Employment Prospects of Children and Young People in Asia

This is the second of a series of studies of the employment prospects of children and young people in different areas of the world.[1] *It is based on an inquiry carried out at the end of 1961 and the beginning of 1962 in seven countries of Asia : Burma, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, Singapore and Thailand. As far as possible the data gathered on the spot have been filled out and brought up to date from sources available within the International Labour Office.*

Introduction

IN the seven countries studied the dominant factor affecting the employment prospects of children and young people is the unparalleled population growth recorded during recent years. Between 1950 and 1960 all these countries have had growth rates equal to or (for the great majority) higher than the average rate for Asia as a whole, and the available data from the latest censuses have often exceeded the most pessimistic forecasts. Furthermore, it is expected that population in these countries will continue to grow even faster during the coming years ; in the only case in which the growth rate should slow down (Singapore) it would fall into line by about 1980 with that of Ceylon, one of the highest of the region. Even in India and to a lesser extent in Pakistan, in both of which the growth rates are not so high, the absolute population figures still give rise to a problem of overwhelming proportions.[2] Hong Kong, where population expansion should slow down after 1970 and where the difficult years between 1938 and 1946 have resulted in a marked dip in the figures for the group aged between 13 and 27 years, might almost be said to occupy a privileged position.

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[1] The first article, on the employment prospects of children and young people in the Near and Middle East, was published in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 1, Jan. 1963, pp. 51-66.

[2] See I.L.O.: *Report of the Director-General*, Report I, Fifth Asian Regional Conference, Melbourne, 1962 : *Some Labour and Social Aspects of Economic Development* (Geneva, 1962), pp. 36-39.

Young people under 15 years old number more than 240 million in these seven countries : there are 176 million in India alone and over 40 million in Pakistan ; in Thailand there are more than 11 million, in Burma about 9 million, in Ceylon 4.5 million, in Hong Kong some 1.3 million and in Singapore over 0.6 million. How large these figures are can be appreciated from the fact that this age group accounts for at least two-fifths of the total population in the countries considered—about 43 per cent. in Singapore and Thailand, 44 per cent. in Ceylon and 44.7 per cent. in Pakistan.

The future employment of these young people is clearly a very acute problem by reason of the more or less serious unemployment and underemployment already evident everywhere and the inadequacy of facilities for vocational training, which would otherwise enable hundreds of thousands of young people to take up the skilled jobs for which there is a growing dearth of workers. In all the countries studied children still have to work often at a very early age, although adults can get no work or too little [1], and young people are continually being added to the growing mass of unemployed and underemployed, despite the facts that most older people have to continue their economic activities until physically exhausted and that many vacancies for skilled, technical and scientific workers cannot be filled.

CHILDREN—WORK OR SCHOOL

Child Labour

The true extent of child labour in these seven countries is difficult to assess. Statistics are scarce and most often of scanty coverage ; very generally they are an underestimate of the real situation as revealed by investigation or research. And it is dangerous to attempt to trace tendencies, for the comparison of data over time needs very great caution. Comparisons between countries also are affected by differences in customs and ideas underlying the censuses taken.

Child labour is comparatively least widespread in Hong Kong and Singapore : 24,441 children aged 14 years and under (2.02 per cent. of the total active population) were in employment in Hong Kong when the census of 1961 was taken, and 8,704 children aged 10 to 14 years (1.8 per cent. of the total active population) in

[1] One author, for example, has calculated that if the 27 million young people aged less than 17 years now working in India left employment, at least 15 million adult unemployed would find work, account being taken of the differences in working capacities (Ramesh CHANDRA : " Effect of Low Incomes on the Size of Labour Force and Employment in India ", in *Indian Labour Journal* (Delhi, Labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour and Employment), Dec. 1961, p. 1164).

Singapore at the time of the census of 1957. On the other hand, India, with 16,810,000 persons aged less than 16 years (9.9 per cent.) in its active population of 1956-57, and Thailand, with 1,079,506 young people between the ages of 11 and 14 (7.7 per cent.) in its active population at the census of 1960, are countries where child labour is still of a magnitude to cause concern. The same seems to be true of Pakistan [1] and also of Burma ; in the latter country, where information is available only for the urban areas (in which the participation of children in economic activities is known to be generally less than in the rural areas), 3.2 per cent. of the workers in towns in 1953 were aged from 11 to 15 years. This percentage can be compared with the findings of the fourteenth round of the National Sample Survey of India, which covered all the urban areas and which showed that 3 per cent. of the workers employed in those areas in 1958-59 were 12 to 14 years old. As for Ceylon, it appears from the very full data of the survey of 1959-60 to be in this respect midway between Hong Kong and Singapore taken together and the other countries under consideration, for its active population at the date of the survey included 120,000 aged less than 15 years (3.6 per cent.) ; this shows an improvement on 1953, when the proportion was over 4 per cent. (2.2 per cent. of the active male population and 6.1 per cent of the active female population).

On the whole, the less industrialised the area the greater is the child labour. This appears very clearly in the case of Hong Hong : in 1961, in the districts of Kowloon and New Kowloon (the chief industrial area), there were 1.71 per cent. children under 15 years old in the active population, but in the Colony Waters up to 7.83 per cent. and in the New Territories Waters 13.2 per cent. The child activity rate is also definitely higher in the rural areas in most of these countries, for agriculture and the plantations give them many opportunities of employment. In India, for example, the 1956-57 activity rates in the age groups from 7 to 15 years old were 19.13 per cent. in the rural areas, as against 7.05 per cent. in the urban areas ; in this country, as in many others, children aged 6 years and under work almost exclusively in the rural areas.

In the rural areas, agriculture and plantation work still offer the chief openings for children in countries that are predominantly

[1] International Labour Conference, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960 : *Record of Proceedings* (Geneva, I.L.O., 1960), speech by Mr. Ahmad (Workers' delegate, Pakistan), p. 203 : " The problem of child labour is as important as the problem of youth. . . . The children in some cases are required to devote more hours to their work than the workers employed in commercial and industrial undertakings." The most recent data available are for the 1951 census and appear seriously to underestimate the extent of child labour even among male workers, who are normally much more completely counted than female workers.

agricultural. However, even in the two that are not, that is Hong Kong and Singapore[1], this is still an economic sector of importance for girls, who are employed in relatively greater numbers than boys. In Hong Kong this is so for the age groups up to 19 years. In Singapore agriculture was the sector with the largest proportion of girls aged from 10 to 14 years (40 per cent.) in 1957, although it took second place after the sales sector for boys. In all the other countries the proportion of children employed in agriculture varies according to the degree of development of the economy. In Thailand, where more than four-fifths of the active population still belongs to this sector, the figure is very high : 990,184 of the 1,067,473 children at work when the census was taken in 1960. Agriculture is the occupation of only 56 per cent. of the active population in Ceylon and the proportion of workers aged less than 14 years employed in this sector in 1953 was 46 per cent. for boys and 52 per cent. for girls (in 1946 it had been slightly more than 50 per cent. for boys and 58 per cent. for girls). The preliminary results of the 1961 census of Pakistan also show the preponderance of agricultural work among the youngest age groups. In India two sample surveys of agriculture carried out during recent years have shown that the employment of children under 15 years of age has increased in this sector, mounting from 4.9 per cent. of the agricultural labour force in 1950-51 to 7.7 per cent. in 1956-57 : the steepest rises took place in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Punjab, but a considerable fall was recorded in West Bengal.

