

The 6Es plus Education makes Seven: Why is Education Central to the Youth Employment Summit (YES) Campaign?

A Discussion Paper

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Introduction

The YES Campaign was launched at the Alexandria Youth Employment Summit, in Egypt in September, 2002. This important meeting marked the beginning of the decade-long 'Global Campaign for Youth Employment'. Its key focus was the concern to more efficiently tackle the increasing problem of youth unemployment occurring in almost all regions of the world. To this end, the Alexandria Summit identified six key issues which were felt to be closely linked with this priority: Employability, Employment creation, Equity, Entrepreneurship, Environmental Sustainability and Empowerment.

The decade of the Campaign will be one of significant changes. Currently the world has the largest population of young people it has ever had. More than 1 billion people are between 15 and 24 years, with the great majority living in the least developed countries. By 2020 some 87% of young people will live in developing countries, with 60% (almost 650 million) at present living in Asia alone (IBE, 2004 & YEN 2003). In recent years, increasing global rates of unemployment have hit young people particularly hard. At present, 88 million youth (i.e. 47% of the global total of 186 million unemployed for a share of only 25% of the active population young people account for) are classified as unemployed with the highest levels of youth unemployment occurring in Sub-Saharan Africa (60-80% for many countries) (ILO 2004). In developing countries, young people are 3.8 times more likely to be unemployed than adults, as compared with 2.3 times in industrialized countries (ILO 2004).

The relative disadvantage of young people in the labour market being more pronounced in developing countries, youth in both the industrialized and the developing world are more likely to be working long hours, on short-term and/or informal contracts, with low pay and little or no social protection than adult workers. The future prospects of youth in the labour market, and more general, in development processes are challenging. According to the ILO (2004), in the decade until 2015, there will be more first time job seekers than ever before and youth unemployment figures will continue to rise around the world for the next fifty years. Identifying mechanisms able to accommodate and alleviate this global problem experienced by millions of young people as a personal and social tragedy is therefore an issue more pressing than ever.

The devastating effects of youth unemployment (both in socio-economic and personal terms) and the scope of the phenomenon give the YES Campaign particular urgency and make the issue also a central one to the UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre in Bonn (Bonn Centre) and its programmes.

The UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre has a proven track record of work in the Technical and Vocational Education and Training field since it was established by UNESCO in close cooperation with ILO and other partners in 2001. From its beginnings, the Centre has been very active in the area of technical and vocational education and training. In October 2004, e.g. the Centre hosted a UNESCO International Experts Meeting on Technical and Vocational Education and Training with the title 'Learning for Work, Citizenship and Sustainability', an area relevant to the YES Campaign. The Centre sees the relevance of working in partnership with the YES Campaign and offers to all

participants the services of UNESCO's Network of over two hundred and thirty UNEVOC Centres in 156 countries, worldwide, to help publicise the outcomes of this important Youth Employment Summit, to help promote the decade - long Global Campaign for Youth Employment and to work as partners to achieve the goals of the Campaign. As a UNESCO Centre, Bonn can also call on the resources of the parent organization to assist the Campaign.

The Section for Youth of UNESCO's Bureau of Strategic Planning is a privileged partner in these efforts: since 1998, it is in charge of giving an impulse and a coherence to UNESCO's strategy of action with and for youth and benefits from direct communication with youth through a wide network of associations and youth NGOs and its active participations in numerous youth events. Its main objective is to define ways to establish active partnerships with young people and to foster the creation of interfaces allowing youth to make a difference.

However, in order to improve cooperation towards the goals of the YES Campaign, both the UNEVOC Centre and UNESCO's Section for Youth stress the importance of highlighting a further 'E', namely **Education**, as an essential enabler for its success. Education and training is a priority area to promote youth employment in contemporary societies. This is particularly the case when seeking to meet the needs of developing countries, of countries in rapid transformation and those in a post conflict situation. The value of education, however, is not limited to being a necessary pre-condition and foundation for employment: what is more, the social and individual benefits derived from it will be of an ever increasing significance for young people's overall development in our globalising and rapidly changing world and their capacity to adapt to the set of new complexities having emerged in recent years.

