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Improving skills and productivity of disadvantaged youth

David H. Freedman

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Preface

The primary goal of the ILO is to achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people, a goal which has now been widely adopted by the international community. Working towards this goal is the fundamental aim of the ILO.

In order to support member States and the social partners to reach the goal, the ILO pursues a Decent Work Agenda which comprises four interrelated areas: Respect for fundamental worker's rights and international labour standards, employment promotion, social protection and social dialogue. Explanations of this integrated approach and related challenges are contained in a number of key documents: in those explaining and elaborating the concept of decent work, in the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122), and in the Global Employment Agenda.

The Global Employment Agenda was developed by the ILO through tripartite consensus of its Governing Body's Economic and Social Policy Committee. Since its adoption in 2003 it has been further articulated and made more operational and today it constitutes the basic framework through which the ILO pursues the objective of placing employment at the centre of economic and social policies.³

The Employment Sector is fully engaged in the implementation of the Global Employment Agenda, and is doing so through a large range of technical support and capacity building activities, advisory services and policy research. As part of its research and publications programme, the Employment Sector promotes knowledge-generation around key policy issues and topics conforming to the core elements of the Global Employment Agenda. The Sector's publications consist of books, monographs, working papers, employment reports and policy briefs.⁴

The *Employment Working Papers* series is designed to disseminate the main findings of research initiatives undertaken by the various departments and programmes of the Sector. The working papers are intended to encourage exchange of ideas and to stimulate debate. The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the ILO.

José Manuel Salazar-Xirinachs Executive Director Employment Sector

¹ See the successive Reports of the Director-General to the International Labour Conference: *Decent work* (1999); *Reducing the decent work deficit: A global challenge* (2001); *Working out of poverty* (2003a).

² In 1964, ILO Members adopted Convention No. 122 on employment policy which states that "With a view to stimulating economic growth and development, raising levels of living, meeting manpower requirements and overcoming unemployment and underemployment, each Member shall declare and pursue, as a major goal, an active policy designed to promote full, productive and freely chosen employment". To date, 97 member States have ratified this Convention.

³ See http://www.ilo.org/gea. And in particular: *Implementing the Global Employment Agenda: Employment strategies in support of decent work, "Vision" document*, ILO, 2006a.

⁴ See http://www.ilo.org/employment.

Foreword

The human, economic and development impact of leaving behind large segments of each new generation is enormous. Young women and men who do not have adequate primary education, cannot read and write with confidence and lack the technical and vocational skills in demand in the labour market, find themselves unemployable even when economies are growing.

This report follows several important examinations of skills and youth employment by the ILO, following the discussion on promoting youth employment at the 93rd Session of the International Labour Conference (June 2005). The Conclusions of that discussion call for targeted interventions aimed at overcoming disadvantages that hinder young men and women from attaining basic education and vocational training, which in turn lead to lifelong difficulties in learning, low likelihood of securing employment in the formal economy, and high risk of extending the cycle of low education, low productivity and poverty.

The main problem examined in this paper is the insufficiency of formal education and training systems to reach substantial majorities of young people and prepare them for productive employment. There is therefore an urgent need for alternative, proactive approaches to education and skills development for disadvantaged youth. A review of such approaches was initiated in an earlier ILO Working Paper by Laura Brewer, "Youth at risk: The role of skills development in facilitating the transition to work" (Brewer, 2004).

This paper focuses attention on the connection between skills development and early labour market success for young people and their ability to realize their long-term potential for productive and gainful work. One of the key findings from this review is that effective policies and programmes address specific sources of disadvantage. In some cases, this has required comprehensive rather than narrowly-targeted programmes in order to respond to the multiple and inter-linked sources of disadvantage.

In order for the reader to be able to focus quickly on target groups of particular interest, the paper summarizes information about policies and programmes to overcome specific sources of disadvantage, for example, lack of access to basic education that limits later ability to learn work-related skills (such as former child labourers or child soldiers, or children and youth with disabilities), disadvantage due to cultural characteristics (gender and ethnic minority), or disadvantage due to the poor quality of basic education or the low relevance of skills acquired (for example, young persons in the informal rural or urban economy or unemployed graduates).

Often, disadvantage reflects multiple sources. Gender can worsen the impact of existing patterns of disadvantage and discrimination. Within potentially marginalized groups, young women are usually more vulnerable to social exclusion than are young men in the same group. Thus there is a need to incorporate gender issues in policies and programmes that reach out to all young people as well as a need to implement measures that specifically target girls and young women.

The report also emphasizes the importance of broad-ranging institutional support, including from workers' and employers' organizations, inter-ministerial collaboration, and public-private partnerships. The report also reminds us that youth employment promotion programmes, regardless of how well designed and implemented, will not be effective in the absence of effective sustained job growth.

I would like to thank David Freedman for preparing this report. He has taken this opportunity to expand on his earlier historical review of ILO work targeting young people, "Youth employment promotion: A review of ILO work and the lessons learned,"

(Freedman, 2005). Mr Freedman is a retired ILO official whose career includes research on employment policy, basic needs, special employment programmes, and youth employment.

I would also like to thank Laura Brewer and Giovanna Rossignotti for providing insightful comments on early drafts of the paper. I am grateful to Jo-Ann Bakker for preparing the manuscript for publication.

This working paper was the source of information for the section on disadvantaged youth in the ILO background report prepared for the general discussion on *Skills for improved productivity, employment growth and development* at the 97th Session of the International Labour Conference (June, 2008).

Christine Evans-Klock Director Skills and Employability Department

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Abbreviations

AGP Adolescent Girls' Programme of the CMES

APPT ILO Alleviation of Poverty through Peer Training Project in Cambodia

BYST Bharatiya Yuva Shatki Trust in India CCTs Conditional cash transfer programmes

CMES The Centre for Mass Education in Science

GIPA Groupement Interprofessionnel des Artisans in Cameroon

ICT Information and communication technology

IDA International Development Association

IDEJEN Haitian Out-of-School Youth Livelihood Initiative

ILC International Labour Conference
ILO International Labour Organization

IPEC ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

ITC International Training Centre of the ILO in Turin

KAB Know about Business

KAYEC Katutura Youth Enterprises Centre in Namibia

LMI labour market information

LPHU Lebanese Physically Handicapped Union

MA Modern Apprenticeship

MPCs multi-purpose centres in Bangladesh

NGO non-governmental organization

NOAS National Open Apprenticeship Scheme in Nigeria

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PETI Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil (Programme for the

Eradication of Child Labour) in Brazil

PEVOT Programme for the Promotion of Employment-Oriented Vocational Training

TREE ILO's Training for Rural Economic Empowerment
TVET Technical and Vocational Education and Training

TRYSEM Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment in India

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

USAID US Agency for International Development
UVQF Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework

UYF Umsobomvu Youth Fund in South Africa

VET vocational education and training
VTI vocational training institution

YBI Youth Business International of India
YEN Youth Employment Network of the ILO

1. Introduction

Young people often face serious constraints in accessing the quality education and training that could enhance their productivity and, thus, their likelihood of finding decent work. While youth today are three times as likely as adults to be unemployed and comprise 44 per cent of the world's total unemployed (ILO, 2006b, p. 3), certain segments of the youth-aged population are especially disadvantaged in terms of skill development and obtaining quality jobs in the labour market.

The young people or those approaching youth age who are affected include child labourers, rural youth, out-of-school youth in the informal economy, girls excluded from education and training opportunities, various ethnic minorities, school dropouts, illiterates, many graduates of technical or vocational training schools who are ill-equipped for the type of occupations available in the labour market, demobilized child soldiers, and disabled young people. As already observed in the Foreword, the source of the disadvantage may be cultural or be due to poverty or a low level of development. It also may result from a lack of basic education or the poor quality of education and training available. Often, disadvantage reflects multiple sources.

The enormity of the problem is highlighted by the fact that, according to International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates, there are currently 85 million unemployed youth (young people between the ages of 15 and 24),⁵ 300 million underemployed youth who live on US\$2 a day and therefore are classed as working poor, and 20 million youth who have become discouraged by job search and withdrawn from the labour market. This results in a total of 400 million young people for whom there are inadequate work opportunities (ibid., p. 5).

The ILO has a long history of work on youth employment and training dating back to the Organization's inception in 1919 (see Freedman, 2005). However, the starting point for this paper's treatment of youth is the discussion by the International Labour Conference (ILC) at its 93rd Session (Geneva, June 2005) of Report VI, *Youth: Pathways to decent work. Promoting youth employment – Tackling the challenge* (ILO, 2005a).

