Urban Youth Unemployment Study in Selected Urban Centers in Papua New Guinea

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7.4.	Do you think the current Youth Policy (long-term benefits) approach meets the expectation of Medium Term Development Goals and the Vision 2050s developmental pillars?

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Executive Summary

Youth involvement in urban crime and violence in Papua New Guinea's (PNG) urban towns and cities are a topic that has received increased attention over the last few years. The rapid urban growth is occurring without planning and growth in urban youth unemployment levels multifaceted by deficiencies in government delivery systems compounded by 'snail phase' or weak government involvements. The crisis calls for an instituting of a sustainable urbanisation policy as a priority for manageable urban development in acknowledgement of acute formal urban youth unemployment problems. A properly implemented sustainable urbanisation and employment policy would stimulate economic growth and mobilise resources at the urban centers to accommodate urban youth. This would occur first with an undertaking of comprehensive reform on existing policies based on integrating vision of governance and collective commitment to manage efficiently sustainable urbanisation and productive employment opportunities in the urban centers of PNG.

The main purpose of this paper is to provide a perspective for identifying risk and resilience factors that shape whether unemployed urban youth will become involved in crime and violence or not, is a useful tool to understanding the complex context in which young people develop into adults. Together with the concrete recommendations, the study provides stakeholders a range of options to tackle the issue of urban youth unemployment. This research will be a useful reference and a stimulating starting point for National Youth Commission (NYC) and other stakeholders for further ideas and approaches to tackle urban youth unemployment and other associated problems. Resources will have to be mobilised, but the high return on investment in urban youth in the long term in terms of development gains and cost savings has to be proven on in time and time again. For a number of years, 'urban youth study' has not been conducted and has framed a number of critical discourses, both popular and academic. At the same time, parliamentarians and other government leaders have, in addition to urban youth, should focus on the growing rates of unemployment and the growth of networks of establishing more employable institutions to accommodate the growing number of youth in the urban centers.

This study investigates the driving forces, issues and challenges by utilization of a rapid appraisal research methodology. The methodology is utilized in the research to compare the relative strength of both the 'cause' and 'effect' factors determining unemployed urban youth to establish whether; 'cause' forces are stronger than the 'effect' forces over the period of reform. This insight raises the question of whether the anticipated rates of crime and violence by unemployed urban youth in the main urban centers are likely to be 'excessive' or not. We conclude that urban centers in PNG needs to maintain reasonably high growth to alleviate the crime and violence issues associated with rapid urbanisation and government reforms in the public sector. This can be achieved by encouraging and promoting private sector development and 'private-public partnership' in supporting employment creation in the economy for youth in general. The services sector needs to be expanded further to absorb urban youth unemployment and economic growth associated with rapid urbanisation.

1.   Introduction

The population growth in PNG has increased from 2.2% in 1980 to 3% in 2000 as shown in the 2000 Population Census and it also increased further up to 4.1% in 2011 Population Census and is expected to increase over the next decade (National Statistic Office, 2011). Accordingly, the youth population will also increase and this will put more pressure on the services available for young people. Approximately 80,000 young people leave the school system each year. The formal labour force has been able to absorb less than 10,000. This equates to 0.2 percent of the total population per year (World Bank Indicators, 2013). The employment index shows that there has been a real decline in the numbers employed in industries since 1990. The current Education Policy of 2005 promotes universal education. The Education system is now able to educate more children to reach Grade 10 and Grade 12. Papua New Guinea is faced with well-educated children being pushed-out of schools at their highest-level of education. With little space in the higher institutions and lack of employment opportunities the well-educated push-outs have nowhere to go, but ends up in urban areas to look for formal and informal jobs fuelling the emergence of informal squatter settlements in the urban areas. In addition, settlements in urban centers are branded as breeding grounds for criminals. People come to Port Moresby or other urban centers in the hope of getting some form of employment and others attracted by the opportunities of the city. When they learnt that their dreams are limited by the realities of life in the city they had to cluster in their little ethnic groups in shanty-towns on the city's edges.

Without a viable strategy aimed at dealing with urban youth, rapid urbanisation and unemployment issues, it is impossible to think of urbanisation as a sustainable development outcome not only for the urban centers but PNG as a whole. Donors, such as AusAID and NZAID could play an important role in rolling out financial programs ensuring, sustainable and equitable development outcomes are gained for urban centers. This could be done by challenging most of the current aid package into development of both the urban and rural areas, particularly focusing on agriculture and other livelihood activities. Most importantly, generation of employment opportunities in rural areas is acutely needed to retain vast amount of people who would otherwise migrate to urban areas. Investment key areas such as agriculture and infrastructure are needed to absorb the rapid turn out of graduates from universities and other educational institutions in the country.

The NYC Bill 1998 has been passed on December first during the last sitting. The National Youth Policy and the Corporate Plan have also been endorsed by cabinet thereafter. These instruments are put in place for the purpose of guidance and provision of clear directions as to how the Commission can manage the affairs of the general youth population in the country. The 2007-2017 National Youth Policy (2nd revision) clearly outlines the strategic pathways on how the Commission should help the youth enhance, empower and secure a sustainable future. Their strategic tool to achieve their vision is through 'OPEN' strategy (Ownership, Partnership, Empowerment & Network) method. OPEN strategy should be achieved through effective leadership, good governance and healthy, educated and skilled citizen. This is preamble in the Vision 2050's first pillar (Human Capital Development, Gender, Youth and Empowerment). The NYC policy document and the Vision 2050 (s1.17, s1.25.1 & s2.1.3) reveal that people empowerment, citizen participation, and greater attention to rural balanced regional development to maintain the influx of rural youth into the urban areas (GoPNG, 2009 & National Youth Policy 2007-2017, 2007). However, sadly, the Vision 2050 does not mention the strategic pathway and development of the country's youth folks in detailed.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the causes and consequences – in particular, the policy implications of increasing rate of unemployed urban youth in the urban centers. It is discussed that the employment opportunities, in either rural or the urban sector, are not growing rapidly. The paper analyses emerging trends and patterns of rapid growth of unemployed urban youth in the urban centers. It does it within a dynamic 'dual-dual framework' which places strong

emphasis on examining rural-urban migration, unemployed graduates and increasing levels of unemployment. The analysis pinpoints, among other things, the need to build up productive capacities in order to create adequate employment and incomes for growing urban youth population in the urban towns and cities. The development of productive capacities, which is a precondition for the creation of productive urban youth employment, is a central element of any strategy aimed at addressing crime and violence, unemployment, migration and urban settlements.

This paper examines unemployed urban youth challenges in the urban centers. The analysis sheds light on how each urban center and in general, PNG is dealing with challenges of urban youth and other interrelated issues like urbanisation. The outcome of this paper will be in the form of policy suggestion which would be productive urban youth, employment opportunities, and an increasing concern for bulging cities and towns, and their impacts on human health, livelihoods and the environment.

2. **Research Topic:** *"Urban Youth Unemployment Study in Selected Urban Centers in PNG"*

Policy Relevance: The policy implication of youth-focused development is that it brings questions of unemployment, poverty and marginality at the centre of political decision making. This is central because, failure to do so diverts attention away from State and other actors with the power and moral responsibility to intervene and bring about change. In recent times, the departmental heads, Members of Parliament (MP), Aid Donor agencies and other regional organisations have had meetings[1] aimed at canvassing strategies and frameworks to facilitate the development of sustainable urbanisation to accommodate the rapid growth of urban youth and rural-urban migration and generation of productive employment opportunities. Such strategies are aimed at absorbing the increasing rates of unemployment and graduates in the urban centers. The advocacy for an effective sustainable youth policy, particularly at the apex level, is suggested which would come up with programs and activities to minimize and control the rapid

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[1] For example, Forum Island Leaders, UNESCAP, Forum Secretariat, Commonwealth Secretariat and SPC have had series of meetings to start looking at rapid urbanisation, urban youth and unemployment as a complex social-behavioural-economic political process in 2007. Recently by Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in partnership with ILO, new scheme aimed at creating jobs for youth in the tourism and transport sectors (The National, November 2012).

rise of urban youth and unemployment levels in the urban centers, in order to promote economic growth and development process.

What is, however, required at the national level, and also at the regional level is the implementation of sustainable youth policies in the country. The implementation should be in line with the existing policy framework allowing institutions and regulations to support the commitment towards achieving those objectives. This would in the process allow for, provincial and regional integration, but more so for contributing to economic growth and employment opportunities in each of the urban centers. Such initiatives would be able to arrest the crime and violence, unemployment, migration, health and environment of the country.

This study appraises sustainable urban youth and productive employment policy developments of PNG in her march towards an efficient and effective economic growth. The comparative, but critical assessment of achievements and pitfalls in sustainable urban youth and employment policy developments of the urban centers will be able to achieve several objectives. One of them, apart from identifying policy developments, trends, characteristics and challenges, has hopefully allowed the researchers to come up with policy suggestions for the urban centers in PNG. The review should be done with implications for urban youth planning and management at the provincial and national levels.

Benefits of Research: Given the apparent gap in literature of provincial and regional sustainable urban youth and productive employment challenges particularly of the comparative nature, this research fills this gap by carrying out a rapid appraisal of the current context of urban youth policy making environment as it pertains to urban centers in PNG. The scooping study provides attempts and developments in productive urban youth unemployment undertaken in the urban centers as supportive of national and regional sustainable urban youth impacts. This study identifies the range of actions undertaken in the mentioned urban centers as they promote better functioning of their sustainable urban youth programs and productive employment policies. The actions include (but not limited to):

- prioritising improvements to the flexibility of productively workable urban youth programs and sustainable employment planning and management;
- promoting an adaptive method of productive urban youth within the provinces and region and beyond that will absorb unemployment issues;

- promoting youth through connecting small medium entrepreneurs in both rural and urban areas;

- promoting urban-rural migration and maintaining rural youth at the rural level by establishing rural council system to equally deliver rural services; and,

- promoting technical training centers for youth capacity building.

Why Urban Youth Unemployment Study in Port Moresby, Lae, Kokopo, Goroka, Hagen and Madang for this study? The selection of the six urban centers for this study is purposely done for two obvious reasons. First, if any urban towns and cities are to provide leadership and show way in formulating and implementing policies to enable the process for national productive urban youth employment, it would have to come from any of these six towns and cities with an equally big urban youth population. These urban centers are selected partly for this reason as they are bigger urban centers in the country and also for their initiatives (few) in undertaking various national urban youth reforms, planning and management in the past few years. Coupled with a mineral resources boom and insulated from the recent financial global crisis, PNG is posed to gain some much needed economic boost in the next few years that will further stimulate increasing urban youth unemployment, crime and violence, migration and increase in graduates.

However, other emerging urban towns, on the other hand, have recently achieved some progress with urban youth programs and some associated issues but not as extreme as the six urban centers mentioned. There is a high expectation that some of these issues and problems concerning urban youths would turn into bigger issues in the next 10 years. If that happens there is a possibility of rapid urbanisation taking place and the number of unemployed urban youth will triple. The other emerging urban centers not mentioned, their endeavours in planning and formulating policies and reforms are acknowledged in the literature review, and wherever applicable in the paper.