Changes in the nature of child labour in agriculture are important as indicating the evolution of working conditions of children. Very few data exist on this subject, however : all that is available comes from the two Indian surveys already mentioned, which showed an increase in paid and casual work at the expense of family employment. Whether paid or not, the children work principally at the peak period and are given routine jobs ; but if they are paid their work is at a faster pace. In the family circle children tend to do the little jobs suited to their age, whether they take part in agricultural work or gather firewood or other things from the forest, sell vegetables, collect liquid manure, tend the crops or look after the cattle. Among those who are paid, the girls specialise in such jobs as pulling up weeds, transplanting and picking cotton, peppers and chillis, and the boys are engaged in every kind of agricultural work, including, particularly in West Bengal, the hard labour of ploughing. Generally speaking, the conditions of child labour are

[1] The percentage of the active population working in agriculture was 8.9 in Singapore in 1957 and 7.36 in Hong Kong in 1961.

better in the areas where there is community development. It would be interesting to know to what extent paid employment of child labour occurs in the other countries under consideration, but no comparable study has been made. No doubt the position is fairly similar in Pakistan, particularly in the East Province. But in Burma and in Thailand, where small family ownership is still relatively more widespread, things are different, at least in degree. Work on a family plot of land is the most usual thing in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Paid work for children is plentiful on plantations. They do work that is considered specially suitable, such as pulling up weeds, pruning bushes, searching for harmful insects, plucking and sorting tea, moving plants or rubber tapping. They are often engaged with their parents and live in the plantation. In Pakistan some years ago 15 or even 20 per cent. of the workers in the tea gardens of East Bengal were children. In India they were reported to number from 11 to 22 per cent. at the end of 1952, the highest percentage being at Darjeeling ; but in Assam the number of children employed in the tea plantations was declining in 1951.

Many children work in small-scale industries, village industries and various crafts; these are not generally covered by the legislation on minimum age of employment, and working conditions in them are often very bad. In Ceylon 40 per cent. of the children in the rural labour force in 1951 were employed in small-scale industries ; they helped with weaving, extracted and spun coconut coir, took part in pot making and woodwork ; little girls in particular were employed on basketware and handmade lace and, in the Negombo district, made fireworks in their homes. In India many children do weaving at home or work in the match industry, at making beedis (indigenous cigarettes), shellac, glass, shoes, toys, buttons, candles, hosiery or pots, and in tanning and the coir industry. According to a study undertaken in 1952 in two main centres of the match industry in south India, one-quarter of the workpeople employed were children, 73 per cent. of whom were girls ; many were between 8 and 10 years of age and a large number of children from 5 to 8 years of age were also employed at home in frame filling and box making. The number of children employed in making beedis was 200,000 in 1959.[1] In East Bengal in Pakistan children begin to work at 5 years of age in the coir industry, where they are employed in turning the wheel for spinning ; they are given the tasks of

[1] M. A. NATARAJAN *(Report on the Enquiry into the Working Conditions in Beedi Industry in Madras State)* states that in 1956 a survey made of the principal manufacturing centres of beedis in the state of Madras showed that nowhere was the percentage of child workers lower than 6 : it reached 39 at North Arcot and 57 at Tiruchirappalli.

sizing and reeling thread in home weaving and keep the silk worms ; on the coast, particularly round Chittagong, they make salt. A great number of them also work at making beedis (some of these children are less than 10 years old) and small boys are normally employed on pressing and baling jute. In Singapore they are employed mainly in making wooden boxes, noodles and rubber shoes, and in bookbinding, carpentry and tailoring. In general, it is very difficult to assess the real extent of child labour in the unorganised industries because there is often a great deal of indirect employment. The survey made in 1956 in the state of Madras of the employment of children in the manufacture of beedis, for example, showed that the system of working direct for the manufacturer tended to lose ground to various other systems of indirect employment through middleman contractors, especially to the system of out-work, in which these latter distribute to the workers in their homes the raw materials they have bought from the manufacturer and take the finished beedis from them to sell to the manufacturer.

There is less child labour in factories, for factory employment is subject to a statutory minimum age that varies from 12 to 14 years according to the country. Many employers, however, still circumvent such legal provisions more or less openly, either by employing the children in workshops having too few workers to come under the law or by falsifying their age certificates. Moreover, the labour inspectorate is nowhere sufficiently developed (and this is particularly the case outside towns and cities) to be able to exercise strict supervision. Statistics on factory employment in India nevertheless show a diminution in child labour over the past ten to 15 years ; children accounted for 0.27 per cent. of the daily work force in factories in 1951 and for only 0.1 per cent. in 1960. The reports on the implementation of the law in certain industries also show only a very small number of infringements of the minimum employable age. In Ceylon the illegal employment of children in industrial and similar activities covered by the law was considered, even a few years ago, to be negligible in the urban economy and the Commissioner of Labour has recently confirmed that the law is well observed in factories. The difficulty of controlling the illegal employment of children in Hong Kong is well known, but the problem is not considered serious, except at certain times, i.e. in 1960-61, when there was a recrudescence of it in the jobs deserted by adults because of the bad working conditions. The fact that the official statistics reflect above all the position as it exists in modern industries largely explains the drop that they show, for up-to-date factories are not specially anxious to employ children, being more concerned with productivity and preferring

to avoid the problems involved in adapting working conditions to the exigencies of the laws protecting young workers.[1]

Many children are employed in other activities also. They are often hired with their parents for building and take part in loading and unloading and in breaking stones. They also find very many useful openings in the minor services : hotels, restaurants, shops and stalls, and entertainment. Domestic service calls upon children who are sometimes very young and who are most frequently exploited. Some of them are, in fact, " adopted "—although they may not know this—so that they have not even the benefit of wages. Minor occupations carried out in the streets are also a means of subsistence for many children. It must be noted that the latests censuses in Thailand and Singapore show most of the children employed in sales occupations to be shop assistants and salesmen ; but of course an enumeration of the floating mass of small street vendors is so difficult to undertake that its results cannot be completely relied upon. Occupations carried on in the street, among which must be included begging, expose children to numerous abuses and are extremely insecure. For girls prostitution is also an occupation. It is most frequently kidnapped or abandoned children who have to take up begging or prostitution.

It is the poverty of many families that still obliges children to start work—any work—very young in order to live, and that drives the parents to put their children to work instead of sending them to school and to prevail on employers to give their children jobs even when—as in the case of piecework—the employers get no particular advantage from it. Children often need their scanty wages so badly that they become willing parties to the deceptions practised by the employer about their age and themselves evade the supervision of the labour inspectorate. The position is so serious that protective measures such as the prohibition of employment below a certain age are not always strictly enforced for fear that children will be driven to live by thieving. Furthermore, the growth of juvenile delinquency makes it often seem better for children who are not at school to work rather than to be left to their own devices.[2] In the last few years many governments have scarcely made any attempt to regulate employment. Among the few new measures recently adopted are the prohibition of the employment of children under 14 years of age in the making of

[1] This is true, of course, of modern factories but not necessarily of all modern industries. The cinema industry, for example, sometimes employs children (see S. D. PUNEKAR : "Labour in the Cinema Industry ", in *Janata* (Bombay, Praja Socialist Party), Vol. XV, Nos. 41-42, 30 Oct. 1960, pp. 11-12).

[2] In Thailand, for example, the system of holding school classes in shifts has sometimes promoted juvenile delinquency.

beedis and cigars in the state of Kerala in 1962, the prohibition of the employment of children under 12 years of age in any capacity in distribution work in the state of Madhya Pradesh in 1958 (before that date only the state of Bombay had attempted to regulate child labour in this sector) and the prohibition of the employment of children under 12 years of age in the tea plantations of Pakistan in 1962. So far as there is legislation, however, its implementation should be made easier by certain factors such as the growth of the public sector : in Burma and Ceylon, for instance, the government is now the principal employer.

Putting Children to School

The continued existence of child labour is partly due to the inadequacies of primary schooling.[1] The scarcity of teaching facilities has resulted in conditions unlikely to encourage parents to send their children to school. Parents often have no hesitation in keeping a child from school when urgent tasks have to be done or in no longer sending him to school after a year or two of study. Or perhaps there is no school or it is a very long way off. Instruction is often given under impossible conditions : overcrowded classes ; teachers barely competent and, in addition, tired out ; lack of air and light ; classrooms so old as to be dangerous ; no textbooks and no writing materials. Even the fact that education is free is not enough to bring it within the reach of the very poorest families, which often lack the means to buy their children either sufficiently decent clothing or the minor requisites of learning. The way in which teaching is organised and, particularly, the class timetables and the holidays are often not arranged so as to allow a child both to work and to study. Finally, the syllabuses have often remained much too academic and out of touch with real life. In many countries, too, they are weighted down by the teaching of more than one language. The fact is that sometimes the language of the home is far from being the national language ; sometimes it is, but one or even two others have to be learned as well in primary school. Thailand and Burma, which have more homogeneous populations, are less handicapped in this respect than the other countries under consideration, but India and Ceylon, for example, have tremendous problems to solve. In addition bad living conditions in general and overcrowding in particular are scarcely conducive to study at home, while malnutrition saps the energy of the pupils and greatly impairs their

[1] A detailed study in Ceylon of the causes of non-attendance at school showed that the principal reason was poverty, and the next most important was the unsuitability of the school syllabuses to the needs of children.

power of concentration. Ceylon is the only country that has developed a programme of school meals for the purposes not only of improving the health and diligence of the pupils but also of making it unnecessary for them to look for work at too young an age.

