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PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN LOCAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
PATTERNS AND ISSUES *

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* This working paper was prepared by Arthur Gillette, University of Massachusetts,
Amherst, Massachusetts. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of
the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations.

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CONTENTS

I. FOREWORD

This paper has two purposes. It seeks to provide a succinct but clear image of current trends in mobilising youth for participation in local and national development to assist concerned persons : a) to situate programmes with which they are involved, and problems they have encountered, in a broadly international context, and b) to formulate recommendations that are both relevant and feasible at the international level.

To achieve these aims, the paper does four things:

a) It sketches in an introduction the potential of youth's participation in local and national development and a frame of reference in which the topic may conveniently be discussed.

b) It derives from existing experience three patterns of systems enabling youth to participate in local and national development: the pilot pattern, the transition pattern and the mass pattern.

c) It points to three issues of strategic importance to all patterns; political problems, assumptions about the complementarity of education and production in most schemes, and the relationship of costs to benefits.

d) It summarizes the above and offers some conclusions on priorities for the 1970's.

II. INTRODUCTION

1) The Potential

The Second U.N. Development Decade begins with nearly
one-fifth of the world's population between 15 and 24 years
old. In the less developed countries, high birthrates and
decreasing infant mortality have pushed this percentage
still higher. 21% of the Niger Republic's population is
15 to 25[1]. In Asia and the Far East, 12- to 25-year-olds
constitute almost 40% of the region's inhabitants.[2]

To be sure, many of these young people are already
participating in local and national development. A good
percentage of the Boy Scouts' 12 million members[3] live
in less developed countries and take part in service pro-
jects of various kinds. The same may be said of the 3.25
million participants[4] in activities sponsored by the member
organizations of the International Bureau of Youth Tourism
and Exchanges. /Tr.: Bureau international du Tourisme et
des Echanges de la Jeunesse./

On the whole, however, Third World youth is still a
vast untapped reservoir. There are several reasons for this
situation.

Ill-health saps the energy of many youngsters; many
more have insufficient or unbalanced diets. Education is
far from universal, and what education there is tends to
alienate youth from traditional living patterns without
equipping them for the modern life it has encouraged them
to strive for.

Underemployment and unemployment are rife. Young peasants, only able to work a few months a year, barely scratch out a subsistence. Even in less severely under-developed areas, appearances can be deceptive. In Martinique, "The majority of the young people who throng the busy capital by day and give it /a/ look of prosperous activity are unemployed."[5] In Jamaica, some 35,000 young-sters reaching the age of 15 each year share fewer than 15,000 new jobs.[6]

In summary, many young people in less developed countries, and adults concerned with them, would agree with this appraisal of the UN Economic Commission for Africa: "the main problem....is that great numbers of young people have reached adolescence without any schooling or with only a short period of primary education; with perhaps a poor foundation of health; with little or no training for the newer types of employment... and with great uncertainty as to how best they can be involved in the national development effort."[7]

To point only to the objective causes preventing youth from participating more fully is to say that young people don't take part in development because they live in a situation of insufficient development, i.e. to place oneself in a vicious circle. To break out of it, other, subjective reasons must be considered as well; two attitudes in particular warrant mention here.

The first is a persistent tendency to view youth chiefly as consumers, or beneficiaries of development. Often, youth is lumped together with children, as though teenagers had as little to contribute as infants in arms. The focus is still too often on "the dependency and vulnerability of children and youth,"[8] leading to a stress on programmes dealing primarily with young people's "future rôles as producers, consumers, parents and citizens..."[8] (emphasis added). A more balanced view would take into account the desire and ability of many young Africans, Asians and Latin Americans to produce as well as consume, to be agents as well as beneficiaries of development.

In contrast, there has been--particularly in the early 1960's--a tendency to have boundless faith in the potential for achieving rapid and dramatic development through the mobilisation of youth. So great was the haste of some countries to set up service schemes that research and planning were neglected, and the programmes often proved uneconomical and were abandoned altogether. Elsewhere, lack of coordination lead to confusion among organizers and disillusionment among young participants: one small nation saw 15 schemes come into existence in the years following 1960;[9] by 1967 most had disappeared.

In general, however, policy makers and programme leaders have tried to navigate between the Scylla of doubt and Charybdis of overoptimism. As a result, the First

Development Decade was characterised by the expansion of
the previous trickle of mostly symbolic efforts to mo-
bilise youth for development into a multi-channel stream
of experimentation with very diverse programmes that
strive to have tangible impact. The potential contribution
of youth is now considered by many to have been amply pro-
ven during the last ten years. Whether and how the experi-
mental stream can or should be broadened into a torrent
making young people a major development force appear, how-
ever, to be debatable questions as the Second Decade begins.[10]

2b) Frame of Reference

"Development" is used here to signify social change as
well as economic growth. Thus the distribution of wealth
and opportunity will be looked on as equally important
with their creation.

It is important,   moreover, to keep in mind a
growing trend, stated by a young Ghanian participant in
the Second World Food Congress, to "reject entirely the
distinction between developing and developed countries."[11]
Thus while this paper will focus on local and national
programmes in less developed countries (and another Confe-
rence document will concentrate on international action
by young people), the reader should not forget that the
fate of systems for the participation of youth in develop-
ment during the 1970's will depend largely on conditions
over which the countries concerned have no control. A

minute reduction in the world price for a given raw material could, for example, offset the efforts of thousands of volunteers to raise the living standard in nations exporting that material.

In what follows, "participation" will intentionally exclude the contribution made to development by young people in the place and/or time of their regular occupations in order to stress the contribution that can be made in temporary, geographically unusual or otherwise special programmes. Thus a young villager's work on his parents' farm will not be covered here, while his contribution to a rural youth club garden will. This somewhat artificial restriction should facilitate indentification of the specific rôles of agencies concerned primarily with youth.

"Youth" will be defined in accordance with U.N. practice as individuals of both sexes roughly in the 15 to 25 age range, although there are exceptions at both extremes of the scale.

Finally, it should be pointed out that this paper draws on the consultant's own experience and lights, as much as on existing analytical and (chiefly) descriptive documentation. As a result, and given space limitations, the paper necessarily includes generalisations and interpretations that are inevitably impressionistic and subjective.

III. THREE PATTERNS

This section attempts to follow a middle path between detailed national case studies, so inevitably specific that their value for other countries is diminished, and general international comparisons, which tend ineluctably to oversimplify. As a result, three national patterns have been constructed to depict systematically systems facilitating the participation of youth in local and national development: the pilot pattern, the transition pattern, and the mass pattern.

The notion of patterns requires four observations.

Lack of space precludes thorough treatment of the social, economic and political setting within which each pattern exists. It should be mentioned, if only in passing, that there appear to be strong if not always obvious similarities between countries with the same pattern. It is probable, therefore, that major elements of one pattern may only be grafted onto the setting from which a different pattern has already emerged at the risk of serious distortion.

Secondly, the three patterns outlined below do not claim to cover all systems of participation of youth in development. They are intended to illustrate three major trends, but--as the inclusion of alternatives to some characteristics of each pattern implies--they are neither rigid nor airtight. Indeed other patterns can be constructed

using the same, or different, criteria.

Thirdly, each pattern is an abstraction of the situation in several countries and does not necessarily reflect the total situation in any of them.

Finally, it must be stressed that this paper makes no implicit or explicit value choice between patterns. Each pattern, it will be evident, has both advantages and drawbacks.

Highlights of each pattern are now described: characteristics of sponsors and programmes; aims and activities; relation to school(and work); personnel; financing trends; and impact on development.