Research Objectives: This study provides a rapid appraisal or scooping study of Port Moresby, Lae, Kokopo, Goroka, Hagen and Madang's current urban youth unemployment trends, characteristics and challenges for economic growth. The comparative study, set out in the context of the larger regional urban youth unemployment issues, attempts to accomplish three major objectives. They include:

- examine the characteristics, trends and challenges of urban youth unemployment in the six urban centers;

- identify factors affecting the achievements of both static and dynamic efficiency in sustainably productive urban youth employment programs; and,

- identify national and regional actions which could promote the better performance of urban youth employment programs and reduce the increasing rates of unemployment and other related issues.

3.   Methodology

This research report is based on an empirical, one month (December 2012) and two weeks (January 2013) study in Lae, Port Moresby, Goroka, Kokopo, Madang and Hagen. The study was funded by NYC. Three primary research methodologies were used to collect information. These were in-depth interviews, questionnaires, and the analysis of primary documentary evidence from Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), World Bank, government departments, NGOs, CBOs, employers, and academics regarding their knowledge on the urban youth unemployment, particularly pertaining to PNG.

Questionnaires and interviews were developed from a stratified random sampling of participants. The strata involved were both male and female urban youth of: (a) school age (community schools to universities or colleges), (b) new graduates, (c) school drop-outs, and (d) youth who had never been to schools. Participants from each of these strata were randomly selected to answer several questions pertaining to urban youth unemployment issues. Particularly knowledgeable individuals and people in key youth organisation(s) positions from each of the strata were further interviewed to gain additional insights on PNG's urban youth unemployment issues in past, current and future.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: It begins with the identification of salient characteristics of the urban youth unemployment in the context of youth encouragement and empowerment in PNG. Subsequent sections look at definitions and conceptual clarifications, factors associated with the dynamic roles of PNG government via NYC's contribution towards reduction and elimination of youth unemployment. Asking whether the government through NYC is ready for youth empowerment, engagement and job creation, NYC's participation with

other stakeholders (funding agencies) and the potentiality for NYC to achieve its vision and goals, regulating NYC policy developments, and other development pillars that NYC needs to inaugurate for its contribution towards empowering and enhancing a sustainable future for all young people in PNG. Several suggestions are cited for policy formulation for NYC's youth empowerment, enhancement and participation, and NYC's youth unemployment reduction orientated policy making at the national and regional levels.

4.   Literature Review

The literature on youth issues is very broad regarding developed and developing countries in the world. But sadly, literature on youth, particularly urban youth unemployment in PNG is very limited or not at-all. Few discussion or meeting papers from government departments and Forum Island Countries (FICs) have been available since the 1990s. Recent works are predominantly focused on other youth issues. The issue of 'youth unemployment' has so far become a centre of international debate. It continued to be a serious and growing international problem which consequently had called for a concerted effort from every nation to seek decent solution to the problem. A global action plan is now required to expand opportunities worldwide for youth to be exposed to and be involved in development activities.

Based on the United Nations (UN) and International Labour Office's (ILO) (2002) report in its 'guide for employers' issue titled 'Meeting the Youth Employment Challenge'; it is highlighted that there are 510 million young women and 540 million young men in the world today. It further clarified that the 20 percent of the world's population is aged between 15 and 24 years old (UN Youth Information Bulletin, 1999). Unescap (2006) revealed that more than 25 percent of the youth in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and most Pacific island countries (PICs) are presently unemployed. The UN agency blamed the high rate of labour force growth and the slow rate of job creation as behind the continued high unemployment rate in these countries. In such countries as the Philippines and other smaller PICs, significant changes in the structure of production and informal businesses in recent years have altered employment arrangements, accelerating growth in part-time employment. Perhaps, the lack of jobs has 'forced 41 percent of males and 50 percent of females to become idle after graduation'. It is revealed that on average, a graduate has to wait for '18 months before being employed' (Unescap, 2006; 247-248).

Young people, in particular, continue to migrate to urban areas for social and economic reasons. The Government of PNG (GoPNG) and city authorities are struggling to cope with the growing demands on infrastructure and service provision. The majority of urban migrants find themselves living in informal settlements and slums without basic services such as running water, sewer and sanitation systems. In Port Moresby, about 40 percent of the population lives in settlements; 80 percent of which are unplanned (World Bank, 2008). The unclear demarcation of land and property has led to disputes over ownership and fuelled tensions among migrants, landowners and local indigenous groups. As a consequence, social ties between and within communities are under considerable strain. Rates of crime and violence are high.

While UNDP (2008), ADB (2002) and ILO (2002) provided a succinct study that urban youth constitute a disproportionate part of the urban poor. In Port Moresby, the largest city in PNG, youth between the ages of 15 and 29 represent about 35.1 percent of the total population as compared to 28.5 percent nationally. It is estimated that the youth cohort will grow by at least another 13 percent by 2015 due to natural population increases and rural-urban migration (World Bank, 2008). According to the 2000 PNG Census, Port Moresby's migrant population, for example, was estimated to have increased from 48 percent in 1990 to 58 percent in 2000 (PNG Census, 2000). However, since internal migration is not closely monitored or controlled, it is difficult to estimate the exact level of urbanisation.

The combination of rapid demographic growth and urbanisation also creates tremendous pressures for employment generation. The ILO estimated that while around 50,000 youth reach working age and look to enter the workforce in PNG each year, the absorptive capacity of the formal economy was limited to only about 5,000 people per year (ILO, 2002). In a more recent report by Kanaparo and Imbun (2010) revealed that such increased is a very constrained labour market, youth of working age are greatly disadvantaged by unequal access to jobs and services because they lack the necessary qualifications to obtain formal employment or to compete effectively in the formal and informal sectors. For instance, in Port Moresby, the overall unemployment rate stood at 21.2 percent for men and 12.8 percent for women (ILO, 2002 & UNDP, 2008). However, they also revealed that unemployment rates rose to over 50 percent for males and 30 percent for females between the ages of 15 and 24, while they declined to under 20 percent for men aged 25-29 and to under 10 percent for women in that same age group (ADB, 2002 & World Bank, 2007 & 2008). These recent studies indicate that increasing subsets of urban youth are being socially and economically marginalised.

Further, there is also inexistence of limited studies done on specific provinces on some aspects of general youth issues. Human Development Report (2006), PNG National Training Council (2009) and UNHABITAT (2004) shed lights on the projects that focus on disadvantaged urban youth between the ages of 16 and 25 that neither work nor study and who have limited social and economic opportunities. An exhaustive study of PNG urban youth issues linking to unemployment and underemployment is provided by UNDP (2008) and World Bank (2007). They captured the underlying issues that pose significant challenges for the socio-economic prospects of these marginalised urban youth. However, as these studies are Port Moresby alone studies, they provide little attempt in providing a holistic and comparative analysis of the other major urban centers in PNG. Perhaps, the absence of such a comparative study of the major urban centers is the justification of this study.

5.   Urban Youth Unemployment

Urban youth unemployment is simply defined as the state of urban youth being jobless. Youth unemployment is perceived to be a symptom of a malfunctioning economic system team up with political variability. Urban youth unemployment condition in PNG has increased in an alarming rate; and consequently, afflicts the lives of many young people. Poverty which is one of the effects of unemployment, contributes tremendously to related social problems like squatting, criminality, street vending, malnutrition, and low literacy. Because employment is such an important part of our personal life plan to survive, to be unemployed is to be out of our personal life plan in order to survive, to be employed is to be out of the cultural and social mainstream.

From the economic parlance, urban youth unemployment arises when Gross National Product (GNP) declines over a long period of time and when businesses reduce their output. Cutbacks in production inevitably mean that industries use less labour and materials. Consequently some workers will lose their jobs and graduates seeking new jobs will have a difficulty finding employment. Increased youth unemployment is a major consequence of cyclical declines in real GNP during period of recession. For example, workers in industries usually are laid off especially those who are engaged in the production of producer durable and consumers' goods because investment purchases by business and purchases of durable goods by consumers decline during the period of recession (UNDP, 2008 & Human Development Report, 2006).

Large cohorts of urban youth have become 'victims' of the erroneous process of modernisation and development. The socio-economic impacts of development and modernisation had a greater impact on the normal lifecycle of the youth. When the education system could not accommodate everyone into the mainstream and limited jobs available it meant that most young people turn into activities that would earn them a living for survival. Therefore this situation has forced young females to participate in prostitution whilst young males survive by involving in criminal activities.

The law and order situation in the country is bad enough and Port Moresby alone is far more worse which is tarnished at the international level. Therefore the entire blame goes to the urban youth but we are ignorant of our efforts to critically address them and put in place measures that can effectively reduce the associated problems. Concerned individuals and groups have become vocal about the issues for many years but little has been done. Government departments and non-government organisations have been instrumental in drafting policies after policies, programs after programs but to date, there are little or no concrete and empirical evidences of implementation and achievement of the desired results. Such attitudes shown towards implementing of policies and programs and level of funding by those responsible, has only created frustrations among the youth community and as a result it has forced them to embark on a life of crime.

5.1.   Types of Urban Youth Unemployment

When a young worker leaves a job for any reason, a job separation occurs. Job separation results when a young worker quits, is fired by the employer or is laid off for some reasons. Job separation is always to be expected because of poor mismatch between education and industry in matters of human resource development. Some colleges and universities produce young graduates whose qualifications in terms of training, acquisition of knowledge and skills do not fit the needs of the labour market and consequently, job search becomes difficulty. In addition to that, the number of young graduates who pass-out from the universities and colleges also adds to the list of urban youth unemployment.

The nature of urban youth unemployment has taken a different mode. This study further investigates indebt the different types of unemployment that has not been explored by researchers in the context of PNG. In doing so, the participants' views are analysed in

accordance with the authors' views and classified accordingly into the different types of unemployment where unemployed urban youth falls in as explain from the socioeconomic perspectives: Frictional unemployment, structural unemployment, cyclical unemployment, technological unemployment and seasonal unemployment. The unemployed urban youth are undoubtedly in almost all categories mentioned. Detail explanations of the different modes are from socioeconomic outlook giving a clear picture of where our unemployed urban youth are in the unemployment category.

5.1.1. Frictional Unemployment

Frictional unemployment occurs when young people search for jobs that best suits their skills and preferences. Frictional unemployment represents the unusual amount of unemployment resulting from young people who have left jobs that did not work out are searching for new jobs, or young people who are either entering or re-entering the labour force to search for jobs. For example, if one is a graduate and spend six months looking for the right job, they could be counted among the frictionally unemployed during that period. If a worker who is dissatisfied with a job like managing a fast food restaurant quits and takes two months to find a new job, that worker would be among the frictionally unemployed for that period.

The amount of frictional unemployment depends on the frequency with which workers change jobs and the time it takes to find new jobs. Job changes occur often and a considerable degree of unemployment is frictionally and lasts only a short time. This is evident in the study, where some of the urban youth have been frictionally unemployed. This is an area that needs consideration by governments and other stakeholder to reduce this type of unemployment to certain extend by more efficient placement services.

