

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE FUTURE OF EMERGING MARKETS



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PREFACE

This report is based on conclusions reached at a symposium on *Young People and The Future of Emerging Markets* at Green Templeton College, Oxford in January 2016.

The EMS is grateful for corrections and suggestions on the draft report from Sir George Alleyne, Suman Bery, Theresa Betancourt, Yasser Bhatti, Peter Bourne, Saul Estrin, Irina Fedorenko, Baroness Goudie, Brenda Gourley, Mary Ellen Iskendarian, Governor Madeleine Kunin, Georgia Lockwood-Estrin and George Patton. The EMS is also grateful for the painstaking work of EMS Administrators Ruth Loseby, Yoland Johnson and Bailey Jones and for the expert design work of Richard Boxall.

The EMS is particularly grateful to Jo Boyden whose gifts of knowledge, patience and time guided the development of this symposium over many months. The report does not necessarily reflect the views or opinions of any participant in the symposium. The EMS is accountable for errors of omission, commission or interpretation.

Figure 4 is from a lecture by Stephen Kennedy at the symposium on *Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets* on 8th January 2014. Figures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 are from a presentation at the symposium on *Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets* by Stuart Gietel-Basten. Figures 15,16,17,18,19, 20 and 22 are from Analytical Frameworks prepared for the symposium (see figure sources page 72 for links to the EMS website). The Chatham House Rule is observed at all EMS symposia except at a Special Session to which non-participants and members of the press and media are invited. The statement attributed to HE Shaukat Aziz (Box D) is from a speech at the Special Session on January 8, 2016.

Ian Scott
Executive Director
Emerging Markets Symposium

FOREWORD

Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets was the subject of the seventh in a series of symposia on human welfare organized by the Emerging Markets Symposium (EMS) at Green Templeton College. These events have been made possible by the vision and generosity of the C&C Alpha Group for which the College is deeply grateful.

Worldwide, nearly two billion girls, boys, young men and young women are in transit from childhood to adulthood. More than half live in Brazil, China, India, Russia, South Africa and other emerging markets where the challenges of growing up are exacerbated by the speed, scale and complexity of social, economic and technological change.

Citizens aged between 10 and 24 in emerging market countries have never been more numerous and, in light of current projections, will never be more so. They represent the future of emerging markets yet their attributes are widely misunderstood and their needs are often ignored.

Previous EMS reports on other phases of the human life-course have advanced sound arguments for prioritizing maternal and child health and nutrition and the welfare of older people. This report argues that sustained economic growth, social cohesion and political stability in emerging markets will crucially depend on successful efforts by governments, businesses and civil society organizations to integrate health, education, economic and social policies that address the specific needs of young people.

The report acknowledges that many parents, teachers and health professionals in emerging markets, like their counterparts in richer countries, struggle to understand the hopes and fears of young people, to embrace their dreams and to offer knowledgeable and empathetic guidance as young people grapple with their biological changes. It also suggests that, while generational tensions are as old as humanity itself, they may be sharper and more pervasive in emerging markets than anywhere else.

It is not hard to understand why young people want more say in matters that affect their vital interests; why they sometimes seem to live in parallel universes; why adults (who are in control), shape the future without consulting the young people who will inherit it; or why, in the absence of shared assumptions, values, technologies and languages, inter-generational communications and collaboration may be difficult.

Bridges between young people and older adults cannot be built unless young people learn more about biological transitions and adults improve their understanding of why young people behave as they do. Put to the test, young people will be found to be more capable, committed and creative than their elders ever suspected.

This report explains why such pivotal issues are complex and perplexing and suggests how problems could be mitigated if not resolved. Particularly important is the assertion that the release of inter-generational tensions depends less on changing budgetary priorities than on changing generational attitudes and perceptions.

Professor Denise Lievesley,
Principal,
Green Templeton College, Oxford

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There are more than a billion young people in emerging markets

More than a billion young people aged between 10 and 24 live in increasingly urbanized emerging markets in Asia, Northern and Southern Africa, Eastern and Southern Europe and Latin America.

Their journeys from childhood to adulthood begin with the onset of puberty and end with the achievement of relative self-sufficiency. For many of them, as for many young people in richer and poorer countries, the journey is traumatic. But because emerging markets combine the attributes of advanced modernity and extreme poverty and are changing at unprecedented speeds on unmatched scales, the transitions may be harder in emerging markets than elsewhere.

There are problems...

It would be absurd to suppose there is an easy way out of the miasma in which some young people in emerging markets find themselves. Some of the defects and deficiencies that impede their personal and collective progress can only be corrected if they themselves are willing and able to do their bit. But because their world has been shaped by the successes, errors and omissions of parents and grandparents, it is incumbent on older people to understand the values, frustrations and priorities of their children and grandchildren, to learn their language and (if they can) embrace their technology.

Opportunities

It would be equally, if not more, absurd to suppose all adolescents and young people in emerging markets are mired in dismal swamps of hopelessness, resigned to miserable economic futures, or defeated by circumstances they cannot control. There is abundant evidence to show that many young people in emerging markets are climbing social fences, creating new economic opportunities and are at least as optimistic about their futures as their counterparts in richer countries.

...And contrasts between silver spoons and empty rice bowls

This report describes contrasts between young people with silver spoons and young people with empty rice bowls. It endeavours to explain the importance of initial advantage and the difficulties of challenging the *status quo*. It points to the need for systemic changes in health and education, the need to attack labour market rigidities and the need to break down social barriers. Without downplaying the severity of the problems facing young people in emerging markets it plays up the need for solutions and the fact that because emerging markets have ample recent experience of managing change, they may be better-placed to succeed than many richer countries.

The symposium agreed on findings and recommendations that call for actions by government, business, civil society organizations and individuals, acting autonomously or collaboratively. The relevance to and relative priority of these recommendations in any emerging market varies considerably as a function of demographic, economic, social, cultural and political conditions. The challenge for the twenty countries featured in this report is to pick and mix specific agendas from generic propositions.

THE YOUNG BRAIN

FINDINGS

The biological transition is not the whole story but may explain a lot

Emerging market governments and societies (like many other governments and societies) have tended to overlook the results of recent research that strongly suggests:

- The average human brain is not fully developed until the third decade of life.
- Adult capabilities are shaped by the interaction of adolescent brains and social environments.
- The physical, cognitive, emotional, social, and economic attributes of human beings are largely acquired during adolescence.

They have also overlooked the potential significance of these findings including the implications that:

- Because the part of the brain that governs judgment develops relatively more slowly than the part that governs impulses, adolescents and young adults may be prone to risks such as substance abuse, self-harm and socially disruptive behaviour but, with the right encouragement and facilities, may also be more apt to take entrepreneurial risks.
- Many adolescent and young adult behaviours that disturb older adults are developmentally 'normal'.
- Mental and emotional disorders in young people may have life-long consequences.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Science and Policy

Recognizing that some findings of recent brain research remain controversial and that some questions remain unanswered (e.g. How do experience and environment interact with genetic pre-programming to shape the maturing brain and future abilities and behaviour?) emerging market governments should consider the implications of the asynchronous maturation of different parts of the young brain for health, education, economic, social, law enforcement and penal policies.

HEALTH

FINDINGS

Young health is a neglected priority

Health and healthcare systems in most emerging markets make few if any explicit provisions for the peculiar vulnerabilities and morbidities of young people. Nor do they acknowledge that the health of young people is best managed if they are treated as a distinct biological cohort rather than as small adults.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Young people need specialized healthcare

- Emerging market governments should enhance health security for young people by developing integrated (age and developmentally) specific systems for physical and mental healthcare. These systems should:
 - Include specialized preventive and curative healthcare .
 - Be integrated with social care.
 - Be conceived in the context of the human life-course.
- Emerging market governments should promote research on culturally specific and diverse determinants of mental health.
- Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society should address suicide risks among young people through public education and counselling services.
- Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society, should address the facts that:
 - Maternal death is the second leading cause of mortality for girls aged 15-19.
 - Girls aged 15-19 are twice as likely, and girls aged under 15 five times more likely, to die of complications during pregnancy or childbirth as women aged 20 or more.

This should be done through intensive education in schools, public information campaigns, access to contraceptives and specialized advice and medical facilities.

- Emerging market governments should mount aggressive campaigns to diminish obesity associated with soft drink consumption through school and public education, fiscal policies and market regulation.
- Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society, should address health risks associated with tobacco through punitive fiscal policies, aggressive school and public education, advertising controls and market regulation.
- Emerging market governments should (where necessary) address rising levels of HIV/AIDS through public and school education, the creation or strengthening of specialised clinics and the provision of drugs.
- Emerging market governments should help young people understand and accept co-responsibility for preventive healthcare through education campaigns and public information.

EDUCATION

FINDINGS ON EDUCATION

Getting the basics right

Most emerging markets can claim near-universal primary school enrolment but weaknesses in school leadership, curricula, technology and plant and teacher quality create large gaps between enrolment and attainment. In many emerging markets the highest goal of education policy is to close them because:

- Basic literacy and numeracy are mandatory conditions of economic life.
- Primary education is a precursor to secondary and tertiary education.
- Primary education is an arbiter of social inclusion in complex societies closed to those who cannot read, write and compute.

Linking secondary schools to jobs

A second challenge is to strengthen secondary education by aligning secondary curricula with the changing demands of future employers. This challenge will grow as emerging market economies shift to increasingly complex businesses and industrial processes demanding ever-higher levels of educational attainment in increasingly competitive global markets. That does not mean abolishing traditional curricula, discarding established teaching methods or replacing old schools with new ones. It means major efforts to make secondary schools relevant to labour markets, adaptable to change and able to learn from the experience of more developed economies that, at high economic and social costs, have neglected technical training and education and guild traditions.

Building knowledge assets

A third challenge is to build comprehensive strategies covering all forms of tertiary education; to develop stronger links between tertiary and secondary education; and to ensure broad public and private sector participation in:

- The definition of tertiary education priorities.
- The establishment of sustainable institutional missions.
- The allocation of resources (including research resources).
- The maintenance and management of relevant standards.
- The creation or strengthening of regulatory bodies to develop and enforce nationally applicable accreditation standards in public and private tertiary institutions including private for-profit and foreign based institutions.

Making the most of information and communications technologies

A fourth challenge is to harness the power of information and communications technologies to strengthen primary, secondary and tertiary education.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON PRIMARY EDUCATION

Primary enrolment matters: so does quality

Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society organizations, should strengthen primary education by prioritizing primary enrolment and addressing systemic weaknesses in primary school leadership, curricula, technology, plant and teacher quality by:

- Using teacher quality as a performance criterion for school principals.
- Improving leadership by enabling principals to observe best practices in other schools and school systems.
- Considering the merits of competency-based education development and alternative curriculum and assessment methods.
- Reforming accreditation processes.
- Reconsidering the merits of the traditional school year to make more intensive use of facilities.
- Challenging obsessions with measurement and testing, recognizing some aspects of teaching cannot be measured.
- Re-thinking teacher training (e.g. by using Avatars and virtual long-distance teaching) to build teacher confidence and competence.
- In light of conclusive evidence that nutritionally deprived children cannot learn efficiently, provide culturally appropriate food supplements to all primary school students.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON SECONDARY EDUCATION

Getting ready for work

Emerging market governments should:

- Use pilot projects and programmes to test approaches to improvements in secondary education, evaluate experimental methods and refine alternative ways of reconciling strategic educational objectives with the future needs of their economies.
- Learn from countries where technical and vocational education is prized (e.g. Germany, Sweden, Japan, South Korea) to focus on the technical skills needed for industries, including those that emerging markets have captured from rich countries.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON TERTIARY EDUCATION

Professional, technical, leadership and management skills for the 21st century

Emerging market governments should work closely with business and civil society organizations to strengthen tertiary education by:

- Aligning publicly funded research with national economic, social and cultural priorities and the expansion of national innovation capacity.
- Building and retaining critical masses of research personnel.
- Encouraging researchers to leverage their careers and capacities by partnering with institutions and scholars in rich countries.
- Developing transparent cost-sharing arrangements for research funding with the private sector.
- Recognizing imperfections in the global market in tertiary education and promoting international action to improve its functionality

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS ON EDUCATION

Getting on-line

Emerging market governments should

- Emphasize the development of low-cost and comprehensive national high speed broadband networks to provide reliable internet access for all schools and colleges.
- Enable all primary and secondary students to acquire and use personal computers.
- Promote the development of internet based distance learning.
- Take full advantage of the growing availability of high quality electronic educational resources.
- Monitor and evaluate opportunities offered by cloud computing.

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOMES

FINDINGS ON EMPLOYMENT AND INCOMES

Emerging market labour markets are not absorbing enough young people

High levels of unemployment among highly skilled as well as unskilled young people and burgeoning unregulated and insecure informal economies in emerging markets reflect:

- Widespread disjunctions between secondary and tertiary education systems and unpredictable employer demands for hard and soft skills.
- Barriers and rigidities in labour markets.
- Constraints to young entrepreneurship.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Economic growth plus learning to learn, labour markets and entrepreneurship

Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society organizations, should attenuate the consequences of unemployment, under employment and misemployment for young people by:

- Adopting policies to achieve and sustain rapid GDP growth to create jobs.
- Partially replacing secondary and tertiary education systems including training for actually or potentially obsolete occupations with training in adaptive learning skills that will be increasingly essential in the fast-changing economies and fluid labour markets of the 21st century (see above under Education).
- Removing labour market rigidities, barriers and constraints to facilitate access to employment for young people.
- Promoting young entrepreneurship and alleviating constraints to young entrepreneurs including measures to improve:
 - Vocational education.
 - Financial literacy.
 - Access to financial services and systems.
 - Legislative processes that affect young entrepreneurs.
 - Access to internships and job-training.
 - Bureaucratic transactions.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

FINDINGS ON GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Equity, ethics and enlightened self-interest

Girls and young women in many emerging markets suffer the consequences of discriminatory attitudes and practices ranging from the extremes of neo-naticide, infanticide, gendercide and selective starvation, through abusive relationships (including premature motherhood, sex trafficking, forced labour, educational exclusion) to day-to-day denials of equal rights, unequal treatment and inequality before the law. Without discounting or diminishing the needs and rights of older females, emerging markets should prioritize those of girls and young women who will shape their demographic, economic and social futures.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Gender inequality: morally, economically, socially and politically indefensible

- Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society, should make gender equality a national priority, giving due consideration to the examples of countries that have established ministries to manage and monitor progress towards gender equality, and compliance with pertinent international, multilateral and regional agreements.
- Emerging market governments should improve life chances for young women by:
 - Promoting young female entrepreneurship through training and gender-specific microcredit initiatives and employment.
 - Encouraging private enterprises, particularly multinational corporations, to provide jobs, internships and mentoring for girls who finish secondary school.
- Emerging market governments should promote sexual sovereignty for girls by:
 - Providing universal unfettered access to reproductive and other healthcare services.
 - Criminalizing neo-naticide, infanticide and the disposal of female children as revealed by dramatically imbalanced gender ratios in some emerging markets.
 - Enforcing laws prohibiting the sexual and labour exploitation of girls through domestic and international trafficking and slavery.
 - Developing education programmes for children and adults in collaboration with religious and other organizations to build understanding of gender equality and promote attitudinal and behavioural changes.
 - Collaborating with countries that are sources of demand for trafficking, sexual and labour exploitation and slavery to strengthen controls and increase convictions against traffickers.

FINDINGS ON MENTORING AND FAMILY LIFE

They should never walk alone

Adolescents and young adults need to know what makes them tick; why their impulses, desires and questions are 'normal'; how they can compensate for and explain these differences to themselves and others; how they should think about personal and group identities; and how they should resolve concerns about developmental processes ranging from physical manifestations of *menarche* and *spermarche* to volatile feelings and emotions.

In an ideal world, no child would make the journey to adulthood without knowledgeable guides. In practice, most young people in most emerging markets fend for themselves because:

- School curricula generally place little or no emphasis on enabling children to understand and interpret the current phase of their lives.
- Most education and health professionals are poorly equipped to help them.
- Parents who navigated teenage shoals without help, lack expository skills, do not have a sound grasp of the world in which their children live and/or have comparable technological skills or preferences may find it hard to communicate with their children while contending with the competing demands of jobs, homes and families.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON MENTORING AND FAMILY LIFE

Government proposes; business, civil society and individuals make it happen

Emerging market governments, businesses and civil society organizations have many opportunities to support family life and enhance parental mentoring of young people. Businesses that have sought to ease work-life conflicts have been rewarded with enhanced employee loyalty, retention and corporate reputation. Others have enhanced productivity by understanding and responding to issues that affect the personal lives of employees including pressures of maternity, child rearing and elder care. Some schools have helped young people help themselves through curricular innovations and teacher training. These changes are laudable but there is need and scope for much more. Accordingly:

- Emerging market governments should help parents improve work-life balance, enhance the quality of family life and increase the time parents can devote to children by:
 - Encouraging all employers (public, private and civil society organizations) to create solutions to the childcare, elder care and work-life challenges of working parents of both sexes.
 - Encouraging small and medium enterprises that are too small to provide childcare and other facilities to develop collaborative arrangements with other enterprises.

- Emerging market governments, in conjunction with business and civil society should empower adolescents and young people, enable them to contribute to society and realize their personal potentials by:
 - Enhancing youth participation in policy making and other decisions by allowing them to play consultative, advisory or executive roles compatible with national traditions, cultures and tolerances.
 - Encouraging the UN Envoy for Youth to collect and disseminate knowledge about successful and less successful initiatives that emphasize the value of enabling young people to join in adult-led processes and create processes of their own.
 - Enabling young people to play larger roles in society by recognizing that chronological age is an imperfect and misleading guide to their capacity to contribute to civil and political decisions.

GOVERNANCE

FINDINGS ON GOVERNANCE

Old enough for what?

Most governments, businesses and civil society organizations in emerging markets are led and managed by adults over 30. Handicapped by generational insensitivity, uncertain how to engage with young people with different values and priorities and unwilling to trust immature judgement, many leaders seem cognitively blind and/or emotionally deaf. But recent history suggests that, given the chance, young people often perform above expectations, are wise beyond their years and reveal themselves as constructive thinkers and responsible leaders who build competencies through active engagement with the structures and processes around them.

Young voices are more often heard outside than inside debating chambers yet, in most emerging markets as in other countries, 16 year-olds can leave home, consent to medical treatment, leave school, enter full-time work or training, pay income tax and national insurance, engage in sexual relationships, get married or join civil partnerships, join the military, obtain tax credits and welfare benefits, raise children and (in some countries) drive.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON GOVERNANCE

A radical idea

Most emerging markets (and other countries) have been unable or unwilling to reconcile the rights, roles and responsibilities of young people with their ages. But two – Brazil and Indonesia – have set the age of enfranchisement at 16. Before following suit other emerging markets should:

- Consider the implications of the development of the young human brain.
- Ask themselves if chronological age is a perfect guide to judgmental maturity.
- Bear in mind that the symposium concluded that if age 16 is a proper age for other roles and responsibilities for young people it is also a good age to vote.

REPORT

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

THE EMERGING MARKETS SYMPOSIUM (EMS)

This report describes the findings, conclusions and recommendations of a symposium on *Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets* at Green Templeton College, Oxford on 7-10 January 2016. It was the seventh in a series of symposia on human welfare in emerging markets organized by the Emerging Markets Symposium (EMS), an academic initiative of Green Templeton College. The work of the EMS has been made possible by generous grants from the C&C Alpha Group, a London based venture capital company with a strong commitment to human welfare in emerging markets and worldwide interests in healthcare, aviation, real estate, hospitality and utilities.

The first EMS symposium was on *Health and Healthcare in Emerging Markets* (2009). It was followed by symposia on: *Urbanization, Urban Health and Human Security in Emerging Markets* (2011); *Tertiary Education in Emerging Markets* (2012); *Gender Inequality in Emerging Markets* (2013); *Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets* (2014); and *Ageing in Emerging Markets* (2015). The 2017 symposium will be on *Environmental Health in Emerging Markets*.

Each symposium has up to 50 participants, a conversational format under the Chatham House Rule that promotes candour and an agenda that explores high priority issues for emerging markets. Reports on EMS symposia (such as this one) are launched at events throughout the world. Participants collaborate with the EMS in disseminating recommendations online, in print and in broadcasts, lectures and speeches.

More information on the nature, purpose, processes and outcomes of the EMS can be found at ems.gtc.ox.ac.uk.

WHAT ARE EMERGING MARKETS?

Having evaded definition since the term was coined in the 1980s¹ there is now a loose consensus that emerging markets are in many ways a diverse group of countries with enough political, cultural and institutional attributes in common to let us speak of them in the same breath.

In recent decades these countries have:

- Achieved *relatively* strong and sustained economic growth and expect (and are generally expected) to perform well in the future.
- Made significant progress in reducing income poverty, fertility, infant mortality, communicable diseases and illiteracy while (in many cases) increasing inequity and inequality.
- Developed politically differentiated but *relatively* stable polities with *relatively* effective governance, judicial, financial, fiscal, transport, education and healthcare systems that, among other things, encouraged direct and indirect domestic and foreign investment.
- Developed sufficiently large populations, economies and markets and sufficient external influence to become significant or dominant players in regional and/or global geopolitics.
- Been challenged by problems and opportunities associated with the speed and scale of demographic, economic, social, cultural, technological and urban changes that have been the causes and consequences of their economic success.

Emerging markets are differentiated from higher income countries with *relatively* more reliable political, economic, financial and judicial systems and better established institutions, and from lower income countries with *relatively* weaker and less reliable systems and less established institutions.

