewin, K. M. (2008). *Strategies for Sustainable Financing of Secondary Schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Africa Human Development Series. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

McGrath, S. & King, K. with Leach, F. & Carr-Hill, R. (1994). Education and training for the informal sector.Education Research Paper No. 11. London: Department for International Development.

Kenya Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. (2010). *Fifth Anniversary Report*. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.

Kenya Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports.(2011). Conference Report on "Youth Employment in Kenya: Prospects and Policies." Nairobi: Government of Kenya.

Kenya Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. (2012). *Skills Gap Analysis for Graduates of Youth Polytechnics, Vocational Training Centres & Out-Of-School Youth*. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.

Ohba, A. (2011). "The Abolition of Secondary School Fees in Kenya: Responses by the Poor." *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31 (2011), p. 402-408.

Omolo, J. (2010). 'Youth Unemployment in Kenya'. In Kitonga A. & Njonjo, K.S. (Eds.) *Youth Research Compendium. Youth: Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster?* Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Sefa Dei, G. (2004). "Dealing with Difference: Ethnicity and Gender in the Context of Schooling in Ghana. "*International Journal of Educational Development*, (24), p. 343–359.

Sefa Dei, G., Asgharzadeh, A., Bahador, S. & Shahjahan, R. (2006). *Schooling and Difference in Africa: Democratic Challenges is a Contemporary context*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sivi-Njonjo, K. (2010). *Youth Fact Book. Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster?* Nairobi: IEA and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Sivi-Njonjo, K. & Mwangola, M. (2011). *Kenya Youth Scenarios*. Nairobi: Institute for Economic Affairs.

UNESCO. (1996). *Learning: The Treasure Within*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2012). *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2012. Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS). (2006). *Teachers and Educational Quality: Monitoring Global Needs for 2015*. Montreal, Canada: UNESCO Institute of Statistics.

UNESCO Institute of Statistics. (2011). *Financing Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Meeting the Challenges of Expansion, Equity and Quality*. UNESCO Institute of Statistics.

World Bank. (2005). *Expanding Opportunities and Building Competencies for Young People: A New Agenda for Secondary Education*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. (2006). World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. (2008). *Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment. Volume I*: Synthesis Report. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit. Africa Region.

World Economic Forum. (2011). Global Competitiveness Report 2011/12. World Economic Forum.

World Bank. (2012a). *World Development Report 2013: Jobs*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

World Bank. (2012b). *Improving Skills Development in the Informal Sector: Strategies for Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Human Development Department, Social Protection Unit.

Interviews

Dr. Dinah Mwinzi, Director, Youth Training, MoYAS

Maria Cherono, Deputy Director, Youth Training, MoYAS

Ruth Karimi Charo, Principal Social Development Specialist, African Development Bank

Ehud Gachugu, Director, Kenya Youth Empowerment Project, Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA)

Kwame Owino, CEO, Institute for Economic Affairs

Chrispine Odour, Assistant Programme Officer, Futures Program, Institute for Economic Affairs

David Owiro. Programme Officer. Regulation and Competition Policy, Institute for Economic Affairs

CAP- Youth Empowerment Institute

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.93 ～ 105

Traditional Apprenticeship in Ghana and Senegal: Skills Development for Youth for the Informal Sector

Krystyna Sonnenberg
Global Partnership for Education

Abstract

The demographic youth bulge, representing large cohorts of youth, coupled with lack of pathways to education and employment and therefore social mobility, have become issues of great concern. As a result, youth employment and technical and vocational skills development have grown in prominence on international and national agendas in recent years. However, skills development strategies often overlook the informal sector despite the fact that in developing countries, income-generating activities in the informal sector often far exceed those of the formal sector. UNESCO's 2012 *EFA Global Monitoring Report* on youth skills development states that traditional apprenticeships are an important way of acquiring transferable and job-specific skills, particularly for the informal sector. An extensive review of the literature of Ghana and Senegal reveals that these two countries have long histories of traditional apprenticeship and that these forms of skills training reach more youth than formal technical and vocational training. This paper examines the approaches these two countries' governments have taken to increase access to and quality of non-formal skills training opportunities. Despite a lack of data on the long-term outcomes of these initiatives, programs and reforms, several important implications arise from these countries' experiences. These implications are discussed as well as areas for future research.

Introduction

In Ghana, a young woman in the capital city sells trinkets in the market for small sums of money. Though she desires to become an artisan so she can create her own quality products for sale and perhaps start her own business, there are no vocational programs that have a flexible schedule that would allow her to continue to work. Hundreds of miles away in Senegal, a young man in the countryside farms on a small plot of land with outdated tools. He dreams of moving to the nearby town and becoming a mechanic. However, he lacks the money to leave his family and join an apprenticeship program, which would require long hours of work and training and little pay. In developing countries around the world, millions of uneducated and unemployed young people inundate slums on the peripheries of cities looking for work and a better life than in the countryside. Meanwhile, young people in rural areas are idle due to lack of adequate pathways to further education, training or employment opportunities.

The issues of youth employment and technical and vocational skills development[1] have been growing in prominence on international and national agendas in recent years. The emergence of demographic youth bulges with large cohorts of youth in many countries, coupled with a lack of pathways to education and employment and therefore social mobility, have become issues of great concern. The repercussions of mass social dissatisfaction of youth with the status quo have become quite visible in recent years with the events of the Arab Spring. Young people have played a dominant role in sparking mass protests against their governments. Indeed, the events of North Africa spilled over into sub-Saharan Africa. In Senegal, a youth movement called *Y'en a Marre* or "Enough Is Enough" formed to protest the government's inability to support its youth population. Consequently, governments are seeking methods to link post-primary education to the demands of the labor market and re-examining their policies and approaches to youth education and skills development, in order to better prepare their young populations for the workforce.

Nevertheless, skills development strategies often overlook the informal sector despite the fact that in developing countries, income-generating activities in the informal sector often far exceed those of the formal sector. The *EFA Global Monitoring Report* (UNESCO 2012) on youth skills development states that traditional apprenticeships are an important way of acquiring transferable and job-specific skills. An extensive review of the literature of Ghana and Senegal reveals that these two countries have long histories of traditional apprenticeship and that this form of skills training reaches more youth than formal technical and vocational training. This paper examines the approaches that these governments have taken to increase access to and quality of non-formal apprenticeship.

Youth, the Informal Sector and Traditional Apprenticeship

There are varying parameters for considering a definition of who may be considered a "youth." According to the commonly used United Nations definition, youth are 15-24 year olds. In the African Youth Charter (African Union Commission 2006) youth is defined as a person between the ages of 15 to 35. Still others assert that youth is less an age range than a life phase marking movement from childhood to adulthood (Sommers 2007). Accordingly, many experts are quick to point out the need to include those youth above or below the specified age-range who may be engaged in the transition from childhood to adulthood, as defined by a specific cultural context (Ismail et al. 2009). For the purposes of this paper, "youth" refers to those aged 15-35, since that those are the parameters used by many Sub-Saharan African countries, including Ghana (Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports 2010).

For youth in the sub-region of West Africa, the informal sector is the main generator

[1] According to the 2012 *Education for All Global Monitoring Report* (UNESCO), there are three main categories of skills: "foundational," "transferable," and "technical/vocational". When this paper refers to skills development, it is referring specifically to technical and vocational skills.

of employment (UNECA 2011b). Whereas the informal sector is composed of small-scale economic activities that are unregulated, the formal sector encompasses economic activities carried out by firms in the modern, formal economy in accordance with government regulations (Walther 2011). The informal sector abounds with trades ranging from high-skilled jobs such as mechanics, carpenters, and artisans to low-skilled jobs such as petty trading. Due to the limited number of jobs in the private sector in West Africa, the informal sector often absorbs those even with high levels of formal education and formal technical and vocational training, as well as those with non-formal skills training, such as traditional modes of apprenticeship.

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, traditional apprenticeships between a master craftsman and an apprentice are a common and principal medium for skills development. The main strengths of traditional apprenticeship are its practical orientation, its self-regulation, and self-financing. Its flexible and non-formal nature accommodates individuals who lack the educational requirements for formal training. However, this type of training often is of long duration and low pay, and lacks certification.

Noting that traditional apprenticeship is an important method of skills training, UNESCO's 2012 *EFA Global Monitoring Report* recommends that governments enhance their legitimacy by strengthening the training of master craftspeople, improving working conditions for apprentices, and ensuring that skills can be certified through national qualification frameworks. This important report argues that these measures will help ensure that apprenticeship will meet business and industry standards and improve apprentices' access to a wider range of better-paid jobs. Indeed, over the past decades, there have been several attempts to reform traditional apprenticeship in Sub-Saharan Africa, to improve the quality of training and the efficiency of such training in preparing apprentices for the workplace.

Traditional apprenticeship reform generally appears in two models (Walther 2011). The first type of reform changes the traditional apprenticeship into dual/reformed apprenticeship, in which apprenticeship is carried out in the workshop of a traditional master craftsman and is complemented by theoretical training at a public or private training center[2]. According to research by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2009), evaluations confirm that the dual system improves skills significantly and contributes to social inclusion and to improved employment. The second type of reform improves the structure of apprenticeship, standardizes certification and upgrades master craftsman training.

Walther (2008) concludes that there has been a disappointing lack of apprenticeship reform in many contexts. This paper will examine approaches to increasing access and quality of traditional apprenticeship in Ghana and Senegal.

[2] This type of reform was formally introduced in Mali in 1997 and led to a training system that combines work supervised by a trained artisan (80% of the training time) and formal courses in a training center (20% of the training time).

An Analysis of Ghana& Senegal

The sub-region of West Africa is one of the poorest in the world. However, in the past decade, Ghana and Senegal have both experienced economic growth rates that are much higher than the regional average (YEN & IYF 2009). While their economies are modernizing and diversifying, agriculture remains the backbone of both economies, especially in rural areas. Both countries have made great strides in providing basic education for their populations. The most recent statistics show that Ghana had a primary completion rate (PCR) of 99% in 2012, whereas Senegal had a PCR of 63% in 2011[3]. Nonetheless, both countries have large youth populations, for which there are not enough pathways to further educational opportunities. In 2012, the gross secondary school enrollment rate was 59% in Ghana and was 42% in Senegal in 2011[4]. Tertiary enrollment (gross rates) remains low in both countries: 12% in Ghana (in 2011) and 8% in Senegal (in 2011)[5].

In recent years, both these countries have identified youth education and employment as a priority in their development agendas (Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports 2010; UN 2007a). In addition, both countries have a long history of traditional apprenticeship. In fact, traditional apprenticeships are the main type of skills training in the informal sector in both countries (UNESCO 2012). In Ghana, apprenticeship training is responsible for 80-90% of all skills training, compared to 5-10% for public training institutions (Palmer 2009). In the mid-2000s, Senegal had just 10,000 young people in formal technical and vocational education training compared with 440,000 traditional apprentices in the motor repair business alone (Walther 2011).

Ghana

The government of Ghana has two ministries that support youth-related education and employment issues, the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Manpower, Youth & Employment. In addition, several institutions and agencies have been developed to promote education and employment including the National Youth Council. This Council, in collaboration with relevant stakeholders, has developed the National Action Plan for the implementation of the National Youth Employment policy. According to a survey by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development, youth policies and their implementation vary widely in "type, sophistication, resourcing and

[3] Statistics were retrieved from World Bank Data on January 5, 2013 from: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.CMPT.ZS

[4] According to the World Bank Data database, gross enrollment ratio is the ratio of total enrollment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown. Statistics were retrieved from World Bank Data on January 5, 2013 from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.SEC.ENRR

[5] Statistics were retrieved from World Bank Data on January 5, 2013 from http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.TER.ENRR

effectiveness" across West Africa (Ismail et al. 2009, p.40). However the survey indicated that Ghana, in particular, has developed extensive youth policies and a coherent plan for development of institutional mechanisms to support youth employment. Indeed in recent years, there has been renewed government focus on skills development and its relationship in combating unemployment (Palmer 2009).

Ghana's National Youth Policy outlines a list of challenges facing its youth population (Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports 2010). The first two challenges listed are "access to quality education for the youth in the educational sector with attendant inadequate or inappropriate training for the job market" and "unemployment and underemployment resulting from inadequate and inappropriate training for job the market (p.6)." Subsequently, the policy outlines priority areas for addressing the challenges, including: education and skills training; ICT; modern agriculture and entrepreneurial development.

In 2006, Ghana introduced its strategy on youth employment, the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP). This program aimed to train and employ 500,000 young people in various trades and occupations between 2006 and 2009. Because the wages paid by the NYEP were high in comparison to market wages, the program was expensive. A survey of the program by the World Bank revealed that it was not a cost-effective approach compared to other traditional rural public works programs and it had a bias towards urban and relatively wealthier areas (World Bank 2009a)[6].

Ghana has a highly developed apprenticeship system where young men and women undertake sector-specific private training in skills that are generally utilized in the informal sector. Presently, non-formal apprenticeships training accounts for 80-90% of all skills training in Ghana, compared with 5-10% from public training institutes, and 10-15% from NGOs (Palmer 2009). Skills are also acquired through non-formal training centers, such as vocational training institutes operated by the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment. Finally, employers also play an important role in skills development through skills learned on-the job, through short-term training, and of course traditional apprenticeships offered mainly by the informal sector.

A survey of the apprenticeship system by Monk et al. (2008) concluded that apprenticeship is by far the most important institution for training and is undertaken primarily by those with junior high school or lower levels of education. In fact, apprentices make up nearly 25% of working-age Ghanaians and 28% of urban residents. Monk et al. (ibid) report that 55% of those working were a current or past apprentice compared with 17% who had a vocational training background from a school or training center. Another 25% acquired their skills on-the-job. Beyond that however there is little research on apprenticeship as a form of skills training in Ghana.

[6] This report concluded that the program targeted youth who had completed junior secondary more education and operated in areas where the issue of youth unemployment was most visible. Wealthier areas had already had a network of firms and non-profit organizations that could employ youths. The report concluded that the impact of the program on poverty was likely limited.

The government has attempted several reforms to traditional apprenticeship. Early efforts at regulating non-formal training included the 1970 National Vocational Training Institute (NVTI) and the 1990 National Coordinating Committee on Technical and Vocational Education and Training (NACVET). These coordinating bodies and complementing legislation were ineffective due to a failure to create national policy, capacity issues, and diverse inter-ministerial objectives (Palmer 2009). Other skills training development projects have included the Vocational Skills and Informal Sector Support Project, the Rural Enterprise Project, and the Skills Training Entrepreneurship Programme.

In 2008, ambitious plans were put in place to develop a regulated, or formalized, informal apprenticeship system, called the National Apprentice Programme (NAP). This program's key components include targeting junior secondary school graduates who could not access further schooling and providing them with twelve months of skills training. During the training, the apprentices receive toolkits, which they can keep after completion of the training. The program was officially launched in 2011, in Sogakope in the South Tongu District of the Volta Region (Akpalu 2011). The programme, also referred to as "apprenticeship as a means of self-employment," was to be organized and monitored by the Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (COTVET). The first cohort of 5,000 junior high school graduates was assigned to master craftsmen recruited and trained by COTVET in five trades: automobile/engineering, electronics, cosmetology, garment making, welding and fabrication.

Ghana has been credited with having a comprehensive youth policy outlined in its National Youth Policy and implemented by various agencies. However, it is too soon to determine the impact of the reforms to traditional apprenticeship. Research on Ghana's experience with reforms has indicated that initiatives to standardize skills training have been biased towards young people who have relatively higher levels of education (secondary school) and who live in the wealthier areas and urban areas. However, there is little data on how current approaches affect disadvantaged or marginalized youth.

Senegal

Senegal has several ministries that oversee youth-related programs, but the government's strategy towards youth is principally channeled through the Ministre de la Jeunesse, de l'Emploi et de la Promotion des Valeurs civiques, or the Ministry of Youth, and its agencies. There are several ministries responsible for various levels and forms of education and training, including the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training, which is responsible for technical and professional training centers[7]. In addition,

[7] In Senegal, the Ministry of Education is responsible for overall governance of the education system, with responsibilities divided between five ministries: pre-school, elementary, and middle schools (Ministry of Education); secondary schools and universities (Ministry of Higher Education); technical and professional training centers (Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational

there are several institutions that have been established to support youth, most importantly, the National Agency for Youth Employment (ANEJ); the National Youth Promotion Fund (FNPJ); the National Office for Suburban Youth Employment (ONEJBAN); and the Agence d'Exécution des Travaux d'Intérêt Public (AGETIP).

These institutions have a diverse range of activities. ANEJ was established in 2001 to facilitate links between youth and potential employers. FNPJ was established to promote access to credit. ONEJBAN was developed to: assist suburban youth in searching for employment; provide short-term training; and provide funding to support individual and group projects. AGETIP was developed as an implementing agency for infrastructural programs. It trains and employs unemployed youth on a temporary basis to work on public infrastructure projects. In addition, the Project de Renforcement des Capacités de Suivi et Evaluation des Programmes d'Emploi des Jeunes was established to create an electronic youth employment management system with data on job seekers and job offers as well as indicators for monitoring youth employment.

In 2006, Senegal was one of the first countries to draft a National Action Plan for youth, entitled the National Action Plan for Youth Employment (PANEJ). The purpose was to mobilize donors, local stakeholders, and government to provide youth with access to counseling, economic information, and technical, legal and financial support services. Moreover, it was one of a few countries to incorporate mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of the plan both during implementation and at the conclusion. These indicators include the number of jobs created for youth and the number of microenterprise start-ups (UN 2007a). In addition, the 2010-2015 National Employment Policy stated that it would support the informal sector with an objective to create 700,000 new jobs during the period. Moreover, Senegal's Accelerated Growth Strategy has defined a developmental plan for key sectors to boost youth employment and economic growth[8].

In the technical, vocational, and non-formal education sectors, the government of Senegal has formalized training and apprenticeship programs, provided continuing education to approximately 18,000 professionals through the Technical Education and Vocational Training Development Fund and the National Vocational Training Office, and developed an action plan to reduce adult illiteracy while expanding vocational skills. However, the number of formal TVET opportunities remains low nationwide. While 80% of participants surveyed for a 2011 USAID-sponsored youth mapping activity, YouthMap Senegal, expressed the desire to learn a skill or trade, vocational and technical training resources and opportunities are limited, particularly outside the capital city of Dakar, and are often mismatched with labor market needs (IYF 2011)[9]. The majority of

Training); adult literacy and non-formal education (Ministry of Culture); school construction (Ministry of Public Works).

[8] High potential sectors include agriculture, fisheries, textiles, information and communication technology, and tourism (Diene 2011).

[9] YouthMap is a multi-country initiative that assesses both the "supply side" of services available to youth and the "demand side" of youth perspectives, needs, challenges, opportunities, and assets, particularly in the areas of education, employment, citizenship, and health. This project utilizes the

youth interviewed who are working in the informal sector said they had learned their trade through apprenticeships, which required a commitment of several years with little income. The Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational Training launched an effort to provide nationally recognized certificates and is working on accreditation of these programs, although the YouthMap reported that stakeholders noted that its capacity is limited, and employers should be more involved overall to improve relevance and placement.

Senegal, like many countries in West Africa, has embarked on reforms to modernize traditional apprenticeships, with a goal to integrate non-formal training into the national TVET system. Unlike several of its neighboring countries that have pursued dual reform, Senegal is unique in that its theoretical and practical training take place in the workshop. Moreover, the government defines the role of public and private training colleges as resource centers whose purpose is to provide additional technical and standards-based input regarding the profession, depending on the requests made by the master craftsmen (Walther 2008). Unlike neighboring countries' reforms, the government distinguishes between groups of apprentices with different starting educational levels and provides a variety of pre-requirements and lengths of training courses. In addition to this restructuring of the non-formal skills training, there have been several projects through the country around non-formal skills training[10]. They have had various levels of success, and there is little documentation on these projects and their outcomes.

The aforementioned YouthMap survey of Senegalese youth found that though there are many agencies devoted to youth education and employment, the government lacks a comprehensive youth policy and PANEJ has "not yet made its mark" (YEN & IYF 2009, p.34). Moreover, though a large number of youth, principally in Dakar, are served by non-formal education and training, the survey found that many of these young people are concerned about the formal recognition of their certificates or diplomas. The government has created numerous agencies, organizations and initiatives to address this complex issue of youth skills training for the workplace. Still, AGETIP is often cited as a success story for reaching disadvantaged youth and providing them with training. As a result, it has been imitated in other West African countries (OECD 2009). An evaluation of the first seven years of the program found that the number of engineering firms more than tripled, the number of construction firms increased five-fold, and 35,000 person-years of employment were generated (IYF 2011). However, the skills training programs do not reach those outside the capital. Moreover, there is little accessible data to evaluate whether the reforms to traditional apprenticeship are having an impact on Senegalese youth.

United Nations definition of youth: 15-24 year olds.

[10] Including Partnership for Apprenticeship and Opening Up Training System, PROMECABILE; PAO/sfp Project, and dual training initiatives with development partners (Walther 2008).

Discussion

This review of skills development for youth in the informal sectors of Senegal and Ghana has revealed that traditional apprenticeship is an ubiquitous form of training for youth, essential for providing skills to those unable to access formal training. The governments of both countries have created policies and programs to increase access to and the quality of these non-formal skills training approaches to better prepare their populations for work in the informal sector. Unfortunately, there is little data on the long-term outcomes of these initiatives, programs and reforms. Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate the impact that these changes have in providing the pathways for young people to obtain the skills they need to prosper in the workplace.

Nevertheless, there are several important implications. First of all, even from the available data, it is clear that these countries' strategies to confront youth unemployment do not provide enough support services to disadvantaged and marginalized youth, especially those youth with no education or low levels of education. Many of the programs to modernize traditional apprenticeship are biased towards those with higher levels of education and those in urban areas. Ghana's National Employment Policy states one of its chief employment policy challenges is "high unemployment and under-employment rates among vulnerable groups including youth, women and persons with disability, the challenges for mainstreaming the vulnerable and excluded to make them productive (p. xx)." However, national skills training programs such as Ghana's NAP have generally targeted youth in urban areas and those with a minimum of basic education. Therefore, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which these initiatives have improved access to skills training for those who currently have little education. Moreover, it is not clear whether these initiatives have improved the basic education levels of youth with no prior education or who have dropped out of basic education.

With respect to increasing quality, both Ghana and Senegal have attempted to standardize apprenticeship schemes, in order to modernize and improve the efficiency of traditional apprenticeship. Senegal has proclaimed that it will integrate non-formal and formal skills training. Other initiatives include increasing the amount of time apprentices spend practicing the trade and decreasing the theoretical curriculum, upgrading the skills of the master craftsman, establishing stand certification, and decreasing the time it takes to become certified in a skill. The extent to which these initiatives have been implemented in traditional apprenticeships, and the extent to which they have had an impact of the quality of skills training are also unknown. However, in YouthMap (2011)'s recent study, Senegalese youth, young people lamented that non-formal skills training was long in duration, low in pay, and often lacked certification. It seems clear that these approaches have not reached sufficient numbers of Senegalese youth to make a difference.

A major problem is the lack of data collection on youth-related education and employment. There are staggeringly few statistics on youth unemployment. The unemployment data for Senegal varies broadly from one estimate to the other and is often

lacking (YEN & IYF survey 2009). Moreover, Ghana's National Employment Policy recognizes that one of its chief employment policy challenges is "poor labour statistics and ineffective labour market information system (p. xix)." There remains a stark gap in data on which types of skills training programs have the greatest impact on the access for vulnerable and marginalized populations, particularly female youth, those with disabilities, and those who have been displaced (UNECA 2011a).

Moreover, there is a gap in research on skills development in the agricultural sector. The *EFA Global Monitoring Report* (UNESCO 2012) emphasizes that skills development in the agricultural and rural sector must be a priority for African countries. Currently young people who might stay in rural areas have little incentive do so because low-efficiency agriculture has low economic returns. However, much of the work on skills training in Senegal and Ghana focuses on skills in non-agricultural fields such as carpentry and mechanics.

Furthermore, there is little information on the potential for expanding and supporting new, innovative youth-friendly industries, particularly in information and communications technology (ICT). ICT represents an important skills area in and of itself as well as its potential to increase the value of other training. While the 2011 *African Youth Report* has reported that both Senegal and Ghana have integrated "culture" into their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, there is a dearth of information on programs that foster culture-related skills and opportunities, such as dance and art, and how these skills could contribute to growing sectors, such as tourism (UNECA 2011a).

Recommendations for Further Research

Future research on skills development in Ghana and Senegal should focus on outcomes of national programs as well as targeted programs implemented by various providers in order to assess what programs work and how they can be scaled-up to reach all youth, especially the most marginalized and disadvantaged. Impact evaluations of current programs could shed light on those approaches that have successfully increased access and quality of traditional apprenticeship.

In order for policymakers to establish youth strategies that are genuinely comprehensive, the relationship between supply-side interventions, such as education and training, and demand-side needs, such as the creation of jobs, should be examined and better understood. In contexts where private sector growth is limited, assessments of successful strategies to prepare skilled workers for the informal sector could provide the links necessary to assist even the most disadvantaged with pathways to better pay and faster social mobility within the informal sector. Micro-enterprise and entrepreneurship could provide those pathways. Therefore, further research on those areas could provide insight on how to expand skills training.

References

African Union Commission. (2006). *African Youth Charter*. Addis Ababa: Author. [http://africa.unfpa.org/public/cache/offonce/pid/9998;jsessionid=1DEAC240742BFF02E656BEE727B082C2.jahia01] (Accessed 5 January 2013)

Akpalu, L. (2011, January 24). "*National Apprenticeship Programme Launched*." The Ghanaian Times. Accra. [http://newtimes.com.gh/story/national-apprenticeship-programme-launched] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Diene, M. (2012, January). "Senegal: Strategies to Integrate Youth into the Labor Market." *Foresight Africa: Top Priorities for the Continent in 2012*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution. [http://www.brookings.edu/reports/2012/01_priorities_foresight_africa.aspx] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

International Youth Foundation. (2011). *YouthMap Senegal: The Road Ahead*. Baltimore, MD: Author. [http://www.iyfnet.org/document/1820] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Ismail, W., Olonisakin, F., Picciotto, B. & Wybrow, D. (2009). *Youth Vulnerability and Exclusion (YOVEX) in West Africa: Synthesis Report*. London: Conflict, Security and Development Group, King's College London. London. [http://www.securityanddevelopment.org/pdf/CSDG_Paper_21.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Ghana Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment. (n.d.). *The National Employment Policy*. The Republic of Ghana. Accra: Author. [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLM/Resources/Ghana_NATPOLICYDEC11B.pdf} (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Ghana Ministry of Youth and Sports. (2010). *National Youth Policy*. The Republic of Ghana. Accra: Author. [http://www.ghana.gov.gh/documents/nypolicy.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Monk, C., Sandefur, J. & Teal, F. (2008). *Does Doing an Apprenticeship Pay Off? Evidence from Ghana*. Department of Economics: University of Oxford. Oxford. [http://www.bepress.com/csae/paper288/] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Palmer, R. (2009). "Formalising the Informal: Ghana's National Apprenticeship Programme." *Journal of Vocational Education and Training, 61*(1), 67-93.

OECD. (2009). Promoting Pro-Poor Growth Employment. Paris: Author. [http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/63/11/43514554.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Sommers, M. (2007). "Creating Programs for Africa's Urban Youth: The Challenge of Marginalization." *Journal of International Cooperation in Education, 10*(1), 19-31.

United Nations. (2007a). *Review of National Action Plans on Youth Employment: Putting Commitment into Action*. New York: Author.

United Nations. (2007b). *World Youth Report 2007. Young People's Transition to Adulthood:*

Progress and Challenges. New York: Author.
[http://social.un.org/index/WorldYouthReport/2007.aspx] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

UNECA. (2011a). *African Youth Report 2011*. Addis Ababa: Author.
[http://www.uneca.org/ayr2011/] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

UNECA. (2011b). *Strategies to Promote Youth Self-Employment in West Africa*. Addis Ababa: Author.
[http://www.uneca.org/wa/documents/StrategiesdepromotionYouth.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

UNESCO. (2012). *Education for All Global Monitoring Report. Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*. Paris: Author.
[http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002180/218003e.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

USAID. (2010). *Out-of-School Youth in Developing Countries: What the Data Do (and Do Not) Tell Us*. EQUIP 3. Washington DC: Author.
[http://www.equip123.net/docs/e3-OSY.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Walther, R. (2011). *Building Skills in the Informal Sector*. Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012. Paris: UNESCO.
[http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/reports/2012-skills/] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Walther, R. (2008). *Towards a Renewal of Apprenticeship in West Africa: Enhancing the Professional Integration of Young People*. Agence Française de Développement. Paris.
[http://www.eib.org/attachments/general/events/luxembourg_18112008_apprentissage_en.pd] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

World Bank. (2009a). *Ghana: Job Creation and Skills Development*. (Report No. 40328-GH). Washington DC: The World Bank. [http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/EdStats/GHAstu09b.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

World Bank. (2009b). *Youth and Employment in Africa: The Potential, the Problem, the Promise*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSTATINAFR/Resources/ADI-200809-essay-EN.pdf] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

World Bank. (2006). *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Youth Employment Network &International Youth Foundation. (2009). *Private Sector Demand for Youth Labour in Ghana and Senegal. Ghana and Senegal Study Findings*. Geneva & Baltimore, MD: Authors.
[http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/yen/resources/index.htm] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Youth Employment Network. (2008). *Building the Case for Business Collaboration on Youth Employment*. Geneva: Author.
[http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/yen/resources/index.htm] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

Youth Empowerment Network. (2010). *Keeping the Promise: A Toolkit for Young People to*

Assess National Policies for Youth in Ghana. Geneva: Author. [http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/yen/resources/index.htm] (Accessed 5 January 2013).

