

RESTRICTED

E/CEPAL/R.312

19 April 1982

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

C E P A L

Economic Commission for Latin America



THE PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS
OF LATIN AMERICA: PROBLEMS AND POLICIES REGARDING
LABOUR FORCE INSERTION, EDUCATION AND
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ★

*/ This document has been prepared by Mr. Henry Kirsch, Social Development Officer of the Social Development Division of CEPAL. The opinions expressed in this paper are the exclusive responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the organization to which he is attached.

82-4-812

Table of contents

	<u>Page</u>
A. INTRODUCTION.....	1
B. YOUTH AS A CATEGORY OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND OBJECT OF POLICY AND PLANNING.....	2
C. INSERTION OF YOUTH INTO THE LABOUR FORCE: PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE TRENDS.....	8
D. UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH....	15
E. EDUCATION AND THE RANGE OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH.....	25

/A. INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTION

After a period of relative neglect the issue of the specific problems of "youth" is gaining preeminence again in both developed and developing nations. In the closing years of the seventies this concern was particularly evident in the industrialized north. Experts have produced a significant body of literature, policy-makers have given the theme considerable reevaluation and international organizations have regularly incorporated it into the body of resolutions adopted at their major assemblies.^{1/} This resurgence of interest in the problems of youth has spread most recently to Latin America as a consequence of the alarm at the exceptionally high rates of unemployment among youth, extensive school desertion, increased delinquency and increasing rejection of the existing social order by young people in the secondary and higher levels of education in certain countries of the region. Empirical research on youth, however, is still one of the least developed fields of the analysis of social development in Latin America. Consequently any survey on youth at the present is bound to be incomplete, provisional and partly incorrect.

The following pages examine the situation and needs of youth in Latin America from three vantage points: youth as a category of analysis and object of policy and planning; the insertion of youth into the labour force and the interaction between education and employment possibilities.^{2/}

^{1/} After having discussed policies and programmes relating to youth for several sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, International Youth Year has been announced for 1985. The OECD has held high level conferences on youth unemployment and programmes related to education, training and employment of young people have been implemented in Australia, Canada, Japan, the United States and most European countries. See: OECD, Entry of Young People into Working Life (Paris, 1977) and Youth Unemployment (Paris, 1978), Council of Europe Youth and Employment in Europe (Strasbourg, 1979) - Eli Grinberg "Youth Unemployment" in Scientific American, 242:5 (May 1980).

^{2/} Elsewhere the participation of youth in terms of stability and change of social and political systems in Latin America is dealt with.

B. YOUTH AS A CATEGORY OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND OBJECT OF
POLICY AND PLANNING

For analytical purposes the question of the problems facing the full participation of youth in the development process of Latin America still encounters a major conceptual hurdle to be overcome. This consists in the selection of an adequate definition of youth. Does the conventional approach of considering as youth those between the ages of 15 and 24 years of age represent a satisfactory solution? Of course, for some kinds of analysis and for statistical purposes it is useful; but for a study directed at the implications for social policy formulation, how adequate is such a concept? On the whole, in the developed nations "youth" as a concept has pretty much been taken for granted. Although most sociologists recognize that youth is a variable and multidimensional phenomenon, studies have tended not to pursue this question about the variability of the concept of youth.^{3/}

If the definition by age is rejected on the grounds that it does not constitute a real social group, how can youth be described? There is a vast array of possible criteria and combinations of criteria which range from certain biological changes to considerations of the aims and values of the political system for defining youth. Though obvious, this is often forgotten and is worth mentioning here. The problem is complicated still further by the fact that the various criteria overlap and are only partly distinguishable from each other. The psychological and social changes that may be used to define youth are to a certain extent related to biological changes, while the latter too may be influenced by social environment. In this context it is important to look upon youth from a sociological rather than biological perspective. This approach views youth as grouped mainly into two subjects -adolescence and young adulthood- defined by attitudinal systems and behaviour patterns related to a position in society. Any special population group linked to age

^{3/} Leopold Rosenmayr and Klaus Allerbeck "Youth and Society" in Current Sociology, 27:2/3 (1979), p.9.

/status, particularly

status, particularly childhood, youth and old age relate to biological facts yet are structured by social forces.^{4/} Consequently, there is some advantage in accepting the set of criteria contained in Carlota Bubler's definition of youth as an intermediate period which begins with the acquisition of physiological maturity and ends with that of social maturity, in other words the assumption of the sexual, economic, legal and social rights and responsibilities of the adult.

This working definition indicates that the start and the length of the period of youth varies considerably. The duration, position or quality of youth (adolescence and young adulthood) depends upon the systems of production, their technological and economic tasks, and on the training and education needed to perform these tasks. Youth is further determined by the ideologies, the aims and values of the political system and by access to these conceptual and interpretative structures through education. It is a product of societal reproduction as well as a force in social change or social transformation. The degree to which young people cleave to reproductive channels or pursue paths of transformation, depends on the particular historical constellation, on the class structure and on the degree of freedom they are able to obtain and handle within a given social system.^{5/} The period of youth is affected by the level of national development and differs widely from one social group to another. It is very long among the middle and upper strata especially in highly developed societies, shorter among workers, much curtailed among marginal urban groups and often considered to be practically non-existent among peasants.

^{4/} Given the increasing attention of the United Nations to age-related special population groups, e.g. childhood, youth, the aged, Leopold Rosenmayr's basis for a conceptualization of age which combines sociology, social history and depth psychology in one interdisciplinary network is relevant: "Age is a socially and individually produced artefact, interacting with biological premises, and corresponding to the differentiated forces of society which express themselves through forms of production and the division of labour and through informative cultural transmission, communicative processes and political power, which thus act as a definite normative challenge to the individual". *Ibid.* p.37.

^{5/} *Ibid.* p.17.

The question has been posed whether young members of some groups of the urban and rural lower strata constitute a generational group with identifiable problems and attitudes because their transition from childhood to full adult responsibilities is so brief and early.^{6/} Nonetheless, it must also be remembered that very large proportions of the young people from rural-agricultural families in Latin America continue to migrate to urban settings and that many who stay in the countryside no longer follow the traditional early transition to adult labour and family formation by the combined rural processes of modernization, salarization and marginalization.^{7/}

For policy-making purposes the different subsets of youth-adolescence and young adulthood- represent groups in themselves with different environments and needs. But it is just as important to recognize that particularly in Latin America policy-oriented analysis and planning for youth must derive from due consideration to the fact that the conditions and issues concerning them do not constitute a problem pertaining exclusively to them, but reflect the problems of the societies in which they are inserted. Accordingly, these conditions must be analyzed in the framework of the overall process of economic development, social and political change in the region with particular reference to the social, economic, cultural, linguistic and ethnic characteristics which together form the basis for identification of concrete, meaningful social groups existing under the catch-all umbrella of the general population category referred to as "youth".

^{6/} See Adolfo Gurrieri, et.al. Estudios sobre la juventud marginal latinoamericana (Editorial Siglo XXI, México, 1971). A detailed of an extreme urban situation of Colombia, street children and adolescents (known as "gamin") is to be found in Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda et.al. El Gamin: su albergue social y su familia (UNICEF, Bogotá, 1978).

^{7/} See Luis Jünemann, Expectativas migratorias de la juventud campesina (PREALC, 1979).