Many emerging markets have been through transitions. A few (e.g. Argentina) were once among the world's most prosperous countries. Some rich² countries (e.g. Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan) have graduated from the ranks of emerging markets. Some small states (e.g. Saudi Arabia, UAE) have geo-political power that allows them to punch above their weight and have some but not all the attributes of emerging markets. Other small states (e.g. Costa Rica, Uruguay) meet many of the criteria but are excluded by their relatively small demographic and economic size. And some countries that have been viewed as emerging markets (e.g. Egypt) could be excluded in light of the impact of political instability on their economic performance. At the end of the day any list of emerging markets is based partly on objective criteria and partly on judgment. Yet scholars and practitioners sometimes conflate emerging markets and poorer countries as 'developing countries' by unhelpfully erasing distinctions grounded in real differences.

Lists of emerging markets are periodically published by (among other organizations), the World Bank, the IMF, the Financial Times, The Economist, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley, Euromoney and BBVA Research. No two lists are identical. Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, Turkey feature in all of them. Most lists also include four countries in the Western Hemisphere (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Peru); a few in Africa (Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and in some cases Nigeria); some in the Middle East (Jordan and in some cases the UAE and

1 The term *emerging markets* was first used by IFC economist Antoine van Agtmael in 1981. Goldman Sachs economist Jim (now Lord) O'Neill first used the term BRIC to describe Brazil, Russia, India and China in 2001

2 The world's best-off countries with high per capita incomes, high levels of welfare and generally reliable financial, juridical and political systems and stable currencies that encourage and facilitate investment.

Saudi Arabia) several in Asia (Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand) and some in Europe (Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary). If all those countries are included there are 28 emerging markets. Most lists include 20–25 countries. The Emerging Markets Symposium (EMS) uses a set of 20.³

WHY ARE THEY IMPORTANT?

It is often supposed that countries we now call emerging markets were globally unimportant until the late 20th century. Yet China, Egypt, India, Mexico and Peru (among others) were regional powers before 1600. In light of their histories and astonishing recent growth that has wound the clock back half a millennium, some emerging markets are actually *re-emerging* markets.

The world knows the largest emerging markets are global economic and (increasingly) geopolitical powers. But it has yet to come to terms with the facts that: the North-South paradigm is history; shifting wealth patterns have generated new global dynamics; centrifugal forces unleashed by the success of the development enterprise have made it harder to achieve an international consensus on new policy directions; the global poverty landscape has been transformed since 1980; the post-World War II architecture of international aid has been shattered; the lessons of development success should begin to flow towards rich countries; global policies and institutions need urgent adjustment; and the future of emerging markets and the future of the rest of the world are joined at the hip.

People in rich countries who (in some cases wishfully) believe the world order of the 19th and 20th centuries can be revived ignore two realities. First, notwithstanding blips, the fortunes of emerging markets will continue to affect the rest of the world. Second, their relationships with the rest of the world and with each other could be rough or smooth. To avoid a rough ride, emerging markets must answer generic questions that, in greater or lesser degree and with variable urgency, affect them all. The world as a whole has a vested interest in their success and is (willingly or grudgingly) obliged to help them find practical solutions to their common, complex, unprecedented and urgent challenges.

WHAT ARE THEIR CHARACTERISTIC CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES?

With 50% of the world's people and nearly half its economy, emerging markets expect to be increasingly powerful actors on the world stage. But in varying degrees, their prospects for sustained growth, social cohesion and political stability are menaced by: eroding competitive advantages; environmental degradation, depletion and destruction; corruption and other weaknesses in national, local and corporate governance; and unresolved issues of human welfare associated with urbanization, population ageing, nutrition, health, housing, employment, social care and the coordination of action within governments and between governments, businesses and civil societies.

3 Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Russia, South Africa, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey.

Challenges to emerging markets range from creating and sustaining economic environments that promote and enable growth, to contending with their physical environments, to managing the determinants of human welfare. Many of these challenges were addressed by today's rich countries as they developed economic, social and political systems that improved productivity, incomes, health, education and social care in the 19th and 20th centuries. Those countries have not finished the job. Their economic systems remain vulnerable, their social systems remain fragile and their political systems remain skittish. As emerging markets grapple with demographic, economic, geopolitical, cultural and technological change, they must address similar issues but must do so on vastly larger scales on highly compressed schedules and with relatively fewer human, fiscal and financial resources, poorer infrastructure and weaker institutions.

Emerging markets are distinguished from rich countries less by the nature of the challenges they face than by the magnitude, dynamism, complexity and urgency of those challenges and the relative scarcity of resources to deal with them.

2015 yielded a flood of nervous stories about deteriorating short term prospects for emerging markets, most of which focused on declining foreign investment, falling commodity prices and depressed consumer confidence. There were few stories (there are never many) about the potential impact of slower growth on human well-being. And there were even fewer about the facts: that improved welfare⁴ is both the ultimate rationale for and a fundamental condition of economic growth, social cohesion and political stability; that if emerging market economies do not grow, the welfare of their people cannot improve; that if welfare does not improve, growth, cohesion and stability cannot be sustained; and that this nexus is the soft underbelly of emerging markets.

THE WELFARE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN EMERGING MARKETS

Box A:

Aristotle's Lament

The young are in character prone to desire and ready to carry any desire they may have formed into action. Of bodily desires it is the sexual to which they are most disposed to give way, and in regard to sexual desire they exercise no self-restraint. They are changeable, too, and fickle in their desires, which are as transitory as they are vehement; for their wishes are keen without being permanent, like a sick man's fits of hunger and thirst....

Aristotle,
Rhetoric c.330 BC

The welfare of young people in emerging markets is partly determined by the consequences of the fact that (like young people everywhere) they are in transit from childhood to adulthood and partly by factors that determine the welfare of the population as a whole.

THE BIOLOGICAL TRANSITION

The biological transition is measured by changes in height, weight, muscle mass, body fat distribution and secondary sexual characteristics enabled by endocrinal (*gonadarche* and *andrenarche*) and hormonal changes affecting gonadal maturation and the production of gonadal sex steroids. Rapid growth in early to mid-adolescence is regulated by complex, inter-related hormonal changes that occur later and more slowly in boys than girls and may affect adolescent interaction. The transition may also be affected by chronic illness, mental or emotional disorders, stress and nutrition and here too the impact on girls and boys may be different (e.g. high body mass index may be associated with earlier puberty in girls and may also affect obesity).

Many misconceptions about young people are anchored in bigotry, mythology and half-truths about the physiology and chemistry of the human brain (e.g. "*The brain has completed most of its development by middle childhood*"; or "*Teenagers are the way they are because their hormones are raging*").

⁴ As used by the EMS (and in this report) this term encompasses elements of material well-being, human security, access to health, education and social services and enjoyment of human rights.

Myths endure partly because they are reinforced by unsubstantiated narratives and partly because the public has been slow to pick up on scientific evidence that confirms the brain is 'plastic' and that teenagers are biologically and evolutionarily 'primed' to behave as they do. Youthful behaviours that exasperate older people (e.g. waking up late or doing things without considering consequences) are part and parcel of being young and are generally harmless. Others (e.g. extreme risk-taking, drug and alcohol addiction) are not harmless.

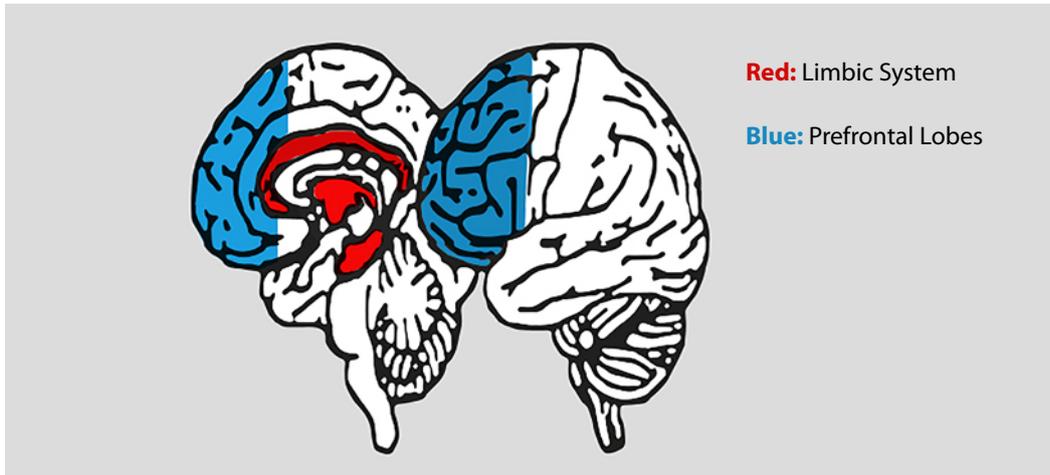


Figure 1: Lateral and Median Views of the Human Brain

Source: Prof Sarah-Jayne Blakemore, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience, University College London

The adolescent brain is a work in progress and its plasticity allows young people to learn quickly. But its vulnerabilities include susceptibility to violent imagery, the damaging effects of alcohol and 'energy drinks' and to rigid social norms that do not necessarily match adolescent expectations about gender and behaviour.

Challenges inherent in childhood-adulthood transitions (e.g. social adversity, social change) may interact with neurodevelopmental changes to provoke mental and emotional disorders with lifelong consequences. In many countries it is estimated that half of all adult mental disorders start by age 14 although most are undetected and untreated.

Because cognitive capacities are developing and because there are disconnects between physical capacity and capacity for self-control, younger adolescents are particularly vulnerable as they begin to move outside the family. Most explore and experiment in ways that contribute to their development but others engage in risky or extreme-risk behaviours that may have long term health effects.

Psychosocial and emotional changes and cognitive and intellectual development are linked to hormonal and neurodevelopmental changes in the second decade of life as adolescents develop skills in reasoning, rational, logical, moral and abstract thinking, the ability to consider other points of view and social consciousness while consolidating self-identity and seeking enhanced autonomy and disengagement from parental controls.

Environmental changes affect and are affected by internal changes. As emerging markets have embraced globalization the traditional impact of endogenous cultures – social values and norms and changing roles, responsibilities, relationships and expectations in family, school and community environments – have been complemented (or replaced) by the attributes of exogenous cultures, largely through digital media and social networks.

BoxB:

A Lobe Story

In the human brain the limbic system is responsible for fear, anger, excitement and other emotions. Recent research shows that it matures faster than other regions of the brain including the prefrontal lobes, which can be thought of as brakes to human emotions and impulses. This asynchronous brain development suggests that at the time of adolescence the brain has a more mature limbic system and less mature prefrontal lobe. This is theorised to be the cause of increased risk taking, erratic behaviour and heightened emotions characteristic of this age group.

Georgia Lockwood-Estrin, *Young People and the Future*, blog written for **Mental Health Innovation Network** (a non-specialist audience).
27 January 2016

OTHER DETERMINANTS

Human welfare is a function of health, education, economic security and social security, each an outcome of complex interactions between (i) Demographic, economic and social policies; (ii) Decisions made by individuals, businesses and civil society organizations; and (iii) The human life course from birth through childhood, youth, adulthood and ageing to death (Fig. 2).

Box C:

You Don't Care!

More than one in six people in the world are between the ages of 15 and 24. Yet the world's adolescents and young adults are probably the most neglected—by policy analysts, business thinkers, and academic researchers—of all age groups. Not only have the 810 million people over the age of 60, whose growing numbers threaten social safety nets around the world, attracted more attention, so have children and prime-age adults.

Bloom, (2012)

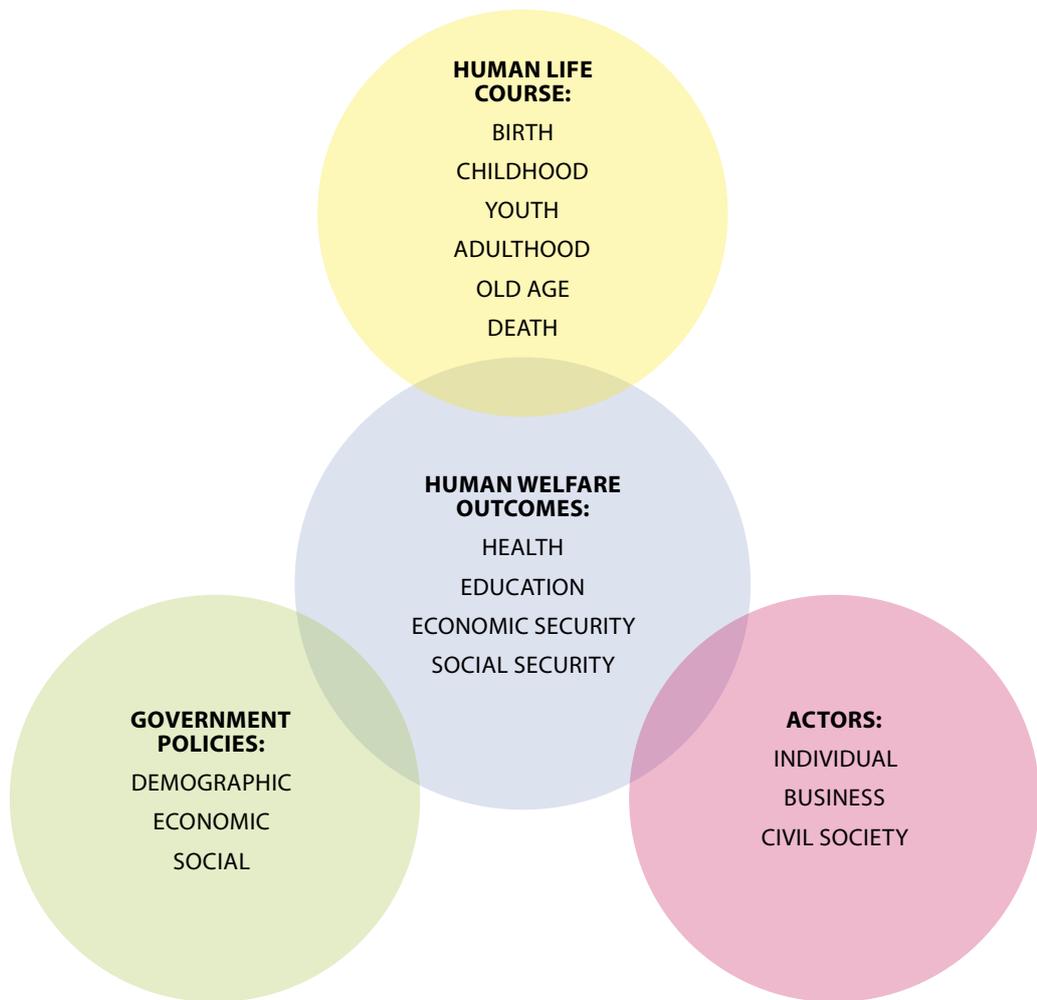


Figure 2: Relationships Between Life-Course, Policies, Actors and Human Welfare Outcomes
Source: EMS Original 2016

The determinants of welfare are interactive but not necessarily aligned. Consider, for illustrative purposes, the contrasts between: (i) Eugenia, an 18 year old girl in Buenos Aires with wealthy parents, good health, an excellent education, many material comforts, a privileged social position, the benefits of a close family and many friends; (ii) Tanawat, a 14 year old boy in Bangkok whose parents are moderately prosperous, attends a good school on scholarship, is healthy (although he has experienced emotional difficulty adjusting to contrasts between his relatively modest home and his privileged school) but has loving parents and good friends; and (iii) Arun, a 23 year old man in Chennai who inherited wealth and income, became addicted to heroin in his early teens, did not complete school, and now has poor health and is socially isolated. Comparisons between their health (H), education (E), economic security (ES) and social security (SS) are shown in Fig. 3.

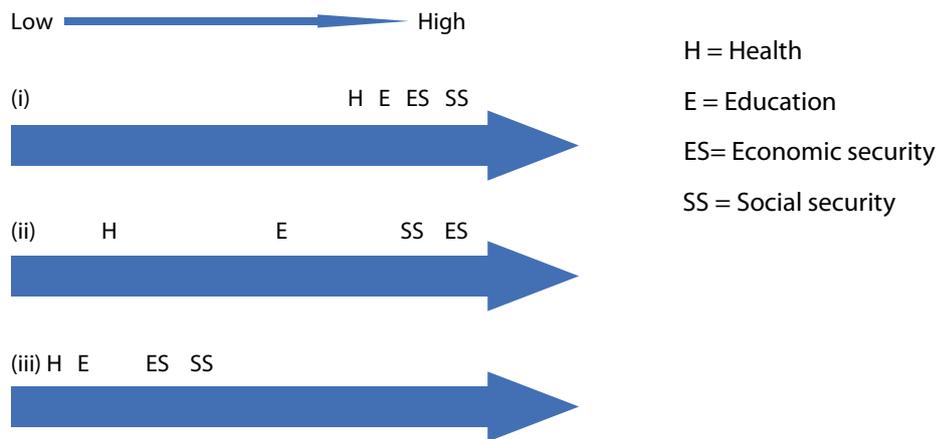


Figure 3: Alignments Between Health, Education, Economic Security and Social Security
 Source: EMS Original 2016

In Eugenia’s case the stars are aligned, every indicator is positive and the good things in her life are mutually reinforcing. In the second they are not fully aligned because Tanawat is struggling to reconcile his dual environments and is about to suffer from a debilitating emotional disorder that will prejudice the positive features of his life. Arun started with huge advantages but his life is disorderly and his prospects are poor.

The fact that the health, education, economic and social determinants of human welfare are not necessarily aligned poses uncommon challenges to those who would promote economic and social change. Improved access to education does not necessarily translate to better jobs and higher incomes. Improvements in incomes do not necessarily improve personal health. Accordingly, the primary challenge for emerging market governments, acting alone or in conjunction with business and civil society, is to nudge economic and social systems in progressive directions. More often than not, like other countries⁵, emerging markets measure progress one step at a time and contend with the natural tendency of economic, social and political systems to revert to the *status quo ante*.

While at least some aspects of the transition from childhood to adulthood may seem universal, differences in content, context and speed mean every individual has a unique story. For Eugenia it has, so far, been seamless. For Tanawat less so. And for Arun, contrary to what he, his family and everyone else might have expected, life, so far, has been difficult, disappointing and confusing. While all adolescents live through similar biological, cognitive and psychosocial processes, their experience of those processes has less to do with biology than with their personal characteristics and the environments in which they live, learn, play and work.

5 With such revolutionary exceptions as China, Cuba, Mexico and Russia

THE DYNAMICS OF HUMAN WELFARE

The lives of young people in emerging markets reflect inequities that begin before birth and haunt them for life. The reality that those who begin with advantages usually win (Fig. 4) illustrates Myrdal's thesis⁶ that economic, social and spatial outcomes are usually driven by circular and cumulative processes that perpetuate the *status quo*.

But in all sorts of ways for all sorts of reasons, initial advantage does not settle every outcome. Accidents of birth, infectious diseases, poor decisions, failed relationships, addictions, miscarriages of justice and randomly distributed events can lead advantaged children to fail and disadvantaged children to succeed.

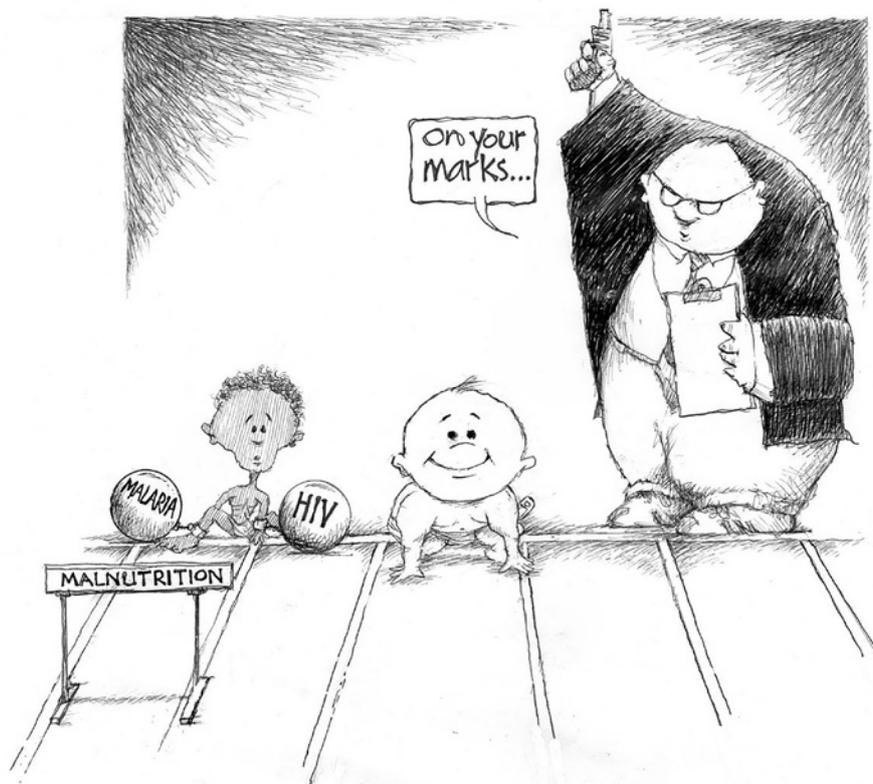


Figure 4:
Source: Report on Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition, EMS 2014

Fig. 5 describes a sequence where initial advantage triumphs. In the beginning (I), genetics, maternal health, pre and post-natal nutrition, and nurture in the thousand days from conception to birth, set people up or down for life. In childhood (II) those who started with advantages retain them. In adolescence and young adulthood (III) initial and acquired advantages help those who started ahead to stay ahead. Adult lives (IV) continue established trajectories and, in the end (V) those who had everything going for them in the first place enjoy the end game while others finish miserably.

