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the Vanuatu National Institute of Technology**

Gilles Blanchet

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The labour market and the Vanuatu National Institute of Technology

Introduction

This study was carried out at the request of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its aim was to study labour market trends and perspectives in Vanuatu in relation to the types of training currently offered or likely to be introduced by the National Institute of Technology.

The required information was obtained during a visit to Port Vila, from 4 August to 3 September 1990. Contacts were made with leading figures from the public and private sectors and with the Vanuatu Institute of Technology (INTV) authorities. Other establishments were briefly examined, including the Trade Training and Testing Scheme (TTTS) centre which was established in the capital by the International Labour Organization, the Saint Michel School in Luganville, Santo, and the small centre of Kitow on the island of Tanna.

This paper is based on the information and data gathered during this visit. It also draws on the report, *Vocational Training and Labour Market in Vanuatu* published in 1987 by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) (ADB/AIDAB 1987).

The report is divided into three sections. The first section is devoted to the INTV. It looks at the history of the Institute, examines the way it works and assesses possibilities for its future development.

The second section deals with the labour market, using the available data, which is already several years old. An attempt is made to bring these data up-to-date, using recent reports and information obtained from official departments, financial institutions and firms.

The third section examines the courses offered at the INTV in the light of this brief survey and outlines a number of recommendations as to which training options should be improved or introduced, bearing in mind the current situation and the role which the authorities would like to see the Institute play.

The Vanuatu National Institute of Technology

The origins of the INTV

The INTV was established by the French Government in 1970 at a time when the New Hebrides was administered jointly by the French and the British under the Condominium government. The school covers an area of four hectares and has twenty-seven classrooms, eight workshops and one language laboratory. It is situated next to the Lycée Louis Antoine de Bougainville and the two establishments share the same accommodation, catering, sports and classroom facilities. Originally established as a Technical Training College (CET) attached to the Lycée, the Institute became a Professional Training School (LEP) in 1979 and took its current name in 1980 when it was given its own school board.

Until 1987 it was linked to the French education system and offered two different kinds of teaching, each leading to separate diplomas. Some of the students were admitted after two years of secondary education (that is at the end of Year 8) and prepared for a Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle (CAP), awarded after three years of study. The courses ranged from building, masonry and joinery to electronics, mechanics (either automobile or general) or secretarial skills. Other students entered the Institute after four years of secondary education (at the end of Year 10) and after two years could obtain a Brevet d'Enseignement Professionnel (BEP) in accountancy, secretarial skills or basic skills for careers in the social sector and administration.

Modelled on the French system, the teaching was free and was given in French by expatriate teachers to francophone students who were the only ones eligible for admission. The number of students continued to increase until 1986.

Table 1 Vanuatu National Institute of Technology, enrolments 1970-85

	1970	1975	1980	1985
Students	31	139	319	387

Source: Vanuatu National Institute of Technology.

The diplomas awarded were recognized by the French Government and allowed the students to continue their studies and follow advanced courses either in France, Noumea or Papeete. A three-year course in Melanesian arts and crafts was also taught, although no official diploma was awarded.

Independence and the expanding role of the INTV

In 1980 there were as many students in French-medium secondary schools as there were in English-medium schools (996), but the latter had no vocational training facilities of their own. When the country declared its independence it was stressed that the INTV would have to serve the national interest and the government decided to set up a unified educational system. The First National Development Plan, which covered the period 1982-86, stated that the INTV should continue to deliver its teaching in French for the time being. Scholarships were to be offered to English-speaking students to permit them to pursue their studies overseas. They were also given the option of enrolling at the INTV and it was intended that the Institute would gradually evolve into a bilingual establishment and would open its doors to the outside, while still maintaining the standard and diversity of its courses.

The amalgamation of the French and English education systems was introduced gradually and the unification of junior secondary education curricula became effective in 1986. In future, students would have to learn English and French in the same way as mathematics and social sciences, as part of a curriculum which also included a number of technical subjects. In line with ministerial instructions, students were only to be allowed to repeat a year in exceptional cases and, at the end of Year 10, they would all sit the same leaving exam. About 1600 pupils have reached this stage during the last two years.

Table 2 Vanuatu National Institute of Technology, enrolments in Year 10, 1989 and 1990

	1989		1990	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Anglophones	557	74	602	72
Francophones	200	26	235	28
Total	757	100	837	100

Source: Vanuatu National Institute of Technology.

These changes had repercussions on the INTV, which now had to enrol Year 10 leavers and teach a two-year, instead of three-year, program. The students then had to sit an examination, at the end of which they were awarded either a certificate of attendance or a diploma which was only recognized at a national level. As in ordinary schools, repeating a year had to remain an exception.