The ILC adopted a "resolution concerning youth employment" (ILO, 2005b) which highlights the fact that failure to find a job may be linked to lack of relevant skills and training opportunities, to low demand for the skills which young people have obtained through training, or to changing demand in the labour market. The ensuing mismatch can lead to long periods of jobseeking, higher unemployment and sustained periods of lower skilled and precarious work. The resolution goes on to call for targeted interventions aimed at overcoming disadvantages, while promoting social inclusion and greater equity. The resolution also recognizes, as have almost all previous in-depth examinations of youth unemployment, that renewed and sustained economic growth, supported by sound economic policy is fundamental to creating good jobs for young people.

Yet even healthy and growing economies will not suffice to provide decent work for all young people given the considerable disadvantage that so many of them face. Thus, the principal aim of this paper is to focus on targeted interventions for those youth whose circumstances place them at particular risk of not being able to gain a solid foothold in the

⁵ Although age 15 to 24 is the most generally-recognized definition of youth, it is not universally accepted. The transition from childhood to youth and then from youth to adulthood can vary by country and by culture.

labour market. It will examine interventions that have been undertaken, sometimes with success, and comment on what more needs to be done. Many of the programmes and projects reviewed in this paper address the labour market and skills development needs of a number of the groups of disadvantaged youth identified above. However, wherever possible, such initiatives will be linked to the particular groups of disadvantaged youth who appear to have the most to gain from their effective implementation. Nevertheless, the place to begin is with the requirements for young persons to be employable.

2. Employability, education and training

When the ILO Youth Employment Network (YEN) began from 2001 onwards to encourage member States to draw up National Action Plans, the "four Es" – "Employability", "Equal opportunities for young men and young women", "Entrepreneurship" and "Employment creation" – were identified as top priorities for all plans. In adopting the "resolution concerning youth employment" at the 2005 ILC, the ILO's constituents placed the Global Employment Agenda, whose ten core elements and cross-cutting themes include the "four Es", at the foundation of "an ILO plan of action to promote pathways to decent work for youth". While the critical role of all "four Es" will become clear in this paper, from the outset we will show that employability is inherent to the challenges faced in tackling the skills development requirements of disadvantaged youth.

The ILC, at its 88th Session in 2000, broadly defined employability to encompass all of the skills, knowledge and competencies that enhance a worker's ability to obtain and retain a job, cope with change and enter the labour market more easily at different periods of the life cycle. The "resolution concerning human resources training and development" (ILO, 2000b, para. 9) brought attention to the fact that individuals are most employable when they have, among others, broad-based education and training, basic and portable high-level skills, including teamwork, problem solving, Information and communication technology (ICT), communication and language skills. Other essentials that should be added include literacy and numeracy, 6 learning to learn skills as well as social and interpersonal skills. The totality of such skills enhances employability and makes it much easier to find and retain employment. Moreover, such a combination of skills, as well as enabling individuals to adapt to changes in the workplace and the evolving world of work, paves the way for further training. Conversely, the absence of such basic core skills as literacy and numeracy constrains the possibilities of acquiring the other core skills needed to enhance employability. Clearly, there are great advantages to acquiring a broad range of core skills at a young age.

For many young people throughout the world, what they learn in school may not be sufficiently well related to what they need to know to obtain good jobs after they leave school. Nevertheless, education and training are generally cornerstones of preparing young people for decent work. In most countries, those youth who are the least educated and the least skilled are the most disadvantaged on the labour market. Exclusion from education and training is at the root of child labour, low-paid and poor-quality jobs as well as the vicious cycle of intergenerational poverty and social exclusion (ILO, 2005a).

Within many educational systems, what is known as basic education comprises the first nine years of schooling (six years of primary school and the first three years of

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⁶ According to the ILO (2005a, p. 17), approximately 96 million young women and 57 million young men are illiterate. Most of them reside in developing countries.

secondary school enrolment). Although primary school enrolment generally is considered compulsory, there are significant variations across regions in net primary school enrolment/attendance.⁷ These are highlighted in table 1.

Table 1. Average school enrolment and attendance, by sex (per cent)

	Primary so	Primary school		Secondary school	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
World					
Enrolment	91	87	59*	58*	
Attendance	80	78	50*	47*	
Least developed countries					
Enrolment	80	75	33	28	
Attendance	65	63	26	24	
sub-Saharan Africa					
Enrolment	75	70	30	25	
Attendance	64	60	25	22	
South Asia					
Enrolment	90	83	-	-	
Attendance	81	79	55	50	
Latin America and the Caribbean					
Enrolment	95	94	67	71	
Attendance	90	91	-	-	
Middle East and North Africa					
Enrolment	86	81	67	62	
Attendance	89	86	54	52	
*Excludes China - data not available					
Source: UNICEF, 2008.					

Three disparities are immediately noticeable. First, there is the gap between sub-Saharan Africa and most of the rest of the world in both enrolment and attendance ratios. Second, across most of the world, actual attendance is lower than enrolments, although the Middle East and North Africa region offers an exception. Third, enrolment and attendance ratios tend to be on average around four percentage points lower for females than for males, except in Latin America and the Caribbean (UNICEF, 2008).

⁷ The net enrolment ratio is the number of pupils in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group. The net attendance ratio is the number of pupils in the official age group for a given level of education who attend school in that level, expressed as a percentage of the population in that age group.

As shown in the table, between primary and secondary school, there is a precipitous decline in both enrolments and attendance, with the latter, once again, considerably lower than the former. The figures for sub-Saharan Africa suggest the extent to which boys and girls alike in that region are particularly disadvantaged upon entering the labour market. Roughly 25 per cent or less ever complete secondary school. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the higher attendance of girls than boys stands out as an exception to the overall picture, which favours boys over girls.

Different patterns of education and training

Having established that vast numbers of the world's young people suffer from a shortfall in basic education and, hence, employable skills, even those with access to education and skills development tend to benefit from very different patterns of education and training across the globe.

The ILO, in its *World Employment Report 1998-99*, presented at some length the major types of education and training systems prevalent in different parts of the world (ILO, 1998a, pp. 69-82). A later ILO study offered refinements which allow for an even more complete picture (Brewer, 2004, pp. 20-23). What follows is a snapshot of each of the main systems that draws extensively on the aforementioned sources.

The *cooperative system*, more commonly known as the *dual system*, follows on from the basic education acquired in primary and lower secondary education. It combines on-the-job enterprise-based apprenticeship training with one or two days a week spent in school. It is most frequently associated with Germany but also figures prominently in the training systems of Austria, Denmark and Switzerland.

A variant of the cooperative system found in many Latin American countries uses vocational training institutions (VTIs) to train new workers at skilled and semi-skilled levels. Full-time training at the centre is followed by supervised internships. In recent years, the VTI system has been placing more emphasis on in-company training, with the actual delivery of training increasingly transferred to enterprises.

Another approach, which has come to be known as the *French system*, uses secondary vocational and technical schools to provide skills training of a more theoretical nature, in combination with more general education. This is also the case to some extent in Italy, as well as in many Central and Eastern European countries (O'Higgins, 2001, p. 96). France also offers *alternance training*, which takes the form of an apprenticeship provided both at the workplace and at an apprentice training centre.

The *enterprise-based system*, characteristic of Japan, uses the educational system to provide a foundation of basic skills, which employers then build upon through intensive off- and on-the-job training. Nevertheless, it has been observed that although training is largely sponsored by firms, who provide full-time regular contracts to large numbers of new school leavers, much of this training takes place outside the firm (O'Higgins, 2001, p. 96).

The *voluntarist system* places employers under very few institutional pressures to train, with pressures and incentives aimed primarily at the individual. In the United States, for instance, the aim is to keep all students in school until the end of the secondary level, while adding to the academic curriculum, diverse vocational subjects for those students who wish to take them. Both in the United Kingdom and the United States, skills training tends to be firm specific and occurs at the workplace.

Finally, reference can be made to *state-driven systems*, which would include East Asian countries and territories, such as Hong Kong (China), the Republic of Korea,

Singapore, and Taiwan (China), during their phase of rapid industrialization, and the former centrally-planned economies of Central and Eastern Europe. In the former, government initially played a key role in skills development; in the latter set of countries, government was the driving force in almost all phases of development.

The presentation of these various skills-development systems leads to three areas of further inquiry: (1) evidence of their relative effectiveness; (2) impact on productivity; and (3) implications for disadvantaged groups.

Assessment of alternative education and training systems

A review of the literature suggests that there is no unanimity of thought regarding the relative usefulness of the different training models. On the one hand, there is the argument that in a rapidly changing world of work, it is most important to possess the core skills outlined above, including the ability to adapt. On the other, there is the argument that it is more important to acquire a specific set of skills and a certificate leading to employment in a particular occupation. Of course, the appropriateness of any one approach will be conditioned by economic circumstances and, as we will go on to show later, by the groups being targeted.