However, the advantages of education are coming to be increasingly recognised, even among the people in rural areas and remote regions. But this is mainly the case only with boys' schooling : there are still prejudices that stand to varying degrees in the way of education for girls. Nowhere has girls' education reached the level even of 50 per cent. according to the most recent available information (see the accompanying table). Among the countries studied, Ceylon and Thailand are the most advanced as regards education for girls and India and Pakistan the least. The truth is that education for girls is still impeded practically everywhere by stubborn prejudices, and such customs as purdah and child marriage are still keeping a great number of them away from school. Some governments, however, particularly those of India and Pakistan, are very well aware of this problem and are making a special effort to promote female education.

Two countries stand out from the rest because of their high rate of primary education, which is between 80 and 90 per cent. of the children of school age : these are Hong Kong and Singapore. But it is not in these two that the education of girls is the most advanced. The differences between highly urbanised areas and the mainly rural ones also remain very marked. In Hong Kong the education of children who live in boats is a real challenge to the authorities : the percentage of children under 15 years of age who had never been to school was nearly 73 in Colony Waters and New Territories Waters in 1961 ; for girls it was over 80. The latest census also shows that illiteracy is very high among girls employed in agricultural work. Ceylon, too, is among the countries where school attendance has improved the most—almost 83 per cent. of the children aged 6 years were at school in 1958 (excluding the plantation sector) but the figure fell to about 65 per cent. at the age of 13 years ; quite recently it was about 60 per cent. for children of school age living on plantations. The position is less satisfactory in India and Pakistan. In the former 80.5 per cent. of the boys aged from 6 to 11 years—but only 40.4 per cent. of the girls—go to primary schools. Great variations exist between different parts of the country ; for example while it is reported that the majority of children go to school in the state of Kerala, in the rural areas of Rajasthan 70 per cent. of those aged from 6 to 11 years do not and school attendance by girls is only 15 per cent. In addition more than half of the pupils do not reach the

ATTENDANCE AT GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS IN RECENT YEARS

Country	Years	Primary		General secondary		Vocational secondary	
		Total	Percentage of girls	Total	Percentage of girls	Total	Percentage of girls
Burma . . .	1954	1,208,000 [1]	41	285,000	41	6,000 [2]	10
	1959/60	1,564,370	...	332,576	...	1,687 [3]	...
Ceylon . . .	1956	1,407,000 [4]	47	308,000 [5]	42	...	...
	1960	[6]	[6]	[6]	[6]	[6]	[6]
Hong Kong	1955	195,000	42	...	...	...	...
	1956	...	...	44,000 [7]	41	4,000	39
	1959/60	335,699	42.1	61,353	41.3	2,842	32.9
India . . .	1955	24,528,000	31	6,810,000	20	335,000	17
	1958/59[8]	24,101,399 [9]	30.7	14,078,334	27.4	238,794	18
Pakistan . .	1954	3,970,000	20	1,123,000	12	10,000	7
	1959/60	4,605,732	25.4	1,398,340	15.9	11,334	23.1
Singapore .	1955	176,000	38	28,000	34	400	—
	1960/61	289,172	44.8	58,710	38.3	1,911	—
Thailand . .	1956	3,091,101	47	335,060	34	44,929	31.1
	1959	3,432,662	...	483,107	...	90,380	...

— = Nil or negligible. ... = Data not available.

Sources: International Bureau of Education and U.N.E.S.C.O.: *International Yearbook of Education*, Vol. XXIII, 1961; U.N.E.S.C.O.: *Current School Enrolment Statistics*. No. 9, Sep. 1962; *Basic Facts and Figures, International Statistics relating to Education, Culture and Mass Communications*, 1958 and 1961; and *World Survey Education—III—Secondary Education*, 1961.

[1] Excluding primary departments of secondary public schools. [2] Including part-time pupils. [3] Public schools only; 1958-59. [4] Including primary classes of secondary schools. [5] Excluding primary classes of secondary schools. [6] Attendance at all three types of school together in 1960 was 2,209,487, including 46.5 per cent. girls. [7] Excluding evening courses. [8] Pupils in the primary departments attached to middle and secondary schools are included under general secondary education. [9] The reduced enrolment as compared with 1955 is due to the fact that some schools then included under the heading of primary are now under the heading of secondary.

fourth class because their parents take them away from school to set them to work. In the plantations it appears that only about 18 per cent. of the children of school age can read and write. In Pakistan less than 50 per cent. of the children of school age go to school and those who drop out for various reasons during the school year amount to 75 per cent. of the total number of pupils in certain areas. Only 25 per cent. of the girls go to school. The position in this respect is relatively less bad in East Pakistan, where co-education is the rule: here 85 per cent. of the rural

population lives in villages that have a primary school for boys and girls or at least are within a mile of one ; but the girls do not avail themselves as fully as the boys of the provision made for them. There are no recent data on school attendance in Thailand and Burma. The former is noteworthy for its high literacy rate of about 85 per cent. for girls as well as for boys—a truly remarkable fact in a country so predominantly agricultural. In Burma the number of children getting primary education has considerably increased in recent years and the schools are overcrowded.

All these countries are trying to set up as rapidly as possible a system of primary education that is compulsory, universal and free.[1] Ceylon and India hope to achieve this objective for children from 6 to 11 years of age by about 1965-66 and Pakistan by about 1970. Burma hopes that compulsory four-year education will start in 1969 and in Thailand children aged from 7 to 14 years already receive compulsory education for four years. In Singapore and Hong Kong the governments are trying to ensure primary schooling lasting six years for children of school age. Burma, Hong Kong and particularly Thailand make more and more use of teaching by radio.

Most of the countries mentioned are trying to make school syllabuses more practical and better adapted to local conditions, and national commissions have been set up in Ceylon, Pakistan and Singapore to study what changes ought to be made at every level of teaching, so as to give the children an education that will be more useful to them in their work. The progressive introduction into primary education nearly everywhere of practical subjects such as manual work, vegetable growing, farming, stock-breeding, home economics, etc., and of various crafts is a most valuable aspect of the syllabus revisions already introduced or being considered. It is generally agreed that the choice of subject and the relative importance given to the subjects taught should depend on *(a)* the needs of the children in the various age groups ; *(b)* the requirements of their future employment ; *(c)* the needs of their area and community.[2] Such educational improvements will obviously need a specially trained teaching staff, which will not

[1] Under the Karachi Plan, which was endorsed by 17 States Members of U.N.E.S.C.O., including Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Singapore and Thailand, free and compulsory education of all children for at least seven years should be attained by 1980. For a report on the progress of the Plan see U.N.E.S.C.O. : *Report of the Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States participating in the Karachi Plan, Tokyo 2-11 April 1962* (Bangkok, U.N.E.S.C.O./ED/192).

[2] U.N.E.S.C.O. : *The Needs of Asia in Primary Education*, Educational Studies and Documents No. 41 (Paris, 1961). "Recommendations relating to the Programme for Action by Member States at the National Level for the Development of Primary Education ", p. 42.

be available until many years have passed. This tendency to try to adapt teaching to local conditions raises the problem of differentiation between syllabuses in rural and urban areas, a matter that provokes some discussion. Such differentiation entails a certain degree of occupational channelling that may not necessarily be the most suitable for all the children concerned, and to which some parents are rather hostile.