⁶ Gunnar Myrdal (1957)

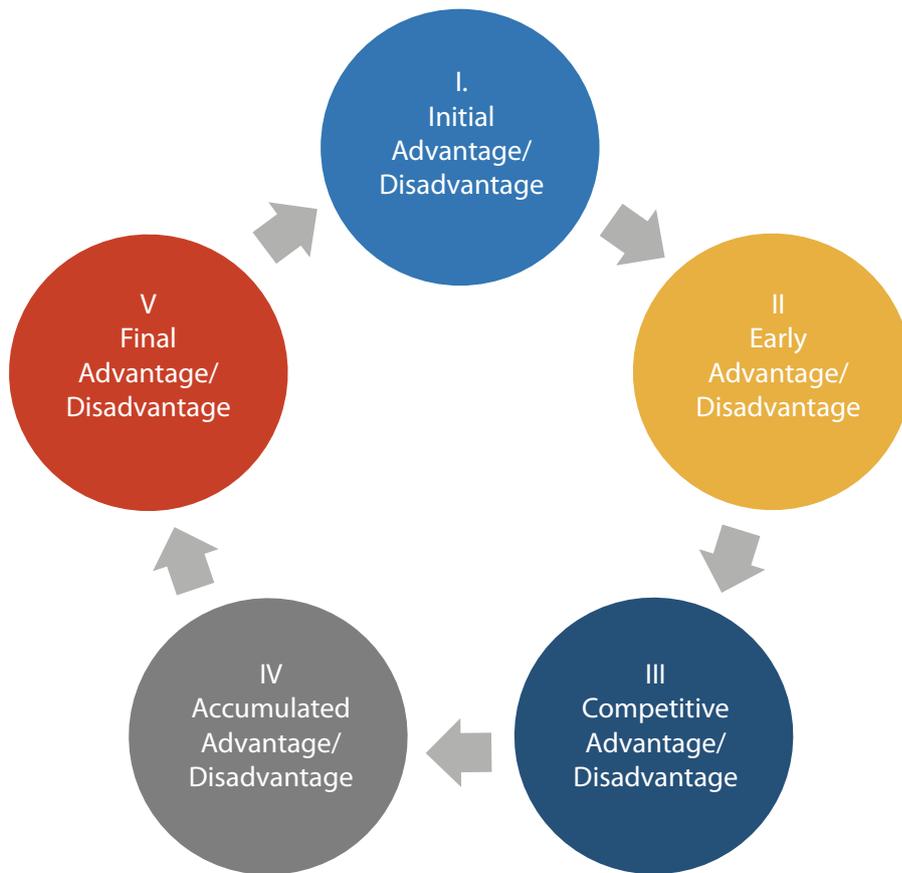


Figure 5: Initial Advantage and Circular and Cumulative Causation Based on Myrdal Hypothesis
Source: EMS Original 2016

Rhythms of advantage and disadvantage can be disturbed in many ways. Children born with inherited advantages may suffer the consequences of parental separation or divorce. Adolescents may succumb to addictions or accidents. Adults may discover skills and aptitudes that allow them to overcome the drawbacks of poor education and succeed in the workplace. In old age, some lifetime followers may become leaders.

Disturbances to economic, social and political systems may be temporary or transformational and may occur randomly or as results of national and local government interventions in (for example) healthcare, nutrition and education. People with inherited disadvantages can discover or create advantages and, (because there are snakes as well as ladders), people born to advantage can become less advantaged. The great challenge for emerging market governments, working – in the best of all possible worlds – with business and civil society, is to: bring about significant and quantifiable changes in the welfare of young people, without creating chaos; destabilize economies enough to permit young people to share in the benefits of growth without driving away capital, enterprise and rare technical and financial skills; shake-up societies enough to make young people believe the dice are not permanently loaded against them; and perturb polities enough to encourage young people to participate in political processes without making them ungovernable. Or as HE Shaukat Aziz put it in a speech at the symposium, 'To shift, just a little, from the values of 'me' to the values of 'we' (see Box D).

Box D:

Comments by HE Shaukat Aziz at Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets Oxford, January 2016

The truly 'wicked problems' of our time – the problems that seem unsolvable – will become even more wicked and more unsolvable if the world is unwilling or unable to: partially replace individualistic values with collective values; shift, just a little, from values of 'me' to values of 'we'; and admit that interdependent nations are all in same boat ...

If, with some slipping and sliding, the 2015 Paris Agreement on carbon emissions is implemented, it could be a turning point in the global battle to preserve our planet. But its larger significance is that it could also mark a partial transition from the historic norm of narrow national interest and sovereign autonomy towards a broader emphasis on global cooperation.

If the world can agree to reduce greenhouse gases in the interest of planetary survival, could it also agree to address the transnational issues we examine at EMS symposia?

As a minister and prime minister who emphasized deregulation, liberalization and privatisation, you would not expect me to advocate wholesale collectivisation. And I am not doing so. My message is that the world cannot achieve economic growth, social cohesion, political stability and environmental health without shared answers to shared problems that threaten human life and shatter human dignity. That is easier said than done. But each of us must seize opportunities, large and small, to nudge our economies, societies and polities towards greater mutuality, dignity... and equity.

There are huge differences in the degrees of political freedom available to emerging markets governments. In general, presidential democracies have fewer degrees of freedom than parliamentary democracies and still fewer than single-party democracies. But recent history offers conclusive proof that all systems have limits; that initiatives designed to improve welfare can be counterproductive; that actions meant to enhance equity can provoke countervailing actions; and that policies which are incompatible with popular tolerance for change can rebound.

Against the background of the concepts and issues outlined above and a review (Chapter 2) of the demographic attributes of young people in emerging markets, this report presents findings, conclusions and recommendations on the main determinants of the welfare and prospects for young people in emerging markets: Chapter 3 is about health; Chapter 4, education; Chapter 5, economic security; and Chapter 6 social security.

CHAPTER 2: DEMOGRAPHY

This chapter describes the demographics of young people in emerging markets: who they are, where they live, how they differ (and will differ) from past and future generations, and contrasts within and between emerging market countries. Acknowledging competing and conflicting concepts of youth, the symposium agreed that *young people* are aged between 10 and 24 and that this cohort embraces adolescents (aged 10-18) and youth (19-24).

The global population is younger than it has ever been in the past or will be in the future. Nearly two billion people are aged between 10 and 24. More than half the world's population is under 30. Geographically, there are more young people in emerging markets than in rich countries (Europe, USA) but fewer than in poorer countries (notably Sub-Saharan Africa).

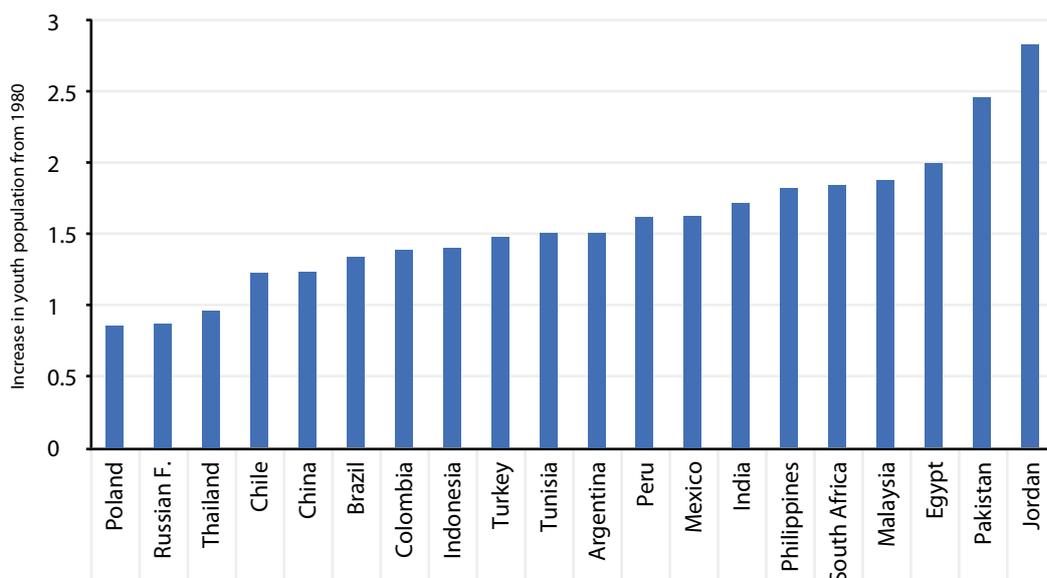


Figure 6: Increase in young population (1980=1)

Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016

While young populations in emerging markets have continued to grow (Fig. 6) they account for declining shares of 'classically defined' working age (15- 64) populations (Fig. 7). Raw numbers may suggest the growth of young people entering emerging market labour forces implies that (at differing speeds) emerging markets have captured, are capturing or will in due course capture a demographic dividend (i.e. an economic bonus derived from the increase in the size of the working age population). The implication is misleading because the economic and social significance of labour force growth depends on: (i) Growth in effective demand for labour; and (ii) The physical and cognitive capacity, health and education of labour force entrants.

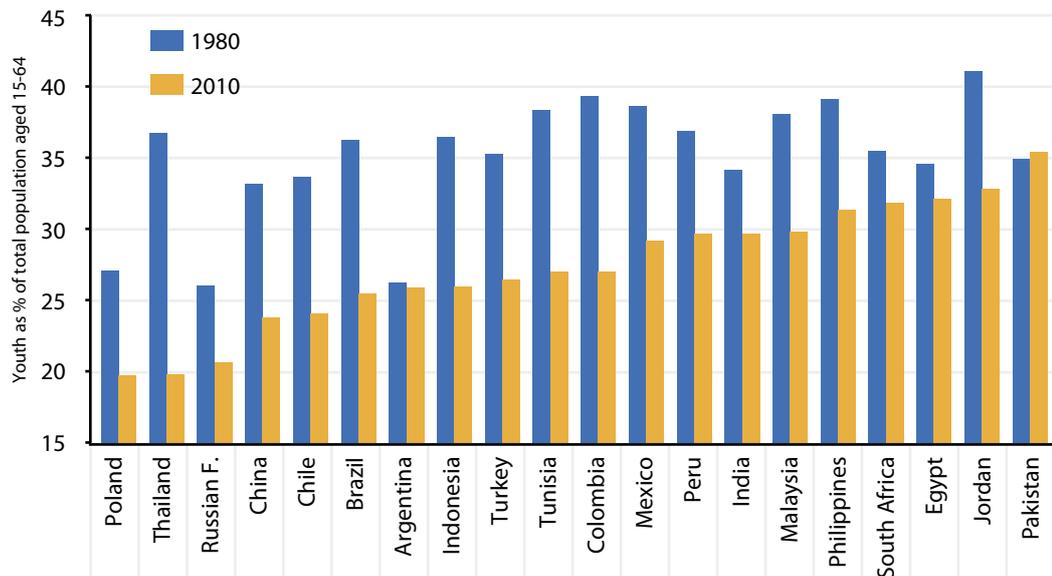


Figure 7: Young Populations as Proportions of Populations Aged 15-64 (1980-2010)
 Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016

The growth of an educated population does not, in itself, guarantee a demographic dividend. In Tunisia for example Figs. 8 and 9 show that growth in the youth cohort between 1980 and 2010 was paralleled by growth in the numbers completing primary, secondary and tertiary education. That meant recent entrants to the Tunisian labour force were better educated than earlier entrants and had better chances of finding jobs. But many did not find jobs, partly because there was an excess supply of labour and partly because their capabilities did not match demand for hard and soft skills in the Tunisian labour market. As a result of misalignment the educated but unemployed population grew, emphasizing the reality that as jobs become more complex, education systems must evolve to match changing labour market requirements.

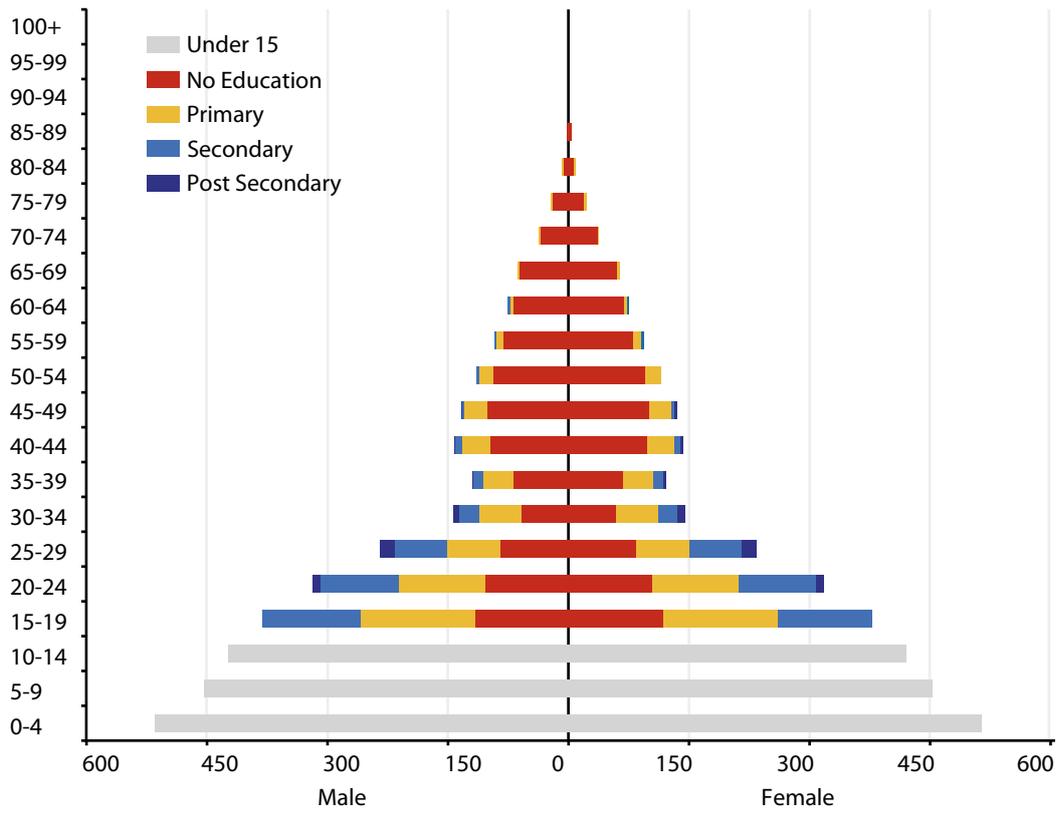


Figure 8: Tunisia 1980. Total population 6.46m
 Source: Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (WIC) Wittgenstein Centre Data Explorer. Version 1.2 2015

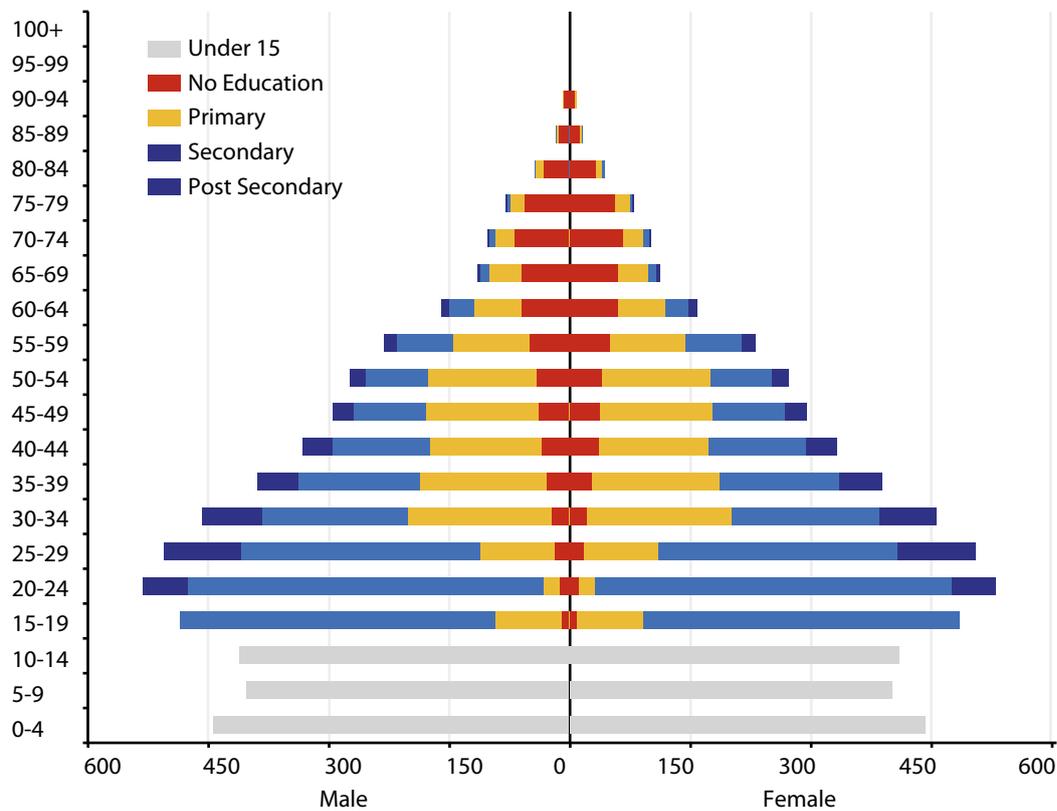


Figure 9: Tunisia 2010. Total population 10.48m
 Source: Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (WIC) Wittgenstein Centre Data Explorer. Version 1.2 2015

Looking ahead, Fig. 10 shows that the population of young people has already peaked in many emerging markets and that with notable exceptions (Pakistan, Jordan, Egypt) the opportunity for a demographic dividend (even where demographic growth was associated with improved education) has passed. Demographic outcomes in 2050 are far from certain but as shown in Fig. 11, even high fertility levels in emerging markets (which, in most cases are highly improbable) would not prevent a significant decline in the absolute size of young populations in countries as varied as Thailand, Colombia, Poland and the Russian Federation.

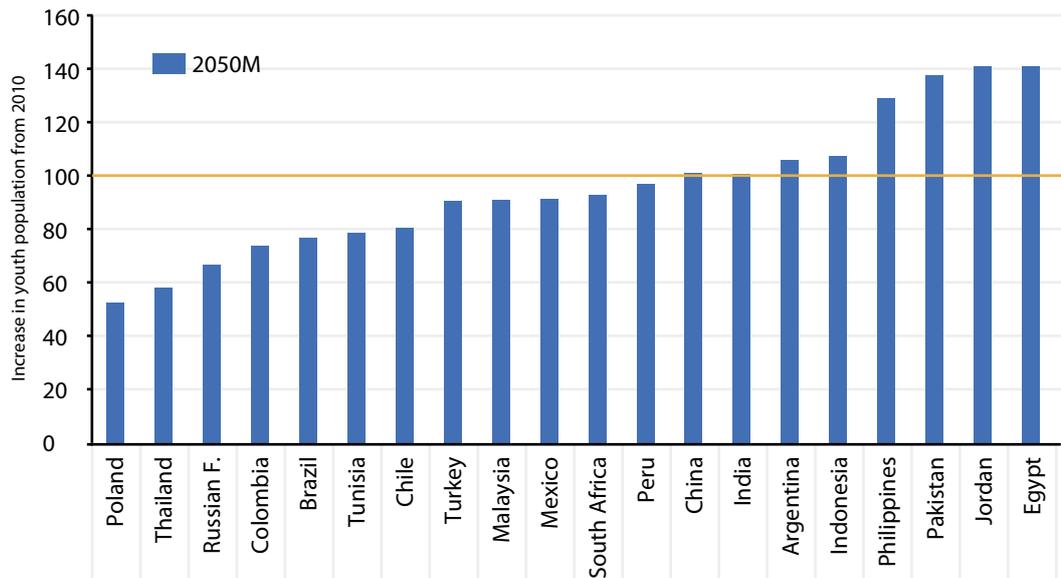


Figure 10: 15-24 population change to 2050 (2010=100) Median Fertility Variant (M)
Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016

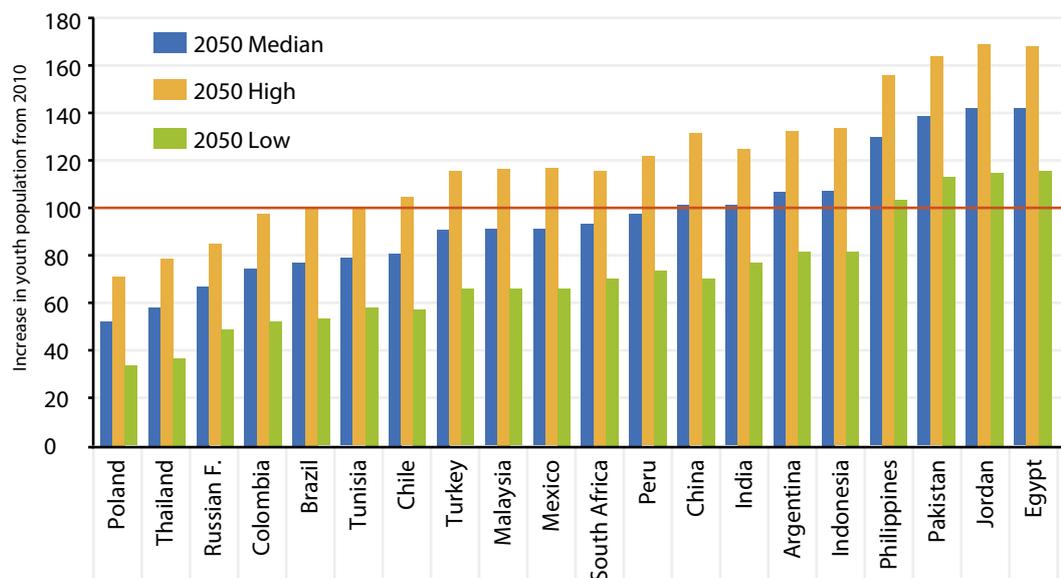


Figure 11: 15-24 population change to 2050 (2010=100) by fertility variant
Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016

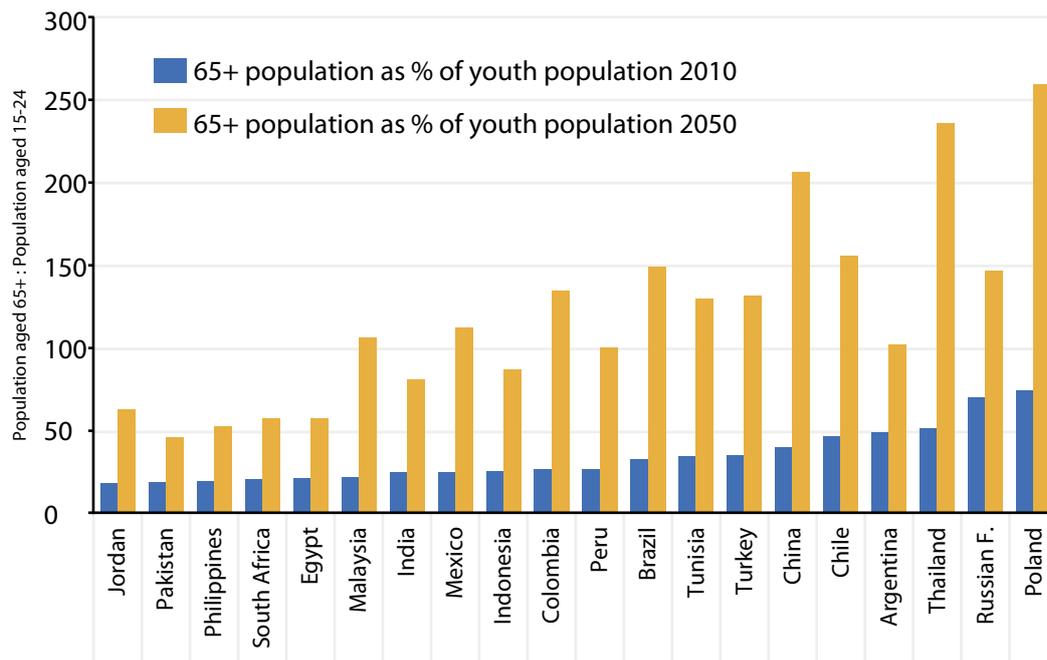


Figure 12: Population aged 65+ as a percentage of the Population Aged 15-24 (2010 and 2050)

Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016

Current trends in relationships between younger and older populations will continue. (Fig. 12). By 2050 most emerging markets will have very large and growing elderly populations. Some (notably Poland, Thailand, China) will have to cope with the fact that the size and capabilities of their labour forces will shrink unless they: (i) Recalibrate secondary and tertiary education systems to match changing labour force demands and/or (ii) Succeed in inducing people to postpone or eliminate retirement and work longer⁷.