In the following, we will therefore argue for the explicit inclusion of 'education' in the Campaign's priorities by outlining its importance as a tool for young people's participation in society. We advocate for an increased recognition of the vital linking role between education and young people's empowerment and demonstrate that 'education' merits its own place as the supporting platform for the essential E's of the YES Campaign. Of crucial importance is hereby also the question which kind of education we need in order to increase young people's capacities to create and enter employment, but also in view of fostering their potential to participate in all societal processes as equal and valued partners.

2 The YES Campaign

2.1 The Six E's

The participants of the Alexandria Summit reiterated the urgency of the task to resolve the problems set by the phenomenon of youth unemployment affecting millions of young people around the world. To this end, the YES Campaign defined two essential goals:

1. To build the capacity of young people to create sustainable livelihoods.
2. To establish an entrepreneurial culture where young people will work towards self-employment.

These broad strategic goals were further developed by the Summit into the 'six essentials' forming the basis of the YES Campaign to assist youth. In 60 countries, YES is now bringing together diverse stakeholders through the YES Country Networks in order to work collaboratively on actions that result in productive and sustainable employment opportunities for youth. The Campaign and its six E's are rightly aimed in emphasizing the key role of youth employment in social and economic development. The UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre unequivocally supports the two goals of the Campaign and its main elements, but stresses that a significant gap is left in meeting the needs of young people by not specifically highlighting the key role of education in preparing for employment and citizenship.

Equity, entrepreneurship, environmental sustainability, empowerment... and education?

In general terms, 'education' is – of course – already a major element implied in the Campaign's 'essentials', it is a factor which is inextricably linked with and/or conditions processes and objectives such as 'equity', 'entrepreneurship', 'environmental sustainability' and 'empowerment'.

Equity, e.g. emerges as a universally important issue with many people being deprived of access to opportunities on the grounds of race, gender, religion and social status. Lack of equity affects not only employment but, at an earlier stage, access to and quality of education. Despite some progress made in the past decades in some of the world's regions, over 113 million children aged 6 to 11 (about 20%) still lack access to primary schools. Access is particularly constrained for girls and the poor: with two thirds of the out-of-school children being girls and women accounting for two thirds of all illiterate adults, the chances of girls and young women of participating in the work force on equal terms are more often than not thwarted from their very beginnings.

Entrepreneurship as another key element of the Campaign has an obvious connection with employment in that it may enhance the potential of young people to create and shape their livelihoods and gain autonomy. 'Entrepreneurship' has another benefit: given the adequate resources and an enabling environment, young people will show more initiative and imagination, both in obtaining work and in developing their own entrepreneurial activities. The provision of adequate education (i.e. basic knowledge and comprehensive skills) is, however, the pre-condition for young people to engage in entrepreneurial activities. The current skill levels of many young people being inadequate for employment in an increasingly flexibilized labour market and many also lacking the attitudes required to be entrepreneurial, education has a key role to play in conveying the kind of skills and capacities required by today's young people. For example, education in arts and cultural activities – too often considered a mere side-function in the curriculum – is significant with regards to youth entrepreneurship since it includes strong elements conducive to the liberation of the expression and creativity of the young person.

Environmental sustainability as the next key 'ingredient' of the Campaign is one which is of particular concern to UNESCO and other UN and international agencies. With many countries across the globe struggling with severe environmental problems such as drought, desertification, pollution and the plundering of natural resources, there is an ever pressing need for significant changes in patterns of production and consumption which will foster a sustainable use of limited resources for future generations. Here, the promotion of a dynamic concept of education for sustainable development which '[...] utilizes all aspects of public awareness, education and training to create or enhance an understanding of the linkages among the issues of sustainable

development and to develop the knowledge, skills, perspectives and values which will empower people of all ages to assume responsibility for creating and enjoying a sustainable future.' ¹is a major factor in order to generate change in behaviour patterns. UNESCO is the lead agency for the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005 – 2014), which coincides with the decade of the YES Campaign. Therefore, the combined efforts of the two campaigns have the potential to generate a significant impact on many areas of importance for youth unemployment and environmental sustainability.

Finally, the YES Campaign attaches a great value to the empowerment process of the young person, which we understand (following the broad definition applied by Delors et al.) as the revelation and development of the full range of human abilities. ²The **empowerment** process of young people cannot be a sustainable and authentic one without a form of education which transmits the skills, capacities and values functioning as a powerful lever for people to take charge of their lives and make informed choices.