Nevertheless, an examination of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries with the lowest ratios of youth to adult unemployment showed the following order as of the late 1990s: first, Germany; second, Austria; fourth, Denmark; and fifth, Switzerland. As indicated above, all of these countries use the dual system. France and Italy, with their highly-standardized school-based vocational training systems fare much less well. This suggests the importance of the strong link that exists between education and training, and work, in the countries operating the dual system (O'Higgins, 2001, p. 98).

Strengthening the connection between school and work is also addressed by the World Bank, which argues that this is the best way to make school more relevant to work and to facilitate the school-to-work transition. One way to achieve this is to blend more vocational content into the general curriculum and more vocationally-relevant academic subjects, such as science, mathematics and language, into the vocational curriculum (World Bank, 2006, p. 76).

The importance of ensuring that vocational education and training (VET) are relevant and linked to the world of work is borne out by the experience in Kosovo. According to an assessment of that country's VET contained in its Youth Employment Action Plan, vocational programmes are targeted towards narrow specializations, practice is constrained by poor facilities, equipment and learning materials, and no structured links exist between vocational schools and the local labour market (PISG, 2006, pp. 30-31).

Impact on productivity

A major argument for skills development is that higher-level skills enhance the productivity of both the individual and the firm and propel the economy towards more

⁸ Ireland was in third position. Norway featured the highest ratio, followed by Italy, Greece, the United States, Turkey, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom.

dynamic growth. At the most basic level is the need for literacy and numeracy. International competitiveness requires both. Even in rural areas, research has established a strong relationship between the acquisition of literacy and numeracy and productivity gains in agriculture. Going further, there is the need for basic and vocational education, which prepares young people for the world of work and strengthens their capacity to learn new technologies and workplace practices (ILO, 2008a, Ch. 1, 2; Godfrey, 2003, pp. 44-45).

The background report for the general discussion on *Skills for improved productivity, employment growth and development* for the 97th session of the ILC (2008a) examines the centrality of skills development to achieving greater productivity and employment growth. Quality education and training provide a strategic link to higher productivity, employment and development. What is particularly important to note for the purposes of this study is that productivity at the individual level is affected by such factors as health, education, training, core skills and experience. Illiteracy, lack of access to basic education and the absence of relevant and affordable training programmes impede skills development and employability. Thus, the road to more productive employment is impaired. The outcome too often is heightened disadvantage and the lifelong risk of low productivity work and poverty. Conversely, investments, policies and programmes that favour the skills development of disadvantaged youth serve to boost productivity at individual and workplace levels. Employment, income and the achievement of decent work objectives stand to gain.

In preparing the World Employment Report 1998-99: Employability in the global economy - How training matters (ILO 1998a), the ILO amassed enough evidence to establish that the link between skills development and productivity is real. For instance, a comparison of British and Dutch factories in the engineering field found productivity to be 30 per cent higher in the Dutch firms. This was largely explained by the fact that while some 41 per cent of shop floor workers in the British plants had acquired craft-level skills, the Dutch plants operated with 66 per cent craft-level workers. Another study cited showed that in the United States, computer training significantly raised the productivity of workers in non-manufacturing establishments. Studies on the productivity effects of enterprise training in a range of developing countries showed similar results (ILO, 1998a, pp. 76, 120).

While skills training can lead to higher levels of productivity, there needs to be an adequate supply of employment opportunities. When employment is available and there is correspondence between training and existing jobs, evidence collected from a number of developing countries in the 1990s showed vocational schooling to produce higher productivity than general education. However, such favourable conditions generally are not present, with the result that net returns to vocational schooling are comparatively low. Moreover, if there is an absence of jobs, skills are not used and deteriorate over time. They also may become obsolete as skill requirements change for various occupations and jobs (Middleton et al., 1993, pp. 50, 53). The implications would appear to be especially pronounced for academically-disadvantaged youth.

Implications for disadvantaged groups

The central problem that needs to be addressed by this paper is the fact that the formal education and training systems discussed above generally fail to meet the skills development needs of disadvantaged youth. This, in turn, reinforces both their disadvantage and the argument that alternative, more proactive means of making education and training available to them must be found.

As the aforementioned study by Middleton et al. points out, vocational education can improve the employment possibilities of the academically-disadvantaged when their secondary enrolment ratios are high and unemployment itself is low (ibid., 1993, p. 60).

Yet, how often is this the case, particularly in developing countries? Secondary school enrolments and attendance previously were shown to be very low in several developing regions. Furthermore, in most instances, it is a dearth of employment opportunities that is the principal obstacle to achieving decent work objectives for young people. Still, even in job markets where demand exceeds supply, it is the academically disadvantaged who tend to find themselves at the end of the employment queue. In this regard, Paul Bennell observes that the conclusion of most evaluations of training programmes of unemployed young people is that such programmes have been unsuccessful in raising the job offers and incomes of the youth involved (Bennell, 1999, p. 36).

Notwithstanding this sobering assessment, the focus now shifts to the circumstances that place specific segments of the youth-aged population at particular disadvantage and what can be done to address their very real needs.

3. Disadvantaged youth: Identifying the problems, responding to the challenges

The ILO introduced the life-cycle approach in recognition of the fact that the opportunities and risks, advantages and disadvantages faced at one stage in life frequently influence the transition to the next. When this involves poverty, discrimination or absence of economic opportunity, the risks and disadvantages all too often are perpetuated in successive stages of life. This highlights the importance of addressing the vulnerabilities and gaps confronting children and youth at the early stages of the life cycle. As will be shown in the coming pages, many actors have a role to play in this process. These include national and local authorities, the social partners, members of civil society and, of course, young people themselves. Moreover, interventions can take place at the level of the labour market, skills development systems or economic policy. The overall aim is to break the cycle of child labour, particularly its worst forms, and to support the transition of young people into decent work.

Child labourers

There is a clear relationship between child labour⁹ and future youth employment. First, child labour prevents children from obtaining the necessary education and skills to compete for good jobs as young adults. Second, as a result, there is the lower quality of jobs to which former child labourers have access and, in addition, their greater potential to be unemployed as youth. Third, when families are living in poverty, the value of education, training and potential future income may appear less attractive than the immediate return from child labour (ILO, Forthcoming, p. 18).

Concerted efforts to tackle the problems of child labour and youth unemployment can reinforce one another. Lower unemployment and increased decent work opportunities for young people may serve to demonstrate that education offers both an alternative to child

⁹ Article 2 of the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182) applies the term "child" to all persons under the age of 18. However, the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) sets the minimum age for employment at not less than 15 years, with the provision that developing countries may establish it as low as 14. In general boys and girls aged 13 to 15 are permitted to carry out "light work" under Convention No. 138. Thus, millions of young people under the age of 18 legitimately perform paid or unpaid work that is considered appropriate for their age (ILO, 2006b, pp. 2-4).

labour and a pathway to a brighter economic future. The challenge then is two-fold: (1) to provide children and their families with the incentives to help children refrain from entering or to withdraw from child labour; and (2) to offer the needed education and skills development that will prepare children for good jobs as they grow older.

Turning then to the role of incentives, combining quality education with school feeding programmes can represent part of the answer. Cash incentives may serve as another. Conditional cash transfer programmes (CCTs) channel a certain amount of cash to poor households on a regular basis on condition that the recipients fulfill some obligation such as vaccinations or regular visits to the clinic. The reduction of child labour has seldom been an explicit objective; nevertheless, various evaluations have shown some CCTs to be effective in reducing child labour (Tabatabai, 2006, p. vii).

One notable exception is *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* (Programme for the Eradication of Child Labour) or PETI, in Brazil, whose targeted transfers focus on the worst forms of child labour. In Bahia, the State with the highest rate of child labour, the probability of working among the participating children, aged 7 to 14, fell from 38 per cent to 12 per cent. PETI features a compulsory after-school programme, *Jornada Ampliada*, which simply keeps the children at school twice as long, thus limiting the time available for work (ibid., p. viii).

An ILO project in Kenya worked with local communities and combined awareness raising and access to education with income-generating activities for the parents of child domestic labourers, as a substitute for the children's income. Trade union federations in the services and education sectors, together with local education officials, the business community, religious organizations and community leaders, aided in establishing Local Child Labour Committees, with the aim of helping to start the income-generating activities. Such activities included sheep rearing, goat raising, poultry keeping and the sale of traditional clothing (ILO, 2004d, p. 25).

Awareness raising and the schooling of children also figured prominently in the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)'s five-country Comagri project in East Africa, which targeted children performing hazardous work in commercial agriculture. Parents, communities, employers, workers and policy-makers were invited to participate in meetings, workshops, training sessions and field visits. An independent evaluation conducted in the first half of 2005 found that the programme resulted in the withdrawal of 14,637 children from labour and the prevention of 16,730 others from entering. Most of these children either were in school or had been given skills and/or grants to provide them with a viable alternative to hazardous child labour (ILO, 2006c, p. 5).