This issue and its implications are discussed further in Chapter 5.

International migration will play an increasingly important role in labour force management in emerging markets and will raise numerous issues. Some of them (e.g. the deliberate or casual conflation of economic migrants and political refugees) are already apparent. These issues are likely to become more visible and more neuralgic in the future.

People will also stay younger longer. The concept of youth has evolved and will continue to evolve, in emerging markets and in richer countries, as the age of youth extends beyond conventional chronological limits. The period between childhood and adulthood is growing longer and more distinct. Puberty is starting earlier in many countries, although in general the timing of *menarche* has levelled off in rich countries at 12–13 years. At the same time, key social transitions to adulthood are postponed until well after biological maturity. Young people spend more years in education and training, their expectations change, and contraception is increasingly available to prevent pregnancy. As a result, young people take on adult roles and responsibilities later, such as family formation and employment.

⁷ See report on 2015 EMS symposium *Ageing in Emerging Markets*

As changes in attitudes, behaviours, norms and priorities extend youth, there will be other changes. For example: (i) Whereas it was once assumed that, for most people, tertiary education would be completed by age 24/25, it is increasingly common for studenthood to stretch towards age 30; (ii) Whereas it was once assumed marriage knots would be tied in the early to mid-20s, it is increasingly common for marriages and partnership commitments to be deferred for several years; (iii) Whereas it was once assumed women would bear children in their 20s it is increasingly common for them to wait until the early 30s. As will be shown in Chapter 4 there are bio-social explanations for these shifts, the causes and consequences of which vary from person to person and country to country. But the trend is clear as are the facts that whereas nuptiality may be delayed, the child-bearing clock cannot be wound back.

These seismic shifts also imply changes in generational relationships. As longevity in emerging markets increases – and, with the exception of Russia, Poland and a few other countries there is no evidence it will not – filial obligations of the young to the old will theoretically increase. But weakening familial bonds, the friction of spatial separation between generations and the replacement of nuclear families as sources of restraint and guidance by an array of surrogates, alternatives and competitors (e.g. social media) has changed both the game and the arena.

CHAPTER 3: YOUNG PEOPLE ARE HEALTHY... AREN'T THEY?

Against the background of the distinctive physical and cognitive attributes associated with the 10-24 age group⁸ this chapter focusses on the physical, mental and emotional health of young people in emerging markets and their access to age-specific healthcare.

It is commonly supposed that having survived exposure to childhood diseases, young people are generally healthier than the population at large. And by comparison with more vulnerable (much younger and much older) age groups the disease burden of the young is relatively light. In terms of disability-adjusted life years (DALYs), adolescents and other young people are relatively healthy.

Closer inspection reveals distinctive patterns of morbidity and mortality that merit far more attention than they generally get and leads to the conclusion that, with sharp inter-country differences, more than a third of the adult disease burden and almost 60 percent of premature adult deaths are associated with behaviours that begin in adolescence. These behaviours include tobacco, alcohol and drug addiction, poor nutrition, and sexual and other forms of risk taking. The health of young people is thus intrinsically (i.e. in its own right) and extrinsically (i.e. as a phase in the human life-course) important.

The wealth of nations reflects the health of nations and the health of young people is a critical determinant of the educability, productivity, creativity, adaptability and resilience of emerging market populations. Yet few emerging markets have devoted much attention to morbidity and mortality in the 10-24 age group. Few have established operational links between lifestyle choices of the young and adult health and longevity. And few have developed strategies to address youth health and healthcare.

Whereas some emerging markets have at least made a dent in the challenges highlighted in EMS symposia on *Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition* and *Ageing*⁹ none have seriously tackled youth health and most have yet to identify it as a distinctive field. Reproductive and paediatric care are well established specialities in all emerging markets. Geriatric care is established in most. Healthcare for the young is a missing link.

8 Chronological age is an imperfect metric of transformation from childhood to adulthood. Endocrine changes may begin before age 10 and neurodevelopmental changes may continue into the mid-20s but most pubertal changes occur in the second decade. Girls may reach biological milestones up to two years ahead of boys.

9 See EMS reports on *Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets* (2014) and *Ageing in Emerging Markets* (2015) on ems.gtc.ox.ac.uk

HEALTH AND MATURATION

Physical and neurodevelopmental changes directly affect the burden of disease in childhood-adulthood transitions; risk perceptions and decisions; communications about risky behaviours; and how young people think about the present and the future. Pubertal changes affect the incidence and clinical manifestations of polycystic ovarian syndrome, eating disorders, depression, epilepsy, Type 1 diabetes and other autoimmune diseases and chronic conditions that may have reciprocal effects on adolescent development processes and the causes of and responses to adolescent disabilities.

Slow development of the pre-frontal lobe and social settings that are far more differentiated in emerging markets than in richer countries, may also combine to enhance risks for substance abuse, self-harm and socially disruptive behaviour. Many health-related behaviours have implications for both present and future health and development. For example, alcohol use and obesity in early adolescence compromise adolescent development and predict health-compromising alcohol use and obesity in later life¹⁰.

MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

Cross country analysis points to the importance of six categories of morbidity among young people in emerging markets:

- Early pregnancy and childbirth (Female)
- Infectious diseases (Male and Female)
 - HIV
 - Other
- Injuries (Male and Female)
 - Violence
 - Traffic accidents
 - Other accidents
- Addiction related diseases (Male and Female)
 - Alcohol
 - Tobacco
 - Narcotics
- Mental and emotional illness (Male and Female)
- Nutrition related diseases and conditions (Male and Female)
 - Malnutrition
 - Obesity
 - Type 2 diabetes

¹⁰ Nearly 100% of respondents to a 2012 WHO global community consultation with adolescents thought personal health was important but only a quarter thought the main significance of current health lay in its implications for adult health.

These conditions are also directly or indirectly associated with mortality. In many cases (childbirth, infectious diseases, injuries, addictions, suicide related to mental illness) death may occur in youth. In others (e.g. obesity related Type 2 diabetes) it may occur later. But death is often linked to events initiated in the 15 year period of adolescence and youth. (Fig. 13).

Cause of death*	Estimated deaths (X1000)	Contribution of each cause to overall mortality (%)
Men		
Transport Accidents	48	13.6
Suicide	45	12.8
Other unintentional injuries**	40	11.3
Tuberculosis	34	9.6
Cardiovascular diseases	25	7.0
Women		
Maternal conditions	46	15.5
Suicide	40	13.7
Tuberculosis	30	10.3
Unintentional injuries**	29	9.9
Cardiovascular diseases	20	6.9

* Percentage to overall mortality was calculated after application of sample weights to adjust urban-rural differences for each state in the sample deaths.

**In men, other unintentional injuries include drowning (11%), falls (7%), and snakebite (7%); In women, unintentional injuries include fires (29%), transport accidents (18%), and snakebites (15%).

Figure 13: Five leading causes of death among men and women aged 15-29 2010 in India
Source: Patel et al, Lancet 2012

EARLY PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

Maternal death is the leading cause of death for girls aged 15-19 worldwide. Girls aged 15-19 are twice as likely and girls under 15 are five times more likely to die of complications during pregnancy or childbirth as women aged 20 or more. A substantial proportion of these deaths occur in emerging markets, particularly in countries with limited access to contraception, sanitation and ante-natal, neo-natal and post-natal healthcare and poor medical facilities. Recognizing that early pregnancies reflect the interaction of cultural norms and traditions, social isolation, economic circumstances and risk propensity, health-focused education and cost effective services are urgent priorities, particularly in the poorest communities in emerging markets.

INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Improvements in childhood vaccination and sanitation have led to marked reductions in adolescent deaths and disability from infectious diseases in most emerging markets in recent decades. But in some of them (India, Pakistan, South Africa, Brazil) tuberculosis, diarrhoea, lower respiratory tract infections and meningitis remain significant causes of sickness and death among 10 to 19 year olds.

The global prevalence of HIV/AIDS has declined and the disease is now concentrated in poorer countries in Africa. But estimates suggest adolescent HIV in some emerging markets (e.g. South Africa, India) may be rising. In emerging markets where HIV/AIDS continues to be a significant cause of morbidity and mortality, urgent measures should be taken to ensure infected children are systematically identified, supported and educated on how to manage their conditions and protect themselves and others.

INJURIES

Violence – often linked with mental or emotional disorder – is a leading cause of youthful death in emerging markets. In Latin America for example it is estimated that one in three male adolescent deaths is caused by interpersonal or gang violence and that a third of girls aged 15 to 19 experience violence by a partner.

Unintentional injuries are a leading cause of death and disability among young people. In 2012 road accidents accounted for more deaths among young males than any other single cause.

ADDICTIONS

Alcohol and drug use among young people in emerging markets (and other countries) are associated with (i) Injuries and deaths attributable to traffic accidents; (ii) Partner-on-partner violence; (iii) Sexual assault; (iv) Unwanted pregnancy; and (v) Obesity, cardiovascular diseases and Type 2 diabetes.

Evidence from Russia and some other emerging markets suggests that alcohol producers, like producers of other addictive consumables, target young consumers knowing that: (i) Their capacity for mature judgement is less developed than their propensity to take risks; and (ii) Once addicted, they are likely to remain addicted. Given rising economic and social costs and the impact on (particularly male) longevity, some emerging markets should consider urgent action and all should be aware of potential risks (Fig 14).

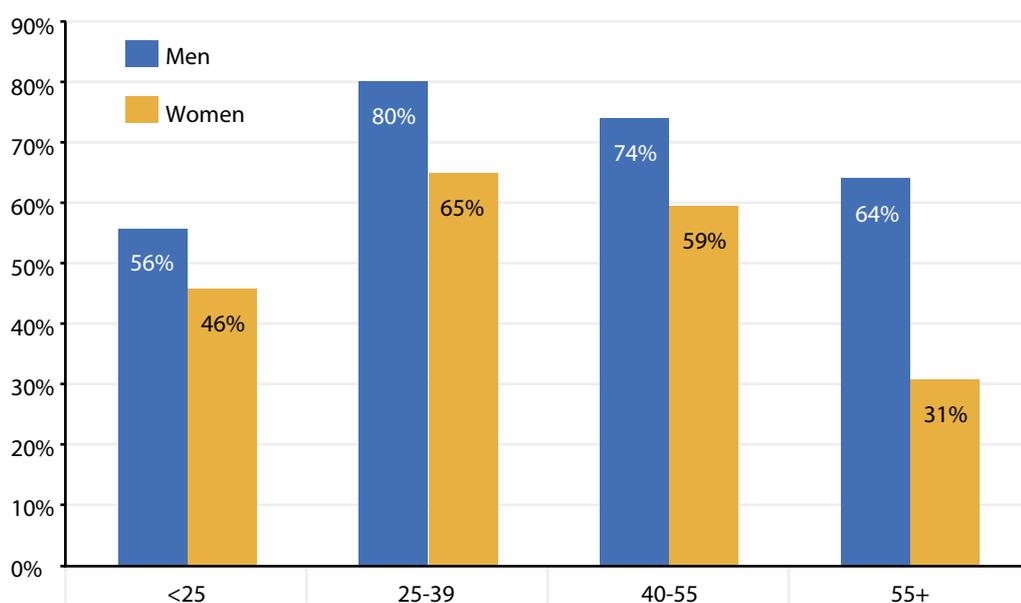


Figure 14: Alcohol use in Russia by different age-groups
Source: Russia Longitudinal Monitoring survey, RLMS-HSE

Its immediate and long term effects on the health of young people having been amply rehearsed elsewhere, the symposium took as read that tobacco use is: addictive; causes cancers, autoimmune diseases, bone diseases, heart and blood diseases, pulmonary diseases, ear, eye, nose and throat diseases and rheumatoid arthritis; damages female reproductive systems; and that secondary smoke has serious negative effects on children and non-smoking adolescents (Fig. 15).

Worldwide, most adults who use tobacco became addicted in adolescence. But emerging market populations are particularly vulnerable because tobacco companies, facing increasing market resistance in rich countries have shifted their focus to emerging market and poorer countries. Worldwide sales of tobacco products have continued to grow and the most vulnerable members of emerging market populations have become addicted. In light of the contentious history of tobacco litigation in rich countries, most emerging markets might be unwilling to pursue manufacturers but can follow the example of richer countries by prohibiting the sale of tobacco products to minors, increasing their price through tax increases, banning tobacco advertising and legislating smoke-free environments. Globally, at least 1 in 10 younger (13-15) adolescents use tobacco, but the figure is much higher in most emerging markets.

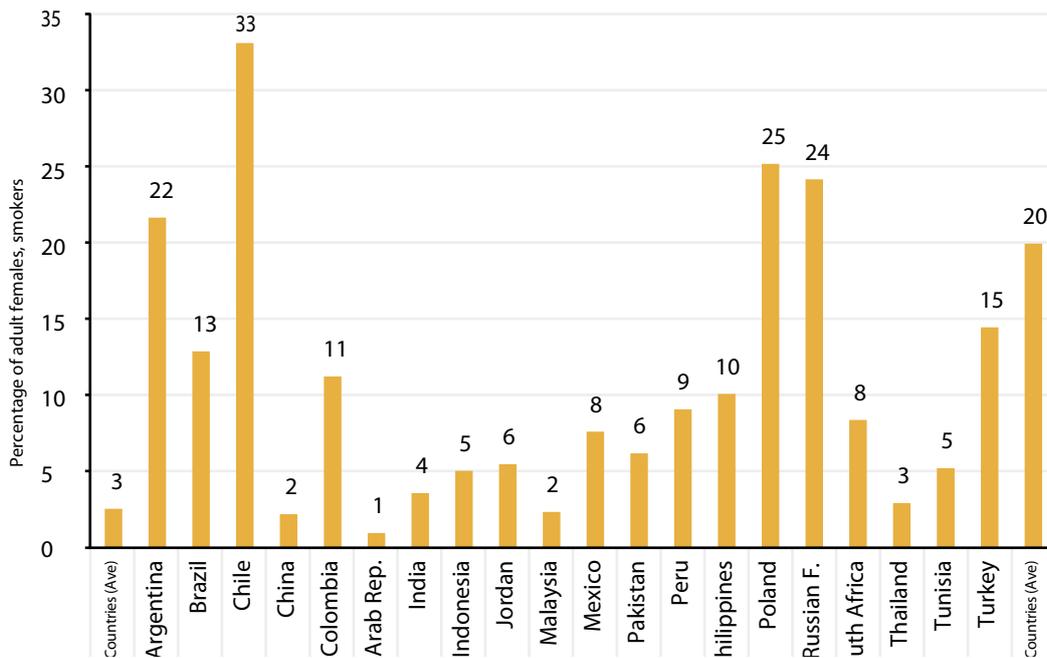


Figure 15: Smoking prevalence, % of adult females, 2009
 Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework

MENTAL ILLNESS

Interaction between challenges inherent in childhood-adulthood transition (e.g. social adversity, social change, cyber influences) and neurodevelopmental changes are at the heart of many of the mental disorders (clinical and manic-depression; anxiety; learning, conduct and eating disorders; and ADHD) that affect young people in emerging markets. The range, incidence and prevalence of these conditions is severely compromised by widespread misreporting but appears to be similar in emerging markets and richer countries.

Mental illnesses have massive impacts on the education, employability, productivity and behaviour of young people; expose them to discrimination and abuse; and may recur throughout life (about 75% of adult mental illnesses have their onset before age 24). Worldwide, mental illness is widely feared, often unacknowledged and generally misunderstood. Some emerging market societies have made progress towards reducing fear and loathing of mental illness, mainly in relatively sophisticated and educated metropolitan environments.

Mental disorders are also associated with physical morbidities, psychosomatic disorders, physical and cognitive disabilities, personal injuries and deaths attributable to interpersonal and gang violence, traffic and other accidents, alcohol and drug abuse, tobacco use, malnutrition and eating disorders.

Mental illness is also linked to suicide which is now one of the top three causes of death among youth worldwide and in some emerging markets (see Fig. 13) is second to transport accidents (males) and maternity (females). Nearly one million people die from suicide and twenty times more people attempt suicide each year which translates to a global mortality rate of 16 per 100,000, or one death every 40 seconds and one attempt every three seconds, on average. In 1998, suicide was estimated to represent 1.8% of the total global burden of disease. This figure is projected to reach 2.4% by 2020.

Data collection on suicide among young people in emerging markets is constrained by religious, cultural, social and (in Islamic countries) legal inhibitions that lead to widespread mis-reporting and a tendency to ascribe suicide to unresolved personal, domestic and financial issues rather than mental disorders¹¹. Recent studies of suicides based on psychological autopsies in India show mental illness was an almost invariable explanatory factor (97%–100%).

NUTRITION

Malnourishment diminishes adolescent capacity to benefit from education, decreases productivity, increases vulnerability to infectious and chronic diseases and raises the likelihood of premature death. Adolescent malnourishment reflecting patterns established in early childhood (see Figs. 16 and 17) is more prevalent in some emerging markets than in poorer countries and far more prevalent than in richer countries. Somewhat comparable patterns of anaemia in children under five and in pregnant women (Figs. 18 and 19) suggest the cognitive and physical consequences of female anaemia persist through adolescence.

Adolescent obesity has increased rapidly in most emerging markets, many of which have experienced abrupt transitions from health issues associated with under nourishment, to issues associated with inappropriate nourishment (See Box E). Combined with increasingly

¹¹ Mis-reporting is exacerbated by the fact that suicide data are often based on police or forensic reports that ignore psychological factors. Those practices have also spawned reductionist models that assume suicide victims are individuals who respond to personal challenges with impulsive fatal acts and emphasize *distal* rather than *proximal* factors

sedentary lifestyles and the absence/inadequacy of physical education in schools¹² nutritional changes have led, in short order, to excess consumption of saturated fats, imbalanced consumption of omega 3 and omega 6 fatty acids and high consumption of beverages containing high fructose corn syrup. These choices have directly contributed to epidemic obesity and Type 2 diabetes.