/Although the

Although the problems, specifically generation gap differences, are relevant, youth is by no means a monolithic group. If true that for certain purposes generalizations on given issues which are valid for Latin America as a whole may be made, the concept of a Latin American youth has limited applicability. This is also pertinent within countries but may occasionally be lost sight of in the conventional listing by international organizations of priorities for programmes of measures and activities for youth.^{8/} Although in principle another reality is recognized, in practice the actual formulation of guidelines for national and international action adheres to the more expedient perspective of a common perception of interests and needs which bind youth together. It is more plausible, however, that as International Youth Year approaches and the issue of youth receives worldwide attention as another major problem of development, small but articulate, vociferous and relatively well-contacted groups claiming the representation of their generation will bring to the forefront of national attention the demands of their specific social strata giving only lipservice and obtaining only piecemeal or mere showcase solutions, for the weak and in conventional social terms, disorganized youth of the marginal segments of society. It is likely to become increasingly clear that not only is the objective situation different but the extent of common bonds between the indigenous youth of the Andean Highlands and those of the metropolitan centres of Colombia, Peru and Venezuela is questionable as is the degree of shared perception of interests and needs of rural youth in Mexico and Brazil with those of Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro or the depth of solidarity existing among the young people of the poorest and marginal areas of cities with their middle and upper strata counterparts who actively participate in official youth organizations.

^{8/} See United Nations International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace. Report of the Secretary-General (A/36/215) 19 June 1981.

Both in terms of establishing policy-oriented analytical constructs of youth and in the identification of those who occupy the various youth roles; the role of the state should not be overlooked. Age-groups and their position in society depend on the overall governmental system of social distribution that is on whether and in which way public funds are spent, of priorities are defined concerning schools, universities, youth centres, youth movements, youth-oriented employment policy, social security schemes etc... Roles are influenced to a significant extent by socio-political decisions. In this regard the French sociologist Nicole Abboud, who has studied the importance of the role of the state in the segregation of young people before the appearance of rebellion and revolt in the late sixties in France, has made the following observation: the greater the state's ability to bring about a political consensus in society, the less advanced is the politization of social practice in various institutions, and the less can "youth" be said to exist as an active social category in the overall context of the political organization of society and also as an ideological theme.^{9/} Abboud sustains that an example of such a situation is provided by France between the two world wars. Young people did not exist as a separate social factor. The political organizations and religious groups all had their "youth" movements. The more the state endeavoured to "organize political and cultural life around it", the more youth was reduced to a mere "age group". According to Abboud this is the origin of the real "alienation of youth". She contends that in the technocratic-neocapitalist system prevailing in France up to 1967 young workers were placed in a category of youth which was viewed in completely abstract and empty terms and had no practical political relevance; in this way an attempt was made to consolidate a "false consciousness of belonging to a single "age group". This raises the question of the appropriate mode of state action in the process of providing social services and

^{9/} Rosenmayer and Allerbeck, "Youth and Society", op.cit., p.39.

the difficulties to be found in the definition and implementation of bureaucratic organization in the field of youth and participating models of action.

If this brief critique of past "conventional wisdom" has some validity for examining the precise role of the state as an organizing force vis-a-vis, the realities of the stratification of youth and the requirements, potentialities and limitations of effective participation in the case of Latin America, it is just as essential not to uncritically adopt the analytical categories employed by the developed nations nor the policy measures adopted by them to confront the problems of youth. Undoubtedly, their experience and conceptual developments can serve as useful points of reference and perhaps even as models for given problems of youth from a specific socio-cultural strata in certain countries; in other cases the situation will be entirely different. Moreover, the well-known structural heterogeneity prevailing in Latin American societies magnifies the different situations among youth stemming from stratificational, cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity. It is thus not a matter of simply adopting the typology of youth with special needs and problems often used in contemporary developed market societies into hard core unemployed, underprivileged young workers and rebellious alienated students in institutions of higher education.

In this context it is worthwhile to recall the observations of José Medina Echavarría:

"No cabe duda que algunas de las cuestiones examinadas y de los puntos discutidos en relación con las sociedades industriales pueden valer y aceptarse sin más en sus orientaciones para algunos de nuestros países; otros, en cambio, muy lejos todavía de esa situación, presentan un panorama juvenil completamente diverso. El estudio de la juventud latinoamericana plantea en forma visible y dramática lo que se ofrece asimismo en otros problemas; la exigencia de superar los lugares comunes y de entregarse de lleno a la busca de la realidad, una realidad cuya peculiar contextura induce a sospechar que no puede ser captada por las categorías heredadas ni éstas ser tomadas sin modificación de otros medios más avanzados o -lo que sería peor- más atrasados todavía".^{10/}

^{10/} José Medina Echavarría, Filosofía, educación y desarrollo, Santiago, ILPES, 1970 (second edition), p.248.

C. INSERTION OF YOUTH INTO THE LABOUR FORCE:
PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE TRENDS

One of the striking features of Latin American labour force is the high proportion of youth in it (Figure 1). In 1970 one-third of the economically active population was comprised of young people between 10-24 years of age (Table 1). This situation is in strong contrast to the situation in developed parts of the world and is even more accentuated for the rural labour force. Youth economic activity is the highest in the female labour force. The importance of participation of young women in the labour force becomes even more apparent as future trends by country are examined according to adolescent (ages 15-19) or young adult (ages 20-24) economic activity.