The question still remains to be answered whether children, once removed from hazardous working conditions, are being properly equipped to undertake good jobs at an appropriate age. ILO-IPEC took a major step towards answering this question in preparing a synthesis review of thematic reports on non-formal education and skills training conducted in nine countries. With respect to the relevance of vocational skills training, the review found that it was problematic in most cases. Very few action programmes conducted formal labour market surveys to help guide their selection of the vocational skills to be taught. Nor was counselling or career guidance offered to the children before skills training was provided, although usually there was an informal assessment of children's interests that

¹⁰ The countries were Bangladesh, Cambodia, Colombia, India, Kenya, Peru, the Philippines, Senegal and Turkey (ILO, 2006d).

merely asked the children what they wanted to learn. Furthermore, the process of selecting skills for training did not determine whether the skills were relevant and appropriate to the ages and developmental stages of the children. The thematic review concluded that the selection of skills is as important as the vocational skills training itself and perhaps even more so (ILO, 2006d, p. 50).

The need to make skills training readily accessible through greater reliance on the use of such approaches as outreach skills training stood out among the review's recommendations. The outreach model uses informal settings, usually in a simple venue located closer to where the target group lives, such as in multi-purpose centres (MPCs) in Bangladesh (ibid., p. 21). Considerations of access and relevance assume great importance as the report turns now to children and youth in rural communities.

Children and youth in rural communities

Over 70 per cent of all child labour is found in agriculture, as is the highest share of youth employment in Asia (ILO, Forthcoming, p. 21). In view of the previously mentioned close links between child labour and youth unemployment, efforts to tackle the rural youth employment problem have to begin by addressing child labour, particularly its worst forms, in agriculture and elsewhere in the rural sector. IPEC's aforementioned thematic review calls for more attention to training in agriculture- and rural-oriented skills that can be learned in children's home communities. The aim is to avoid training-induced urban migration and to encourage children of working age (see definition provided by footnote 5) and youth to put their new skills to use and earn incomes in their local rural communities (ILO, 2006d, p. 73). Towards this end, IPEC was called upon to expand the practice of helping rural children to learn applicable skills through apprenticeship programmes with local business owners, and trades and crafts professionals, without having to travel to urban areas (ibid., p. 3).

Bangladesh offers young people in rural areas various forms of training for selfemployment. Around 555,000 youth received training between October 2001 and March 2004 from some 300 training centres run by the Department of Youth, of whom approximately 341,680 entered self-employment¹¹ (ILO, 2005a, p. 57). In India, the Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM) aims to provide basic technical and entrepreneurial skills to the rural poor aged 18 to 35 to enable them to take up wage- or self-employment. Among the positive points: at least 40 per cent of the target group have to be young women and, in fact, of the total beneficiaries, around 54 per cent were women; 28 per cent of the trainees were illiterate, thereby providing an employment channel for a highly-disadvantaged segment of the population; the programme tried to identify areaspecific trades; and there was general satisfaction with the master craftspersons who provided the training. Much less satisfactory was the fact that roughly 50 per cent of the trained youth were unemployed after training. This again draws attention to the importance not only of selecting trades where skill development will be relevant, but of providing adequate linkages to product and labour markets. In addition, more emphasis needs to be placed on post-training monitoring of the beneficiaries, while offering them labour market information, job search assistance and other employment support services. There also is a more general need for programmes such as TRYSEM to better integrate entrepreneurial training and technical training in preparing youth for self-employment.

¹¹ The centres offered training in poultry rearing, pisciculture, beef fattening, livestock rearing, food processing, kitchen gardening, handicrafts and leather work.

Several of these concerns have been addressed by another programme in India. The Baatchit Project targets youth aged 15 to 24, living in rural villages, with vocational training that incorporates skills upgrading (including technological skills), entrepreneurial skills development and career guidance. This latter component created awareness among jobseekers about available career options, job vacancies and how to face interviews. A project weakness was that the absence of a minimum level of education undercut the effectiveness of the vocational training (Brewer, 2004, pp. 41, 81). This underscores the need to make vocational training complementary to basic education and the acquisition of core employability skills.

The National Open Apprenticeship Scheme in Nigeria (NOAS) provides vocational education and training to unemployed youth in over 100 occupations. An offshoot of NOAS is the School-on-Wheels programme, which is a mobile training scheme that provides vocational training to school leavers and other unskilled persons in rural areas. The programme is three months long, after which graduates are absorbed into NOAS (further discussed below). Over 21,000 young people have benefited from the programme since its start (ibid., pp. 43, 116).

Out-of-school youth in the informal economy

The majority of the world's youth work in the informal economy, rural and urban areas combined. In the report prepared for the Conference discussion of the informal economy in 2002, the ILO reported that in Latin America, the youth unemployment rate doubled in the 1990s, rising from 8 per cent in 1990 to 16 per cent in 1999. Almost all newly created jobs for young people during this period were in the informal economy, where wages were some 44 per cent lower than in the formal economy (ILO, 2002, p. 96).

In many developing countries, traditional apprenticeships are the largest skill provider for the informal economy, far surpassing the output of formal education and training institutions. The owner of the enterprise provides the training, which the trainee pays for through reduced wages and, in some cases, a training fee (Middleton et al., 1993, p. 34). Training tends to be limited to the practical skills of a trade, generally transferred through the observation and replication of tasks carried out by an experienced worker (ILO, 2004d, p. 32). The aforementioned NOAS in Nigeria tries to address this problem by offering theory classes every Saturday as a complement to the practical training received.

In its World Employment Report 1998-99 devoted to training, the ILO pointed out that a major shortcoming of earlier training strategies in developing countries was an exclusive concentration on the needs of the formal economy. This occurred in spite of the fact that the formal economy accounted for a much smaller proportion of total and of new employment than the informal economy (at that time still called the informal sector). Against this backdrop, the informal apprenticeship system has proved to be an effective means of skill development in the informal economy as that is where most entrepreneurs in the relatively vibrant micro-enterprise sub-sector acquire their skills (ILO, 1998a, p. 207).

In Viet Nam, for instance, informal training, that is, skill acquisition through an apprenticeship on the job, was shown to be more prevalent than formal training among all target groups of young workers. Young jobseekers considered an apprenticeship with an employer the most useful form of training for finding a job. Nevertheless, formal or official training usually offered the advantage of widely-accepted and recognized certification (ILO, 2003b, pp. 26-27, 40).

In view of the wide use and vast potential of informal apprenticeships, the literature is replete with suggestions on how they might be strengthened. They should be complementary to, not a substitute for basic education. There is, thus, a need to link apprenticeship training with formal schooling so young people have an incentive to remain

in school to acquire the core skills needed at work and to navigate through life. Informal apprenticeships should be well structured, supervised, teach a range of skills and establish the length of training; moreover, there should be provision of written contracts and certificates demonstrating completion of training (Brewer, 2004, p. 22). A comprehensive approach to upgrade apprenticeship training would also include improving the skills and technologies of master craftspersons, providing post-training employment services or support for self-employment, and encouraging young women to enter apprenticeships that can open employment opportunities in non-traditional fields of work (ILO, 2008b). More generally, as apprenticeship training can be narrow and rigid and slow to adapt to technological change, whenever possible the social partners should play a role in design and monitoring (ILO, 2005a, p. 87).

Several apprenticeship training initiatives in Africa have tried to offer more comprehensive solutions. The *Groupement Interprofessionnel des Artisans* (GIPA) in Yaoundé, Cameroon, provides an interesting example. Created in 1999, the GIPA is an association that brings together some 100 crafts enterprises across 11 different occupational groupings, ranging from hairdressing and clothes-making to carpentry and electrical engineering. These informal economy enterprises employ on average three workers and two apprentices. GIPA is given high marks for actively involving master craftspersons as trainers/mentors and using training methodologies that are adapted to the educational levels and learning cycles of the young trainees. Young people are regularly evaluated on the achievement of specific goals. This establishes an occupational path with a learning curve that is different from the repetitive nature of traditional apprenticeship (Walther, 2006b, pp. 25, 35).

An initiative by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Dom Bosco in the Sambizanga district of Angola also exemplifies a more comprehensive and better coordinated approach to helping prepare local inhabitants for work largely in the informal economy. The initiative aims to design interventions that take account of the human, social, educational, vocational and economic sides of a problem. Dual type vocational training includes an on-the-job apprenticeship and permanent mentoring from enrolment in school through to finding employment. Training young people in management and microenterprise creation is among the options available (Walther, 2006a, p. 35).