Box E:

Nutritional Transitions in Chile
Changes in lifestyle and consumer preferences for high energy-dense foods and caloric beverages, animal-source foods, and caloric sweeteners have been associated with dramatic changes in the health of young people in Chile and many other emerging markets. The proportion of malnutrition among children under five fell from 37% to 2.9% between 1960 and 2000 while the prevalence of obesity rose to 20% in 2008. Under-nourishment in pregnant women fell from 26.0% to 14.1% while

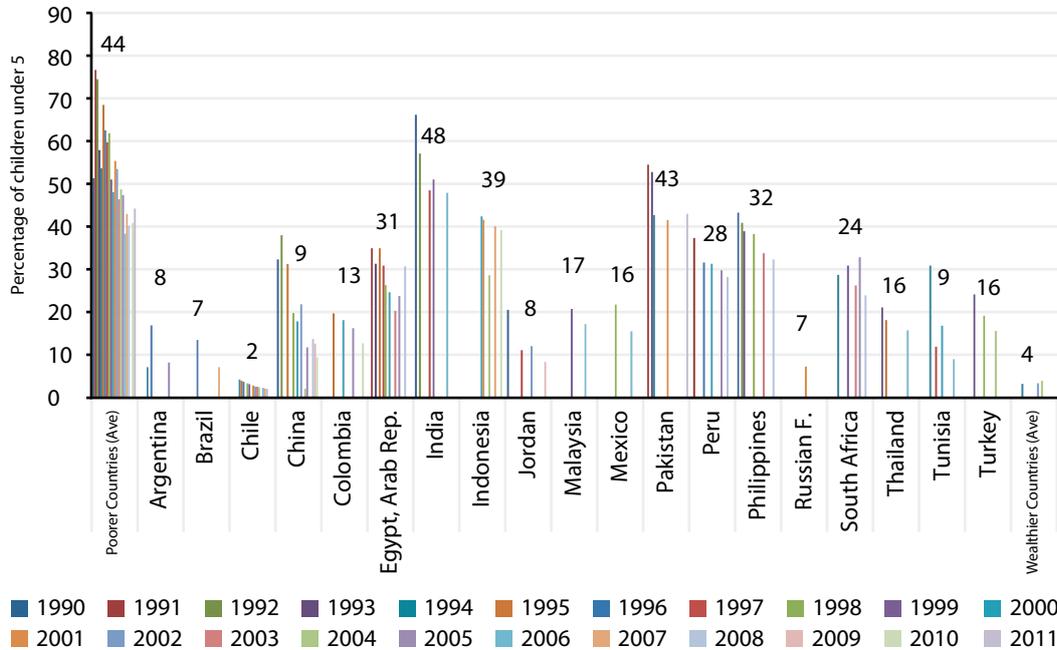


Figure 16: Malnutrition prevalence, height for age (% of children under 5), 1990-2011
 Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework

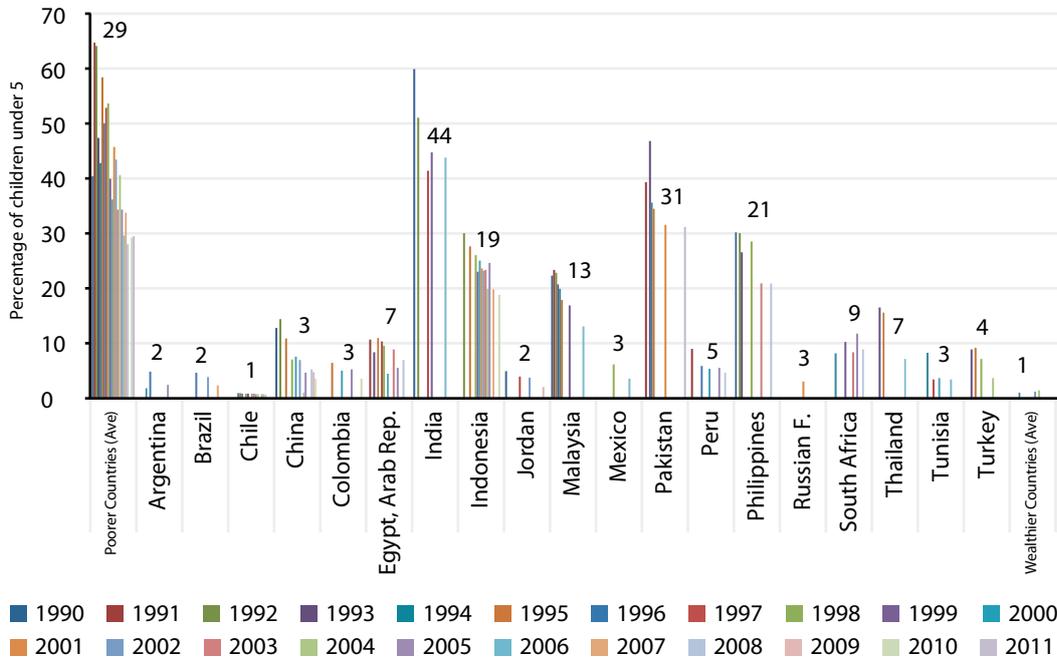


Figure 17: Malnutrition prevalence, weight for age (% of children under 5), 1990-2011
 Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework

12 Surveys suggest that fewer than 1 in every 4 adolescents meets the recommended guidelines for physical activity of at least 60 minutes of daily moderate to vigorous physical activity

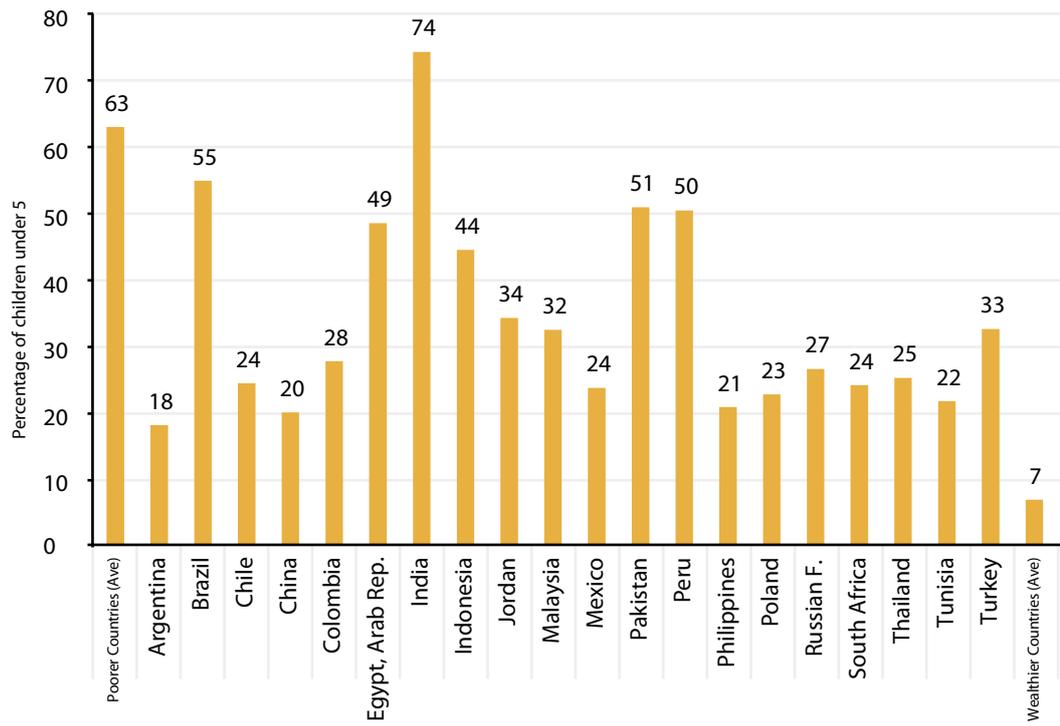


Figure 18: Anaemia in children under five (2005 or most recent year)
 Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework

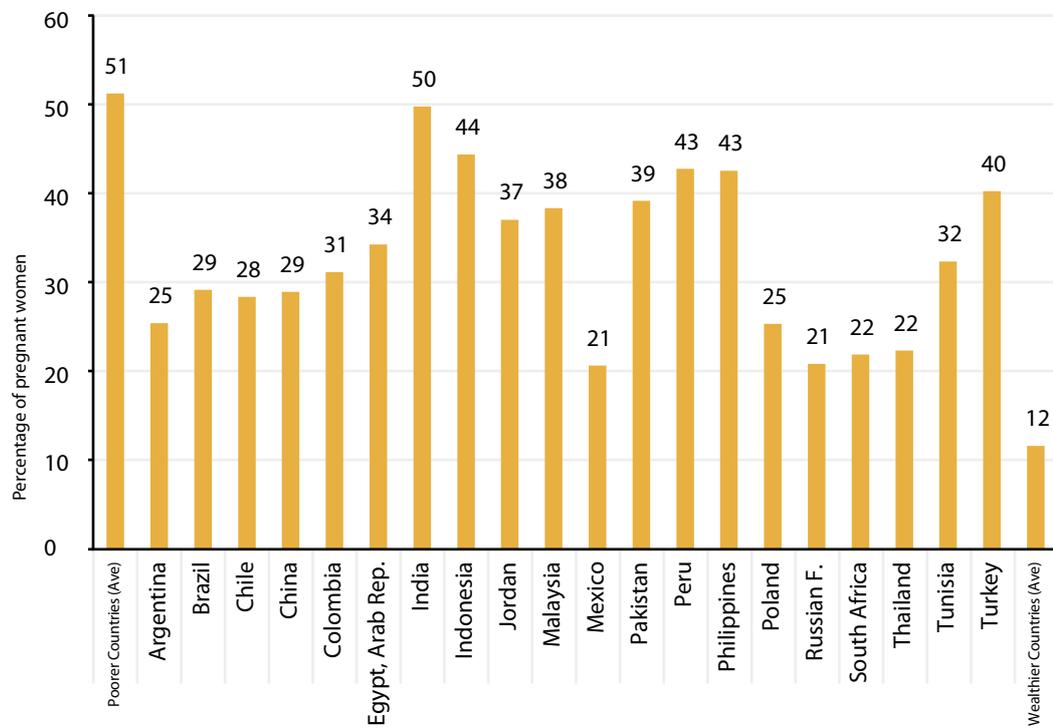


Figure 19: Anaemia in pregnant women (2005 or most recent year)
 Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework

ACTION

The physical and mental health of young people in emerging markets is veiled in misconceptions, shrouded in ungrounded assumptions and plagued by the willing suspension of disbelief. It is excluded from the training and education of medical professionals, its distinctive attributes are largely unrecognized or ignored and specialized facilities for the care of young people are few and far between.

If the health of youth lacked distinguishing features; if adolescents and young adults could somehow shake off the enduring impact of the 1000 days between conception and age two; if they could restart life at the age of ten; if pre-frontal lobes and limbic zones developed synchronously; if puberty could be magically washed away; and if adults would stop saying they know exactly what it's like (conveniently forgetting they grew up in a simpler time) transitions would not be painless but young people would emerge with relatively unscathed minds and bodies. The journey is difficult even for the most advantaged young people in the most advantaged countries. For many young people, particularly the most disadvantaged in emerging markets, it is much harder.

The World Health Organization has pointed out¹³ that obstacles to improved physical and mental health for young people in emerging markets are formidable but that progress could be made if policy makers and others were to bear in mind that:

1. **Adolescents need explicit attention** because they are neither overgrown children nor small adults. They have special characteristics that must be considered in policies, programmes and strategies that address their needs for preventive and curative care.
2. **Adolescents are heterogenous**, which means health policies and programmes for young people must allow for the facts that: while the processes of physical and psychosocial development are identical, the rate and duration of change is individually unique: there are gender differences; and that there are important differences between younger and older adolescents and young adults.
3. **Some adolescents are particularly vulnerable**. The environments in which some adolescents live, learn and grow can undermine their physical, psychosocial and emotional development—for example, where adolescents lack parental guidance and support, face food shortages, or are surrounded by violence, exploitation and abuse. Policies and programmes need to specifically and explicitly address the needs of these adolescents to protect, respect and fulfil their rights to the highest attainable standard of health.
4. **Adolescent development has implications for adolescent health**. Developmental changes during adolescence have broad implications for health and disease and for the initiation of health-related behaviours during adolescence. Prevention efforts need to direct interventions to factors that negatively affect development and increase health-compromising behaviours. Service delivery programmes and providers need skills to diagnose and respond to health problems related to developmental changes.

13 Health for the World's Adolescents. A Second Chance in the Second Decade (WHO, 2014). The bullets points shown here are paraphrased from the WHO document.

5. **Adolescent development has health implications throughout life.** Adolescence provides opportunities to make up, both physically and mentally, for developmental deficits in the first decade of life. At the same time, health interventions are needed in adolescence to build on investments during the first decade and maintain positive momentum for transitions to adulthood and lifelong health.
6. **The changes that occur during adolescence affect how adolescents think and act.** Recent findings about neurodevelopment have implications for policies and programmes in a range of sectors.

For example:

- Understanding the impact of emotionally charged situations on adolescent behaviour (so-called “hot cognition”) supports policies for graduated driving licenses.
 - Realizing that adolescents are more motivated by reward than punishment should inform correctional approaches to deviant behaviour during adolescence.
 - Appreciating the fact that adolescents are more focused on the present than the future has implications for health education messages.
 - The fact that adolescent brains are in some ways designed to encourage risk-taking supports efforts to reduce the harm associated with health-compromising behaviours rather than simply trying to prevent all risk-taking.
 - The changes taking place in the circadian rhythm of adolescents has implications for school start times.
7. **Adolescents need to understand the processes taking place during adolescence.** Adolescents may have concerns about the normal developmental processes that are taking place, ranging from the physical manifestations of *menarche* and *spermatarche* to volatile feelings and emotions. The health sector can be an important source of sound information and may offer opportunities for adolescents to discuss their concerns with trained service providers or peers, through health facilities or in other settings such as schools.
 8. **To contribute positively, adults need to understand the processes taking place during adolescence.** How adolescents are supported during this period of rapid development determines whether they can take advantage of the opportunities and avoid the threats that are inherent in this period of first-time experiences. To provide the support that is needed, the significant adults in their lives, including parents, teachers, service providers and other duty-bearers, need to understand the changes taking place during the adolescent years.
 9. **Public health and human rights converge around concepts of adolescent development.** There are important parallels between current scientific understanding of changes during adolescence and a range of human rights principles, including *evolving capacities and best interests of the child*. These principles can guide health-sector decisions on issues of importance to adolescent health, for example, prevention interventions (e.g. harm reduction) and the provision of services (e.g. informed consent by mature minors). A human rights-based approach also helps support good practices in public health, for example, non-discrimination, ensuring the participation of adolescents and promoting inter-sectoral collaboration).

HEALTHCARE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Few emerging markets have focused attention and resources on preventive and curative care for the physical health of young people. Fewer have risen to the challenges of responding to underlying and presenting problems of mental and emotional illness. Even fewer have begun to consider whole-systems approaches based on life-course perspectives and focused on the social and environmental determinants of health and the delivery of integrated care spanning physical and mental illnesses.

Countries facing urgent and simultaneous claims on scarce resources for the care of mothers, children, working adults and the elderly, largely ignore young people and to the extent they don't, deliver compartmentalized services.

For most parents in contemporary Colombia, Jordan or Malaysia the task of finding skilled specialist care for mentally or emotionally ill sons and daughters may be as challenging as it was in mid-20th century England, Canada or Australia when most doctors did not want to know and most parents did not know where to go for help. This is partly because, in emerging markets, as in rich countries (although less so now than in the past), mental health is often thought of as a mark of personal and familial shame. And it is partly because parents with little education are poorly equipped to understand the manifestations and complications of mental or emotional adolescent breakdown.

Policy making, planning and budgeting for integrated age-specific healthcare in emerging markets is further complicated by the dearth of relevant data on the incidence and prevalence of age-specific physical or psychological morbidities. That is partly because many mental disorders are undiagnosed and/or unreported and partly because the need for these statistics has not been recognized.

Reports on previous EMS symposia have pointed to (in some cases gaping) holes in medical training. Most doctors know little about public health because medical and public health schools are separate. Most doctors know little about elder-health because gerontology is not included in medical training. Most doctors know little about mental health because most doctors do not learn about it. It is of course, all very well to suggest that medical training should catch up with 21st century insights about interconnected morbidities but that would imply even longer (and more costly) training.

The major determinants of the health and physical and emotional well-being of adolescents and young people in emerging markets have less to do with health and healthcare policies and practices than with the norms, standards, customs, fashions and rituals of emerging market societies and the functioning of sectors that lie outside conventional definitions of the health sector.

In most emerging markets it is likely that human, financial and other resources will remain scarce and that governments will continue to assign lower priority to youth health than, for example, maternal and child health. Progress on youth health would however be possible without disturbing those priorities by taking low cost measures to ensure medical professionals understand interdependencies and interactions between physical, mental and emotional health and nutrition; public health; and child, adolescent and elder health. That could be done in vertically and horizontally integrated facilities where specialist care could be provided in collaborative environments with shared infrastructure and support services. Such arrangements as those that already exist in some emerging markets promote mutual understanding among medical professionals and enable patients, including young people, to participate in the design and delivery of their own care.

CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION

Data on access to schools and colleges, years of study, school completion rates and achievement rates in primary, secondary and tertiary education reflect differences in GDP per capita, fiscal priorities, labour demand and cultural norms between emerging markets.

Partial evidence suggests that the poorest emerging markets emphasize primary education whereas poorer (non-emerging market) countries continue to fall short. As *per capita* GDP in relatively better-off emerging markets has grown, public expenditures on education have *either* accounted for declining shares of GDP *or* (as in Chile and Malaysia) the emphasis has shifted to secondary and tertiary education. Some relatively poorer emerging markets (e.g. India) have prioritized secondary education *before* achieving universal primary coverage.

Allocative priorities also reflect cultural norms. In some emerging markets, mainly in East Asia, education is widely recognized as the key to prosperity and civil societies exert strong pressures on governments to emphasize it. Elsewhere education is one priority among many others.

FIRST THINGS FIRST: PRIMARY EDUCATION

Illiteracy makes it impossible to learn except from experience, to acquire knowledge except by listening and to develop non-manual competencies, acquire even mildly complex jobs or hope for a full life. With some exceptions (Egypt, India, Pakistan) adult illiteracy in emerging markets has fallen since 1980 as a function of sustained growth and improved education. Male literacy now exceeds 90% in most emerging markets. Female literacy is lower. Adult numeracy in most emerging markets lags adult literacy for both males and females.

Despite having made progress towards universal primary education, some emerging markets have been constrained by geography, internal conflict, social values and/or fiscal conditions. And even where universal primary education exists its benefits are often compromised by:

- Impoverished home backgrounds; familial pressures on children to engage in informal work; poor nutrition that makes it difficult for children to learn (even if they are in school); long distances between homes and schools and/or the cost and availability of home-school transport; and parental conflict, separation, habits and values that undermine the benefits of primary education.
- Poor educational facilities, including defective, dilapidated and unsafe buildings, inadequate sanitation and electric power.

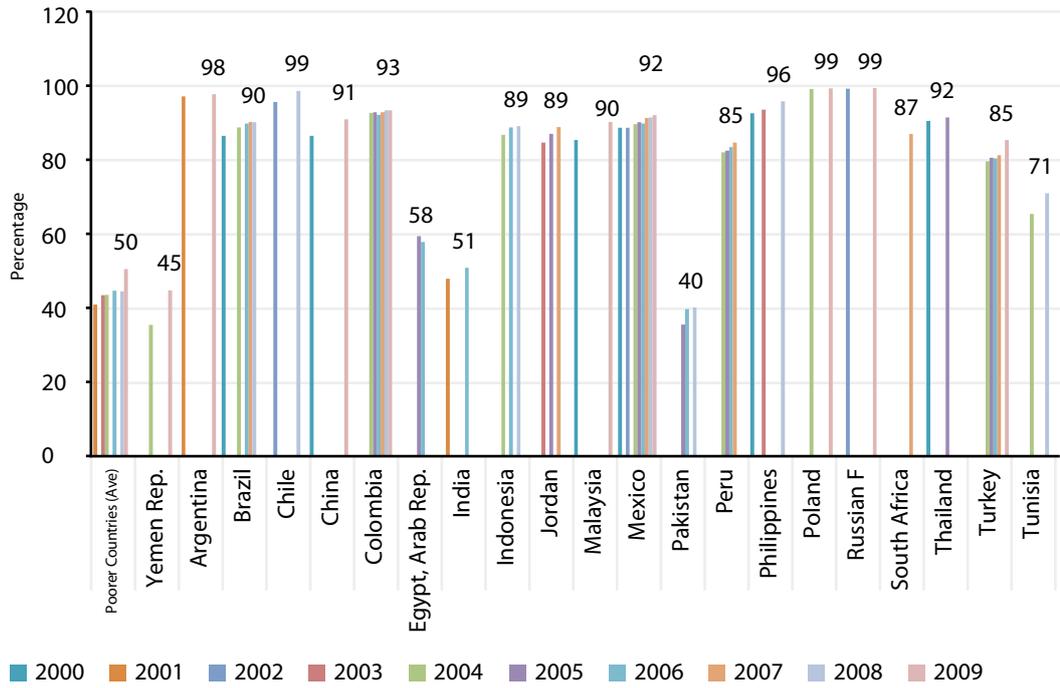


Figure 20A: Literacy rate, (% of females ages 15 and above) 2000-2009
Source: EMS 2013 Analytical Framework

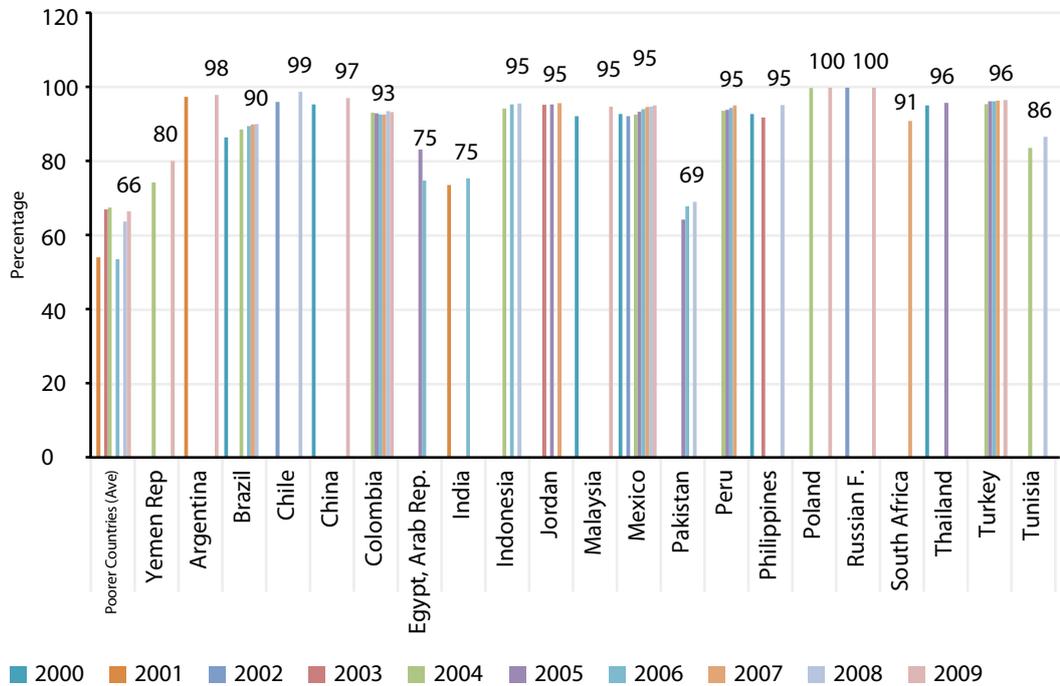


Figure 20B: Literacy rate, (% of males ages 15 and above) 2000-2009
Source: EMS 2013 Analytical Framework

- Inadequate numbers of qualified, motivated and dedicated teachers whose primary interest is in the children they teach¹⁴; who want to teach (as opposed to those who teach because they lack better options); and (ideally), combine professional competencies with vocation.
- Weak school leaders who lack relevant skills and have not received management and leadership training.