As briefly outlined above, 'education' is implicitly included in the value of the six qualities forming the core of the YES Campaign. However, since all of them for their achievement depend crucially on the provision of quality education, we argue the latter must be given more focused attention if the Campaign's positive impact on youth employment is to be increased.

2.2 The need to make education a platform for the Six E's

The key role of education in preparing for employment has been clearly demonstrated for many years: studies by OECD in developed countries and by other international organizations such as UNESCO, the World Bank and UNICEF have highlighted the enabling role played by education in world, national and personal development processes. ³

In general terms, when it comes to the link between education and overall development of a country and its population, it is clear that education is the common key to resolve short-falls in many areas. The Jomtien Report (1990) e.g., highlighted that each nation's primary assets are its citizens' skills and abilities: agricultural production, industrial activity, health standards, access to basic needs such as clean water, access to communication and political participation are all determined by learning levels and the role of education in building social capital.

More in particular, the level and quality of education emerges as a main factor determining how young people fare on the labour market: in developed economies and some developing regions, the incidence of unemployment tends to be higher among less educated youth. Higher levels of education generally not only reduce the risk of unemployment, but also increase the chance of achieving more stable employment levels (full-time and long-term contracts) (cf. ILO 2004). However, this is not to suggest that formal educational qualifications will automatically result in

¹http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.phpURL_ID=27234&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

² Delors (1996): *Learning: The Treasure within*. Report of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century, Paris.

³ For more details, see e.g. OECD (2002): *The Comparative Report on Transition Issues*. OECD, Paris/ UNESCO/OECD (2002): *Financing Education – Investments and Returns. Analysis of the World Education Indicators*, Paris, 2002

higher employment levels and income for young people: with the growth in educational participation, especially at the highest level, there is now fierce competition among educated graduates and in many countries, qualified young people are forced to accept employment below their skill level (underemployment) or have to face long periods of unemployment before entering the labour market. Understanding 'youth' as a linear transition phase to adulthood becomes thus less and less viable in a context where the situation of young people has undergone turbulent changes.

These developments point to the fact that both in developing and industrialised countries, the transition from 'being provided for' to 'being a provider' is becoming increasingly complex and lengthy: the line between education and employment which has always been a fragile one is broken in the context of today's flexibilized and deregulated labour markets.⁴ Hence follows, that an instrumental concept of 'education', i.e. education understood as the investment in human capital which corresponds closely to the requirements of the labour market, is becoming obsolete with educational qualifications no longer translating automatically into merits on the labour market.

The global change in transition patterns therefore requires to define 'education' in broader terms: as much as it is the necessary foundation for enlarging young people's chances to find and keep decent employment, it must respond to the requirements posed by an environment of increasing complexity and flexibility. Education is vital only when it provides the tools for young people to negotiate between multiple and sometimes contrasting exigencies: it must foster an increased responsibility of the individual, promote the critical skills and capacities conducive to developing the young person's full potential and not be limited to the transmission of 'functional' knowledge.

An educational offering which is comprehensive, flexible and continuous, focuses on the development of broad communication skills, on values education and a continuing learning capacity ultimately reinforces the young person's self-esteem and as such is crucial for young people in order to understand and manage complexity and enlarge their chances of employment.⁵

In this vein, we consider education not as an optional 'extra' in attempts to reduce unemployment but as the key means of doing so. It is vital to recognise that any attempt to improve the situation for youth employment depends on access by the young people to an effective education: one which both prepares them for work and fosters their active participation in society. Education conceptualised as such is the necessary 'foundation' upon which all the other 'E pillars' stand.

In the following, the social and economic impacts of education shall briefly be sketched out in more detail before highlighting the manifold forms this kind of 'enabling' education may take.

⁴ Cf. Wyn/Dwyer: *Les jeunes et l'éducation: les nouveaux profils de la transition*, International Social Science Journal, June 2000, no. 164).

⁵ Cf. Ramirez-Guerrero (2003): *The fight against structural youth unemployment: the role of civil society organisations and ICT training in providing effective school to work transitions*, International Youth Foundation.