In addition to these efforts to extend formal schooling, mention must be made of the expansion of basic education, which gives young people who cannot go to school an opportunity of acquiring the rudiments of learning. The experience of India in this matter showed that young people were often more eager for education than were their elders, at least so far as boys were concerned.

Employment Prospects

Unemployment and Underemployment of Young People

Because of the scarcity of jobs, a growing number of young people in the countries studied have much difficulty in finding work or keeping themselves fully occupied, whatever their level of education. In fact many of them are unemployed or underemployed.

The gravity of this situation varies from country to country. In Hong Kong it appears to be temporarily less severe ; the dearth of young workers caused by the population trends mentioned above should continue until about 1965 and the rates of unemployment revealed by the recent census are on the whole very low (they also vary little from one age group to another). Two other countries must also be specially mentioned : Burma, where there is no fear of additional unemployment appearing during the second plan, where the present excess of manpower is relatively slight and where, generally speaking, the pressure on land is less intense than elsewhere ; and Thailand, where less than 1 per cent. of active young people in the age group 15-19 years were looking for work in 1960. Young people suffer from underemployment rather than from unemployment in these countries and underemployment rarely finds its way into figures.

Unemployment is already serious in the other countries and most probably so is underemployment. In Ceylon 50 per cent. of the boys and 43 per cent. of the girls under 15 years of age engaged mainly in economic activity were unemployed in 1959-60 and the percentages were 33 and 23 respectively for the age group 15-19 years. In the younger age group the unemployment rate was higher in the rural areas than in the urban—for the effects of the

saturation of agriculture and, particularly, of the plantations (which employ many wage earners) were already plain—while for the older age group it was much higher in the urban areas. About 80 per cent. of the rural unemployed and 65 per cent. of the urban were generally less than 25 years old. In India in 1956-57 about 15 per cent. of the unemployed were under 17 years of age and more than 14 per cent. were aged 18-21 years in the rural areas, the percentages being 11.95 and 26.23 respectively in the urban regions. Since then unemployment has grown steadily and 77 per cent. of the persons officially registered as seeking work in 1960 were under 25 years old. In Pakistan 7 per cent. of such persons were less than 18 years old in September 1959 and about 56 per cent. were between 18 and 24 years: two years later the percentage of those under 25 years of age as against all persons seeking employment had reached nearly 66. In Singapore, although young people accounted for 19 per cent. of the requests for work entered at the labour office in 1959, only 1 per cent. of the offers of work asked for that age group. The development plans assume that the situation as a whole in these countries will not radically improve in the coming years.

Amongst the various categories of unemployed young people, those who have been educated, especially if they have been to a secondary school or middle or higher grade, already present a serious problem in many countries, even in Burma. This has been a matter of concern in India for a number of years; in 1959 in the urban areas, 80 per cent. of the educated unemployed registered in the labour exchanges were aged between 15 and 24 years and were looking for work for the first time. In Ceylon and Pakistan the unemployment of the educated young has already reached alarming proportions. The magnitude of the waste that this implies can be better grasped when one realises the value of the investment made in obtaining an education where educational facilities are so scarce and when one remembers how few succeed, often in spite of innumerable difficulties, in earning a diploma. The proportion of pupils who go right through even primary school is small. At the middle level in India, for example, no more than 34 per cent. of the boys and 11 per cent. of the girls aged 11 to 14 years are at school and these percentages drop to 18.4 and 4.2 respectively for young people between 14 and 17 years at the end of their secondary studies. In West Pakistan only 21 per cent. of young people aged from 11 to 16 years attain middle and high school; and of this number many do not complete the course.

The unemployment of educated young people is due to a number of causes. Education in general has frequently remained too academic, with too great a proportion of classical and uni-

versity subjects, and the young people thus educated are not ready to take jobs of a manual or technical kind which are increasing in number, although there is already overcrowding in the white-collar jobs for which their qualifications suit them better. Even vocational training itself is often not well adapted to needs : in Ceylon and India, for example, the number of technically qualified job seekers has recently increased.[1] But unemployment among educated young people is due not solely to the quantitative and qualitative unsuitability of the education provided. It also arises from the fact that education is not always looked upon as a means of entering a specific occupation in the future, but as being itself a step up the social ladder. Such an attitude of mind is specially common among the socially underprivileged groups. It can be so strongly held as to overcome the knowledge that there are no job openings : for example in the rural areas, in spite of the very serious limitations imposed by subsistence agriculture, parents send their children to the secondary agricultural school, but in the hope that they will become anything but farmers.

Unemployment among young people is generally much more serious in the towns, which are the magnets that draw the educated young from forest, mountain and countryside in search of office work and public service jobs. Some young people flee to the towns to escape their poverty and to search for work ; often they come from a great distance and at a very tender age. Towns are sociologically very suitable places for losing one's identity, and the younger members of class groups considered inferior migrate to them in the hope of escaping from the cramping restrictions that still prevent occupational mobility in many a village in areas hardly touched by economic progress. From time to time also the population of certain large towns has been greatly swollen by a mass influx of refugees caused by political and civil disturbances, religious conflicts or political events such as the partition of India and Pakistan. In most cases, however, the force at work is not so much the attraction of working in a city (in fact this seems to exercise a real spell only in Hong Kong and Singapore) as the various factors that make life in the rural areas unbearable.

For migration is not solely towards the towns. Young people looking for work also move to other more favoured rural areas such as irrigated valleys, well-watered regions and cultivated plains. Even refugees also gravitate towards rural areas, in Pakistan for example. The labour problems thus caused are no less

[1] This trend is adventitiously reinforced by the action of job seekers who, well aware of the scarcity of skilled staff, sometimes make false statements of their qualifications. Although qualified workers are unemployed for usually only short periods their unemployment is beginning to attract attention.

serious than urban unemployment, for it is just these areas that are most often already densely populated or overpopulated and suffer from growing underemployment, which is less strikingly apparent than unemployment in the towns.

Placement, Job Information and Vocational Guidance

Although it is clear that the unemployment and underemployment of a growing number of young people are due mainly to the shortage of vacancies, it has become more and more obvious in recent years that their position is made even worse by their ignorance of the movement of the labour market. Some investigations have already made evident how serious is the gap between the aspirations of the young and the opportunities offered them on the market. A particularly informative inquiry recently carried out among young boys in Ceylon showed that about one-quarter of them wanted work in the occupational group " production ", whereas two-thirds of the job opportunities were in this group, and that more than half of them wanted work in the group " services, including professions ", which offered only 15 per cent. of the job vacancies ; the work they wanted to do did not even roughly coincide with the actual openings, except in the occupational group " distribution ".

So attempts are being made to tell the young as much as possible about the state of the labour market. This task of providing information comes first among those of the employment offices, that of placement being practically unnecessary because of the general lack of vacancies and also because workers insist on finding jobs for themselves through the recommendation of a friend or, especially, of a relation already at work.[1] Only two countries provide a special youth placement service : Singapore and India. The special section of the employment office at Singapore that deals with young people contents itself with registering them and putting them into contact with employers looking for young workers ; it does not make any active attempt to place them. In India, where sections for the young were to have been set up in 75 employment offices by the end of the second plan, the function of placement tends to be tied up with that of guidance ; a project to employ vocational counsellors for placement in occupations for which there are shortages is under consideration.

In India vocational guidance has developed above all in the employment service, for the conception of it in the schools is quite

[1] The Government of Hong Kong has not set up any employment agencies for this reason.

theoretical and its usefulness is still not really understood. The employment service does everything it can to provide information on job opportunities and training. Descriptions of job requirements have been made for more than 4,000 occupational categories. Employment offices arrange talks for groups of job applicants, and attendance at these was about 300,000 in 1961. They also give individual advice ; although this service affects a very much smaller number of applicants, it furnishes information about the problems, attitudes and reactions of young people and thus provides indications as to how to make guidance in general as realistic as possible. By the beginning of 1962 the employment service had also set up 30 offices giving employment information and assistance in rural areas; although these offices are not exclusively for young people, they can obviously make a valuable contribution by dissuading them from a fruitless search for work in the towns.