Girls excluded from education and training opportunities

Another criticism of apprenticeships is that they tend to benefit young men more than young women, a weakness that is not unique to this form of training, nor unique to developing countries. For instance, a study in the United Kingdom of the Modern Apprenticeship (MA) found two types of status – "employed" and "non-employed" - associated with apprentices in the MA programme. Those with the former status had an employment contract and were paid a wage, important indicators of an employer's commitment to the individuals. Those with the latter status only received a training allowance and this was the case for over half of the recruits to the largely female-dominated care and education sector. The male-dominated craft, technical and engineering occupational sectors tended to offer access to higher level training and qualifications as well as higher pay (Fuller et al., 2005, p. 298).

Albania illustrates the fact that girls also are more likely than boys to be deprived of any basic education. Although 90 per cent of the population older than 14 can read and write without difficulty, of the remaining population, there are twice as many illiterate women as illiterate men (Council of Europe and ILO, 2006a, p. 27).

The problem is twofold. First, youth education and training programmes, including traditional apprenticeships, often are biased against girls and young women. Second, not

directly addressing the constraints that prevent girls from going to school or young women from attending vocational training tends to reinforce existing patterns of exclusion and inequitable access.

However, we learn from experience that exclusion of girls and young women can be overcome through such practical measures as separate latrines for girls and adjustment of school times to accommodate their household or marketing responsibilities. More fundamental measures include removing gender stereotypes from teaching materials and training teachers to avoid early occupational segregation, such as favouring boys over girls in the teaching of mathematics (ILO, 2008a, para. 244).

Gender disparities were prevalent in Bangladesh, a country where enrolment and school attainment among girls was persistently low. In 1993, Bangladesh introduced the Female Secondary School Assistance Programme, which serves to illustrate the extent to which a proactive approach to gender imbalance can redress the situation. This programme, financed by the International Development Association (IDA), supported government efforts to improve access to secondary education (Grades 6 to 10) for girls in rural areas by offering cash stipends to assist them with tuition and personal costs. Complementary efforts were directed at increasing the proportion of female teachers, 12 providing water and sanitation facilities, improving community involvement and providing occupational skills, with a view to making schools more attractive to girls and their families. As a result, by 2005, girls accounted for 56 per cent of secondary enrolments in areas covered by the programme, compared to 33 per cent in 1991. Their attendance rates increased to 91 per cent, thereby surpassing the boys' attendance rate of 86 per cent. Moreover, the proportion of girls achieving passing marks in school examinations rose to 89 per cent, which exceeded the boys' rate of 81 per cent (World Bank, 2005, p. 110). Overall, access to secondary education increased substantially for girls in Bangladesh, jumping from 1.1 million in 1991 to 3.9 million in 2005. An increasing number of the girls enrolled come from disadvantaged or remote areas (IDA, 2007).

Bangladesh offers another useful example of creativity and flexibility in reaching disadvantaged youth, including a special programme for girls. The Centre for Mass Education in Science (CMES) is an NGO founded in 1978. The programme is directed at youth who can afford education only if they are learning while earning (ILO, 2002, p. 104). It therefore offers them an integrated education, skill training and income-earning work opportunity. Marketable trades include carpentry, poultry farming, mushroom cultivation, candle and soap-making, pottery, metalworking, garment manufacturing and leatherworking. A student may learn more than one trade.

Finding that many girls did not benefit, in 1991 the CMES started the Adolescent Girls' Programme (AGP). Designed as a gender empowerment programme, the AGP offers an integrated approach, which combines time in the classroom with the production of goods for the local economy. The CMES encourages them to form associations and lead initiatives aimed at improving their villages. The girls also are eligible for loans from a micro-credit bank for small business startups.

Finally, as was shown with child labourers, offering incentives to their families can influence whether or not girls are permitted to go to school. For instance, in Afghanistan, programme success has been achieved in some rural areas by giving girls a free ration of oil

¹² Female teachers can serve as role models and provide a source of encouragement for young girls as well as offer encouragement to their parents.

and flour at the end of every month. With this as encouragement, their poor families continue to send them to school (Baker, 2008, p. 27).

Ethnic minorities

Ethnicity can have a significant impact on school attendance and, therefore, skills development, employment and higher productivity. In almost every country, the dominant group generally has lower unemployment rates than ethnic or other minority groups. For instance, Australia reported for 2001 that 70 per cent of indigenous youth aged 20 to 24 were in neither full-time education nor working (ILO, 2004b, p. 15). In Hungary, the Roma population, in general, has a much lower average educational level than the rest of the population, suffers active discrimination and experiences unemployment at rates three-and-a-half times higher than for the country as a whole (O'Higgins, 2001, pp. 29-30).

In Hungary and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, steps are being taken, even if haltingly, to integrate Roma into the educational systems. Private secondary schools in Hungary, in which the majority of students are Roma, generally teach the Roma language, history and art to strengthen their cultural identity, but some focus more on building self-confidence and employable skills or on providing accommodation and other support. An innovative programme in Vidin, Bulgaria aimed at integrating Roma students into the mainstream school system involves bussing students from their settlements to school and back as well as encouraging attendance through Roma monitors who protect the students against mistreatment and provide shoes and school lunches for those who are from low-income families. At the end of the project's first semester in the early 2000s, attendance was 100 per cent and average grades for Roma were the same as for non-Roma students (Godfrey, 2003, p. 52).

Yet, overall, progress is slow. In Croatia, for instance, in 2004 only 10 per cent of the funding needed to implement the National Programme for Roma was allocated. There was virtually no vocational and educational training (VET) aimed at upgrading the general skill level for Romas. Due to an overall lack of information on their needs, the limited number of VET opportunities open to them was not based on a sound analysis of their socio-economic and educational situation (Council of Europe and ILO, 2006b, pp. 24, 29).

The disparities in education and training for girls and young women, compared to boys and young men, are greatest when ethnicity and caste are also taken into account. In Viet Nam, 19 per cent of ethnic minority girls have not attended school compared to 2 per cent of Viet girls (Morris, 2006, p. 13). In India, 37 per cent of girls aged 7 to 14 belonging to the lowest castes or tribes do not attend school versus 26 per cent of majority girls of the same age. Moreover, school attendance for tribal girls is 9 per cent lower than for tribal boys. In Guatemala, indigenous girls are the least likely to enrol in primary school and only 26 per cent of indigenous non-Spanish speaking girls complete primary school compared to 62 per cent of Spanish-speaking girls. In the Slovak Republic, only 9 per cent of Roma girls attend secondary school compared with 54 per cent of Slovak girls (Lewis and Lockwood, 2007, p. 17). The same article observes that the enrolment and retention rates are likely to be lower among girls than boys when schools are in poor physical condition.

Godfrey returns to the importance of education, maintaining that in the case of the Roma in Eastern Europe and ethnic minorities more generally, education is the most effective intervention to improve employment prospects for their young people. The starting point is to reduce the barriers that prevent children from beginning school, such as school feeding programmes, the linking of children's allowances to school attendance and provision of scholarships (Godfrey, 2003, p. 51).

School dropouts

In choosing to focus on particular segments of the disadvantaged youth population, it already is evident that the categories overlap, with many youth suffering from multiple disadvantages. That is certainly the case with school dropouts, who may have left school before acquiring basic literacy and numeracy skills and then drifted into low-paying, unskilled work in the informal economy. In many developing countries, the dropouts also are more likely to be girls and young women.

This paper already has pointed to the magnitude of the dropout rate in the developing world. In sub-Saharan Africa, the precipitous decline in both enrolments and attendance following primary school was particularly notable. Yet even in OECD countries, the proportion of young people aged 20 to 24 neither in education, employment nor training stood at 17 per cent, on average, in 2003. While for most young people this status is transitory, a segment of youth has spent five years in this condition (as high as 30 per cent in Italy and 20 per cent in Greece). In addition, across OECD countries, it has been observed that more than 14 per cent of young people, on average, leave school without an upper secondary qualification. This is regarded as a minimum to obtain a good job in today's labour market and pave the way to further skill acquisition (Quintini and Martin, 2006, p. 8).

For school dropouts or youth confronting long-term unemployment, what are known as second chance programmes may offer a step back from labour market exclusion and joblessness. The aim of such programmes is to give young people second chances to recover from their bad decisions or those made by others such as families, educational or labour market authorities or even national policy-makers. Second chance programmes must compensate often for an absence of basic education and training, including personal and social skills.

Unfortunately, second chance programmes have not always enjoyed the desired success. It therefore is not surprising that the World Bank argues that they must be properly designed, targeted and coordinated and ensure that training and equivalency programmes provide the competencies needed for both work and life (World Bank, 2006, pp. 40, 90).