5.1.2. Structural Unemployment

Structural unemployment is one of the determinant of urban youth being unemployed. It usually results from shifts in the pattern of demand for goods and services or changes in technology in the economy that affect the profitability of hiring young workers in specific industries. Structural unemployment often requires that young workers who lose their jobs learn new skills or move to another location to find satisfactory new jobs. When the demand for goods decreases, some young workers will naturally be dismissed as production of those goods decline. For example, a

decline in the demand for second-hand clothes from Australia could cause a decrease in the demand for customers and second-hand workers. Therefore, the second-hand workers can lose their jobs as a result of this reduction in the demand are said to be structurally unemployed. This is evident in Goroka Coffee Plantation in Goroka with some respondents.

Some young workers in the pool of structurally unemployed will have to find jobs in the new industries requiring different skills to regain employment. The changes in information technology (IT) are also causing structural unemployment. For example, more machines and electronic equipment in an industry will imply a reduction in the demand for manual workers. Perhaps, the PNGs' economy is always in flux in the sense that the patterns of demand and technology changes are causing a loss monthly or yearly. Both the industrial and regional pattern of demand for young workers are also changing, implying that some young workers will lose their jobs and have to search for new jobs as a result of normal changes in the economy.

It is inevitable that a certain percentage of the young labour force in PNG will experience job separation over the years, forcing young workers to stay in a job and preventing employers from ever cutting back employment. Going out of the business, or firing or lay-off young workers would involve loses in efficiency just as surely as excessive unemployment would result in waste. It is no doubt that some young people would not get a job when the workers are forced to stay in a job due to the IT changes in our global village.

5.1.3. Cyclical Unemployment

Cyclical unemployment is evident among young people in most of the urban centers in PNG. Cyclical unemployment results from recurring depressions and cyclical fluctuations in business activities and government projects. It is also attributable directly to a cyclical decline in real gross national product (GNP). Cyclical unemployment is the amount of unemployment resulting from declines in real GNP during periods of construction or recession when the economy fails to operate at its potential level. The increase in urban youth unemployment observed here is due to political instability, uneven distribution of services and economic growth. Perhaps, it is a cyclical unemployment that is far more evident in both rural and urban areas of PNG. In macroeconomic policy analysis, cyclical unemployment received the greatest amount of attention. This is because cyclical unemployment is viewed as controllable. Polices that help prevent cyclical declines in real GNP can prevent cyclical unemployment. Thus, the PNGs'

economy is utilising its labour force to the extent possible when cyclical unemployment is present. This means that not only urban young workforce is unemployed but also that aggregate production and aggregate real income are below the levels the economy is capable of supporting.

5.1.4. Technological Unemployment

Technological unemployment is manifested in some urban centers. This type of unemployment arises due to the advancement of science and technology, resulting in the invention of labour-saving machines and other devices to accelerate production. Technological development necessitates new skills in many industries, leaving those workers who have out-dated skills without a job. With the aid of new machines, one person can now do the work formerly performed by many workers. While before we needed elevator person to maintain each operation, we only have to push the bottom of the number and we can reach the floor of the building to which we are going.

While industrialisation is perceived to be a sign or progress associated with social change, it has greatly affect lives of young people. It is believed that the massive introduction of labour- saving machines has created tremendous displacement of young labour force in industrial production. Certainly the technological unemployment is evident in PNG where employees have been replaced by machines. For example, the introduction of computers in the government departments has created displacement of clerical and secretarial workers. Before the departments have three to four employees doing the same work but now only one who knows how to handle the computer is employed and as a result, unemployment.

5.1.5. Seasonal Unemployment

Seasonal unemployment arises during certain periods that usually result from the reduction in demands for labour. This is maybe attributed to the seasonal pattern of consumer's habits or to variation in production associated with climatic change. Infrastructure and construction activities are peak levels during summer and dropped down during the rainy season. Demand for clothing necessarily varies with climatic change. This type of unemployment is apparent in PNG especially in the informal market sector. Graduates and unemployed youth engaged themselves selling cash crops and raise poultry for other people to be paid fortnightly or monthly. Selling of cash crops, especially betel nuts known as '*buai*' in Melanesian pidgin language is widely

practice in the major urban centers. Those are also variation in employment opportunities as a result of seasonal patterns of production, especially in the agricultural sector.

The total amount of unemployment in any month in PNG is the sum of frictional, structural, and cyclical unemployment. Frictional and structural unemployment result from natural and perhaps unavoidable occurrences in a dynamic economy. Cyclical unemployment, however, is the result of imbalances between aggregate purchases and the aggregate production corresponding to full employment. There are no readily available solutions to cyclical unemployment, unlike the other types of unemployment. Unemployed urban youth going through these types of unemployment should learn some practical examples from neighbouring developed nations like Australia and New Zealand to solve these problems. A solution to this problem of cyclical unemployment might be remedied through the initiative of the government by way of youth placement services.

5.2. Causes of Urban Youth Unemployment

Urban youth unemployment is caused by several factors. These are economic, political, social, technological invention, environmental, cultural, financial, defective educational system and to name a few. Graduates are sinking in the pool of urban youth unemployment caused by these factors. The PNG government has come to now know the causes of urban youth unemployment but the igniting engine room where decisions are made is very weak to solve the issues of unemployment because of the dysfunctional or failed State mechanisms.

The economic, social, political, technological invention, defective educational system and financial causes of unemployment usually arise due to a nation State's failing to address them at the first instance. Calamities like economic and financial crisis (i.e., Asian Financial Crisis in October 2008), political difference between governments and oppositions, ethnic clashes, rascalism, corruption and nepotism that result in poor and feeble management. It also occurs at the end of the school year when a large number of new graduates look for jobs. The defective educational system contributes to the youth unemployment problems because of the 'mismatch' between education and industry in relation to human resource development. Our colleges and universities have been turning out graduates whose qualifications in terms of acquisition of knowledge and skills do not fit the needs of the labour market, or in some cases, for being responsible in the 'over supply' or 'under supply' of skills made available to business and industry. A major policy issue is the relation of urban youth unemployment to inflation. In

theory, when demand for labour rises to the point at which unemployment is low and employers find it difficult to hire qualified workers and graduates, wages increases, pushing production costs and higher prices and thus, contributing to inflation. When demand declines and unemployment increases, inflationary pressures on wages and production cost are relieved. Compounding this theory, however, urban youth unemployment rates are high – an area that needs explanation and research.

5.3. Effects of Urban Youth Unemployment

The unemployment problem in the country is affecting not only the individual, but also the family and the nation. If the individual has no financial reserves on which to draw to meet the essential requirement of life, the feeling of rejection and personal life plan failure is evidently felt. This feeling of deprivation as a result of unemployment may lead to hopelessness, causing depression and emotional problems. Children leave school at an earlier stage of their school life because they lack the necessary support to continue their studies. Some of them become susceptible to various types of diseases because of poor health.

Prolonged unemployment of many young people is one of the causes for social movement, rascal activities and political unrest in PNG. Urban youth unemployment for a long period of time may lead to deterioration of both the physical and psychological health of the individual – causing levels of heart disease, alcoholism and in extreme cases, forming rascal groups. The culture of poverty that often results from urban unemployment is indeed a serious problem in these urban centers.

5.4. Urban Youth Underemployment

Urban youth underemployment is evident in the urban centers. It arises when an individual is employed in a type of job that does not use his or her maximum knowledge, ability, training and experience. In societies like PNG, most young people, especially the marginalised group, can earn a living only by working for others (for example, selling *buai* and raising poultry by graduates), being unable to find a job is a serious problem. Because of its human costs, the extent of underemployment should be looked into by the government with the assistance from Aid programs. Today, it is not surprising to find out that there are a lot of young salesgirls and other employees in various department stores who are graduates of universities and colleges

whose knowledge, training and experience are not directly related to the nature of tasks they perform every day.

This research report reveals that there is lack of job experience, a requirement for the position, freeze hiring in the public service, and failure to pass the prescribed test for the position, poor communication skills and lack of a 'backer'. On the other hand, the findings on underemployment reveals that applicants have no alternative but to accept any job opportunity that is available to survive. Failure to pass the test for the position applied for may not be related to their courses and they do not want to fall under the category of urban youth unemployed graduates.

5.5. Issues of Urban Youth Unemployment and Underemployment

Both issues of urban youth unemployment and underemployment are prevalent in these urban centres. The issues on urban youth unemployment and underemployment are varied; however, higher education and the labour market seem to be the focal point. For the past decade, the young graduates were feverishly engaged in an unending search for solutions to problems of unemployment, underemployment, the educated employed, and the mismatches in the labour area. The influence of education has always been looked upon as the driving force that can best offer a guarantee for success in solving or at least minimising the negative impact of these problems to national economic development.

The mismatch between the supply of and demand for educated and skilled manpower as become a common phenomenon among various graduates of various four- year courses in PNG tertiary level education. Apparently, this problem was spawned by the combined effect of the population explosion, the traditional existing education policy of the government, the unique attitudes, orientations, and values of Papua New Guineans (PNGeans) regarding higher education and higher salaries after graduation.

An important aspect worth looking into the unemployment and underemployment phenomenon is an analysis of the mismatch that calls for an assessment of the relevance of training and specialisation needed on the job. If education has to serve its meaningful purpose, perform its role in nation building and contribute its share in economic development, it has to look more

closely into various degree and diploma programs that relate to the requirements of business and industry.

5.6. Unpaid Urban Youth Workers and the Underemployed

Unpaid urban youth workers can be defined as those who work without pay in a farm or business operated by another family member. This is a common phenomenon in both urban and rural areas of PNG where family members, including children, work as farm hands and do not receive regular wages. The government nevertheless considers unpaid young workers in agriculture as officially employed. On the other hand, the increase in own account workers can be a reflection of the country's youth unemployment problem, for instance, the lack of jobs drives PNGeans to pursue a living on their own.

Estimated unpaid urban youth employees especially family members' figure further shows that 86 percent (n=89) of urban youth workers are in the informal sector (see Figure 6). This can also be added to the total unemployed urban youth in the urban centers studied, but for the purpose of this study it is included in the employment section. In both the service and industry sectors, underemployment comprised a good number of the total urban youth workers.

5.7. The Rise of Urban Youth Joblessness

The rise in joblessness is surprisingly prevalent in PNG. The graduates including grades six, eight, ten and twelve in the formal education system has added to the list of urban youth unemployed and underemployed. School-leavers and graduates from universities and colleges demand for quality education in the face of the continual cuts in employment in PNG is not as inelastic as many think. Evidence reveals that a proportion of jobless graduates from disadvantaged households usually may not be able to get a job and that seems not to reduce the number of graduates below what it could be (see Figures 3 & 4).

Papua New Guinea's signal for the faster rise of joblessness outstrips supply of unemployed graduates and that trend is elastic, though stories of job increase due to gas, oil and mineral boom. For example, evidence shows the faster growth in the mining sector has not meaningfully help reduce the issue of urban youth unemployment. In these circumstances rising of joblessness will add to the figure of unemployment totting up more fuel to the problems (poverty, rascalism,

corruption, prostitution, etc.) associated with it. Urban youth joblessness is a drastic problem that needs immediate attention by all stakeholders. As regards the huge jump in the underemployment rate, the government should not place the blame on the decline in employment in agriculture, fisheries and forestry. The governments should have some political and economic will that can facilitate agriculture, fisheries and forestry and also other sectors that would help the young unemployed graduates.