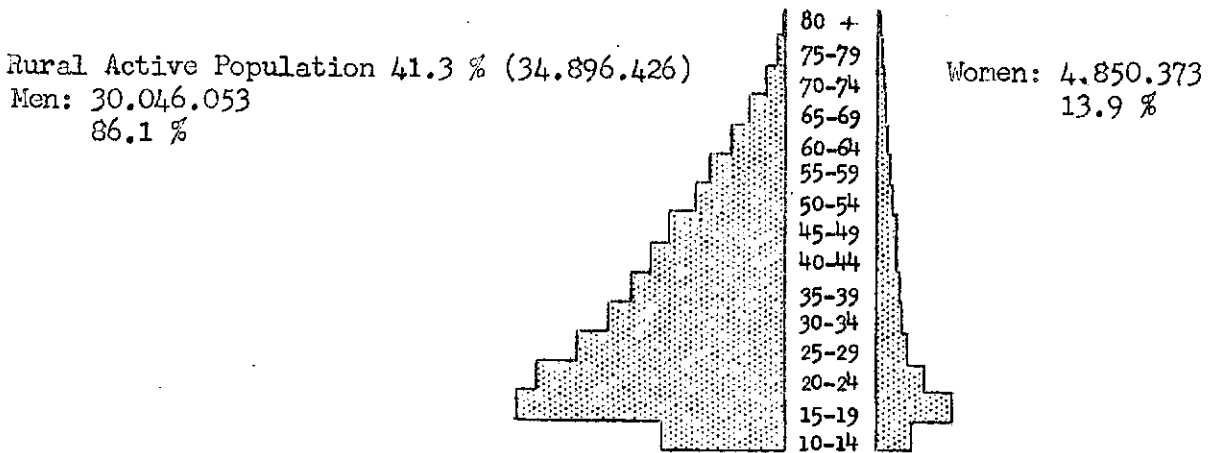
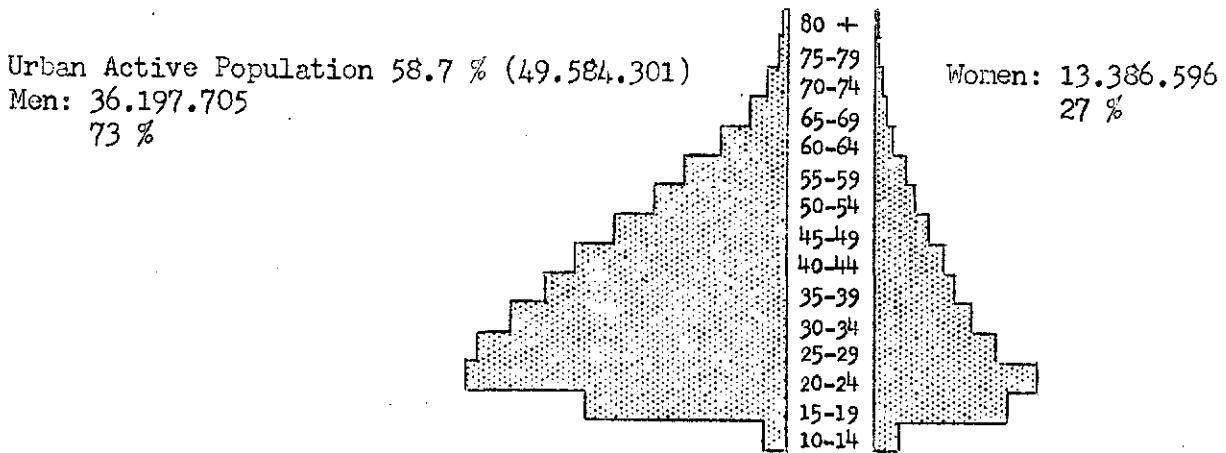
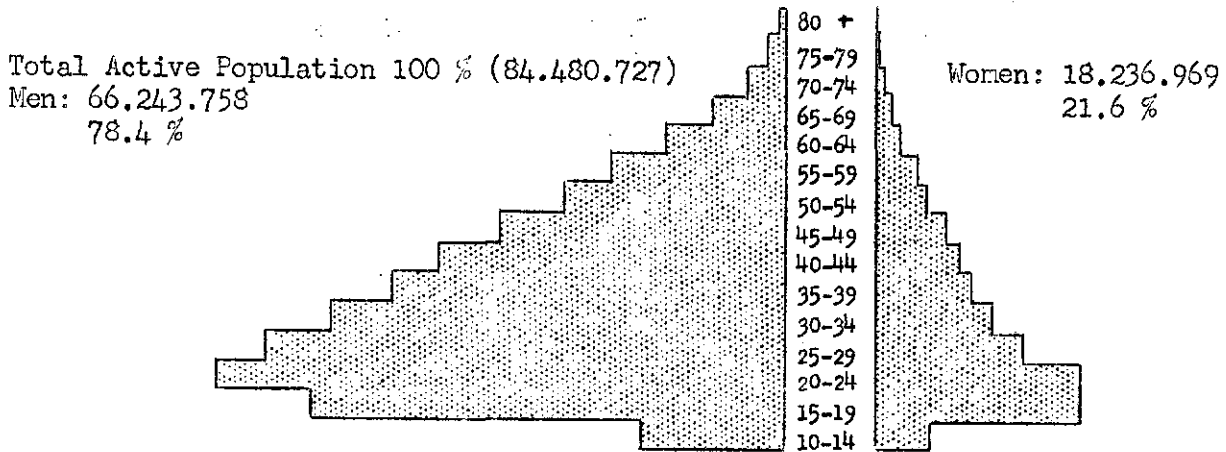
On a national level, the rates of economic participation for adolescents between 15-19 years of age will continue to decline until the end of the century as they have during the past decade (Table 2). This process is a natural concomitant of urbanization and the vast expansion of secondary and higher education which has occurred since the 1960's. In every country of the region, however, economic activity rates will increase over the next twenty years for young people between 20-24 years of age (Table 3). For the region as a whole this group will continue to expand its participation at a rate slightly above that projected for the entire labour force, i.e. just under 3 percent annually.

At the national level, perhaps the most significant increase to be observed is found in that of young women. The future expansion of economic activity among youth 20-24 years of age derives almost exclusively from the rise in the economic participation rates of females (Table 4). Activity rates for young men experience some decline in all countries of the region. This is again related to the expansion of higher education and merely reflects a delayed entrance due to continued schooling.

/Figure 1

Figure 1

LATIN AMERICA: STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION, 1970



Source: UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD. Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe. La educación y los problemas del empleo, October 1981, p. 78.

/Table 1

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA: LABOUR FORCE COMPOSITION BY
BROAD AGE GROUPS ACCORDING TO AREA AND SEX
1970

(percentages)

	10 to 24 years	25 years and over
Total both sexes	33.1	50.8
Total men	30.8	52.0
Total women	41.6	46.1
Urban both sexes	29.2	55.3
Urban men	25.8	57.2
Urban women	38.3	50.1
Rural both sexes	38.8	44.3
Rural men	36.8	45.9
Rural women	50.9	34.9

Source: Informe UNESCO, CEPAL, PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, La educación y los problemas del empleo, Informes Finales Nº3, Table 18.

/Table 2

Table 2

RATES OF ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION FOR ADOLESCENTS
BETWEEN 15-19 YEARS OF AGE 1970-2000

Country	1970 <u>15-19</u>	1980 <u>15-19</u>	1990 <u>15-19</u>	2000 <u>15-19</u>
Argentina	46.3	42.1	38.6	35.3
Bolivia	44.8	41.4	39.7	34.6
Brazil	43.2	39.8	36.6	34.1
Colombia	38.6	33.8	29.9	27.3
Costa Rica	45.7	41.4	37.6	34.4
Cuba	34.0	30.9	28.3	26.0
Chile	29.1	26.6	24.5	22.5
Dominican Rep.	37.1	34.0	30.6	27.0
Ecuador	46.2	42.4	38.5	35.0
El Salvador	45.7	42.3	38.9	35.6
Guatemala	45.4	42.0	38.2	34.2
Haiti	65.6	61.1	56.0	50.4
Honduras	49.8	46.8	43.2	39.5
Mexico	41.9	38.3	35.0	32.2
Nicaragua	45.4	41.8	38.1	34.4
Panama	46.0	39.9	34.8	31.3
Paraguay	51.0	47.3	43.3	39.5
Peru	31.0	28.7	26.6	24.9
Uruguay	45.2	41.1	37.5	34.2
Venezuela	35.7	32.6	30.0	27.6
CARIBBEAN				
Barbados	45.6	41.9	38.4	35.0
Guyana	38.3	34.3	31.1	28.4
Jamaica	40.3	36.1	32.8	30.5
Trinidad & Tobago	38.0	34.7	31.7	28.7
LATIN AMERICA	41.5	37.8	34.7	32.0

Source: OIT: Estimaciones y proyecciones de la fuerza de trabajo 1950-2000, second edition, 1977.

/Table 3

Table 3

RATES OF ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE
BETWEEN 20-24 YEARS OF AGE, 1970-2000

Country	<u>1970</u> <u>20-24</u>	<u>1980</u> <u>20-24</u>	<u>1990</u> <u>20-24</u>	<u>2000</u> <u>20-24</u>
Argentina	65.3	66.1	66.5	66.6
Bolivia	59.6	60.2	61.8	64.4
Brazil	58.4	60.0	62.6	66.1
Colombia	58.8	58.5	58.6	59.5
Costa Rica	59.6	61.3	63.7	67.0
Cuba	55.8	57.2	59.4	61.3
Chile	57.4	59.6	61.9	63.6
Dominican Rep.	53.5	53.2	53.3	53.8
Ecuador	60.3	61.4	63.3	66.3
El Salvador	59.5	60.0	61.2	63.5
Guatemala	54.3	54.6	54.9	55.7
Haiti	82.0	80.3	78.2	75.6
Honduras	57.6	57.1	57.4	58.1
Mexico	58.3	59.7	61.5	64.3
Nicaragua	59.2	60.1	61.8	64.5
Panama	68.0	66.5	66.1	66.8
Paraguay	62.3	63.7	65.9	69.3
Peru	54.6	55.9	58.2	61.3
Uruguay	67.1	67.8	68.3	68.3
Venezuela	56.3	58.2	60.3	62.0
CARIBBEAN				
Barbados	74.4	75.6	76.7	76.9
Guyana	62.6	63.7	64.7	65.2
Jamaica	75.0	76.4	78.0	80.4
Trinidad & Tobago	65.9	67.0	67.4	67.6
LATIN AMERICA	59.2	60.3	61.8	64.2

Source: OIT: Estimaciones y proyecciones de la fuerza de trabajo 1950-2000, second edition, 1977.