The symposium agreed that, within the constraints of their scarce resources, emerging markets should seek to increase the extent and quality of primary education recognizing that universal primary education is: the basis for life, work and secondary and tertiary education; the bedrock of economic growth, social cohesion and political stability; and the subject of United Nations mandates¹⁵. Accordingly emerging markets should:

- With financial support from business and/or civil society organizations, provide culturally appropriate food supplements to all primary students in light of conclusive evidence that nutritionally deprived children cannot learn efficiently.
- Harness the power of information and communications technologies by:
 - Creating low cost, comprehensive, broadband networks.
 - Using software to improve educational experiences (e.g. educational games and 'adaptive' learning material).
 - Using technology to collect and analyze data on students and schools, manage school business processes and share solutions to shared problems.
- Use improved teacher quality as a performance criterion for principals.
- Improve leadership by enabling principals to observe best practices in other schools and school systems.
- Consider the merits of competency-based education development and alternative curriculum and assessment methods.
- Reform accreditation processes.
- Reconsider the merits of the traditional school year to make more intensive use of facilities.
- Challenge metric obsessions and testing, recognizing some aspects of teaching cannot be measured¹⁶.
- Re-think teacher training of teachers (e.g. by using Avatars and virtual long-distance teaching) to build teacher confidence.
- Encourage changes in teacher attitudes, replacing fixed mind-sets with growth mind- sets and promoting adaptive thinking.
- Improving linkages between primary and secondary schools.
- Recognize that reforms not associated with attitudinal changes often fail.
- Promote partnerships between primary schools in better off countries and in poor communities in emerging markets to provide material support and establish cross cultural relationships.

14 South African mathematics teachers were unable to answer questions they put to their pupils

15 UN Resolution requires member states to provide free primary education irrespective of gender and ethnicity

16 The head-teacher of a leading school in Shanghai (with high PISA scores) recently said that teaching was in crisis and that schools are moving towards "the edge of the cliff" in a system in which University entrance examinations are exceptionally competitive

LEARNING FOR WORK: SECONDARY EDUCATION

Complementing progress towards universal primary education, conversion rates from primary to secondary education have improved and in some cases (Jordan, Malaysia, Philippines) are now comparable to rates in richer countries. Secondary enrolment rates in some emerging markets (e.g. Brazil, Poland) have also improved to the point they resemble rates in richer countries. Rates in some other countries (Argentina, Colombia, Turkey) are approaching them whereas rates in China, India and Pakistan are similar to those in poorer countries.

From a human development perspective (education as seen as an end in itself), the purpose of secondary education is to prepare students for life. From a human capital perspective it is to equip students with skills needed in the marketplace, knowledge employers will buy and know-how that offers individual competitive advantages. That will be hard. If we could confidently predict that workplaces of the future will be like those of the present and past, we could assume employers would want more of the same. It is more reasonable to assume they will want something else.

The challenge is analogous to passing a (soccer, rugby, football, hockey, lacrosse) ball to where a teammate *will* be rather than where *s/he* is now. Some rich countries (that have been considering this quandary for some time) have seen the drawbacks of preparing students for jobs that might not exist. Some have concluded that the best option is to teach secondary students *how to learn*, enabling them to function in environments that will offer less job security (and curtailed pension rights and early retirement) but will also offer more variety, more chances to learn and more geographic and job mobility.

In rich countries with increasingly complex manufacturing and business processes, the occupational streams and career trajectories of the last century are disappearing at the speed of Arctic glaciers. Skills once needed to produce goods and services are already redundant and employers, employees and educators are finding it hard to adapt to new demands by acquiring new skills, competencies, mindsets and attitudes. The workplace of today looks, feels and *is* different from the workplace of yesterday. The long term is increasingly measured in years not decades and the short term is months not years. Yet schools, colleges and universities look, feel and *are*, largely unchanged. The reassurance yielded by a casual stroll through an ancient university is false and there is growing awareness among rich country policy makers and businesses leaders that these changes could be overwhelming.

This does not necessarily apply to all emerging markets or to every city, town and village in them. If it is probable a core industry will continue to thrive and young people want to work in it as parents and relatives did before them, it would be wrong for schools to spoil their chances by enhancing adaptability over traditional skills. It would also be wrong to overdo it. Even industries that brim with confidence can be struck by economic lightning and even industries that seem safe now may become vulnerable:

- Many emerging markets, like rich countries offer examples of traditional industries that have died and left communities stranded.
- In an interconnected world there is vastly more awareness of and knowledge about alternatives and school leavers who seek traditional local jobs may change their minds later.
- Industries that have recently migrated from rich countries to emerging markets to produce goods or services for which there is likely to be indefinite demand may stay put. But environmental changes could encourage those industries to move again.

To make learning skills the cornerstone of secondary education strategies in emerging markets might seem extravagant. But the risks of educating young people for jobs that may disappear in light of technological and organizational change may be no less extravagant.

Moreover, having managed unprecedented demographic, technological, cultural and economic change at unforeseen speeds, emerging markets have significant advantages over countries that are longer in the tooth, more set in their ways and less experienced in managing rapid transformation. They also have advantages over poorer countries that will have to play catch up as their economies expand, their societies become more cohesive and their politics more stable. Meanwhile, emerging markets could steal a march on richer countries, narrow the gaps, consolidate and reinforce recent economic and social progress and address issues of human welfare by realigning their secondary education systems with the needs of the future.

This does not mean abolishing traditional curricula, junking established teaching methods or replacing old schools with new ones. It means using *pilot* projects and programmes to test plausible but untried approaches, evaluate experimental methods and refine alternative ways of reconciling strategic educational objectives and capabilities.

It certainly does not mean continued neglect of non-academic skills. Emerging markets could learn from contrasts between rich countries where technical and vocational education was prized (Germany, Sweden, Japan) and the UK where, until very recently, it has been neglected. The challenge for rich countries that have lost comparative advantages in many traditional manufacturing and service industries is to create technical competencies for the Digital Age. The challenge for emerging markets is to develop technical skills for industries captured from rich countries. They could do worse than consider where and why some rich countries went wrong and learn from their mistakes.

OVER THE TOP: TERTIARY EDUCATION

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPERATIVES

There are huge contrasts in the proportions of students enrolled in tertiary education. Whereas ratios in India and Pakistan resemble those in poorer countries, others are much higher and ratios in Argentina, Jordan, Poland and the Russian Federation exceed those of richer countries.

None of the critical constraints to growth, cohesion and stability in emerging markets can be overcome without massive increases in the supply of competent leaders, managers, administrators, teachers, doctors, lawyers, technicians and other professionals. And most of the competencies they will need depend on transforming tertiary education.

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

Recognizing every emerging market has distinctive priorities and objectives, the symposium agreed that governments should:

- Develop comprehensive strategies covering all forms of tertiary education and links between tertiary and secondary education, emphasizing the need for improved preparation for tertiary education through upgraded primary and secondary education and pre-tertiary teacher training.
- Ensure broad public and private sector participation in the definition of relative priorities, the establishment of sustainable institutional missions, the allocation of resources (including research resources) and the management of relevant standards.
- Give increasing emphasis to the development of life-long learning systems.
- Create multiple means for transfers between different types of tertiary institutions to accommodate changes in student preferences and aptitudes.
- Empower regulatory bodies to develop and enforce nationally applicable accreditation standards in public and private institutions including private for-profit and foreign based institutions.
- Ensure tertiary institutions remain relevant to changing national needs by strengthening ties between tertiary institutions, government and business communities to help define anticipated future skill requirements.
- Encourage continuous self-assessment and adjustment in tertiary institutions.
- Nurture excellence in elite and mainstream institutions while avoiding over- concentration on the former at the expense of the latter.

RESOURCING TERTIARY EDUCATION

Students

Regressive trends in the distribution of wealth and income in emerging markets menace the integrity of social and political fabrics, undermines social justice and wastes human capital. Accordingly, the symposium concluded that governments and institutions in emerging markets should strive to ensure:

- Access to (conventional or distance learning) tertiary education is open to all qualified students without regard to family circumstances or financial capacity.
- Tertiary institutions make concerted efforts to attract and retain traditionally excluded students.
- All students pay at least part of the cost of tertiary education by borrowing and/or earning.
- Consideration is given to creating loan or equity-investment markets for student financing and arrangements for deferred repayment including minimum income thresholds, the use of taxation as a medium for repayment and the possibility of differential treatment for those who go on to produce public goods.
- Student financing provides funds to students rather than institutions.

Teachers

Recognizing that the quality of tertiary education is largely determined by the quality of teaching, the symposium recommended that emerging market governments should ensure teacher compensation and benefits are: (i) Competitive with those in other fields in which they might be employed; and (ii) Vary in accordance with the need to attract and retain personnel in science and industry-oriented research. Tertiary teachers should also receive support to keep pace with changes in technology, communication and teaching methods.

Research

Recognizing intimate links between teaching and research in tertiary institutions; assuming some types of research should be at least partly funded by private enterprise; and accepting that research generates public benefits, the symposium recommended that emerging market governments should:

- Develop coherent, consistent and equitable policies to govern the allocation of resources for publicly funded research on the basis of intellectual merit.
- Align publicly funded research with national economic, social and cultural priorities and the expansion of national innovation capacity.
- Build and retain critical masses of research personnel using a mix of international and local training and sustain institutional capacities to access world systems and data bases for research and innovation.
- Encourage researchers to leverage their careers and capacities by partnering with institutions and scholars in rich countries.
- Develop transparent cost-sharing arrangements for research funding with the private sector.

Technologies

To harness the immense potential of information and communications technologies the symposium recommended that emerging markets should:

- Enable all students in tertiary education to acquire and use personal computers.
- Emphasize the development of national high speed broadband networks to provide tertiary institutions with reliable internet access.
- Promote the development of internet based distance learning.
- Take full advantage of the growing availability of high quality electronic educational resources.
- Monitor and evaluate opportunities offered by cloud computing.

TERTIARY EDUCATION AS A GLOBALIZED BUSINESS

The globalization of tertiary education is measured by the migration of students, teachers and researchers between rich, emerging market and poorer countries, by ever-improving Internet-based access to knowledge and by the proliferation of globe-spanning institutional partnerships.

Recognizing that the global market in tertiary education is far from perfect, the symposium recommended international action to improve the functionality of the global market for tertiary education and the global labour market for graduates of tertiary institutions by developing:

- Minimum international standards for tertiary qualifications.
- Agreements to govern requalification of graduates of foreign tertiary institutions who migrate to other countries to continue their studies or engage in professional work.
- Codes of practise to govern the international recruitment of highly skilled personnel from emerging market (and poorer) countries to work in rich countries.
- While recognizing the necessity of national security criteria, rationalize visa and length of stay requirements for students who wish to study in foreign institutions.

CHAPTER 5: THE YOUNG ECONOMY

NOT SUCH GREAT EXPECTATIONS

In many rich countries (USA, UK, Australia, Japan) feeble economic growth, structural barriers to labour-force entry, static or falling real incomes and high post-Millennium unemployment and underemployment (exacerbated after 2008 by recession) have created existential concerns about a 'Lost Generation' (Box F). But economic conditions for young people in emerging markets are worse and in many ways much worse. Unemployment, underemployment and unemployability are searing realities. The magnitudes are very large. Incomes are low, unregulated and uncertain. Safety nets are few. The notion of a 'lost generation' shocked the wealthy world. In the economic wastelands of megacities in emerging markets it is wearily familiar.

In some emerging markets (particularly in the Middle East and North Africa) the problems have been, are being or will be accentuated by 'youth bulges'. If a youth bulge coincides with growing demand for labour it can yield demographic dividends (see Chapter 2). But if the young people in the bulge lack skills and training that make them employable; if institutions do not facilitate labour market adjustments; and if neither domestic nor external demand is driving economic growth, a bulge becomes a burden. The economic problems for young people that (in greater or lesser degree) exist in all emerging markets concern (i) Employment; and (ii) Income.

TO HAVE AND HAVE NOT: EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Employment problems for young people in emerging markets take many forms including (i) Mismatches between the overall supply of and demand for labour; (ii) Excess supplies of young people who *lack* hard and soft (including technical and professional) skills needed in the labour market; (iii) Excess supplies of young people who *have* hard and soft skills but cannot find jobs; and the absence or inefficiency of labour market institutions.

The Battles of the Bulges

The most obvious instance of mismatched supply and demand for young people in emerging market labour markets occurs when a youth bulge occurs in a static or sluggish economy that cannot absorb labour force growth. The effects are more severe if the bulge coincides with an economic downturn. As a case in point, the 2008 recession had a greater impact on some emerging markets in the Middle East and North Africa (e.g. Egypt, Tunisia) than on emerging markets elsewhere because it coincided with demographic bulges in several countries and contributed to the Arab Spring.

BoxF:

A Lost Generation
Structural and other conditions in parts of the Euro Zone that have put millions of youth out of work—50 percent in Spain and Greece and 30 percent in Portugal and Italy - threaten to spawn a "lost generation" that may find it hard to recover, and is likely to exact a harsh human toll for years to come. The young are naturally resilient and tend to have fewer dependents than older generations. But those who are out of a job for a long time often see their self-confidence and skills erode and lose their attachment to the labor force.

Adapted from Bloom (2012)

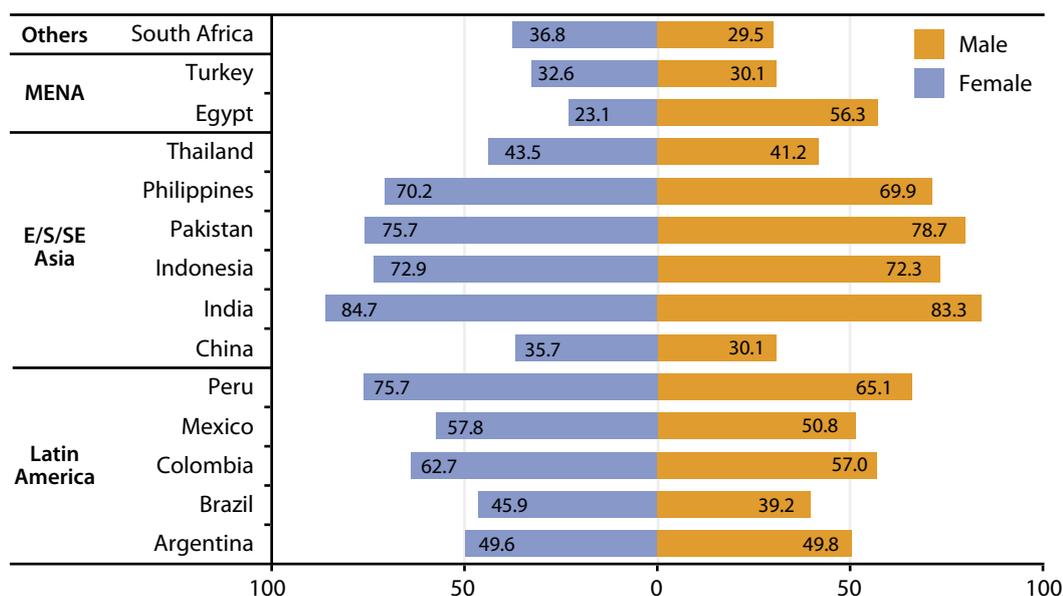


Figure 21: Women and men engaged in informal employment as a % of non-agricultural employment
 Source: ILO 2013

What's in a Name?

A second type of mismatch is associated with the fact that the link between economic growth and employment is generally smaller in emerging markets than in richer economies. This is because the informal sector dominates most emerging market economies; accounts for much larger shares of total employment (Fig. 21 and Fig 22); and offers an imperfect but accessible alternative to open unemployment in the absence of social safety nets and masks the impact of fluctuations in GDP growth¹⁷.

The dominance of informal economies means most work is done outside the purview of government regulation and taxation. It also means most of those unable to find work in the formal economy, because they lack relevant skills and/or opportunities, are engaged – full time, much of the time, from time to time – in informal activities. The weight of the informal sector in youth economies in emerging markets blurs distinctions between employment and unemployment and makes it intrinsically difficult to measure the true extent of youth unemployment (see Fig. 23 for best estimates).

There is no evidence to support the notion that the informal sector shrinks and the formal sector expands as GDP per capita rises. But there is evidence to suggest that some young people who shift to the informal sector when jobs are hard to come by often stay there, having: (i) Grown accustomed to its advantages and disadvantages; (ii) Realized the formal sector workplace of the future will not be the workplace of the past; (iii) Understood job security and continuity can no longer be taken for granted in the formal sector; and (iv) Intuited that more and more individuals will become contractors in the labour markets of tomorrow. The informal economy also has a bright(ish) side. It is the fastest growing segment of urban labour markets; it is highly dynamic and mobile; it is more competitive and less segmented than the formal sector; and it is a potential driver of economic growth. Its dark(ish) side is low wages and insecurity.

17 “Okun’s Law” posits that a one percent increase in GDP growth is associated with a corresponding decline in formal unemployment. Evidence from the 2008 recession shows smaller declines in unemployment in emerging markets than rich countries

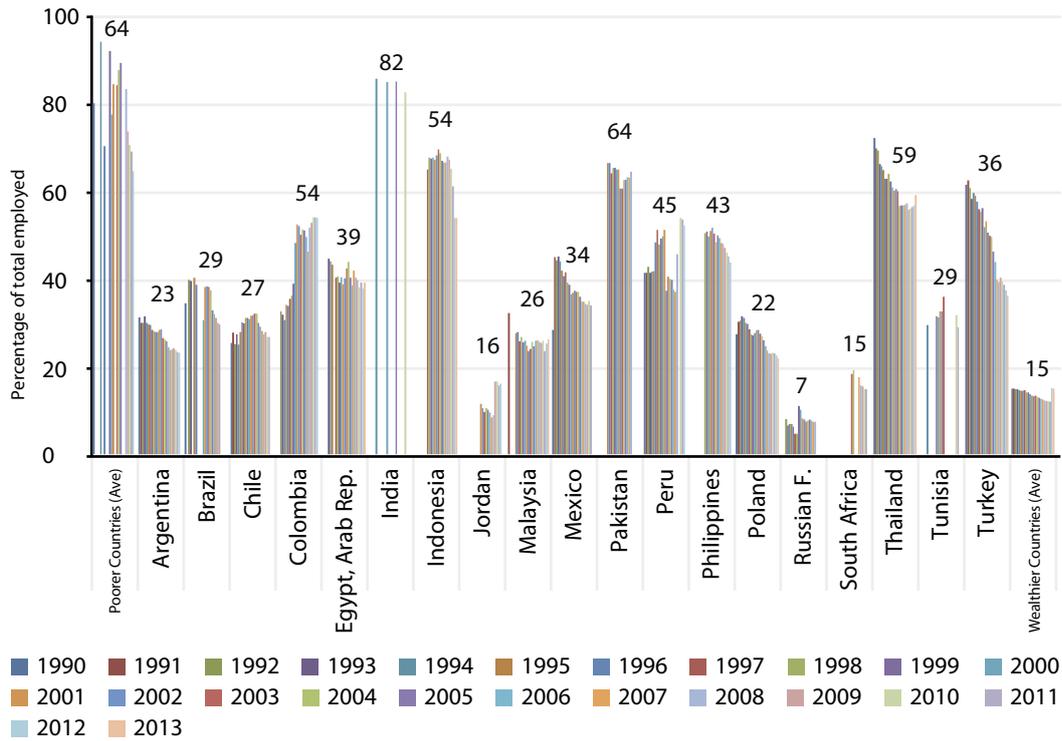


Figure 22: Self-employed, % of total employed, 1990-2013

Source: EMS 2016 Analytical Framework

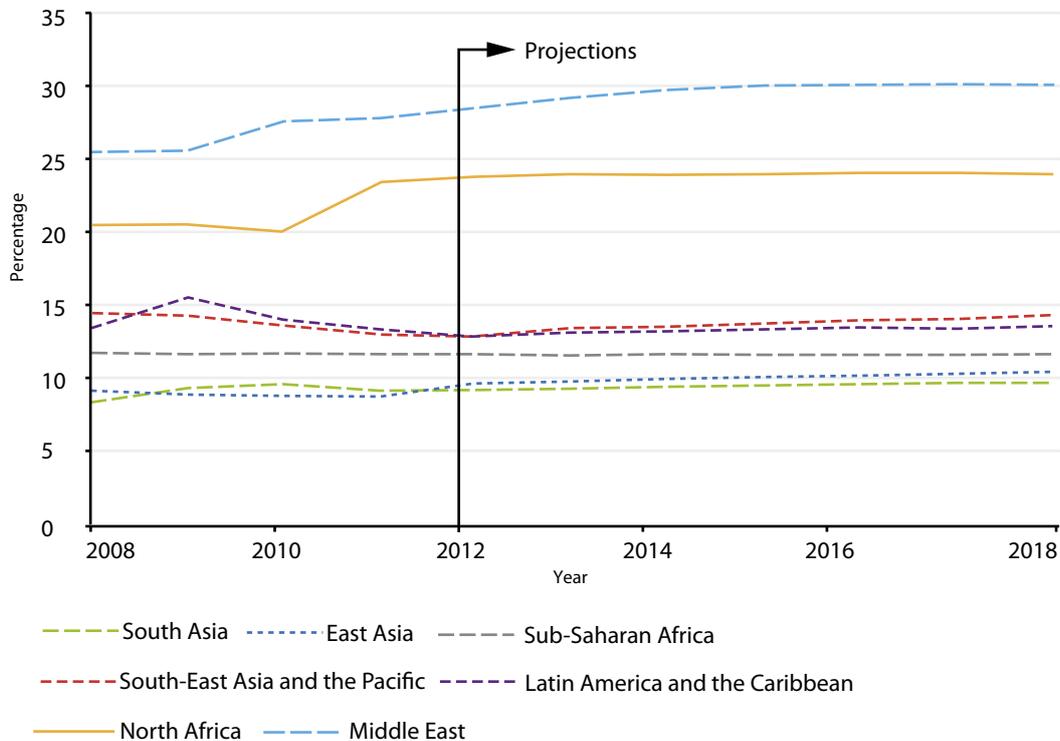


Figure 23: Youth unemployment by region ages 15-24

Source: ILO 2013

In the Mix

A third, less obvious but fundamentally important mismatch in emerging market labour markets is between the hard and soft skills employers want and those offered by job seekers. One version of this mismatch is revealed in the phenomenon of coincidental high unemployment and high job vacancies. Fig. 24 shows an abundance of people looking for jobs and an abundance of employers looking for skilled employees in Germany, the USA and the UK as well as Brazil, India, Mexico, Morocco and Turkey. That is consistent with the findings of a 2012 survey which found that most employers in global survey that included several emerging markets thought labour market entrants lacked the blend of hard (technical, academic, professional) and soft skills they were looking for and had to settle for the best they could find. The survey also showed these shortcomings were exacerbated if the attitudes, priorities, values and manners of new hires clashed with the established norms of companies and corporations.