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.107 ～ 127

Educating Youth for Entrepreneurship in Work & Life: Experience of a Junior Secondary School Project in Morocco

Joshua A. Muskin
Aga Khan Foundation

Abstract

National education policies around the globe increasingly highlight the need to equip children and youth with entrepreneurial skills, also called "21st century skills," "employability skills," "core competencies and others. The present article identifies and analyzes these skills, combining the perspectives of employers and the international development sector, and asserts that education and training can and indeed must work deliberately to imbue students with these. The Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program (PDEE), developed and implemented for lower secondary students by the USAID/ALEF project in Morocco serves to illustrate what a purposeful personal skills development program might be. The experience generated positive outcomes in terms of students' social engagement, academic results, school retention and other measures. Finally, a review of the key findings of an independent assessment of the effects of PDEE (Bouhassoune 2011) on students two years after the project ended provides empirical evidence of the effectiveness of such a program on the vocational "maturity" of students, equipping them for productive professional futures.

Introduction

A young person today weighing her or his professional prospects must shudder before the world's economic realities. Looking at employment statistics, the International Labor Organization (ILO) (2012a, p.11-12) projected a 2012 youth unemployment rate of 12.7 percent worldwide. This is nearly 75 million persons and over twice the overall projected rate of 6.1 percent (ILO 2012b, p. 1). The 2012 Education for All Global Monitoring Report forecasts that by 2020, "An additional 57 million jobs will... need to be created [in South and West Asia, the Arab States and Sub-Saharan Africa alone]... just to prevent unemployment rates from rising." (p. 191). These figures are even worse in certain regions, notably the Middle East and North Africa, with 2011 youth unemployment rates exceeding 25 percent.

Beyond the numbers is the evolving nature of skills and behaviors required to become productive in the workforce. In addition to skills in information and communications technologies, the global workforce increasingly requires greater flexibility and mobility of employees. Further, youth must secure employment in a context of growing political and social upheaval, diminishing natural resources, high population

growth, the ongoing menace of HIV/AIDS, etc.

The main challenge in confronting these phenomena is to devise policies and implement initiatives permitting every young person to contribute fully and capably to the economic and social life of the community, nation and world. Accomplishing this societal goal is also a very personal matter for each youth, seen largely in the need for each individual to equip him or herself with the skills to find employment and to participate with true agency in the broader social sphere. At the macro level, society should improve its capacity to help youth meet their personal, professional and social aspirations. But the opposite is also true: as youth attain their goals individually, they should be more able and inclined to help society resolve its challenges.

This article asks what type of education societies should provide young people to prepare them for workplace success and to engage them socially and personally. It looks at a five-year project in Morocco that aimed to demonstrate how junior secondary schooling could equip students with "portable and adaptable skills" to serve them in further schooling and later in "real" life.

Of primary concern are the technical, cognitive, and "non-cognitive" skills that youth need to reach these goals. "Non-cognitive" skills, also referred to as "soft skills," "core competencies" and "employability skills" are those aptitudes and attitudes that individuals summon to utilize technical and cognitive knowledge effectively. These include confidence, communication, problem-solving, planning, teamwork and perseverance. (See the annex for a summary of efforts to define these skills.) Evidence from the workplace, economics and cognitive science suggests that non-cognitive skills are the greatest determinant of an individual's successful future integration into the workplace and society.

Following is a case study from Morocco exemplifying the nature of education interventions that will help youth master these skills. This case illustrates how non-cognitive skills can be incorporated effectively into formal education, presenting the USAID-funded "Advancing Learning and Employability for a Better Future" (ALEF) project implemented by the Academy for Educational Development (AED) in four of Morocco's 16 regions from 2005 to 2009.

Educating for Life

Non-cognitive skills matter… a lot. Since the 1990s, a sense of urgency has emerged, first in the so-call "developed" and then in the "developing" world, to ensure a workforce equipped to deal with a rapidly globalizing, increasingly complex economic world. As Riordan and Rosas state, "The interaction of globalization, technological development and changes in the organization of work has resulted in the demand for higher and different skills" (quoted in McGrath 2003, p.20). These new higher order skills are not only valuable at the macro level, as they are essential for competitive national economies, but they are also crucial for the individual worker, as "skills have become

increasingly important in determining an individual's ability to secure a job, retain employment and move flexibly in the labor market."

These arguments have figured prominently in official national and international initiatives. In 1992, Australia's Mayer Committee labored to produce a list of "... skills essential for employment and for personal development, fulfillment, community life and active citizenship" (Gibb 2004, p. 7). These skills comprise "competencies essential for effective participation in the emerging patterns of work and work organization." Furthermore, the Mayer Committee report asserts that "the key competencies are not only essential for participation in work but… also for effective participation in further education and in adult life more generally."

At about the same time, the U.S. Department of Labor issued two reports by the Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS)–What Work Requires of Schools (June 1991) and Learning a Living (April 1992)–which offer a multi-dimensional set of "skills that… young people need to succeed in the world of work" (SCANS 1992, p. xiii). Similar to the Australian report, the SCANS studies found that the new

> ...high-performance workplace demands workers who have a solid foundation in the traditional basic academic skills, in the thinking skills necessary to put knowledge to work, and in the personal characteristics that make a worker confident, trustworthy, and responsible. We called this the "foundation" of workplace know-how. But a solid foundation is not enough. High-performance workplaces also require the ability to manage resources, to work amicably and productively with others, to acquire and use information, to understand and master complex systems, and to work comfortably with a variety of technologies. We called these the 'competencies.' (SCANS 1992, p. 6-7)

The Definition and Selection of Competencies (DeSeCo) program of the OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development) pushed even harder to link such core competencies with work but also with the broader social and personal spheres in which individuals live. Launched in 1997 (DeSeCo 2001, p. 2), Rychen explains the assumptions underlying DeSeCo's non-cognitive competencies: "…they contribute to highly valued outcomes at the individual and societal level in terms of an overall successful life and a well-functioning society; they are instrumental for meeting important complex demands and challenges in a wide spectrum of relevant contexts; and they are important to all individuals" (quoted in McGrath 2003, p. 14).

Heckman (2008) has been at the forefront of research that demonstrates empirically the value of "non-cognitive" or "soft" skills. Working in the United States, Heckman compared the professional and personal life circumstances of adults who acquired high school credentials through the Graduate Equivalency Diploma (GED) program with those who completed the full high school cycle as well as with dropouts. While tests show that

the GED earners are as knowledgeable as their counterparts who completed high school, their earnings resemble those of dropouts (Heckman 2008, p. 11). Similarities between dropouts and GED recipients as compared to high school completers extends to other measures as well: "...when you consider all kinds of important future outcomes – annual income, unemployment rate, divorce rate, use of illegal drugs – GED recipients look exactly like high-school dropouts, despite the fact that they have earned this supposedly valuable extra credential, and despite the fact that they are, on average, considerably more intelligent than high-school dropouts" (Tough 2012, p. xviii).

What the GED graduates miss, Heckman and others have concluded, is the quality of 'stick-to-it-iveness,' what Tough (2012) refers to as "grit," that compels an individual to persist at a task even if challenging or unpleasant with the knowledge that there is a tangible, valuable reward at the end. For many, school represents just such a challenge. Second are the specific "non-cognitive" competencies and attributes that are taught or acquired in school, including confidence, respect, communication (written, oral, symbolic, etc.) and learning strategies. Holzer (1997, quoted in Lerman 2008) found that test scores account for little of the variation in earnings among workers as compared with other attributes and skills. Summarizing these traits from a survey of 3,200 employers in major U.S. metropolitan areas, Holzer concludes that "such personal qualities as responsibility, integrity, and self-management," were "as important as or more important than basic skills" (p. 25). (I found similar results in a less formal survey of employers in Morocco.)

The conclusion across the literature is that school systems routinely fail to produce graduates with the competencies needed for success in work, society and home (see for example, SCANS 1992, p. xvii; Lerman 2008; Riordan and Rosas, in McGrath 2003). While the responsibility for fostering these competencies does not fall fully on education systems, the prominence of schooling in most children's lives suggests that education can play a major role. Further, helping youth cultivate their "non-cognitive" competencies at school may sometimes even be necessary, such as when a child has not acquired these during early childhood or to compensate for "adverse early environments" (Heckman 2008, p.27). The later the home or school acts to equip the child with such competencies, Heckman adds, the more costly.

Nelsen warns even more provocatively that "the social skills learned at school are not necessarily useful at work and may even be counterproductive" (1997, quoted in Lerman 2008, p. 26). He refers here to the sorts of "factory" skills that SCANS (1992, p. 19) attributed in 1992 to the "Schools of Today" and identified as a reliance on memory over problem-solving, individual work and routine repetition. The focus on such skills may contribute to a silencing of curiosity and enthusiasm, a crushing of initiative, a nervous respect for authority, a dulling of self-confidence and a narrowly defined ideal future, among other things. Nelsen illustrates how students may be "mis-trained" for "real" life by the extreme lengths to which schools go to prevent students from sharing work and answers–"cheating"–while consultation and collaboration with peers is fundamental in the common workplace. Anticipating what education can and should do to foster non-

cognitive competencies, it might first be asked what precisely do employers mean by these?

Identifying non-cognitive skills and entrepreneurship. As noted (see discussion of SCANS, the Mayer Report and DeSeCo above), some governments have worked to identify a universal set of personal competencies and attributes that allow individuals to translate cognitive and technical knowledge and skills into productive performance, whether in work or social settings (Dugger, Durlauf & Heckman 2012, p. 4; Gibb 2004, p. 30; McGrath 2003, p. 14). These efforts might be seen as social skills homologues of national, technical skills boards that operate in many countries. Other researchers, notably from organizations such as the International Labor Organization, the Education for All movement and NORRAG, caution against defining core competencies universally. They assert, instead, that such lists are highly context-specific (McGrath 2003, p. 9; Iwamoto & Hoffman, quoted in McGrath 2003, p. 26; Riordan and Rosas, quoted in McGrath 2003, p. 23). However, it is argued here that such competencies and attributes may include both context-specific and universal elements. Local communities or societies can customize such lists, adding or subtracting traits or imbuing specific items with contextualized interpretations and applications. Indeed, the articulation of generic skills locally or nationally may help a society or education system reflect on what it wants its children to learn.

Annex A provides four lists of key competencies. Gibb (2004, p. 8) has identified the common elements of these and other lists as:

1. "*Basic/fundamental skills*: such as literacy, numeracy and technology;
2. "*People-related skills*: such as communication, teamwork and customer service skills;
3. "*Conceptual/thinking skills*: such as collecting and organizing information, problem-solving, planning, learning-to-learn, innovative thinking and creatively;
4. "*Personal skills and attributes*: such as being responsible, resourcefulness, flexibility, time-management and self-esteem;
5. "*Business skills*: such as innovation skills, entrepreneurship and management;
6. "*Community skills*: such as civic or citizenship knowledge and skills."

Iwamoto and Hoffman (in McGrath 2003, p. 24) refine the list even further, "group[ing] life skills into three categories: cognitive, personal and inter-personal." Adding a fourth, "practical skills," their list mirrors the highly influential Delors Report (UNESCO 1996), which condenses the ultimate purpose of education into four pillars:

1. Learning to know
2. Learning to be
3. Learning to live together

4. Learning to do

Recalling that skills are, in part, contextual, it seems most useful to consider the criteria for identifying such items. According to the Mayer Committee, items should be "essential" to individuals' gaining, keeping and advancing in employment (1992, cited in Gibb 2004, p. 9). They should not be occupation- or industry-specific but rather cross-cutting, "equip[ing] individuals [for] a wide range of social settings" as well as for the effective "application of [technical] knowledge and skill[s]." Finally, such personal competencies can, and indeed should, be learned and be "amenable to credible assessment."

A vital cross-cutting skill, and the focus of this paper, is entrepreneurship, which might be characterized most simply as the collection of abilities and attitudes to articulate an ambition and to plan and act to achieve this. Saras Sarasvathy's (2001) research on entrepreneurship effectively reduces a number of related traits into the single notion of "effectuation," which she defines first by its inverse, "causality." Causality begins "with a pre-determined goal and a given set of means, and seek[s] to identify the optimal – fastest, cheapest, most efficient, etc. – alternative to achieve the given goal" . "Effectual reasoning," she contrasts,

> does not begin with a specific goal. Instead, it begins with a given set of means and allows goals to emerge contingently over time from the varied imagination and diverse aspirations of the founders and the people they interact with. While causal thinkers are like great generals seeking to conquer fertile lands (Genghis Khan conquering two-thirds of the known world), effectual thinkers are like explorers setting out on voyages into uncharted waters (Columbus discovering the new world) (p2).

Sarasvathy finds that "all entrepreneurs begin with three categories of means: 1) "Who they are – their traits, tastes and abilities;" 2) "What they know – their education, training, expertise, and experience;" and, 3) "Whom they know – their social and professional networks" (Sarasvathy 2001, p. 3). The focus on planning that characterizes the causal thinker is surely a valuable talent and orientation when moving towards execution. Yet, this contrasts starkly with "effectual reasoning, [which] lives and breathes execution. Plans are made and unmade and revised and recast through action and interaction..." (p. 3). Formal schooling, when it works well, is masterful at cultivating causal thinkers. However, it fails abjectly at cultivating effectual thinkers. Curricula typically set a goal of student mastery of a specific body of information and skills, the achievement of which is tested. The student who opts to explore beyond the curriculum as well as within, exercising diverse methods of inquiry and discovering diverse solutions or conclusions–i.e., how we learn in the "real" world–may be viewed as disobedient, disruptive or even stupid. Typically, the penalties against trying, failing and re-trying in

formal education are so severe that any natural inclinations a student might have towards entrepreneurship risk being nipped at the bud.

Upon receiving the Nobel Prize for Medicine, Sir John Gurdon evoked a vivid illustration of this phenomenon, using this spotlight ostensibly to denounce the science education of his youth. Quoting from a report from his school schoolmaster, Dr. Gurdon shared, "I believe Gurdon has ideas about becoming a scientist; on his present showing this is quite ridiculous; if he can't learn simple biological facts, he would have no chance of doing the work of a specialist, and it would be a sheer waste of time, both on his part and of those who would have to teach him" (The Guardian 2012). In many schools, it may be assumed, most students conform to the standard expectations lest they suffer the consequences of shame, exclusion, low grades or being labeled stupid, recalcitrant or "a waste of time". What might schools do instead to cultivate rather than squelch entrepreneurial ambitions, spirit, talents and actions?

Fostering non-cognitive skills and educating for entrepreneurship. As noted, education systems generally enforce conformity and measure success with tests of knowledge and cognitive skills. Concern with a student's ability to apply these skills and knowledge is usually limited to technical problem-solving, comprehension and analysis. Yet, there is great need for a different set of skills, knowledge and behaviors; what Heckman (2008) calls "non-cognitive" skills but are also called "core competencies," "soft skills," "21st Century Skills," "employability skills," "life skills" and "entrepreneurial skills," among others.

Many avow that these skills cannot really be taught, that they are innate and environmentally cultivated (McGrath 2003, p. 11; Bohoney et al. 2011, p. 8), while others, such as Heckman (2008), assert that they can and must be taught. Certainly it is questionable whether an education or training system can "create" an entrepreneur, but isn't the crucial question really whether schooling can help "natural" entrepreneurs recognize and develop their existing talents? Furthermore, as suggested above, it is important to consider the degree to which conventional schooling trains entrepreneurship *out of* a young person. The message from 20 years of research and reports from governments and international agencies is that schools must produce graduates who "actively construct knowledge for themselves," are equipped and inclined to participate in "cooperative problem-solving" and possess and can deploy "skills learned in [the] context of real problems" (SCANS 1991, p. 19). According to the 2012 Global Monitoring Report, *Youth and Skills: Putting education to work* (2012), "Employers want assurances that young people applying for jobs have at least strong foundation skills and can deploy their knowledge to solve problems, take the initiative and communicate with team members, rather than just follow prescribed routines" (p. 187).

A review of the literature reveals essential steps to achieving this: 1) introducing the needed competencies into the instructional program, using two main variants (see below); 2) equipping teachers with the skills, orientation, materials and time to deliver or integrate such instruction; and 3) integrating non-cognitive competencies into formal

education assessment. Heckman (2008, p. 12) exhorts education policymakers to start cultivating communication, problem-solving and perseverance in children as early as pre-school, while others suggest the need to include such skills at all levels and in all types of education and training (Gibb 2008; McGrath 2003; Riordan and Rosas, in McGrath 2003; SCANS 1992; Bohoney 2012). Lerman (2008) expresses this view starkly: "…public policymakers and education and training practitioners [must] recognize and address the multidimensional nature of skills, the variety of learning approaches (including the value of contextualized learning), and the desirability of close links with employers and the workplace" (p. 23).

Two general instructional approaches, or variants, have emerged regarding non-cognitive skills and competencies. First, "embedded" instruction (cf., Gibb 2004; McGrath 2003) entails building opportunities for students to practice their technical knowledge, skills and generic competencies in work-like or social applications simulated in a formal learning setting. Related more directly to the formal curriculum, this may resemble "student-centered" or "inquiry-based" pedagogy. Students ask questions, work in groups, solve complex problems, conduct independent research, discover and defend diverse solutions, and so on. Embedding may also engage teachers in "drawing outside the lines" of the formal curriculum, employing more project-based learning and expecting students to exercise their full range of skills, cognitive and non-cognitive, by combining disciplines, working over more lengthy periods and, often, with greater contact with the "outside" world. Students can also gain 'reverse' learning advantages, strengthening their cognitive learning, when, for example, their academic lessons are embedded within exercises built around their non-cognitive competencies (SCANS 1992, p. 16). Reflecting this synergy, Heckman (2008) states with near poetry: "Skill begets skill; motivation begets motivation. Motivation cross-fosters skill and skill cross-fosters motivation" (p. 14). "Learning a living" (SCANS 1991) should not be linear (a sequential, often disassociated accumulation of information and skills), or encapsulated (knowledge separated by disciplines, Maths, Biology, Geography, etc.) but should purposefully reveal and guide students to practice connections to life outside the classroom.

The second common approach to education for non-cognitive competencies involves self-contained courses or programs. These may take the form of a class or activity devoted directly to cultivating entrepreneurial, workplace or social skills. This was the case with ALEF, though ALEF also promoted an embedded strategy. They can also operate as extra-curricular programs, or clubs, in which there is less instruction and more practice, though often with faculty mentorship. Examples include student government, peer counseling, environment clubs, student-run cultural activities, awareness campaigns and so on.

Delivering such programs successfully, even in what one might consider the best of circumstances, depends substantially on the abilities, availability and motivation of teachers and of others assigned or volunteering to do this. Teachers and facilitators are doubly challenged. For one, they must be equipped and inclined pedagogically to do more than just deliver a standard package of content and skills. Rather, they must create

situations and provide tools, information and support for students to work alone or in groups to acquire new knowledge and hone their skills to apply academic and practical knowledge in meaningful, durable ways (cf., Association for Education Communications and Technology (AECT) Definition and Terminology Committee 2004, p. 3). The ALEF Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program described in the following section showed that introducing a non-academic, non-evaluated course with facilitated, student-centered learning both equipped and inclined many teachers to adopt these pedagogic strategies in their formal lesson delivery as well.

Two, and likely more problematic, teachers must feel competent and confident enough to guide their students in acquiring and practicing both academic and non-cognitive knowledge and skills in ways that relate meaningfully to workplace requirements and applications. The 'closeness' of the application of these competencies to "real-life" circumstances becomes more acute in secondary education and especially in technical and vocational training, where it may be particularly difficult for teachers who may not have worked outside schools to replicate real world circumstances and facilitate real world experiences. Indeed, Callan, quotes "one departmental head [who] believed that too much was being expected of teachers today by some industries…: 'We just don't know how to teach… this wish list of employer skills'" (cited in Gibb 2004, p. 60).

Teachers in many countries struggle to meet already ambitious curricular goals and thus find little space to add new learning aims and content (McGrath 2003, p. 11). Even when convinced of the value of such elements, the pressures imposed by education authorities and advisors to stick to the curriculum can make it costly to a teacher's career to teach them. Rather, teachers commonly avoid straying from the official curriculum so as not to "punish" their students (or face a revolt from parents) by risking to compromise their examinations results, which tie directly to the official curriculum. Sensitive to this pressure, several researchers and practitioners note that any prospects for integrating non-cognitive skills into the school curriculum will depend on their incorporation into formal assessment mechanisms (McGrath 2003, p. 11; SCANS 1991, p. 17; SCANS 1992, p. 15; Gibb 2004, p. 19). Yet, even if a government were to do this, there is the difficulty of actually measuring such capacities (Gibb 2004, p. 15; Gibb 2004, p. 64). For example, how exactly does one assess confidence, teamwork, perseverance, independent learning or any other such skill or attribute in a reliable manner and with commonly applied instruments? It is crucial to note, however, that this challenge has been met by some, as exemplified in the work of Bouhassoune (2011) discussed in the next section.

Fortunately, the introduction of non-cognitive skills into learning, whether embedded or as stand-alone programs, need not be a "zero-sum" outcome, but rather can lead to even greater mastery of academic lessons. This outcome characterized the ALEF Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program (PDEE) in Morocco. Participating teachers found that PDEE provided students with concrete learning skills and clear ambitions for their lives beyond school, motivating them to study harder and better. Paradoxically, adding PDEE to the learning program (along with the partner Relevance Pedagogy

model)[1] helped economize classroom time as students learned their formal lessons quicker and better. From at least one parent's perspective, shared in a public forum attended by a provincial head of education of Casablanca: "My daughter has shown such gains in her confidence, her communication and her problem-solving that I would be happy even if she were to come home with poorer grades," which, it should be noted, was not the case. In fact, annual reporting from across the sample of schools where Relevance Pedagogy and PDEE were successfully introduced showed that students uniformly improved performance in their academic studies while also demonstrating gains in personal competencies. Following is the case of the Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program along with a review of its impact on students' "vocational maturity."

Promoting Entrepreneurial Education in Morocco

While averting its own "Arab Spring," the Kingdom of Morocco shares the considerable regional challenge of preparing its youth for economically productive, socially engaged roles in national and global life. The country's national youth unemployment rate at the start of 2012 was about 30% (Arabian Gazette 16 May 2012), compared to an overall national rate of 9.9%. Perhaps more alarmingly, the rate exceeded the 29% estimated rate for the Middle East and North Africa (ILO 2012a, p. 43)–similar to Tunisia's and greater than Egypt's (25%) (The Economist 2011), two countries at the core of the "Arab Spring." Certainly other factors played into the upheavals of 2011 and 2012, and Morocco's remaining relatively unscathed may be attributable more to other factors. For example, the King and the democratically elected government reacted in proactive ways that seemed to satisfy both the broad population and the youth. Also, the country's many years of significant economic and social investment likely had a positive impact. Yet, the promise of these investments remains tenuous due in large part to Morocco's continued struggle with education. For example, Morocco has a gross tertiary level participation rate of just 13%, fourth lowest among 12 fellow Arab States and just over half the regional average of 24% (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2012, p. 122). How does Morocco convert its many public, private and international investments into productive operations and broad development when its workforce remains under- and inappropriately educated?

It is important to note that this skills shortfall is not the result of disinterest or neglect. On the contrary, Morocco has invested heavily in education and training. At ALEF's inception, the government devoted 26% of the national budget to education. In 1999 it launched a far-reaching education and training reform, to which it re-committed in 2008 with a highly publicized "Emergency Plan" to redouble the reform efforts. The reform document, the "National Charter for Education and Training," states in its first

[1] The Relevance Pedagogy model employed by ALEF provided teachers with concrete instructional strategies by which to enrich students' learning of the official curriculum by linking lessons directly to content and skills drawn from the local context.

article that the national education system "... aims to create a virtuous citizen, one who is a model of rectitude, moderation and tolerance, is open to science and knowledge, and imbued with the spirit of initiative, creativity and enterprise" (translation by the author) (Government of the Kingdom of Morocco 1999, p. 6). Among the more strategic shifts called for was the deliberate preparation of students for the workplace. Adopting a "Competency-Based Approach," education and training were expected to "retrofit" their programs to the precise needs of the employment sector while also producing engaged, tolerant members of society[2].

Despite some real progress, the Charter's brilliance did not translate fully into instructional programs or classroom practice. Looking at education, several factors seemed to confound the country's efforts. Prominent among these were widespread poverty, lingering corruption and still maturing decentralized administrative structures. Together, these factors deprived the reform of the resources, a universally shared vision and the consistent commitment and authority to make the pedagogic and administrative decisions required to make the Charter a reality. Also influential were the persistent vestiges of a colonial system that still emphasized classical, 'teacher-driven' instruction, the object (at least implicit) of which was to winnow out all but the best students, who were once-upon-a-time guaranteed civil service jobs. Instead, the education reform aimed to maximize the number of children who succeeded so they could fill productive roles especially in the private and non-governmental sectors and to engage fully and tolerantly as citizens in a context that seeks to balance the traditional with the modern. However, putting the reform into practice continues to pose a challenge.

Excellence in learning remains the goal, but despite the stated policy of "competency-based" instruction, the system's formal examination process, which drives teaching, targets with laser focus the acquisition of a precise and uniform body of knowledge. This stands in stark contrast to the acquisition of knowledge with know-how–the ability to apply one's knowledge and skills to "do" things–envisioned by effectuation and the non-cognitive competencies discussed above. Excellent schools do produce excellent graduates with excellent mastery of the curriculum, but according to employers, educators, and other analysts from across Morocco, graduates tend to be grossly ill-equipped to apply this knowledge effectively and to perform productively in a professional setting.

Since the mid-2000s, Morocco has devoted a considerable level of attention to this

[2] The Competency-Based Approach, which the ALEF project supported in the agriculture sector, entails a sequence of scientifically rigorous steps, which can be summarized as follow: 1) a comprehensive, participatory identification with individual sectors of industry of the many skills sets and knowledge required to perform effectively; 2) the translation of these skills and knowledge into curricula, textbooks, assessment criteria and tools and other instructional materials and approaches; 3) an assessment of the resources (human, physical and pedagogic) of individual institutions to deliver the new, competency-based curriculum; 4) physical and material investments to adapt the institutions to the new curricula; and 5) teacher training, support and recruitment to ensure institutional capacity to deliver the curriculum successfully. The Ministry of Education envisioned a similar process for education, but this really never happened.

situation, with several international and national actors undertaking efforts to introduce the concepts, behaviors and practices of "life skills" and entrepreneurship into formal and non-formal education and training[3]. Over recent years, related efforts, dubbed here as "Education for Entrepreneurship," seemed to grow at an accelerating pace, and to benefit from greater clarity in purpose and strategic collaboration. All seem to be concerned with the basic objectives of helping youth and other marginalized populations become more economically independent and raising the quality of Morocco's workforce. In the non-formal education sector, most entrepreneurship programs have focused on delivering specific business skills–basic accounting, marketing, market analysis, etc.–to trainees who have recently completed training in some productive skill such as rug-weaving, computer repair, plumbing or argane oil production. Training has also covered strategies to find and keep jobs, such as crafting resumes and drafting letters of employment, networking, interview techniques and workplace expectations.

School-based programs were newer and scarcer, despite explicit reference to preparing students for the workforce in the National Charter of Education and Training. In most cases, Education for Entrepreneurship efforts in schools have emphasized an "introduction to the world of work" approach, with private businesses orienting K-12 schools towards specific professions in order to alert them to options other than the classic (and severely diminished) civil service arena. These efforts are supported by official career guidance advisors within the Ministry of Education structure who cover all middle and high schools. However, while the training of these agents is rigorous, they tend to operate with few tools, limited resources, minimal support and usually little recognition. Other programs have aimed to engage students more actively in specific entrepreneurship activities, both economic and social, and at both school and university levels. Yet, these are rare as well, and virtually all occur in Casablanca, Morocco's economic capital. Educating for entrepreneurship in Morocco's formal vocational training programs has also been largely missing from the curricula, which many acknowledge to be particularly detrimental to students and the workplace[4].

A School-Based Education for Entrepreneurship Initiative in Morocco

ALEF's Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program (PDEE) represents an important innovation in school-based programs to foster entrepreneurial competence among students[5]. Developed and piloted by ALEF in collaboration with the Ministry

[3] An illustrative list of such initiatives includes the programs of the Education for Employment Foundation, Junior Achievement (Al Injaz, in the Arab region), Students in Free Enterprise (now, Enactus), PlanetFinance, the Moroccan Network for Entrepreneurial Education and the *Centre des Jeunes Dirigeants*.

[4] The USAID/ALEF project did support the Ministry of Agriculture to introduce an Entrepreneurial Spirt Program into about a dozen of its almost 50 post-secondary agriculture training institutes.

[5] The description and analysis of PDEE derives from an internal ALEF report prepared by Naima El Medkouri.

of National Education during the last three years of the project, PDEE reached students of each of the three years of junior secondary school, officially covering ages 12 to 14. An extracurricular program, PDEE comprised 18 two-hour modules for each of the first two years and nine two-hour modules for the third year. (The third year curriculum was shortened to accommodate students' preparations for the end-of-cycle national assessments). Most schools chose to conduct one module per week. PDEE aimed to develop students' personal skills in areas such as problem-solving, confidence, communication and teamwork and to contribute to their career orientation, an official goal of the junior secondary instructional program. Implemented ultimately in 56 schools and reaching 10,061 total students (45% girls) from four of Morocco's 16 regions (Bouhassoune 2011), the program evolved over a three-year period, adding a grade level each year so that by the end, the original cohort of 5,317 (1,897 girls) students from 26 schools had covered all three modules. Program delivery fell primarily to teachers across all subjects, with other school staff and even district education personnel also leading classes. While participation was voluntary for students and teachers, almost all eligible students took part with virtually full attendance. Perhaps even more remarkable was the commitment of the 288 teachers to the program, with 51 women, representing almost six from each school. By the project's end, about 80 percent of the total teaching force from participating schools were represented. Further, 56 guidance advisors (four women) provided technical supervision and support to the schools and teachers (Medkouri 30 November, 2012, personal correspondence).