/Table 4

Table 4

RATES OF ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE
20-24 YEARS OF AGE BY SEX - 1970-2000

Country	1970		1980		1990		2000	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Argentina	86.4	43.5	84.4	47.1	82.7	50.0	81.2	51.6
Bolivia	91.0	26.9	88.9	30.8	86.6	36.3	84.3	44.0
Brazil	88.6	28.5	86.3	33.8	84.1	41.1	82.1	50.1
Colombia	84.2	33.9	82.0	34.5	79.9	36.7	78.1	40.4
Costa Rica	91.0	27.9	88.6	33.1	86.3	40.3	84.3	49.0
Cuba	85.8	25.1	83.6	30.3	81.7	36.4	80.1	41.8
Chile	82.9	31.9	80.8	38.3	79.1	41.5	77.6	49.5
Dominican Rep.	93.1	12.9	91.1	14.5	88.9	16.8	86.5	20.1
Ecuador	93.0	27.0	90.7	31.3	88.3	37.5	86.0	45.9
El Salvador	92.1	26.1	90.0	29.5	87.8	34.4	85.4	41.3
Guatemala	92.2	16.0	90.2	18.0	88.0	20.8	85.7	24.8
Haiti	89.7	75.4	88.5	72.2	87.2	68.8	85.6	65.3
Honduras	94.8	19.2	93.1	21.0	91.2	22.3	89.0	27.1
Mexico	92.1	24.3	89.7	28.7	87.4	34.9	85.3	42.6
Nicaragua	92.2	26.0	90.0	29.9	87.7	35.5	85.3	43.2
Panama	92.6	41.9	90.2	41.7	87.8	43.3	85.7	47.0
Paraguay	93.3	31.3	91.3	35.9	88.8	42.5	86.4	51.7
Peru	82.2	26.2	80.1	31.2	78.0	37.9	76.2	46.1
Uruguay	61.8	28.1	88.6	46.4	86.8	49.2	85.3	50.8
Venezuela			81.1	34.8	79.3	40.9	77.9	45.7
CARIBBEAN								
Barbados	90.8	57.5	88.6	62.2	86.8	66.0	85.3	68.1
Guyana	92.4	34.1	90.1	36.9	88.1	40.4	86.5	43.1
Jamaica	88.8	62.8	86.4	65.4	84.3	71.0	82.6	77.9
Trinidad & Tobago	90.8	42.1	88.6	45.5	86.8	48.0	85.3	49.6
LATIN AMERICA	88.3	30.2	86.2	33.9	84.1	39.1	82.3	45.7

Source: OIT: Estimaciones y proyecciones de la fuerza de trabajo 1950-2000, second edition, 1977.

/Projections for

Projections for women, 20-24 years of age show participation rates to increase substantially in all but one country in Latin America. Since young women are commonly the segment of the labour force most affected by unemployment, the increase of 35% in these rates for the region between 1980 and 2000 under conditions of extensive overall un- and underemployment is undoubtedly one of the major challenges that will be facing Latin America in the present decade. In the case of some countries such as Brazil and Mexico where these participation rates are expected to rise almost by half, the implications for employment policy are even more far-reaching.

Another policy-related issue which immediately arises from even a cursory examination of the composition of the labour force is the participation of those young people below 14 years of age. Insertion into the labour force for those pre- and early adolescents 10-14 years of age is almost insignificant in urban areas (see Figure 1) and, as will be seen later, is largely restricted there to marginal groups. Yet in the rural areas of Latin America, almost half of the young people of that age group are economically active. This is related to the very low educational coverage which still persists in certain countries of the region, as well as to the fact that labour force activity of this age group is greatest where the household head is a campesino or independent subsistence farmer. Accordingly, it appears that the structure of production around household enterprises is one of the fundamental factors explaining why young people under 14 years old work.^{11/} Differences exist among countries but for the smaller nations and those with large rural population, this phenomenon is quite widespread. Such early entry into the labour force is also marked among indigenous groups in traditional agricultural communities, urban marginal sectors, or rural tribal communities -with entry years commonly as low as 4-6 years in the first case.^{12/}

^{11/} Marta Tienda, "Economic Activity of Children in Peru: Labour Force Behaviour in Rural and Urban Contexts" in Rural Sociology, 44 (2), 1979, p.388.

^{12/} Juan Pablo Terra, Situación de la infancia en América Latina y el Caribe, UNICEF, 1979, pp.258-69. Elias Mendelievich, editor, Children at Work, ILO, 1979.

D. UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH

Employment problems are the most critical and immediate issues of the situation of Latin American youth. Open unemployment is particularly acute among youth in urban areas and rates of 15 percent or more are common (Table 5). In Venezuela (1978), 58% of all unemployed were between the ages of 15-24. However, in major urban areas such as Bogota and Mexico City from two-thirds to three-quarters of all unemployed are youth. The situation is not primarily one of adolescent unemployment since, depending on the country, almost half of unemployed youth are in the 20-24 years age group. Available data indicate a varying pattern according to sex among the countries with some countries registering a much higher incidence of unemployment among young women.

The fact that youth unemployment is the highest, usually two to three times as high as the average for all age groups, is typical in both developing and developed countries alike. But the significance in the case of Latin America is different since these unemployed youth are very seldom students seeking part-time or vacation unemployment. Nor does the existence of minimum wage laws seem to be a decisive factor in the high rates of youth unemployment as is suggested in the case of Venezuela where after the introduction of a minimum wage in 1974, no significant change in youth unemployment occurred.^{13/} Two other findings with policy implications emerge from empirical research on Latin American youth patterns of unemployment: (a) a great deal of present high youth unemployment is related to very high turnover rates among young people who are able to find only precarious or casual jobs and (b) the burden of youth unemployment is also unevenly distributed across young people, falling heaviest on those from the low socio-

^{13/} IBRD, Current Economic Position and Prospects of Venezuela, Vol.III, p.54, March 15, 1977.

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA: OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH AND
AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT BY SEXES

Country	Age	Unemployment Rate			% of total unemployment by sex		
		Both Sexes	Men	Women	Both Sexes	Men	Women
Colombia (1978)	15-29	15.3	13.7	17.2	76.6	73.1	80.3
Seven cities	15-19	23.0	21.7	24.5	30.7	29.9	31.8
	20-29	12.5	10.9	14.4	45.7	43.2	48.5
Bogota (1978)	15-29	14.0	12.2	16.1	76.7	71.8	81.9
	15-19	23.0	21.6	24.4	31.5	29.6	33.4
	20-29	11.0	9.4	13.1	45.2	42.2	48.5
Mexico (1979)	12-24	13.5	13.3	13.8	66.0	65.4	66.2
Metropolitan area	12-19	17.7	17.8	17.6	39.0	37.8	40.8
	20-24	10.1	9.9	10.4	27.0	27.6	25.4
Paraguay (1976)	12-24	11.8	12.6	11.0	60.6	56.8	70.4
Asunción and surroundings	12-19	12.8	14.7	10.6	34.2	34.1	34.5
	20-24	10.8	10.2	11.4	26.4	22.7	35.9
Uruguay (1978)	14-24	20.0	15.0	26.5	48.1	51.7	46.0
Dept. of Montevideo	14-19	29.5	25.2	35.9	28.0	35.8	23.0
	20-24	13.7	7.9	21.0	20.1	15.9	23.0
Venezuela (1978)	15-24	9.9	10.6	8.1	58.1	56.5	63.5
	15-19	11.8	12.3	10.3	29.1	29.2	28.8
	20-24	8.5	9.2	6.9	29.0	27.3	34.7
Venezuela (1980)	15-24	13.6	--	--	58.0	--	--
Urban areas:	15-19	17.1	--	--	27.3	--	--
	20-24	11.5	--	--	30.7	--	--
Jamaica (1975)	14-24	38.0	25.3	52.2	--	--	--
Barbados (1970)	14-24	30.0	22.0	40.0	--	--	--

Source: National household and employment surveys of the respective countries.