The situation of urban youth joblessness is indeed a cause for concern. The cause is a serious doubt on the government's claim that the economy is recovering. The situation is simply normal as industries modernise their production process. With joblessness on the rise, things could only get worse for the poor as they try to survive in these trying times.

5.8. The Roles of the Government and the Labour Market

With regard to the current labour market situation, a restructuring of PNG's labour force has to be initiated by the government through the establishment of a manpower export industry. There are a good number of PNGeans are overseas contract workers, especially in Australia. The role of the government on overseas employment is believed to have contributed immensely in accelerating overseas employment and maximising foreign job contracts as a national policy to ease youth unemployment and underemployment pressures in our country.

The government has a moral and legal obligation to create employment opportunities for unemployed urban youth in most of the urban centres. Youth capacity building is also lacking in PNG, where the government should provide technical training centres and connect with small medium entrepreneurs and involve unemployed youth with them. On the other hand, rural service delivery should also be encouraged to retain rural youth migrating into the urban areas like establishing a youth council system in the districts and provinces to provide small entrepreneurship programs in the local level.

5.9. The Labour Force of Papua New Guinea

The PNG government has declared that its goal of 'growth with equity' can be only achieved through employment. Growth can be attained when the workers sacrifice their time and effort. The government's policy on labour is to attract foreign investors to generate jobs. The government should lay the groundwork for schemes to create employment through the Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP) that is formulated every after five or ten years. The labour force of PNG is stagnated and the number of urban youth unemployment is increasing at a good phase. People occupying those established positions are still cuddling onto their positions even though their retirement ages are over. Evidence revealed that the government has budget shortfalls to retrench those 'old aged workers' who are working in the government departments. Almost all government departments are occupied by 'old aged workers' who should be retrenched by the government to make ways for the new graduates but because of budget shortfalls, they are still occupying these jobs. That is one reason why urban youth unemployment figure is increasing at a faster rate in PNG.

On the other hand, slight progress in employment via graduate development programs and direct recruitment by national and multinational companies is improving despite the political and economic climate is not conducive for them. The Porgera Gold Mine in the Enga Province has recruited a young workforce of 2,014 since the year 2000. They predicted that they will recruit a young local labour force of more than 2,050 since the mine's life expectancy has projected to another 32 years (2012 – 2040) (Kanaparo, 2010). Other organisations like Ok Tedi, Lihir, Bank South Pacific, SP Brewery and few others have started and double the number of recruiting graduates for their graduate development programs. However, it is not a significant indicator of reducing the urban youth unemployment problems. The problem of handling unemployed graduates and other displaced urban youth workers seems not to be a concern for the government. Signals of improvement in graduate and displaced urban youth worker employment are apparent in PNG but the government fails to rectify the improvements boosting the companies and industries to recruit more graduates.

The study into urban youth unemployment is conducted to find out the progress and implications they faced in the six major urban centers. A total of 330 participants are selected and 318 respondents returned their questionnaires whilst 12 respondents never returned their

questionnaires. Of the 318, 165 are males and 153 are females. Equal representation gives a clear indication of the urban youth issues and progress in the country. Figure 1 shows the equal representation of both males and females in the six urban centers.

Urban Areas Studied	What is your gender?		
	Males	**Females**	**No. of Respondents**
Kokopo	27	24	51
Port Moresby	28	27	55
Lae	29	26	55
Madang	30	20	50
Goroka	24	28	52
Mt. Hagen	27	28	55
Total Respondents	**165**	**153**	**318**
Total Questionnaires Given Out			**330**
Questionnaires Never Returned			**12**
Questionnaires for Each Province			**55**

Identifying youth in PNG is one of the biggest challenges faced by many researchers. In PNG, everyone is said to be youth. In other words, people above the ages of 35 are said to be youth because youth organisations are made up of both young and old. Figure 2 shows the responds from all age groups from the six urban centers studied.

Urban Areas Studied	What is your age?				
	< 18 yrs	**18-20 yrs**	**21-25yrs**	**26-30yrs**	**>30yrs**
Kokopo	2	13	10	11	15
Port Moresby	3	7	16	11	18
Lae	1	12	12	14	16
Madang	1	10	10	16	13
Goroka	0	7	13	15	17
Mt. Hagen	1	12	10	13	19
Total Respondents	**8**	**62**	**71**	**80**	**98**
	318 respondents				

Participants selection is randomly done to represent both males and females, but to choose the respondents in terms of each region was quite difficult due to various factors like demography, time limitation, resource allocated, and others. The highest total respondents are from the highlands region comprises of 107 followed by 105 from Momase. The Islands and Southern regions have 51 and 55 respondents respectively (see Figure 1 above).

This research did not target people with specific qualification. The respondents are selected from an array of urban youth from 12 years of age and above. There are some differences in the educated and uneducated unemployed urban youth in each of the urban centers studied. Figure 3 reveals the highest institution each respondent attended, and attained qualification.

Urban Areas of Studied	What is your highest qualification?				
	Primary	Secondary	College	University	None
Kokopo	21	14	2	2	12
Port Moresby	10	13	10	13	9
Lae	12	15	7	8	13
Madang	15	13	4	3	15
Goroka	19	12	2	1	18
Mt. Hagen	26	13	1	1	14
Total Respondents	**103**	**80**	**26**	**28**	**81**
	318 respondents				

It is important to note that 183 (58 %) of the respondents are primary and secondary school drop-outs. The number of college and university graduates are much lower, 54 (17 %) respondents whilst 81 (25 %) respondents have never been to any schooling process.

Figure 4 aggregates the time periods of urban youth living in the urban centers.

Urban Areas Studied	How long have you been in the City?			
	< 1month	1-3months	4-6months	> 6months
Kokopo	1	2	1	47
Port Moresby	0	2	3	50
Lae	1	0	1	53
Madang	1	1	0	48
Goroka	2	0	1	49
Mt. Hagen	1	1	2	51
Total Respondents	**6**	**6**	**8**	**298**
	318 respondents			

Most of the respondents have been living in the urban centers for many years whilst some are new arrivals from rural areas and educational institutions in the aim of getting a job. Almost all (298 out of 318 total respondents) lived in the urban centers for more than 6 months. In other words, only 20 respondents lived in the urban centre for less than 6 months. Figure 4 reveals how long the unemployed urban youth have been in the urban centers. It reflects the new rural migrants and those who are born in the urban centers and it became their homes.

6. Labour Market Prospects

Labour market reforms are fundamentally aimed at developing policies to eliminate distortions in the market to allow for efficient allocation of labour and other resources. A country ought to have a viably efficient labour market in order for it to realise its development goals via generating of employment opportunities. An efficient labour market, however is an abstract misnomer as all labour markets, including those in developed countries are fraught with varying degrees of imperfections and deficiencies (Imbun, 2006). While there is consensus amongst government departments in achieving optimum labour market efficiency, promotion of it is either done through more government intervention or relaxed control thus leaving most of the labour allocation decisions (i.e., costs and benefits) to labour market participants.

Recently there has been considerable progress reported on domestic economic growth, which has resulted in higher levels of domestic and foreign investment. However, in order to translate these investments into broader-based benefits for the population of PNG, increased attention will

need to be paid to strengthening the supply and quality of the domestic labour force, establishing a level playing field for access to resources, and encouraging the private sector by addressing challenges such as maintaining law and order, and strengthening the general investment climate.

In this regard, employers in Port Moresby and Lae indicated that there is difficulty in filling vacancies in the formal sector with reliable staff that have the basic technical skills and life skills (e.g., discipline, reliability) required to perform the work, even for semi- and relatively low-skill requirement jobs. This feedback is consistent with a recent report of skill development needs in the PICs, which shows that while unemployment levels are high, the PICs continue to import semi-skilled and skilled workers from overseas to fill jobs for which the people in the region do not have the skills or the experience to perform. The report also describes the gaps between supply and demand for vocational skills and the need to develop and invest in effective employer-based skills training among other strategies to address the skill gaps (Kanaparo & Imbun, 2010).

Yet, ideally, an efficient labour market is supposed to achieve three fundamental goals. They include matching of young workers to employment opportunities in such a way that overall employment level, wages and other working conditions are optimised. Second, the successful function of a labour market can also be evidenced by its capacity to improve dynamic efficiency (i.e. ability to promote skill formation, social stability and social security). Finally, one of the obvious signs of acknowledging the sound functioning of a labour market is its capacity to improve or maintain a sense of equity and social justice among labour force participants (Hoeven, 2000). The achievement of the equity is one of the most challenging for a labour market. While in most urban centers it seems expanding productive activities of the economy has become a priority therefore giving lowing distribution to evolve naturally. Perhaps, the labour market goals are reflected in each of the sub-sections stated in urban youth unemployment.

6.1. Why did you come to the town or city?

The influences of the contemporary world with the impacts of globalisation and modernisation upon the family units have to a large extent lessened the parental control of their children. This is especially evident in the urban communities where the influence of the cash economy has promoted individualistic and materialistic attitudes. Attempts made to address such issues by concerned authorities have also been limited by budget shortfalls because adequate funding remained the central catalyst to successfully implement urban youth programs.

The three major underlying issues pose significant challenges for the socio-economic prospects of these youth folks particularly in the urban centers are:

i)   their lack of equity in and access to the formal primary and secondary education system;

ii)   their lack of equity in and access to the labour market; and,

iii)   their lack of equity in and access to basic public services like health.

However, such inequality prompts them to migrate to have access to educational services is the most common practice. Many young people in PNG stay with family member or '*wantoks*' (relatives) as well as in rented accommodation far away from their families in order to have access to secondary and tertiary education (see Figure 5 below). Many young people live in urban settlements to further their education or look for job opportunities. Urban youth centers are generally more successful in schooling compared to their counterparts in the rural areas. Perhaps, the differences between the rich and the poor in PNG cities are growing, and acquiring [quality] education in urban centers tends to be much more available to the minority of families with sufficient funds to obtain it.

Figure 5 examines why youth migrates to the cities and towns triggered by the three significant socio-economic challenges stated above.

Urban Areas Studied	Why did you come to the town/ city?		
	Look for jobs	Study/Schooling	Others
Kokopo	25	19	7
Port Moresby	21	24	10
Lae	22	14	19
Madang	20	25	5
Goroka	26	9	17
Mt. Hagen	27	10	18
Total Respondents	141	101	76
	318 respondents		

Migration of young people depends on various reasons possibly depending on the economic (macro and micro) development of the nation. The core reasons why youth migrate to cities and towns are in search for jobs and to study. This study reveals that 44 percent (n=141) migrated to the urban centers in search for job opportunities, 32 percent (n=101) for schooling, and 24 percent (n=76) for other reasons like staying with relatives, and scarce resource or inadequate economic activities in the rural areas.

Figure 5 reveals that the main reasons why young people are on the move, particularly migrating to urban centers. The indicators show noticeably low or no attempts made by government to retain the youth in their provinces by providing socio-economic opportunities and quality education. Youth migration to urban areas is one of those insurmountable issues begetting the effective performance of PNG urban youth progress and PNG has not made any real improvement in attempting to tackle its youth problems. This leads to urban youth unemployment and other related social issues in the urban centers.

6.2. Are you employed – for how long have you been working?

Young people are the main actors of urban transformations through rural to urban migration. Migration is pivotal to and an integral part of youth's livelihoods and transition in urban centers. Youth migration in PNG is prompted by failure of rural livelihoods and rural poverty. Youth believe that migrating to urban centers is a pathway to better life opportunities.