3. The Impact of Education

Research studies in many different settings indicate strongly the **direct benefits of education** to the individual livelihoods and a country's economy. According to the World Bank (2003), an additional year of schooling raises incomes by 10% on average and by much more in low-income countries. Education has the potential to promote sustained and job-creating economic growth: no country has ever achieved economic growth without reaching the critical threshold of achieving a 40% adult literacy rate. These studies also show the reverse effects, i.e. the difficulties and economic loss induced by those who leave the education system without qualifications and those who never are given the chance to enter the formal education system.

The economic cost of a lack of education for a country is exemplified in a Dusseldorp Foundation study for the case of Australia. The study found that about 35,000 students each year do not complete their secondary schooling and will not participate in further formal education or training. For each individual early leaver, taking into account factors including earnings, tax and social security arrangements, together with the estimated direct costs to the community, including tax revenues and increased social security expenditures this gives a total estimated lifetime direct cost to individuals and government of AUS\$37,000 per early school leaver. This is repeated for each school year group. When put together these costs represent a formidable total of \$2.6 billion per year. The financial costs do not include the emotional costs of exclusion for each person from opportunity.

The social or non-market costs of early school leaving are considerable, both for individuals and for the rest of society. Some examples of these costs to individuals, include:

- decreased opportunity for job mobility and training
- lower levels of personal health
- decreased financial security
- lower non wage benefits at work, such as reduced working conditions and status.

Costs to government and the rest of society include:

- decreased social cohesion
- higher costs associated with the provision of health care
- higher costs associated with crime prevention and protection
- higher administrative costs attached to providing social welfare programs.⁶

The benefits of a comprehensive quality education do, of course, not only translate into positive economic outcomes but are equally decisive for young people's development of social capital and the promotion of an active and positive citizenship, ultimately fostering social cohesion and integration.

The 'Delors Report' (report of the International Commission for Education in the 21st century, submitted to UNESCO) laid special emphasis on the importance of adopting a holistic approach to

⁶ Cf. Dusseldorp (2002): *How Young People are Faring*. Dusseldorp Skills Forum, Sydney, 2002.

the education of youth for employment and effective citizenship (Delors, 1996). The report argues that young people living in what for many is a turbulent, rapidly changing world need new values and the knowledge, skills and understandings that will enable them to find effective ways of coping with the pressures and contradictions apparent in their societies and their daily lives. The report therefore refers to 'Four Pillars of Education':

1. Learning to Know. Building the foundation for life-long learning together with the possibility of in-depth work in selected areas.

2. Learning to Do: Education for decent work and gainful employment. The capacity to apply knowledge in diverse settings.

3. Learning to Live Together in harmony; education for peace and international understanding. This aspect involves developing an understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values – and thus helping to achieve a spirit which recognises our societies' essential interdependence and the need to work together harmoniously and constructively.

4. Learning to Be: Building individual and cultural identity. Implicit in this is the kernel of the whole report, the richness and diversity which lies in every human being, often untapped, 'the hidden treasure'.

The UNEVOC Centre in its approach to vocational and technical education sees the interrelationship between the practically oriented emphases in education and the need to be conscious of the wider human needs of which productive work is an important part. There is also an important link between the four pillars and the six E's, particularly equity and empowerment.

One further example shall illustrate the enormous **social benefits** gained from education and their impact on youth employment, i.e. the role of education in HIV/AIDS prevention. The HIV/AIDS epidemic is – in terms of its devastating impacts on the lives of young people – perhaps the most urgent issue in many countries with regards to social development. ILO recently reported that more than 26 million labour force participants are HIV-positive, which has severe consequences for every social and economic context of the country affected (ILO 2004). Young people are disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS: in total, an estimated 10 million youth are living with the disease today and must also face the adverse effects it has on their ability to find decent work. Others, whose parents are affected by or died as a result of HIV/AIDS, are forced to compromise on their education in order to contribute to household income. In order to protect the productive force of youth in the regions touched hardest by the HIV/AIDS crisis, governments and civil society stakeholders must act urgently on the promotion of preventive education programmes coupled with training in life skills and basic education. Education must be supported to play its ameliorating role since it is absolutely central to an effective response.