Box G:

The Ant Tribe

A 2010 survey of seven Chinese cities found very large numbers (up to a million) of young graduates in economics, engineering, management and medicine earning an average of US\$286 a month living in slum conditions. Described by sociologist Lian Si as the Ant Tribe (or sometimes the Rat Tribe) these young people, who are mostly from rural and often poor families live on megacity peripheries to enhance their career prospects, accepting poorly paid positions for which they are over-qualified with the expectation better opportunities will come. To control costs, they typically rent small rooms or share crowded apartments with little furniture, no windows and shared baths with uncertain access to hot water or heating.

Source Lian Si (2010)

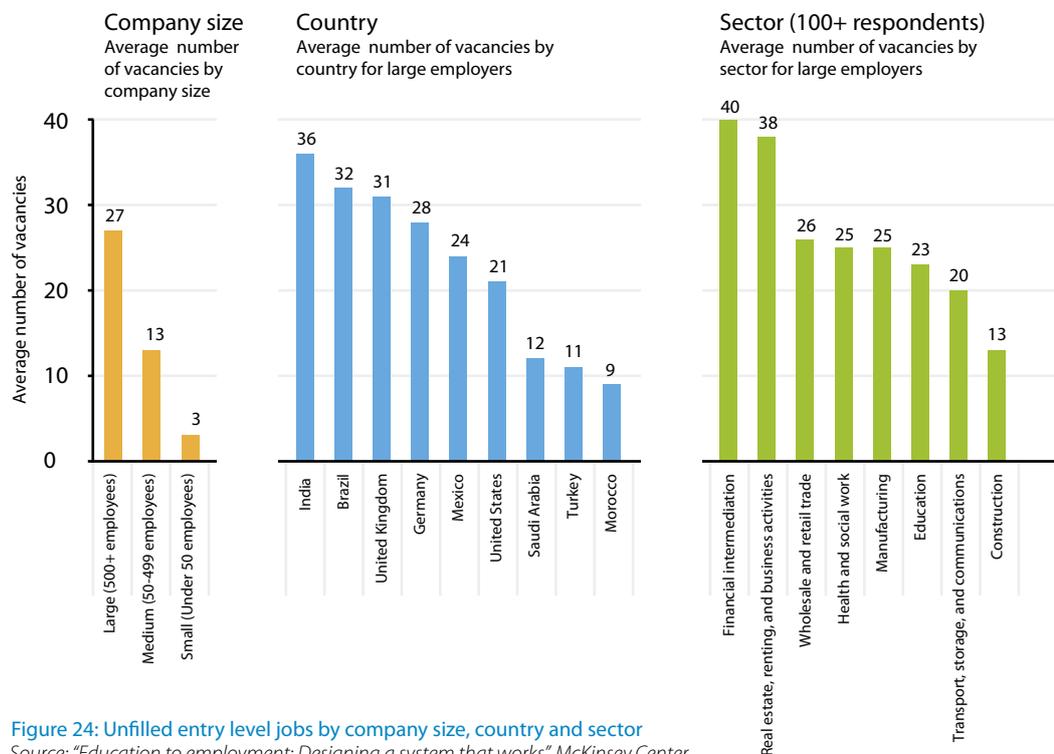


Figure 24: Unfilled entry level jobs by company size, country and sector
 Source: "Education to employment: Designing a system that works", McKinsey Center for Government

Ants and Rats

A fourth and comparatively recent form of mismatch occurs when too few jobs are sought by too many highly qualified candidates. Following the 2009 publication of 'The Ant Tribe' (Box G) this phenomenon has been most associated with China but is replicated in many other emerging markets. In India for example it is estimated that up to half of all college graduates are underemployed and up to a third unemployed (see Fig. 25) In the 1970s, India was already known as the country of the "BA bus conductor". But, as a recent article pointed out¹⁸ many BA graduates in India today "would cut off their arm for a bus conductor's job." India, says Jeffrey, is now "the country of the MA manual labourer". It is also replicated in many rich countries.¹⁹

18 Jeffrey (2014)
 19 e.g. USA, UK

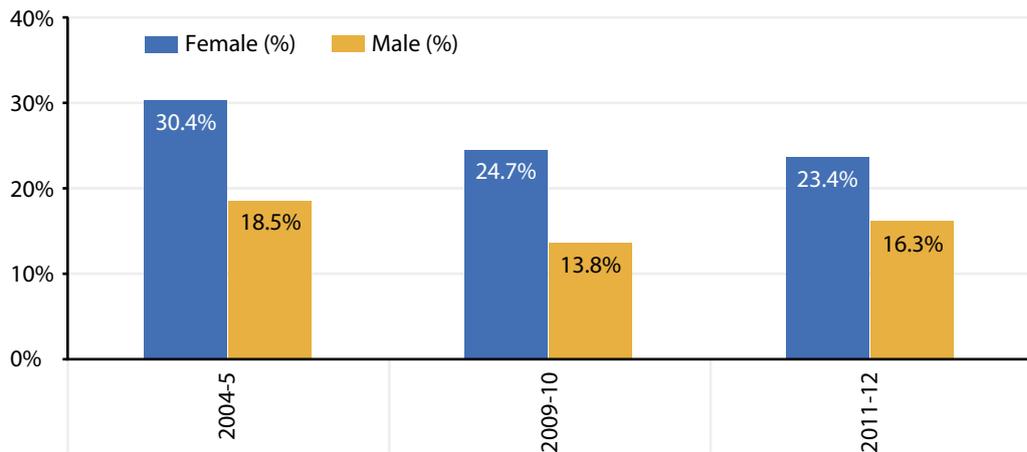


Figure 25: India unemployment rates among young graduates (under 29)
 Source: Sanjay Kumar, Centre for Study of Developing Societies (using NSSO data)

Incomes

The difficulties confronting young people in emerging market labour markets are mirrored by difficulties facing their counterparts in rich countries and exacerbated by the fact that those who find jobs must contend with static or falling real wages, job insecurity, growing gaps in inter-generational income distribution and the prospect of being worse off than their parents.

In almost all emerging markets (and many richer countries) income inequality has risen as absolute poverty has diminished. There are exceptions (e.g. in Brazil both poverty and inequality decreased in the context of redistributive policies) but the emerging market world has, on the whole, become more unequal and (from most viewpoints) less equitable²⁰ (Fig. 26) Countries with high levels of informal employment (generally associated with low incomes) also have high levels of inequality and poverty.

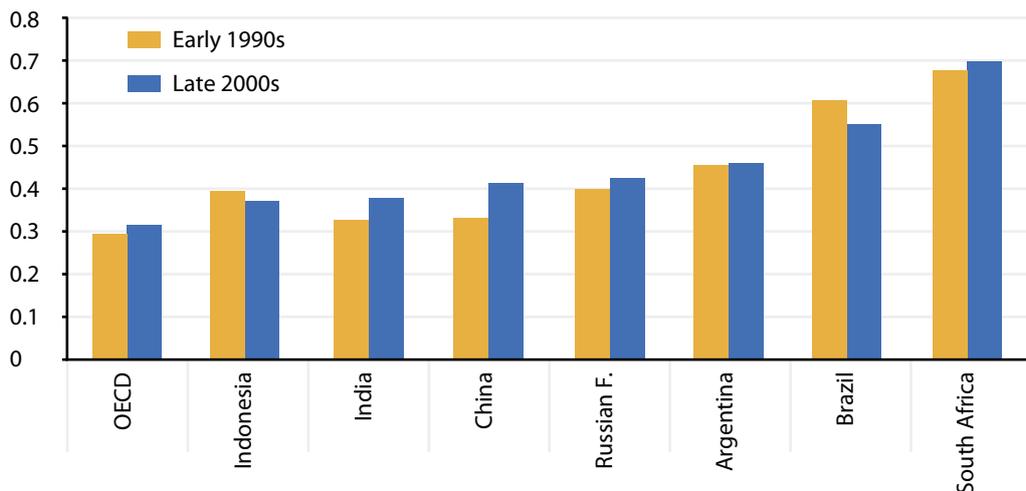


Figure 26: Change in inequality early 1990s to late 2000s: Gini coefficients of household income²¹
 Source: OECD (2011)

20 There is a schism between those who view inequity and inequality in terms of outcomes or opportunities.

21 Figures for the early 1990s generally refer to 1993, whereas figures for the late 2000s generally refer to 2008. Gini coefficients are based on equivalised incomes for OECD countries and per capita incomes for all emerging economies except India and Indonesia for which per capita consumption was used. Source: OECD-EU Database on Emerging Economies and World Bank, World Development Indicators.

Despite recent increases in income inequality in rich countries there is greater inequality in most emerging markets. In both however, there is a recent and largely unprecedented trend in generational income distribution, as a result of which many members of what is sometimes called Generation Y (born between c.1980 and the mid-1990s) are despondent about their economic prospects, finding it very hard to get their feet on housing ladders, struggling to maintain independent living arrangements and expecting to work until they drop – because they do not anticipate social security. The social implications are exacerbated by the fact that, in MacMillan’s phrase, their grandparents “have never had it so good”.

WHAT CAN THEY DO ABOUT IT?

The ‘wicked’, neuralgic and urgent problems of unemployment, underemployment, mis-employment and un-employability and the threat or reality of poverty for young people in emerging markets must be addressed with all deliberate speed.

First, because human resources are being wasted. The social and political implications of misusing or not using human capital may be more urgent and ultimately more important but the economic consequences are as intolerable as they are seemingly intractable.

Second, because meaningful employment is a source of income, personal and group identity, self-esteem and respect, social as well as material satisfaction and a powerful cross-cultural determinant of physical and mental health²².

Third, because Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment”²³. It has mainly been honoured in the breach because most states have limited capacity to influence market outcomes.

Fourth, because historical and contemporary evidence suggests that if economic deprivation begets social devastation and political disruption, prospects for growth, cohesion and stability may be shattered (Fig. 27). While extreme outcomes are rare, political leaders in many emerging markets are keenly aware of the lurking nexus of deprivation, devastation and disruption and if not need only to look about them to see why one thing leads to another.

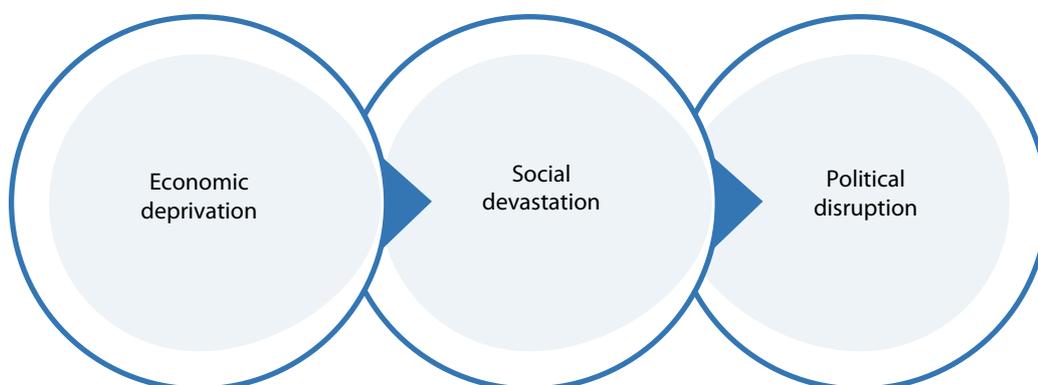


Figure 27: One Things Leads to Another
Source: EMS Original 2016

22 Marmot Health in an Unequal World (2006)

23 United Nations General Assembly, Paris, 10 December 1948, Resolution 217 A

ACTIONS

In light of these considerations emerging markets should consider actions that, jointly or severally, would improve the economic prospects of young people. Candidate actions include: (i) Sustaining economic growth; (ii) Improving education systems/labour market alliances; (iii) Promoting public/private/civil society partnerships; (iv) Improving labour market functionality; and (v) Promoting youth entrepreneurship.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Sustained economic growth is a *sine qua non* of creating jobs and raising incomes for young people. But in light of the fact that only a handful of emerging markets (China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and Philippines) achieved average growth of 5.0% or more from 1990-2014 and that growth in some of those countries has been erratic since 2010, a notional target of 5.0% is likely, in many cases to be aspirational. This means some emerging markets will have to find other solutions and that even those that can sustain rapid growth will have to seek complementary solutions.

THE CHALLENGE OF REALIGNMENT

Unless emerging market schools, colleges and universities graduate secondary and tertiary educated students with hard and soft skills, competences and capabilities employers actually want, many young people will continue to suffer the consequences of formal sector unemployment and the growth of the informal sector.

Measures to address misalignment between education and formal labour markets must:

- Maximize probabilities that:
 - Employers (government, business, civil society) find employees with skills they need and reduce the time and cost of on-the-job training/retraining
 - Students will find smoother transitions from education to work
- Minimize the risk that students will graduate with (partially) irrelevant/unsaleable skills

Measures developed and proven in rich countries include:

- Partnerships that engage employers in the design, development and delivery of school, college and university curricula to increase the likelihood that students who enter the labour market will have marketable hard and soft skills (see 'Partnerships').
- Rigorous technical and vocational training at secondary level²⁴ to teach hard skills that will be in demand.²⁵
- Partially or fully funding the capital and operating costs of these programmes from the private sector (as joint beneficiaries).

Emerging market labour markets are bigger and are evolving faster than those of richer countries. They also have weaker and less established institutions and are more vulnerable to administrative, political and corporate manipulation. Some however, influenced by *sui generis* traditions are extremely complex and highly regulated.

24 e.g. Germany, Switzerland

25 Which needs constant research, monitoring and evaluation

PARTNERSHIPS

Government, business and civil society organizations that salute cooperation often like the idea more than the practice. But intersectoral cooperation anchored in cultural and political realities will be essential to the resolution of crises of youth un/underemployment in emerging markets. Even within governments, inter-agency and inter-departmental cooperation can be derailed by obstacles crude and subtle, and joint efforts by government, business and civil society to create jobs and improve alignment between education systems and labour markets often end in tears. But even if previous efforts have failed new efforts grounded in lessons learned should be tried; Franklin's dictum is apposite²⁶.

YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS

Many entrepreneurs in emerging markets become entrepreneurs not because they want to but because they must. In rich countries the 2008 recession, like the recession of the early 1990s and the Great Depression, forced people who lost jobs to be self-reliant, working, at least initially, not only *for* but also *by* themselves. Refugees from crashed corporations or small businesses who became accidental entrepreneurs, have something in common with young people in emerging markets who become accidental entrepreneurs when they give up pounding on labour market doors (Fig. 28).

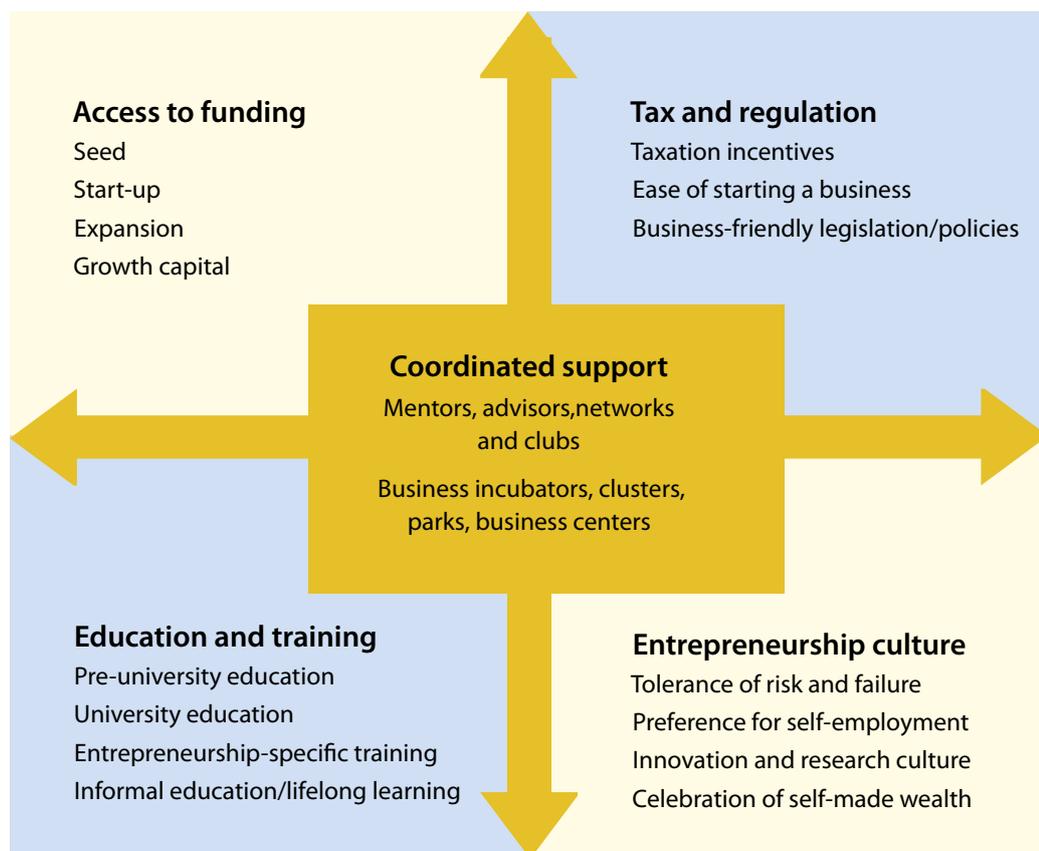


Figure 28: Entrepreneurial Development Framework
 Source: The EY G20 Entrepreneurship Barometer 2013

²⁶ "We must indeed hang together or we shall, most assuredly, hang separately" Benjamin Franklin when signing the American Declaration of Independence, 1776.

Whereas most accidental entrepreneurs in rich countries do not leave the formal economy, younger emerging market counterparts never join it²⁷. But as suggested earlier, some of the emerging market entrepreneurs forced down the path of self-employment find advantages in the parallel universe of the informal economy. It may be one thing to pay taxes and receive significant benefits in a rich country and another in an emerging market with a smaller state sector offering negligible benefits.

Not all young emerging market entrepreneurs are accidental entrepreneurs and young entrepreneurship merits economy-wide encouragement and support from government, business and civil society. Successful entrepreneurship hinges partly on attributes (energy, ambition) more often found in young than older people, and, as argued in Chapter 3, they are biologically primed to take risks.

The world tells many stories about young entrepreneurs who made good. The history of Silicon Valley has been and is being re-written in Bangalore, Chengdu, Guangzhou and Shenzhen and there is growing evidence that young people in Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, Thailand and other emerging markets have what it takes to conceive, start and grow successful businesses – by no means all in the information technology sector. For every successful young high-tech entrepreneur in China today, there are thousands of accidental entrepreneurs. There could be many more if constraints to entrepreneurial success for young people were loosened and incentives and facilities were created to improve their chances of benefitting themselves, their communities and their national economies.

A survey (UN 2012) of young peoples' perceptions of constraints to young enterprise emphasized lack of financial literacy and business skills (50.2%); lack of access to financial services, including loans, savings, and equity and youth-friendly financial products (49.9%); the poor quality and availability of education, especially for those from poor households (59.2%); and poor curriculum-work linkages (57.1%) as critical factors. Survey respondents suggested that possible remedies included: entrepreneurship training; classroom and workplace training and vocational training including internships, volunteering and on the job training schemes (64.3%); and the development, implementation and evaluation of specific policies and strategies on decent work for youth, including work in the green economy (49.6%) as the most important steps to promote youth employment.

This is prime territory for public-private partnerships: Government, business and civil society have powerful incentives to play central roles by assuaging pressures on and improving prospects for potential entrepreneurs at a stage when the limbic system is driving innovation and encouraging high-risk decisions and government, business and civil society organizations could provide guidance to temper impulsive behaviour.

27 Kingdon and Knight, (2004).

CHAPTER 6: YOUNG PEOPLE IN SOCIETY

This chapter focusses on forces that shape the social and political attitudes and values of young people in emerging markets; issues arising from their actions and behaviours; and how those issues could be addressed.