In the other countries studied, vocational guidance is evident mainly in the schools. In Burma the Rangoon Technical High School has brought out a brochure for middle schools called *Choosing Your Vocation*, of which 18,000 copies in Burmese have been printed ; a system of pupils' records has recently been inaugurated by the Ministry of Education, and the long-term objective is to have at least one guidance officer in each secondary school. In Ceylon 52 occupations had been surveyed by 1961 and the information passed on to the schools ; ten occupational monographs on basic aptitudes and basic interests had also been published. Vocational guidance in the schools includes the maintenance of cumulative records for every child—50,000 out of the 72,000 classroom teachers have been trained to use them—and the improved use of achievement tests. The number of teacher counsellors is steadily increasing. In Thailand limited vocational guidance is provided by the main employment office and some talks have been given in the schools since 1960 ; the same year saw a meeting to consider means of improving school and occupational guidance. In Pakistan occupational guidance is hardly yet developed, but the Commission on National Education set up to make recommendations for the improvement of education underlined its importance in its report in 1959.

As a rule the methods used in occupational guidance evolve as experience is gained. The responsible authorities have become more conscious, for example, of the caution with which tests should be made when they have not previously been carefully adapted to local conditions and when there is no adequate staff to administer them. A number of countries also, particularly Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan, believe that one of the best methods of occupational guidance is to increase the choice of

syllabuses for children who are at an age when their tastes and aptitudes are being formed, as well as their attitude towards practical matters such as agriculture, craftsmanship and the industrial arts ; this would extend the range of subjects with which young people were brought into contact and among which they could make their choice of occupation. These four countries have already made many changes to their school syllabuses in this direction.

A recent development has taken place in India in the objectives of guidance, which also may have some effects on the methods employed. As a result of the critical situation that has arisen in this country, occupational guidance has been given a more active role in promoting better utilisation of available teaching resources and the conservation of human resources, and has been made responsible for inspiring young people with patriotism. Guidance officers have been told it is their duty to inculcate and strengthen in Indian youth a profound devotion to service for the nation, which will find expression in all their work and endeavours, and to promote among the students the habits of hard, sustained and exacting work, a spirit of confidence, and an attitude of identification with the nation's cause.

Employment Opportunities

A more varied range of job openings is available to young people than to children, particularly in industry and those activities that they may legally undertake after reaching a certain age, which usually varies between 12 and 14 according to the nature of the work and the country concerned. As a general rule the activity rates of young people are lower where schooling has made most progress, although many work while studying or remain at school only while looking for work. The activity rates of boys outstrip those of girls everywhere except in Thailand where, by the way, they are very much higher for both sexes than in the other countries studied. Although large numbers of little girls may go to work—often they are more numerous than boys—many adolescent girls withdraw from the labour market very soon to work mainly at home. The only available statistics, however, that throw light on the course of development of the activity rates of young people between 15 and 19 years of age show an increase in that of adolescent girls : this tendency is hardly noticeable in Thailand but is very clear in Ceylon and is in keeping with the generally recognised fact that a growing number of adolescent girls everywhere get work away from home or attempt to do so.

Agriculture continues to absorb a substantial proportion of newcomers to the labour market and development plans devote

much attention to it. Nevertheless, in the most populous areas the pressure for living space is bringing about a steady reduction in the size of plots and many farmers are forced to become agricultural labourers because land reform most frequently has not made it appreciably easier to acquire land to work oneself. The result is that a growing number of farmers' children are faced with the prospect of having to work as hired labourers unless they turn to some non-agricultural sector of the economy. However, those youngsters who will take over from their parents as working owners, those who will benefit from the settlement projects started in some countries, and those who will become agricultural labourers will find that their work will need an ever-widening range of knowledge of a more scientific nature because of developments in the equipment and methods of farming, irrigation and stockraising. Young people who have had agricultural training will therefore have better chances of finding work or of continuing in their occupation of farming. The secondary agricultural schools, however, whose chief task is to train working farmers, have turned out between 1950 and 1959 an average of only one certificated person per 23,699 cultivators in India, one per 5,063 in Burma, one per 781 in Ceylon and one per 614 in Thailand.

Small industries and crafts can also provide employment for a great number of young people, particularly in the rural areas, despite the fact that hopes of increasing employment in that sector have sometimes been disappointing because the efforts made have meant that the workers already established had more to do rather than that new jobs came into being. But young people who take over a small indertaking or a family workshop can no longer make do with proficiency handed down by rule of thumb from father to son, for the evolution of such undertakings demands an improvement in techniques and higher output ; and growing commercialisation implies specialisation of knowledge. Moreover, the increasing diversification of activities within the village makes it necessary to have many-sided and high-level qualifications. As for the young people whom the authorities in certain countries are trying to induce to go in for small industry or crafts, they are primarily those who have had a purely academic education and who have to be trained in technical skills. The experiments so far undertaken along these lines (and particularly the work and orientation centres for the educated unemployed set up in India) have hardly been a success. It is a problem in itself to know how to promote a spirit of enterprise, for passivity is still often widespread among young people, particularly those in the country.

Industry, and especially industry today, offers relatively few openings for young workers who are unskilled. In India the

number of young people employed daily in factories fell from 23,694 in 1950 to 15,130 in 1959, during which period the number of factories subject to the Factories Act had more than doubled. In Hong Kong only about 1 per cent. of industrial workers are between 14 and 18 years of age ; in Ceylon in 1953, 8.5 per cent. of the young workers aged from 15 to 19 years were in manufacturing as against more than 10 per cent. of the employed labour force as a whole. The 1957 figures for Singapore, however, showed that 14 per cent. of skilled workers, craftsmen, production workers and manual labourers were young people aged 15-19 years, although that age group accounted for only some 6 per cent. of the employed labour force. The small industries, which are still in the majority everywhere, employ more young workers than the large ones : being less strictly inspected they usually bother themselves less about provisions of the law concerning working conditions, and their limited financial resources make them more interested in employing young people, who earn less than adults. Youth is much in demand by industry in Hong Kong and since 1959, when the working day for young people from 14 to 16 years of age was limited to eight hours, it has become increasingly common to work in three shifts of eight hours each. It is difficult to obtain exact information about the attitude of employers to youthful hands in the other countries being studied, but the existence of a certain hostility towards them by the older workers suggests that the latter feel themselves threatened. But although young people may easily be brought in to replace older workers, they usually have to make room for younger persons when they have grown old enough to be entitled to an adult's wage.

Industry offers many opportunities to skilled and semi-skilled workers, technicians and engineers ; too few young people, however, have had sufficient training to be able to fill all of them. For example 200,000 more craftsmen are needed in Pakistan to carry out the second plan, but the technical training centre at Dacca turns out only some 150 a year and the three other centres proposed at the beginning of 1962 could not raise the annual output of trained craftsmen to more than 1,000 ; the 385 vocational schools envisaged under the present scheme would provide more than 17,000 places. In India training institutes to be set up by the end of 1963 have a capacity of about 100,000 students, whereas 1.3 million more craftsmen are needed for the third plan.

The other economic sectors provide many jobs for the young. The various services can be greatly expanded, even though they have also to absorb adult industrial workers displaced by the young. There is already a serious shortage of teachers, and educated young people in India who are unemployed are turning more

towards that outlet ; but few of them have the qualities needed for teaching children in the very remote areas.