1) The Pilot Pattern

a) Sponsors and Programmes

Programmes in the Pilot Pattern enabling the participation of youth in

local or national development tend to be few in number.
Bolivia, where sponsorship has been limited chiefly to
the National Union of Students/ Tr.: Confederación Uni-
versitaria Boliviana/, is a case in point, as is Niger
Republic, where the main responsible agencies are the
Youth Activisation scheme /Tr.: Animation des Jeunes/
and the Pioneer Youth /Tr.: Jeunesse pionnière nigérienne/.

The nature of sponsoring organizations varies. In
Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay, for example, sponsors
are non-governmental religious or student bodies, while
in the Sudan the state appears to exercise a monopoly of
youth activities. Government involvement in this field
is both recent and growing in the pilot pattern, and
when it coexists with non-governmental efforts coordination
is not always efficient.

Pre-colonial or traditional institutions, often
youth peer groupings, still mobilise the younger generation
for communal tasks in some places. Generally, however, such
formulae are dying out--like the minqas in Ecuador and
samaria in Niger. The modern youth programmes taking their
place tend to draw inspiration and techniques from external
sources, often the Western countries. Most Christian move-
ments originated in Europe, the activisation method (ani-
mation) was devised in France, and Israel has been active
--particularly in Africa--in helping create youth pioneer
bodies.

The audience reached by participation programmes in pilot pattern countries tends to be limited in several ways, numerically first of all. It has been estimated that the Niger Pioneer Youth movement involves about two and one-half percent of that country's eight to 18 age group,[1] for instance.

While attempts are being made to engage rural young-sters (e.g. in Argentina and Niger), programmes tend to focus on the more accessible, and available, youth in or near towns and cities. Particularly of late, pilot pattern countries have been displaying concern to mo-bilise their less favoured youngsters in part-time acti-vities. In general, however, programmes have been designed as out-of-school projects (also spare-time) for pupils and students of formal education institutions, themselves usually a privileged minority of youth. In Sudan, where 13.9% of school aged youngsters receive instruction, programmes have been described as being, until very re-cently, "completely 'élite' activities..."[12]

There is seldom--if ever--a policy of overt discri-mination on the basis of sex with respect to membership in organizations of participation in development On the other hand, proportionately few girls and young women tend to take part--a situation that probably reflects existing mores in the countries concerned.

b) <u>Aims</u> <u>and</u> <u>Activities</u>

Very few organizations or agencies in the pilot
pattern are devoted exclusively to enabling youth to
participate in local and national development. The Ar-
gentinian Youth Movement for the UN /Tr.: Movimiento
argentino de Juventud pro NN.UU/, for one, organizes
lectures and seminars in addition to its programme of
workcamps and social service. Within participation pro-
grammes, furthermore, few (if any) bodies seek results
accruing solely to people other than the youngsters
taking part. Most programmes are organized with a view
both to enhancing the personal development of partici-
pants and to facilitating their contribution to society.

i) <u>Personal development</u>

Development of various character traits is a
goal of many organizations operating in the pilot pattern.
These often include moral, ethical or religious charac-
teristics (such as altruism) as well as more inward-
looking abilities (self-understanding, for example).[13]
Group life is viewed as a good setting in which such
traits can be developed and tested.

In many cases, citizenship is a goal of participation
programmes. In Liberian projects, "Emphasis is on love
of country, loyalty, self-sacrifice, social and civic
consciousness... responsibility and duty."[14] Citizenship

training is often effected through lectures and dis-
cussions organized in after-work hours of service pro-
jects. Informal contacts among members of different
social, ethnic and economic strata are sometimes ex-
plicitly viewed as meeting the citizenship goal. It
is also assumed   that one of the best ways
of learning active citizenship is by practising it,
i.e. through doing actual work.

While vocational training is sometimes organized
by sponsors, it is usually seen as separate and seldom
made an integral part of programmes of participation in
development, except in the case of rural youth clubs.
Literacy and general education are still more rarely
considered an organic part of participation programmes
in the pilot pattern.

Physical growth and health are another kind of
personal development that many sponsors hope or assume
will result both from recreational activities organized
in free time during projects and from the work itself,
particularly when it is manual labor and takes place
outdoors.

ii) Contribution to society
Diverse activities are organized to enable youngsters to con-
tribute materially to society. Often in the pilot pattern
they are designed to assist with cleanup after disasters,
to man first-aid posts during sports events, to ease the

lot of slum-dwellers and undertake other relief or welfare
projects that relate only indirectly to development as
defined in the Introduction to this paper.

The 1960's have seen increasing attempts to link parti-
cipation programmes more closely with economic growth,
social change or both. In some cases, the impulse for
this change has come from governments. In Sudan, the De-
partment of Social Development's Gezira Board undertook
to involve boys and girls in "agricultural and handicraft
production"[12] through community centres. The agricultural
aspect of this programme is significant for it suggests--
as does the gardening done by the Niger Pioneer Youth and
other rural youth clubs--that the impetus toward develop-
ment activities stems from a recognition of the actual
needs of villages where the majority of Thirld World youth
live, rather than from the leisure-oriented approach of
much of youth work that originates elsewhere.

Bodies run by as well as for youth have also helped
re-direct the contribution of young people to society
toward development linked activities. In Bolivia, the
National Students Union--and several of its member Local
Student Unions /Tr.: Federaciones Universitarias Locales/--
have sponsored literacy drives, workcamps and other occa-
sional service projects.

c) Relation to School and Work

There is generally no intentional or explicit--much

less organizational--link between programmes of youth participation, on one hand, and institutions of education or employment, on the other, in the pilot pattern. Implicit alebit often unrecognised relationships do appear to exist with both, however.

i) <u>Relation to school</u>

Programmes tend to fullfil three distinct functions with respect to the education of their participants. First, where they involve youngsters already in school (as most do), they provide complementary education. In some respect (e.g. lectures on civics or local history), this education resembles school instruction of a piecemeal kind. Often, however, it is less formal and less focussed than classroom learning.

Secondly, with regard to non-school-attenders, programmes may be said to replace formal education in some small degree when they involve youngsters who have never been (and will never go) to school, and to supplement school for those who have left school (almost invariably as drop-outs). For the first group, they offer a unique chance to acquire a skill, when vocational training is given or as a result of doing a new kind of job, as well as to gain some knowledge of their country and the world. For the drop-outs, programmes may serve as a stimulus to retain, or even expand, skills and knowledge acquired earlier in the classroom.

Thirdly, many programmes strive to bridge the gap between a participant's previous education (formal or not, and the organizers') concept of more complete human beings. This can mean the shaping of better Christians, of youngsters more knowledgeable about and committed to the UN, or of students with a deeper social conscience, among many other examples one could cite.

ii) Relation to work

It should be emphasised that most participation programmes in the pilot pattern do not provide regular full-time employment, nor indeed are they looked on by their organizers as means of providing even occasional or part-time jobs. On the other hand, since they do carry out work projects they may be considered to function as shadow enterprises, in some instances at least. Successful rural youth clubs often provide village adolescents and young adults with their only source of cash income through market gardens, for example. On the other hand, when student volunteers undertake construction of communally useful infrastructure (clinics, roads, and the like) in areas of high unemployment they may be viewed as unfair competition by jobless local labourers.

d) Personnel

Sponsors of participation programmes use technical personnel at two levels, which have distinct functions although they overlap in smaller movements and agencies (i.e. the same people may do both jobs). Organizers supervise leaders and are responsible for formulating long-term policy and planning, overseeing the implementation of and evaluating programmes in the framework of policy. Leaders, working directly with youth, run programmes and/or take responsibility for the projects that constitute programmes.