PDEE featured student-centered, interactive, play-based pedagogic strategies (*une pédagogie ludique*), placing teachers in the role of learning facilitators who engaged students, usually in small teams, in a combination of practical activities aimed to consolidate their knowledge of themselves and their immediate and extended context in order to cultivate personal competencies. The essential aim of PDEE was to permit students to 1) articulate precise ambitions for themselves, as well as for their group and community; 2) elaborate a plan to pursue their ambitions, including identifying the competencies, resources, networks, actions, etc. they would require to do this; and 3) undertake and/or orchestrate the necessary decisions and actions to accomplish their plans and reach their goals. Within PDEE, students set relatively modest, attainable ambitions; but the idea is that by working through the three large steps, particularly as the ambitions become progressively more 'ambitious,' students have the opportunity to hone their confidence to be ever-increasingly bold and effective in setting and achieving goals as they move through youth toward adulthood in their academic, professional, social and personal lives.

The program grouped the non-cognitive skills into four domains of abilities and attributes to foster in students:

1. *Entrepreneurial competencies*, including initiative, perseverance, creativity, a sense of risk, resilience, ambition, learning and discovery...;

2. *Personal attributes*, including self-confidence, a critical spirit, a sense of responsibility, respect for others, timeliness, sharing, curiosity,...;
3. *Managerial competencies*, including problem-solving, goal-setting, planning, decision-making, management, negotiation, compromise, leadership, "followership,"...; and
4. *Social competencies*, including collaboration, cooperation and consultation, networking, communications, flexibility in roles, empathy...

PDEE held firmly that not only do all students have the potential to be entrepreneurial but that an entrepreneurial spirit and basic competencies are vital to future success, whether professional, personal or social, and that these competences can and should be fostered via education. Acknowledging that many contest the ability to "create" an entrepreneur, the program does not believe that every student should or could become a businessperson. Rather, the idea relates more to the French notion of *entreprendre*, to undertake, referring to an individual's confidence, ability and motivation to specify an ambition, and to develop and carry out a plan to achieve this. Such competencies are universally sought by employers.

The three-year program builds progressively from a focus on the individual toward the broader world, and from the student's present to her/his future, while honing the child's competencies in all four dimensions. The first year (PDEE 1) helps each child perceive her/his personal qualities, his/her strengths and weaknesses, aptitudes, likes, areas of comfort, ambitions, etc., and to deepen her/his knowledge of the world s/he inhabits, beginning with the school and moving to the broader community. The specific themes for the first two years of PDEE appear in Table 1.

Table 1. Themes from PDEE 1 and PDEE 2

PDEE 1	PDEE 2
・Discovering the school ・Creativity ・Choices ・The world of work ・Discovering oneself	・World of entrepreneurship ・Notion of work ・Concept of a profession ・One's own aptitudes and ambitions ・Challenge of originality ・Professional success ・Reasons for and consequences of dropping out of school

PDEE 2 also engages the students in groups to design, plan and implement a financial or social entrepreneurial activity. In the third year (PDEE 3), students' continue to operate an enterprise while also thinking more strategically about their professional aspirations and, particularly, a "personal plan" by which best to prepare to achieve this goal. A sample of the "enterprises" students undertook within PDEE 2 and 3 includes:

school canteens; student clubs; the sale of basic school supplies; raising funds to help classmates from poor families; school "beautification" and improvement; the production and/or sale of various items, such as key chains, agendas, decorative items and plants; and campaigns against things such as cheating, drugs, dropping out of school and sloth.

The impacts of PDEE were appreciated almost from the start, evident not just in the students but in the participating teachers and the overall schools. Very quickly, teachers, administrators, parents and even the students themselves perceived significant positive changes among the students, reported in observations to both ALEF advisors and Ministry of Education officials during informal school visits, as well as in the more rigorous, regular "reflection workshops" that ALEF organized with PDEE facilitators. These results were most noteworthy in terms of students' capacity and willingness to:

- express themselves freely, offering and defending opinions, posing questions, challenging each other and their teachers with respect, and listening carefully and critically;
- take initiative, consult and collaborate with peers and be creative;
- reason and project themselves into the future with a clarity of purpose and a plan; and
- respect themselves and others and assume responsibility for their actions, in the classroom and at school and home more generally, which teachers, students, administrators and parents saw most concretely in a dramatic decrease in cheating, greater assiduity studies, heightened classroom attention and participation, and improved grades.

Additionally, teachers provided many moving testimonies of cases of students whose lives were profoundly changed by PDEE. Perhaps most impressive was the story of a girl who had seen her father murder her mother and had not uttered a word since, until she finally felt able to express her emotions following an exercise that engaged students in deciding what they would want with them if shipwrecked on a deserted island. Many teachers reported students' abandoning plans to drop out after the module on that topic, perhaps supported in their decision when their higher-performing classmates committed to helping them with their studies.

Several teachers testified further that their participation in PDEE evoked a much deeper appreciation of their students as individuals with their own viewpoints, knowledge, talents and goals. The PDEE methodology also provided a much clearer understanding of the student-centered, competency-based approaches about which teachers had been learning for years, offering concrete techniques to apply these and the motivation to do so. As a result, many teachers reported adapting PDEE's interactive methods into their delivery of the formal curriculum.

During ALEF, the many positive results associated with the program led the Director of Education for the province of Ben M'sik, in Casablanca, to introduced PDEE into all

eleven middle schools under her jurisdiction, accomplished with very little assistance and no resources from the project. Similarly, four additional schools in the Meknès-Tafilalt region adopted the program independently (Medkouri 2012, personal correspondence). Toward the project's end, the Ministry of Education decided to incorporate PDEE into the national junior secondary school program, though opting for a shortened version to accommodate the pressures of a very full curriculum on the teachers who would need to deliver it. UNICEF, in agreement with the Ministry of Education, developed and piloted a similar program for the final year of primary school. Unfortunately, a change in leadership within the Ministry resulted in abandonment of the plans to generalize PDEE.

Still, even if the program did not persist, its impact on students did. In his Master's thesis, Mohammed Bouhassoune (2011) provides insight into one prominent aspect of the effects of PDEE on students from the Oriental region[6] two years after completing the course[7]. Specifically, Bouhassoune addresses the impact of PDEE on the "vocational maturity" of the students in these programs. He defines vocational maturity as the collection of competencies and attitudes that a person possesses and employs to make and act on decisions concerning a future profession and/or career (p. 23).

In his study, Bouhassoune assesses and compares the vocational maturity of 159 PDEE "graduates" in three upper secondary schools (156 students, of whom 96 were girls) and two professional training institutes (three students, one girl) to 159 students (94 girls and three in professional training) in three other upper secondary schools and the same training institutes who had no such experience. At its essence, Bouhassoune defines

Table 2. Statements of Vocational Maturity

Concerning the statement...	% students answering "False"	
	PDEE (n=159)	Non-PDEE (n=159)
"I don't know what is necessary to enter the profession that I hope to exercise."	72.3%	22.6%
"I remain undecided concerning a preferred profession."	53.3%	17.6%
"I don't know much about what is required to practice a trade."	50.1%	3.8%
"As long as I am at school, I will not bother thinking about an eventual profession."	61%	38.4%
"Most of the time, it is purely by chance that one chooses one profession over another."	69.2%	8.8%
"The choice of a profession is important since it determines how much money you will eventually earn."	48.4%	11.3%

[6] Oriental was one of the four target ALEF regions, located in the northeast of the country.
[7] Bouhassoune defended his study *The Vocational Maturity of Students Who Benefited from a Program to Support Their Career Orientation* in June, 2011 for his Diploma as Inspector in Career Guidance and Education from the national Center for Guidance and Planning in Education in Rabat, Morocco.

vocational maturity as the collection of competencies and attitudes that a person possesses and employs to make and act on decisions concerning a future profession and/or career (p. 23). Overall, he found sizable and significant differences between the two groups, with the PDEE "graduates" demonstrating much greater vocational maturity (2011), deriving this conclusion from three separate instruments.

Capturing just a small sample of the total items of Bouhassoune's first instrument, Table 2 shows the sizable and significant advantages that PDEE graduates possess in terms of thinking purposefully and tactically about their eventual work, which should equip and motivate them much better to plan, make choices, take actions, handle challenges and disappointments, and generally persevere to attain their professional goals. The results of a vocational aptitude test (RIASEC), adapted from Holland (1985), reveal similarly strong advantages for the PDEE graduates, including in confidence and clarity concerning their eventual choice of a trade. Bouhassoune concludes that: "...these students better identified their aptitudes, their interests, their desires and their personality traits and committed to a long-term self-view. Thus, they showed themselves to be less susceptible to external obstacles and to be able to confront these" (Bouhassoune 2011, p. 62; author's translation).

The last instrument allowed Bouhassoune to assess the effects of PDEE's specific guidance functions, measuring knowledge of the workplace, ways to prepare for a profession, and other career guidance notions. He found that PDEE students were significantly more informed about work in general and of the range of options in particular. They were much more likely to report having a good idea of the profession they hope to pursue: 79.2% versus 24.5% (Bouhassoune 2011, p. 81) and almost 50% more likely to indicate that they wanted to choose a profession themselves (p. 83). A full 85.5% aspired to complete their studies and earn a diploma versus 65.4% of non-PDEE students while over twice the non-PDEE sample aimed to find work at the end of the school year (19.5% versus 8.8%) (p. 88).

In sum, students who participated in the ALEF-supported entrepreneurial skills and spirit development course exhibited significantly more of the non-cognitive competencies sought by employers and policy-makers as identified in the first part of this article. At the same time, PDEE beneficiaries demonstrated the effects of these skills and attributes in their current lives as students and in their 'vocational maturity' as they looked towards their professional future. Already they were making meaningful decisions to achieve their goals.

Conclusion

Aspiring to secure both a favorable position within the global marketplace and stability within its borders, Morocco is investing heavily in its economic and social infrastructure. New major ports, beachfront developments, agriculture schemes, extensive highway construction and other infrastructure projects represent just some of the efforts.

All of this is highly vulnerable, however, to weaknesses in the national education and training systems in terms of both access and quality.

Despite the adoption of a very forward-looking national education and training reform, the system as a whole remains heavily burdened by the vestiges of a colonial model established to graduate only a small, elite group of persons, weeding out the masses by operating a dense, knowledge-heavy academic program. While the size of the educated population is admittedly growing, Morocco still has one of the least schooled populations in the larger Arab region (World Bank 2008). To meet its goals, Morocco now needs not only to educate its masses, but to do so with a rich mix of knowledge, know-how and a full assortment of entrepreneurial skills.

The Entrepreneurial Spirit Development Program of the USAID/ALEF project provides a solid case that such skills can be integrated into the middle school curriculum and that doing so generates measurable benefits for the students. The Bouahssoune study demonstrates this empirically in terms of students' vocational maturity. Not considered by Bouahssoune, but also important, were the considerable positive impacts perceived in students' academic motivation and performance as well as their overall demeanor and sense of community. While evidence of these latter outcomes is largely anecdotal, it does suggest other positive gains from programs such as PDEE. While modest in scale, the experience was convincing enough for the Ministry's leadership to decide to introduce the program nationally and extend it down into the primary school.

In Morocco, as in much of the world, the employment sector and broader society are becoming more active and more precise and vocal in demanding more of the education and training system. In this context, there are increasing and concrete examples of effective, replicable, and scalable education strategies by which to meet these requirements. Unfortunately, the commitment to decisions to formalize such strategies within the education system seems to remain elusive, an indictment that might also pertain to many countries. Perhaps all need more entrepreneurial education leaders.

References

Ahmed, M., in World Economic Forum, "Addressing the 100 Million Youth Challenge:
Perspectives on Youth Employment in the Arab World in 2012" [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_YouthEmployment_ArabWorld_Report_2012.pdf] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

Arabian Gazette. (16 May 2012). "30% of Morocco's Urban Youth Unemployed, says World Bank report."
[http://arabiangazette.com/morocco-youth-unemployed-report/] (Accessed 28 November 2012).

Association for Educational Communications and Technology (AECT) Definitions and Terminology Committee. (2004). "The Definition of Educational Technology." (Pre-publication draft of a book chapter.) Bloomington, IN: Author.

[http://ocw.metu.edu.tr/file.php/118/molenda_definition.pdf] (Accessed 27 November 2012).

Bohoney, J. et al. (2011). *The Entrepreneurship Toolkit – Successful Approaches to Fostering Entrepreneurship*. Arlington, VA: Weidemann Associates, Inc.

Bouhassoune, M. (2011). *La Maturité Vocationnelle Chez les Elèves Ayant Bénéficié d' un Programme d'Aide à l'Orientation: cas de l'expérience du PDEE dans l'AREF de l' Oriental,* a master's thesis submitted to the *Centre d'Orientation et de Planification de l'Education*. Rabat, Morocco.

Dugger, R., Durlauf, S. & Heckman, J. (2012). "The Role of Human Capability in Reframing the Global Development Agenda." New York: Human Capital and Economic Opportunity Working Group, Institute for New Economic Thinking.

Delors, J. (1996). *Learning: The Treasure Within*. UNESCO: Paris.The Economist. (2011). "Young, Jobless and Looking for Trouble." 3 February, 2011 [http://www.economist.com/blogs/shumpeter/2011/02/youth_unemployment] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

Gibb, J. (Ed.). (2004). *Generic Skills in Vocational Education and Training*. (Research readings.) Adelaide, Australia: National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER), Australian National Training Authority.

Government of the Kingdom of Morocco. (1999). *Charte Nationale d'Education et de Formation. Rabat*: Author. [http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/maroc-charte-educ.htm](Accessed 27 November 2012).

Heckman, J. (2008). "Schools, Skills and Synapses," Discussion Paper Series No. 3515. Bonn, Germany: Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

HOLLAND, J.L. (1985). "Self-Directed Search," Odessa, FL.: Psychological assessment Resources Inc.

ILO. (2012a). *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2012*, Geneva: Author. [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_180976.pdf] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

ILO. (2012b). *Global Employment Outlook*, April. [http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_elm/---trends/documents/publication/wcms_179663.pdf] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

Lerman, R. (2008). "Are Skills the Problem? Reforming the Education and Training System in the United States." Kalamazoo, MI: W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

Maclean, R. & Wilson, D. (Eds.). (2009). *International Handbook of Education for the Changing World of Work*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

McGrath, S. (Ed.). (2003). "Skills for Life and Work," Paper No. 8, Debates in Skills Development, Bonn, Germany: Working Group for International Cooperation In Schools Development, Network for Policy Review Research and Advice on Education and Training (NORRAG).

Ministry of National Education, Higher Education, Professional Training and Scientific Research, Morocco. (1999). *Charte Nationale d'Education et de Formation*. Rabat: Author.

[http://www.dfc.gov.ma/dfc/images/pdf/Charte_Nationale.pdf] (Accessed 1 December, 2012).

Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. (2001). "Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations (DeSeCo) – Background Paper." Bern, Switzerland: Swiss Federal Statistical Office.

Sample, I & Jha, A. (2012). "Nobel Prize Won by Briton Written Off in his Teens by a Science Teacher." The Guardian. 8 October. [http://www.guardian.co.uk/science/2012/oct/08/nobel-prize-briton-science-teacher] (Accessed 27 January 2013).

Sarasvathy, S. (2001). "What makes entrepreneurs entrepreneurial?" (Self-published). Seattle, WA: School of Business, University of Washington.

Secretary's Commission of Achieving Necessary Skills. (1991). *What Work Requires of Schools – A SCANS report for America 2000*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor.

Secretary's Commission of Achieving Necessary Skills. (1992). *Learning a Living: A Blueprint for High Performance – A SCANS report for America 2000*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor.

Tough, P. (2012). *How Children Succeed: Grit, Curiosity and the Hidden Power of Character*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

The Economist. (2011). "Young, Jobless and Looking for Trouble." 3 February, 2011 [http://www.economist.com/blogs/ shumpeter/2011/02/youth_unemployment] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

UNESCO/UNEVOC. Paris: Author. [http://www.unevoc.unesco.org/tvetipedia.0.html?&tx_drwiki_pi1%5Bkeyword%5D=occupational%20standard#_note-1] (Accessed 26 November, 2012).

UNESCO. (2012). *Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work, Education for All Global Monitoring Report*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

UNESCO Institute for Statistics. (2012). *Global Education Digest 2012 – Opportunities Lost: The Impact of Grade Repetition and Early School Leaving*. Montreal [http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/GED%20Documents%20C/GED-2012-Complete-Web3.pdf] (Accessed 30 November 2012).

Wibrow, Bridget. (no date). *Employability Skills – At a Glance*. Adelaide, Australia: National Centre for Vocational Education Research, Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations.

World Bank. (2008). *The Road Not Traveled – Education Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*. Washington, D.C.

ANNEX A. Sample Lists of Key Generic Competencies

McClelland 1973 (cited by Dawe, in Gibb 2004, p. 71)

1. Self-control	8. Self-confidence	15. Organizational commitment
2. Flexibility	9. Expertise	16. Information seeking
3. Analytical thinking	10. Conceptual thinking	17. Achievement motive values
4. Concern for order	11. Initiative	18. Interpersonal understanding
5. Customer service orientation	12. Impact and Influence	19. Organizational awareness
6. Relationship building	13. Directiveness	20. Developing others
7. Teamwork and cooperation	14. Team leadership	

SCANS 1991

Workplace competencies:	Foundational Skills:
1. Productive use of resources (time, money, materials, personnel,...)	1. Basic skills (literacy, numeracy, communication,...)
2. Interpersonal skills (teamwork, lead, negotiate,...)	2. Thinking skills (decision-making, problem solving,...)
3. Information (acquire, evaluate, organise,...)	3. Personal qualities (responsibility, self-esteem, integrity,...)
4. Operation of and within systems (social, organisational, technical,...)	
5. Technology (use, selection, maintenance,...)	

Mayer Committee 1992 (in Gibb 2004)

Key competencies:	...assessed at three performance levels:
1. Collecting, analysing and organising information	1. Competent following of instructions
2. Communicating ideas and information	2. Selection of the appropriate methodology and resources to achieve the desired outcome
3. Planning and organising activities	3. Creation of new approaches to achieving a specific outcome or improved outcome
4. Working with others and in teams	
5. Using mathematical ideas and techniques	
6. Solving problems	
7. Using technology	

DeSeCo 1997 (in Gibb 2004)

Three assumptions:	Three types:
1. Contribute to highly valued outcomes at the individual and societal levels	1. Functioning in socially heterogeneous groups
2. Instrumental for meeting important complex demands and challenges in a wide spectrum of relevant contexts	2. Acting autonomously
3. Important to all individuals	3. Using tools interactively

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.129 ～ 158

Education, Earning, and Engagement for Out-of-School Youth in 26 Developing Countries: What Has Been Learned from Nine Years of EQUIP3?

Erik Payne Butler, Nancy Taggart, and Nancy Chervin
EQUIP3 Education Development Center, Washington D.C., USA

Abstract

Since 2003, the EQUIP3 Project has worked to improve earning, learning, and skill development opportunities for out-of-school youth in developing countries. Education, literacy and numeracy programs were blended with employment and livelihood training, leadership, service learning, and civic engagement for more than 200,000 youth. This article explores what has been learned and what next steps should be. Out-of-school youth face increased challenges in successfully gaining employmentor livelihood. With less job experience, fewer networks and insufficient education that have failed to provide marketable skills, most out-of-school youth work, but often at subsistence level or in unsafe conditions. Starting with what was known about youth programming at the time and building knowledge through on-the-ground experience, EQUIP3 saw youth through an "assets" rather than "deficit" lens. The project sees young people needing skills related to: 1) *earning* (including readiness skills training, technical skills, entrepreneurship skills); 2) *education* (literacy and numeracy integrated into work readiness and technical training as foundation for other skills needed for work); and 3) *engagement* (sense of affiliation and belonging, realistic, safe ways for youth to contribute meaningfully to communities, societies, even program implementation).

Introduction

Beginning in 2003, and concluding in 2012, USAID has invested more than $250 million in serving out-of-school and young people disconnected from family, communities, education or work in countries as varied as Haiti, Philippines, Rwanda, and Kosovo, and 22 others. Education, including literacy and numeracy programs, was blended with opportunities for employment and livelihood training, and with leadership, service learning, and civic engagement experiences for more than 200,000 youth. By 2017, when the last of the programs initiated by EQUIP3 is slated to end, that number is expected to reach 300,000.

While 200,000 is a small fraction of the nearly 1.5 billion young people age 15-24 globally, this was nonetheless a significant set of programs serving a varied and sizable population. This article explores what has been learned from this experience, suggesting

next steps and new lines of enquiry to better understand what strategies work best for young people and what the role of local and national context is in shaping opportunities for young people.

EQUIP3 was designed to improve earning, learning, and skill development opportunities for out-of-school youth in developing countries. The project was designed to respond to the understanding that young men and women face increased challenges in successfully gaining employment or a livelihood. They have less job experience, fewer contacts or networks and their education usually does not prepare them with relevant, marketable skills for work (USAID 2012).While most out-of-school youth are involved in some form of work already, the work is often in unsafe conditions and only meets basic subsistence needs. EQUIP3 was one of three USAID-funded "Leader with Associate" programs that promoted improved educational quality in countries around the world.

EQUIP was a partnership with USAID, a consortium of international partner organizations, and host country public and private institutions such as businesses, primary, secondary and tertiary-level schools and vocational training institutes. The EQUIP3 consortium of international partners included Education Development Center, Inc. (EDC), as the prime and other organizations such as the International Youth Foundation and FHI360 (formerly AED)[1].

The project has been guided by a practical commitment to the approach that young people are assets, not threats or problems to be solved[2]. Programs have engaged in services and instruction that support young people in considering their economic future—as employees, entrepreneurs, or participants in small-scale livelihood activities. Over the past nine years, the project has helped youth secure productive livelihoods, whether in the formal or informal sector, to serve as their starting point for productive participation in society and the economy.

To support the healthy and positive development of young people, EQUIP3 has helped to equip them with a common set of skills and attributes:

- ***Earning***: Work and livelihood development for young people who are out-of-school and out-of-work were a core focus. The approach centered on a package combining work readiness skills training, technical skills, and entrepreneurship skills.
- ***Education***: Literacy and numeracy were often integrated into work readiness and technical training as a foundation for the other skills early school leavers

[1] EQUIP3 Consortium partners were: Education Development Center, Inc., FHI360, Catholic Relief Services, International Council on National Youth Policy, International Youth Foundation, National Youth Employment Coalition, National Youth Leadership Council, Opportunities Industrialization Centers International, Partners of the Americas, Plan International, Childreach, Sesame Workshop, Street Kids International, and World Learning.

[2] The assets-based approach to community development and positive youth development emerged within U.S.-based youth programming starting in the 1990s. See McKnight, J. & Kretzmann, J. (1996) and Benson, P. L. (2003).

needed for work.

- ***Engagement***: EQUIP3 programs provide a sense of affiliation and realistic and safe connections that enabled youth to belong and to contribute meaningfully to program implementation and to their communities.

Two broad categories of interventions help youth acquire these skills and assets: Supply-side interventions, which are direct interventions that serve youth, particularly training programs; and demand-side interventions, which target the socioeconomic environment in which youth are earning a livelihood.

While some youth development programs—within and beyond EQUIP3's portfolio—include both supply- and demand-side interventions, most focus resources on one or the other. Projects have emphasized primarily, but not exclusively, training and other supply-side activities.

Programs have spanned 25 projects in 26 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Among these countries, EQUIP3 has worked in some of the most challenging contexts, characterized by political instability, natural disaster, or ongoing conflict. In fact, most of the countries in which projects have been implemented could be categorized as crisis- or conflict-affected. As of December 2011, the following had been accomplished:

- EQUIP3 has reached more than 200,000 youth, a number that will increase as 10 projects are continuing, some projected for as long as 2017.
- Programs have trained more than 50,000 youth in work readiness skills to prepare them for employment and livelihood opportunities. Nearly 60,000 youth have completed vocational training, more than 6,000 are employed in the formal or informal sectors, and another 4,000 have started their own businesses or livelihood activities.
- While a core focus of only a couple of EQUIP3 programs, civic leadership training has been provided to more than 1,000 youth, and 40 youth-led community associations have been created. Youth civic engagement programming was viewed as an important element of programs because it enables youth to see themselves as responsible citizens who have a role in their society's development. Developing a sense of civic responsibility allows youth to serve as a model to others and to consider the effects of their individual choices on the broader community. Training and support to develop the capacity of youth-led groups and organizations empowers youth to take action in their own communities.
- Programs have created more than 400 youth development partnerships or networks, including nearly 700 separate stakeholder institutions[3]. More than 500

[3] Youth development partnerships or networks are defined as groups of organizations (public or

youth-serving institutions[4] have benefited from training and capacity-building assistance.

History

EQUIP3 was launched in 2003 by the USAID's Education Office of the Economic Growth and Trade (EGAT) Bureau. Education Development Center led a consortium of other U.S.-based development organizations. Early projects focused primarily on the basic education needs of out-of-school youth. As more projects were implemented and EQUIP3 learned more about youths' diverse needs and priorities, the projects evolved to focus on youth civic participation and livelihoods as well. The program served as a valuable testing ground, both for adapting approaches from the United States and Europe and for developing whole new approaches tailored to country contexts. Over the past nine years, programming has undergone several stages of evolution, wherein the experiences and lessons from the first set of programs have influenced the design and been incorporated into the implementation of later programs.

As a result, the current set of continuing EQUIP3 programs weave together the program elements of non-formal education, work and livelihoods training and linkages to financing into an ambitious, "cross-sectoral" approach that suits local needs (see Annex C for an overview of EQUIP3 Associate Partner Awards). Projects have also moved from single-sector USAID support (in education or only economic growth) to cross-sectoral support, and projects frequently provided information about HIV and AIDS, and adolescent and reproductive health. Rwanda's *Akaze Kanozi* ("Good Work") project combines literacy supports with work readiness and entrepreneurship training, and is delivered through a supported network of Rwandan NGOs. Kosovo's Young Entrepreneurs Program (YEP) focuses on identifying, engaging and recruiting young people with ideas for their own enterprises. Mejorando la Educacion para Trabajar Aprender, y Superarse (METAS) in Honduras supports cognitive skills development along with preparation for work, and community-based strategies to reduce violence and gang involvement. Mali's Support to Out of School Youth Project (PAJE-Nièta) similarly develops work readiness while supporting development of very small rural enterprises for self-employment. Other project examples of this cross-sectoral approach include Kenya's Garissa Youth Project, the Youth Employability Skills (YES) Network in Macedonia, Partnership for Innovations Activity (PI) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Skills and Knowledge for Youth Employment (SKYE) in Guyana, and Advancing Youth Project (AYP) in Liberia. These projects will continue to offer lessons about developing small enterprises in vastly divergent economies, from rural sub-Saharan Africa to the Caribbean

private) that are working together on youth development. Stakeholder institutions are defined as each of the "member" organizations that comprise the youth development partnership or network.

[4] Youth-serving institutions are defined as non-government organizations or host country government entities that provide services for youth.

Basin to the European Union pre-accession countries of Eastern Europe.

The approach has prioritized serving out-of-school youth through local institutions and building the capacity of community-based organizations and government through partnerships and networks. Some are organized within government agencies, such as the non-formal education division of a ministry of education. Others are organized at the community level, in partnership with local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) or alliances such as Synergeia in the Philippines and KORA in Rwanda.

Finally, youth programming in developing countries is a relatively new field, and the evidence base weak for what activities and strategies are effective for preparing young people for livelihoods and jobs. Until recently, there have been few tools to measure effectiveness. Over the course of EQUIP3, a number of evaluation tools were piloted to measure outcomes of youth workforce programs. These tools are now being adapted under later EQUIP3 projects and have helped to point to areas of investment for future programs. Moreover, methodologies and models developed under EQUIP3 have contributed to further investments by USAID in youth programming, such as YouthMap, a USAID funded program that supports cross-sectoral youth assessments in Sub-Saharan Africa. (See Annex B.)

Over time, EQUIP3 developed programs that focused at least one and usually two of three primary technical areas: livelihoods and workforce development (*Earning*), literacy and numeracy (*Education*), and youth leadership (*Engagement*).

Earning: Livelihoods and Workforce Development Programs

Livelihood and workforce development projects support youth to improve key skills and accumulate capital, economic and personal. Easily the most complex area of EQUIP3 programs, improving youths' livelihoods and workforce development is the core of many projects. Program experience has shown that successfully positioning youth to enter the workforce or start their own income generation activity requires a package of services and activities directed at both youth and the private sector. Out-of-school youth, who usually have less education, less training and fewer contacts and financial resources, are even more in need of flexible, varied services. Though highly context-specific, each EQUIP3 livelihood development project has one or more components that may be categorized as follows:

- *Work readiness training*: Includes vocational (technical) skills and skills to prepare youth to find work and to work successfully
- *Entrepreneurship training and support*: Provides instruction in how to start a business and may provide access to seed funding
- *Bridging strategies*: Includes complementary services such as mentoring, coaching, work-based learning, linkages to financing, and other resources for business start up, and job placement
- *Demand-side engagement*: Activities that target the social-economic environment

in which youth are earning a livelihood

Each of these livelihood development program components is discussed in more detail below.

Work Readiness Training

Most livelihoods and workforce development projects have work readiness training at their core, in which work readiness is defined as the "soft skills" needed to succeed at work or in a livelihood. Consistent with reports on other youth programs that have found these skills to be essential in livelihoods and employment programming, EQUIP3 work readiness trainings have often been seen by youth trainees, their families, and employers as the most valuable program component (International Youth Foundation 2010). In the PAS project in East Timor, youth pointed to gaining confidence and public speaking skills and cited the Life Map (a professional development plan created by youth at the beginning of the PAS Project's coaching phase) as the most influential (Education Development Center 2010). Under EQuALLS2 in the Philippines, the project's business partners rated "positive values and work ethics" as more important than technical skills (Briones 2010). Businesses argued that they can train youth on technical skills, but if youth don't have positive attitudes, respectful behavior, and a readiness to learn, they have difficulty responding to the norms of the workplace.