A number of studies highlight how youth transition is closely linked to mobility and that it is a negotiated experience rather than a mere movement from childhood and adulthood (Gough, 2008; Punch, 2002). They suggest that young people's school to work transition is not unitary and straightforward but complex and fragmented. There are many pathways of youth moving towards the future. Youth transition is a complex process affected by, among other things, the possibility to find a job in the urban centers. Young people in PNG make decisions about different types of school-to-work transitions, which include migrating to continue their formal education, working in the community, or seeking employment opportunities (see Figure 3 above) in urban centers. Culturally bounded notions of responsibility are linked to how young people perceive the opportunities and constraints facing them as well as their decisions about if and how they should combine work with formal education (Punch, 2008).

However, the number of unemployed graduates in each of the six urban centers studied is increasing at a fast rate every year. Though the government preaches for quality education for all school students but what is next after schooling. In the formal education system, it takes more than 15 years for students to pass through the education process. Straight after graduating from universities and colleges, the graduates ended up being unemployed that significantly affects their personal life plan. It is a serious problem in PNG and the questions of 'how and what' can be raised. How will PNG afford to accommodate the graduates passing out every year? What can PNG do to minimise the increasing rates of students graduating every year? If these questions are answered meaningfully by the government than the types of urban youth unemployment rate will be dropped.

There are doubts among key players, such as the Education Department and the Office of Higher Education, that universities have the capacity to undertake the necessary work to improve quality. Public institutions are handicapped by low salaries and demoralised staff. Papua New

Guinea's own brand of nepotism, known as *wantokism*, undermines the higher education sector as it does public life generally. Although there has recently been much public condemnation of corruption, people are still appointed to jobs on the basis of their family and clan connections rather than their ability to perform. At the same time many students are awarded places in academic programs on the basis of whom they know and not what they know.

The question of 'are you employed?' subsequently needs more information. This question accommodates the core information (youth employment and unemployment) needed in this study. The urban youth unemployment study aggregates both the employed and unemployed urban youth in the formal and informal sectors. Figure 6 examines this question in detail.

Urban Areas Studied	Are you currently working? Yes/No? Formal /Informal?		
	Yes /Employed		No /Unemployed
	Formal	Informal	
Kokopo	6	17	28
Port Moresby	4	18	33
Lae	1	17	37
Madang	0	11	39
Goroka	1	11	40
Mt. Hagen	2	15	38
Total Respondents	**14**	**89**	
	103		**215**
	318 respondents		

It is revealed that 32 percent (n=103) of the urban youth out of 318 respondents are employed whilst 68 percent (n=215) are unemployed. Of 103 employed, 12 percent (n=14) are in the formal and 86 percent (n=89) are in the informal sectors respectively.

The other question that needs justification is, 'how long have you been working?'. This leads to figure 7 on how long the urban youth have been engaged in the formal and informal sectors.

Urban Areas Studied	How long have you been working?			
	< 5month	5-12months	1-2years	> 2years
Kokopo	1	2	6	14
Port Moresby	0	2	8	12
Lae	2	1	9	6
Madang	1	1	7	2
Goroka	2	2	3	5
Mt. Hagen	3	7	4	3
Total Respondents	**9**	**15**	**37**	**42**
	103 respondents with employment			

Job search is time consuming, cost money and resources. Unlike formal sector employment, informal sector employs most of the unemployed youth in both rural and urban areas. Of the 103 respondents, 42 respondents (41%) stated that they have been working for more than two years. These urban youth have searched for jobs and eventually they got the jobs in the formal and informal sectors. This study also reveals that they have been working for two to five years only after searching for jobs for more than two years. Thirty seven respondents (36%) revealed that they have been working for one to two years, while 15 respondents (14%) worked for five to twelve months, and 9 respondents (9%) worked for less than five months respectively. Figure 7 aggregates that relatively a premature workforce on the job and there are cues that might full them back to the unemployment level because most of them are on the 'temporary full-time' and 'part-time' engagement.

However, youth transition is shaped by the interdependent livelihood strategies and family relationships of young people. Although young people in PNG do not achieve relative social and economic independence at an early age, interdependent social and economic relationships continue throughout the life course. Many youth, for example, give substantial amounts of money to their families when they have enough jobs but also draw on familial resources such as money, land, animals, and social networks of support when they are unemployed or want to

establish a more independent livelihood as they come of age. As a result, the notion of 'youth transition' from dependent child to independent adult is problematic since young people negotiate and renegotiate their interdependence with their parents and siblings throughout the life-course.

7. Implications for labour market policies

The GoPNG's Vision 2050 launched in 2009 prioritises a number of economic growth and social development activities that include young people as beneficiaries. The GoPNG has recognised the importance of general education, skills training, life skills training and transition to gainful employment. For the last few years, a number of youth programs have been funded and implemented in both urban and rural areas. Unfortunately, most youth employment programs, including those supported by development partners and non-State actors have not been of a sufficient scale to have a significant impact on youth issue reduction and employment rates.

The National Youth Policy of 1983 was first revised in 1996. The second revision of 2007-2017 aims at addressing the changing needs of young people in the new millennium. This policy document gives consideration to the prevailing political, social and economic conditions in general and particularly in relation to youth. This is necessary in order to provide a legal basis for the youth policy and methods[2] for implementing the policy at the various levels involved (National Youth Policy 2007-2017, 2007). The development of the policy, and it's implementation calls for collaboration on the part of all stakeholders and development partners as a commitment to mainstreaming the rights of young people to information, education and training, employment, social and community protection and participation, equal opportunities and anti-discrimination policies at the national level in the next five years (2014-2018). The policy is to guide young people in their transition from childhood to bearing the responsibilities of adults and meaningfully contribute towards the development of themselves as individuals, their communities and the nation as a whole.

The trust of the policy is to promote and sustain young people's livelihood and their participation at all stages of their development into adulthood. It is important that all stakeholders, from families to non-government organisations, media, development partners, the

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[2] National Program of Actions

private sector, faith-based organisations and governments must contribute meaningfully towards young people's advancement in life. The commitment towards the realisation of the policy and its sustainability is dependent on the effective implementation of the policy, environmentally sound and feasible training, high standard performance of youth workers, and the availability of appropriate levels of funding. The need for continuous monitoring and evaluation is vital to maintain its relevance to the ever-changing cultural, social, economic and technological experiences. It is essential that the policy be implemented with increased coordination, inter-sectoral cooperation, community participation, technological collaboration and public-private partnership programs.

7.1. In terms of labour market policy making, what would you like the government to do?

The successful reform of labour markets in PNG cannot ignore the bulging of urban youth population in each of the urban centers. The modernisation of labour legislation and policies in line with expectations of the changing labour markets had to be done bearing in mind of the plight of the youth. It is estimated that on average some 45 percent of the population in PNG is in the 15-54 years age group classified themselves as youth (UN ESCAP, 2007). Urban youth unemployment and underemployment is acute apparently as a consequence of rapid population growth and poor policy responses of the government. For example, PNG had 700,000 of the one million unemployed and underemployed young people of which there has been little or no attempt made by the government to absorb them into the formal labour market (ASFADC, 2009:192). Some commentators have acknowledged the issue as a "time bomb" and many regional and international agencies are devoting much of their resources to addressing the issue (ILO, 2007). Apart from lack of urban youth friendly employment policies, economic uncertainties and limited private sector skill formation initiatives prevent many youth from achieving some form of employment. The pedagogical emphasised education system also restrict many youth from taking on vocational and technical jobs. The irony is obvious when bulk of the resource allocation is pumped into formal education system in PNG.

Figure 8 reveals what the government should do to tackle urban youth unemployment problems in the country.

Urban Areas Studied	What would you like the Government to do?			
	More training	**Create more jobs**	**Rural development**	**Others**
Kokopo	10	19	21	1
Port Moresby	16	27	11	1
Lae	12	24	15	4
Madang	9	25	14	2
Goroka	11	22	17	2
Mt. Hagen	14	29	10	2
Total	**72**	**146**	**88**	**12**
Respondents	**318 respondents**			

It is clearly represented from 146 out of 318 respondents (see Figure 8 above) that the government should create more job opportunities for unemployed youth in the country. Distinctive respondents revealed that more training (n=72) and rural development (n=88) activities should be initiated in the local and provincial levels by the government to retain the influx of rural-urban migration, and other graduates from other towns into the main urban centers.

Figure 8 (*others*) also suggest that the resources and services should be equally distributed to all provinces where they can maintain the youth back in the provincial and local levels. It is revealed that a 'bottom-up' development plan particularly focusing on the agricultural sector is critically needed. The resources and services concentration in the urban areas are the full factors of youth migrating to urban centers. The resources and services should be decentralised to all levels of the society, and create more job opportunities that can retain the youth migration.

The lack of systematic addressing of urban youth unemployment and underemployment in PNG is one of the major score points in labour markets. Governments should integrate urban youth issues in national employment plans and priorities. A good example is the 40-years document policy-Vision 2050 has totally forgotten the youth of PNG. For successful implementation of youth employment policies, they need to be absorbed into national policy planning and

implementation process in order to be part of the core line departments and ministries. If and when this happens the ministries have resources and personnel build expertise and knowledge in attending to urban youth issues. At the moment, a lack of prioritising of urban youth issue and failure to absorb it into the mainstream labour market reform has diluted the significance of an extremely critical issue.

7.2. Do you think the social issues caused by youth in the country are result of unemployment problem?

Settlements in PNG urban centers are branded as home of unemployed and breeding grounds for criminals. Young people go to the urban areas in the hope of getting some form of employment and others attracted by the opportunities of the city. When they learnt that their dreams are limited by the realities of life in the city they had to cluster in their little ethnic groups in shanty towns on the city's edges. Their daily activities become concentrated in the '*buai'* markets like Gordons and the streets of Boroko or Waigani starting from as early as 5 o'clock in the morning and finishing from 7 o'clock in the evening. Consequently children are poorly fed, live in squatters and are poorly disciplined which encourage them to resort to activities that causes breach of peace and disharmony in the settlements.

Urban centers in PNG have experienced an incredible growth since Independence. Despite its impressive growth the combine impact of mass migration from rural to urban centers, vast increase in settlement areas, boom in population growth, big number of graduates from colleges and universities, the inevitable unemployment situation and topple with these is the high level corruption in the country makes life difficult to live in. In addition to that many of the settlements are faced with an entire generation of urban youth between the ages of 10 to 20 years who have been born and raised in there. They are culturally unconscious, most of them are uneducated or have been pushed-out of the country's education system and their chances of getting some form of employment are extremely limited. They have lost contact with the ways, customs and life of the villages. Their parents are faced with enormous pressure in disciplining their children, feeding them and providing other daily needs. With the kind of behaviour displayed by the young people given economic circumstances some parents are frustrated and are compelled to let them continue with what they are doing to survive. It would therefore be inferred that what the young people are doing, at these hard times, is acknowledged and in a way

is encouraged by some parents, which I am forced to believe that the blame is shifted to the authorities concerned of being a failure in creating opportunities for the urban youth.