Of special importance for this profile of the pilot
pattern of participation of youth in local and national
development are the availability and training of organi-
zers and leaders.

i) *Availability*

The pool from which can be recruited organizers,
who generally need at least a secondary education, is
limited. The demand from other sources for people with
their qualifications is often great and youth agencies
and organizations tend to be disadvantaged by lack of
funds. To be sure, the pilot pattern is characterised
by growing governmental involvement in the youth field
and where programmes are state-sponsored organizers are
usually civil servants. Often, where non-governmental
organizations form the backbone of participation efforts,
organizers are occupied elsewhere (particularly as teachers
or students) and can only devote their leisure to the
business of their movement. Those non-governmental asso-
ciations employing organizers part- or full-time often
pay them a sacrificial or--in the case of individuals
with alternate income--token salary.

The supply of potential leaders is relatively large
since, generally, they need only a primary school edu-
cation, and jobless school-leavers are legion. Also, the
Niger Pioneer Youth is even reported to recruit some
cadres among illiterates.[1] Shortage of funds once again
limits recruitment, however, particularly among non-
governmental agencies, which rely--often heavily--on
spare-time volunteers.

It is characteristic of the pilot pattern that per-
sonnel gaps are filled, at both the organizer and leader
levels in governmental as well as non-governmental pro-
grammes, with expatriate personnel. Thus, Israeli and
French technicians have played a crucial rôle in deve-
loping, respectively, the Pioneer Youth and Youth

Activisation schemes of Niger, while intra-movement exchanges have augmented the staffs of the YWCA and Methodist Youth of Fiji with Australian organizers and leaders.

ii) Training

While the need for training both leaders and organizers is universally recognised, a good percentage of local personnel in the pilot pattern has little more than on-the-job orientation. On the other hand, both governments and non-governmental organizations have worked hard in the last decade to provide training. Sudan's Gezira Board project trains 30 to 40 leaders a year for varied activities (of which participation projects are but a small element).[12] Private bodies hold short-courses now and again, but can seldom afford full-scale training.

As a result, organizers are often sent to Europe or N. America for training (skill acquisition) and/or obtain new ideas and information by attending international seminars and conferences. Leaders also go abroad, probably less often than organizers, perhaps to regional training projects, such as those organized by the Co-ordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service. A certain skepticism exists as to the utility of at least some aspects of training received in industrialised countries, which are (in the words of a UN-ILO Interregional Seminar on National Youth Service Programmes) is "not always well adapted to the situation in developing areas."[14]

e) Financing Trends

A sketch of expenditure and resource trends is provided in the profile of each pattern.

i) Expenditure

Two expenditure trends appear in the pilot pattern of participation by youth in development. They may co-exist in the same organization--or programme--, and   are somewhat overdrawn here for purposes of clarity.

The most widespread approach seems to be to make do with what one has at hand. Student groups strive to increase workcamp programmes whether or not their headquarters expand apace; rural youth clubs meet under a tree if they have no clubhouse and use hoes if they cannot affort tractors. This could be called the light structure approach and it is generally viewed by organizers and leaders as a serious brake on the efficiency and growth of programmes. Considerable thought and effort is given by them to devising ways of moving toward the standards of the second trend.

This could be called the heavy structure approach. Under it, the proportion of voluntary personnel is reduced as stress is laid on the ability to pay organizers and leaders, on the assumption that turnover can thus be reduced, and that staff will be better able to concentrate on work that provide a living. It is felt, too, that the level of efficacy of an organization or programme is positively correlated to the degree of solidity of its plant and facilities.

ii) Resources

In governmental and non-governmental programmes alike, recurrent costs are often paid from national sources in the pilot pattern. Personnel of government schemes are paid by the ministries responsible, for example, which may also provide grants to non-governmental organizations usually on an occasional basis. These organizations tend to cover most of their recurrent

help from
expenditure through civic groups, business enterprises,
public appeals and, to some degree at least, membership
dues. Where expatriate staff is employed, in both official
and private schemes, remuneration is provided (or topped
up) by the foreign furnishing bodies.

The position with respect to capital costs is not
so clear. Often, of course, buildings and durable equip-
ment are paid from national sources. Nevertheless, many
a mimeograph, jeep and headquarters building has been fi-
nanced thanks to foreign institutions such as bi- and
multilateral governmental schemes, foundations and interna-
tional youth organizations.

A final word is necessary, on the subject of financial
planning. Long-term full budgeting does not appear to be
widespread in the governmental or non-governmental compo-
nents of the pilot pattern. Rather, agencies seem to use
a survival approach: once their minimum administrative
expenses are guaranteed (usually on an annual basis) they
strive to obtain funds for projects. Survival budgeting
allows flexibility, but it prevents participation pro-
grammes from being included in long-term national develop-
ment planning, particularly where governmental youth action
is limited.

f) Impact on Development

The global impact of youth's participation on local
and national development in the pilot pattern is small.
Only a few tasks are carried out, on a rather sporadic
basis. The number of available youth mobilised in various
categories (students, unemployed urban youth, underemployed
rural youth) is not large, and the amount of education they
receive is correspondingly limited.

On the other hand, there is a definite sense of movement
and experimentation in this field that was almost totally
absent in these countries a decade ago. Perhaps the main

current preoccupation of organizers is to expand and
strengthen existing activities during the ten years to
come.

In sum, the pilot pattern shows what can be done to
mobilise youth in the solution of at least some problems
of less developed countries. Results tend to be very
symbolic, however, and youth does not play a decisive
rôle in solving any of these problems.

2) The Transition Pattern

a) Sponsors and Programmes
in the Transition Pattern
Programmes and organizations tend to be quite numerous.
In Chile, at least six of the 26 major youth organizations
have participation programmes, [15] while the figure in
Ceylon is ten out of 36. [16] Alongside growing numbers
of non-governmental organizations (which show, in Ceylon,
a "tendency to 'splinter'" [16]), intensifying govern-
mental intervention also characterises the transition
pattern. Between 1961 and 1964, expenditure of the Malay-
sian Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports on general youth
activities increased by about 50%, while its allocation

to the National Youth Pioneer Corps more than trebled.
Five out of 12 government youth programmes in the coun-
try concern participation in development. (17)

Although programmes draw important methodological
stimulation from abroad, they strive to suit their efforts
to local conditions. Originally founded by the YMCA, the
Limuru Farm School in Kenya has become an independent
national entity. This adaptation sometimes takes the form
of revitalising traditional local service institutions,
as in the case of the Shramadana movement in Ceylon.

Percentages of young people mobilised are increasing
in the transition pattern. In Jamaica, where several pro-
grammes exist, the Youth Corps alone reaches some three
percent of boys (18). In some countries, entire categories
of youth--particularly those with valued skills--are mo-
bilised. In Ethiopia, all university students enter the
University Service, and in Iran all educated army cons-
cripts are subject to assignment in one of several service
Corps. On the whole, although comprehensive mobilisation
is not generally an explicit goal, young people from less
favored backgrounds as well as, for instance, students
are mobilised in full-time as well as part-time (or occa-
sional) activities increasingly in rural as well as town
settings.

While girls generally constitute a small minority
of participants, efforts are being made to increase their
percentage. In Iran, a special Corps of women volunteers
has been set up--with 10,000 applicants for the first
2,800 posts.(19)

b) Aims and Activities

Programmes in the transition pattern share almost
all the functions already described under the pilot
pattern, in both personal development and contribution

to society. Their focusses are somewhat different, however, and they also have other aims and activities, relating usually to the new categories of less favoured youth they mobilise.

i) Personal development

Overt or implicit, vocational orientation is an important goal of many programmes in the transition pattern. As a result, Iran's Education Corps (for one) has seen roughly half of its "graduates" join the rural teaching force rather than swell the ranks of educated urban unemployed. [19] In addition to orientation, most schemes designed for non-school-attenders provide vocational training. Of 86 rural youth organizations in less developed countries polled by FAO's Young World Food and Development Project, 82 organize "instruction in agriculture." [20] Indeed, in many rural youth clubs participation in development (e.g. through gardening) is organized as a means of experiential training.