Drawing upon both U.S. expertise and experiences of EQUIP3 projects in East Timor and Rwanda, the basic components of a work readiness framework were developed between 2009-2011 to inform training and curricula development for future programs including PAJE Nieta in Mali, AYP in Liberia and SKYE in Guyana. The framework established learning standards for each area of skills as well as sample lesson topics for each skill area. The framework also included key skills that should be imparted through the work readiness curricula:

- *Career identification & job search skills*—such as describing skills and interests, setting career goals, writing a resume, searching for a job, and contacting employers—help youth find and obtain employment.
- *Performance skills*— such as working in a team, being punctual, and accepting supervision respectfully—help youth meet the social and business requirements of the workplace and keep a job.
- *Life skills*—such as maintaining health and hygiene, solving problems, managing conflicts, and basic financial literacy—help youth manage their lives safely and healthfully and balance work as part of a broader set of demands and opportunities.

A work readiness framework was used as the basis for curriculum adaptation for G-Youth in Kenya, PAJE-Nièta in Mali, EQuALLS2 in the Philippines, YES in Macedonia, and AISPY in Yemen; it is underway in SKYE in Guyana and AYP in

Liberia.

Experiences in Somalia showed that it is helpful to offer work readiness training through existing institutions rather than delivering training directly, if technical oversight is provided. In the Philippines, work readiness training maintained support from the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), the national vocational-technical education and training regulatory agency. Training often took place in TESDA centers and TESDA-certified trainers contextualized the training to the local environment. A similar approach was used in Somalia under SYLP. However, when local partners implemented work readiness training without EDC's oversight, the quality of training quality was lower.

Another challenge was the time necessary to build a cadre of local work-readiness trainers with the requisite participatory training styles and understanding of positive youth development. Instilling this approach among trainers requires follow-up coaching and guidance that takes significant time before the training itself.

Experience with work readiness training also highlighted the challenge of meaningfully measuring work readiness skills. While life skills training programs use pre- and post-tests to measure youths' knowledge acquisition, these measures are self-reported and do not gauge how well youth may apply their new skills on the job. Moreover, while employer surveys are helpful for getting feedback on youths' performance, they were not seen as sufficient to measure youths' attitudes and behavior change in the workplace. In response, work is now underway to pilot an improved international work readiness learning assessment. The assessment will measure key skills in four priority topics drawn directly from the work readiness curriculum: critical thinking skills, collaboration skills, interpersonal communication skills, and work habits and conduct.

Entrepreneurship Training and Financing

As noted, EQUIP3's livelihoods programs have evolved to incorporate new components based on a growing understanding of youths' needs. One such component is entrepreneurship training, which has learned the value of drawing on existing entrepreneurship training then adapting it to the specific context of the program. EQUIP3 has partnered with other institutions, for example Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Rwanda, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Kenya, to adapt their existing entrepreneurship training. In Guyana and Liberia, the project developed their training own with local partners. The content of entrepreneurship training varies according to the young people's education level and the local economic context. In Liberia and Mali entrepreneurship training targets low-literacy youth in rural areas and emphasizes development of income-generation activities based on opportunities in the agriculture sector.

Beyond entrepreneurship training, access to financing for youth entrepreneurs is a pervasive challenge in developing countries. Almost universally, lenders view youth

as great credit risks. EQUIP3's approach has been to: help youth link to microfinance institutions, provide guidance to microfinance institutions to offer youth-friendly credit products and services, offer matching grants whereby youth must contribute an equal amount of capital, or help youth acquire adult guarantors and develop business plans.

In Haiti's IDEJEN, youth received entrepreneurship training and then formed groups of five to develop a business plan. Groups then received a $500 grant to start their small business, followed by several months of coaching. This approach presented some interesting challenges which are likely to confront organizations working to facilitate youth's access to credit. While the group-based model reinforces teamwork, often one youth would emerge as the leader and take over the business. This led to conflict. In addition, the startup grant was often insufficient, depending on the location and type of business the youth wanted to start. Attempts to link youth participants with microfinance services were challenging because most service providers still thought youth were too risky.

In East Timor's PAS program, youth received a foundational package of work readiness, technical training, and literacy/numeracy training, after which they could choose to pursue non-formal education, find formal sector employment, or start their own business. Of the 1,700 who completed the program, 743 young people chose the entrepreneurship pathway, of whom 59% were women, and 41% had only primary or some primary education. Youth received $100 grants to start their businesses, with most youth choosing to start a kiosk-based business or a small shop near or/at their home. Unsurprisingly, success varied, with many never turning a profit. It appeared that the business training was not sufficient for youth to learn to analyze potential markets and develop a strong business plan.

Learning from this experience, the Youth Entrepreneurship Program (YEP) in Kosovo offered grants to youth entrepreneurs who have viable business plans and who can contribute an equal cash match to the grant through personal savings, investors, or loans. YEP also partnered with local lending institutions to encourage more lending activities for youth businesses and has negotiated favorable rates with some lending institutions.

Complementary Bridging Strategies

Earlier EQUIP3 livelihood programs have confirmed that training or access to credit alone is insufficient to ensure youth are positioned for jobs and businesses— they need additional support. These supports are termed complementary "bridging strategies," a process in which youth receive targeted support to help them transition from training to the next step in their career path, be it work or further education and training. The process is based on an understanding of youths' interests, market needs, training opportunities, and facilitation of a match with potential employers or enterprise opportunities. Ideally, these complementary strategies are offered before, during, and after any training.

EQUIP3 began to offer complementary services under Haiti's IDEJEN project,

which worked with extremely marginalized youth who lacked access to resources or information as well as training. IDEJEN offered follow-up assistance and coaching to help youth identify and prepare for job opportunities. The project also provided youth with information on the steps and necessary testing to return to school. IDEJEN referred to these services as "accompaniment," using the French term. Under EQuALLS2, a workforce development study highlighted the importance of this outside-the-classroom support (Briodes 2010). The EQuALLS2 report found that access to capital, linkages to community in-kind resources, and guidance on how to navigate regulations for business startups were of most importance to youth in beneficiary communities in the Philippines.

Subsequent youth programs began to integrate these services into new programs more deliberately, starting with PAS in East Timor and Akazi Kanoze in Rwanda. Bridging strategies are now included in all EQUIP3 youth programs. Specific examples include the SYLP Project in Somalia, which formed business advisory councils and hired a private sector specialist to create a network of friends and champions. This resulted in a 40% internship placement rate. SYLP also capitalized on youths' facility with technology through partner Souktel's SMS-based InfoMatch tool, which matches job seekers and potential employers on a mobile phone-based platform. The project trained 6,288 male youth and 4,372 female youth in its vocational training package, and more than 8,000 additional youth have accessed and utilized the InfoMatch tool. The EQuALLS2 Project in the Philippines helped youth create individual development plans that detailed steps for youth to take in applying their training to seeking jobs or self-employment.

As these bridging strategies have evolved, several challenges have arisen. The first has been the lack of an articulated strategy for choosing which support and services to offer so that new programs could replicate those that have proven themselves effective. Another related challenge is measurement of outcomes to determine the level of support needed to accompany training in a particular situation. For example, there is little existing research on the impact of coaching or mentoring on youth employment including how much or how often coaching is needed. Finally, identifying the most sustainable mechanisms to offer these services is a persistent challenge. For example, face-to-face counseling or coaching is likely to offer the highest quality because it is interactive and personalized. However, since staff time is expensive, it may also be the least sustainable. If coaching or mentoring are provided through local sub-partners such as an NGO or training provider, transferring skills to partners on effective coaching techniques takes time to ensure quality. Further piloting of online or cell phone-based delivery systems, such as the InfoMatch SMS-based tool in Somalia, is a worthy area of investment.

Demand-Side Interventions

The final component of livelihoods programs are demand-side interventions, which target the environment in which youth are to work:

- *Policy measures to improve the macroeconomic environment*: Policy measures might pertain to taxes, business registration, or incentives to foreign direct investment. These matters are not often seen as part of workforce programs, although USAID's inclusion of workforce development as part of an investment in economic competitiveness is related.
- *Regulatory measures aimed at improving access to labor markets for youth and the entrepreneurship environment*: Support for access to financing both for SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises) and business start-ups can help stimulate growth in the sectors most likely to be open to hiring young people.
- *Value chain development in sectors with the greatest potential for youth employment*: Small enterprises engaged in growing agricultural products that would be bought by firms for agro-processing, providing technical services such as information technology, or making machine parts for manufacturing are often good sources of entry level employment for youth.
- *Development of business services with an emphasis on services geared toward youth-owned enterprises*: For example, the "micro-franchising" model practiced in some regions, involving the sale of everything from cell phone airtime to ice cream bars have proven excellent youth livelihood opportunities.
- *Boosting of the demand for and/or supply of youth financial services*: "youth-friendly" financial products are tailored to the different needs and working conditions of youth entrepreneurs.

Demand-side interventions may have a broader scope than just youth, but nevertheless, can have positive effects on youth, particularly if they create work-based learning or even long-term entry-level employment opportunities. On the other hand, programs that neglect the demand side often fail to address the environmental factors shaping youths' employment and livelihood opportunities. As a result, programs that might result in youth acquiring gainful employment under different demand-side conditions wind up falling short. As noted by the Commonwealth Youth Program and UNICEF, "livelihood interventions in isolation can have limited impacts if broader policy-making at the macro-economic level does not explicitly address issues that affect adolescents" (Brown 2001). Furthermore, the 2007 "World Bank Youth Employment Inventory" observes a misalignment between vocational skills-training program strategies and local and national labor market policies, leading to programs that do not demonstrate close connections with local labor markets (Betcherman et al. 2007).

As best practices in employment programming both in the US and internationally show, it is important to respond to employer needs, utilizing labor market assessments to understand the present needs and future trends affecting employers in a given region or labor market. More work is needed both in the US and abroad to create demand-driven approaches. Direct linkages are needed to private sector employment opportunities, even in economies with weak private sectors. Linkages may take different forms. In strong

economies the challenge may be to link young people more directly with existing demand for labor. In weaker economies with low demand for labor, an emphasis on entrepreneurial skills supports the aim to *create* demand by stimulating the growth in small and medium sized enterprises and supporting young people to initiate new forms of self employment and income generation.

While work readiness programming is a part of many economic growth programs, several EQUIP3 programs tailored their demand-driven approach to working with youth. Businesses are often skeptical of out-of-school youth's capacity as potential interns or employees. Rapid youth assessments have identified a sense of distrust, even fear, among businesses toward disadvantaged youth. Stigmas about hiring out-of-school youth or extending credit to youth are often more daunting than challenges experienced by adults.

In response, several projects worked to generate business support. Rwanda's Akazi Kanoze involved the private sector early by asking business leaders to review EQUIP3's work readiness curriculum. Based on this local review and subsequent feedback, project staff conducted a pilot of the curriculum and then refined it based on feedback. While taking more time and resources, this process yields better results as the curriculum more directly reflects employer needs. This strategy strengthened what Porter calls the "business cluster," defined as geographic concentrations of interconnected companies, suppliers, and institutions that increase productivity of local economies (Porter 1998). Akazi Kanoze also identified the skills that were needed in the labor market, evaluated various industry sectors, and picked three sectors as priority partners. As of November 2011, based on the project's approach, Akazi Kanoze boasted a 50% placement rate for its youth (including youth in paid internships or jobs or youth who started their own businesses) in a country where estimates put unemployment of youth without secondary education at 61% (Republic of Rwanda Donors Group 2006). In Somalia, SYLP fostered business councils with the private sector to place disadvantaged youth in internships and jobs. The goal was to facilitate creation of connections and networking between youth and employers in a structured safe environment in a context where the private sector and employed are hugely challenged by political instability. In Macedonia, "socio-economic councils" engaged business people, educators, and municipal officials in municipality-level forums to support youth employability.

In sum, strategies to prepare youth for livelihoods and employment evolved throughout the course of the project into a more sophisticated package of services meeting a variety of potential needs among out-of-school youth. The ongoing challenge is to measure impacts of these services to specify what "dosage" of each service is needed and what services are more important than others to get young people the skills and resources they need.

Education: A Focus on Literacy and Numeracy

The second of the three major categories of EQUIP's programming was education.

While work readiness has been at the core of most projects, early youth projects learned that youth often lack the necessary basic skills to take advantage of a work readiness or technical skills training program. Early participants could not read, write, or do enough basic math to participate in programs that assumed these skills. The ability to comprehend and use written material and to use numbers for problem-solving, measurement, estimation, and mapping are practical requisites for gaining employment, starting a business, or seeking other opportunities. In response, some programs have added literacy and numeracy training based on identified needs among youth, while in other programs, literacy and numeracy was the core program component around which others were added. Staff quickly learned to assess upfront the language skills of potential youth participants and to plan accordingly. Internal project experts created curricula in some projects, while others worked with partners to adapt existing curricula. Literacy and numeracy curricula have been developed for nine projects, including LCEP in Afghanistan, IDEJEN in Haiti, EQuALLS2 in Philippines, and PAS in East Timor, and added to almost all new-generation programs—Akazi Kanoze in Rwanda, PAJE-Nièta in Mali, METAS in Honduras, MEGA-SkY in India, and AYP in Liberia.

An issue that arose in some programs was which language to use in teaching literacy. While literacy in English or French is an important skill for many jobs, it is well understood that literacy skills are most easily mastered in one's mother tongue. Research has shown that first language literacy facilitates literacy in a second, or other language, an important consideration for instructional policy and practice.

Acquisition of literacy in the national language, even when it is not the first language, is also important, especially for youth who want to pursue secondary or higher education, which is usually available primarily or only in the national language[5]. Once writing skills have been acquired in the first language, some of these skills (letter recognition and production, recognition of the relationship of symbols and sounds, and others) can be transferred to learning to read and write in the second language, especially if first language literacy is taught with this in mind.

The IDEJEN project began with Haitian Creole literacy because the great majority of participants did not know how to read or write in any language. Eventually, the project offered French for students enrolled in its *ecole ateliers* (training centers that offered more advanced vocational training). The PAJE-Nièta project in Mali offers literacy in the local language and also an introduction to French. First language literacy was also an important component of the projects in the Philippines and Afghanistan.

Youth often need to read and write in languages other than the national language for employability. The Akazi Kanoze project in Rwanda responded to this need with a 20-hour conversational English course, which included greetings and workplace English for youth who had some English proficiency. Integrating workforce preparedness or

[5] Research by Cummins has shown, for example, that high levels of proficiency in the first language affect literacy in the second language (1979).

community participation concepts into literacy and numeracy activities is effective in helping youth apply their skills. Akazi Kanoze also found that a journal could help integrate students' learning: learners used journals to reflect on and answer guiding questions that drew upon knowledge from their basic education classes, job skills training classes, and work experiences. In the PAS project in East Timor, youth in the Oecussi district learned to read and write words in Tetum, the national language, using the work readiness curriculum. Youth also reinforced their numeracy skills by using a cashbook to record their income and expenses for their income-generation activities, which the project had helped them launch. The LCEP project in Afghanistan provides a good example of a basic literacy curriculum that integrates messages of community empowerment.

Closely linked to the importance of basic literacy and numeracy skills is the priority of facilitating young people's return to the formal school system or earning secondary school equivalency certification to better position them for employment. This is challenging for many youth. Often, either there is no government equivalency exam or option to earn a certificate except through the formal system, or the equivalency standards are set so high that few can meet them. In response, some projects have been designed to grant a certificate of primary or secondary equivalency, or a diploma that allows the learner to enter the formal system at a certain level or to present to potential employers and others evidence of education equivalent to that offered in school. These non-formal, accelerated learning programs offer the opportunity to "catch up" on missed formal schooling, often requiring only half the time of formal schools. The Akazi Kanoze project, for example, developed an accelerated learning program for learners at the P4 level to bring them up to a P6 level and earn a primary education completion certificate. The program offered 300 hours of Kinyarwanda language classes, 200 hours of numeracy, and 100 hours of basic English instruction. The curriculum also included work readiness and technical skills training in construction, hospitality, and other sectors where job opportunities were identified. These latter skill areas were included in the non-formal program to equip youth with marketable skills that the formal system did not teach.

In summary, experiences from EQUIP3 highlight the importance of including literacy and numeracy skill-building included in program design when working with low-literate out-of-school youth; the importance of considering what specific language skills are most marketable for employment; and the need to be creative when teaching literacy, weaving literacy skills with other content that is important for project outcomes related to livelihood or community participation.

Engagement: Youth Leadership Skills

The final category, "Engagement," refers to programs that seek to increase young people's involvement and participation in their communities' development. Fostering greater civic engagement among youth was seen as complementary to direct workforce training because it can equip youth will stronger communication, critical thinking and

management skills that they can apply to their careers. Activities often included leadership training, capacity building of youth groups to initiate community development projects, community mapping, or service learning projects. While this third "E" was present to some extent in all EQUIP3 programs, it was the strategic centerpiece for projects in West Bank/Gaza, the Garissa region of Kenya, Somalia, and in Mindanao, Philippines. Practical and policy concerns about maintaining peace and preventing violence and terrorism lay behind the developments in these four. Projects were designed to engage youth in identifying community priorities and needs and to equip them with the requisite skills to take leadership roles in their communities.

The Ruwwad Project in West Bank/Gaza was developed early in EQUIP3 and continued until recently. Youth leadership has been at its core since its launch in 2004. Ruwwad brought together youth from across the West Bank to share ideas and experiences and to identify critical community issues for three-month, youth-led community service initiatives. Training was provided in: leadership and team-building, community organizing and mobilization, ICTs for community development, employability skills, community service planning, budget creation, and media and communications.

One of the greatest strengths of Ruwwad's training was bringing together youth from different areas of the West Bank, enabling them to learn from each other's different experiences. Youth trainees expressed how much they appreciated the intensive training on topics such as leadership, teamwork, and conflict resolution skills. Youth designed and led community service projects in several parts of the region, including roving health clinics and an interactive website for informal education among school children ages 6 to 17. These leadership training and community service activities contributed to EQUIP3's broader goals because they gave youth transferable skills and experiences.

In the conflict-affected region of North Eastern Province, Kenya, the Garissa Youth Project offered youth a package of work readiness training, entrepreneurship and ICT training to build skills for employment and other income-generating opportunities and to prepare youth for technical training or university. In G-Youth's first phase, there was also a component called, "Youth Action," which included youth leadership training, youth-led community projects, a youth summit, and the development of youth action plans for community development activities of high priority for youth. During this first phase, 72 community youth leaders from 36 villages received training in proposal development, problem-solving, community storytelling, and public speaking. The project supported youth in implementation of village-based projects and enabled 500 youth leaders and guests to participate in the project's first Youth Summit.

Building on these successes, G-Youth began a two-year expansion in November 2010, with an emphasis on a "youth-led, youth-managed" approach in which the young men and women from Garissa would have greater responsibility for participation in project management and strategic planning, administering a "youth fund" to finance activities of interest to Garissan youth. The cornerstone of this second phase supported youth groups in advocating for and addressing the needs of youth through their own

initiatives. The youth fund made resources available to youth for different purposes: grants to implement community development or recreational projects; funding to help youth start small businesses; scholarships for youth seeking to complete secondary education or access tertiary training, and capacity-building fund to strengthen emerging youth groups.

Building the capacity of youth to play leadership roles in the project and in their communities was an ongoing challenge during G-Youth's second phase. It became clear that youth leaders needed supervision and intense capacity-building in how to lead and manage teams effectively, particularly among youth who had not worked together before and among whom there was not strong trust. In addition, youth expected to decide project direction without consultation or consensus with the community. They also expected to be paid for participation. These expectations were not realistic and as a result, G-Youth shifted its approach. The project's revised approach focused on supporting smaller groups of youth who had come together themselves to develop projects that responded to community needs (e.g. trash collection, income-generation) and to equip them with skills in project management. With this new approach, the project sought to shift the youths' focus from issues of power and payment to priorities and needs in their communities. The G-Youth example demonstrates the importance of designing youth programs to give meaningful opportunities for youth to participate and contribute to project directions, while also instilling in youth an understanding of their responsibilities to communities and families.

The projects in Somalia (Somali Youth Leadership Program) and in the Philippines (EQuALLS2) projects provide other examples of supporting youth to take leadership roles. SYLP was created to provide Somali youth with greater access to training, internship, work, and self-employment opportunities. The project worked toward these objectives, in part, by hiring local youth as paid interns, drawing young people directly from the training program. The project adapted a "leadership ladder" approach that aimed to include youth in increasingly higher levels of decision-making and leadership within the project[6]. For example, youth were actively engaged in supporting the project administration. The project benefited; young staff were able to communicate well with other youth, especially those who were marginalized, and to gather information from young people. This helped the project overcome the common disconnect between young people and service providers by helping the project understand and then focus its activities on the interests, needs, and concerns of youth (Sully 2010).

In the Philippines, youth received training in communication and community needs assessment and participated in local school management committees along with parents and educators. The project helped youth form associations and clubs to work together on activities for government agencies supported by the project.

Civic engagement has become a common component in many international youth

[6] The concept "youth leadership ladder" was created by Roger Hart and refers to different possible levels of youth engagement ranging from the 1st rung of "manipulation" to the 8th run in which young people share decisions with adults (See Hart 1992).

programs. This has been partly in response to greater emphasis among donors and implementers on the need to strengthen youth's participation in project management and implementation and also because greater youth participation in governance and civil society is viewed as a potential strategy to stem political instability. EQUIP3's pilot experiences in this area are a useful starting point for shaping new approaches to programming.

Looking Forward

More than 1.5 billion 12–24 year olds worldwide are both an important national development asset and a pressing challenge for the international community. Many of these young people are out of school, with poorly developed cognitive skills, and little experience with work or access to livelihoods or jobs. Yet youth bring unique, fresh perspectives that, if attended to by policymakers and program designers, can transform future programs. EQUIP's experience confirms the basic approach of combining access to work and livelihood opportunities, education and training, and health services, and to offer youth opportunities for active civic participation and leadership.

Programmatic Lessons: Boiling it Down to the Top Ten

Reduced to simple terms, what do young people need to be active and productive members of society? EQUIP3's projects in 26 countries confirms that young people need *practical, marketable skills*, ranging from literacy and numeracy (the ability to process and use information) to hands-on vocational skills suited to very local circumstances and demand. Young adults need *money*—to live, to save, and to invest in themselves and their families—and connections to ways to earn it. All need *actionable information*—about training and education, work opportunities, better health, full participation in citizenship, and how to be busy and productive. Finally, more than almost any group, young people crave *affiliation*, as well as useful connections that enable them to belong and have access to all of the above.

Herewith, our programmatic Top Ten:

1. *Out-of-school youth projects in developing countries should employ an integrated package of work readiness training, work experience, bridging services, including coaching and linkages to financing, and literacy and numeracy education.*

Perhaps the most important finding from the extensive focus on livelihoods and employment under EQUIP3 is that there is no single element of service, but rather it is an integrated continuum of education (most often starting with literacy and numeracy for early school leavers), supports, and experiences that shows the greatest results. While this

point is widely known, it is not always consistently applied in youth program designs.

2. *A more systematic and structured approach to* "*bridging services*" *extends service to support youths' active transition to work and further schooling.*

Traditionally livelihood-oriented programs "graduate" young people at the conclusion of services, and some programs track their future movements. However, most do not continue to serve young people after graduation, and so lose the chance to confirm and support youth at the most crucial stages of transition to employment or independent livelihood. It appears that a relatively modest innovation--offering a package of bridging services that keep youth engaged even after program completion–could improve employment andprospects for financial independence for many program graduates.

3. *Youth livelihood and employment programs need to add programmatic elements to the* "*demand side*" *of the equation – encouraging growth of enterprises that can provide job and livelihood opportunities.*

EQUIP3's experience with work readiness and placement suggests that a balanced supply-demand approach is essential, one that builds in private sector perspectives, ownership, and expertise from the outset, and which is tailored specifically to young workers. Most small- and medium-sized enterprises, most likely to hire young people in most economies, need technology, training, and often financial support to grow and create jobs.

4. "*Youth*" *is not a gender-neutral demographic category.*

EQUIP3's experience confirms that male and female youth have unique needs and priorities; their differing needs and priorities must be taken into account in programming. Gender must be both a consistent and a stronger consideration than it has been in many countries in the design of future youth programs, and it will require particular care to adapt gender issues to varied country cultures and economies.

5. *Youth participation is an effective strategy for building program quality and sustainability and for generating positive perceptions of youth among adults.*

EQUIP3's experience suggests that investments of time and resources to include youth in assessment/design, management of project activities, and evaluation are well spent because of the positive results in terms of participation and completion rates. But most implementers don't know how to do it. Making this happen will require support and capacity development, and requires unusual program flexibility and a re-tooling of many program designs to build in youth engagement from the beginning. Moreover, youth

engagement strategies will vary country-to-country, culture by culture.

6. *True youth engagement requires consistent commitment and follow-through from adults.*

Adult-youth partnerships are important for fostering community support for youth leadership and participation, contributing to the exchange of skills and experience and ensuring long-term success of youth-led initiatives. Moving from "youth participating" to "youth owned" is more challenging to adults than to youth, and requires consistent focus from program leaders and funders.

7. *In conflict-affected and crisis countries, programs need to represent a positive alternative to engagement in anti-social activities or destructive or violent group behaviors. This requires programs provide a positive and convincing "counter pull" on youth.*

The factors in the political and social environment that draw youth to destructive groups or individual behaviors need to be offset by attractive alternatives, programs and groups that make youth feel they are part of—and belong to—something important. What are incentives for young people to participate? Experience so far provides some answers to this, but is significantly incomplete. Rigorous, field-based research on the impact of effective strategies for working with vulnerable youth in fragile settings is still needed.

8. *Technology is rapidly emerging in developing countries as a resource for livelihood and employment work and a tool for program and content delivery.*

Advances in technology are remarkable and have only recently been incorporated into program development. Low-cost, high-quality, technology-based delivery systems, e.g., mobile phones for job placement or instruction in financial literacy, can provide access to skills and job information for hard-to-reach, informally-organized populations and can enable more cost-effective monitoring and evaluation by providing easy access to individualized information and field based data entry.

9. *It is possible, and useful, to adapt certain youth development approaches from industrialized nations to developing contexts.*

EQUIP3 and other international programs have successfully adapted "U.S.-born" approaches to developing country contexts. YouthBuild's approach to work-based learning, work readiness curricula built in response to SCANS skills research, and Search Institute's "assets-based" approach to youth assessment are three such examples. It is an adaptation process, however, and not simple "adoption". The most successful of these experiences focus on adherence to a set of principles rather than fixed models and

a prescribed curriculum. The blend of principles and standards with sensitive technical assistance and capacity building can allow for local creativity and innovation.

10. Combining international expertise and experience with local, country-based networks and alliances will be a common future development in most countries.

International implementers are learning that doing more of their programmatic work with and through local employers, NGO's, and youth organizations can establish the groundwork for long-term sustainability of an effective program. However, doing so requires that acute attention to clear definitions, specific roles, and investments in capacity building be part of a project from the beginning, and should not wait until the expiration of donor funding support.

Conclusion

Nine years, twenty-six countries, quarter of a million youth—quite a lot, but barely scratching the surface of what is needed to support healthy development of young people globally, EQUIP3 has been a bold experiment and a brave investment by USAID. Much has been learned. Still the nine-year experiment needs to be seen as a foundation on a much larger investment needed to experiment, examine policies and program strategies with increasing rigor and with expectations for efficiency, program quality, and cost-effectiveness.

References

Benson, P. L. (2003). "Developmental Assets and Asset-Building Community: Conceptual and Empirical Foundations." Pp 19-43, in R. M. Lerner & P. L. Benson (Eds.), *Developmental Assets and Asset- Building Communities: Implications for Research, Policy, and Practice*. Norwell, MA: Kluwe.

Betcherman, G., Godfrey, M., Puerto, S., Rother, F. & Stavreska, A. (2007). A Review of Interventions to Support Young Workers: Findings of the Youth Employment Inventory. Social Protection Discussion Paper Number 0715. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Briones, R. M. (2010). *Impact Study of EQuALLS2 Workforce Development Programs*. Newton, MA: Education Development Center, Inc.

Brown, N. A. (2001). *Promoting Adolescent Livelihoods: A Discussion Paper prepared for the Commonwealth Youth Programme and UNICEF*. [http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/files/ promoting_ado_livelihoods.pdf] (accessed 31 January 2013).

Cummins, J. (1979). "Linguistic Interdependence and the Educational Development of Bilingual Children." *Review of Educational Research*, 49 (2), 222–251.

Deyo, L. (2007). Afghanistan Non-Formal Education. Country profile prepared for the

Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2008. *Education for All by 2015: Will We Make It?* [http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/EdStats/AFGgmrpro07.pdf] (Accessed 31 January 2013).

Education Development Center, Inc. (2010). *Draft Report of Prepara Ami Ba Servisu Program Evaluation*. Newton, MA: Author.

Hart, R. (1992). Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship. New York: UNICEF. [http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/100] (Accessed 31 January 2013).

International Youth Foundation (IYF). (2010). *Education & Employment Alliance: An Evaluation of Partnerships in Support of Youth Employability. Executive Summary*. Baltimore, MD: Author.

McKnight, J. & Kretzmann, J. (1996). *Community Mapping*. [http://www.ipr.northwestern.edu/publications/papers/mcc.pdf] (accessed on 31 January, 2013).

Porter, M. E. (1998). "Clusters and the New Economics of Competition." *Harvard Business Review*.

Republic of Rwanda Donors Group. (2006). Assessment of the Government's Education Strategy and Financial Framework, 2006-2015, for the Fast Track Initiative. [http://www.educationfasttrack.org/media/library/Rwanda_appraisal.pdf] (Accessed 31 January 2103).

Sully, P. (2010). SYLP Program Team, personal communication, October 20.

USAID. (2012). *Youth in Development Policy*. Washington D.C.: Author. [http://transition.usaid.gov/our_work/policy_planning_and_learning/documents/Youth_in_Development_Policy.pdf] (Accessed 31 January 2013)

ANNEX A: Glossary of Relevant Terms

Bridging strategies: Bridging strategies refers to a set of processes throughout the life of a project in which youth receive targeted support (the "bridge") to help them transition from their initial training to the next step in their career path. Support can come in the form of coaching, job or internship placement, work based learning, links to further education, and access to finance.