/economic urban

economic urban strata who experience serious and prolonged difficulties in the labour market (Table 6).^{14/}

Because of its highly visible nature open unemployment is the indicator most often referred to in discussions of youth employment problems. It is by no means, however, the most significant issue in Latin America where conditions of underemployment comprise the greatest part of the employment problem. Entrance of youth into "dead-end" jobs and the plight of young people not active in the labour force but also not attending school add to the extension of critical poverty to future generations. In this context, dead-end jobs are not exclusively low-wage positions since these can also be transition jobs. The distinguishing characteristic is that such jobs most often offer precarious occasional employment with little prospect either of a stable career pattern or useful training and experience. It is this factor coupled with the fact that the youth employed in them have little or no skills or education which singles them out from jobs that may offer low wages to youth initially but compensate by increasing their skills.

Marginal youth and those from low income strata are commonly to be found in these circumstances. Data on youth employment in a marginal area of Santiago, Chile for 1975 show that among young people in the 15-18 year age group who were employed 43 percent were either in casual jobs or ones with fluctuating income (Table 7). Another 14 percent worked as domestic servants and 12 percent were in the government minimum employment plan. Only 25 percent had regular jobs with steady incomes but of these half worked as messenger boys or maintenance workers. Of those who were reported as not in the labour force, 15 percent had no activity at all. An analysis

^{14/} In the case of youth 15-18 years of age in a low income area of Santiago, Chile, the unemployment rate in 1975 was 34 percent; of those without jobs, 56 percent had held previous jobs. Margarita Gili and Marta Illanes, El empleo juvenil en una comuna del Gran Santiago. Un estudio de caso. Chile, Instituto Laboral y de Desarrollo Social, Ministerio del Trabajo y Previsión Social, pp.56-57.

Table 6

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO CONDITION
OF POVERTY: SELECTED COUNTRIES

(percentages)

Age	Buenos Aires (1970)		Urban areas of Colombia (1975)		Urban areas of Venezuela (1971)	
	Critically Poor	Not Critic. Poor	Critic. Poor	Not Critic. Poor	Critic. Poor	Not Critic. Poor
15-19 Total	18.3	13.5	21.3	8.2	9.7	12.6
Men	11.8	7.8	21.1	13.4	14.3	16.8
Women	27.3	21.7	21.6	5.3	1.7	6.2
20-24 Total	21.6	7.3	15.1	6.3	16.6	12.6
Men	25.0	6.1	15.9	7.7	20.4	14.3
Women	16.0	8.7	13.8	5.2	9.8	8.6

Source: Fernando Galofré. Perfiles de infancia y juventud en Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica y Venezuela. ECLA, August 1981. Tables E-14-E-16.

Note: The critical poverty line for urban areas is defined here as twice the line of indigency which, in turn, applies to those low-income urban families who spend half or more of their total income on food.

/Table 7

Table 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF YOUTH 15-18 YEARS OF AGE
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT SITUATION
LA GRANJA, SANTIAGO DE CHILE

Employment situation	Percentage
Fixed wage employment	25.0
Fluctuating income employment	11.8
Domestic services	14.5
Non-paid family workers	5.3
Occasional workers	31.6
Minimum employment plan	11.8
TOTAL	100.0

Source: Gili and Illanes, El empleo juvenil, op.cit., Table 19.

/of results

of results from the year-end 1979 First Community Census of Uruguay is indicative of the particularly critical situation of urban marginal youth. Of the non-employed youth of both sexes from marginal areas of Montevideo, 100 percent had either dropped out of school or were more than four years behind in their studies by the age of seventeen.^{15/}

The scarce prospects of upward mobility for rural and marginal urban youth are also exemplified in the Brazilian case where it has been estimated that less than 2 percent of youth whose fathers are rural labourers can expect to reach higher occupational or income levels. Almost 90 percent of the children of manual urban workers and 60 percent of the children of non-manual urban workers occupy positions similar to those of their fathers. Even in the case of slightly better off families only 20 percent of students enrolled in the secondary "gimnasio" level come from families whose parents hold manual jobs including those in manual supervisory positions.^{16/}

Young women among the lowest strata face even more obstacles to intergenerational occupational mobility. If only men are considered it may be seen that a somewhat greater degree of mobility exists than indicated by the global data for Brazil just referred to and that mobility is mainly to be found at both extremes of the distribution of income and scale of social stratification. The upward mobility for low strata young men indicated here is primarily related to rural-urban migrations, which at least provides access to manual jobs in the secondary and service sectors for those coming from the countryside.

In spite of a somewhat greater degree of mobility which may be discerned from a more detailed analysis of the data, the vicious circle

^{15/} Ernesto Schiefelbein and Reynaldo Franco, Elementos para la definición de una política social y educativa para comunidades marginadas, Centro Interamericano de Enseñanza de Estadística, 1981.

^{16/} Victor Tokman, Dinámica de los mercados de trabajo y distribución del ingreso en América Latina. Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe, OIT, 1979; David L. Winar, Educación técnica y estructura social en América Latina. UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, 1981.

/which affects

which affects low-strata youth remains strong. For these youth the possibilities of upward occupational mobility are still quite limited. Findings from the case of Brazil indicate much higher levels of insertion at an early age into the labour force from youth of the poorest families. Eighty-two percent of the children from these families begin working before 14 years of age and 95 percent are in the labour force before 17 years of age. This contrasts with children from other income categories of which 45 percent had labour force experience before age 17 and only a small minority before 14 years of age.^{17/}

The Santiago, Chile, data show that the participation rate for youth in the 15-18 year group from the same low income area referred to above was over 80 percent more than for the same age group in the entire metropolitan area and the participation rate of youth from families whose total income was less than the legal minimum wage was 45.6 percent, almost two and a half times that of youth in the same area whose families earned the minimum wage or above.^{18/}

From the preceding information it is clear that family income is a highly influential variable in determining the age of incorporation into the labour force. Recent studies have also concluded that it is also a determining factor regarding the condition of incorporation particularly with respect to hours worked and the continuity of school attendance. In this context a strong contrast has been found between the characteristics of young workers 15-19 years of age in Latin America and their counterparts in developed countries. In the latter

^{17/} Tokman, op.cit., p.17.