4. Which kind of education for young people?

As already introduced earlier, education and training systems need to provide different and multiple pathways in order to accommodate a variety of needs and interests of young people and respond to the more complex transition patterns from the education system to the formal and informal labour market. Education is the single most important factor for young people to lead productive and responsible lives: it contributes, from an early age, to the socialisation, integration and empowerment of individuals. In order to fully harness its social, individual and economic benefits, it must, however, not be limited on the skills on which the labour market is focused. Rather, it must link adequate content with the social and intellectual capacities needed for the 21st century. This implies a reorientation of the curriculum so that all young people will have the opportunity to acquire competencies for life.⁷ Apart from the basic skills, employment and active citizenship require critical thinking skills and personal qualities such as sociability, interpersonal communication skills, integrity and responsibility.

4.1 A quality basic education for all

The concept of a 'quality basic education' is the necessary prerequisite to achieving any of the six E's. UNESCO's Director-General, Mr. Koïchiro Matsuura, commented on this link between basic education and employment at the occasion of the International Youth Day in 2003. A basic quality education '[...] is essential to enable young people to acquire the basic competencies and life skills leading to meaningful employment, further learning opportunities throughout the life-span, and effective citizenship. Let us not forget, furthermore, that education's contribution to the preparation of young people for the world of work cannot be confined to functional literacy, important though this is. After all, the very availability of young people for employment will be in doubt unless there is effective preventive education against the spread of HIV/AIDS. Nor can sustainable livelihoods for rural populations be achieved without appropriate forms of education and training for young people.'⁸

Basic education understood as a broad concept encompassing students' learning 'to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning.'⁹ is not only laying the foundations necessary for meaningful employment, but also contributes to promoting healthy life-styles and to fostering an effective citizenship. Basic education therefore combines preparation for work and active citizenship. The implication of the concept of 'basic education' is furthermore that it provides for **all** students and is equitable in essence.

However, education does not automatically provide for qualities such as equity and empowerment unless specific measures are taken. These measures constitute the long-term aims of UNESCO and require a continual redefinition. In the past 50 years, UNESCO, together with other agencies and its Member States has made major strides towards the provision of an effective basic education for all students. The number of enrolments in secondary education has multiplied by more than ten in this

⁷ Cf. Interagency Consultative Group on Secondary Education Reform and Youth Affairs, Fourth Meeting, 30 June –2 July 2004, UNESCO HQ Paris, *Final Report*.

⁸ Koïchiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, *Message on the occasion of International Youth Day 2003*, Paris.

⁹ World Education Forum (2000), Dakar, *Final Report*.

period. Between 1990 and 2000 the gross enrolment ratio at secondary level grew, as a global average, from 56% to almost 78%. The pressure for this growth arises from the conviction of people that secondary education would provide an entry to productive work, at reasonable wage levels and with good working conditions. But even if there is evidence that this link between education and work has worked in the past, the new influx and the concomitant changes in the socio-economic environment imply an urgent redefinition and renewal of secondary education. The past format of adolescents' education is becoming inappropriate for many of the students who are now completing primary school: there is an increasing pressure on assuring that the provisions made for extending education are effective in preparing for the world of work and for citizenship alike.

The challenge consists in the fact that secondary education '[...] not only must be expanded in response to increasing demand but must also be redefined, renewed and improved if it is to fulfil its assigned functions of preparing learners in both formal and non-formal settings for higher education, for the world of work and, perhaps most importantly, for responsible citizenship in a changing world.'¹⁰

This reorientation comprises the renewal of learning content, targeted measures aimed at disadvantaged young people and girls and young women and last but not least, the provision of learning opportunities for out-of-school adolescents. Given the importance of these objectives and the sheer diversity and number of separate efforts, a stronger coordination is needed on all levels.

4.2 Meeting the needs of adolescents

The period of adolescence is one of major change and crucial for the development of the individual: it is between the ages of 12 and 20 that young people define the broad lines of their future, not only for employment but for their personal lives and their role as citizens.