Civic participation: Civic participation often centers on becoming involved in the political process, advocating for issues important to youth and advocacy for youth inclusion in the political process.

Civic leadership: Civic leadership opportunities such as training youth as community leaders to identify an issue they would like to address through a small community project, or supporting the development and growth of youth-led groups empowers youth to take action in their own communities.

Demand-side engagement: Demand-side engagement involves interventions which target the environment in which youth are earning a livelihood. They include: value chain development in sectors with the greatest potential for youth employment; development of

business services for youth-owned enterprises; and boosting youth financial services; and regulatory and policy measures.

Employment: Youth employment includes but formal employment as well as informal livelihoods (such as running a kiosk) and running a small business.

Entrepreneurship training: Entrepreneurship training includes a range of skills that youth and adults need to be successful in starting and maintaining a small business or income-generating activity, including skills such as recognizing and assessing personal fit for entrepreneurship; conducting market analyses; developing business plans; managing finances and staff; marketing; and long-term sustainability.

Informal sector: The informal sector encompasses livelihood activities, many of which are household livelihood activities. Millions of young people are finding ways to eke out a living and make something from very little—in some cases, something from almost nothing. And they take whatever paths are available to them, pro-social or otherwise.

Formal sector: The formal sector encompasses jobs with normal hours, regular wages, andrecognized as income sources on which income taxes must be paid. It includes jobs with the private sector, government, nonprofit sector, and the like.

Livelihood opportunities: Livelihood opportunities refer to interventions that enhance the readiness of young people to engage in sustainable liveli¬hood activities such as: (1) employment in the formal and informal sector; (2) contributions (paid and unpaid) to household-based liveli¬hood activities (in agriculture, fishing, or small scale manufacturing); and, (3) self-employment.

Micro-enterprise: Micro-enterprise involves business activities in areas such as petty trading, the production of food or trade goods, and the delivery of informal services. Businesses are very small.

Training and capacity-building assistance: Training and capacity-building assistance activities build the abilities of learners, young people, and staff of beneficiary organizations.

Vocational training: Vocational training is training on wide range of technical skills needed for specific occupations, industries, or small businesses.

Workforce preparedness: Workforce preparedness involves exhibiting the skills and behaviors necessary to be successful as entry-level workers in any formal sector business or industry or in any informal sector livelihood.

Work readiness skills: Work readiness skills include specific work-related skills that young people and adults need in order to be successful as entry-level workers in any formal sector business or industry or in any informal sector livelihood. These skills are generally thought of as life skills with a strong work focus, and include work-related health and safety at work, work habits and conduct, personal leadership at work, communicating with others at work, team work and collaboration at work, rights and responsibilities of workers and employers, and customer service.

Youth Engagement: Youth Engagement is the process of youth actively, constructively, and sustainably contributing to positive development of their own lives, their families, communities, and nation as individuals or in groups. Through opportunities and experiences

to develop the skills to improve themselves and communities, youth gain the confidence that they can be leaders in their community and nation's development. Successful youth engagement leads to communities and decision-makers seeking youth involvement and leadership in addressing challenges and designing solutions.

Youth-led: Youth-led refers to groups and organizations managed by youth. This involvement empowers them to take action in their own communities.

Youth development partnerships or networks: Establishing networks supportive of youth strengthens collective voice. Networks allow youth to scale their ideas and expand their reach. Practitioners should work to develop networks at the community, national, and global level through in-person and online mechanisms.

Youth-serving institutions: Youth-serving institutions are defined as non-government organizations or host country government entities that provide services for youth.

ANNEX B: Descriptions of Relevant EQUIP3 Tools and Publications

Youth Livelihoods Development Program Guide. http://www.equip123.net/docs/e3-LivelihoodsGuide.pdf. This guide responds to the interest on the part of USAID and development practitioners worldwide for a common language to describe approaches for supporting youth to pursue a livelihood or income-generation activity. The document has four sections: Section A: A Common Language for Youth Livelihood Programs; Section B: Conceptual Framework for Youth Livelihood Programs; Section C: Designing Effective Youth Livelihood Strategies; Section D: Additional Information and Resources

Preparing for Work. www.preparing4work.org. EQUIP3 has developed a website called Preparing for Work, which is designed to help country partners and international development practitioners develop better work readiness training programs. The site features peer-reviewed curricula in the areas of work readiness, entrepreneurship, technical skills, and life skills that have been written for an international audience or that are adaptable to an international context. For each set of curricula featured, users will find: A summary of the curriculum; At a glance details; Two peer reviews; Details of any formal program or curriculum evaluation; Information on how to obtain the materials and an option to download free materials when available; Space for users to contribute comments about the materials. The site features an interactive tool for program managers that is designed to help them make a preliminary selection of curriculum materials that best fit with the needs of potential participants, the overall program goals, and the demands and opportunities of the local economy.

Literacy for Out-of-School Youth: A Program Guide. http://www.equip123.net/docs/e3-Literacy.pdf. This program guide offers a resource for development specialists initiating or strengthening integrated literacy programs for youth ages 15–24 who are not involved in formal education. The guide is divided into three parts: Part I: Presents the case for investment in integrated literacy programs for out-of-school youth and explores how literacy skills are developed; Part II: Describes the policy context necessary to ensure the success of literacy

programs for out-of-school youth; Part III: Includes a step-by-step process for designing, implementing, and evaluating effective literacy programs.

ANNEX C.

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
Bosnia – Herzegovina	Partnership for Innovation (PI) Project in Bosnia and Herzegovina	2011–2016	PI is a 5-year, $5-million USAID-funded project that aims to (1) improve the competitiveness of small and medium enterprises (SMEs), thus enabling them to meet market demand and preserve and generate jobs, and (2) provide new opportunities for employment and self-employment for young people (ages 18–35). PI will achieve these goals through the creation and support of Business Innovation Centers (BICs).BICs will provide: • Greater access to training in advanced technical skills, methodological skills to improve efficiency, and skills in technology screening, as well as access to advanced equipment and applications to SMEs • A range of resources to help young men and women gain or improve their access to the ICT (information and communications technology) labor market, or embark on an ICT-related micro-enterprise Key outcomes will include: • Establishment of 2 sustainable BICs • Improved efficiency in 200 firms as a result of BIC services • Employment of 100 youth An external evaluation is planned.	No website yet
Liberia	Advancing Youth Project (AYP)	2011–2016	AYP is a 5-year, $35-million project that provides increased access to quality alternative basic education services, social and leadership development, and livelihoods for out-of-school youth ages 13–35 who have no or marginal literacy and numeracy skills. AYP works closely with the Ministry of Education and community-based organizations to build their capacity to manage the system and programs that provide youth with the knowledge and skills they need to succeed. Key activities include: • Developing three levels of curriculum in literacy, numeracy, life skills, and work readiness • Training facilitators to deliver alternative basic education • Providing youth with work-based learning opportunities, and links to skills and entrepreneurship training • Forming youth clubs and local alliances to support youth education and enhanced livelihoods • Developing private-public partnerships AYP's focus is on testing alternative models, conducting rigorous evaluation, and providing designs for sustainable national service delivery. A midterm external evaluation is planned and budgeted.	http://idd.edc.org/projects/liberia/usaidliberia-advancing-youth-project

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
Guyana	Skills and Knowledge for Youth Employment (SKYE) Project	2011–2013	SKYE is a 2-year, $2.6-million project that: • Expands employment, education, and skill-building opportunities for youth at risk • Strengthens re-integration of youth offenders into society • Improves the enabling environment for youth development Approximately 600 youth ages 15–24who are at risk for or already involved with the juvenile justice system receive alternative sentencing, work-readiness training, and livelihood coaching. Each youth participant works with a SKYE coach to develop an Individual Employability Plan. This plan outlines how the young person will reach his or her development destination of employment, further education, or small business development. A final evaluation is planned and budgeted.	No website yet
Kosovo	Young Entrepreneurs Program (YEP) in Kosovo	2010–2013	YEP is a 6-year, $3.27-million project that aims to better prepare Kosovo youth ages 18–35 for work in a growing market economy. To meet this goal, YEP: • Provides ongoing support and matching seed grant assistance to prepare young entrepreneurs • Engages employers and other leaders to combine resources, skills, and policies to create a sustainable system of opportunities and supports for out-of-school and out-of-work young people • Is investing in the development of a sustainable youth entrepreneurial support system. This system includes more youth-inclusive financial and consulting services and a peer support network with links to networks of established entrepreneurs	http://idd.edc.org/projects/youth-employment-and-participation-yep-project-kosovo
Mali	Mali Out-of-School Youth Project, known locally as PAJE-Nièta (Projet d' Appui aux Jeunes Entrepreneurs-Nièta or Project to Support Youth Entrepreneurs)	2010–2015	PAJE-Nièta (Nièta means "progress" in Bambara), is a 5-year, $30 million project that serves rural, out-of-school youth in four regions—Sikasso, Kayes, Koulikoro, and Timbuktu. PAJE-Nièta provides youth with: • Improved basic education • Work readiness and technical training • Social and leadership development • Accompaniment towards livelihood activities Partners are CRS, Swisscontact, AJA, AMSS.	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles//anmviewer.asp?a=711&z=123
Honduras	METAS (Mejorando la Educacion para Trabajar, Aprender, y Superarse)	2010–2014	METAS is a 4-year, $10.585 million USAID-funded project. Project goals include the following: • Enable at-risk youth to gain the job skills, knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and life perspectives needed to create positive futures • Provide Honduran companies with the skilled workforce needed to compete in international markets • Establish private-sector alliances to help youth secure jobs in the local labor market	http://proyectometas.org/

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
Afghanistan	Skills Training for Afghan Youth (STAY) Project	2010–2011	STAY was a 1.5-year, $13.5-million project that provided vocational education and training, community-based skills development, and alternative education to empower 15–24 year olds in five provinces of the south and east regions of Afghanistan. The vision of the STAY project was to mobilize and strengthen youth to contribute to the economic development and security of the country. The goal was to engage and prepare youth for positive and productive roles in work, society, and family life.	http://afghanistan.usaid.gov/en/USAID/Activity/188/Skills_Training_for_Afghan_Youth_STAY
Macedonia	Youth Employability Skills (YES) Network in Macedonia	2010–2015	The YES Network is a 5-year, $6.69-millionproject that teaches youth relevant skills to enable them to participate in the modern economy. The program targets: • Students in their final year in Macedonia's Vocational Education and Training (VET) schools • Unemployed registrants with the Employment Service Agency (ESA) • Out-of-school youth ages 15–24. The YES Network has already achieved national adoption of the work readiness curriculum—developed in NGO settings—by the formal Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system. An external evaluation is planned.	http://macedonia.usaid.gov/en/sectors/education/YES.html
Kenya	Garissa Youth Project (G-Youth), Kenya	2008–2012	G-Youth is a 4-year, $6.9-million project in Garissa Town in the North Eastern Province of Kenya. It is designed to create enabling environments that empower youth using a youth-owned, youth-led model. G-Youth: • Provides youth ages 16–30 with greater access to livelihood opportunities • Promotes tolerance and peaceful coexistence among diverse communities through civic education • Is an example of having youth participation as the centerpiece of the program as well as integrated throughout the program An external evaluation is planned.	http://www.g-youth.org

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
Rwanda	Akazi Kanoze: Youth Livelihoods Project in Rwanda	2008–2013	Akazi Kanoze is a 4-year, $9.8-million project that seeks to improve the livelihood options of 12,500 youth, ages 14–24, in Kigali, Rwanda. To achieve this goal, Akazi Kanoze providesyouth with: • Market-relevant life and work readiness training and support • Hands-on training opportunities • Links to the employment and self-employment job market Akazi Kanoze has generated enthusiasm within the national government, leading to their supporting the integration of work readiness curricula within secondary schools. In 2012, a midterm evaluation was underway.	http://akazikanoze.edc.org/
Philippines	EQuALLS2: Education Quality and Access for Learning and Livelihood Skills (EQuALLS) Phase 2	2006–2011	EQuALLS2 was a 5.5-year, $60-million project that aimed to uplift Mindanao, Philippines, through serving its youth. EQuALLS2: • Empowered communities to support better education • Built teachers' capacity and resources • Offered out-of-school children and youth alternative learning and livelihood opportunities EQUALLS2 was coordinated in partnership with the Philippines Department of Education and three lead implementing organizations: International Youth Foundation, Save the Children, and Synergeia Foundation. The project has generated significant national will and capacity to continue the youth services and programs, largely through local government institutions. An external evaluation is being planned.	http://www.equalls2.org/
Somalia	Somalia Youth Livelihood Program(SYLP)-Shaqodoon	2008–2011	SYLP, known locally as Shaqodoon, was a 3.5-year, $10.2 million project aimed at providing over 8,000 unemployed and out-of-school youth ages 15–24 across the Somali regions with greater access to training, internships, work, and self-employment opportunities. Shaqodoon: • Equipped Somali youth with work and life skills to improve their futures and increase the stability of the region • Used Souktel's SMS-based Info-Match tool to match job seekers and potential employers on the mobile phone-based platform An external evaluation was conducted in late 2011 by IBTCI.	www.shaqodoon.org

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
West Bank & Gaza	Palestinian Youth Empowerment Program (Ruwwad) in WestBank/Gaza	2005–2012	Ruwwad is a 7-year, $19.675-million project that gives Palestinian youth ages 14–30 opportunities to explore their potential and to learn the tools to become local leaders across the West Bank and Gaza. Ruwwad: • Provides platforms for youth, including those in marginalized areas, to incubate their ideas, launch them into reality, and promote social change across the West Bank and Gaza • Creates a network of youth clubs and centers in the West Bank that provide diverse services to youth in their communities, giving them foundational skills to apply for work and internships An external evaluation was conducted by JBS International in 2011.	www.ruwwad.org
Kosovo, Montenegro Azerbaijan, Macedonia Georgia, and Armenia	Workforce Competitiveness under the Social Legacy Program (SLP)	2006–2011	SLP was a 5-year, $1-million project that reached out to youth and other vulnerable groups in Eastern Europe, helping them develop the tools they need to become local leaders of social change. SLP supported activities aimed at: • Improving workforce competitiveness in Kosovo and Montenegro • Strengthening disability coalitions of NGOs in Armenia and Georgia • Promoting transparency in education and higher education institutions in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Macedonia Due to widespread socioeconomic insecurity and a dramatic collapse in basic social services, the region struggles to transition towards becoming market-oriented, democratic societies. SLP worked within labor markets and education systems, as well as enhanced social services and safety nets for vulnerable groups (especially people with disabilities).	http://ten.edc.org/
India	USAID/ India's Minority Education and Skills Training for Youth Program (MEGA-SkY)	2009–2011	MEGA-SkY was a 2-year, $2-million project to create educational and skill-building opportunities for marginalized children and youth, especially within the Muslim community. • MEGA operated at the formal and non-formal levels to facilitate access to quality educational opportunities for the acquisition of livelihood and life skills. • SkY (Skills for Youth) worked at the policy level to incubate and replicate successful private sector vocational programs.	http://mega-sky.edc.org/

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
East Timor	PAS: Prepara Ami ba Servisu (Preparing Us for Work)	2007–2011	PAS was a 4-year, $5.5-million project that improved the capacity of local institutions to provide accessible and relevant workforce development and work readiness training to rural youth as a means to earn a better livelihood. PAS training was geared to the specific learning needs and socioeconomic circumstances of minimally educated, low-skilled, out-of-school young women and men, ages 16–30, in rural districts of Timor-Leste. An external evaluation was conducted in 2010.	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles/anmviewer.asp?a=647
Haiti	Haitian Out-of-School Youth Livelihood Initiative (IDEJEN)	2003–2011	IDEJEN was a 7.5-year, $17-million project that provided education and job training to13,000 youth ages 15–24 who had little to no formal education. IDEJEN provided program participants with support in the following areas: • Employability and skills training • Basic and vocational education • Job placement and small business development. IDEJEN also provided technical support to different government ministries in the development of youth policies. The IDEJEN Project's training allowed marginalized youth to deliver services and earn incomes in their communities, which increased their credibility with the adults in their communities. Now youth are seen as resources and positive contributors to development. IDEJEN spun off a local NGO by leveraging new non-USAID funding. This NGO continues activities with a refined implementation model and generates revenue through specialized vocational training schools for youth.	http://idejen.edc.org/
Yemen	Al Saleh Institute Support Project for Youth (AISPY)	2009–2011	AISPY was a 1.4-year, $1.65-million project designed to assist the Al-Saleh Foundation in supporting youth from Marib, Shabwah, and Al Jouf in developing work and livelihood skills. These skills helped youth find gainful employment or start businesses in their governorates, which contributed to their own economic well-being as well as the future prosperity of their communities and country.	http://www.amideast.org/yemen/professional-development/al-saleh-institute-human-development-support-project-aispy
Bangladesh	Bangladesh Youth Employment Pilot Activity Program (BYEP)	2008–2010	BYEP was a 2-year, $538,570 project that focused on the challenges and opportunities of improved vocational skills for youth in the fast-growing aquaculture industry. BYEP used a youth-centered approach designed to: • Add value to the golda (fresh water prawn) industry • Provide education skills such as literacy and numeracy • Create employment opportunities for young women and men	http://idd.edc.org/projects/bangladesh-youth-employment-pilot-byep

Country	Project Name	Dates	Summary Description	Website
India, Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Morocco	USAID Cross-Sectoral Youth (CSY) Program	2006–2009	The CSY program consisted of three demonstration projects in DRC, India, and Morocco targeting youth ages 15–24. The program activities focused on the following sectors: • Youth advocacy • Work readiness • Basic education • Health awareness • Civic engagement	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles/anmviewer.asp?a=645&z=123
Uganda	Education for All (EFA) in Uganda—The Kids League	2005–2006	The EFA program in Uganda focused on using sports as a convening mechanism for education and peace building. It targeted 270 youth and children ages 9–14 in conflict-affected areas. EFA also adapted Search Institute's Developmental Assets Profile (DAP) approach as part of the monitoring and evaluation of the program.	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles/anmviewer.asp?a=655&z=123
Jamaica	EFA Challenge Grant— Earning, Learning, and Skill Development Opportunities for Out-of-School Youth in Jamaica	2005–2007	The EFA Challenge Grant in Jamaica focused on addressing the education and employment challenges of urban boys. The program targeted 78 out-of-school young men and boys ages 15–24 in Kingston.	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles/anmviewer.asp?a=655&z=123
South Africa	EFA Challenge-City Year South African National Youth Service Program	2005–2006	The EFA Challenge Grant in South Africa supported the adaptation of the U.S.-based youth service model City Year to the South Africa context to address employment, civic engagement, and education issues.	http://www.equip123.net/webarticles/anmviewer.asp?a=655&z=123
Afghanistan	Assessment of the Literacy and Community Empowerment Program in Afghanistan (LCEP)	2004–2006	Between 2004 and 2006, LCEP worked in 190 communities in the provinces of Parwan, Bamyan, Herat, Kandahar and Farah, reaching 38,000 rural Afghans. LCEP: • Offered integrated community development opportunities through activities in local governance, adult literacy and numeracy, and economic empowerment • Facilitated the growth of 380 democratically elected Community Development Councils or CDCs (of which 190 were female) Through learning centers in each community, village teachers offered literacy and numeracy instruction to learners ages 10 and over. Learners who completed the program were granted 3rd grade equivalency certification by the Afghan Ministry of Education.	No website

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.159 ～ 168

Assessment of English Reading Age through Reading Evaluation and Decoding System (READS): A Measure of Effectiveness and Inequality in Malaysian ESL Education

Abdul Rashid Mohamed, Shaik Abdul Malik Mohamed Ismail, Lin Siew Eng, and Yusof Petras
School of Educational Studies, Universiti Sains Malaysia

Abstract

Recent international comparative research on English proficiency found a strong positive correlation between a country's level of English language skills and its gross national income per capita. Considering the role of English as a lingua franca in the global exchange of goods, culture, information and innovations, a sufficient command of English is a basic requirement for almost the entire labour force in knowledge-based economies. A key foreign language competence is reading, which functions as a gateway to the world, enabling individuals to effectively participate and compete in a knowledge-based environment. Therefore, effectiveness of English as a Second Language (ESL) reading skills is essential to the success of both socio-cultural and economic development. A principal criterion of effectiveness is equal opportunity to the whole society to access formal education and to achieve academic success. In most education systems, however, the social background of students tends to have a major impact on academic achievement, to the extent that it may affect their whole educational and professional careers. The current study is based on empirical data about the reading age of 3,567 Malaysian secondary school students from various social backgrounds, obtained by the use of a standardised evaluation tool named READS. We found that less than half the students had attained the curriculum standard for ESL reading skills, as defined for their biological age. Moreover, significant disparities were found between the reading age of students by gender, income status and ethnicity, highlighting a substantial level of inequality which challenges the establishment of a knowledge-based economy.

Aim of the Study

A recent international comparative research study on English proficiency found strong positive correlation between a country's level of English language skills and its gross national income per capita, especially in the case of export-oriented developing countries (Education First). Malaysia is a typical example of a rapidly developing country, where the transformation of labour-intensive manufacturing activity to a knowledge-

based economy is envisioned in the national development policy (Mahathir 1991). While the early industrialisation of the country relied on natural resources and a vast influx of migrant workers, the current policy is aimed at upgrading both physical and human capital to the levels of developed countries, through the creation of efficient democratic institutions and good infrastructure, coupled with a range of attractive incentives for investors and employees (Fleming & Soborg 2010).

Considering the role of English as a *lingua franca* in the global exchange of goods, culture, information and innovation, a sufficient command of English is a basic requirement for much of the labour force in knowledge-based economies. A key foreign language competence is reading, which functions as a gateway to the world, enabling individuals to effectively participate and compete in a knowledge-based environment (Taguchi et al. 2004). As English is not the first language of the majority of Malaysians, the education system plays a crucial role in the development of English reading competence among the populace. Therefore, similarly to many other developing countries around the world, effectiveness of English as a Second Language (ESL) reading skills is essential to the success of both the socio-cultural and economic development of the country.

A principal criterion of effectiveness is equal opportunity to all members of society to access institutions of formal education and to achieve success in their studies. In most education systems, however, the social background of students tends to have a major impact on their academic achievement, possibly to the point of determining their educational and professional futures (Burney & Beilke 2008; Rothstein 2004). From a national development perspective, it is particularly important that all segments of the society be provided with the opportunity to learn. Exclusion of any geographical, ethnic, subcultural etc. group from academic success is not only an injustice towards the members of the respective group, but indeed a waste of talent and loss of human capital for the whole society. Accordingly, mitigation of social inequalities in academic achievement is among the principal responsibilities of the national education system. The current study aims to find empirical evidence as to the extent to which social inequality is an obstacle to acquisition of English reading competence in the Malaysian public education system.

Inequality in Education

The influence of social background on academic achievement is conceptualised by various theories that offer a critical approach about the latent functions of education. Schooling may feature a hidden curriculum to maintain social disparities, contradicting its manifest goal to provide equity of opportunities for every student. From a socio-linguistic approach, the impact of social class on academic success is explained by the disparities between the discursive styles used by children of different social backgrounds (Bernstein 1975). The Pygmalion effect is another socio-linguistic explanation for the role of schools in social reproduction. According to this theory, teacher expectations of student

performance affect student achievement. Hence teachers' prejudice based on the social background of their students has an indirect impact on student achievement (Rosenthal & Jakobson 1968).

One of the most influential critical concepts of education is social reproduction theory, which suggests that the cultural capital possessed by middle- and upper-class families is rewarded by the education system, while at the same time, its lack is punished by the school setting. Well-off families have strong interests in the transmission of inequalities to the next generation, and the education system provides them with an opportunity to convert their cultural capital into academic achievement (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Although Bourdieu's theory was primarily designed to understand the influence of socio-economic status, it was successfully applied recently in an analysis of gender inequality in academic achievement (Dumais 2002).

The first step to mitigate inequality in education is to uncover the real achievement gap between the various groups of students according to social background. Using an objective method of assessment is crucial at this phase, without which the existing social inequalities cannot be recognized much less mitigated (Broadfoot 1986). Taking into consideration the great importance of ESL competence to both national and individual success from a developmental perspective, the assessment of students should be focused on real language competence that can benefit them in their daily lives outside formal education. Therefore, our study requires an assessment method that is capable of excluding those school-related but not language-related skills such as test-wiseness, which are commonly measured, along with 'real' language skills, by most national final examinations around the world (Matoush & Fu 2012).

In this study, we explored inequality in education by assessing the reading age of ESL learners with Reading Evaluation and Decoding System (READS), an ESL reading comprehension assessment method.

Reading Age

The concept of "reading age" undergirds the assessment method of READS. Reading age is a relative measure introduced by the authors, based on the expected gradual increase of academic skills throughout the course of formal education as determined by the curriculum which governs a given education system. In the case of Malaysia, all Year 10 students are 16 years old. If their level of ESL reading comprehension is on par with the skills defined by the national curriculum for Year 10, then they are considered to be 16 years old in terms of their ESL reading age. However, if their reading level is only at Year 9 level, then their ESL reading age is considered 15 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Measuring Reading Age of Malaysian Secondary School Students through READS Assessment Method

Year of studies	*Biological age*	Band	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
		Reading age	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*
7 (Form 1)	13		-	=	+	+	+	+
8 (Form 2)	14		-	-	=	+	+	+
9 (Form 3)	15		-	-	-	=	+	+
10 (Form 4)	16		-	-	-	-	=	+
11 (Form 5)	17		-	-	-	-	-	=

Key: = reading age equal to biological age
+ reading age higher than biological age
-- reading age lower than biological age

As an example of the reading age concept, the reading age of Alice, an imaginary Year 10 student, is calculated on the basis of READS assessment. 16-year old Alice scored 57 on the READS assessment (Band 6), which indicates that her reading age is 17 in terms of the competencies defined by the Malaysian curriculum for this age. Accordingly, Alice's reading age is one year higher than her biological age (according to these standards). Alice's ESL reading performance exceeds the curriculum standard, and she demonstrates advanced knowledge and skills in reading English. Of course, as the competencies required at a particular level of study vary in different countries and systems, Alice's reading age could differ if she transferred to another country's educational system.

Methods and Database

Our data consists of test results on 3,567 students, all of whom attend Form 4 of secondary school, which is Year 10 of their formal education. The sample was drawn by choosing 47 public secondary schools randomly throughout Penang State of Malaysia, using the list of public schools published on the official website of the Educational Authority of Penang State (Jabatan Pelajaran Negeri Pulau Pinang). Within the selected schools we assessed the ESL reading skills of all Year 10 students present at the time of the testing.

Data comprises students' answers to 60 test questions (coded as dichotomous variables, i.e., correct or incorrect). Each student was assigned a test score (0 to 60) and a results category (on a six-point scale where band 1 is the lowest and band 6 the highest category). Among these result categories, band 5 is defined by READS as the minimum level of the curriculum standard of ESL reading competence for Year 10 students (Abdul Rashid et al. 2010) (Table 2). Test results are accompanied by demographic data

about students' gender, ethnicity and income status, the latter being quantified into four categories[1] (Table 3).

Table 2: Assessment Categories in READS, Malaysian Year 10 ESL Learners

	Reading age below biological age				*Reading age equal to biological age*	*Reading age higher than biological age*
Category	*Band 1*	*Band 2*	*Band 3*	*Band 4*	*Band 5*	*Band 6*
Score range (max. score = 60)	0 to 6	7 to 18	19 to 29	30 to 41	42 to 53	54 to 60
Reading age (years)	12	13	14	15	16	17

Table 3: Composition of Sample by Social Background

Gender	*Male*		*Female*		*Total*
	1.752		1.815		3.567
	49.1%		50.9%		100%
Income status	*Low*	*Low middle*	*High middle*	*High*	*Total*
	1.643	774	378	772	3567
	46.1%	21.7%	10.6%	21.6%	100%
Ethnicity	*Malay*	*Indian*	*Chinese*	*Other*	*Total*
	1.777	445	1.307	38	3.567
	49.8%	12.5%	36.6%	1.1%	100%

Findings and Discussion

The overall results of the READS evaluation indicates that slightly less than half the students (46%) attain or exceed the curriculum standard of ESL reading skills associated with their biological age in the Malaysian educational system. The rest of the sample, that is, more than half of the students assessed, have lower reading age, as defined by the national curriculum, than their biological age (see Table 4).

[1] Low: MYR1.000 (approx. USD330) per month or below; Low middle: MYR1.001 to 1.500 (approx. USD 330 to 500) per month; High middle: MYR1.501 to 2.000 (approx USD500 to 670) per month; High: above MYR2.000 (approx. USD670) per month.

Table 4: The overall result of READS evaluation, by result category (N=3,567)

	Reading age below biological age				*Reading age equal to biological age*	*Reading age higher than biological age*
Category	*Band 1*	*Band 2*	*Band 3*	*Band 4*	*Band 5*	*Band 6*
Percentage of students in the respective score category	0	8.9	18.5	26.6	40.2	5.8
Reading age (years)	12	13	14	15	16	17

Much like the prevalent theories and findings on social inequality in education, we found significant disparities between the ESL reading age of students by their gender, income status and ethnicity (see Table 5).

In terms of gender, female students performed much better than their male counterparts. This finding is in accordance with most studies, as in the area of foreign and second language learning, the comparative advantage of female students is supported by broad empirical evidence (Buchmann et al. 2008; Burstall 1975; Chudowsky & Chudowsky 2010; Dornyei & Otto 1998; Entwisle et al. 2007).

Income status was a particularly influential factor in relation to reading competence in ESL. High-income students are overrepresented among those whose reading age is equal or higher than their biological age, while low-income students are under-represented. This distribution supports theories on the role of social inequality in formal education (Bernstein 1975; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Coleman et al. 1966).

Table 5: The impact of social background on ESL reading age (%; N=3,567).