Skills imparted in participation programmes are not limited to agriculture skills. Motor mechanics and driver courses are popular, respectively, in the Kenya National Youth Service and the Adapted Military Service /tr.: Service militaire adapté/ of the French West Indies. Military, --or para-military--training is given in some schemes.

ii) Contribution to society

While programmes do some work that could be characterised as relief, emergency action or welfare, most are designed to contribute to economic and social development. Economic tasks include manual as well as mental labor, chiefly in agriculture, rural infrastructure, urban infrastructure, communications and some actual production activities. Social projects involve primarily the provision of staff for health, education and community development schemes.

c) Relation to School and Work

The transition pattern is characterised by an in-
creasing recognition of the juxtaposition between pro-
grammes of youth participation in development, on one
hand, and institutions of education and employment, on
the other. Thus the Higher Committee responsible for
drawing up the policy of the UAR's Youth Ministry (which
holds national service projects) includes representatives
of the Ministries of Education and Labour. (21)

i) Relation to school

Complementary education is provided for school-
goers, often as a de facto (if not intentional) adjunct
of formal education. In Ethiopia, "the rural school is
the locus of the /rural youth/ club and membership is
drawn basically from the school-going population." (22)

In replacing education for many youngsters who have
never been to school, and in supplementing it for numerous
early leavers, the transition pattern constitutes an ex-
panding system of parallel education. Its pedagogy and
educational function are often similar to (if not iden-
tical with) those of schooling. Thus regular education
is provided to Kenya National Youth Servicemen by teachers
recruited from the school system, and the aim of the
scheme's Vocational Training Unit is preparation for the
regular national trades exams. (23)

Supplementary education is also provided, chiefly in
an informal and experiential form, for already educated
participants in Thai (Arsa Pattana) and Indonesian (BUTSI)
programmes, among others. In one case--the Ethiopian
University Service--a scheme's educational value has been
one factor leading to its integration into the regular
curriculum.

ii) Relation to work

A basic feature of the transition pattern is
its provision of full-time work (or work-cum-instruction)

over a more or less long period (six months to three
years) to a growing percentage of youth mobilised in
participation schemes to carry out tasks of more than
symbolic value. The rôle of shadow enterprise is some-
times quite explicit, as in the case of Kenya's Youth
Service, which seems to serve at times as an independent
though non-profit contracting firm.

One important trend is for programmes not to realise
fully their impact on the labour market. "Perhaps the
most outstanding problem in national youth service pro-
grammes," according to one expert, "is that they basi-
cally concentrate on increasing the employability of
young people without giving enough attention to the
question of increasing the number of jobs." [24] In
Congo (B) and the Central African Republic, among others,
schemes strive to provide jobs through settlement in spe-
cial youth villages. Elsewhere, efforts are being made to
reorient programme output to actual manpower needs. But
many schemes are still said to "train youth for jobs
which are not available." [24]

d) Personnel

A need for increasing numbers of trained organizers
and leaders to run expanding programmes--many of which
operate on a full-time, long-term residential basis--
characterises the transition pattern.

i) Availability

Governmental programmes have taken to heart the
need to ensure low organizer- and leader-to-participant
ratios. In the Kenya National Youth Service there is
roughly one organizer (gazetted officer) per 45 men [23],
while the paid leader:settler ratio in the Cooperative
Villages of Congo (B)'s Rural Renewal Campaign /Tr.:Action
de Rénovation rurale/ is about 1:4 (excluding settlers'

dependents) (25), although this is probably unrepresen-
tatively ~~low~~ high for the entire transition pattern.

In the non-governmental sector, the situation appears
less favourable. There is but one full-time paid national
organizer ~~for~~ 444 4-B rural youth clubs in Malaysia, for
example. (17) In workcamp and community service programmes
in several countries, although they are organized on a
part-time or occasional basis and while leader/participant
ratios may be reasonably ~~low~~ high, the brunt of responsibility
is generally borne by unpaid personnel.

In some bodies, governmental (e.g. the Jamaica Youth
Corps) and private (e.g. Workcamp organizations in Uganda,
Kenya and Ghana), a measure of self-government reduces the
need for ~~constant~~ intensive supervision.

ii) Training

Alongside efforts to provide sufficient numbers
of leaders may be noted attempts to improve the quality
of leadership. Thus although many civil service schemes
(for unemployed youth) and programmes for service by the
educated recruit personnel from the ranks without any
special preparation, other kinds of programmes do carry
out training, at the leader level at least. Often these
are non-governmental bodies, such as the Swaziland Junior
Red Cross, although some are governmental, like the Malagasy
State Secretariat for Culture, Youth and Sports /Tr.: Se-
crétariat d'Etat aux Affaires Culturelles, à la Jeunesse
et aux Sports/, which trains leaders for its summer student
workcamps.

Expatriate personnel fills gaps, ~~but~~ possibly more at
the leader level than as organizers, although there are
many exceptions. All in all, the transition pattern faces
severe shortages of personnel with special training for
what, until recently, was largely experimental action.
A 1968 African seminar on Youth Employment and National

Development judged this dearth to be "foremost among the problems encountered by these /special youth training and work/ schemes..." (26)

;;e) Resources

Recurrent and capital costs in the transition pattern are covered from the same sources as under the pilot pattern, but with a much greater proportion of funds originating from governments, both national and international (bi- and multi-lateral). In addition, methods of mobilising the support of beneficiary communities have sometimes been used. In Iran, villagers contribute materials and labour for the construction of schools and clinics. But central governments are the chief--and sometimes only--source of funds, and if the transition pattern is still sometimes characterised by survival budgeting, the inclusion of participation programmes in long-term national planning also appears.

Endless demands cannot be placed on already tight government resources, however, particularly when the cost effectiveness of schemes has not been proven. Thus, while many programmes have grown from tiny experiments into small regular programmes, most have not expanded further and a few have actually been cut back.

f) Impact on Development

The global impact of youth's participation on local and national development in the transition pattern is important. A number of sometimes large tasks are carried out (US $ 5,500,000 worth of roads in Kenya, 950,000 people made literate in Iran) by programmes that tend to function as shadow enterprises and parallel schools, reaching in a few instances entire categories of youth (e.g. all university students in Ethiopia).

On the other hand, no more than a small minority of all young people are mobilised. Furthermore, as partici-

pation programmes expand beyond symbolic impact and come into competition for government funds (their chief source) with other sectors of national life, implicit or explicit doubts about cost effectiveness tend to slow or prevent further expansion.

In sum, the transition pattern involves a minority of youth--sometimes in decisive fashion--in the solution of certain problems of less developed countries. Because of costs, however, allocation by governments of funds to enable rapid expansion is in doubt as the Second Development Decade begins.

3) The Mass Pattern

a) Sponsors and Programmes

While programmes tend to be quite numerous and diverse, sponsoring bodies are very few in number in the mass pattern. In Cuba, the Young Communists League (YCL) /tr.: Unión de Jovenes Comunistas/ is a focal point for action in this field, for example, while in Tanzania the President's Office, Tanzania African National (Union) (TANU) Youth League and Ministry of Education

have
₍shared responsibility. Structural coordination tends to
link the agencies concerned, whether these are govern-
mental structures or mass organizations. Thus the Cuban
YCL is said to play "an important rôle" (27) in the or-
ganization of the School to the Countryside Programme
/Tr.: Escuela al Campo/, under which secondary school
pupils spend six weeks a year studying and working in
rural areas.