Furthermore, much has been written and said against our young people. Sadly our youth have become the whipping posts of all crimes and social problems of our society. Youth are perceived as problems. That is where the mistake has been over the years. Governments pump up budgets for law enforcement agencies to fight the youth while offices like the National Youth Commission have been over looked and left to operate 'without wings' for themselves. Figure 9 reveal why the people blame the youth for all crimes and social ills.

Urban Areas Studied	Do you think the social issues caused by youth in the country are result of unemployment problem?		
	Yes	**No**	**Other**
Kokopo	48	0	3
Port Moresby	49	0	6
Lae	48	0	7
Madang	47	0	3
Goroka	49	0	3
Mt. Hagen	46	0	9
Total Respondents	**287**	**0**	**31**
	318 respondents		

As it is revealed in Figure 9, 90 percent (n=287) of the respondents agreed that youth are the cause of all social issues in the country as a result of unemployment. Since youth are not engage in any forms of employment, they follow the short-cut routes (stealing) to survive causing problems to the society. It is represented by 10 percent (n=31) of the respondents that the successive governments have continuously published in the media about youth engagement in formal and informal employment. However, it does not eventuate, and the youth engages themselves in illegal informal businesses like street vender but the government's law enforcing agencies like police see them as problems and chase them everywhere in the cities and towns. Such remarks demonstrate the urgency of the need to address urban youth issues in the country. It also highlights the importance of the issues and provide as a signal to the government to give prioritised attention to it.

7.3. As a solution, what would be the appropriate policy response?

National Youth Commission is currently undergoing a redirection exercise to put more emphasis in skills development and capacity building efforts in youth to prepare themselves for self-help programs, employment opportunities and other sustainable activities that would enhance their lives. The government is now embarking on an export driven policy, one which is more focused on agricultural economy and sustainable development. The then Minister for Labour and Employment and current Prime Minister of PNG, Hon. Peter O'Neil announced in the Post Courier (17th January 2003) that the government's intention to introduce the national service as a vehicle to train PNGeans to acquire employable practical and technical skills in engineering, farming, fishing, hospitality, carpentry and construction. It was reported that these will be made possible by an increase in adequate funding level towards existing vocational and technical institutions, colleges providing specialised practical and technical skills training. The Prime Minister further stated *"… I want to create an environment to build the skills capacity and the depth of our youth as they pass through the education system. My objective is to make a start in producing the type of workforce that can complement the government's policy of export-driven economic growth and development…"* (pg. 1).

Learning from previous cases, government ministers, bureaucrats and individuals have been vocal on skills and capacity building strategies and sustainable development for the young people. The issue of funding has been another major task faced by them under successive governments. Despite these sterling efforts one would hardly be convinced of presence of empirical evidences of achievements of expected results in such initiatives.

The participants' views on solving youth issues comes from different perspectives but they point fingers to the government, NYC and other stakeholders responsible for youth issues.

Figure 10 shows the responses suggested by all respondents on how to solve the youth issue.

Urban Areas Studied	As a solution, what would be the appropriate policy response?				
	Education	Employment	Training	Social Services	Others
Kokopo	11	21	9	6	4
Port Moresby	15	29	7	2	2
Lae	12	24	10	6	3
Madang	10	28	8	3	1
Goroka	7	32	9	2	2
Mt. Hagen	14	25	8	4	4
Total Respondents	**69**	**159**	**51**	**23**	**16**
	318 respondents				

As a solution to the urban youth unemployment and associated social issues, Figure 10 reveals the appropriate policy options that should be included in their policy revisions. It is exposed that 302 respondents would prefer if the government put more emphasis on education (n=69), employment (n=159), training (n=51), and social services (n=23), whilst only 16 respondents indicated other policy options like autonomy to all provinces, and changing of Westminster system of government to communist or republican. The 16 respondents' views evolved from frustration with every successive government. They echoed that the successive governments come up with good policy options and gets the front pages of media publicities but have rarely implemented their policies.

All these suggestions reflect to some of the policy framework designed by NYC to solve urban youth issues in the country. Their responses reflect the 2007-2017 NYC policy that is to promote and sustain youth's livelihood and their participation at all stages of their development into adulthood. It is important that all stakeholders must contribute meaningfully towards youth's advancement in life. The public-private sector partnership program stated in the MTDS should establish a strategic alliance to promote youth and reduce youth issues in the urban areas.

Since GoPNG's Vision 2050 does not mention youth advancement and issues, any policy documents formulated and implemented by NYC should reflect the urgency of contemporary

urban youth in the next 40-years. The policies and strategies design for youth should reflect on how to improve the quality (considering quantity in the ever increasing population) of youth's life. Contemporary social, economic and political circumstances tend to change over time so urban youth policies should include the opportunities of accessing to income and employment with others like social, economic and educational services.

Effective policy and strategy formulation and implementation comes from thorough research, information and data collection on youth issues in the country. Such documented research papers with brief policy outlook basing on the research report should be attached with the final research report when handing it to organisations. This should be used in contemporary PNG to draft organisational policies and strategies and make available to stakeholders and funding agencies to fund important areas of concern.

7.3.1. Assistance from Donors and Trade Missions

Assistance comes in different forms, and NYC is working tirelessly to get assistance from all stakeholders to tackle youth issues in the country. Since the appointment of the new National Youth Commissioner, significant changes have been triumphed and most programs and activities are still in a foetus stage. Without a helping hand from Aid Donors, national government, and other funding agencies, the colourful plans of NYC would be just a dream.

The current status of NYC reveals that the negotiation of possible funds is still in progress. Besides the national government's annual funding, NYC has progressed well with discussions with some of the possible Trade Missions and funding agencies. National Youth Commission has signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) (*now United Nations Population Fund – UNFA*) for a million kina project for a period of five years. The other two Trade Missions that have shown interest to work closely with NYC are the governments of Malaysia and South Korea. Malaysian Government and NYC MOU are yet to be signed by the two parties, and the MOU with South Korea has already been signed. They have also had discussions at the institutional or educational levels to provide courses and programs of studies for youth, and signed a MOU with the Divine Word University to offer Diploma in Youth Studies. These assistances are a bonus for NYC to implement some of their youth policies and programs.

However, to effectively implement NYC's policies and programs, and efficiently use the assistances provided, NYC urgently needs critical research analyses to provide information to the needed areas of concern. Research, policy reviews and monitoring should be the central key player in developing policies and strategies. Thorough research should be done and supplied to NYC and update the policies by reviewing and monitoring after three to five years' timeframe. This would help NYC update with the changes taking place every day in the global village.

7.4.   Do you think the current Youth Policy (long-term benefits) approach meets the expectation of Medium Term Development Goals and the Vision 2050s developmental pillars?

Papua New Guinea does not have a separate ministry responsible for youth matters but comes under the Ministry of Social Welfare & Development. The State body that directly deals with youth affairs is NYC. The participation and situation of youth must be placed in the centre of global efforts for sustainable human development. Young people are not just the citizens of tomorrow, but important actors in all societies today. Comprising almost 30 percent of the total population (Inforyouth, 2013), young people represent a major force that needs to be taken into consideration. In search of a suitable action strategy for combating youth problems and issues the global community is embarking on a collective effort to have a decent solution to the problems and address the issues to enable a better life for the young people. Governments around the world are encouraged to ensure the perspectives of the young people are reflected in national policies and programs. Interestingly, PNG government strongly emphasized for an agro-economic based policy and maximum rural and urban participation closely encourages the young people to sustain a meaningful life. In fact the government requires the young people to actively and meaningfully involve in the development activities of the country.

Figure 11 aggregates the likes and dislikes of the current youth policy (long-term benefits) approaches in line with the medium term development (MTD) goals and GoPNG's Vision 2050.

Urban Areas Studied	Do you think the current youth policy meet MTD goals & Vision 2050?	
	Yes	No
Kokopo	28	23
Port Moresby	20	35
Lae	26	29
Madang	21	29
Goroka	23	29
Mt. Hagen	24	31
Total	**142**	**176**
Respondents	**318 respondents**	

The question of 'do you think the current youth policy (long-term benefits) approaches meets the expectation of MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars?' is effectively answered (Yes or No) by all respondents. Of the 318 respondents, 142 (45%) revealed that the current youth policy is meeting the expectations of MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars. While 176 (55%) respondents stated that the current youth policy is not meeting the expectations of MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars. This might be due to the fact that youth engagement, participation and development are not clearly stated in the Vision 2050's development pillars. Though the name youth is mentioned in the first pillar of Vision 2050, but its detailed strategies on how to address the youth issues in the country are not stated. It is also revealed that the current youth policy approaches are not meeting the MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars are due to the continuous changes of government ministers and cabinet, high level corruptions, changes of departmental heads, and the changes of policy programs and strategies.

The NYC's second revised policy document's vision ('*To create empowering social, economic, and technological conditions enhancing a secure, prosperous and sustainable future for all young people and their full participation within their families and communities*') is better than the Vision 2050 (National Youth Policy 2007-2017, 2007). The NYC's policy clearly gives

direction on the strategic pathway that can be followed to achieve some of their desired objectives. According to the Ministerial Statement (1998) by the then Minister of Home Affairs and Youth, Hon. John Pundari, made a remark that the previous mechanism was an unworkable one for the best interest of the youth community. But sadly, under his leadership neither of the strategies has been forthcoming. The then National President of the PNG National Union of Students (PNGNUS), and the current National Youth Commissioner, Mr. Norit Luio while congratulating Mr. Pundari, for tabling of the youth bill pointed out that *"...the aims and objectives remain unaltered, it was the guidelines and the methods within the previous mechanism that have not been co-coordinated well or had been inconsistent. We believe that the new policy will include the necessary provisions and the guidelines to ensure active youth participation, not have their participation limited to implementation and contribution to the growth of the overall productive economic structure of the country and not just mere passive recipients of youth programs and training. Also given the unpromising economic outlook and the deteriorating social, law and order situation in the country, youths from both the rural and urban sectors are facing a depressing life which contributes to the extension of squatters in the urban centres and a major part of the youth population in the rural areas (or urban areas) is unorganized and feel insecure"* (Post Courier, 1998:12).

Perhaps, the statement pointed that the previous mechanism was not coordinated well or inconsistent. The pressure was on an automatic inference to the kind of personnel involved with their innovative and creative skills and knowledge to come up with relevant programs to accommodate the different changing needs and aspirations of the growing youth population. It reflects the absence of research work, evaluation and monitoring and of course the proper documentation of policy planning and programs, expenditure control measures and the overall administrative and management procedures.

7.5. What do you think the societies' views on Youth Unemployment and general situation of Youth in the country?

Papua New Guinea is rich in natural resources and some of the social indicators are among the lowest in the world. The benefits of economic development have become young people's dreams for so long until they are now quite aware that their dreams will never come true. With the continuous law and order problems and the cancerous corruption practices at all levels of society, youth have been given little or no hope in their endeavours. Complementing to this

change it has one of the worst law and order problems in the region and such a situation is already known and aware by the international community and the urban youth became the whipping post for all social issues in the urban centers. Figure 12 aggregates the societies' views on youth unemployment and general situation of youth in the country.