Second chance programmes often are implemented at state and local levels. The European Association of Cities for Second Chance Schools reports on the experience in four Spanish cities (Barcelona, Bilbao, Cadiz, and Gijón). The experience in Bilbao is particularly noteworthy. Training comprises a two-year integrated project divided into three phases, offering varying proportions of course work (50 per cent in the first phase), workshops under specialist heads (30 per cent in the first phase, 50 per cent in the second and 25 per cent in the third), tutoring (20 per cent in the second phase) and a six-month incompany course (75 per cent in the third phase). In Bilbao, the Second Chance School project is implemented by a private development agency under municipal control. The strong local involvement also includes the Confederation of Basque Enterprises. The Second Chance School project in Cadiz is supported and promoted by Cadiz University, in close cooperation with the City Council (European Association of Cities for Second Chance Schools, 2007, pp. 1-2). The Spanish experience highlights the importance of the role that employers can play in raising the success level of Second Chance programmes. The paper returns to the importance of employers' and workers' organizations in a subsequent section.

Illiterates

The importance of literacy and numeracy has been referred to throughout this paper. Moreover, like school dropouts, there is a strong interface between illiterates and several of the preceding categories, many of whose members' access to employment problems are compounded by illiteracy. Clearly then, from the standpoint of skills development,

productivity and employment, an integrated approach that combines literacy programmes with the teaching of other core work and practical life skills appears to be highly recommendable.

A US Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded project in Haiti demonstrates the hope and potential associated with an integrated approach to literacy. The Haitian Out-of-School Youth Livelihood Initiative (IDEJEN) targets out-of-school youth between the ages of 15 and 24. As many of the intended beneficiaries have little or no schooling, developing their literacy skills through non-formal basic education is a major task of the project (USAID, 2005, p. 4).

Following the completion of the pilot phase in September 2006, an extension carries the IDEJEN initiative through to September 2008. IDEJEN promotes and supports an integrated flexible learning systems (FLS) approach that combines literacy and numeracy instruction, life skills education and technical training, and preparation for livelihood opportunities. Within the 2006-08 timeframe, 34 community-based organizations will host 44 IDEJEN Youth Centres spread across seven departments. The aim is to start a career counselling unit in each Centre that will actively seek employment and self-employment opportunities as well as coach the participating youth (USAID, 2007, p. 2).

Godfrey reinforces the need for early and sustained interventions to deal with the functional literacy crisis among 15 to 24 year olds. He argues that the greatest contribution to improving the employment prospects of disadvantaged children is to ensure that they remain in school until they are at least functionally literate and numerate. This requires targeted subsidies, special pre-school programmes where possible and attention to the quality of schooling, including teacher training and textbooks (Godfrey, 2003, p. 70).

Demobilized child soldiers

Of all the disadvantaged groups of children and young people, there is one that occupies a special niche because of an added hardship that has scarred their youth and complicated efforts aimed at skills development due to their state of trauma and pressing need for societal integration. These are the demobilized child soldiers who have been drawn into a large number of armed conflicts around the world, especially in Africa. Frequently abducted, brutalized and forced to commit atrocities as children, at the end of the armed conflict they return, often in their teen years, as ex-combatants with skill profiles that have been built around violence. Their home communities may have been ravaged and much of the country's physical and social infrastructure destroyed. As with most of the other disadvantaged youth groups, they need to acquire market-oriented technical skills in combination with life skills. The latter assume perhaps even greater importance in view of the troubled past that must be overcome.

Poor countries often suffer a shortage of teachers and trainers. Protracted armed conflict can worsen such a shortage, damage the educational and training infrastructure, and make staff skills and training facilities obsolete. All of this needs to be rebuilt or upgraded as part of the process of training and reintegrating the former child soldiers (ILO, 1998b, p. 37). In most cases, a trainers-of-trainers programme must be built into any comprehensive skills development and reintegration effort. NGOs and bilateral and multilateral development agencies have an important role to play in helping to restore training capacity (ILO, 1997, p. 68).

As this is occurring, parallel efforts, working with what already exists, must aim to equip the ex-combatants for a return to some semblance of a normal life. Where war has robbed youngsters of their early school years, literacy education has to be a priority. The two aforementioned ILO studies offer additional guidelines, such as linking educational, training and reintegration programmes to income-generating activities, ensuring that

training is demand led and offering training, wherever possible, in communities where the skills can be used. Ongoing counselling to deal with the scars of war and career guidance also are important.

A project in Uganda, Reintegration and rehabilitation of children affected by armed conflict, has put many of the suggestions to the test. The initiative aims to enhance the availability, quality and appropriateness of psychosocial counselling, reunion with family members and educational and vocational skills development. The strategic approach contains a number of key elements, which include, among others, involvement of local people in decision-making, planning and implementation, allowing them to participate in both the community and local government; adequate equipping of schools and the training and motivation of teachers to meet the psychosocial needs of war-affected children; and skills training with local artisans, in school/home-focused agriculture and in animal husbandry. The project is implemented through a multi-agency approach, which is discussed further in the section below on Inter-ministerial collaboration and decentralization (UNESCO, 2001, pp. 27-28).

Young people with disabilities

Another group that sometimes shares disadvantages of the youth groups discussed above but, like demobilized child soldiers, confronts the labour market with its own unique set of difficult circumstances is young people with disabilities. In fact, among the worst off are the child soldiers who may return from war both traumatized and badly injured with disabling injuries.

Although precise data on the unemployment rates of disabled young people is limited, the available evidence points to lower rates of labour force participation and higher rates of unemployment. Data collected in the United Kingdom in the winter 1994-95 shows that for disabled young males and females, both aged 16 to 19 and 20 to 24 respectively, there was anywhere from 7 to 16 per cent difference in the above two indicators than for the comparable age and gender groupings without disabilities (O'Higgins, 2001, pp. 30-31). The problem is exacerbated by the fact that in many countries large numbers of disabled persons of working age remain economically inactive. The numbers are even higher for those with severe disabilities.

The far lower proportion of disabled workers in employment occurs in spite of antidiscrimination legislation in most industrialized countries and civil rights protection in the United States (the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990). In developing countries, the chances of disabled persons finding work can be even smaller, including in the informal sector. The employment prospects of many disabled persons of working age are limited by initial barriers to acquiring a good basic education, vocational skills training or higher education when they were young (ILO, 1998a, p. 191).

Lebanon is another country where national laws on disability and education are supposed to safeguard the rights to education of disabled children and youth. Nevertheless, most mainstream schools exclude them; therefore, they are educated in special institutions run by NGOs. In 2002, the Lebanese Physically Handicapped Union (LPHU) conducted a study of 200 graduates of institutions for people with disabilities to see if they had been helped to enjoy their rights in the areas of education and employment. The LPHU study found that the special institutions had much lower levels of educational attainment than mainstream schools and more than one-half of the sample were jobless. Of the 45.5 per cent who were employed, over one-third were working in the institutions from which they graduated, often for very low wages and without health insurance protection (Thomas and Lakkis, 2003, pp. 2, 5, 7).

There is some evidence that training for persons with disabilities has begun to move away from programmes in specialized institutions to mainstream programmes. For some countries, this transition is in its early stages and special classes, schools and training institutions are still common. The problem with specialized institutions is that the curricula tend to relate to jobs traditionally thought appropriate for persons with disabilities. This can result in a mismatch between training and the skill requirements of the labour market and, as shown by the experience of Lebanon above, hinders job placement possibilities (O'Reilly, 2007, p. 55).

Therefore, it is encouraging to observe that a number of countries, especially in Western Europe, are progressing with mainstreaming, although the progress achieved to date has been uneven. Nevertheless, in the United Kingdom, the majority of persons with disabilities receive their training in mainstream programmes to which they have priority access. Moreover, specialist teams operate in job centres to assist persons with disabilities in gaining and retaining employment. In addition to individualized support for disabled persons, France is further developing apprenticeship training and offering "sandwich courses" that alternate training and work in enterprises. With a view to more directly involving employers in the development and provision of training and employment opportunities, Belgium provides a system of employer-based on-the-job training contracts for disabled persons; the employer is not obliged to hire the trainee after the initial contract, but often does (O'Reilly, pp. 55-56).

One of the best antidotes to discrimination against persons with disabilities is much more direct support in meeting their particular skills development and work-related needs. The ILO Alleviation of Poverty through Peer Training (APPT) Project in Cambodia addresses this requirement by finding successful small entrepreneurs who are willing to offer one-on-one training to disabled young people. The project has taken disabled persons who were reduced to begging on the streets and both restored their self-esteem and taught them business skills that led to successful ventures (ILO, 2005a, p. 87).