There is some eclectic borrowing of ideas and struc-
tures from aborad, but the organizations strive chiefly
to reflect internal needs and traditions. The TANU Youth
League "has its history /in the pre-independence/ system
whereby youths were initiated and made to become the
vanguard of defense and general development in their
respective tribes." (28).

Percentages of young people mobilised in different
categories vary but seem generally large--including, for
instance, nearly all secondary schoolstudents in Cuba,
and all pupils of self-reliance schools in Tanzania's
ujamaa (African socialist) villages. An important feature
of the mass pattern is its broadly and intentionally
comprehensive approach. Young people of widely differing
backgrounds are involved in programmes lasting from one
afternoon to three years in programmes tailored (in theory,
at least) to match availability of participants with the
needs of the economy as flexibly as possible.

As a result, a large minority--though not necessarily a
majority--of youth participate in development in one way
or another under the mass pattern.

Young men appear to outnumber young women in most
schemes, although sexes tend to be equally represented
in work that is part of the school curriculum. The Cuban
YCL intends to mobilise higher percentages of women in
1971 (29). In special situations women predominate. Thus

the Volunteer Youth Detachment N° 333 in the Democratic
Republic of Viet-Nam has been reported to be "composed
mostly of young girls..."[30]

b) Aims and Activities

Aims and activities of programmes in the mass pattern
are similar to those of the pilot and transition patterns,
but have radically different focusses--and include elements
generally absent from the previous profiles.

i) Personal development

The function of citizenship training, for example,
is not only to inculcate a love of country but also--and
more importantly--to educate youngsters according to a
well-defined image of human being. In Tanzania, the Na-
tional Service "is 'socialist-citizenship-centred,"[28]
while youth participation in development in Cuba is de-
signed to create a New Man: it "helps to develop collective
tendencies and weed out individualist ones."[31]

In addition to vocational training for the unskilled,
productive work is viewed as practical training for the
more educated--e.g. when university students serve in jobs
related to their fields of specialisation. Also, military
training (tends to be) a basic and obligatory part of schemes that
mobilise youth on a full-time long-term basis.

ii) Contribution to society

There is great similarity between the kinds of
development tasks carried out by the transition pattern
and those of the mass pattern. One main difference is pro-
bably the amount of work done proportional to national
product, which appears to be much greater in the mass
pattern.

c) <u>Relation to School and Work</u>

The mass pattern is characterised by a conscious and close link between programmes of youth participation in development, on one hand, and institutions of education and employment on the other.

i) <u>Relation to school</u>

In the mass pattern, participation in development complements, supplements and replaces formal schooling. But its most important educational characteristic is that it has been <u>integrated into</u> schooling. This integration has two main features. First, it is physical. In Tanzania's <u>ujamaa</u> villages, education (which has grown from President Nyerere's concept of "education for self-reliance" (33)) is provided in primary and secondary schools each of which "has its own farm." (34) Secondly, the integration is con- ceptual. Prime Minister Castro refers to "the pedagogical system of School to the Countryside, combining study and productive activities /in an/ integral education." (35) /Tr.: "el sistema pedagógico de la Escuela al Campo, combinando el estudio con las actividades productivas /en una/ educación integral."/

ii) <u>Relation to work</u>

The relation between participation schemes and regular employment displays three main features. First, there is generally a close link between the participant's stint of service and his future career. Tanzania National Youth Servicemen are usually selected with an eye to their post-training return to their villages where, in fact, they accomplish part of their service. Largely thanks to work experience, <u>ujamaa</u> self-reliance education seeks to ensure that "the young will enter the life of a new collective village as a full member upon completion of school." (34)

Secondly, participation programmes in the mass pattern

tend both to work as shadow enterprises and to provide
supplementary manpower for the ongoing production of
existing structures, particularly farms, which (in Cuba,
at least) are subject to severe seasonal shortages of
labour.

Thirdly, therefore, the mass pattern does not view
programmes only as a short-term stop-gap measure, but
also as a long-term regular source of manpower. This
approach can cause enthusiasm to lag. More important,
perhaps, it means depending on little-experienced and
untrained workers for vital contributions in situations
where short labor supplies probably call for capital-
intensive rather than labour-intensive methods. As a
result, low productivity has tended to characterise the
output of Cuban participants in some projects. The produc-
tivity of student pickers in the 1964 coffee harvest was
reported to be less than one-fifth that of regular workers. [36]
Since then, corrective measures have been taken; but an
important goal of the ??? remains the improvement of pro-
ductivity among Cuban youth, in participation programmes
as well as at their regular jobs. [29]

d) Personnel

Rapid growth of participation programmes to the mass
level appears to have caused sponsors in the mass pattern
to seek alternatives to formal training of leaders and
organizers.

i) Availability

Expanded programmes coupled with a marked de-
emphasis on expatriate personnel have probably led to a
serious dearth of organizers and leaders in countries of
the mass pattern, although the consultant has been able to
obtain no precise data on the question.

Use of teachers as leaders in the Cuban School to the
Countryside scheme and Tanzania's self-reliance schools

has been one means of filling the personnel gap. Another
has been the inclusion of seasoned workers (carpenters,
bricklayers, electricians) in Cuba's Centennial Youth Co-
lumns to provide vocational training, apparently on a 1:1
ratio.[37] A third method, used in the Tanzanian National
Youth Service, has been to assign educated youths leader-
ship tasks in projects mobilising less favoured youngsters.

Ill effects of leadership shortages are also mitigated
by the introduction of organs of self-management, which
also considered to have pedagogical advantages. The Cuban
School to the Countryside, "with its problems of living
together in the camps, initiates the students, in a con-
crete form, into organizational practices and self-govern-
ment on the basis of group cooperation and work..."[31]

ii) Training

Personnel in the mass pattern do not appear to receive
systematic special training to enable them to organize or
lead programmes of participation by youth in development.
In some cases, it may be felt--or assumed--that the job
can be learnt by doing it. Where participation has been
included in the school curriculum, on the other hand, pre-
paration of teachers has been modified in such a way that
it increasingly resembles youth leader training. In Tanzania,
future teachers are required to have done a stint of National
Service before entering training, while in Cuba the simple
conditions and dedicated atmosphere in which teacher train-
ing itself takes place are reminiscent of those obtaining
in youth movements.

e) Financing Trends

The heavy structure and light structure approaches
appear to co-exist in the mass pattern, sometimes within
the same programme. One particularly salient trend is the
attempt to make the principle of programme self-sufficiency
a reality.

i) Expenditure

The coexistence of heavy structure and light structure is a characteristic of the multifaceted efforts made to involve Cuban youth in development. While the Centennial Youth Columns often dispose of heavy equipment of various kinds, constituting self-contained mobile construction teams, other programmes have no equipment at all and are designed to supply supplementary manpower to already existing enterprises that have their own equipment. This is the case, for instance, of the Aracelio Iglesias Youth Brigade, whose members work part-time unloading freighters in the port of Havana.

Both "heavy" and "light" approaches coexist within the School to the Countryside programme and the Tanzanian National Youth Service. Under the former, some teams seem to be based in "modern buildings" [35] /Tr.: "edificios modernos"/ while others are described as living "in camps." [31] In Tanzania, some National Service members work with the programme's own machinery while others are seconded to other administrations, reducing the Service's outlay to the cost of uniform and kit.

ii) Resources

In the mass pattern, the tendency is for funds to be almost wholly national in origin. In principle at least, provision is often made for the contribution of participation programmes in planning at the local (enterprise and community), provincial and/or country levels, although unforeseen lags in production in certain sectors not included in planning may require the emergency dispatch of volunteer labour on short notice.