Urban Areas Studied	Societies' views on youth unemployment & general youth situation		
	Good	Bad	Others
Kokopo	6	43	2
Port Moresby	2	45	8
Lae	3	48	4
Madang	4	46	0
Goroka	6	43	3
Mt. Hagen	5	45	5
Total	**26**	**270**	**22**
Respondents	**318 respondents**		

Figure 12 indicates that the general youth situation and unemployment is good by 26 respondents (8%), while 22 (7%) respondents stated that it is good but not really good where many of the youth policies and MTD goals are still in the implementation stages. They also revealed that many of the unemployed urban youth are engaged in informal economic activities. However, of the 318 respondents, 270 (85%) respondents are not happy with the general youth situation and the chronic unemployment issues faced by youth. They echoed that the current and previous governments have neglected the urban youth folks and viewed them as problems rather than human capitals of the nation. Youth unemployment has been a critical issue for discussion in the past few years but nothing has been done to tackle the youth issues. Viable youth policies have been aired in all forms of media but sadly, are yet to be implemented by some stakeholders.

However, some of our urban centers have been portrayed as the worst urban towns in the nation and the world in terms of its law and order situation. Such media coverage of the situation in the towns at both national and international levels has cast a shadow over the public image of our tourism industry and the country as a whole. The government has deeply noted this and is committed to address it as its priority issue. Successive governments have issued statements after statements in an attempt to reduce youth related problems. As part of this exercise partners in

development have been vigorously pursuing to come up with a strategy to effectively address all youth issues, especially in the urban areas.

7.6. If you are not employed for the next few months or years, what would you do?

The lives of many urban youth are dominated either by work or the need to find work. Employment is crucial in shaping young people's lives and identities. Work is not just a means of sustaining life. Although its primary function is economic, there are social dimensions to work that determine young people's meaningful participation within society (Du-Toit, 2003). Work has also a psychological significance. It is an essential source of identity, which provides young people with a feeling of self-worth. Due to limited opportunities compounded by stigmatisation and negative public attitudes, unemployed urban youth often experience feelings of low self-esteem. They may develop low self-confidence and experience social and economic isolation. Marginalisation and exclusion often create a vicious circle. In the absence of positive and supportive relationships, urban youth are prevented from participating in local life, which in turn leads to further isolation (Kagan & Burton, 2005) and providing likelihood of forming rascal gangs, and street vendors. Figure 13 reveals what the urban youth would do if they are not employed in the formal and legalised informal sectors.

Urban Areas Studied	What would you do, if not employed?	
	Home	**Stay in City/ Town**
Kokopo	25	26
Port Moresby	15	40
Lae	22	33
Madang	16	34
Goroka	19	33
Mt. Hagen	20	35
Total Respondents	**117**	**201**
	318 respondents	

Figure 13 represents two options; whether to go back to the village (home), or to stay in the urban centers. Of the 318 respondents, 117 (37%) responded that they would go home because they have their parents, clan or tribe who will help them settle peacefully in the village instead of

suffering and involve in rascal activities in the urban areas. They also stated that urban centres are an expensive place to live, are the targets of police when they look suspicious, and when other youth from the same settlement or place of resident get involves in a rascal activity they get the blame and even ended up in jails. However, the other 201 (63%) respondents revealed that staying back in the urban areas is lively and easy to make fast money by involving in illegal informal economic activities like street vending. Most urban youth are street vendors and they earn a good sum of money but are likely targets of police and city raiders (securities). It is indicated that most of the urban youth are born in the urban centers and the settlements are their homes. Youth born in the urban centers are culturally unconscious and they do not know their native languages, tribes, extended family back in the village, and have no land. They also revealed that there are lot of economic activities and cash-flow in the urban areas. Some respondents indicated that they would go home if the government equally distribute the services and economic developments, creating employment in the rural areas.

A striking characteristic of an urban life on the streets, in shops, markets and neighbourhoods, is how often the subject of money making comes up. How a certain person or enterprise is getting ahead, where prices for commodities are high or low, when new shipments of materials are arriving at the docks, where and why police are sweeping through particular neighbourhoods or markets – these are examples of the subjects that urban youth and others in urban centers discuss. This is not idle chat; it is crucial information in a changing and extremely competitive local economic environment.

The opportunities the informal sector provides in terms of work and livelihood for many urban youth is immense. Although life in town is tough and sometimes threatening; they also provide urban youth with opportunities, attractions, and possible trajectories that are simply not available in rural areas. Most urban youth's lives take place within the unregulated (and technically illegal) informal sector of the urban center's mushrooming economy. Through urban youth's eyes, the anonymity of urban center life is not a threat but a resource: cities are places where they can throw off (or at least delay) adulthood expectations and reinvent themselves. Surviving in urban center is hardly easy, but if you "make it" there is a chance to assume a glow of success that may be forever out of reach in home villages. Therefore, the urban youth concluded that it is better a wise decision to stay in the urban centers rather than going back to the rural areas and doing nothing.

7.7. How would you feel being a street vendor?

Street vending is mostly practice by urban youth in the urban centers. Urban youth is synonymously referred as "street vendors" in this section. Street vending involves the sale of a number of different products. Street food vendors offer commercially packaged snack items such as candy bars, bags of potato chips and the ever popular *buai* and *simuk* (cigarettes). Street vendor food also includes hot dogs, sausages, fish and chips, chicken tenders, and many other foods that can be acquired and eaten while on the go. In most cases, street vending businesses of this type operates on the street pathways, bus stops and in front of office buildings. Street vendors also sell items that have nothing to do with food. Newspapers, magazines, sunglasses and to name a few are also sold from a cart parked on a city street.

Most people hate the sight of them but use them a one-stop shop for ever popular item like *buai* and *simuk* (see Figure 13 above). Street vending is an issue that has made its way into the national media, an indication of the disturbance it causes. It is hard to go into a single street in some of the urban centers, as with most of PNG, without seeing these street crawlers. The popularisation of *buai* and homemade cigarettes, along with the introduction of BeMobile and Digicel flex cards (notably phone credit vouchers) have paved the way for the establishment of these retailers. Perhaps, you can see as many as four vendors crammed into one street, which clearly shows the extent to which these micro-businesses are overpopulating the urban centers.

Public opinion about street vending, with the minor exception of those that do it for a living, has reached an all-time level of disturbance. One example is the distribution of *buai*. *Buai*, though having a highly valued role in our society, is really "pollution in a shell" and the "spiting". While vendors are not responsible for chewing *buai*, they are high contributors to the distribution of these nuts into almost every location in this country. Perhaps, the point here is that urban youth are just another of many ways of distributing corruptive goods, while along the way creating adverse effects such as pollution, halting modernisation and destroying our national reputation. Street vending, convenient as it seems, has no future in our country. Markets can distribute *buai* and what not; supermarkets and retailers can sell cigarettes and phone vouchers. The convenience of street vending is outweighed by its negative aspects. Some street vendors are now even beginning to upgrade to small trade-stores – selling products ranging from *buai* to items such as bread and even charging mobile phones. The legality of this transitional phase is questionable and is eating away at the sense of what is legal in our country;

once again corruption at full throttle. It is up to the government to start acting and making wise decisions, even in terms of a compromise to create a sense of satisfaction for the various groups affected.

However, as with any type of business operation, a street vendor should obtain a business license in order to sell to the general public. In order to secure a street vendor's license, the business person should comply with standards that would also apply if the business is operating indoors. For example, a vendor selling hot-dogs on a street corner would still be held responsible for maintaining health code standards that would apply to any bar and grill that sold hot-dogs. Periodic inspections by health examiners should be conducted to make sure the street vendor remains in compliance with current regulations. If the vendor is found to be in violation, there may be a fine and a warning issued. Should the infractions not be corrected within a reasonable period of time, the street vendor's permit can be revoked. However, sadly the legislation to effect such regulation is not that effective, nor the government systems are active, but the Informal Sector Development and Control Act 2004 was passed by Parliament in 2004 to promote public health and cleanliness (Kanaparo & Imbun, 2010). Therefore, the urban youth cannot make their way back to the rural areas because they earn a living through street vending, and the respondents concluded that "we are the bottom end retailers and wholesalers of the city". Thus, they are a burden to the modernisation of PNG if the government does not seriously consider this issue.

7.8. What would be your last resort if you cannot be employed or being a street vendor is impossible?

Urban youth comes from all over PNG, but most of them are born in the urban centers. Migrant urban youth, attracted by the capital's opportunities, could not find jobs and had to cluster in shanty towns on the city's edges. Today, instead of attending schools, their children are on the streets, with nothing to do and few perspectives in the future. Majority of the urban youth are unemployed. Most are uneducated or have been pushed out of the country's education system. Since most of the urban youths are born in the settlements, they lack the sense of belonging to a particular place, clan/tribe or a province which is important for their identity. Such situation has resulted in a crime rate in the settlements that is among the highest in PNG. Most of the unemployed urban youth are accommodated in these illegal settlements and are the breeding

grounds for social problems in the urban centers. In other words, unemployed urban youth do not go back to their rural communities but they ended up in these settlements to start a new life.

Some of the respondents are married men and women who had received some forms of formal education. Interestingly, some of the migrants moved to rural areas in the recent past (see Figure 5 above). They revealed that many factors influenced the movement to rural areas from the urban centers included inability to secure jobs and high cost of living in the urban centers. The ages and marital statuses of young migrants contributed significantly to their lengths of stay in the rural areas. The respondents recommended that government should encourage the drift of unemployed youth to rural areas by making available some amenities that would encourage the stay of the youth. Perhaps, young migrants should be encouraged to form themselves into cooperative societies which can be used to attract the attention of the Government or Non-governmental organisations to establish different projects in the rural areas. This encouragement would enhance rapid rural development and bring the rural communities to the mainstream of national development. Further, urbanisation is not simply the growth of populations living within legal-administrative boundaries of towns and cities. It also transforms both urban and rural lifestyles. In this century, technological improvements, initially in transport but more recently in information and telecommunication, have allowed people in rural villages to become urbanised without necessarily migrating to towns and cities. As their access to modern infrastructure and services normally associated with urban areas increases, they become less dependent on towns and cities for meeting their economic and social needs.

7.9. Any other views you would like to express regarding Youth Unemployment?

Views regarding this question vary, however, treating rural and urban youth should be seen as a whole - and linkages should be strengthened. The most important rural-urban flows are economic and demographic. Policy responses which center on the provision of infrastructure have often been inadequate to solve the structural problems of either, while policy responses designed to facilitate these flows have focused upon the provision of infrastructure and hierarchical networks to small towns and rural service centers. The respondents revealed that strengthening rural-urban linkages requires the coordinated efforts of both public and private sectors, whilst enabling all actors to participate in the development process. This entails fundamental changes on the part of the State, including broadening of the range of actors involved in infrastructure improvement, through the formation and implementation of public-

private partnership programs. The government should also increase the participation through the decentralisation of government functions and the empowerment of local communities and more effective coordination of the actors involved. The primary outcomes of the programs should focus on:

i) provide youth with income from temporary or casual employment opportunities,

ii) increase youth employability,

iii) successfully target disadvantaged youth,

iv) reduce participants' crime-related indicators, and,

v) improve maintenance of selected urban infrastructure.

This would help both the unemployed youth and the actors involved to effect the urban-rural migration and reduce other social issues in the rural and urban areas.