		Reading age equal to or higher than biological age	*Reading age lower than biological age*	*Total*
Gender	Male	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	Female	49.0%	51.0%	100.0%
Income status	Low	29.6%	70.4%	100.0%
	Low middle	45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
	High middle	59.8%	40.2%	100.0%
	High	75.4%	24.6%	100.0%
Ethnicity	Malay	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
	Indian	43.4%	56.6%	100.0%
	Chinese	57.8%	42.2%	100.0%
	Other	71.1%	28.9%	100.0%

We further found that the reading age of non-Malay students, particularly ethnic Chinese, tends to be higher than that of the Malays. At first glance, this finding raises interesting questions, as the lowest reading results are associated with the *major* ethnic group. On closer look, however, this result can be explained by the prevalent patterns of language use in Malaysian society, especially in Penang. In the social patterns of this highly urbanised, Chinese-majority federal state, non-Malay children are far more exposed to the daily use of English than their Malay counterparts (Weightman 2005). This explanation is partially supported by a recent study on Malaysian students, which found that the use of English in the family and community environment is a far more influential contributor to the ESL proficiency of English learners than their regular classes in school (Lee et al. 2010). Similarly, we hypothesize that the non-Malay students in our sample reflect the influence of their relative low exposure to English language in their home environments.

Regression model

While each measured factor of social background (i.e. gender, ethnicity and income status) appeared to be related to the reading age of students, the patterns of their influence require further exploration. A linear regression model was fit with students' total test score as the dependent variable and gender, income status and ethnicity as predictors (see Table 6). The high tolerance values suggest little collinearity among the different variables, each background factor having a direct and independent influence on reading age.

Table 6: Summary of the multiple linear regression model (dependent: total test score; predictors: gender, SES and ethnicity; N=3,567)

	ANOVA		R^2	*Coefficients*			
	F	*Sig.*		*Beta (standardised)*	*t*	*Sig.*	*Tolerance*
Gender				.139	9.415	.000	.996
Income status				-.389	-26.366	.000	1.000
Ethnicity				.227	15.331	.000	.996
The model as a whole	341.222	.000	0.223		47.035	.000	

Furthermore, the standardised regression coefficients suggest that income status has a substantially greater "effect" on ESL reading skills than ethnicity or gender (absolute Beta coefficients being 0.389, 0.227 and 0.139 respectively). This pattern is in accordance with a recent study which found that the impact of income status is particularly great in the case of language and literacy competence (Hartas 2011). It also fits the huge literature on the role of formal education in the reproduction of social inequalities (Bourdieu &

Passeron 1977; Lareau 2002; Tramonte & Willms 2010), and is supported by an array of empirical findings which emphasize the important influence of income status on student achievement, in comparison to the impact of gender and ethnicity (Lee & Burkam 2002; Stipek & Ryan 1997).

Concluding Remarks

A sufficient level of English language competence among the population is crucial for establishment of knowledge-based economy. In this sense, it is alarming to find that the reading age of nearly half of the Malaysian students assessed by this study is lower than that expected for their biological age. Even more serious implications for the success of the country's developmental strategies derive from the strong relationship between low reading age and social background. This correlation is particularly strong in the case of income status, as income inequality in ESL reading comprehension is even higher than the inequality caused by ethnicity.

Beyond providing teachers with standardised and reliable data about the ESL reading age of their students, the READS evaluation provided useful information for planners and policy-makers, by highlighting the impact of social background on ESL reading skills of Malaysian students. The low reading age of ESL learners from the poorest segments of the society is not only an issue of social injustice. From a national development perspective, it poses a serious obstacle to the achievement of Malaysia's current developmental goal of becoming a knowledge-based economy. Therefore, elevation of the English reading comprehension abilities of the nation’s youth in general, and the elimination of the gap between the reading ages of rich and poor, Malay and non-Malay students in particular, are crucial tasks for the country to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

References

Abdul Rashid, M., Lin, S.E. & Shaik Abdul Malik, M.I. (2010). "Making Sense of Reading Scores with Reading Evaluation and Decoding System (READS). "*English Language Teaching*, 3(3), pp.35-46.

Bernstein, B. (1975). "Class and Pedagogies - Visible and Invisible." *Educational Studies*, 1(1), pp.23-41.

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J.C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Broadfoot, P. (1986). "Assessment Policy and Inequality: The United Kingdom Experience." *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 7(2), pp. 205-224.

Buchmann, C., DiPrete, T.A. & McDaniel, A. (2008). "Gender Inequalities in Education." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34, pp.319-337.

Burney, V.H. & Beilke, J.R. (2008). "The Constraints of Poverty on High Achievement." *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 31(3), pp.171-197.

Burstall, C. (1975). "Factors Affecting Foreign Language Learning: A Consideration of Some Recent Research findings." *Language Teaching Abstracts*, 8(1), pp.5-25.

Chudowsky, N. & Chudowsky, V. (2010). *State Test Score Trends 2007–08, Part 5: Are There Gender Differences between Boys and Girls?* Washington, D.C.: Center on Education Policy.

Coleman, J.S., Campbell, E.Q., Hobson, C.J., McPartland, J., Mood, A.M., Weinfield, F.D. & York, R.L. (1966). *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dornyei, Z. & Otto, I. (1998). "Motivation in Action: AProcess Model of L2 Motivation." *Working Papers in Applied Linguistics*, 4, pp.43-69.

Dumais, S.A. (2002)." Cultural Capital, Gender, and School Success: The Role of Habitus." *Sociology of Education*, 75(1), pp.44-68.

EducationFirst
[http://www.ef.com/__/~/media/efcom/epi/2012/full_reports/EF%20EPI%202012%20Report_MASTER_LR.pdf] (accessed on December 22, 2012).

Entwisle, D.R., Alexander, K.L. & Olson, L.S. (2007). "Early Schooling: The Handicap of Being Poor and Male." *Sociology of Education*, 80(2), pp.114-138.

Fleming, D. & Soborg, H. (2010). "Malaysia's Human Resource Strategies for a Knowledge-Based Economy–Comparing the Influence of Different Labour Market Relations." *European Journal of Social Science*,16(2), pp.278-298.

Hartas, D. (2011)."Families' Social Backgrounds Matter: Socio-Economic Factors, Home Learning and Young Children's Language, Literacy and Social Outcomes." *British Educational Research Journal*, 37(6), pp.893-914.

Jabatan Pelajaran Negeri Pulau Pinang.
[http://www.jpnpenang.edu.my] (accessed on December 22, 2012).

Lareau, A. (2002). "Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families." *American Sociological Review*, 67(2), pp.254-277.

Lee, S.K., Lee, K.S., Wong, F.F. & Azizah, Y. (2010). "The English Language and its Impact on Identities of Multilingual Malaysian Undergraduates." *GEMA Online Journal of Language Studies*, 10(1), pp.87-101.

Lee,V.E. & Burkam, D.T. (2002). *Inequality at the Starting Gate: Social Background Differences in Achievement as Children Begin School*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.

Mahathir, M. (1991). *Wawasan 2020*. Kuala Lumpur: Government Printing Office.

Matoush, M.M. & Fu, D. (2012). "Tests of English Language as Significant Thresholds for College-Bound Chinese and the Washback of Test-Preparation." *Changing English*, 19(1), pp. 111-121.

Rosenthal, R. & Jakobson, L. (1968). "Pygmalion in the Classroom." *The Urban Review*, 3(1), pp.16-20.

Rothstein, R. (2004). *Class and Schools: Using Social, Economic, and Educational Reform to Close the Achievement Gap*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.

Stipek, D.J. & Ryan, R.H. (1997). "Economically Disadvantaged Preschoolers: Ready to Learn but Further to Go." *Developmental Psychology*, 33(4), pp.711-723.

Taguchi, E., Takayasu-Maass, M. & Gorsuch, G. (2004). "Developing Reading Fluency in EFL: How Assisted Repeated Reading and Extensive Reading Affect Fluency Development." *Reading in a Foreign Language*, 16(2), pp.70-96.

Tramonte, L. & Willms, J.D. (2010). "Cultural Capital and its Effects on Education Outcomes. *Economics of Education Review*, 29(2), pp.200-213.

Weightman, B.A. (2005). *Dragons and Tigers: A Geography of South, East, and Southeast Asia*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.169 ～ 193

Skills Development for Youth in India: Challenges and Opportunities

Aya Okada
Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University

Abstract

This paper reviews the current state of education, skills development, and employment for Indian youth, and considers the challenges facing India's skills development system. Drawing from the experience of Karnataka, one of India's most industrially developed states, the paper discusses recent initiatives to facilitate young people's transition to the world of work. In India, young people who will soon be entering the labor market, constitute the largest segment of the demographic structure. The majority of young people have limited access to education and training, and most find work in the informal sector. In recent years India has rapidly expanded the capacity of educational institutions and enrollments, but dropout rates remain high, and educational attainment remains low. While India has a well-institutionalized system of vocational training, it has not sufficiently prepared its youth with the skills that today's industries require. Thus, to speed its economic growth and take advantage of its "demographic dividend," the country has recently embarked on drastic policy reforms to accelerate skills development. These reforms have led to important changes, both in the national institutional framework and at the institutional level.

Introduction

This paper reviews the current state of education, skills development, and employment for Indian youth, and considers the challenges facing India's skills development system. Drawing from the experiences of Karnataka, one of India's most industrially developed states, it discusses several recent initiatives to facilitate young people's transition to work.

Today, youth across the world face serious challenges regarding skills and jobs, challenges fundamentally different from those their parents faced. In the globalized economy, competition has become intensified among firms and industries in developing and developed countries alike, requiring their workers to have higher levels of skills to enable them to engage in innovation, improve the quality of products/services, and increase efficiency in their production processes or even to the point of improving the whole value chain process. Rapid technological change demands a greater intensity of knowledge and skills in producing, applying and diffusing technologies. In turn, all these have changed the nature, contents, and types of skills that industry demands. As a result,

most countries recently moved to reform their education systems, to upgrade the skills of their workforces.

The challenges are greater for developing countries like India, which have long suffered from a shortage of skilled labor. But today, developing-country firms and producers have become increasingly involved in the global value chains, requiring them to meet global standards of quality and efficiency. This, in turn, requires higher levels of skills in the workforce. Moreover, many countries today need more skilled workers to compete in attracting foreign direct investment (FDI), as it is a viable strategy for bringing advanced technologies to their domestic industries, expanding their foreign trade, and thereby boosting industrial and economic development; the availability of, and even the stock of, skilled workforce in a country is a key determinant for multinational firms considering investments.

Over the last two decades, however, developing countries have primarily focused on basic education, particularly primary education, since the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand, and its follow up at the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal. But today they are well aware that expanding basic education is hardly sufficient in this globalized era if their firms and industries are to compete in the global economy, and if they are to promote sustainable economic growth, unless they work harder to upgrade their workers' skills. Moreover, though basic education has expanded considerably in recent decades, graduates of basic education who are entering the labor market have increasingly found themselves inadequately equipped with the skills that industry demands. Thus, developing countries, and all major international organizations concerned with education, have recently shifted their focus, away from basic education and back to technical and vocational education and training (TVET) and higher education (Asian Development Bank 2008; World Bank 2012a; UNESCO 2012).

In considering skills development for youth, India is particularly interesting for several reasons. First, it is expected to have the world's largest population in the next several years, as it outgrows China. Unlike China's population, which is aging, India enjoys a large "demographic dividend": the majority of its population is young. Secondly, India's labor market has traditionally been characterized as highly hierarchical and segmented, with 86% of total employment in the informal sector, including self-employment (World Bank 2012b). Third, India has recently experienced rapid economic growth, largely led by the service sector. Yet, despite its rapid economic growth since the introduction of economic reforms in 1991, employment has grown slowly, particularly in the private sector, making the 1990s and 2000s a period of "jobless growth." This has had serious implications for youth, as most new entrants in the labor markets, including the majority of youth, have ended up working in the informal sector, often for low wages without social security benefits and long-term job security. Fourth, though education opportunities in primary and lower secondary education have expanded rapidly, the majority of Indian youth, particularly in rural areas, still have very limited education and

training opportunities. Finally, the Indian government has recently made drastic changes in its policy and institutional setups for promoting skills development. It is of interest to understand how India's system of skills development has changed, with different dynamics among the government, the private sector, and training institutions.

This paper is organized as follows. The following section discusses key issues concerning training and work for youth. Next is a snapshot of India's current demographic and employment trends followed by an analysis of the education and training opportunities available to Indian youth. Drawing on recent experience in Karnataka, the following section discusses new approaches to skills development for youth at both national and state levels. The last section concludes with suggestions for policy.

Challenges Facing Skills Development Efforts

Today, youth in developing countries who are seeking work face great difficulty. First, in the globalized era, competition has intensified among firms and industries, requiring them to improve the efficiency and quality of their products and services. This forces them to hire fewer, but more skilled, workers. Thus, the entry requirements for youth seeking work have become higher and tougher. Second, the global economic crises and other trends have led firms and industries to engage in massive restructuring, resulting in fewer new job openings and growing unemployment, particularly among youth. Globally, some 200 million people are unemployed, including 75 million under age 25 (World Bank 2012a). Third, technological change, particularly the development of information and communication technology (ICT), is occurring at unprecedented speed, requiring workers to have more, and more complex, cognitive skills than ever. Moreover, the global economy is increasingly becoming "knowledge-based" (OECD 1997), demanding a higher intensity of knowledge and skills to do one's job. Fourth, global labor markets are becoming increasingly casualized and flexible (Standing 1999). Firms are adopting more flexible employment practices. An increased proportion of workers, especially new to the labor market, must now work as casual labor, without job security and stable career prospects. Finally, because more people are migrating across national borders seeking work, youth from developing countries are increasingly exposed to global labor markets, competing even with workers outside their own countries who offer more knowledge, skills, qualifications, or competencies, or for lower wages.

At the same time, the skills development systems in most developing countries are poorly equipped to meet these challenges and prepare youth with the work skills they need. Skills development is the most difficult sub-sector to organize and manage in the education sector, because it cuts across organizational boundaries, caters to diverse clients, and involves multiple delivery mechanisms, and its market characteristics keep changing (Asian Development Bank 2008, p.x). Moreover, efforts at skills development must often meet multiple objectives: help reduce poverty, provide a second chance for dropouts, and serve as a reservoir to keep youth with little academic interest out of the streets and away

from social problems. These multiple objectives make it difficult for governments to shape coherent and focused strategies and actions.

Thus, with the exception of East Asian countries, notably South Korea and Singapore (Ashton & Green 1996; Kuruvilla et al. 2002), many developing countries have experienced poor performance in TVET as they lack the mechanisms and funding to implement the programs needed to reflect industry's changing demands back into the types and contents of training. Moreover, TVET is delivered through various channels for diverse groups of people with diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, aspirations, ages, and academic abilities, across various vocational trades. It often suffers from a lack of coordination among the various ministries, public agencies, and educational institutions involved, resulting in duplicated efforts and gaps without effective outcomes. Indeed, TVET has often been characterized as inefficient, irrelevant, and slow to respond to the changing skills demands of the labor markets, and costly because of its higher unit costs. Therefore, the relevance of publicly provided TVET has been debated for more than two decades. Since the 1990s donors have turned away from TVET toward basic education (Middleton, Ziderman & Adams 1993; Asian Development Bank 2008).

Still, skills development is an urgent and important challenge for developing countries, in particular for countries with large youth populations such as India.

Trends in Demographics, Industrial Structure, and Labor Markets in India

This section presents a snapshot of India's demographic and labor market trends to provide background for the discussions that follow.

Large Youth Population

Within the next several years, India's population is expected to exceed that of China. Unlike China, however, India's population structure is still relatively young overall, and the population keeps growing rapidly, with 28 million youth being added every year! Of India's total population of 1.21 billion according to the 2011 Census (Government of India (GOI) 2011b), more than 672 million people are of working age (15 to 59). Of these, 253 million are youth aged 15 to 24, accounting for 21 % of the total population in 2011[1]. With a continued decline in the dependency ratio estimated over the next 30 years, India is expected to enjoy a large "demographic dividend" for the coming decades.

With 12.8 million young people newly entering the labor market every year (GOI 2011a), the government recognizes that the country faces a serious skills shortage, as the majority of these new labor market entrants are likely to remain unskilled. It has also

[1] Calculated from the data on total population from the provisional 2011 Census Data and the 2001 Census Data available from the Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India (http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_And_You/age_structure_and_marital_status, (accessed December 16, 2012).

realized that it should take advantage of the "demographic dividend" by skilling young people who could become an "invaluable asset, if equipped with knowledge and skills, to contribute to national and global economies" (GOI 2011a, p.1). In fact, the government ambitiously envisages that India could become a supplier of skilled workers "exportable" to other countries, given four factors: the vast size of the youth population, their limited domestic employment opportunities, the shortage of skilled workers in developed countries, and the growing global practice of outsourcing.

At the same time, India's demographic profile poses serious pressure on government and society to invest in education and training. Indeed, in 2005, roughly 413 million people were in the school-going age group (6 to 24 years)(see Table 1), accounting for 35% of the total population. Since then, this figure has surely increased. Thus, expanding education and training for them and ensuring its quality will seriously challenge the government, which will have to build more schools, train and hire more teachers, and provide them with more textbooks, educational materials, and equipment. Despite India's projected demographic dividend and its abundant labor supply, it suffers from a serious shortage of skilled workers, because of their limited access to education and skills training and a large skills mismatch in the labor market.

The school-age population includes over 100 million young people from socially-disadvantaged groups such as Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) (see Table 1). As they have long experienced poorer access to education and decent employment, the government has extended affirmative action for them by setting special quotas for their entry to schools and public sector employment.

Table 1: Estimated Population of India by Age Group (in millions, 2005)

Stages of Education	Relevant Age Group	Total	Scheduled Caste (SC)	Scheduled Tribe (ST)
Primary	06-11	121	21	11
Upper Primary	11-14	74	12	6
Secondary/ Upper Secondary	14-18	94	15	8
Higher Education	18-24	124	19	9
All Education Levels	06-24	413	68	34

Source: GOI (2008)

In addition, Indian women and girls suffer from various forms of inequality at every stage of their lives. According to the 2011 Census, the sex ratio of India's population aged 0 to 6 years is 914 females per 1,000 males, because social values favor having sons, and pregnancies are often terminated early if the child is found to be female (GOI 2011b). Women are also disadvantaged in their access to education and employment opportunities.

Segmented Labor Market Structure

India's labor market is highly stratified and segmented. As Table 2 shows, only 6.9% of the total workforce is in the organized sector, defined as private-sector firms employing 10 or more workers and all public sector enterprises. This figure has declined in recent years. Within the organized sector, the private sector is fairly small, accounting for only 2.2% of total employment. The remaining 93% of employees work in the unorganized sector: private enterprises with under 10 employees, the self-employed, and casual and family workers.

Table 2: Structure of Labor Market in India

Sector	No. of Employees (in millions)				Average Annual Growth (%)	
	1983	1993/94	1999/00	2004/05	1983 to 1993/1994	1994 to 2005
Total Population	718.10	893.68	1,005.05	1,092.83	2.1	1.9
Total Labor Force	263.82	334.20	364.88	419.65	2.3	2.1
Total Employees	239.49	313.93	338.19 (100%)	384.91 (100%)	2.6	1.9
Organized Sector	24.01	27.37	28.11 (8.3%)	26.4 (6.9%)	1.2	-0.3
Of which, in Public Sector	16.46	18.32	19.41 (5.7%)	18.2 (4.7%)	1.5	-0.7
Of which, in Private Sector	7.55	7.93	8.70 (2.6%)	8.3 (2.2%)	0.4	0.6

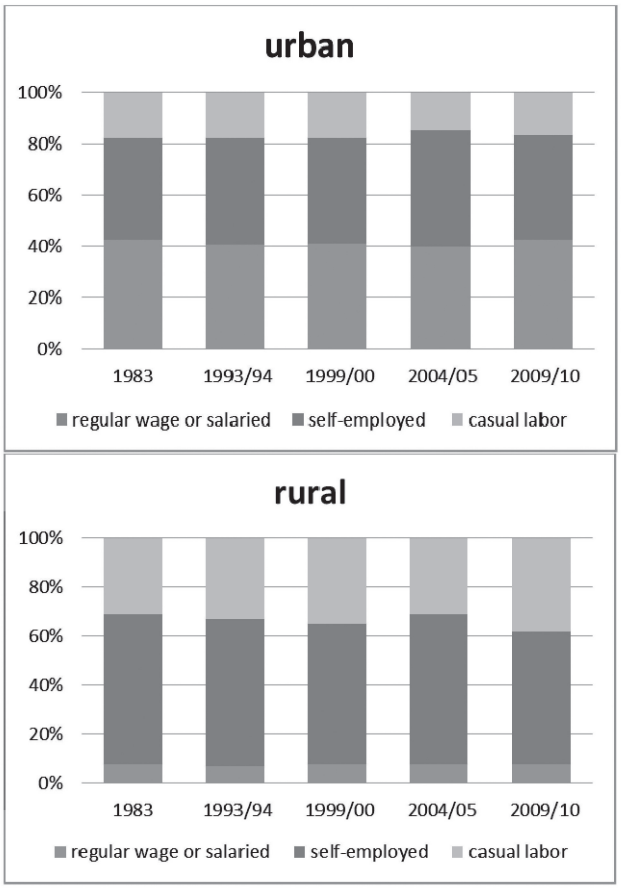
Sources: GOI 2008 : Tables 4.1, 4.5.
Notes: Employees include self-employed. Figures in parentheses indicate share of total employees. CDS data.

With respect to employment types, nearly one third of total employees are casual laborers and 43% are low-end self-employed (World Bank 2012b: Figure 1.2). Only 17% of total employees receive regular wages or salaries. As Figure 1 shows, casual workers and the self-employed together account for more than 90% of rural workers and about 50% of urban workers. Moreover, the share of casual labor in rural areas increased to 38% in 2009/10 (World Bank 2012b, p. 64). It generally quite difficult for youth, particularly in rural areas and especially if they are poorly educated, to find decent jobs with long-term stability and security.

Interestingly, despite the economic reforms that India introduced since the mid-

1980s and more seriously in the 1990s, employment growth stagnated in the 1990s and 2000s, making those two decades a period of "jobless growth." Thus, even the growing Indian economy has failed to generate sufficient jobs to accommodate its new young entrants into the labor market.

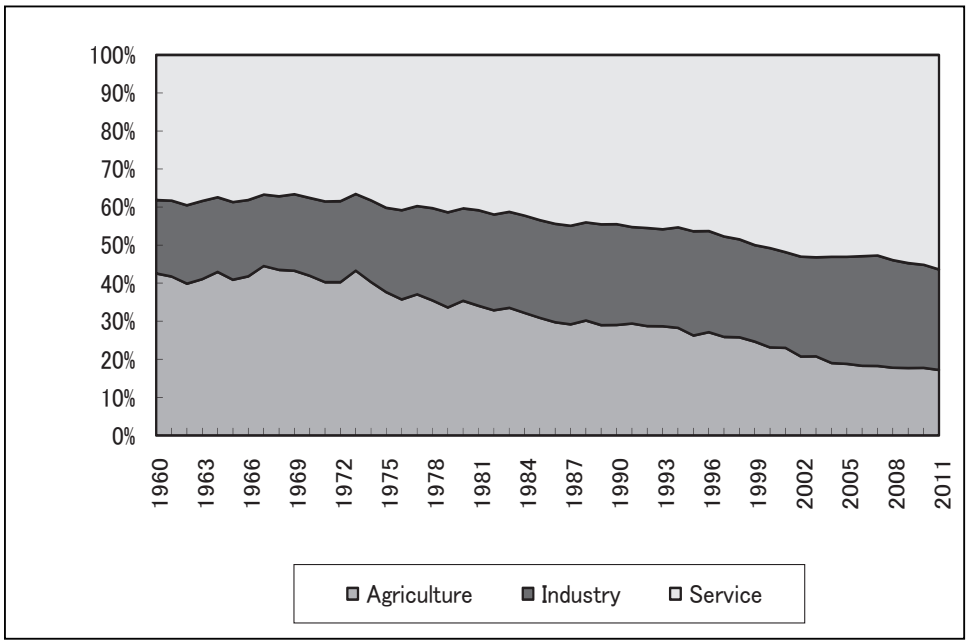
Figure 1: Distribution of Rural and Urban Workers in India, by Employment Type



Source: World Bank (2012b: Figure 1.6)

Unlike the experience of East Asian countries, growth in the Indian economy has largely been led by its service sector, whose relative importance has been growing. As Figure 2 shows, while the agriculture sector's contribution to GDP has gradually declined and that of the industrial sector has grown slightly, the share of the service sector has grown quite rapidly. In 2010, it accounted for 55% of India's GDP.

Figure 2: Value Added as percentage of GDP



Source: World Bank, *World Development Indicators*, various years.

Looking at the amount of employment in each sector, however, agriculture is still the largest, accounting for 54%, while the industry and service sectors accounted for 18% and 25%, respectively, in 2008 (World Bank 2012b: Figure 2.6). In rural areas, non-farm employment also increased to 35% of the rural workforce in 2009/10, up from 30% in 2004/05 (World Bank 2012b, p. 95). Looking at the employment structures in non-agricultural sectors, we see that apart from manufacturing (26% of non-agricultural employment), some subsectors of the service sector such as wholesale and retail, and personal service have been growing. They now account for 48.6% and 35.6%, respectively, of non-agricultural employment (GOI 2008a).

In manufacturing, almost all firms belong to the informal sector. Formal sector firms account for only 0.7% of total manufacturing firms. The majority of informal sector firms are small, and located in rural areas (see Table 3). Size also accounts for large differentials in wages and productivity. Small firms have 12% of the productivity on average and pay 19% of the wages of large firms (World Bank 2012b, p. 105). This high prevalence of informality suggests that the majority of India's manufacturing workers, including youth, work in low-productivity, low-wage jobs, with little access to opportunities for formal skills development.

Table 3: Distribution of Formal and Informal Manufacturing Firms in India, by Location and Size, 2005

Firm Characteristic	Formal Sector	Informal Sector	Total
% of All Firms	0.7	99.3	100.0
Location			
Urban	60.2	29.0	29.2
Rural	39.8	71.0	70.9
Firm Size			
1-49	74.4	100.0	99.8
50-99	11.9	0.0	0.1
100+	13.7	0.0	0.1

Source: World Bank (2012b, Table 3.6)

Interestingly, however, manufacturing employers largely favor rural youth. Large firms, including multinationals, seek rural youths who complete vocational training even in remote areas. Indian labor laws are very protective of the rights of employed workers, making it almost impossible for firms to fire their workers[2]. As a result, firms are very cautious about hiring new workers as regular wage employees. They are especially reluctant to take the less docile urban youth as new regular employees, fearing their greater propensity for labor disputes. Unlike practices observed among large manufacturing firms in the 1990s (Okada 2004, 2006), for the past decade or so, even large firms which had previously hired regular wage employees are increasingly taking on more new employees as casual workers to avoid possible labor disputes. Thus, today's youths, particularly rural ones, are likely to be contract workers, often receiving low wages without long-term job security.

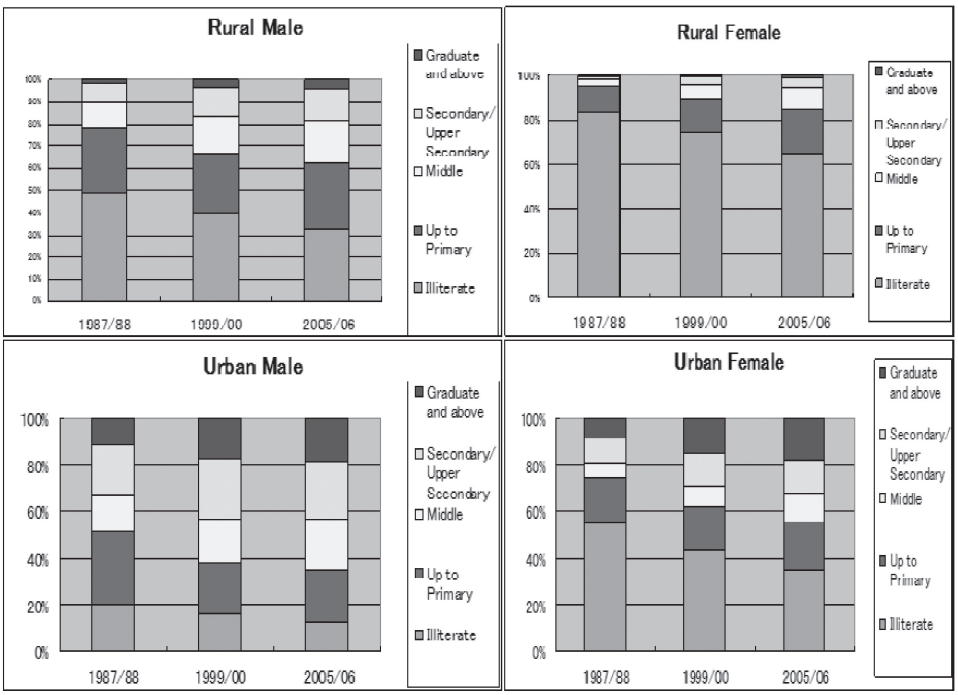
On the other end of the spectrum at the higher end of the labor market are many highly-educated professional and knowledge workers employed in such knowledge-intensive sectors as software and pharmaceuticals. Bangalore's software cluster, for example, includes a dense pool of highly-educated software engineers with highly specialized skills. This pool attracts talented professional workers and entrepreneurs, often young, who start new firms. In this competitive local labor market, highly-educated and skilled workers are in great demand. They are offered high salaries with first-class work environments including extensive in-firm training opportunities and lucrative fringe benefits such as stock options. They enjoy a highly urbanized lifestyle (Okada 2005).

Despite the widely cited successful growth of the Indian software industry, however, its fruits have been enjoyed by only a tiny fraction of the workforce. Figure 3 shows the composition of the Indian workforce by educational attainment for males and females,

[2] India's labor laws prohibits firms with 100 or more workers from laying off and firing any worker without permission from the government, which is almost impossible to obtain.

and in urban and rural areas. Surprisingly, as the figure shows, except for urban males, the majority of the workforce is still "minimally educated," i.e., with no schooling at all or only primary. Thus, there is a risk that the "demographic dividend" might actually turn into a "demographic deficit" (Paul 2011) if the upcoming young labor force cannot get enough education and earn sufficient incomes to support the non-working age population in coming years.