It is, naturally, assumed that global benefits of participation programmes outstrip their global costs--an assumption dealt with in the last section of this paper. Of special importance in the mass pattern is an attempt-- in some programmes--to achieve partial if not total self-

financing through productive activities. In some instances,
this is done through shifting of existing resources within
the total economy. Thus, the salaries of Tanzanian National
Servicemen assigned to government departments do not revert
to their employers (by reason of their only receiving sub-
sistence allowances) but instead paid to the Service.[38]
When a young member of the Ruvuma Development Association
(a village-to-village Tanzanian programme) leaves his ujamaa
community to assist another, the recipient village transfers
"one of its own villagers to fill the place of the absent
'teacher'."[39]

A means of striving for financial autonomy at the pro-
ject level is to grow crops for participants' consumption.
This is done in many Cuban Schools to the Countryside[40],
and among Tanzania's self-reliance schools it is reported
that "most are moving towards self-sufficiency in the pro-
duction of food."[34]

f) Impact on Development

In the mass pattern, the global impact of youth's
participation in local and national development is very
considerable. In Cuba, youngsters involved in just two among
several programmes--the School to the Countryside scheme
and Youth Centennial Brigades--seem to account, according
to the writer's calculations, for an amount of work equi-
valent to nearly two percent of that furnished by all the
country's workers and farmers in regular employment.[41]
Thanks largely to youthful volunteers, illiteracy among
Cuban adults was reduced from 23.6% to 3.9%[42], while
self-reliance schools in Tanzania are both contributing
to agricultural growth in numerous communities and increa-
singly meeting their own food needs. In institutional
terms, the inclusion of participation programmes in the
school curriculum has brought about a radical overhaul
of formal education, bringing it more closely into allign-
ment with development needs as these are interpreted by

the national leadership in the framework of its ideology.

On the other hand, the very massiveness of programmes, and the speed with which they have been created, have engendered a host of new problems. Shortages of appropriately trained organizers may be responsible for occasional logistical confusion and supervisory inadequacies. These drawbacks seem to have led (contributed), in turn, to creating a degree of inefficiency and unproductivity that is all the more serious in view of the key rôle of youthful manpower in the economy of mass pattern countries.

In sum, the mass pattern mobilises a substantial portion of a nation's youth in local and national development; but its solution of the "participation problem" in quantitative terms throws into sharp relief the need for participation of a high quality.

IV. THREE ISSUES

From the preceding, it should be obvious that as the Second Development Decade begins a characteristic common to all patterns of participation by youth in development is uncertainty. It would be hard indeed to predict how different schemes will grow and change in the ten years to come. A more fruitful line of speculation seeks to identify major continuing issues, answers to which will enhance or inhibit--but in any event condition--the future development of programmes.

Now raised are three such issues, which have been little dealt with in international comparative literature: political problems, assumptions about the complementarity of education and production in most schemes; and the relationship of costs to benefits. These are not the only major issues emerging from participation programmes, to be sure; but they figure undeniably among the most important major issues.

1) Political Problems

Because they relate so closely to national aspirations, motivations and sovereignity, political problems of participation programmes are both crucial and difficult to discuss in a broadly international context, and crucial to any broadly international discussion in this field. Two problems are judged by the consultant to merit special scrutiny: the degree of overt political commitment appropriate for participation programmes, and the implicit political function fulfilled by programmes.

a) What Degree of Commitment?

This question may conveniently be examined by setting up two poles, which somewhat exaggerate the actual (more complex) situation. While the second pole (ideological commitment) overlaps with the mass pattern, both it and the first pole (political neutrality) may be found in variants of the pilot and transition patterns.

i) Political neutrality

Advocates of a neutral rôle for schemes of participation by youth development postulate a politically pluralistic society. In such a context, young people are expected to work for development benefitting all tendencies of the nation, and not one sector alone. In a sense, youth participants in development are thus assimilated to civil servants, i.e. they are viewed as apolitical technicians. This holds true, of course, for government-sponsored schemes, but also, in some cases, where non-governmental schemes receive state support. In Malaysia, for example, the Cabinet has directed the Ministry responsible for youth to "See that grants-in-aid are given only to non-political organizations..."[17]

This is no academic issue, for there have been instances of organized youth service corps being used as sources

of patronage (through placement of constituents) and support (in canvassing at election time). Partisans of a neutral stance for such bodies react strongly to such cases and urge that care be taken "to avoid exploitation for political purposes." (43)

It should be stressed that neutral programmes are not conceived of under the neutral concept as _unpolitical_. Although not political in a partisan sense, they are viewed as schools for civic awakening and commitment.

ii) Ideological commitment

Believers in an ideologically committed rôle for programmes of youth participation in development pre-suppose a nation unified around a single philosophy. For them, development is a political as much as (if not more than) a technical process; furthermore, there can be but one politically correct line with regard to development-- generally favouring the least privileged--, as far as advocates of the committed stance are concerned. To participate in development is to be in the vanguard of adherants of that line.

Neutrality and apoliticism, in this view, only slow the pace and damage the kind of development the leadership is seeking to achieve in the name of the nation. A major concern of organizers of ideologically committed programmes is, then, to increase rather than decrease the politicisation of participants in a partisan sense. As a consequence, one of their greatest problems seems to be to arouse commitment among apathetic youth, and youth not in agreement with the dominant ideology.

It must be emphasised that ideologically committed programmes do not seek to school their participants in totally unquestioning obedience. Prime Minister Castro has defined his position on this question as follows: "Criticism, yes--but not work in the service of the enemy or of the counterrevolution." (44)

* * *

Is there no way of reconciling these two schools of thought on the degree of commitment appropriate for participation programmes? Probably not, since each is related to a larger view of political processes, and of society as a whole, and because these views are mutually contradictory.

On the other hand, it may usefully be suggested that extremes at either end of the commitment scale can be counterproductive. Excessive zeal in--say--recruitment by an ideologically committed organization can lead to widespread alienation and disaffection of youth, just as a programme that meticulously avoids all political discussion (or closes its eyes to the political implications of its work) will probably be unable to arouse or sustain the enthusiasm even of the most active sector of the youth population.

b) What Implicit Political Function?

Barely overstated, the question here is: shall participation in development serve chiefly to integrate youth into society on society's terms or to change society according to youth's lights? This may not seem a dilemma in countries where cabinet ministers are under 30 years of age; in most places the problem remains intact, however.

From the integrationist point of view, service programmes are means of political socialisation, i.e. of motivating and enabling youth to accept and to work within the major options of society in terms of adults' goals, values and institutions. Faced with youth's rebellious urges, integrationists have recourse (among other ways "of channelling off these energies")[45] to "hard physical work with the spade or pick, in the service of the community..."[45]

Opposing this point of view are advocates of the concept that youth participation in development should

always call the existing adult society's options into
question. This can be done in a variety of ways. Whether intended
to by its organizers or not, participation in develop-
ment can have a radicalising effect, particularly when,
through it, educated urban youth come into contact with
rural realities for the first time. (46) The choice of
tasks carried out can also be made in such a way as to
stress creation of new relationships and structures
rather than the maintenance (albeit in improved form)
of the old ones.

However it is achieved, change rather than continuity
is the focus of this point of view. At a recent meeting
of one South American body sponsoring participation pro-
jects, "Everybody agreed that it is necessary to safeguard
voluntary service as an element of change and to try to
avoid--by all means--/that it/ becomes an element of sleep-
iness or taming." (47)

*   *   *

Is a compromise possible between these two views of
the appropriate implicit functions of participation pro-
grammes? To be sure, youngsters in integrationist pro-
grammes do change society in some small measure, while
participants in change-oriented projects undergo--like
it or not--a process of socialisation within the larger
society. But it seems unlikely for a given organization to
have, as equal and co-existing functions, the integration
of youth into existing society and the radical modifi-
cation of that society. The most one can say, perhaps,
is that the problem is posed anew in each situation and
with each generation, and is solved (or not solved)
accordingly.