8.   Conclusion

Large cohorts of urban youth have become 'victims' of the erroneous process of modernisation and development. The socio-economic impacts of development and modernisation had a greater impact on the normal lifecycle of the youth. When the education system could not accommodate everyone into the mainstream and limited jobs available it meant that most young people turn into activities that would earn them a living for survival. The law and order situation in the country is bad enough and Port Moresby alone is far more worse which is tarnished at the international level. Therefore the entire blame goes to the urban youth but we are ignorant of our efforts to critically address them and put in place measures that can effectively reduce the associated problems. Government departments and non-government organisations have been instrumental in drafting policies after policies, programs after programs but to date, there are little or no concrete and empirical evidences of implementation and achievement of the desired results.

The policy implication of youth-focused development is that it brings questions of unemployment, poverty and marginality at the centre of political decision making. This is central because, failure to do so diverts attention away from State and other actors with the power and moral responsibility to intervene and bring about change. In recent times, the departmental heads, MPs, Aid Donor agencies and other regional organisations have had meetings aimed at canvassing strategies and frameworks to facilitate the development of sustainable urbanisation to accommodate the rapid growth of urban youth and rural-urban migration and generation of productive employment opportunities. Such strategies are aimed at absorbing the increasing rates of unemployment and graduates in the urban centers. The advocacy for an effective sustainable youth policy, particularly at the apex level, is suggested which would come up with programs and activities to minimize and control the rapid rise of urban youth and unemployment levels in the urban centers, in order to promote economic growth and development process.

However, other upcoming urban towns, on the other hand, have recently achieved some progress with urban youth programs and some associated issues but not as extreme as the six urban centers studied. There is a high expectation that some of these issues and problems concerning

urban youth would turn into bigger issues in the next 10 years. If that happens there is a possibility of rapid urbanisation taking place and the number of unemployed urban youth will triple. People come to Port Moresby or other urban centers in the hope of getting some form of employment and others attracted by the opportunities of the city. When they learnt that their dreams are limited by the realities of life in the city they had to cluster in their little ethnic groups in shanty-towns on the city's edges. The issue of 'youth unemployment' has so far become a centre of considerable debate. It continued to be a serious and growing national problem which consequently had called for a concerted effort from every province to seek decent solution to the problem. A national action plan is now required to expand opportunities nationwide for youth to be exposed to and be involved in development activities.

Urban youth unemployment is caused by several factors. These are economic, political, social, technological invention, environmental, cultural, financial, defective educational system and to name a few. Graduates are sinking in the pool of urban youth unemployment caused by the factors mentioned. The PNG government has come to now know the causes of urban youth unemployment but the igniting engine room where decisions are made is very weak to solve the issues of unemployment because of the dysfunctional or failed State mechanisms. The unemployment problem in the country is affecting not only the individual, but also the family and the nation. If the individual has no financial reserves on which to draw to meet the essential requirement of life, the feeling of rejection and personal life plan failure is evidently felt. This feeling of deprivation as a result of unemployment may lead to hopelessness, causing depression and emotional problems.

The study represents that 183 (58%) of the respondents are primary and secondary school drop-outs. The number of college and university graduates are much lower, 54 (17%) respondents whilst 81 (25%) respondents have never been to any schooling process. Almost all (298 out of 318 total respondents) lived in the urban centers for more than 6 months. In other words, only 20 respondents lived in the urban centre for less than 6 months. Migration of young people depends on various reasons possibly depending on the economic (macro and micro) development of the nation. The core reasons why youth migrate to cities and towns are in search for jobs and to study. The urban youth unemployment study reveals that 44 percent (n=141) migrated to the urban centers in search for job opportunities, 32 percent (n=101) for schooling, and 24 percent (n=6) for other reasons like staying with relatives, and scarce resource or inadequate economic activities in the rural areas. It is revealed that 32 percent (n=103) of the urban youth out of 318

respondents are employed whilst 68 percent (n=215) are unemployed. Of 103 employed, 12 percent (n=14) are in the formal and 86 percent (n=89) are in the informal sectors respectively. Unlike formal sector employment, informal sector employs most of the unemployed youth in both rural and urban areas. Of the 103 respondents, 42 respondents stated that they have been working for more than two years. Thirty seven (n=37) respondents revealed that they have been working for one to two years, while 15 respondents worked for five to twelve months, and 9 respondents worked for less than five months respectively. It is also stated from 146 out of 318 respondents that the government should create more job opportunities for unemployed youth in the country. Distinctive respondents revealed that more training (n=72) and rural development (n=88) activities should be initiated in the local and provincial levels by the government to retain the influx of rural migration, and other graduates from other towns into the main urban centers.

Ninety percent (n=287) of the respondents agreed that youth are the cause of all social issues in the country as a result of unemployment. It is revealed by 10 percent (n=31) of the respondents that the successive governments have continuously published in the media about youth engagement in formal and informal employment. About 302 respondents preferred if the government put more emphasis on education (n=69), employment (n=159), training (n=51), and social services (n=23), whilst only 16 respondents indicated other policy options like autonomy to all provinces, and changing of Westminster system of government to communist or republican. The 16 respondents' views evolved from frustration with every successive government. From policy perspective, 142 (45%) respondents revealed that the current youth policy is meeting the expectations of MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars. While 176 (55%) respondents stated that the current youth policy is not meeting the expectations of MTD goals and Vision 2050's development pillars. Twenty six (8%) respondents indicated that the general youth situation and unemployment is good by 26 respondents (8%), while 22 (7%) stated that it is good but not really good where many of the youth policies and MTD goals are still in the implementation stages. However, of the 318 respondents, 270 (85%) respondents are not happy with the general youth situation and the chronic unemployment issues faced by youth. They echoed that the current and previous governments have neglected the urban youth folks and viewed them as problems rather than human capitals of the nation.

9. Recommendations

Basing on the findings, this report comes up with the following recommendations for NYC to take note in their policy implementation.

1. More research needs to be done from the mainstream youth into detail areas like:
   - Street youth, disable youth, rural youth, unemployed youth, school youth, college/university youth, school dropout youth, and street vendor youth.
   - How youth are marginalised; from economic context, political context, social context, and cultural context.

2. This perspective has two implications for policy-oriented research:
   - To reveal aspects of the rural-urban divide, that is, how the lives of urban youth are distinct, and,
   - To examine rural-urban linkages because this indicate not only the structural similarities around which youth generally pivot, but also how their lives intersect and dissect across the rural and urban interface beyond a mere consideration of rural-to-urban migration.

3. Since GoPNG's Vision 2050 does not clearly mentioned youth issues and how to tackle it, NYC should develop a viable vision for itself to "create empowering social, psychological, economic, and technological conditions enhancing a secure, prosperous and sustainable future for all youth and their full participation within their families and communities[3]". The actions include (but not limited to):
   - prioritising improvements to the flexibility of productively workable urban youth programs and sustainable employment planning and management;
   - promoting an adaptive method of productive urban youth within the provinces and regions and beyond that will absorb unemployment issues;
   - promoting youth through connecting small medium entrepreneurs in both rural and urban areas;
   - promoting urban-rural migration and maintaining rural youth at the rural level by establishing rural council system to equally deliver rural services; and,

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[3]*As it is also stipulated in the NYC's 2007 - 2017 Policy documents.*

- promoting technical training centers or vocational education training (VET) by alliancing with donor agencies for youth capacity building.

4. Establish an efficient labour market through the 'public-private partnership' program involving training institutions and possible employer, in doing so it will:
    - match young workers to employment opportunities in such a way that overall employment level, wages and other working conditions are optimised;
    - have ability to promote skill formation, social stability and social security; and,
    - improve or maintain a sense of equity and social justice among labour force participants.

5. Commitment towards the realisation of the policy and its sustainability is dependent on the effective implementation of the policy, environmentally sound and feasible training, high standard performance of youth workers, and the availability of appropriate levels of funding.

6. Continuous monitoring and evaluation of projects and programs is vital to maintain its relevance to the ever-changing cultural, social, economic and technological experiences.

7. Implement policies with increased coordination, inter-sectoral cooperation, community participation, technological collaboration and public-private partnership programs.

8. Effective policy and strategy formulation and implementation comes from thorough research, information and data collection on youth issues in the country should be thorough and a continuous process to update NYC with latest information regarding youth issues and engagements.
    - Such documented research papers with brief policy outlook basing on the research report should be attached with the final research report when handing it to NYC.
    - This should be used by NYC to draft the main policies and strategies document and make available to stakeholders and funding agencies to fund important areas of concern for youth.

9. Youth should be encouraged to form themselves into cooperative societies which can be used to attract the attention of the Government or Non-governmental organisations to establish different projects in the rural areas.

   - This encouragement would enhance rapid rural development and bring the rural communities to the mainstream of national development.

10. The Commission should make strategic alliances with all local MPs, Provincial Governors and business organisations to establish a communal understanding and agreement to work closely with each other to establish developmental projects at the local level to retain, and most importantly to enhance and empower youth to participate actively in the nation's socioeconomic developments.

11. Establish a 'Educare' or 'Rehabilitation' centre to help youth with special needs, solve issues affecting their personal life, give or show pathways of success in life, and counselling sessions to manage their problems effectively.

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11. Appendices

Appendix A – Questionnaire Sample

Urban Youth Unemployment Survey Questionnaire of Participants in Selected Urban Centers in Papua New Guinea

A. Personal Details

1. What is your gender?

   Male ☐   Female ☐

2. Age

   Less than 18 ☐ 18-20 ☐ 21-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ More than 30 ☐

3. Highest qualification? _____

4. Province of origin (birth)? _____

5. Region of origin? _____

6. How long have you been in _____ (city name)?

   Less than 1 month ☐ 1-3 months ☐ 4-6 months ☐ over 6 months ☐

B. Labour Market Prospects

1. Why did you come to the town or city? ☐ Look for job ☐ study /schooling ☐ Others (specify) _____

2. Are you current working? Yes ☐   No ☐

3. If yes, what is your job? _____

4. In the Formal ☐ or Informal ☐

5. How long have you been working?

   Less than 5 months ☐ 5-12 months ☐ 1-2 years ☐ more than 2 years ☐

C. Implications for labour market policies

1. In terms of labour market policy making, what would you like the government to do?
More training ☐ Create more jobs ☐ Rural development ☐ Others (specify) ☐
_____

2. Do you think the social issues caused by youth in the country are result of unemployment problem? Yes ☐ No ☐ Other ☐ (For all responses please explain_____

3. As a solution, what would be the appropriate policy response?
Education ☐ Employment ☐ Training ☐ Social Services ☐ Others ☐ (specify)
_____

4. Do you think the current Youth Policy (long-term benefits) approach meets the expectation of Medium Term Development Goals and the Vision 2050s developmental pillars? Yes or No ☐ ☐
Please explain _____

5. What do you think the societies' views on Youth Unemployment and general situation of Youth in the country? Good ☐ Bad ☐ Others ☐
For all responses please explain _____

6. If you are not employed for the next few months or years, what would you do? Go Home ☐ or Stay in the City/ Town ☐
Please explain _____

7. How would you feel being a street vendor?
Please explain _____

8. What would be your last resort if you cannot be employed or being a street vendor is impossible? Please explain _____

9. Any other views you would like to express regarding Youth Unemployment? _____
_____

Thank you for your participation