Figure 3: Trends in Educational Composition of the Indian Workforce by Gender and by Location



Sources: NCERT (2009); *India Yearbook* (2009)

Indeed, employment opportunities are closely linked with the level of educational attainment, as evidenced in a recent sample survey by Desai et al. (2010) (see Table 4). The educated are much more likely to work as regular wage or salaried workers, earning high wage premiums (World Bank 2012b: Figure 5.3). As India's labor market is highly stratified and segmented, young people must attain education and training, and develop their skills if they want decent jobs in the formal and organized sector. Because of the segmentation, it is extremely difficult in the Indian labor market to move up the career ladder to better jobs, crossing boundaries established by education and economic background.

Table 4: Incomes and Types of Occupation of Employed Males and Females Aged 15 to 59, by Level of Education

Educational Attainment	None	Grades 1-4	Grades 5-9	Grades 10-11	Grades 12/ Some Colleges	Graduates/ Diploma	All India
Mean Income (Rs)	21,734	25,984	35,718	53,982	69,230	114,004	47,804
Male (% in type)							
Cultivation	35	38	37	31	31	18	34
Livestock Rearing	36	34	32	26	26	16	31
Agricultural Labor	42	35	20	11	7	2	23
Non-agricultural Labor	34	29	27	15	10	4	24
Salaried Work	9	11	18	34	36	60	22
Business	9	13	16	19	24	22	16
Female (% in type)							
Cultivation	40	42	38	32	23	8	38
Livestock Rearing	58	54	57	51	44	17	56
Agricultural Labor	35	26	17	8	7	1	27
Non-agricultural Labor	9	10	8	7	6	3	1
Salaried Work	4	7	8	19	34	70	9
Business	4	7	8	11	13	11	6

Source: India Human Development Survey (Desai, et al., 2010: Table A.4.3a).

Education and Training Opportunities for Indian Youth

Access to Education and Training within the Formal Education System

Table 5 shows the supply capacity of educational institutions in India. As the number of institutions has recently increased at all levels, especially at the tertiary level, India's youth have also gained greater access to education. As of 2009/10, gross enrollments in primary (grades 1—8) and lower secondary (grades 9—10) education increased to 102% and 63%; those for upper secondary (grades 11—12) and higher education have risen to 36% and 18% respectively (GOI 2011c; UNESCO 2012). However, the dropout rates, and therefore wastage, are also high; about 53% of a given age cohort drops out before completing lower secondary education. These figures are even higher for socially disadvantaged groups such as the SC and ST, at 59% and 75% respectively (GOI 2011c: Table G-I, II, and III). This high dropout rate makes it difficult for those who leave school to access opportunities for skill development.

Table 5: Education and Skill Development Capacity in India

Type of Institution	1990/91	2009/10
Pre-primary schools	15,877	67,822
Primary schools	560,935	823,162
Middle/upper primary schools	151,456	367,745
Secondary	79,803	190,643
Government ITI/ Private ITC	-	7,886
Technical, industrial, arts & crafts schools	3,693	5,465*
Polytechnic institutes	879	3,292
Arts, science, and commerce colleges	4,862	14,321
Professional degree colleges (medicine, etc.)	130	2,074
Teachers' training colleges	474	3,357
Engineering, technology, and architecture	282	2,894
Other professional colleges (law, management, agriculture, veterinary, etc.)	876	1,914
Universities	184	350
Institutions of national importance		41
Research institutions	-	140

Source: MoHRD (2011). Ministry of Labor and Employment (2011)
* 2005/06 data.

Within the formal education system, some 350,000 to 400,000 secondary students are enrolled in vocational education. Vocational education accounts for less than 3% of the 14 million students in grades 11 and 12 (Asian Development Bank 2008). Following the 1986 National Policy of Education, the government has planned to make 25% of secondary education vocational. So far, however, it has not succeeded (World Bank 2012b, p. 200).

In addition, since 1988, the government has attempted to promote "vocationalization" of secondary education. Vocationalization aims to diversify educational opportunities by introducing some vocational streams into general secondary education, to make graduates more employable and to provide an alternative path for those pursuing higher education. Since then, 9,619 vocational secondary schools have also been created offering 150 courses, to accommodate about 1 million students (GOI 2008b). These efforts, however, are still very small, accounting for only 4.8% of total enrollments in higher secondary education (GOI 2011c)[3].

At the higher education level, the number of institutions has increased, with a

[3] Internationally, however, "vocationalization" of secondary education has proved to be ineffective, because it is costly and difficult to implement, requiring specially trained teachers, workshops, and equipment that are expensive to maintain and update, and different orientations from academic programs (Johanson & Adams, 2004).

rapid increase in private colleges. As of 2009/10, India had 350 universities and 24,560 colleges, including 2,894 engineering and technology colleges (see Table 6). In addition, it has 41institutes of national importance, including the Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT), Science (IISc.), and Management (IIM), with campuses located in several locations in different regions. Entry into these prestigious institutions is extremely competitive. In addition, 1,274 polytechnics as well as colleges offer diploma-level courses to train future technicians and supervisors. And, the government has recently proposed establishing 1,000 polytechnics, some run by state governments, and some through public-private partnerships (PPP).

Interestingly, the wage premium for both upper secondary education and higher education has increased; indeed the wage premium for higher education doubled between 1999/2000 and 2009/10, even though a much larger share of the labor force was acquiring higher education (World Bank 2012b, p.27), generating further demand for higher education.

Despite all this expansion of education opportunities, however, India's youth still have limited educational attainment. According to the 2011 census (GOI 2012b), the literacy rate for Indians over age seven is 74% (68.9% for rural and 85.0% for urban populations). As Table 6 shows, Indian youths are getting more education at all levels. However, the levels of completion for the upper-secondary and tertiary levels are still low, at 22% and 10% respectively. Thus, the mean years of schooling for young people aged 15 to 34 remains very low at 7.1 years: 7.9 for males and 6.3 for females (World Bank 2012b: Table 5A.2). And again, these figures are lower for the socially disadvantaged, including SC and ST (World Bank 2012b). Young people's access to education is still largely conditioned by gender, location and socioeconomic status.

Table 6: Percentage of each Cohort that has Completed Education

	2000			2010		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Primary completed by 15 to 19-year-olds	77	63	70	89	84	87
Lower secondary completed by 20 to 24-year-olds	60	39	49	72	56	64
Upper secondary completed by 25 to 29-year-olds	20	10	15	27	18	22
Tertiary completed by 30 to 34-year-olds	1	0	1	12	8	10

Source: Compiled from World Bank (2012b: Figure 5A.6)

Moreover, even when young people have complete education, their skills remain fairly poor. A recent study by Pratham (2010) found that only 62% of children in grade 4 could read a paragraph, the expected level for grade 1 (cited in World Bank 2012b: Figure 5.11). Thus, another challenge is improve the quality of formal school education in order to improve the basic skills of young people.

Skills Development Opportunities outside the Formal Education System

Outside of the formal education system is a well-established vocational training system, the Craftsman Training Scheme (CTS), established in 1951. The public Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) and private Industrial Training Centers (ITCs), under the Directorate General of Employment and Training (DGE&T) of the Ministry of Labor and Employment, provide pre-employment vocational training as key post lower secondary institutions to train the technical workforce. Under CTS, nation-wide, 8,306 ITIs/ITCs (2140 public ITIs and 6166 private ITCs) in 114 trades in 44 engineering and 24 non-engineering courses offer six months to three years of vocational training for those who have completed 8 to 10 years of schooling. Each state government is responsible for overseeing its ITIs. In total, over 740,000 trainees are enrolled in training courses at ITIs and ITCs.

At ITIs, tuition was free until 2006. Trainees also received fixed monthly stipends based on government norms. Currently, however, students pay Rs.1,200 (approximately US$21) per month; SC/ST pay Rs. 150 per month, and Other Backward Castes (OBC) pay Rs.50. The majority of trainees are rural males aged 16 to 24, from economically disadvantaged families. Thus, traditionally, CTS has served more of a social policy function, providing skills training opportunities that are alternatives to schooling primarily for economically and/or socially disadvantaged, rather than strengthening the industrial skill base. Among the most popular trades at ITIs are welders, fitters, machinists, auto mechanics, and electricians, because these skills can be used widely across many sectors, and promise high employability[4].

Despite this orientation, the demand for vocational training has generally been low even among the socially disadvantaged. Both parents and youths prefer general education, partly because it is considered to better prepare students for examinations for the government jobs. Moreover, because of India's traditional hierarchical social structure based on the centuries-old caste system, society has not generally highly appreciated or valued craft and trade skills. Students prefer white-collar jobs in their search for upward mobility. Vocational training has largely been seen as a second-choice option for economically disadvantaged and/or academically less capable. Table 7 shows the choices made by students who completed grade 10 in Karnataka, passing the exams for either the Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) or the Central Board of Secondary

4 Interviews with 15 ITIs in Karnataka, October and November 2012.

Education (CBSE). As the table shows, over 80% of students choose the PUC (pre-university course) track, while less than 10% choose to go to ITIs. This low demand for vocational training is a major challenge for India in strengthening its technical skill base to promote industrial development.

Table 7: Choice of Education Type by Students Passing SSLC/CBSE in Karnataka

	ITI (%)	Diploma (%)	PUC (%)
2003	8.9	5.6	85.5
2004	7.8	5.5	86.6
2005	8.9	5.9	85.2
2006	6.0	5.6	88.4
2007	7.0	6.5	86.5
2008	7.6	8.1	84.3
2009	8.3	8.5	83.2
2010	9.4	9.1	81.6
2011	8.7	9.7	81.6

Source: Compiled from data obtained from the Government of Karnataka (2012)

Notes: SSLC stands for Secondary School Leaving Certificate and CBSE for Central Board of Secondary Education. PUC stands for the Pre-University Course for those who complete lower secondary education (grade 10) in Karnataka. Students who pass the 10th standard through either SSLC or CBSE can pursue higher education by entering PUC or three-year diploma courses at colleges/polytechnics, or take vocational training at ITIs.

Still, across all of India, only about 2.5 million places are available in vocational training courses, though about 12.8 million persons enter the labor market every year (GOI 2011a). Moreover, given that students need lower secondary education to enter an ITI, there are very few formal vocational training opportunities for young people who have never been to school or who have dropped out during primary or lower secondary education. This leaves more than half of the age group unqualified for ITI training. Thus, without having gained vocational skills, or even basic skills, the majority of young people are likely to find jobs only in the informal sector (see Figure 4). Indeed, at present only 6% of those in the Indian workforce attain any form of vocational training. This results in a huge skills gap in the labor market, in terms of both quality and quantity (GOI 2010). With rapid economic growth raising the demand for skilled workers, it is no surprise that an ILO study reported that 48% of Indian employers find it difficult to fill jobs (FICCI 2012).

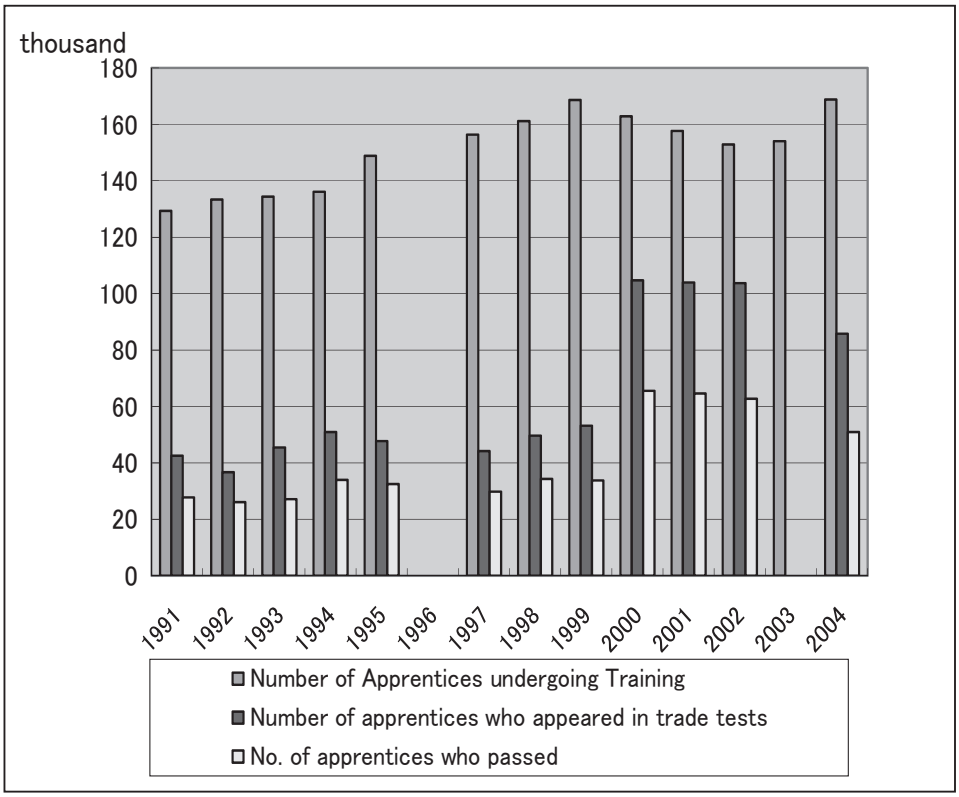
Finally, vocational training at ITIs is generally considered ineffective. First, given its vast population, India does not have enough ITIs to accommodate the many new young entrants. Second, ITI training has largely been supply-driven rather than demand-driven. The centrally-fixed and highly-standardized curriculum provides little flexibility to respond to local demands for specific skills or to the structure of local industry and labor markets. Third, vocational training has been slow to respond to industry's changing skills needs. Fourth, limited budgets have meant left facilities and equipment at most ITIs inadequate and outdated. Moreover, the quality of ITCs is mixed. Private ITCs often have smaller campuses and poorer facilities and equipment compared to public ITIs. Fifth, as ITI certification is required only for employment at medium and large firms, the majority of the workers absorbed in the informal sector may find it difficult to get their skills recognized. Finally, unlike East Asian countries, India has had no mechanism for coordinating economic development policy and vocational training, until the 11th 5-year plan (2007-2012).

Apart from the institution-based training at ITIs, India has had a well-institutionalized apprenticeship training scheme (ATS) since 1961 when the government enacted the Apprenticeship Act modeled on the German/Swiss dual system. This scheme provided one-year on-the-job training at large firms for those who completed ITI training (see Okada 2006 for more details). Unlike traditional apprenticeships, those within India's ATS largely take place at large firms, as the act made it mandatory for both public and private firms to accept a fixed number of apprentices every year based on the size of their workforce. During apprenticeship training, establishments pay stipends of Rs. 820 (US$14.40) to Rs. 1,230 (US$21.30) per month to each apprentice[5].

However, access to these apprenticeships is very limited. To participate, a student must have completed the CTS (one to three years of formal vocational training at an ITI/ITC), after completing 8 to 10 years of formal education. Moreover, in reality, fewer and fewer firms have been accepting apprentices under ATS, as private firms have become reluctant to do so. Moreover, while official skills certification can be obtained from the National Council for Vocational Training (NCVT), the passing rate for ATS is low (see Figure 4). Thus, the government is currently planning to remodel the apprenticeship scheme.

[5] When firms have under 500 employees, they and the state government share the cost of training.

Figure 4: Trends in Apprenticeship in India



Source: Data from the DGE&T, Ministry of Labor and Employment (2008).

As in many other countries, the governance of India's vocational training system has been complex. Until recently, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), which is responsible for formal education, was only slightly involved in TVET. In addition to the Directorate General of Employment and Training, more than 17 ministries/departments of the Indian government, along with their related agencies, provide and/or sponsor formal/non-formal TVET programs for specific groups, covering about 2.5 million people annually (GOI 2011). However, these TVET programs vary in many ways, including duration, target groups, entry qualifications, testing and certification, and curriculum. The result is overlap and duplication, and little unified recognition of qualifications and equivalence. In recent years, however, private training firms such as NIIT have been offering a wide range of IT-related training courses, providing young people with practical and general skills that are in high demand in the labor market.

Enterprise-Based Training

While evidence is limited, little formal in-firm training occurs in India, partly

because most firms are small and operate in the informal sector. However, some private leading firms, such as Tata Motors and Bosch, have their own training institutes, with state-of-the-art training facilities and excellent training programs for their employees. Some multinational firms that have entered India more recently, such as Toyota, also set up their own training institutes, which offer excellent training, mainly for those who work for the firm after they complete training. Not only do these enterprise-based training institutes provide higher quality training that is closely related to the job, they also provide opportunities for trainees to be hired as employees afterwards. However, generally, there is very little enterprise-based training in the formal sector of the economy. Only 17% of manufacturing firms in India provide any training for employees (Asian Development Bank 2008: Figure A5.5).

Recent Development in Skills Development for the Youth

Drawing on data collected in several rounds of fieldwork conducted in India, this section discusses recent changes in the policy, institutional frameworks, and practices at national, regional, and institutional levels.

Reframing the National System of Skills Development

Recently, India has finally become serious about skills development, introducing a series of education and training reforms. Its 11th 5-year Development Plan (2007—2012) focused on skills development as a priority issue for the first time (GOI 2008b). The prime minister's Independence Day speech of 2006 emphasized the need for a vocational education mission. In his Independence Day speech of 2007 he announced that 1,600 new ITIs and polytechnics, 10,000 new vocational schools and 50,000 new skill development centers would be established to provide access to vocational training for over 10 million students (GOI 2011a). In addition, in his budget speech of 2007, the finance minister described the emerging shortages of skilled workforce in many sectors (GOI 2011a). These political commitments from the top leadership of the central government have raised awareness among the line ministries that they must expand TVET programs "to take advantage of the demographic dividend of the country and to fulfill the aspirations and right of the youth to gainful employment and contribute to national productivity" (GOI 2011a, p.1). These speeches have generated a momentum for skills development, and a strong sense of urgency among government officials, industry, and educationalists.

In 2009, India's government announced its first skills development policy and set up a new institutional framework involving close coordination among government, industry, and training institutions to facilitate skills development efforts at the central level. First, it set up the Prime Minister's National Skills Development Council (NSDC) to coordinate various schemes provided by various ministries. The Office of the Advisor to Prime Minister for Skills Development serves as an apex coordinating body and as a secretariat

for the NSDC. Second, the National Skills Development Board (NSDB) was set up under the Planning Commission to coordinate 17 relevant ministries. Third, the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) was created, operating as a public-private partnership (PPP) involving industry associations and industry representatives to upgrade training institutions and deliver vocational training. Fourth, Sector Skills Councils have been set up for about two dozen sub-sectors involving various interested industrial associations to identify skills gaps and enhance skills training in each sub-sector. These organizations are responsible for developing policies, setting priorities and strategies, and overseeing and coordinating the various stakeholder initiatives and efforts. These Councils also try to involve employers more in establishing skills standards and assessing training performance. The creation of the NCSD in charge of skills development directly under the Prime Minister's Office helped show that the government was seriously committed to promoting skills development and raising awareness about skills development among policymakers, industry leaders, training institutions, and the general public. Also, it has made it easier to coordinate among various line ministries and concerned agencies. This new national-level institutional framework has changed the way TVET is governed in India.

Moreover, in 2010, the first national manufacturing policy was issued, with emphasis on skills development as a strategy to strengthen India's manufacturing. Indeed, it emphasized skills development for minimally-educated workers in the unorganized sector, and proposed a Modular Employable Skills (MES) scheme under DGE&T. Unlike ATS, under the MES scheme, ITIs and anyone with relevant experience can offer short-term courses (often two weeks) primarily for workers in the unorganized sector with five years of schooling, to minimize the opportunity cost of being away from work. The relevant industry designs the courses to include the necessary skills. After completing their training, the Regional Director of Apprenticeship Training awards the MES trainees a certificate for the skills they have learned. This ensures that their skills are portable and will be recognized by the appropriate industry in India or even abroad[6]. However, MES is currently offered on a limited scale. It will take a more formalized and institutionalized format to implement courses to enhance public awareness and recognition of the skills certified under the scheme and to improve access to the MES among workers in the unorganized sector.

And recently, the government, in consultation with education ministers from 12 states, introduced a National Vocational Education Qualifications Framework (NVEQF) providing guidelines for a nationally-recognized qualification system, to standardize training contents, set national standards, and recognize the skills learned at schools, vocational training institutes, and higher education institutions. The development of NVEQF has led to a closer partnership and collaboration of government with industry to

[6] For example, courses in plumbing are popular among people wishing to work in the Middle East and Australia.

develop courses, curriculum, assessment, certification, and placement. Also, to improve the quality of training, the government introduced the concepts of competency-based training and training modules. These have changed the basis for certifying vocational training from duration to competence. Now individuals can have their skills recognized regardless of their educational and employment paths.

India is experiencing an acute sense of urgency, given its serious shortage of skilled labor in the face of the potential "demographic dividend," the need to sustain rapid economic growth, and an interest in making its young skilled workforce "exportable" to global labor markets. Some advanced countries, especially Australia and Western European countries, are keenly interested in India's potential skilled labor, and have started offering attractive incentives and generous support to India's TVET and higher education sectors. Such external support and pressure has helped the Indian government make institutional reforms.

Moreover, the private sector, particularly key industrial associations such as the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), have played key roles in increasing public awareness about skills development--organizing workshops and seminars and lobbying the government to promote institutional reforms. These associations are now represented and actively participate in various committees of tertiary and training institutions as well as national boards. Industry has also felt an urgent need to promote skills development given their frequent problems in finding workers with adequate skills. Thus, they have also demanded a well-designed skills development system with greater involvement on the part of the private sector.

Under the current 12th Five-year Plan (2012—2017), the government emphasizes skills development even more ambitiously as a priority agenda item. Projecting that by 2022, India's working-age population will reach 700 million, of whom, 500 million will need to be skilled, the government set a national target of skilling 500 million people by then, allocating increased budgets for skills development. Thus, it ambitiously plans to increase the capacity of training institutions to 15 million (currently 2.5 million), by setting up more ITIs, encouraging the private sector to engage in vocational training, and expanding tertiary education (GOI, 2009).

State-level Initiatives: Experience in Karnataka

Reflecting the central government's growing interest in and commitment to skills development, the various state governments have also recently accelerated their efforts in that direction. The experience of Karnataka, one of the most industrially and educationally advanced states, is of interest.

To expand access to skills development for less advantaged social groups, the Karnataka government formulated a well-defined affirmative action program. This scheme tries to improve access to skills development at ITIs for women, disadvantaged groups

(SC, ST, and OBCs), minorities, the disabled, and economically challenged people. In Karnataka, 50% of students may be selected on the basis of general merit, and the other 50% are reserved (15% for SC; 3% for ST; and 32% for OBCs). One third of the total seats must be reserved for women, and 3% for the physically disabled. Moreover, though general-merit trainees now pay tuition of Rs.1,200 per year, SC/ST trainees are fully reimbursed. These arrangements have improved their access to training at ITIs. In fact, many ITIs in Karnataka accept more students from these groups than their quotas require.

Still, the shortage of instructors is seriously affecting the quality of training. Given budget constraints, ITIs are always short of regular qualified instructors. A widespread practice is to hire temporary instructors on a short-term basis, rather than permanently filling vacant positions. These instructors are less qualified, as the ITIs often cannot attract qualified people given the poor pay they can offer. This practice also leads to a lack of continuity in teaching, and low quality. Moreover, infrastructure, facilities, and equipment are often outdated and inadequate, seriously affecting the quality of teaching, despite some efforts to modernize and upgrade.

In 2012, the Government of Karnataka, one of India's largest IT hubs, introduced a system of on-line admission throughout the state. As the system allows applicants to choose courses offered at ITIs in any location, this system has improved matching between demand for and supply of training courses in specialized trades.

Innovative Reforms at Training Institutes

Reflecting the changing policy environment for skills development, training institutions have recently introduced several new initiatives. Supported by the World Bank, the government selected 500 ITIs as Centers of Excellence (COE) to offer "advanced module" training, and upgrade their facilities, equipment, and machinery to the same standard used in industry. Under the COE scheme, each ITI must establish an institute management committee (IMC) of 8 to 10 members. The IMC chair is selected from the private sector, often from a leading local private firm, and has power to approve major decisions about the ITI's management. Operating as a public-private partnership, the IMC is expected to forge partnerships between ITIs and the private sector to: share labor market information, especially on the types of skills in demand; develop curriculum; and seek donations of equipment and tools from the private sector to upgrade ITI facilities and equipment. Also, the creation of IMCs has increased industry participation in decision-making around the ITIs, to greater autonomy for ITIs, more channels to send trainees for internships, and improved facilities through more donations from industry. These closer linkages with employers and increased autonomy may help ITIs meet industry demands. In fact, COE courses achieved close to 100% job placements of their trainees at many ITIs.

Recognizing the importance of involving industry, some ITIs recently created partnerships with leading firms such as Toyota, Tata Motors, and Suzuki to offer training

courses to cater to the firm. For example, four ITIs in Karnataka offer a Motor Mechanic Tool and Maintenance (MMTM) course jointly with Toyota located in Bangalore. The curriculum follows NCVT norms, but Toyota decides on the topics to cover in the syllabus so it can teach firm-specific skills. Toyota takes all the students in their second year as apprentices and places them at its dealers. The courses enjoy 100% placement rates as all the trainees who pass all the requirements are placed as regular employees at Toyota dealerships on the completion of training. This tailor-made arrangement in close collaboration with particular firms has helped make training more relevant, better able to respond to industry needs, and has significantly improved placement rates. Many ITIs are keen to work with leading firms to create such firm-specific courses and to increase opportunities for both apprenticeships and instructors' training with these firms.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the opportunities for Indian young people to develop their skills, and the constraints that challenge them. Today, India faces complex and enormous challenges in fostering skills development for youths, for several reasons: the size of the youth population, and the hierarchical and segmented nature of both the labor market and society as a whole. Indeed, Indian young people fall into two main groups. A tiny fraction from economically well-off middle classes get good education and training and well-paid jobs in the organized sector. Meanwhile, the great majority of youth from economically and socially disadvantaged groups get very limited education and little access to vocational training. They work in the unorganized sector. The majority of Indian youth enter the labor market without adequate vocational skills, leading to unstable, informal, low-wage employment, such as casual labor and various forms of self-employment.

In India, the bulk of employment is in rural areas and in the unorganized sector, and almost all manufacturing firms are in the informal sector. Given the highly-stratified and segmented nature of the labor market, Indian youths must acquire education, training, and skills if they are to find decent jobs and experience any social mobility. Thus, with rapid economic growth, demand for education is likely to grow further at all levels in coming years. However, access to education, training, and employment opportunities is still largely determined by youth's socioeconomic backgrounds, gender, and geographic locations.

Despite its projected "demographic dividend" and its recent expansion of formal education at all levels, India suffers from a serious shortage of skilled workers: limited access to education and skills training, high rates of school dropout, and large mismatches in the labor market. Indeed, despite the well-known success story of the Indian software engineers, educational attainment among Indian young people remains very low on average, only 7.1 years. Though enrollment rates have increased, dropout rates remain very high in primary and secondary education. Obviously, this lack of skills creates serious constraints on the production and innovation capabilities of Indian industries, and

their competitiveness in the global economy. With most firms in the informal sector, and a minimally-educated workforce, how can the country develop its manufacturing industries to meet global standards and then move them to high value-added sectors and make them more innovative?

This paper has identified an enormous skills gap in India between what industries demand based on recent rapid economic growth and the skills that young people acquire through vocational training. For more than a half century, well-institutionalized public vocational education and training systems have been in place both within and outside the formal education system. But they are not large enough to accommodate many school graduates, and they have not been able to provide young people with the vocational skills that industries need. Thus, youths' access to vocational training continues to be limited.

However, the Indian government has recently embarked on a drastic reform of its training policy, intensifying its efforts to increase the number of skilled workers. It has formulated National Skills Development Policy and National Manufacturing Policy; set up a new institutional framework to accelerate and coordinate skills development efforts, and developed the National Vocational Education Qualification Framework (NCEQF). Training institutes now have more autonomy and private-sector involvement, and have improved their governance and curriculum. These changes are too recent to examine the effects on training outcomes. But it will be interesting to see how these reforms improve access to and demand for vocational training among youths as well as the outcomes of training.

Based on the discussion above, some suggestions for policy may be offered here. First, for India to promote industrial development and achieve sustainable growth, it must increase its investment in education and training for youth. In particular, to move further into a knowledge-based economy and move up the value chain, it is indispensable for India to improve the quality of education at every level. Second, the focus of India's skills development system does not correspond to either the level of skills demanded by industry or the overall levels of education of most young people. Thus, the government must ensure that most young people at least finish lower secondary school (i.e., 10th grade). Third, to open training opportunities for youths who have not completed secondary education, it would be helpful to create more courses at ITIs with lower levels of educational requirements. Fourth, training for the informal sector needs to be strengthened. Generally, it is difficult to reorient formal training institutions toward the informal sector (Johansson & Adams 2004). Given the vast size of the informal sector, however, it is critically important to institutionalize some training for work in the informal sector. Rather than the current somewhat ad-hoc delivery of training such as the MES, more institutionalized and structured settings may help offer more effective and streamlined training for the informal sector.

References

Ashton, D. & Green, F. (1996). *Education, Training and the Global Economy*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2008). *Education and skills: Strategies for Accelerated Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

Desai, S.B., Dubai, A., Joshi, B.L., Sen., M.Sharif, A. & Vann man, R. (2010). *Human Development in India: Challenges for a Society in Transition*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Government of India (GOI). (2011a). *Overview*. [http://mhrd.gov.in/voc_edu] (accessed on December 14, 2012).

_____(2011b). *Census of India 2011: Provisional Population Totals, Paper 2, Volume 1 of 2011. Rural-Urban Distribution*. Delhi: Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, Ministry of Home Affairs, GOI.

_____ (2011c). *Statistics of School Education 2009-2010*. Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development, GOI.

_____ (2011d). *National Manufacturing Policy*. [http://commerce.nic.in/whatsnew/National_Manufacturing_Policy2011.pdf] (accessed on November 20, 2012).