2) <u>Education</u> <u>and</u> <u>Production</u>: <u>Convergence or Divergence</u>?

Nearly all programmes of participation by youth in development have, as we saw in the "Aims and Activities" aspect of each pattern considered in the previous part of this paper, two broad goals: to <u>educate</u> (and/or train) participants, and to enable participants to contribute to development (through what can be generally termed <u>pro-</u> <u>ductive</u> <u>activities</u>). Education and production appear in varying combinations, but both are nearly always present in the intentions of participants as well as organizers.

There is, in fact, a widespread assumption that these two aspects of participation programmes are complementary in some measure, either because (at very least) they do not detract one from the other, or because (more often) they are mutually reinforcing. In ILO's Proposed Recommendation concerning Special Youth Employment and Training Schemes for Development Purposes /Tr.: Projet de recommendation concernant les programmes spéciaux d'emploi et de formation de la jeunesse en vue du développement/, for example, criteria for selecting work projects appear to presume complementarity between the "potential contribution to expansion of economic activity" /Tr.: "contribution que ces travaux pourraient apporter en vue de développer l'activité économique"/, on one hand, and, on the other, "training value..." [48] /Tr.: "valeur de formation"/ The same assumed complementarity, viewed from the participants' standpoint, is palpable in the slogan of Burma's student service programme: "Serve yourself best by serving others!" [49]

How does this critical assumption stand up to closer scrutiny? To find out, one may examine and compare, successively, some basic elements of a programme making for an optimally educational activity and some basic elements

making for an optimally productive activity, and then
draw a conclusion.

a) <u>Optimum Education</u>

The criteria for a successful educational programme,
which reflect the virtues of most out-of-school education,
may be subdivided into two areas: criteria regarding
group life, and pedagogical criteria.

Group life (residential or not) demands a desire to
participate in a joint effort, which presupposes: a modi-
cum of self-discipline; an ability to compromise; and a
willingness to accept and/or give leadership.

Among pedagogical criteria, one can single out: the
opportunity to meet a physical challenge; to take part
in an interesting and varied experience (i.e. to be intel-
lectually and emotionally stimulated); to have a relevant
experience (i.e. one that takes place at the centre of the
most pressing problems facing one's country); the chance
to learn (e.g. information, skills) and mature (through the
acquisition of new attitudes and behaviour patterns); and
the possibility to take part in formulating and making
major decisions concerning the nature and amount of acti-
vities to be carried out.

These criteria, it should be noted, define themselves
in terms of the individuals taking part. One may posit,
then, that to achieve an optimal educational result, a
project should be organized with the participant as focal
point. The educationally successful project is likely to
be participant-centred.

b) <u>Optimum Production</u>

The criteria for a successful work project, which are
similar to those for most jobs using chiefly inexperienced
labour, may also be subdivided into two areas: criteria
regarding group life, and efficiency criteria.

Requirements for successful team, brigade, club or
camp in work projects are very similar to those for group

life in an educational endeavour. In this respect edu-
cation and production criteria coincide in programmes of
youth participation in development.

The picture is not so clear, however, when one compares
pedagogical criteria and efficiency criteria, largely
because the later vary widely with different kinds of
work projects. Those mobilising educated youngsters as
teachers, for example, are different from those where
unschooled youth dig ditches.

Generally, work projects do require considerable phy-
sical output from participants, both when they are doing
manual labour and when they are investing their energies
intensively in a non-manual task (sometimes while living
at a subsistence level). Here, there is overlap with the
"physical challenge"criterion of successful education.

While some jobs are intellectually and emotionally sti-
mulating, many--particularly manual labour and work not
involving frequent and/or changing human contacts--are
dull and monotonous. On this point, then, there is some
divergence between criteria for optimal education and
optimal production. The same holds true for the "relevance"
criterion. Some jobs involve youth in tasks of top na-
tional priority, such as all-out literacy drives, pilot
farms, etc. In many instances, however, the highest
priority tasks are done with regular means, and the
contribution of special youth schemes is often reserved for
jobs that, although not "made work," are not of suffi-
cient urgency to warrant intervention by normal methods.

Maturation surely takes place in work projects, as does
the transmission of information and skills. Although this
transmission is informal--a kind of osmosis--it can be
a valuable means of vocational training if one is to
believe a current trend in economic thought. (50) On the
other hand, the need for efficiency prevents work projects
from being centred on maturation or training, and what

growth of attitudes and behaviour, and transfer of in-
formation and skills, take place do so unintentionally,
fortuitiously. Once again, then, there is divergence
between educational and productive criteria.

The same gap is visible in the decision-making process.
While successful pedagogy elicits and ensures youth's par
ticipation in policy making and self-government, the cri-
terion of efficient production generally requires them to
accept externally determined targets and norms, although
there can be some latitude for self-management within the
framework of these guidelines.

In sum, it is clear from the foregoing that while op-
timal education tends to be learner-centred, optimal pro-
duction is task-centred.

c) Conclusion

From the above comparison, which has been somewhat
overdrawn for the sake of clarity, it is apparent that
the assumption of complementarity between education and
production in programmes of participation by youth in de-
velopment is only partly borne out. Indeed, one may hypo-
thesise that, in many cases, there is an inverse proportion
between effective education and efficient production. In
some situations and at some times, this has been realised
and taken into account in priority-setting. "Why," asked
Che Guevara in 1964, "do we stress voluntary work so much?
Economically, it means almost nothing; volunteers, inclu-
ding those who go to cut sugarcane, which is the most im-
portant task they carry out from the economic point of view,
aren't giving /good/ results." (51) /Tr.: Por qué insistimos
tanto en el trabajo voluntario? Económicamente significa
casi nada; los voluntarios, incluso que van a cortar caña,
que es la tarea más importante que realizan desde el punto
de vista económico, no dan resultado./ The important thing,
he said, was that volunteering constituted a school for the
new concepts of human relationships and work that were being

learnt by the Cuban people.

Concepts can evolve, of course: in present-day Cuba, for example, the stress appears to fall more on achieving higher productivity than on carrying out ideological education. Whatever the time, place or trend of evolution, however, a balance between education and production must be struck. That choices concerning this balance must be made with the full awareness that, to some extent, optimal education and optimal production are mutually exclusive functions is the suggestion of this section of the present paper.

The next--and final--section deals with the economic constraints that condition the above-mentioned choices: the costs and benefits of programmes for participation by youth in development.

3) Costs and Benefits

The close of the First Development Decade was marked by a diversity of judgments within as well as outside the UN system--concerning the efficacy of programmes for participation by youth in development. On one hand, a 1970 study of Long-Term and Programmes for Youth in National Development affirmed that "Whatever the arguments against national youth service programmes... it can hardly be denied that so far they represent one of the most effective measures for bringing large numbers of young people without jobs or without a goal to grips with the problems of national development." (52) On the other hand, a 1971 report on New Trends in Service by Youth (10) points to a levelling off of many programmes at a rather symbolic stage, while a 1970 ILO document explains this levelling off by pointing out "that the cost, the relative expensiveness of youth services, is generally held to be the reason why governments hesitate to expand them on any large scale." (53)

It is likely, then, that the development of partici-
pation programmes in the 1970's will be largely conditioned
by the precision with which costs and benefits of different
kinds can be calculated, and by the force with which they
can be made known to appropriate authorities and agencies.