^{18/} Gili and Illanes, op.cit. Other data from Chile show that only 3 percent of those children whose parents are illiterate finish secondary education, 10 percent reach eighth grade; 43 percent of children whose parents have a primary education finish elementary education and 12 percent secondary education. See Ernesto Schiefelbein and Maria Grossi, Antecedentes para un análisis de la educación media en Chile, Corporación de Promoción Universitaria, Santiago, 1981.

countries there are indications of an increasing blurring of the distinction between being in school or in the labour markets as young people search for part-time work especially in the secondary labour market, while remaining in school.^{19/} Nevertheless youth who choose such a school-work option which, given the structure and functioning of labour markets in developed economies, probably eases their transition into working life, exercise their primary role as students. In Latin America countries such as Brazil and Chile the reverse has been found to be the case; in terms of the hours and conditions of each of these activities such youth are primarily workers who study usually part-time in evening programmes designed for adult and not youth education needs.^{20/}

Family income level and unemployment of the head of the family are not the only variables which enter into a young person's choice to continue regular daytime schooling or enter the labour market. Studies for Latin American countries have shown a broad set of other variables to be operating. From the perspective of policy foundation it is also significant that the relative influence of all variables change according to the age of the young person, rural or urban residence and sex. Among the most significant of the other variables are: family structure, including size of the domestic group and the type of headship, social background (particularly the educational level of parents and existence of household enterprise), prevalent attitudes of parents and the different incentives received by the youth derived from his relation with them, cultural and institutional restrictions,

^{19/} Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Youth Unemployment - The Causes and Consequences, Paris, 1980.

^{20/} José Paulo Zeetano Chahad, Participação dos jovens na força de trabalho de São Paulo, Masters Thesis, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of São Paulo, 1975. In Santiago, Chile, 62 percent of the students attending adult evening education are under 26 years of age, 23 percent are under 16 years and only 30 percent have a stable job. El Mercurio, Santiago, June 23, 1980.

labour market conditions and degrees of information as to jobs available.21/

In urban areas family income levels, family social background factors, social values and legal restrictions are determining factors for those approximately in the 10-14 year old age group. The implications with regard to public policy are that the primary focus is probably best placed on labour markets and on improving the incomes of household head (principal earners). From these perspective policies concentrating on reducing underemployment would seem to be more effective than providing more job opportunities, particularly for those families that consist largely of children and have little or no unemployed adult labour potential. Such households could also be helped directly by policies aimed at improving children's welfare.22/

For the 15-19 year old age group, the attitudes and the differences in the incentive relationship existing between the youth and his mother or father, and the specific characteristics of the educational system take on much greater importance together with family income level. In the case of 20-24 years old youth labour market conditions, salary levels, perceived opportunity costs, social and occupational expectations weigh more heavily in their choice between post-secondary schooling and entrance into the labour market. This last point raises the question of the relation between education and employment for youth

21/ Zeetano, ibid, pp.12-18; Gili, ibid, 34-51; Henry Kirsch, "Employment and the utilization of human resources in Latin America", Economic Bulletin for Latin America Vol.XVIII, No1 and 2, pp.56-57; John Paul Walker, The Economics of Labour Force Participation of Urban Slum-Barrio Youth in Cali, Colombia: A Case Study, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1970; Marta Tienda, "Economic Activity of Children in Peru", op.cit., pp.379-391.

22/ Philip Musgrove, "Household Size and Composition, Employment and Poverty in Urban Latin America, Economic Development and Cultural Change. Fernando Galofré, Formulación de políticas de infancia y juventud en familias pobres. Paper presented to the ECLA seminar on "Policies to Achieve a Minimum Welfare Level", November 2-6, 1981. Schiefelbein and Franco, Elementos para la definición de una política social y educativa para comunidades marginadas, op.cit.

in a region characterized by long-standing segmentation, social differentiation and rigidity in its social systems. Whatever mobility has existed, it has not been equal for all groups. The access channels have changed and are narrowing in given national situations.

Not even post-primary technical schools give the assurance of higher occupational levels and social mobility for the lower strata that was expected of them. Although technical education has permitted some mobility, the characteristics of the occupational structure maintain a low and relatively unyielding ceiling over youth from low urban strata who have completed these courses of study. Post-primary technical schools can even receive a significant enrollment of middle, and in cases upper strata youth, as has been discovered in studies for Argentina and Brazil. Conversely the children of skilled manual workers have been found to be under-represented in total secondary education and a very limited proportion of youth from unskilled manual labour families are found in technical schools. In Colombia students with only primary education were differentiated from those with post secondary technical training or secondary education on the basis of the socio-economic level of the parents and the data suggest that post secondary education was associated with the condition of parental modern sector employment.^{23/}

What becomes apparent when dealing with the problems of youth in Latin America is the need for an integrated long-range strategy in dealing with the problems of youth, one that focusses on global structural aspects of the young person from the perspective of interaction with the family and on the changing importance of the various intervening variables according to social strata and the age of the young person.

More immediately, it would also appear that such typically short-run measures such as lowering the minimum wage for youth as has been recommended or applied recently in some countries of the

^{23/} Wiñar, Educación Técnica, op.cit., pp.19, 39, 44, 55.

region which have applied stabilization measures with concurrent increased open unemployment are unsatisfactory policy responses. Policy measures must go beyond the mere creation of more jobs, many of which, especially in the case of Latin America, may be expected to be "dead-end" jobs in the informal sector. In any event, in addition to relative wage costs, non-wage labour costs especially relevant for the formal sector such as payroll taxes for unemployment insurance, health and other social security benefits, pension contributions, training costs, fringe benefits such as holiday pay, etc. must be considered. If enough empirical evidence can be mustered to show that trends in the relative real cost of youth labour account for part of the present youth employment problem, any desired reduction could be achieved by direct wage subsidies tied to the employment of youth, the payment of apprenticeship allowances, or by negative subsidies such as lowering or abolishing payroll taxes on youth.

E. EDUCATION AND THE RANGE OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

One of the thorniest problems now under intense debate in Latin America is the adequacy of existing educational systems and structures as a meaningful vehicle for preparing youth to participate fully in the development process of the region.^{24/} Such participation must be understood in a total sense, first in terms of the intellectual growth per se of the individual, then from the perspective of its

^{24/} ECLA together with UNESCO and UNDP has sponsored a Project on Development and Education in Latin America which up to its conclusion in November 1981, has published over fifty studies. For the 1980's UNESCO is launching a major effort in this problem area in the form of a Principal Project on Education in Latin America.

/effects on

effects on societal relations and finally as a preparation for livelihood. Here only the third will be discussed.

The vigorous expansion of education in Latin America since the 1960s is certainly one of the most striking social changes that has occurred in the region. Previous ECLA studies have indicated that for the State the concentration of this expansion in secondary and higher education seemed to be the least expensive and least conflictive means of responding to social pressures and postponing decisions over the redistribution of power and wealth, while at the same time generating developmental dividends in terms of improved employment opportunities and labour force productivity. A glance at the present situations in most of Latin America, however, demonstrates that the changes in the region's labour markets stemming from the structurally heterogeneous style of development prevalent until now have had effects on the role of education that raise formidable questions concerning the future viability of its evolution along the lines hitherto pursued.^{25/} Education must be considered within the context of the social and economic processes which have conditioned the development of education in the region. Likewise, education may not be criticized for not having single handedly solved problems of unemployment and underemployment which require broad-based structural changes.

At one extreme, the expansion of higher education has gone far beyond an unequitable and self-perpetuating distribution of opportunities to acquire the qualifications needed and rewarded by the prevailing style of development to an entrenchment of spurious education leading to deteriorating levels of entry into the labour market. At the other extreme, primary education of such poor quality

^{25/} ECLA Structure and Dynamics of Development in Latin America and Their Implications for Education. Document presented at the Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and Those Responsible for Economic Planning of Member States in Latin America and the Caribbean, Mexico City, December 4-13, 1979.

as to be equally spurious confirms the marginalization of much of the population from a style of development that in any case has little need for them.^{26/}

As regards the problem of open unemployment among youth, comparative data which include detailed age groupings and schooling levels are available only from the 1970 census round. These data indicate that at the national level the situation varied according to the country involved (Table 8). Generally, however, it appears that the expected positive relation between higher educational levels and lower rates of unemployment is found to exist. This trend is clearly confirmed at the level of capital city and for other urban areas (Table 9). Since open unemployment is predominantly an urban phenomenon and not very common in the rural areas, the lack of a stronger association at the national level between low educational levels and high unemployment is not surprising. Once again at all educational levels, open unemployment for the 20-24 years old age group is much higher than that for those 25-29 years of age.