Even when all these employment opportunities have been taken there will still be many young people either unable to find any occupation at all or without enough work. They will have to be given, if not regular jobs, at least some form of work that will keep them employed, preferably for a longish period. This is one of the problems occupying a number of countries and some solutions have already been sketched out. Employment can be created for young people by bringing new land under cultivation, by making better use of water and forest resources, by launching small projects connected with the infrastructure and in other ways—settlement plans in Ceylon and Thailand, programmes for an intensive use of manpower in India and Pakistan, community development, workers' and agricultural co-operatives, especially in India and Ceylon. Such projects and programmes are rarely designed for the young alone. But Ceylon has a number of plans that do specially concern them ; under one of these about 10,000 young men have been offered land, together with assistance in cultivating it, in return for which they are expected to restore the water tanks close to their land. Ceylon also encourages young farmers' agricultural co-operative societies by providing them with land and subsidies, and intends to set up agricultural and industrial co-operatives so as to provide employment for young people holding the Senior School Certificate. These unorthodox employment plans call on the workers to make sacrifices—to work in areas to which nobody would willingly migrate, to do work that is often hard manual labour, to put up with a very small wage or even to work without any immediate return. They generally require the young worker to have some pioneering spirit, a feeling for team work and the ability to devote himself to a common cause. Articles published in the countries where this problem arises, however, quite often refer to the lack of these very qualities in a large proportion of the nation's youth and so one of the main anxieties of these countries is to find means of getting them to make such an effort voluntarily : it would be specially useful to win the assistance of the educated young, but they are the very ones who are ill-fitted for such work.[1]

The question of the employment of girls calls for special consideration. Their backwardness in training and education as

[1] An attempt, made in connection with the project for developing the Gal Oya, to allot land to young people who hold the Senior School Certificate failed some years ago because they expected to be given special privileges (P. CASPERSZ : " The Gal Oya Scheme in Ceylon ", in *Social Action* (Poona, Indian Institute of Social Order), Vol. XIII, No. 1, Jan. 1963, pp. 29-41)).

compared with that of young men and the scarcity of job openings are hardly favourable to their occupational advancement. They tend to remain chiefly in subordinate work and doing menial tasks, except for a very small, comfortably placed minority who increasingly go to the university and into the liberal professions. The work development programmes are generally intended for men. Women are specially numerous in agriculture and the services. A steady expansion in the range of their employment is still impeded by sociological obstacles. The following extract about office work, taken from a Ceylonese publication on vocational guidance, is illuminating on this matter :

> Previously clerks were urban, lower-socio-economic males and occasionally ladies from the Burgher community [a small minority group, descendants of the former Durch settlers]. These groups could use public transport or ride a bicycle to work. They could also be left alone and be considered safe on their own away from home. But what do the conservative land-owner in Baddegama and the clerk in the Arugam Bay Town Council think of their daughters doing these things? And further—can their daughters cope (with using C.T.B. buses, a wider range of social acquaintance, eating in canteens and competition in the labour market)? Acquiring a job often involves extreme changes in the physical and psychological environment. It is careless and dangerous to ignore them.[1]

In industry, too, prejudices against the employment of women in undertakings where modern machinery has been installed, for example, may prevent girls from getting jobs where conditions of work are comparatively better. It must be pointed out, however, that in India the number of girls employed in factories has increased in recent years, while that of boys has been going down. The last barriers to the employment of girls in good working conditions will presumably fall when they are given more thorough occupational training.

Preparation of Young Persons for Working Life

All the governments of the countries studied are aware of the need to improve the preparation of young people for their future working life. Efforts in this direction are being increasingly broadened in order to cover the maximum number of young people and to provide forms of training more in keeping with employment market requirements, now that these are better known.

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[1] Department of Education, Vocational Guidance Branch, Ceylon : *Vocational Guidance in Ceylon Schools*, edited by Gamini Wijeyewardene (1960), p. 84.

Vocational and Technical Training

By and large, apprenticeship still remains insufficiently organised, but whereas little change has occurred in Burma, Ceylon and Thailand, elsewhere action aimed at improving matters has been undertaken in the past few years. In India and Pakistan apprenticeship is now imposed by legislation following the failure of efforts to persuade employers to develop such facilities on their own. In India there is the Central Apprenticeship Council composed of representatives of the employers, the Central Government and the state governments as well as of industrial and employment specialists. Its function is to advise the Government in selecting trades in which apprenticeship facilities should be provided and in deciding how many apprentices there should be in proportion to the total number of workers other than unskilled labour. Different employers can join together in providing practical training. Apprentices have to be given basic training before they are allowed to receive practical in-plant training. The number of apprentices is expected to exceed 20,000 by the end of the third planning period. In Pakistan an ordinance passed in 1962 makes apprenticeship compulsory in undertakings employing 50 or more workers of whom five or more are in trades for which apprenticeship is appropriate. Such undertakings are required to train not less than 20 per cent. of the total of employees engaged in such trades and to set up a theoretical and practical apprenticeship programme at their own expense. In addition, technical schools provide part-time training for apprentices. In the two smallest countries studied (Hong Kong and Singapore) there are organised apprenticeship programmes in certain administrative departments as well as in major undertakings in particular industries; the Hong Kong Technical College and the Singapore Polytechnic provide part-time apprenticeship courses for apprentices having a sufficient educational standard.

However, opinions still differ regarding specific problems such as age limits, duration of training, evidence of skills acquired during apprenticeship, the best way of combining theoretical instruction with in-plant training and how to provide theoretical instruction without putting too great a strain on apprentices. Moreover, despite the progress made, the number of young persons receiving apprenticeship worthy of the name is still far too small. Traditional empirical apprenticeship with all its familiar shortcomings remains exceedingly common everywhere.

The development of training programmes for skilled workers in small-scale industry continues to encounter numerous obstacles. Small undertakings fail to attract the most promising elements

among young people, that is to say those who have a fair standard of education or have already received training in a technical school. In addition, small undertakings are less able to assess their present and future manpower requirements, and it is difficult for them to pay workers receiving training, even for a short time, as this means they have to do without such persons' work. Efforts are therefore being made to bring training within reach of the undertakings ; in India, for example, colleges have been set up in clusters to provide tuition in several related trades for the benefit of groups of villages, and mobile demonstration workshops have been organised to cover areas where a particular trade is concentrated. This latter idea will also be put into effect in Ceylon very shortly. The creation of industrial estates [1] also offers promising prospects for the establishment of an integrated training programme for the numerous small-scale undertakings in the estate or nearby. Co-ordination of training programmes at all the various levels with the general development plans for small-scale industry is also receiving particular attention in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Singapore.

Accelerated training of skilled workers is developing rapidly in India and Pakistan. One hundred and sixty-seven training schools existing in India in 1960 had places for 42,000 males aged between 16 and 25, and it is planned to have 318 such schools, with 100,000 places, by the end of the third planning period.

In Burma and Singapore there is a system of training closely linked to public works projects. The Burmese Rehabilitation Brigade was originally intended for former rebels, but it is now open to any young people wishing to become members, and it provides a complete skilled training in various branches. In 1960 there were 2,500 young men receiving such training. The Singapore Work Brigade provides a more varied training, which includes civic and physical education.

Handicraft workers, who receive a shorter training and in a more limited range of trades than skilled workers, now enjoy increasing opportunities for training in all the countries studied ; in India such training is far more widespread than that of skilled workers. Handicraft workers are trained either in the undertaking or in special schools ; in Pakistan, for instance, five technical training centres run by the Ministry of Health, Social Welfare and Labour train handicraft workers and skilled workers, and it is planned to set up four more centres, thereby increasing the number of places to 4,000. These centres used to take trainees between

[1] Lands which are divided up and then developed under a general plan for a group of industrial undertakings.

the ages of 20 and 25 only, but they now accept young persons from the age of 16. Schools providing training for technicians in Pakistan also have courses for handicraft workers and skilled workers. In Ceylon a school for the training of handicraft workers has been set up in the premises of the Colombo Technical College, with an expected capacity of 400 full-time and 900 part-time students. In Burma there are two handicraft training centres, with places for 40 workers each year. In Thailand rapid training by means of specialised courses was provided in 1959 by 194 vocational schools of all types, with a total of nearly 87,000 pupils. There seems to be a distinct need for special schools of this kind each dealing with a specific trade instead of covering a wide range. Examples of such schools may be found in Ceylon (training workshop for motor-car and bus assembly plants) and in Pakistan (training centre for drivers and mechanics using heavy earth-moving equipment).