Two kinds of cost-benefit analysis are useful in this
context: internal analysis, and comparative analysis.

a) Internal Costs and Benefits

The internal cost-benefit ratio is found by comparing
the per capita money value of all expenditures (capital;
recurring; and opportunity costs--i.e. what one could have
earned had one not been involved in the activity under
consideration) with the value of benefits accruing from
programmes (including both production of goods and ser-
vices and the value of education and training received
in terms of prospects for higher wages).(For information
on analysis techniques, readers are referred to the
methodological study by E. Costa mentioned in note nº 53).

To date, little methodical internal cost-benefit work
on youth participation programmes has been made available--
indicating perhaps either that little has been done, or
that at least some of what has been done is negative. What
public documentation there is, however, suggests that youth
participation programmes of various kinds are successful
even in the fairly narrow economic terms outlined above.
If less readily quantifiable benefits could be added, such
as ethical and citizenship training, the present writer
feels that the cost-benefit ratio would be still more
favourable.

A 1969 analysis of unpaid labour in Cuba, a great part
of which is composed of youth participation, came to a
positive conclusion.

It should be noted that this study did not cover
certain widespread forms of spare time voluntary service

in which costs are minimal; nor did it attempt to quantify
the value of training and education accruing from parti-
cipation in development. In terms of wage savings alone,
then, and despite problems of productivity, "the total
product contributed by Cuba's unpaid labor seems to be
greater than its operational costs plus its alternative
costs, thus resulting in net product." (32)

An similar analysis of the Kenya National Youth Service
yielded like conclusions. Specifically, expenditure per
man and per year (including foreign aid as well as na-
tional outlay) was found to total US$ 675.36, while bene-
fits (derived overwhelmingly from training provided rather
than from the actual production) were calculated to equal
US$ 809.19. (54)

Great care must be exercised in generalising from such
limited data. If the above quoted cases are at all repre-
sentative, however, one may hypothesise that internal be-
nefits tend to outstrip internal costs of participation of
youth in development both at the national level (cf. the
Cuba study) and at the programme level (cf. the Kenya study).
Further study is sorely needed to test this hypothesis in
other countries, and at an internationally comparative
level.

b) Comparative Costs and Benefits

Even if the hypothesis is borne out, however, internal
ratios alone are unlikely to influence decision-makers
greatly. They will want to know, rather, how the cost-benefit
ratios of different types of participation programmes com-
pare with those of alternative means of achieving the same
aims and fulfilling the same functions, whence the need
for an examination of comparative costs and benefits.

As indicated under point (b) of each of the patterns
outlined earlier ("Aims and Activities"), the chief aims
and functions of participation programmes are--first--to

offer informal training and education for personal deve-
lopment, and--secondly--to facilitate an immediate pro-
ductive contribution to society. A comparative cost-benefit
analysis must, therefore, evaluate participation programmes
in terms of the main other institutions seeking to achieve
the same ends and fulfill the same functions. From point
(c) of each pattern ("Relation to School and Work"), it
emerged that these institutions fall under the headings of
formal education and organized employment.

To the consultant's knowledge, no co -benefit compa-
rison between participation programmes, employment and
schooling carried out on the basis of empirical data at
the national--much less international--level has yet been
published. Yet Identification and solution of the issues
arising from such a comparative analysis would be of great
value. They would in particular, help policy-makers to
define appropriate rôles for programmes of participation,
in relation to other institutions, in the framework of
global and concerted national planning and action for
education and production.

Preliminary speculation (and common sense) suggests
that there are no clearcut cost-benefit differences appli-
cable to all forms of youth participation in development
compared with regular schooling and work. Costs of part-
time voluntary service are considerably lower than those
of schools or enterprises, for instance, but so is output
in terms of both educational impact and production of
goods or services.

On the other hand, it appears that many programmes of
participation of youth in development have distinct ad-
vantages over alternative institutions. (55)

The Ethiopian University Service is a case in point.
Outlay per student-year at Ethiopia's Haile Selassie I Uni-
versity has been estimated at Eth.$7,500. (56) In contrast,

a year in the Ethiopian University Service serve-and-
learn scheme has been calculated to cost Eth.$2,250. [57]
Assuming that opportunity costs are equal (which is logi-
cal) and that the educational value of a year of service
is only one-third that of a year on campus (probably a low
figure), the two operations yield a roughly equal result
per dollar invested. And this assessment does not take
into account, under the benefit heading, the value of
services rendered by participants in the programme as
teachers, community development workers, para-medical
aides, etc.

Reckoning conservatively, it seems fair to hypothesise
that programmes for participation of youth in local and
national development are probably not significantly more
efficient in educating or producing than (respectively)
either school or organized employment. Judged as a single
alternative to (and combination of) both, however, they
may present distinct advantages.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to describe and analyse the situation and trends of youth's participation in local and national development on the threshold of the Second Development Decade.

The paper has pointed to the vast potential for youth's participation in development, and it has attempted to identify three major national patterns of youth involvement in development.

It has been stressed that each pattern displays advantages and disadvantages. Thus, while the pilot pattern shows what can be done to mobilise youth in the solution of at least some problems of less developed countries, its results tend to be very symbolic. The transition pattern involves a minority of youth--sometimes in decisive fashion--in the solution of certain development problems, but at a high enough cost to place further rapid expansion in doubt at this time. The mass pattern mobilises a substantial proportion of youth in development, although the quality of participation may sometimes be in doubt.

Three crucial issues, the resolution of which will affect the evolution of participation systems in the 1970's, have also been raised in the paper. What degree of political commitment is appropriate for programmes, and what kind of implicit political function? Do the educational and productive functions and results of programmes converge or diverge? What are the internal costs and benefits of programmes, and how do costs and benefits compare with those of alternative means of achieving the same goals?

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

This study has made a number of priorities (for the 1970's) clear to the writer. Some of these points emerged in the process of preparing the study; others should be apparent from the text itself. In conclusion, four priority areas are presented in summary form. Contrary to the approach followed so far in this document, certain clear judgements will be made in what follows.

In the conception and preparation of programmes, assumptions about the relationship of means to goals are not always made clear and tested and analysed, as they should be, and often they remain implicit, vague and confused. It is, for example, sometimes

assumed that almost "any" mobilisation of young people will "some-
how" contribute to development, citizenship training and a series
of other ill-defined objectives.

The relation of participation systems to concepts and machinery
for planning is also often neglected. What are the special implica-
tions and requirements for planning of programmes of youth partici-
pation in development? For integrating such programmes with planning
in related areas--such as education, manpower development, employ-
ment--and with global national planning? Lipservice is increasingly
given to the need for planning in this field, but the need is seldom
met, in part because responsible authorities are not sufficiently
convinced of its value.

Very little thorough, periodic and systematic evaluation of
programmes' progress (or lack thereof) is carried out. There is
insufficient awareness of the imperative need for such evaluation,
partly because of the difficulty of establishing appropriate economic,
social, political and other criteria for evaluation. Also lacking are
methods and mechanisms for carrying out evaluation, and--equally im-
portant--for ensuring that the results of evaluation help guide
efforts to improve programmes.

Finally, there has been little effort to determine the optimal
contribution of the UN to enhancement of youth's participation in de-
velopment. Part of the problem is to identify the areas in which
international aid can be of most use: conception, planning and
evaluation? What other areas? Also, what are the most efficient
tools--meetings? studies? experts? others?--and combinations of tools?
Crucial to the success of international aid would be the elaboration
of a well-coordinated, high-priority inter-agency effort in this
field, perhaps for the entire Second Development Decade. Such an
effort should be based on the priorities of national youth partici-
pation programmes as those priorities relate to those of the Decade
itself.

The 1971 symposium on Youth's Participation in the Second Decade could
perform a most useful service by urging the UN system to undertake
such a joint effort.

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