A certain stepwise pattern seems to emerge in urban areas (Table 9). For men open unemployment declines gradually with increased elementary schooling. Completed basic education appears to represent a plateau. Those who leave school with incomplete secondary education have somewhat increased difficulties and considerably less unemployment is registered at completed secondary levels. For young women, however, completed secondary education is associated with very high levels of unemployment. The relatively lower unemployment rates among illiterate and poorly educated women probably reflect their high degree of participation in domestic service jobs, cottage industry and other informal sector occupations where education is not a decisive factor. Such jobs are more available

^{26/} Marshall Wolfe, Styles of Development and Education: A Stocktaking of Myths, Prescriptions and Potentialities. UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, September 1980, p.3.

Table 8

LATIN AMERICA: OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FOR SEVEN COUNTRIES OF THE REGION CIRCA 1970

(percentages=

Country	Years of Study	20 to 24 years		25 to 29 years	
		Unemployed over labour force of same educational level	Distribution of total number of unemployed	Unemployed over labour force of same educational level	Distribution of total number of unemployed
Argentina	00-03	3.05	13.36	1.51	14.44
	04-06	2.53	12.85	1.86	20.22
	07-12	3.44	68.45	1.55	57.51
	13 +	2.33	5.34	1.26	7.83
Colombia	00-03	1.71	23.46	1.58	30.79
	04-06	0.36	35.58	2.58	33.06
	07-12	4.33	35.86	2.57	26.58
	13 +	6.22	5.10	3.80	9.56
Costa Rica	00-03	6.52	25.48	4.77	38.83
	04-06	5.25	45.72	3.56	41.76
	07-12	5.11	25.48	2.18	17.58
	13 +	4.17	3.32	1.18	1.83
Chile	00-03	5.43	14.28	4.28	22.58
	04-06	6.04	35.40	4.24	40.30
	07-12	7.83	46.08	3.25	32.27
	13 +	7.27	4.24	2.45	4.85
El Salvador	00-03	18.31	54.97	13.09	62.09
	04-06	19.74	30.69	12.47	26.26
	07-12	20.66	14.02	9.74	9.78
	13 +	8.33	0.32	10.62	1.87
Honduras	00-03	1.45	28.15	0.80	39.82
	04-06	3.65	40.17	1.86	38.05
	07-12	7.07	30.50	1.93	22.12
	13 +	3.88	1.17	--	--
Mexico	00-03	3.90	39.01	3.61	57.01
	04-06	4.82	39.35	3.42	33.09
	07-12	4.13	14.80	1.81	6.29
	13 +	7.97	6.84	2.11	3.60

Source: UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, Informes Finales Nº3, La educación y los problemas del empleo, Table 47, 1981.

/Table 9

Table 9

LATIN AMERICA: OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG YOUTH
20-29 YEARS OF AGE BY SEX AND AREA ACCORDING TO
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL L(&)

(percentages)

Educational Level	Total Country	Capital	Other Urban	Rural
<u>Both sexes</u>				
No education <u>a/</u>	5.7	9.7	8.9	5.0
1 to 3 years <u>a/</u>	5.8	8.4	7.8	4.5
4 to 6 years <u>a/</u>	6.9	8.1	7.6	5.3
7 to 9 years <u>b/</u>	5.6	5.3	6.2	3.5
10 to 12 years <u>b/</u>	7.3	6.9	6.4	2.7
13 and over <u>b/</u>	5.9	5.8	6.3	6.9
<u>Men</u>				
No education <u>a/</u>	4.9	13.5	8.9	3.7
1 to 3 years <u>a/</u>	4.9	10.0	7.7	3.3
4 to 6 years <u>a/</u>	6.3	8.4	7.2	4.2
7 to 9 years <u>b/</u>	5.9	5.8	6.6	3.2
10 to 12 years <u>b/</u>	9.2	7.9	7.8	3.9
13 and over <u>b/</u>	5.1	4.8	5.7	4.7
<u>Women</u>				
No education <u>a/</u>	8.1	6.3	8.5	8.4
1 to 3 years <u>a/</u>	8.8	6.3	8.0	10.2
4 to 6 years <u>a/</u>	8.8	7.6	8.6	10.3
7 to 9 years <u>b/</u>	4.9	4.3	5.5	4.6
10 to 12 years <u>b/</u>	4.5	5.3	4.6	4.7
13 and over <u>b/</u>	7.3	7.5	7.3	9.5

a/ Average of 15 countries: Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Venezuela.

b/ Average of 6 countries: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Paraguay.

Source: OMUECE 1970. Table 20. Programa Uniforme. UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe, Informes Finales N°3, 1981, La educación y los problemas del empleo, Table 29.

/in the

in the metropolitan areas and this probably explains the overall high unemployment among women in other urban areas. Educated young women with secondary or higher education undergo more severe difficulties than their male counterparts in keeping out of the ranks of the unemployed.

For countries such as El Salvador, Honduras, Colombia and Costa Rica the concentration of unemployed youth among the unskilled poorly educated has policy implications for setting priorities which coincide with those of the last section in terms of the need for more schooling. In countries with wider middle and higher educational coverage such as Argentina and to a lesser extent Chile, the unemployed with some or even complete secondary education account for a high percentage of all the unemployed in the 20-24 years old age group.

The vastly expanded supply of people with higher education in such countries has set in motion pressures for "acceptable" jobs for which high school graduates and dropouts are in respectively increasing worse positions to compete for. The possibilities of upward mobility for secondary graduates have become curtailed with the rising importance of the large private and state enterprise. Varying combinations of capital-intensity, technological and administrative complexity limit their employment possibilities before such employers who prefer university graduates. On the other hand the substantial increase in the supply of university educated youth has lead them to compete in segments of the labour market traditionally reserved for graduates of secondary education.^{27/} In the case of women it is by now a well-known fact that in the region as elsewhere, a higher educational preparation is usually demanded of them than for men. Also, the general academic curriculum often imparted

^{27/} Wiñar, op.cit., pp.34 and 55.

to lower-middle and middle-middle strata girls provides them with no marketable skills in a labour market which, in any case, has a narrow range of job opportunities open to them.

In summary, for many countries open unemployment among educated youth did not seem to be the major aspect of the youth unemployment problem at the beginning of the last decade. It is also important to recall that for some cities of Latin America at the end of the 1960s empirical studies have shown education to be a highly significant discriminatory variable, particularly at the level of completed primary education in relation to poverty.^{28/} Already by the beginning of the last decade those between the ages 20-29 years who had less than three years of elementary schooling were practically excluded from jobs in the modern tertiary sector. They had great difficulty in obtaining jobs as drivers and industrial workers. For the most part they are only to be found in agriculture and in the urban informal sector.^{29/} In terms of reducing poverty and improving human welfare eradication of illiteracy among youth and the expansion of primary school coverage particularly to young people in rural areas should hardly fail to receive immediate priority attention by governments. As has already been seen, such measures would have to be placed within a broad range of policies designed to improve family income levels and the welfare of children if more than piecemeal or mere show-case effects are to be achieved.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the 1980s as the rural-urban shift continues, youth with a secondary education are no longer a small percentage of their age group in many countries of the

^{28/} Philip Musgrove and Robert Ferber, "Identifying the Urban Poor: Characteristics of Poverty Households in Bogotá, Medellín, and Lima" in Latin American Research Review, Vol. XIV, No 2, 1979.