Governments are making efforts to develop technical education everywhere, since the shortage of technicians is sometimes even more serious than that of engineers. In Burma such education is provided principally at the advanced technical school in Rangoon and in the state technical schools of Insein and Mandalay. In Ceylon the Technical College remains the chief school for training technicians, along with the Institute of Practical Technology, although the Technical Training Institute of the Gal Oya Board now also trains technicians for other government departments, and elementary technical schools are increasing in numbers, the final aim being to have one in each province. In 1960 India had 197 polytechnic schools with places for 25,600 students, and sandwich courses have been arranged to allow students to acquire more practical experience. In addition, increasing numbers of junior and high technical schools are being established in India. In Pakistan eight polytechnic or specialised technical schools have been founded in the past few years, and they issue some 500 diplomas each year ; there are also several technical schools providing secondary-level education. In Thailand there are four technical institutes and a centre for training telecommunication technicians. The Singapore Polytechnic had 1,853 pupils in 1960 : of these, 60 per cent. remained in employment while pursuing their studies. This is the most important school training technicians in Singapore, since the facilities provided by the two secondary technical schools remain at a fairly low level. Hong Kong has a technical college which had over 7,000 students in 1960, the great majority of them at evening courses, as well as two secondary technical schools.

Training for shops and offices has also developed to a certain degree in all the countries studied. However, such training remains

exceedingly disorganised and it is impossible to give an exact account of the facilities provided owing to the wide variety of schools and courses, the differences between the various levels of training and the virtually complete absence of any official supervision of examinations and diplomas.

Agricultural training is undergoing considerable changes. Training at the elementary level generally consists of practical instruction lasting from one to four years, but this is often neither practical nor specialised enough to turn out fully competent farmers. Pupils are frequently too young to take an interest in agriculture as a career or to perform the strenuous physical work demanded of them in the school farm. Their general level of education is mediocre, so that they have difficulty in assimilating theoretical instruction and in combining it with their everyday activities. Moreover, the farm schools are not always typical of farming activities in the region and are not run under the same economic conditions as local farms. This means that trainees who complete their studies at such schools have to adapt themselves to outside conditions, for which they are scarcely prepared. Intermediate schools provide courses lasting from two to four years, but the practical side is most often neglected and the scientific level is often insufficient. Many of their pupils who get diplomas do not subsequently go back to farm work.[1] In 1961-62 Burma had four secondary, two intermediate and two advanced agricultural schools, and an agricultural institute. In addition to two large agricultural secondary schools, Ceylon has at least 16 schools of practical agriculture, whose curricula have recently been changed so as to allow pupils receiving diplomas to go to a secondary school afterwards. In India planning provided for a total of 150 schools of the " Manjri " type to be set up by the end of the second planning period. These schools each have their own farm and are required to be self-sufficient; they provide a two-year practical and theoretical course and, for the most part, train village promoters. There are also rural institutes at a far higher level. The agricultural schools in Thailand admit pupils with seven to ten years of school education. In Hong Kong and Singapore agricultural training is, naturally enough, hardly developed at all, although courses are organised for young farmers in Hong Kong.

On the whole, training facilities, whether for industry, commerce or agriculture, make little or no provision for girls. The table appearing earlier shows the situation with regard to secondary-

[1] According to an inquiry conducted in six countries in the region, including Burma, Ceylon and Thailand, only 32 per cent. returned to agricultural activities. (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations : *The State of Food and Agriculture, 1961* (Rome, 1961), p. 128.)

level vocational training. Nevertheless, in certain cases existing facilities are made available to girls, or special facilities are provided. In Burma, for example, the Rangoon advanced technical school does not exclude girls as do the handicraft school and the handicraft training centres ; in Ceylon three of the practical agricultural schools and one of the secondary agricultural schools were reserved for girls in 1960 ; in India the principle of co-education is accepted in both technical and general education, and four of the 26 polytechnic centres for girls provided for under the third plan were already in operation in 1962 ; in addition certain branches, such as health and social services, education, garment work and some commercial branches, are considered suitable for young girls. But, generally speaking, it is recognised in all cases that girls have still less chance than boys to receive satisfactory training, and efforts to develop their vocational training tend to perpetuate the division between " male " and " female " trades. A great deal also remains to be done in order to persuade girls to make full use of facilities open to them.

Apart from the very serious shortage of teachers, premises and equipment, one of the most pressing problems in the field of vocational and technical training in the countries studied is the wastage of existing means. For this, the shortcomings of vocational selection methods are partly to blame. Spontaneous selection is distorted right away by various social factors which further aggravate the influence of ignorance of the employment market situation. Many young people continue automatically to follow in their fathers' footsteps, either by sheer passivity or because this is the only way in which they can find a job ; or they leave it to their parents to decide what their future career should be. Moreover, in several countries certain occupations remain identified with particular social groups, despite the developments that have taken place, particularly in urban areas. Many young people choose their occupations in the light of such identification, whether or not they accept it. In India, for example, young rural dwellers of certain castes do not want to follow particular forms of training. Several generations of blacksmiths and masons tend to come from the same illiterate families, whom it is almost impossible to train ; this makes it very difficult to induce more educated and open-minded boys to become apprenticed in such trades. Therefore many young persons follow a training without really having the necessary aptitude, and many of them fail in their efforts. Attempts to bring about impartial selection of the most suitable persons are also impeded by various factors. One of these is the hostility of the workers, who will only train their own family members. Another reason is the desire of governments to direct persons with a general

educational background towards vocational training, whether they have obtained a diploma or have failed. The purpose of this is to attempt to recover the investment made in such persons [1], but they are not necessarily those with the greatest bent for such training, and experience has sometimes shown that even greater wastage results. India has recently set about solving the problem of vocational selection by including officials of the employment service in committees selecting candidates for vocational training schools. In Ceylon the choice of candidates for training in certain traditionally unpopular trades has broadened since the State took training for them under its control, thereby giving them a certain degree of prestige. The Government of Ceylon would also like to do away with the preferential treatment with regard to recruitment given to the sons of persons already employed in certain administrative branches.

Other Forms of Preparation

The other forms of preparation for working life which are carried out or are developing in many countries are not all intended only for school children or young people who have been to school They all include, to some degree, a certain amount of psychological preparation by accustoming the young to the actual conditions in which many of them will have to work later on.

One approach is to accustom young people to co-operation while they are still of school age. The development plans of some countries, particularly those of Ceylon and India, hold co-operation to be one of the methods best suited to the achievement of their objectives and these two countries seek to develop the co-operative spirit by the practice of co-operation from childhood days. School co-operatives have existed in Ceylon for a number of years; their

[1] Cf. the recent project in Ceylon for industrial and agricultural vocational training for young persons who have failed to pass the General Certificate of Education three times, under which science students are trained for industry and arts students for agriculture (" Training Plan for G.C.E. Failures ", in *Ceylon News* (Colombo), 8 Feb. 1962, p. 8) ; or the recommendation by the Singapore Commission of Inquiry that existing vocational and industrial schools should become second degree vocational schools for pupils who are not inclined towards other types of secondary education (*Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Vocational and Technical Education in Singapore* (Singapore, 1961), p. 23). In East Pakistan a recent plan provides for vocational training schools to be set up for young persons giving up their studies after eight years of school or having no further prospects after passing the matriculation examination. In India the Central Committee on Employment has recommended that persons having the matriculation certificate should receive preference with regard to employment and training in skilled and semi-skilled industrial occupations (Ministry of Labour and Employment, Directorate General of Employment and Training, India: *Report 1960-61*, Vol. II (New Delhi, 1961), p. 14).

profits are used to buy sports grounds and educational material, to build libraries and new classrooms, etc., and some have started canteens and hairdressing saloons. There were 1,826 school co-operatives in the country at the end of 1961. In addition, youth clubs have also set up co-operatives, for example for the collection and sale of milk. Among the objectives of youth co-operatives are to initiate children into taking responsibility for their actions and managing their own affairs as need arises and within their abilities, to get them to undertake tasks in which all have an interest and to make them understand that co-operative mutual aid can shield them from certain activities inspired by profit-seeking. In several states of India school courses are given on co-operation and the pupils take part in the management of co-operative shops, mainly for school material, and of co-operative canteens. Essay competitions and discussions on co-operation are also held. An Indian study team on co-operative training has recently recommended the teaching of co-operation beginning with primary school, as well as the development of school co-operatives. The Asian Rural Youth Seminar held in Israel in 1962 also emphasised the importance of young people forming their own co-operatives.