_____ (2008a). *Educational Statistics at a Glance 2005/06*. Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Higher Education, GOI.

_____ (2008b). *Eleventh Five Year Plan 2007-2012*, Volume II Social Sector.Delhi: Planning Commission, GOI.

Johansson, R. & van Adams, A. (2004). *Skills Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. World Bank Regional and Sect oral Studies. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Kuruvilla, S., Erickson, C.L. & Hwang, A. (2002). "An Assessment of the Singapore Skills Development System: Does it Constitute a Viable Model for Other Developing Countries?" *World Development*, 30 (8). pp. 1461-1476.

Middleton, J., Ziderman, A. & Van Adams, A. (1993). *Skills for Productivity: Vocational Education and Training in Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). (2009). *India Yearbook 2009*. Delhi: NCERT.

OECD. (1997). *Industrial Competitiveness in the Knowledge-based Economy: The New Role of Governments*. OECD Proceedings. Paris: OECD.

Okada, A. (2006). "Skills Formation for Economic Development in India: Fostering Institutional Linkages between Vocational Education and Industry," *Manpower Journal*. (Special Issue on Vocational and Professional Education edited by Jandhyala B G Tilak), XXXXI (4), pp. 71-95.

_____ (2005). "Bangalore's Software Cluster," in Akifumi Kuchiki and Masatsugu Tsuji (eds.), *Industrial Clusters in Asia: Analyses of their Competitiveness and Cooperation*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 244-277.

_____ (2004). ”Skills Development and Interfirm Learning Linkages under Globalization: Lessons from the Indian Automobile Industry,” *World Development*, 32 (7). pp. 1265-1288.

Paul, B. (2011). “Demographic Dividend or Deficit: Insights from Data on Indian Labor” Paper presented at the 3rd Annual Conference of the Academic Network for Development in Asia (ANDA), Nagoya, March 3-6, 2011.

Pratham. (2010). *Annual Status of Education Report: Rural 2010*. New Delhi.

Standing, G. (1993). *Global Labour Flexibility: Seeking Distributive Justice*. Basingstoke: MacMillan.

UNESCO. (2012). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012: Youth and Skills: Putting Education to Work*. Paris: UNESCO.

World Bank. (2012a). *World Development Report 2013: Jobs*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

_____ (2012b). South Asia Development Matters: More and Better Jobs in South Asia. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

_____ (2007). *Skills Development in India: The Vocational Education and Training System*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

_____ (Various Years). *World Development Indicators*.Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

ARTICLE

CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.15 No.2 (2012) pp.195 ～ 205

Secondary Education in Nigeria: A Synthesis of Basic Student-Specific Concerns from Guidance and Counselling Perspective

Abdulrashid Garba
Bayero University, Kano

Abstract

The paper is an extrapolation of a tripartite classification of basic concerns in secondary education in Nigeria. Experiences in school counselling practice guided the discussion on the classification– the cause, the effect and the consequence -so as to arrive at a comprehensive picture of the main concerns of secondary education Nigeria. The discussion focuses more on an area which is often accorded little or no attention that is the third leg of the classification - the consequence. The consequence of the main causes of the problems in secondary education in Nigeria is largely student–specific with a far-reaching implication to the future and general well-being of the society. The student-specific concerns are presented and discussed from guidance and counselling perspective. A case is finally made for additional official attention to student concerns in order to be able to achieve the set objectives of secondary education.

Introduction

The problems in the educational sector in Nigeria have their roots in what may be described as a complicated mix of economic, political, and social situations. A civil war in the late 1960s and about three decades of political instability all have their tolls in the deteriorating conditions of education. Poorly conceived programmes and/or poor implementation of well-planned programmes coupled with worldwide drop in oil prices in the 1980s are the major culprits in the crippling economic conditions, (Ajaja 2010). In spite of these facts many attempts have been made to use education for the amelioration of the economic conditions and to address political instability for the benefit of citizens and the nation, which is to make education more relevant to the needs and aspirations of the individual and the society. For example, in 1973 there was this famous seminar under the chairmanship of Chief S. O. Adebo which deliberated on all aspects education with a view to evolving a national policy on education. There were also about three different revisions of the national policy on education which evolved as a result of the 1973 seminar, in 1981, 1989 and 2004.

In 2006 a 10-year education development plan was worked. In 2009 again a roadmap for educational development was also conceptualized and launched. In spite of these and many other similar attempts as exemplified in changes and reforms from 1977

to date, Nigeria's educational system is still bedeviled by a myriad of problems. The causes of such problems are multifaceted but, accusing fingers are mostly pointing at the worsening funding profile. Others see the problems as basically in the enrollment derive, high rate of dropout and underachievement. These are really part of the main problems bedeviling secondary education in Nigeria. But also they are problems to do mostly with the government, the system and the society. Most often than not we tend to pay little or no attention to the other side of the problem, which is viewing the problem from students' angle. Problems with secondary education in Nigeria are multifaceted as mentioned earlier and therefore, deserve a holistic approach. That is a complete system review rather than any analysis or dissection of constituent parts. Any approach to the problem of education in Nigeria may not be holistic without paying specific attention to students-specific concerns.

It is in this view that the paper uses analytical synthesis in the assessment of the tripartite classification of the major concerns in the educational sector. Synthesis in this regard was believed to have the potentials of adding value to the issue under discussion by analyzing views and research reports and making a case for stakeholders and principal actors in education in a variety of ways. The paper discusses and synthesizes a well-articulated tripartite classification of typical problems of education in Nigeria, through the lenses of school guidance and counselling practices. The sole purpose is to provide practicing school counsellors with information and research reports about student-specific concerns that they can use to improve their helping processes. The focus is therefore mainly on use of research reports for counselling purposes, rather than for sole administrative purpose. The paper therefore focuses more on aspects of student-specific concerns. It is hopefully a basis for the development of effective system-wide reform in order to enhance student learning and to improve student attainment.

To accomplish this, the paper begins with a brief background on secondary education in Nigeria from 1977 to date. A tripartite classification of typical concerns of secondary education in Nigeria were presented and discussed. The paper recognizes that attention seems to be generally more on the first and second leg of the tripartite classification with little or no attention to the third leg. The paper acknowledges the assertion that attention to the first and the second legs of the tripartite classification will provide an automatic solution to the concerns of the third leg but also casts doubts to its wholesomeness. More so, the paper has made a case for a special and/or equal attention to the third leg of the classification.

Secondary Education in Nigeria: A Review

It was the recommendations from the 1977 seminar that culminated into what is today known as the national policy on education. The national policy on education (usually referred to as NPE) has provided for some broad aims of secondary education, as contained in section 4 subsection 18 of the policy (2004). They include:

a. Provide an increasing number of primary school pupils with no opportunity for education of a higher quality, irrespective of sex or social, religious, and ethnic background;
b. Diversify its curriculum to cater for difference in talents, opportunities and roles possessed by or open to students after their secondary school course;
c. Equip students to live effectively in our modern age of science and technology;
d. Develop and project Nigerian culture, art and language as well as the world's cultural heritage;
e. Raise a generation of people who can think for themselves, respect the views and feelings of others, respect the dignity of labour, and appreciate those values specified under our broad national aims, and live as good citizens;
f. Faster Nigerian unity with an emphasis on the common lies that unite use in our diversity;
g. Inspire its students with a desire for achievement and self-improvement both at school and in late life.

Secondary education is of six-year duration and given in two stages, junior and senior levels of three years each. Secondary education completes the provision of basic education that began at the primary level, and aims at laying the foundations for lifelong learning and human development, by offering more subject- or skill-oriented instruction.

The introduction of universal basic education (UBE) in 1989 as a follow up to the 1977 universal free primary education (UPE) was also an important educational milestone which became a major focus of government in line with its drive to reform the sector. In 2006 government has also worked out a 10-year education development plan as part of the drive to reform the education sector. In 2009 a roadmap for the revitalization of the education sector was conceptualized and introduced. The roadmap was introduced mainly because of the sorry state in which the education sector found itself. The quality of education had declined so much that many of the graduates produced by the nation's tertiary institutions were simply unemployable. Teachers' morale was also at an all-time low. The sector remains grossly under-funded and basic school necessities like laboratories and well-equipped libraries were simply not there. The roadmap had four components: Access and Equity, Quality Assurance, Technical and Vocational Education and Training and Funding. The document outlines improvement and turn-around strategies for each of the sub sectors of education namely basic, post-basic and tertiary. The roadmap seemed really divorced from the general problems of underdevelopment in the society. The major problems identified with the sector: funding, access and quality were more of a typical characteristic of underdevelopment.

Early in 2012 a four-year strategic plan for the education sector was unveiled by the Minister of Education, Professor Ruqayyatu Ahmad Rufa'i which would hopefully transform it by 2015. The main goal of the Strategic Plan is that by 2015, there would be significant changes in the state of the educational institutions as well as the quality

of the products. The Plan identified and classified the challenges and concerns in the education system into some focal areas as follows: access and equity; standard and quality assurance; strengthening institutional management of education; teacher education and development; technical and vocational education and training; funding partnerships; resource mobilization and utilization. The Plan had also evolved some turnaround strategies for meaningful achievement of the focal areas. Timelines as well as those responsible for their implementation were also clearly identified.

These are but just some examples of the major attempts to revitalize education in Nigeria. The likely questions now lie mainly in whether or not these excellent reform strategies have done the magic or at least, are still working and yielding the desired results or they remain like all others before them, the usual window dressing strategies and mere plans on paper.

The Tripartite Classification

Classifications presented as conceptualized and presented by Jisse (2002), Kawu (2007) and Balogun (2010) have actually summarized and classified what they considered as the discerning problems of secondary education in Nigeria. The similarities between the three classifications are overwhelming and by far outweigh the differences. The summary of the classifications which is referred to in this paper as tripartite has the cause, the effect and the consequence. The cause has mainly, funding, inconsistent policies and lack of community participation as examples of the major culprits; the effects has mainly, law enrollment, shortage of quality staff, dearth of quality teachers and dilapidated infrastructure as examples of the major culprits; the consequence has mainly, dropout, underachievement (in especially SSCE) and deterioration of students' behaviour as examples.

First Leg: the Cause: The first leg of the tripartite classification has, among others, the following major concerns: funding, inconsistent policies and lack community participation in the educational sector. Funding has consistently been the major concern in the education sector in Nigeria. The budget has yet to meet the 26 percent recommended by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), as the amount voted for education fails to adequately address the funding of this vital sector. For the 2013 fiscal year Nigeria has appropriated only a paltry 8.43 percent of the budget to education which is by far less than the UNESCO recommended 26 percent. The surprising thing is that majority of other African countries economically less endowed than Nigeria are using these guidelines for their education systems. On the average, Nigeria spends less than nine percent of its annual budget on education when smaller, economically less endowed African nations like Botswana spend 19.0%; Swaziland, 24.6%; Lesotho, 17.0%; South Africa, 25.8%; Cote d'Ivoire, 30.0%; Burkina Faso, 16.8%; Ghana, 31%; Kenya, 23.0%; Uganda, 27.0%; Tunisia, 17.0%; and Morocco, 17.7%. The consequence of poor funding of education are so devastating and crippling, most of which will be discussed

later.

Inconsistent policies and lack of continuity are the dual concerns which follow low funding in succession. Many at times the policies are structurally sound only that they are most often than not ill-conceived. Policies change with the change of national leadership or even at the change of leadership at the ministerial level. Community involvement in the development of education refers to switching from the usual practice of schools´ relations with parents in the running of schools to the full involvement of parents and the community by the school in the development of schools. One specific reason for the involvement of the parents and the community by the schools is the fact that what happens before and after the school day is as important as what happens during the school day.

Second Leg: the Effect: The second leg of the tripartite classification has, among others, the following major concerns: law enrollment, shortage of quality staff, dearth of quality teachers and dilapidated infrastructure as the major culprits. As a result of the major causes of the problems of poor funding, inconsistent policies and lack community participation in the sector secondary education in Nigeria has become a shadow of itself with far-reaching negative effects on the system. The resultant effects are manifested in law enrollment, shortage of quality staff, dearth of quality teachers and dilapidated infrastructure. Similarly, these effects have certain negative consequences that constitute the third leg of the tripartite classification.

School enrollment at secondary school level, according to World Bank report published in 2012, female (% gross) in Nigeria was last reported at 41.21 in 2010; while that of male (% gross) was put at 46.78. The general secondary school (% gross) enrollment was similarly reported at 44.05. Gross enrollment ratio is the ratio of total enrollment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown. Net enrollment ratio is the ratio of children of official school age based on the International Standard Classification of Education 1997 who are enrolled in school to the population of the corresponding official school age. This page includes a historical data chart, news and forecasts for School enrollment; secondary; female (% net) in Nigeria

Quality of the teaching staff in secondary schools has equally deteriorated over the years. Holders of the Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) are still the bulk of the teaching staff in secondary schools even though the recommendation is graduate holders. Some of the graduate teachers are not qualified (teaching without education and some are HND graduates). The proportion of the teaching force that is trained especially in science and technology is inadequate. Lack of qualified teachers has been reported as partly responsible for the dismal performance of candidates in public examinations especially in Mathematics and English Language. Added to this disadvantage teachers and students have to walk long distances to get to school due to non-availability of staff and students buses. All these have negative effects on the teachers to teach and students to learn and consequently on quality of outputs.

Dearth of infrastructure, inadequate classrooms and offices, inadequate laboratories

for practical are commonplace. Many secondary schools lack the infrastructure that would provide safe, efficient and effective schools. Many schools lack access to water, proper sanitation and electricity and are in dare need of renovation. Poor condition of the schools has some negative contributions to the performance of students in school-based examinations prepared by teachers and also in the centrally set papers. Schools are still largely dilapidated and are unsuitable for as conducive learning environment. Students do well when they study in a conducive learning environment. It is a conducive teaching environment that makes teachers to perform at their optimum. Despite the general state of total disrepair in which most of the country's schools are in, teachers are still the lowest ranked profession that enjoyed good salary structure. Teachers are among the lowest paid professionals, in Nigeria.

Third Leg: the Consequence: The third leg of the tripartite classification has, among others, the following major concerns: high dropout rates, underachievement (in especially SSCE) and deterioration of students' behaviour. There is not one single cause of drop out, it is often a consequence of many events, and therefore has more than one proximate cause. Many writers are of the opinion that poverty and cultural practices are the major causes of dropout. Poverty and cultural practices were implicated as the major culprits in the escalation of dropout rates, not only because they affect the inability of households to pay school fees and other costs associated with education but also because parents would prefer to use their wards as helps in their domestic or occupational endeavors. This argument is rather implausible and old fashioned. The old practice of shifting blames to poverty and cultural practices and religion as the main retarding forces of education has since been debunked by a number scholars. Dropout, underachievement and deterioration of students' behaviour are the direct consequences of underfunding, inconsistent policies and lack community participation in the education.

The 2011 Senior School Certificate Examinations (SSCE) results as released by West African Examinations Council (WAEC) had over 600,000 who failed English Language, out of the total 1,460,003. The 2012 results had about similar number 600,000 (37%) out of about 1,540,250 candidates who wrote the examination, who obtained credit in Mathematics, while over 800,000, representing about 54%, obtained credit in English Language. Although the 2012 results appeared to be better than the previous year, it was still a poor performance.

The 'Classification' from Guidance and Counselling Perspective

The third leg of the tripartite classification, which is the direct consequence of among other things, underfunding, inconsistent policies and lack community participation in the educational sector, as presented and discussed under the first leg, is the focus of this paper. In many attempts to ameliorate the worsening conditions of education in Nigeria and the sub- Saharan Africa generally, little or no attention is usually accorded the student factor, (Green 2009). Deterioration of students' behaviour and reported gross indiscipline

in secondary schools are continually posing threats to the hopes the society reposes in its youth as future leaders. There are a number of behavior related cases reported by stakeholders or by the students themselves which require official and professional attention in order to adequately address the deterioration in secondary education. It is not true that improving funding alone can address the decay in the system. Student related concerns are profession-specific concerns that require professional intervention strategies. First of all, we need to begin with a brief elucidation of these concerns. They are presented in Tables 1, 2 and 3 below.

Table 1: Cases and Challenges Reported by Students in an Individual or Group Sessions

Category	Sample Cases
Educational	Coping strategies, comprehension, study skills, exam anxiety
Vocational	Career aspirations, fear of (choice and) unemployment, what to do in future, desire to know about occupations
Personal	Financial constraints, imposition from parents, parents quarrels (and divorce), being made fun of
Social	Interpersonal r/ships, so much responsibility at home, wanting to belong
Other	Teachers attitude in the class, to self , after school engagement

Source: Garba (2007)

Table 1 presents typical cases and challenges bedeviling studentship at secondary school level. These challenges were reported by the students themselves as documented by Garba (2007). The challenges, as usual were divided into five. The category of educational challenges facing secondary students as reported by Garba (2007) included: ineffective strategies in coping with academic demands; lack of clear understanding of what is going on in class; lack of study strategies; and developing anxiety especially during examinations. The category of vocational challenges facing students included: lack of aspirations especially of career; fear of making the wrong choice of career and fear of unemployment; lack of adequate knowledge of what to do in the future; and an increasing desire to know more about occupations. The third category of personal concerns facing students included: lack of money enough to cater for the demands of schooling; frequent imposition of what to study in school; reported cases of parents fighting at home (which sometimes lead to divorce); peers laughing at him/her and making fun of. The fourth category of concerns that are social in nature included: the problems of keeping friends and making new ones; increasing demands from home; and the desire to belong to a social group. The last category included challenges that are not categorized such as: teacher's negative attitude towards students in and outside the class.

Table 2: Emerging Cases and Challenges

Category	Emerging Cases
Educational	Exam malpractice, impersonation, mass failure in promotional exam, too many school rules, teachers' attitude to work
Vocational	Total lack of r/ship between courses and vocational interests, part-time jobs, not doing well in selected subjects
Personal	STDs, peer influence, emotional changes (breakdown), evil spirits and witches, substances abuse
Social	Gangsters, inter-communal youth clashes, inter-party youth clashes, rudeness
Other	High rate of petty stealing in class

Source: Garba (2007)

Table 2 presents challenges that emerged over a period of five years (2001 to 2006). These challenges were not reported by students or anybody but were documented form what has been happening in the school system and as documented by Garba (2007). The challenges, as usual were divided into five. The category of emerging educational challenges included: reported cases of malpractice in especially centrally coordinated examinations, demonstrated mainly in impersonation; mass failure in promotional and SSCE examinations; authorities setting too many rules which makes students largely confused; and increasing cases of teachers' attitude to works. The category of emerging vocational challenges included: observed total lack of relationship between courses students offer and their vocational aspirations; students' engagement in after school part-time jobs; and students not doing well in some key subjects such as English and Mathematics. The third category of emerging personal concerns included: sexually transmitted diseases (STDs); influence of peers to commit crimes; emotional breakdown; possession by evil spirits; and substance abuse. The fourth category of emerging social concerns included: increasing involvement with gangsters; clashes between communities; and also clashes between and within political parties. The last category included emerging challenges that are not categorized such as: high rate of petty stealing especially at home and in school.

Table 3: Case and Challenges Reported by Stakeholder

Stakeholders	Sample Reports
Parents	Nigerian and Hausa films, romantic novels, video games, cell phone chatting, defiance, social IT media
Teachers	Absenteeism, low performance, learning and conduct disorders, substance abuse, destruction of school property, recurring violations of school rules, exam malpractice
Agencies	Drug abuse (NDLEA), stealing and burglary (Police), substance abuse
Community	Hanging out with girls late night, disruptive behavior, substance abuse
Media	Football hooliganism, substance abuse
Counsellors	Shunning counselling

Source: Garba (2007)

Table 3 presents typical cases and challenges bedeviling studentship at secondary school level as reported by the stakeholders and as documented by Garba (2007). These challenges were divided into six. The first category presents challenges facing students as perceived by parents, included: proliferation Nigerian movies (Nollywood) and Hausa movies (Kannywood); proliferation of local romantic novels; proliferation of video games which are often violent; chatting on cell phone especially at night; and the encroachment of social media in the IT world. The second category presents challenges facing students as perceived and reported by teachers which included: increasing absenteeism; increasing low performance; reported cases of disorders mainly to do with learning; rudeness to and abuse of teachers; substance abuse; deliberate destruction of school properties; deliberate violations of school rules and regulations; and examination malpractice. The third category of emerging concerns facing students as reported by government agencies included: increasing cases of substance abuse reported by the National Drug Laws Enforcement Agency (NDLEA); petty stealing and burglary as reported by the Police. The fourth category of concerns as reported by the various communities included: hanging out with girls late night which is contrary to the norms; increasing cases of disruptive behavior; and substance abuse. The fifth category included challenges reported by the media which included; increasing cases of football hooliganism; and substance abuse. The last category includes cases reported school counselors which is mainly the case of students shunning away from counselling.

It may be noted that none of the following cases featured anywhere: fear of bullying; failure in homework; school phobia; mutism; autism; attention deficit; and similar concerns. This is simply because these types of problems are more prominent at primary school level and their occurrence at secondary or other levels of education is abysmal. It may also be noted that none of the following cases featured anywhere: fake

results; cultism; rapes; union rivalry; marriage and relationship issues; homosexuality; schizophrenia; maladjustment; and other similar concerns. This is largely because they are more prominent at tertiary levels and therefore their occurrence at secondary or other levels of education is abysmal. Again, it may also be noted that none of the following cases featured anywhere: suicide; eating disorders (bulimia and anorexia nervosa); sexual dysfunction; sexual orientation; depression; bipolar disorder; and other similar concerns. This is largely because they are more prominent outside school system and more importantly most of them are seen to be alien to the culture.

Implications of the Guidance and Counselling Perspective

Of major concern here is that the majority of the population of Nigeria, West Africa and even the entire Sub-Saharan Africa, fall within the youth category (age 15-35), a trend which is projected to persist for some decades to come. Data from the National Population Commission (NPC) of Nigeria (1997) show a high proportion of children in the population. Those under 15 years of age constituted about 45 per cent of the total population. The proportion of aged persons (60 years and above) in the population constituted only 3.3 percent. The age structure of the population, according to the 1991 census, shows a very broad-based pyramid, reflecting the large proportion of children and young persons. Those children and young persons are ideally expected to pass through the education system. If the educational environment is crowded with the kind of problems presented here then the dream of bright future is apparently threatened because the very basic requirement for a meaningful life for the youth is grossly being compromised.

Whatever is thought of as a recipe for the amelioration of standards in secondary education in Nigeria will likely head to the rocks so long these basic student-specific concerns have not been adequately and meaningfully addressed. The question is how can the student-specific concerns be addressed? In Nigeria the answer is simple. The current national policy on education (FGN 1977, 1981 and 2004) has provided for the introduction and/or implementation of guidance and counselling in schools. Guidance and counselling as a support service is deemed by the national policy as a catalyst for resolving student related concerns. Professional school guidance counselors are expected by the national policy to provide a broad range of services in schools under the direction of their professional ethics.

Students of especially secondary school age, who are mostly in the age range of pre- and post- adolescence period, are today living in exciting and demanding times with an increasingly diverse society, evolving technologies and expanding opportunities in a competitive global economy. As they transition from childhood through adolescence and to adulthood, secondary school students are faced with multifaceted challenges impacting achievement and readiness for postsecondary success. It is only the proper implementation of the provisions of the national policy that can adequately address students' concern and ensure success at this level of education.

Conclusion

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the school system plays a crucial role in the socialization of students because the family alone cannot adequately fulfill the role of training responsibilities of its ever growing adolescents. The socialization role of the school is not limited to provision of skills and practical knowledge to teachers, parents and counselors alone. It also involves instilling among students forms of positive interpersonal relationship, commitment to self-development, dedication to social integration and growth, selflessness, honesty and sincerity. It is therefore essential for schools to develop and review school policy to address student-specific concern.

Reference

Ajaja, K. B. (2002). Problems of Evaluation in Nigeria's secondary school. *Education Studies, 4*(2), 70-79.

Balogun, O. O. (2010). Effects of Test Scores on Senior Secondary School Science Students. *Studies in Community Science*, 1(1), 57-64.

Garba, A. (2007, Oct 27). Home and school factors responsible for dropout in the North-West, Nigria. *Education in Nigeria: A Review*. Kano, North-West Zone, Nigeira: Northern Publishing Company.

Green, S. B. (2009). Graduation rates in Nigeria's education system. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 2*(4), 66-90.

Jisse, S. R. (2010). The dropout crisis in Nigeria's education. *Education Studies*, 56-70.

Kawu, A. A. (2007). An Assessment of secondary education in North-West Nigeria. *Community Education*, 1(2), 36-49.

Nigeria, F. G. (1977). *National Policy on education*. lagos: Government Printers.

Nigeria, F. G. (1981). *National Policy on education*. lagos: Government Printers.

Nigeria, F. G. (2004). *National Policy on education*. lagos: Government Printers.

Nigeria, N. P. (1997). *Numeric and Percentage distribution of 1991 census figures*. abuja: Govt. printers.

Journal of International Cooperation in Education
Style and rules for contributors

1. **Journal of International Cooperation in Education** is an international refereed journal published in English in once a year and in Japanese in once a year of every year. The journal welcomes articles from authorized contributors (see "2") on any aspect of international cooperation in education.

2. **Qualification of contributors** is given to the members of the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education at Hiroshima University who are currently or were formerly associated with CICE (including CICE staff members, members of the managing committee, research fellows, and visiting research fellows). Contributions for articles may be invited by the CICE Editor-in-Chief. Otherwise submissions from anyone who is interested in CICE activities may be accepted if accompanied by introduction of a CICE staff or associate member.

3. **Manuscripts** should be original, clearly and precisely presented in English or Japanese (see styles and rules for contributors in Japanese). Authors should submit four hard copies of their manuscript plus an electronic file of the manuscript (preferably in a PC compatible disk). Text should be prepared using Microsoft Word software.

4. **Each submission** should be no longer than 7000 words (14 printed pages) in total, including title, author(s) information, tables, figures and references. Each article should be accompanied by an abstract of approximately 150 words typed on a separate sheet.

5. **Preparation of Manuscript**:
   - **A. Cover sheet should** contain title, full name, institution, address, phone and fax numbers, and e-mail address.

   - **B. Text** should be typewritten on one side of A4 size papers with 30 mm margins all around. Each typewritten page should have 42 lines, approximately 500 words with 10.5 point character.

   - **C. References** cited in the text should be arranged alphabetically according to the name(s) of author(s). Text reference should be made by the author's names followed by the year of publication [e.g. Sifuna (2001), or (Sifuna 2001)]. When papers have three or more authors, please give only the name of the first author followed by et al. [e.g. Kawagoe et al. (1998) or (Kawagoe et al. 1998)] throughout the text.
     In addition,
     Reference cited in the text should be listed as follows;
     <EXAMPLE>
     Textbooks are one of the most important learning materials for study (Sasaki 1999; Watanabe 2000) [more than 2 references]
     .....(Sasaki, Watanabe & Sato 2001) [written by more than 3 authors]
     .....(Sasaki 1999, p.123)
     .....According to Sasaki (1999), it is considered.....
     .....According to Sasaki (1999a) and Uemura (2002), it is considered.....

     (1) Book:
     Last name of author + first name initial. (year), *Title (Italic)*, location of the publisher, name of the publisher.
     Lloyd, P.C. (1966). *The New Elites of Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

(2) Book chapter:

Last name of author(s), + first name initial(s). (year). "Chapter Title", In (Eds.), *Book Title*, (p.), location of the publisher, name of the publisher.

Lloyd, P.C. & White, A. (1996). "Aid, International Co-operation and Globalization: Trends in the Field of Education." In K. King & L. Buchert (Eds.), *Changing International Aid to Education: Global Patterns and National Contexts* (p.60-67). Paris: UNESCO.

(3) Journal article:

Last name of author + first name initial. (year). "Title of the article." *Name of the Journal*, volume (no.), p.21-38.

(Example)

Sifuna, D. (2001). "African Education in the Twenty-First Century: the Challenge for Change." *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, 4(1), p.21-38.

(4) On-line material:

World Bank Education Lending [http://go.worldbank.org/4H9D7XN5E0] (accessed on August 1, 2008).

Note.

Same author can be indicated as_____. Please use (2001a), (2001b), in case there are more than 2 references from the same author in the same year.

D. Tables should be self-explanatory and each presented on a separate page outside the main text. A short title should be provided with any additional information contained in footnotes with a lucid legend to explain the meaning of the content.

E. Figures are referred to for all drawings, diagrams, graphs and photographs. These should be of the highest quality and suitable for direct reproduction. Each figure should be presented on a separate page.

F. Place of insertion of tables and/or figures in the text should be indicated on the right-hand margin of the sheet.

6. **Whether or not the manuscript** is accepted and the timing of publication is decided by the Editorial Committee. The positions and scale of figures and tables in published pages may be changed from the author's designation.

7. **Galley proof** will be sent to the corresponding author if there is sufficient time to do so. The authors are responsible for reading the first galley proof. No change of the content of the manuscript is permitted on the galley proof without the consent of the Editor-in-Chief.

8. **Offprints**. Authors will receive free of charge 30 offprints. Additional copies can be obtained at author's cost.

9. **Copyright**. The articles published in the Journal of International Cooperation in Education are subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), Hiroshima University. Authors may, of course, use the article elsewhere after permission is obtained from CICE.

10. **Submit all manuscripts** to Editor-in-Chief, Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), Hiroshima University, 1-5-1 Kagamiyama, Higashi-Hiroshima 739-8529 JAPAN. For any questions regarding this style and rules, please e-mail: cice@hiroshima-u.ac.jp.

平成25年3月31日　発行

国際教育協力論集　第15巻 第２号

発　行　者　広島大学教育開発国際協力研究センター
〒739-8529 東広島市鏡山1丁目5番1号
TEL (082)424-6959　FAX (082)424-6913
URL http : //home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice
本論集をWebページに公開しています。
印　刷　所　三原プリント株式会社

Journal of International Cooperation in Education

Volume 15 Number 2 October 2012

SPECIAL ISSUE
Youth, Education, and Work

ARTICLE