Finally, a pioneering woman with a serious disability (cerebral palsy) argues forcefully that enhancing the employability of young people with disabilities requires more than a sole focus on the persons with disabilities themselves. For youth with disabilities to travel to and from school or work requires accessible transportation systems. This, in turn, calls for awareness on the part of those who design and purchase vehicles as well as adequate funding. Through schooling and workplace seminars, employers need to receive better education about hiring people with disabilities. Labour market information needs to be relevant and accessible to disabled young people. This passionate person with a disability with deep personal experience encourages the construction of a framework based on the AAA Principle: "awareness", "attitudes" and "acceptance" (Watson Hyatt, 2004, pp. 1-2).

Graduates of technical or vocational training schools ill-equipped for available labour market occupations

The focus of the paper to this point has been largely on young people whose education and training have been non-existent or extremely limited as preparation for available jobs.

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¹³ The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities underscores the fact that "disability results from the interaction between persons with impairments and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others".

Yet large numbers of young people complete their formal training and graduate from technical or vocational training schools but remain insufficiently prepared for the jobs available on the labour market.

The limitations of their job preparation may come from the side of general education, technical training or some combination of the two. The general education side of the problem may be addressed by incorporating more general education in vocational schools. The need is to ensure that young people learn how to solve problems, work in teams, communicate effectively and understand the nature of the economy and the world of work (Axmann, 2004, p. 49).

The technical training side calls for efforts to improve young people's knowledge of appropriate technologies and production processes and to ensure that they acquire the practical skills required by the job market. Towards this end, since 1998, the Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda has run the Programme for the Promotion of Employment-Oriented Vocational Training (PEVOT). The programme is operated under Uganda-German Technical Cooperation, with the assistance of six German agencies. PEVOT aims to improve the level and relevance of occupational skills, by promoting competence-based modular training, using the Uganda Vocational Qualifications Framework (UVQF). The UVQF seeks to bridge the gap between the classroom and the world of work, in part by encouraging shorter, more flexible training that is more relevant to the labour market.

All of the disadvantaged youth groups covered by this paper can benefit from up-to-date labour market information (LMI), career guidance and counselling. In view of the mismatch problem suggested above, the graduates of technical and vocational schools who are ill prepared for the jobs available on the labour market are in particular need of support in finding jobs. Clearly, LMI and job search techniques can be most valuable if they are first introduced as part of the education and training process. Programmes that combine classroom instruction and work experience can facilitate job readiness and provide a better understanding of labour market opportunities.

Many organizations and groups have a role to play in counselling and job search assistance. These include public employment services, private employment agencies, NGOs, church groups and the social partners. Yet studies of the school-to-work transition in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Viet Nam report that young jobseekers rely more heavily on informal networks, including immediate family members, other relatives and friends. Youth in Indonesia also mentioned teachers as a source of advice. Hardly any of these young people referred to public employment services, but the overwhelming majority of those who had not received guidance said that they would have used it if it were made available to them (Sziraczki and Reerink, 2004, p. 21).

Where necessary, public employment services should be strengthened and made more accessible. Still, as the ILO pointed out in its 2005 Conference Report on youth, in recent years, employment services have changed to address better the diverse needs of young jobseekers. In part this involves the fuller use of information technologies, allowing jobseekers to access relevant data themselves through the Internet or to use computerized programmes to identify aptitudes and interests and, thereby, target suitable work (ILO, 2005a, p. 58).

The Republic of Korea is undertaking a number of innovative initiatives to provide career guidance and counselling. One-stop shops offer job counselling, guidance and referral services through Youth Employment Support Rooms at Employment Security Centres throughout the country (ibid., p. 59). For young people still in basic education, parents, businesses and experts are to be mobilized as career education instructors, leading in the mid- to long-term to the assignment of professional counsellors. Partnerships between local employment centres and schools also are being strengthened to provide career and job counselling (UN, 2006, p. 42).

Australia, Canada and the United States use the Internet or call centre technology to provide information on jobs and careers as well as education and training opportunities. Canada provides an online information service that helps young people understand job descriptions, work requirements and job titles, along with the essential skills required for those jobs (ILO, 2004c, p. 35).

Job clubs and job fairs also have a role to play in job-search assistance. The Russian Federation, for instance, holds job fairs for women on particular themes or specific programmes. Moreover, young women comprise a majority of the participants in a number of special programmes designed to broaden young people's knowledge of professions and how to enter them (UN, 2006, p. 43).

Entrepreneurship training as an option for this target group

While self-employment and small business creation play a lesser role than wage employment in raising overall employment for young people, the ILO's work over the years shows long recognition of the fact that enterprise development by and for young people represents an essential source of employment for this age group (Freedman, 2005, pp. 46-48). Youth entrepreneurship, then, can be seen as another avenue to employment, in particular for the graduates of technical or vocational training schools who are facing a mismatch problem and might be more disposed to this option if they receive the appropriate education and training.

A starting point is enterprise education through the school curriculum. Towards this end, the ILO, in 1996, began the launch of Know about Business (KAB). At a workshop held at the International Training Centre (ITC) in Turin, Italy, training materials were developed and subsequently field-tested in Kenya. Entrepreneurship education became part of that country's national curricula for vocational training.

The aims of the KAB package of materials are to create awareness of enterprises and self-employment as a career option for youth in secondary and vocational education, develop positive attitudes towards enterprises and self-employment, provide knowledge of the desirable attributes for starting and operating a successful business, and facilitate the school-to-work transition. Similarly, an initiative in the United Kingdom provides students aged 14 to 16 in all secondary schools across England at least five days of enterprise education (UN, 2006, p. 32).

Such programmes often encounter resistance to enterprise development among youth. Even in Kenya, where entrepreneurship education is compulsory, evidence about its effect on self-employment is not unequivocal. While there are indications that TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) graduates are more likely than general education graduates to enter into entrepreneurship, there is still widespread scepticism towards self-employment and it remains only the second or third choice for those who cannot find wage employment in Kenya (Haan, 2006, p. 83).

Moreover, the road to youth entrepreneurship is not risk free. Entrepreneurship education is one of five key constraints and barriers to youth entrepreneurship identified by

http://www.ilo.org/dyn/empent/empent.portal?p docid=YEIMPLEMENT&p prog=S&p subprog=YE. [22 May 2008].

¹⁴ For more information on KAB, visit the ILO Small Enterprise Development Department, Youth Entrepreneurship web site at:

an ILO study. The other four crucial factors are: (1) social and cultural values, beliefs and behaviours that restrain youth entrepreneurship, (2) lack of access to start-up finance, (3) administrative and regulatory burdens¹⁵ and (4) inadequate business assistance and support and business development services for young people (Schoof, 2006, pp. 23-65).

It is difficult to find in the literature, initiatives that address all of these factors and make special provision for disadvantaged youth. Nevertheless, there are programmes that are worth citing. The Katutura Youth Enterprises Centre (KAYEC), in Namibia, is a community-based organization for young people aged 15 to 30. It helps them to start their own businesses by providing vocational training, information, workspace and support (Brewer, 2004, p. 107).

In the same region, one also finds the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF), established in 2001 by the South African government to help youth aged 18 to 35, who are not in education and are facing particular disadvantage. The UYF, in addition to promoting skills development and employment creation, provides access to finance as well as business development services. The latter are made available through a voucher programme. The UYF aims to aid youth in creating new micro- or cooperative enterprises or in expanding existing businesses (ILO, 2005a, p. 49; UYF, 2008, p. 2).

In India, the Bharatiya Yuva Shatki Trust (BYST) is an NGO that targets underemployed youth, aged 18 to 35, and assists them to set up or develop a business. The Trust provides for each beneficiary a mentor, on a one-to-one basis, who teaches, guides and helps develop the "disciple". In addition to giving professional advice, the mentor maintains regular contact with the business, monitors progress and helps to address problems that develop (Brewer, 2004, pp. 41, 85). In its first 12 years, BYST financially supported 1,162 business ventures, resulting in the creation of 11,474 jobs in six different regions. The Trust aims to reach the following targets by 2009-10: 30,000 trained and accredited mentors; 90,000 entrepreneurs supported; and 450,000 jobs created (YBI, 2008).

4. Institutional keys to success

While the preceding sections have examined some of the differing requirements of various youth groups, disadvantaged youth, generally speaking, share a need for considerable institutional support. Heavy involvement of the social partners along with strong public-private partnerships, inter-ministerial collaboration and decentralization, and incorporation of skills development within comprehensive approaches are all factors that contribute to successful outcomes. A brief but closer look at such cross-cutting requirements now follows.

Inter-ministerial collaboration and decentralization

In many countries, responsibility for training is divided among different government authorities. Even more frequently, there is little connection between the government agencies responsible for education and training on the one side and those responsible for employment and labour markets on the other.

¹⁵ These include unsupportive tax regimes, business regulation procedures and costs, bankruptcy laws, ineffective competition law, and regulatory framework changes and lack of transparency (Schoof, 2006, p. 53).