Preparation for working life by popular methods is now increasingly directed towards young people and no longer towards adults ; it is concerned mainly with agricultural techniques and (for girls) with household management. It flourishes among the young farmers' clubs in India and in Ceylon : the latter country in 1960 had 1,042 clubs with a membership of 36,600. It is also often associated with other activities for young people or in connection with economic and social development—activities like those of the youth clubs in rural and urban areas in several of the countries under consideration. In India and Pakistan these clubs are a part of community development. Their objectives are often extremely varied. Those in the state of Uttar Pradesh, for instance, which is one of the states where the movement has become most firmly established, aim not only to provide technical education for their members by getting them to take part in co-operative projects for farming, vegetable growing, animal rearing and village improvement, but also to develop a more scientific attitude towards family and farm and community life, to inculcate a civic sense and democratic ideals and to increase their sense of responsibility, particularly as regards leadership. Some of these bodies have already made a valuable contribution to development. In 1960-61 there were 56,729 clubs in India and their membership was more than 1 million ; the age of admission is generally between 12 and 20 years. There were about 2,000 clubs in Pakistan open to young people in 1960. In the rural areas members aged 8-18 years under-

take useful small jobs such as cattle or poultry farming or growing vegetables and flowers; they are expected to show initiative in making improvements to home and village and to accept tasks that are character forming. In 1959 Thailand had 134 rural youth clubs, with more than 4,800 members. But it has turned out to be very difficult to interest the majority of young people in these organisations, many of which, moreover, are still in process of finding themselves. The very serious shortage of people to run them and the doubts as to what age limits to impose, the programmes and the methods, all these hamper their activities. In India the conference on community development held at Hyderabad in 1961 emphasised the importance to youth of implementing complete programmes covering games, sports, cultural activities, civic education, the development of occupational interests and social service activities. The ultimate objective is to rouse the interest of young people in economic projects, but the conference felt that this had to be done gradually, a beginning being made by extending those activities that met needs of which they were the most urgently aware.

During recent years other plans have been put forward: the main objective is to mould the character of the young people and particularly to develop in them the notion of the dignity of labour by giving them work to do when they are very young. The Commission on National Education in Pakistan recommended the introduction of work experience at all levels of education. At primary and secondary levels this would mean setting the pupils (according to their age) to work at the cleaning, upkeep, repair and construction of school buildings, agricultural work, vegetable growing and village improvement work; at the college and university levels young people would go to work camps in their summer vacation. The National Education Commission of Ceylon had made rather similar recommendations, except that it considered that work should be done in agricultural, industrial or commercial undertakings or in services, including hospitals.[1] The Government

[1] The Commission also recommended that occupational guidance staff should take part in co-ordinating work experience. As this concept of occupational guidance is unorthodox it may be useful to mention what work the Commission suggested should be given to the teacher-counsellor: interviewing employers, pupils and their parents; arranging for a suitable plan of work experience for pupils; ensuring adequate safeguards in their work experience; visiting them at their job stations at regular intervals; assisting them to make adjustments; arranging discussions on job problems for work experience pupils; discussing with the employers the progress of pupils and evaluating it; keeping records of their progress; arranging for the issue of work experience certificates by the employers at the end of the period of work; discussing work experience, progress and problems with parents; undertaking follow-up studies of the pupils; and maintaining close relations with the Labour Department, employment service officials, etc.

of Ceylon has introduced work experience into the core curriculum of the sixth to tenth forms in secondary schools; its express purpose is to prepare young people to take their place in society as productive workers. More recently it decided to encourage school children and youth movements to take part in the emergency food production drive and to get the children to start garden cultivation in their own homes with the assistance of agricultural extension officers and farm advisers, and schools to take part in home garden competitions. In Hong Kong school children take part every year in a tree planting festival; this is now beginning to make a substantial contribution to afforestation. In India various youth movements provide school children of both sexes with an opportunity for group activities. The Auxiliary Cadet Corps (A.C.C.) inculcates in young people aged 13 to 16 years a spirit of teamwork, discipline, patriotism, social service and the dignity of work by giving them a semi-military training; the National Cadet Corps, for young people aged 16 to 19 years, besides providing military training, fosters co-operation among young cadets from the various states, and the older members take part for a few weeks each during their vacations in helping the inhabitants with village development. Pupils and students who are members of Bharat Sevak Samaj, the national organisation for work camps, which has a wing specially intended for young people, the Bharat Juvak Samaj, go to these work camps during week-ends and in the school holidays to do various kinds of development work. It is felt that an effort must be made to co-ordinate the activities of these movements with those of youth clubs. In Thailand boys and girls at school have been encouraged for some years now to take a job during their summer holidays; it is hoped that since they will know better what industry and commerce really are like because they have worked in them, they will be more likely to seek jobs and better prepared to face the responsibilities of working life.

A recent scheme that seems to be growing more popular, or at least to be attracting more and more attention, is national service for young people.[1] One whole section of the work of the Indian Conference of Social Work in 1961 dealt with this subject. In Pakistan the proposal was recently under consideration to make the award of a degree contingent upon completion of a period of social service by the student. In Ceylon the question of national service was investigated by a government committee, which recommended the institution of compulsory service for school boys of 15 years and over, lasting at least three weeks in every year they

[1] See "Youth Employment and Vocational Training Schemes in the Developing Countries", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 3, Sep. 1962, pp. 209-234.

remain at school, and one month for students and undergraduates : the service would be worked in several periods and would consist mainly of light manual work near the schools. The Government has made service work compulsory on four Saturdays in every month.

On the whole the question of compulsory service especially affects the educated young. The government committee in Ceylon had referred to an element of coercion only for school children and had recommended a voluntary national service for the rest of the population ; this distinction remains in the draft Bill on national service that was introduced into the Parliament of Ceylon early this year. In India the original plan for a compulsory youth service suggested by the Prime Minister in 1958 has finally become a plan for compulsory service only by young people who have left secondary school and are ready to enter the university. In both these countries compulsory national service is looked upon mainly as a means of education in its widest sense, as a compensation for the inadequacies of the educational system, of which it has become to some extent an integral part, whose purpose is to inculcate in the young such moral qualities as will lead them later to volunteer to join in national construction efforts.

The retention of the principle of compulsion especially on young people at school is also explained by other reasons : the fact that education is looked upon as a privilege, which infers some sacrifice in return ; the unruliness for which young students are so often reproached, particularly in India ; the fact (in Ceylon) that compulsory service does not necessitate too great an expenditure because school children can take part only for a short period ; the poor response by the educated young to official appeals for their co-operation, and so on.[1] But even if not many commentators question the need for compulsory service, the practical means of imposing it are hotly debated. The objectives themselves are not always very clear ; the principal one may be education, but there are also aims connected with economic and social development and with bringing classes, castes and ethnic groups closer together ; in India it is hoped that national service will keep a certain number of young people away from the university. The various methods adopted or proposed give openings to a variety of criticisms from commentators supporting a variety of objectives. Then again the anxiety to formulate as satisfactory a system as possible comes up against the problem of finance, which after all is the decisive factor in the choice.

[1] The few newspaper comments approve or criticise the plans for compulsory national service purely from the point of view of their effectiveness and make no objection to their compulsory nature.

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Even if child labour does not appear to be diminishing in all the countries studied, it seems to occupy the attention of governments at the present time less than the scarcity of openings for adolescents on the labour market. Unemployment is indeed growing in volume in most of the countries and leads to a certain unrest among young people, who feel frustrated in the hopes of occupational advancement that had been born of the struggle for national development and the raising of the level of education. It seems increasingly evident that young people must be prepared when very young, both technically and psychologically, for the facts of working life they will have to face if the problems arising from the scarcity of employment are not to be made even worse in the future by insurmountable difficulties of adaptation. In the countries where the position of young people is most serious, and particularly in Ceylon, India and Pakistan, changes in the orthodox methods of action are being made at the same time as a search for systems that, within the narrow limits of available resources, will allow a wider and deeper influence to be exerted on young people than in the past. The other countries trust more to economic development alone to ensure the integration of young people into economic life, but the measures taken or recommended to ensure that they get a more satisfactory college and vocational preparation nearly everywhere show the same tendency as in the three countries just mentioned. Altogether the countries under consideration are passing through a transitional period that is of great importance to the future of their youth policy.