The concept of an education appropriate to these multiple needs is therefore essential. The major growth in post-primary education indicates the strong hopes and expectations placed on these stages of young people's development. However, too many countries still fail to achieve universal basic education for their population, particularly as concerns the provision of equitable opportunities for women, ethnic groups and disadvantaged young people. The large numbers of drop-outs and grade repeaters and the pronounced percentage of students who leave school without any qualifications manifest the inadequacies of content and methodologies. In all countries, the area of secondary education is causing special concerns. The 'Comparative Report on Transition Issues' of OECD comments on the lack of responsiveness of key institutions such as schools, employers, trade unions and community organisations to the difficulties confronting young people: 'Too often the education and training that they are participating in fails to motivate or interest them, and its connections to working life are too tenuous ... too many do not receive either real learning opportunities in work settings while they are students, or effective information and guidance to help them to chart their futures. In particular our schooling systems, with some notable exceptions, have been slow to respond to these new workplace realities; and they have

¹⁰ Koichiro Matsuura, Director-General of UNESCO, address at the International Conference on Secondary Education, Oman 2002.

found it difficult to break free of the weight of expectations from parents, governments and universities that tend to define the primary role of schools as feeders and screeners for post-school education providers.¹¹

But what then are the solutions to these manifold shortcomings and the successful means of increasing the purpose and practical value of education throughout young people's lives?

A major issue being the need to enhance the relevance of learning contents for young people, the Bonn Centre argues for a stronger valorisation of **vocational and technical elements** in the learning process. Vocational Education and Training is not an extra but a central part of the purposes of education as work is a central part of life. The programme for technical and vocational education (TVE) promotes education to meet the demands of the world of work. It aims at helping young people and adults to take advantage of the skills they already have and to develop others through the acquisition of key competencies during general education. It advocates flexible access to learning and training throughout life, the creation of closer and stronger links between education and work, and training people for sustainable development. To reach these objectives, the programme assists Member States by setting in place activities to develop national TVE policies and forge closer links between education, industry, agriculture and business, to improve national TVE infrastructures, and to enrich data banks and documentation.

Secondly, we argue that stronger attention must be given to the important role of **non-formal and informal education** provision. In many contexts, it is non-formal education that has the best potential to reach out to disadvantaged and hard-to-reach groups (rural youth, ethnic minorities, out-of-school children and adolescents and drop-outs, young people living in conflict and post-conflict situations). Also, non-formal learning is often considered by young people as the most effective, positive and attractive counterpart to inefficient formal systems. As part of the global UN campaign against poverty and marginalisation, UNESCO e.g. has launched a six-year programme for practical training of youth at risk, whose needs cannot be covered by the formal system. The programme works with specific groups in difficulty: ethnic minorities, migrants, refugees and those growing up in slum areas. All projects involve common features: linking the immediate needs with a training programme that teaches relevant skills and knowledge while at the same time strengthening literacy, supporting economic independence through assisting with marketing and involving the learners in the running of their own communities. Thus, social integration is seen as a necessary adjunct to economic independence. For the UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre this emphasises the increased importance that must be given to the **partnership between formal and non-formal education**.

Finally, in order to provide culturally, socially and economically relevant education, a renewed emphasis must be placed on **life-long learning schemes**. Especially in countries lacking universal access to education, these schemes provide various benefits to both young people and adults.

The period ahead will see continued efforts to reform educational systems all over the world. It is not yet possible to anticipate the successful achievement of all the purposes defined for education in any one setting. What is needed, however, is the will to work together so that all individual

¹¹ OECD (2002): *The Comparative Report on Transition Issues*. OECD, Paris.

successes and best practice are scaled up and the lessons learned from them are put into practice for more comprehensive solutions.

5 Conclusion

The UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre and UNESCO Headquarters in Paris recommend to the YES Campaign an endorsement of education as the enabling mechanism for the Six E's. Education and training of young people is the essential foundation for the Campaign's success since it is both the pre-condition for meaningful employment opportunities and the key to young people's empowerment and active participation in society. In order to fully harness the potential benefits of education, the discussion on its quality and relevance must be put to the fore: needed is a kind of education which, both formal and informal, recognises the central part that work plays in providing a sense of purpose to the many avenues for schooling and also places significant emphasis on technical and vocational training (the 'vocationalisation of the curriculum'). At the same time, it must provide young people with the tools and capacities necessary to navigate in an environment of increasing complexity. As such, we consider education not as an optional 'extra' in attempts to reduce youth unemployment, but as the key means of doing so.

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