With greater cooperation and coordination in mind, the ILO's Tripartite Meeting on Youth Employment (ILO, 2004a) urged the ILO to strengthen cooperation with multilateral institutions and other international organizations, aimed at promoting a coordinated approach to the achievement of full employment and decent work. Then, at national and local levels, it called for close coordination between government institutions and agencies. At a minimum, this should involve coordination between ministries of education and ministries of labour. The Young People's Self-Support and Challenge Plan in Japan goes much further by involving four ministries: Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology; Health, Labour and Welfare; Economy, Trade and Industry; and Economic and Fiscal Policy. In doing so, it is able to take a holistic approach to promoting youth employment (ILO, 2005a, p. 51).

Canada's Youth Employment Strategy involves 13 government departments and agencies working in partnership with employers' and workers' organizations and civil society groups. The Skills Link component of the programme targets young people facing barriers to employment, such as high school dropouts, Aboriginal youth, disabled youth, single parents, rural youth and recent immigrants. Working in large part through community organizations, Skills Link helps such disadvantaged youth to obtain the knowledge and broad range of skills and work experience they need to find jobs.

Equally important is coordination between agencies at national and local levels plus a high degree of decentralization. This is illustrated by Chile "Joven", a programme that is widely cited in the literature. This programme, which was aimed at young people who were unemployed, underemployed or in other ways vulnerable was highly decentralized. It involved around 1,000 private- and public-sector training providers who had to be officially recognized and bid competitively for contracts. The programme, which ran from 1990 to 1999, is credited with having reached some 190,000 young people aged 16 to 24, opening up new segments of the labour market to many of them. While Chile "Joven" included a self-employment sub-programme, the standard model comprised 400 hours of formal training and two to three months of work experience in an enterprise. The success of the training model led to its replication in Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Uruguay. ¹⁶

Youth Business International (YBI) offers another interesting example of local-level involvement. YBI targets for financial assistance disadvantaged young people who possess a viable business proposition but are unable to find support elsewhere. The programme works with the business community through local, national and international partnerships facilitated by YBI and the Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum. Beneficiaries have access to a volunteer business mentor and the organization's local and national business support network (Chambers and Lake, p. 1). YBI now has accredited programmes in 20 countries, pilot programmes in 18 more and programmes under consideration in six additional countries.

Initiatives also can involve local, national and international partners, as illustrated by the previously-discussed initiative on reintegration and rehabilitation of children affected by armed conflict in Northern Uganda. To address the needs of the children and young people suffering from the armed conflict in Uganda, a multi-agency core working group was established. The group was coordinated by the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. It included other national ministries, such as the Ministry of Health, NGOs, international development agencies such as DANIDA (Danish International Development

¹⁶ For much more detail on Chile "*Joven*" and similar programmes in Latin America, see Bennell , 1999 (p. 37), Brewer, 2004 (pp. 29, 86-88), Godfrey, 2003 (p. 40), ILO, 1998b (p. 181), ILO, 2000a (pp. 28-30), ILO, 2004b (p. 34) and O'Higgins, 2001 (p. 139).

Agency), and United Nations bodies such as UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) and the World Food Programme (WFP) (UNESCO, 2001, pp. 27-28).

Heavy involvement of the social partners

A frequent complaint is that the skills taught in many vocational and technical schools do not sufficiently correspond to employers' needs. What better way, then, to ensure a closer match between skills development and job requirements than to actively involve employers along with workers' representatives in the design, implementation and monitoring of training policies and programmes aimed at disadvantaged youth!

O'Higgins identifies a number of the ways that employers' and workers' organizations can play a key role in linking schools to the world of work. Areas in which their help can be vital include identification of the most appropriate forms of training, fostering of both formal and informal school/industry linkages, monitoring and quality control of training, and involvement in sponsorship and placement as well as informational activities within schools (O'Higgins, 2001, pp. 156, 168-169).

Strong public-private partnerships

In adopting the Human Resources Development: Education, Training and Lifelong Learning Recommendation, 2004 (No. 195), the ILO drew attention to the fact that the public and private sectors as well as individuals themselves all have a role to play in achieving access to education, training and lifelong learning. For governments, this implies an explicit commitment to invest in and create the conditions to enhance education and training at all levels and to assume the primary responsibility for investing in quality education and pre-employment training. As the Recommendation also underscores the role of enterprises in workplace learning and the training of their employees, this opens the way to public-private partnerships in which employers and trade unions can play an important role.

Public-private partnerships can aim to encourage the training and job placement of disadvantaged youth. For instance, in Uruguay, the Occupational Training Fund that sponsored *ProJoven* featured co-financing by the State, employers and workers. Tripartite participation ensured that training was in line with labour market requirements (ILO, 2004b, p. 34).

The World Bank reports that Chile, China, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Malaysia, Mozambique, the Republic of Korea and Singapore, recognizing the fiscal limits of public provision of training, have opened the doors to public-private partnerships aimed at diversifying financing for training purposes. In Latin America, government's role in training is being reassessed, with specialized training agencies becoming more prominent in policy development and management of training expenditures, rather than just the provision of training (World Bank, 2006, p. 113).

In South Africa, the Government's aforementioned Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) partners with two microfinance providers in arranging access to funding for disadvantaged youth. In the United States, the Arts Programmes for At-Risk Youth features an innovative approach to funding that generally involves a mix of local, state and federal support together with private investment (Brewer, 2004, p. 77).

In addition to addressing funding requirements, the World Bank further argues that public-private partnerships can help post-primary education systems to expand, while improving learning outcomes and overall efficiency through greater choice and competition. This requires, however, that the private sector be held to meeting well-defined quality standards (World Bank, 2006, pp. 73-74).

Another interesting example of partnership comes from the United States where 2,500 Career Academies across the country establish partnerships with local employers to provide work-based learning opportunities. The Academies aim to keep students, grades 9 through 12, in school by combining academic and technical curricula built around such career themes as health, business and finance, and computer technology. Academy students take classes together, remain with the same group of teachers over time and participate in work internships and other career-related experiences outside the classroom. The Career Academies have substantially improved the labour market prospects of young men but not of young women (Kemple and Scott-Clayton, 2004, p. 1; MDRC, 2008, p. 1).

Incorporation of skills development within comprehensive approaches

The ILO's Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE) Project, in Pakistan and the Philippines, very well demonstrates how public-private partnerships and involvement of the local community can form part of a broader-based approach to skills development. Disenfranchised male youth are among the target groups along with the rural poor, specifically women, and persons with disabilities. TREE represents a comprehensive training package that builds the capacity of local government and NGOs to plan, design and implement community-based training and support programmes. Training is demand driven, based on identification and assessment of community needs and local economic opportunities. TREE's target groups obtain skills development together with small business training and post-training support services, including linkages to credit schemes (Webb, 2005, pp. iv, 2), It speaks well for the programme that in Pakistan of the males trained, most of whom are youth, 29 per cent are listed as self employed, 47 per cent are wage employees and 12 per cent apprentices. Four per cent are looking for work and only 8 per cent are not working (ILO, 2007, p. 7).

In the United States, the Baltimore Youth Opportunities Programme (YO! Baltimore), "Career Connections", engages the entire community, parents, faith-based institutions, local schools, neighbourhood associations and youth themselves to help out-of school youth aged 16 to 24, who are economically or socially vulnerable, to find long-term employment through a combination of vocational skills training and work-based learning. Employment Advocates are matched to each youth and then work in helping the young people to select the most appropriate educational, vocational and personal support services based on their interests, abilities and aptitudes. As part of a systemic approach to youth services, work experience sites, or internships, provide the students with an opportunity to apply life skills learnt in weekly life skill classes (Brewer, 2004, p. 83).

Examination of the results achieved by the YO! Programme participants in relation to a comparison group showed that out-of-school participants achieved GEDs (General Education Development) at twice the rate of non-participants, while the dropout rate for inschool YO! participants was half the rate of the general population at the four targeted Empowerment Zone area schools. Moreover, YO! members earned 35 per cent more and were employed at a 42 per cent higher rate than non-participants (YO! Baltimore, p. 1).

More generally, skills development can be incorporated in what have been termed active labour market training programmes. In targeting especially disadvantaged young people, they offer a package of services that include literacy and remedial education, vocational and job-readiness training, job search assistance, career guidance and counselling, and other support services (ILO, 2004b, p. 33).

Finally, comprehensive approaches to skills development, higher productivity and the creation of decent work for young people must form part of a healthy macroeconomic climate that stimulates investment, economic growth and increased employment opportunities. There is no short cut to enhancing skills development opportunities for disadvantaged youth. However, the lessons of experience are abundant enough to provide a blueprint for collective action. The challenge lies in mobilizing the commitment and resources for an effective response.

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