^{29/} Juan Pablo Terra, Alfabetismo y escolarización básica de los jóvenes en América Latina, UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe", 1980, Tables 42, 43 and 44.

region.^{30/} Enrolments in higher education have increased rapidly in the region and the term "massification" has been applied to this process in many countries indicating that over 10 percent of the 20-24 year age group are enrolled in university.^{31/} Youth are now confronted by an increasing tension of maladjustment between higher educational credentials and the availability of middle and upper strata employment opportunities. Although the current recessionary economic climate does not serve to reduce the problem, the basic reasons are more structural in nature as better-educated youth for some years now have been finding that their credentials do not earn the privileges, social mobility or income levels anticipated. At the same time that a greater portion of 20-24 year-old youth in middle strata occupations and above have higher education, relatively fewer of the better-educated youth have been able to gain employment at these levels (Table 10).^{32/}

In the modern or growth sector numerous changes of both a social and economic nature have conditioned the educational requirements for entry into such jobs. Education now tends to act as a proxy variable for the social and behavioural traits which indicate adaptability, learning potential and discipline required in modern, hierarchical and bureaucratic enterprises. The presence of a rapidly expanding educated labour force has produced a situation in which the demands

^{30/} In Ecuador in 1965-66, only 13 percent of the 15-19 year old group were enrolled in secondary education. In 1977, over 30 percent attended secondary school and university enrolment had grown from 3 percent of the 20-24 year old age group to 12 percent in 1975. See Gladys Pozo de Ruiz and Ernesto Schiefelbein "Los problemas de la expansión acelerada: el caso del desarrollo del sistema educacional del Ecuador", in Estudios Sociales N°26, Fourth Quarter, 1980, table 5.

^{31/} In 1978 included in the group were Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Jamaica, Uruguay and Venezuela. UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1980. Also see Jaime Rodríguez, El concepto de masificación, UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Proyecto Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina, 1978.

^{32/} See also: Carlos Filgueira and Carlo Geneletti, Estratificación ocupacional, modernización social y desarrollo económico en América Latina, ECLA, Social Development Division, November 1978, pp.163-175.

Table 10

CHANGES IN THE INSERTION OF YOUTH 20-24 YEARS OF AGE
WITH 13 YEARS AND MORE OF EDUCATION INTO MIDDLE
STRATA OCCUPATIONS AND ABOVE: 1960-1970

(percentages)

Countries	% of middle- higher strata 20-24 year old jobholders with 13+ years of education	% of 20-24 year old group with 13+ years of education in middle- upper strata job	% of middle- higher strata 20-24 year old jobholders with 13+ years of education	% of 20-24 years old group with 13+ years of education in middle-upper strata job
Argentina	12.6	76.4	19.7	76.7
Chile	7.1	93.1	12.1	83.8
Colombia	3.7	92.4	7.9	84.6
Costa Rica	16.2	92.2	14.8	89.9
Mexico	2.4	82.5	10.8	69.0

Sources: OMUECE 1970, Table 4, Special Programme;
OMUECE 1960, Tables 2 and 3, Special Programme.

/for more

for more years of education are outpacing the rate at which the real cognitive requirements for accomplishing formal jobs are expanding. In the industrial sector, recruitment criteria have undergone substantial modifications and the mere number of years of schooling appears even more important. Although in some cases of technical advance, jobs have become more complex and require higher scientific-technical skills, in others the tasks have been simplified, are merely repetitive and require primarily the ability to accommodate oneself to the work rhythm imposed by the machine. Furthermore, the assumption has been seriously questioned according to which formal education is the instrument which effectively provides the necessary skills for satisfactory performance in the new jobs created through technological development. In the case of Argentina, for example, it has been shown that in the industrial sector, the same kind of jobs are carried out by individuals with the most diverse educational levels. On the other hand, a given type of education (in this case, technical) qualifies a person for access to a wide variety of jobs, the majority of which have no relation to the formal training received.^{33/}

As a result of the poor interaction between educational output by type of skills and the real technical needs of the economies, formal educational requirements unrelated to substantive work requirements are used as screening devices reserving the more desirable jobs for the social strata whose children are able to acquire these credentials. It is not yet entirely clear how schooling differentiates labour. Number of years of education is certainly a prime consideration but the relationship is not one-dimensional and linear. A completed secondary school diploma, for example, is a threshold for non-manual occupations; achievement of literacy brings obvious

^{33/} Juan Carlos Tedesco, "Algunas características de educación e industrialización en América Latina", paper presented to the Primer Seminario del Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe", UNESCO/CEPAL/PNUD, Quito, September 13-17, 1977. Wiñar, Educación técnica, op.cit.

/advantages to

advantages to many in the informal sector and minifundistas, and graduation from a prestigious university is of prime importance in those countries where the number of institutions of higher education has mushroomed in the last two decades. But to the extent that middle and higher education expand more rapidly than the supply of appropriate jobs, higher educational barriers are continually applied to lower-status clerical jobs and even manual occupations. The relative "over-expansion" of middle and higher education has been accompanied by cosmetic changes in the names and legal status of occupations reflected in a differential growth of urban middle and upper occupational strata whose real meaning in terms of improved employment levels and productivity is thereby obscured.^{34/} "Workers" are reclassified as "employees" or "technicians"; sub-professional specializations receive professional titles. This trend together with the fact that educational supply creates its own demand has already significant consequences for the expansion of public bureaucracies whose contribution to the development process has been questioned. For example, it has been estimated that in Brazil, the public sector has been absorbing almost 50 percent of total "white-collar" employment in the non-agricultural sectors; and between 1970-75, public sector employment in Argentina expanded at an annual rate of 5.6 percent compared with 0.9 percent in the period 1960-70.^{35/}

Yet another problem is that the rapidity of growth in number and enrolment in middle and higher institutions often results in a general

^{34/} CEPAL, "Desarrollo humano y cambio social y crecimiento en América Latina", Cuaderno de la CEPAL N°3, Santiago, 1975, pp.31-36 and 46-48.

^{35/} Paulo Renato Souza, La segmentación del mercado de trabajo urbano y las disparidades de salarios en economías subdesarrolladas, PREALC, Santiago, 1977, pp.32; Juan José Ilach, "Estructura ocupacional y dinámica del empleo en la Argentina: sus peculiaridades 1947-1970", Desarrollo Económico 17:68 (January-March 1978).

/deterioration of

deterioration of the quality of instruction, and a wide gap between the quality or prestige of the titles issued by different institutions. To the extent that formal educational qualifications for employment become divorced from work needs there is no external check on the dilution of quality. To the extent that employers seek real technical qualifications, they give credit to the titles of only a few elite institutions, and increasingly support private institutions so as to obtain a dependable supply.

Consequently, an increasing proportion of better educated youth in Latin America are finding themselves barred from entering jobs of the social prestige and income level that they had expected. Meanwhile the possibilities for the absorption of the output of higher education into bureaucratic jobs which provide some degree of status, if not matching income aspiration may be reaching their limit. Various governments have begun to react by restricting university enrolments at the same time that anti-bureaucratic campaigns have made inroads on this sector of the labour market. The foregoing elements form the basis of yet another source of future social tension as a higher proportion of educated youth, continually increasing through demographic growth and the momentum of middle-strata expansion confronts the mismatch between their expectations and the level of occupations open to them.