The attitudes of young people towards health, education, work, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, politics and religion in emerging markets are shaped by a bewildering, fast-changing and conflicting array of values, norms and conventions associated with families, schools, colleges, workplaces and social, religious, political and legal institutions and enabled by evolving information and communications technologies. The pace of change is nowhere faster; economic, social, caste and class distinctions are nowhere sharper; and challenges to economies, societies and politics nowhere are greater than in emerging markets.

FAMILIES: NOT WHAT THEY USED TO BE

Families in emerging markets are not what they used to be. In light of falling fertility rates, net reproduction rates below replacement levels and the growing prevalence of separation and divorce, nuclear families are shrinking and family ties are weakening as sons, daughters and families migrate from rural areas and small towns to cities and megacities²⁸. Internal migration has also led to geographic fragmentation of extended families and diminished interaction and mutual support between extended family members.

Urbanization has advantages. Smaller families mean fewer mouths to feed and backs to clothe and larger *per capita* helpings of parental time and care for dependent children. Economies of agglomeration, scale and distance improve chances of access to health, education and other services and in increasingly urban and increasingly unequal emerging market societies urbanization has particular advantages for the better-off.

Sharp income differentials in urban areas are typically reflected in geographically segmented neighbourhoods:

- Even by the highest global standards wealthy neighbourhoods often have superior housing, infrastructure, world class health services and rapidly improving schools.
- Middle income neighbourhoods – often the abandoned former territories of the upwardly mobile – may have adequate housing, infrastructure and services including adequate public healthcare and schools.
- But the far more numerous urban poor whose neighbourhoods are *barrios*, *favelas*, townships, slums and shanties may have primitive housing, pirated, if any infrastructure and few if any services. Although circumstances and conditions vary enormously, at least a third of the population of most emerging market cities and megacities live in unsatisfactory and inherently unhealthy conditions.

28 The 'Elderly Rights Law' (2013) addresses the growing problem of lonely elderly people by ordering adult children to visit ageing parents in China. The law says adults should care about their parents "spiritual needs" and "never neglect or snub elderly people".

Box H:**Women at Work**

In 2010, women made up more than 40% of the workforce in many emerging markets in most of which more than 60% of women worked outside the home. The challenge of reconciling working, mothering and homemaking was superficially similar to the challenge for working parents in rich countries but there were stark contrasts. Many women working in emerging markets were absolutely and relatively poor, worked because they had to, faced economic, gender and sexual discrimination in their workplaces and endured arduous megacity journeys to and from jobs that offered minimal rewards and few if any benefits.

In some rich countries, government, business and civil society, acting together or separately, have lightened the burdens of working women by providing child and elder care, maternity benefits and liberal family leave. Comparable arrangements are far rarer in emerging markets but Sri Lanka based MAS Holdings, a major garment manufacturer, provides nursing stations, on-site banking, company buses for commuting, exercise programmes and other innovations that create gender supportive workplaces. The returns have been measured in productivity, loyalty, retention, corporate reputation and stronger employee families.

For poor parents – migrants and ‘born here’s’ alike – urbanization means growing financial pressures associated with income poverty, rising parental aspirations and/or adolescent expectations. It means maximizing household incomes by doing multiple jobs in the formal or informal economies. It means coping with the exhausting friction of spatial separation between home and work. It means lacking time and energy for even small families as offspring struggle with the influences of intrusive urban cultures (drugs and gangs included), the distractions of cyberspace, the demands of schools, the need to supplement household incomes by working after or during school hours and, for young adults, the challenge of establishing an independent existence and the choice of breaking away from home or the default option of staying put. If, as a result of divorce, death, separation or abandonment, nuclear households have only one parent, the pressures are higher, the resources fewer and the difficulties of satisfying young people greater.

Were these circumstances rare and unusual they would be problematic. But if, as is the case in many emerging markets, they are common enough to be normal, they imply burgeoning concentrations of dispirited, disaffected, disenfranchised, unemployed and unemployable youth, mental and emotional illness, social isolation and political alienation.

DISCRIMINATION

Previous EMS symposia have emphasized that discriminatory behaviour is rooted in bigotry, bias and prejudice and that people or institutions who/that are mildly or deeply prejudiced about (for example) race or ethnicity are rarely open minded about (for example) gender, nationality, sexuality, politics or religion.

From a psychological perspective, adolescents and young people in emerging markets are particularly susceptible to lies, half-truths and stereotypes which stigmatize individuals and institutions, blame them for injustices or, on the basis of spurious assumptions²⁹, perceive them as threats

GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Gender discrimination is the most pervasive form of discrimination in emerging markets. While discriminatory male behaviour, tacit female acceptance and legalized inequality are not unique to emerging markets, the issue is larger there than elsewhere in the modern world. Although, in secondary and tertiary education, girls perform as well as or better than boys and more women have entered emerging market labour forces, pay differentials, sexual predation and discriminatory hiring, firing and advancement practices are deeply rooted, the multiple burdens of working women are ignored (see Box H) and the notion of gender equality is flagrantly disregarded or rejected.

Even in emerging markets that have done most to close them, there are yawning gaps between the promise and realization of gender equality. While social movements retain an essential role in fighting for the recognition of entitlements, rights and norms, the defence and implementation of already-legally protected rights are increasingly at stake. Laws and statutes are necessary but insufficient prerequisites for change and often conflict with explicit, implicit, veiled or open beliefs that women are inferior to

²⁹ Recent history reminds us that other age cohorts in other cultures are also vulnerable

men, exist for their unpaid reproductive work, do not deserve human rights and should accept subordinate roles in families, economies, and societies as normal features of a natural or even God-given order. Laws can also be overruled by local and informal jurisdictions and political institutions and history shows they may be ineffective without sanctions. Behavioural change ultimately depends on changes in male values and convictions.

The impact of gender discrimination on young people in emerging markets varies from extreme examples of the slaughter of new-born girls, through sexual predation, incest and genital mutilation to unequal rights to education, premature motherhood, workplace discrimination and unequal rights before the law.

OTHER FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION

Some girls and young women in emerging markets (e.g. Eugenia in Buenos Aires) inhabit what they might see as the best of all possible worlds. Many more live in what they might see as the worst because, over and above the burdens of poverty, unequal access to healthcare and education, poor housing and bad nutrition, they must contend with gender discrimination. But young males and females suffer (more or less equally) from age, racial, ethnic, religious, sexual and legal discrimination and consequent or related emotional trauma, mental illness and alienation. The risks are universal but may be less noticed and addressed in emerging markets than in richer countries and if noticed may be accorded low priority.

Adulthood

Sanctioned in laws, endorsed in unwritten codes and embedded in religious doctrines the collective intent of adulthood is to preserve the *status quo* and deny opportunities to young people (purportedly for their own good). In light of evidence (see Chapter 2) that the average human brain does not mature until its mid-twenties, some of these restrictions may be justified. Most however were conceived long before the evidence existed and even if their intent is consistent, their application is not.

Speaking about the USA, Steinberg (2012) asked: "How is it possible to rationalize permitting teenagers to drive before they are permitted to see R-rated movies on their own, sentencing juveniles to life without parole before they are old enough to serve on a jury, or sending young people into combat before they can buy beer?" (Box 1). In most emerging markets the situation is no less chaotic and the age of majority (in most cases 18) is loosely applied (compounding the inherent complexity of the challenge of establishing personal and group identity).

Racial Discrimination

Racial discrimination is generally viewed as a relatively less important determinant of the welfare and prospects of young people in emerging markets than other forms of discrimination.

In most emerging markets racial diversity has less to do with the history of free or enslaved inward migration than with the composition of indigenous races. But observers have questioned the true extent of racial harmony in emerging markets with historically high levels of inward migration (e.g. Brazil, South Africa) and others have documented racial discord in emerging markets where racial diversity (e.g. India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand).

Box 1:

Majors and Minors

The presumptive age of majority in the United States is 18. The age at which individuals can make independent medical decisions, drive cars, hold various jobs, marry, view R-rated movies without adult chaperones, vote, serve in the military, enter into contracts, buy tobacco, purchase alcohol and be tried in courts of law ranges from 15-21.

Steinberg points out that the USA "...doesn't rely on science to link specific ages to specific rights or responsibilities, and some of the nation's laws are baffling, to say the least, when viewed through the lens of science or public health. How is it possible to rationalize permitting teenagers to drive before they are permitted to see R-rated movies on their own, sentencing juveniles to life without parole before they are old enough to serve on a jury, or sending young people into combat before they can buy beer? The answer is that policies that distinguish between adolescents and adults are made for all sorts of reasons, and science, including neuroscience, is only one of many proper considerations.

Box J:**Politics and Violence in Colombia**

"The mystery is the faithfulness and fanaticism of the voters. From 1946 to 1953, the year when the army took over, they killed each other for the sake of party, frequently without hope of gain and with no direct encouragement. The Liberals went forth in the llanos, the eastern plains of Colombia, to fight, as they declared, for Francisco de Paula Santander (died 1840), for Jose Hilario Lopez (President from 1849 to 1853), and for Rafael Uribe Uribe (assassinated 1914). They knew next to nothing about these men; they included no later figures, and added no policy. Yet they cared a great deal."

Deas (1965)

Ethnic, Cultural, Religious and Political Discrimination

The symposium found that ethnic, cultural, religious and political discrimination are profound influences on young lives in emerging markets and may have common roots. A past EMS participant writing about Colombia, suggested that violent discrimination (and retribution) may be grounded in Reichel Dolmatov's contention that: *"The ultimate goal of life is to be respected"*³⁰ and that the most extreme forms of ethnic, social and political conflict are driven by the urge to possess and if necessary kill and die for an abstract ideas as a badge of personal and/or group identity (Box J)³¹.

Origins aside, ethnic, religious and political tensions play important and in some cases central roles in the lives of young people in emerging markets. These tensions, coupled with economic discontent and the frustrations of political exclusion, isolation and alienation, contribute to intergenerational disconnects, disbelief in a tolerable future and the lure of destructive behaviour.

One result is that *mochileras* in Peru, terrorist recruits in Pakistan, 'surplus' young men in India, FARC guerillas in Colombia, unemployed youths in Tunisia, gang members in South Africa, university educated manual labourers in China and adolescents drinking cheap vodka in Russia have more in common with disadvantaged, disaffected counterparts in rich countries than with young, advantaged beneficiaries of sustained but inequitable growth in emerging markets.

Another result is that some adolescents and young adults on the margins of emerging market economies, societies and polities confront authorities at home and abroad. Faced with futures of economic uncertainty, social immobility and political exclusion, unable to imagine personal progress and tyrannized by the prospect of a continuous present, their frustration and anger erupts in sometimes violent protest. But even as angry young men and women from Sao Paulo to Cairo to Bangkok take to the streets, squares and barricades, many more passively accept the consequences of inequity and inequality, quietly demonstrating the explanatory power of Myrdal's model of cumulative and circular causation (see Chapter 1).

WHAT NEXT?

The perception that the youth of the world is against the world is neither entirely accurate nor wholly ungrounded. There is nationwide unrest in a few emerging markets and local unrest in more than a few. But emerging markets in the Middle East, North Africa, Asia and Latin America that are not currently threatened by youth-led disruption must consider potential *threats* from disruptive seeds that have been sown but have not grown. And irrespective of possible (countervailing, pre-emptive, precautionary, self-interested and ethical) motives for defensive action, they must seek generic and specific *opportunities* to address the social and political consequences of the challenges facing their young people.

30 Reichel Dolmatov *The People of Aritama*, 1961

31 For example, it might be argued that sectarian conflicts in Ulster, Shi'ite-Sunni conflicts in Egypt and Moslem-Christian conflicts in secular Malaysia have been/are grounded in the perceived importance of abstract ideas and that some of those engaged in these conflicts may understand little or nothing about the underlying doctrinal, theological or philosophical arguments in which an identity is grounded.

THE GOVERNANCE GAP

Most governments, businesses and civil society organizations in emerging markets are led and managed by adults aged over 30 whose reactions to such challenges are unlikely to be nimble, imaginative or careless. Handicapped by generational insensitivity, uncertain how to engage with young people with different values and priorities speaking different languages and unwilling to trust immature judgement, the reactive tendencies of many leaders often seem cognitively blind and/or emotionally deaf.

But recent history also suggests that, given the chance and put to the test, young people may perform well above expectations, seem wise beyond their years and reveal themselves not as passive recipients of experience but as constructive and innovative thinkers and responsible leaders, who actively engage with the structures and processes around them and build competencies through such engagement.

Yet despite their numbers, disproportionate demographic weight, economic clout in niche markets and the fact *they* will have to live with the consequences of decisions from which they are excluded, young voices are more often heard outside than inside debating chambers and are more often shrill and threatening than calm and reasoning.

Adult emerging market leaders rarely evaluate risks in light of how young people see the threats and opportunities that could affect their present and future wellbeing. They tend to assume the young will be carbon copies of themselves, that the future will replay the past and that the world will not probably change much. The result is that young people are denied distinctive trajectories, histories and futures. But Aitken³² and others have suggested a re-imagining of the full potential of young people, arguing that the outcomes of neo-liberal agendas and global corporate capitalism that increasingly involve the young are not inevitable and that their active and full participation in global decision making could yield a different and stronger world order.

The symposium concluded there is ample scope to enhance youth participation in policy making and other decisions in emerging markets; that youth roles may be consultative, advisory or executive and that all such initiatives must be cut to suit country specific traditions, cultures and tolerances – what might work in Argentina might not work in Pakistan.

It also concluded that the Office of the UN Envoy for Youth should be encouraged to collect and disseminate knowledge about successful and less successful initiatives that emphasize the value of enabling young people to join in adult-led processes and create processes of their own.

Box K:

Youth Led Change

Peru

MANTHOC is a movement of adolescent and youth workers in 10 Peruvian provinces set up in 1976 to defend the rights of young workers, dignify labour and improve working conditions.

South Africa

The Gay and Lesbian Memory in Action (GALA) movement in South Africa was established in 1997 to mobilise LGBTI youth to take action against discrimination (e.g. 2015 Queer Youth Exchange Project in Johannesburg)

India

Must Bol is a call to young people to examine violence in their lives and speak out against it. The campaign is targeting youth in Delhi who are active and potential social media users, and uses creative media to generate thought-provoking discussions on gender and violence. The campaign has taken up issues of relevance to the inner circle of young people's lives – self, body, family, peers, intimate relationships and workplace.

'In our engagement with young people we have witnessed how gender affects so many aspects of young people's lives and yet remains largely unquestioned. Violence emerging from gender goes largely unrecognized and routinised in many ways and even celebrated at times. There is great need for intervention and support, for placing gender in perspective and creating avenues for dialogue and discussion,' said Rama Rao, the facilitator of CYC's Youth led Campaign. 'What is happening through this campaign is frank and open sharing of experiences and discussion about issues and solutions and action for change.

32 Aitken, Lund, Kjørholt (2007) cited by Boyden (2016)

Direct or indirect youth participation in political decisions led to the question of whether young people in emerging markets should be enfranchised. Recognizing risks associated with the asynchronous development of the human brain (see Chapter 1); recognizing chronological age is an imperfect guide to judgmental maturity; and recognizing that emerging market societies, like others, have been unable or unwilling to reconcile the rights, roles and responsibilities of young people with their ages, the symposium agreed that emerging markets should consider lowering the voting age to 16 which is already the case in two major emerging markets (Brazil, Indonesia) and a handful of smaller countries.

ANOTHER DIVIDE

As a critical enabler/disabler of social change in emerging markets, digitization divides generations as well as countries, regions and classes. Casual observation might suggest cell phones are ubiquitous, tablets are common and laptops are numerous in many emerging economies. But observations in major cities (where most such observations are made) are misleading. Internet use in many emerging markets (notably Chile, Russia, Poland, China) is relatively intensive but bearing in mind that internet and smart phone use is largely confined to major metropolitan areas with high speed connectivity, the streets of large cities are atypical.

Geographical divides are complemented by social and political divides. Digitization separates young people who can and can't afford high speed devices. It affects parental and sibling relationships within families. It creates educational inequality and unequal access to information. And technological competence has become a major source of generational differences. Access to and command of computers distinguishes younger and older people and has made it possible for younger people to create a semi-private universe of digital communications in which social media have played an increasingly distinctive role and from which many adults are (for the most part self) excluded (Fig. 29).

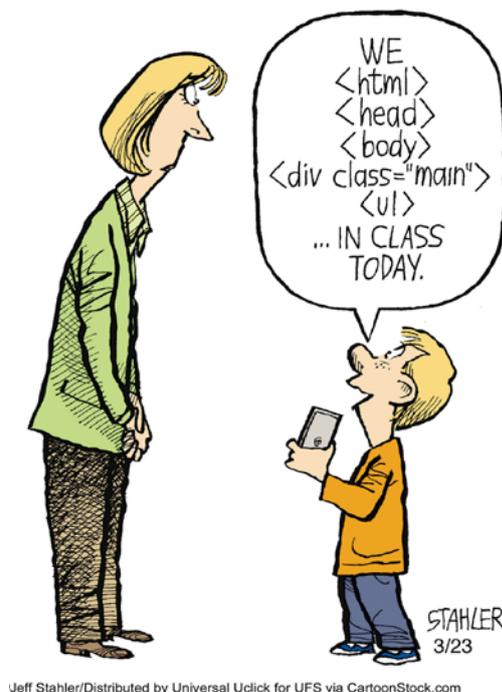


Figure 29:
Source: Jeff Stahl, CartoonStock.com

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FIGURE SOURCES

Figure 1: "Source: Prof Sarah-Jayne Blakemore, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience, University College London"

Figure 2: "Source: EMS Original 2016"

Figure 3: "Source: EMS Original 2016"

Figure 4: "Source: Report on Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition, EMS 2014"

Figure 5: "Source: EMS Original 2016"

Figure 6: "Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016" (Reference: Prepared for EMS Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets, January 2016, from World Population Prospects UNPD 2015)

Figure 7: "Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016" (Reference: Prepared for EMS Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets, January 2016, from World Population Prospects UNPD 2015)

Figure 8: "Source: Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (WIC) Wittgenstein Centre Data Explorer. Version 1.2 2015" (Reference: Available at: <http://www.wittgensteincentre.org/dataexplorer>)

Figure 9: "Source: Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital (WIC) Wittgenstein Centre Data Explorer. Version 1.2 2015" (Reference: Available at: <http://www.wittgensteincentre.org/dataexplorer>)

Figure 10: "Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016" (Reference: Prepared for EMS Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets, January 2016, from World Population Prospects UNPD 2015)

Figure 11: "Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016" (Reference: Prepared for EMS Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets, January 2016, from World Population Prospects UNPD 2015)

Figure 12: "Source: Dr Stuart Gietel-Basten 2016" (Reference: Prepared for EMS Symposium on Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets, January 2016, from World Population Prospects UNPD 2015)

Figure 13: "Source: Patel et al, Lancet 2012" (Reference: Patel, V. (2012) Suicide mortality in India: a nationally representative survey. The Lancet, 379, pp. 2343-2351)

Figure 14: "Source: Russia Longitudinal Monitoring survey, RLMS-HSE" (Reference: "Russia Longitudinal Monitoring survey, RLMS-HSE», conducted by Higher School of Economics and ZAO "Demoscope" together with Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Institute of Sociology RAS. [RLMS-HSE sites: <http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/rlms-hse>, <http://www.hse.ru/org/hse/rlms>])

Figure 15: "Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2013). Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2013). Health and Nutrition Statistics <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/health-nutrition-and-population-statistics>)

Figure 16: "Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2013). Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2013). Health and Nutrition Statistics <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/health-nutrition-and-population-statistics>)

Figure 17: "Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2013). Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2013). Health and Nutrition Statistics <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/health-nutrition-and-population-statistics>)

Figure 18: "Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2013). Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2013). Health and Nutrition Statistics <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/health-nutrition-and-population-statistics>)

Figure 19: "Source: EMS 2014 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2013). Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2013). Health and Nutrition Statistics <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/health-nutrition-and-population-statistics>)

Figure 20A: "Source: EMS 2013 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Claudia Contreras R. (2012). Gender Inequality in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2012a). Gender Statistics. <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/gender-statistics>)

Figure 20B: "Source: EMS 2013 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Claudia Contreras R. (2012). Gender Inequality in Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank. (2012a). Gender Statistics. <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/gender-statistics>)

Figure 21: "Source: ILO 2013" (Reference: International Labour Organisation ILO <http://www.ilo.org>)

Figure 22: "Source: EMS 2016 Analytical Framework" (Reference: Knight, K. (2015). Young People and the Future of Emerging Markets: An Analytical Framework, Green Templeton College from The World Bank (2015). World Development Indicators. <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>)

Figure 23: "Source: ILO 2013" (Reference: International Labour Organisation ILO <http://www.ilo.org>)

Figure 24: "Source: "Education to employment: Designing a system that works", McKinsey Center for Government" (Reference: Exhibit from Mourshed, M., Farrell, D. and D. Barton (2012) "Education to employment: Designing a system that works", McKinsey Center for Government, www.mckinsey.com. Copyright (c) 2013 McKinsey & Company. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission.)

Figure 25: "Source: Sanjay Kumar, Centre for Study of Developing Societies (using NSSO data)"

Figure 26: "Source: OECD (2011)" (Reference: OECD (2011) Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising, OECD Publishing, Paris. Copyright permission requested)

Figure 27: "Source: EMS Original 2016"

Figure 28: "Source: The EY G20 Entrepreneurship Barometer 2013" (Reference: Ernst & Young (2013) The power of three: together, governments, entrepreneurs and corporations can spur growth across the G20. The EY G20 Entrepreneurship Barometer 2013. Copyright permission requested)

Figure 29: "Source: Jeff Stahler, CartoonStock.com"

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