At the same time a report on vocational training (ADB/AIDAB 1987) stated that some adjustment of INTV's activities was necessary, due to the changes in both the education system and the economic and labour market situations. The report formulated a number of recommendations, including the suggestion that the INTV should gradually become a vocational training establishment with a broader and more flexible range of courses, a more receptive staff and closer links with employers and professional organizations.

The report also tackled the problem of the language of instruction. Rather than favouring parallel teaching in English and French, an option which was considered too expensive, it suggested that Bislama be used more widely, that the language skills of the teaching staff be improved, and that the teaching material be translated into English.¹

The INTV recognized the need to change. The Principal submitted a set of proposals aimed at enabling the Institute to adapt more effectively to the real needs of the country. In addition to a list of new courses more in line with local requirements, he suggested that adult education courses be introduced and that ni-Vanuatu nationals be trained as teachers and instructors and given a status which would offer them certain financial benefits, job security and attractive career prospects.

The Second Development Plan (Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office 1989), covering the period from 1987 to 1991, also strongly recommended a reform of the Institute and suggested the introduction of courses and teaching materials more suited to the country and the working-age population. It took on board the recommendation made in the ADB/AIDAB report that responsibility for the INTV be transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Department of Labour, but at the same time stressed its role as a technical school operating in tandem with the Lycée.

The current situation

The introduction of this secondary education reform coincided with a difficult economic and social situation, marked by a crisis in diplomatic relations with France in 1987 and a sudden reduction in the resources made available to the INTV, inasmuch as a proportion of its funding came from France. This led to a period of indecision and uncertainty as illustrated by the following changes between 1986 and 1990:

¹Bislama is one of three official languages of Vanuatu together with English and French, but, in compliance with the instructions of the Ministry of Education, its use is not permitted in educational establishments.

- the number of students dropped by 50 per cent from 395 to 202, while the number of students enrolled in Year 10 increased by 90 per cent, from 446 to 837;
- the expatriate teaching staff decreased from 26 to 14 and the supervisory staff as a whole from 48 to 24, again a 50 per cent decrease;²
- the number of courses diminished by the same proportion and in 1990 courses in diesel mechanics, arts and crafts, tourism, office skills and foundation courses for careers in the health and social sectors were not offered; and
- the switch from French diplomas to national ones led to an increase in examination pass rates from 48 per cent to 84 per cent, but the rate of absenteeism also increased sharply from 4 per cent in 1986 to 20 per cent in 1988 and is likely to be even higher in 1990.

Efforts to adapt

In spite of the decline in its resources and in student and staff numbers, the Institute has recently made considerable efforts to adapt. Attempts have been made to bring teaching methods and materials more into line with the country's needs and teachers have compiled and published new textbooks in accountancy as well as in history and geography.

- Contacts with the business world have been established. The staff in charge of the secretarial, accountancy, mechanics and electricity sections have frequently consulted different firms to find out their requirements and to recommend students either as trainees or as potential employees.
- Training of ni-Vanuatu teaching staff started towards the end of the 1970s with the recruitment of instructors. The sudden reduction in expatriate staff in 1986 meant that a program had to be organized to train local personnel. Eleven ni-Vanuatu with a CAP qualification were taken on as instructors, and were admitted in 1989 to the Centre de Formation des Maitres du Secondaire (Secondary Teachers Training Centre), which is part of the INTV. In addition to their studies, these instructors performed teaching duties with the newly arrived Tunisian teachers. This experiment was terminated at the end of the year and acknowledged as a failure, apparently due to the inadequacy of the initial training.
- The localization of the Institute's administrative staff has nevertheless progressed and today, with the exception of a technical adviser, all the senior posts (principal, vice-principal, treasurer and secretary) are held

²The expatriate teaching staff including the three Tunisian teachers sent by the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency (ACCT) and the Tunisian Agency of Technical Cooperation (ATCT) within the framework of a protocol agreement concluded by the Government of Vanuatu in 1988, following the reduction in French teaching staff.

by local staff. The teaching staff includes only four ni-Vanuatu out of a total of eighteen, but the problem of increasing local staff is as much one of finance as of training. The advantage of expatriates is that they are not a burden on the national budget, while the salaries offered to local staff, who enjoy no statutory protection, are scarcely attractive.³ The salary for a young teacher starting work at the Institute is similar to that earned by some students when they leave the school and is ten times lower than that of an expatriate teacher.

In 1987 new training options were opened in the tourism sector and in health and social education. The first was discontinued when its founder left and the second was cancelled as the anticipated openings were abolished for financial reasons.

Lack of qualified staff also led to the closure of the arts and handicrafts course in 1990. This course, probably the most original offered by the Institute, produced outstanding results. In the words of the ADB/AIDAB study, it has 'made a remarkable contribution towards promoting the development of Melanesian art and its adaptation to modern techniques and methods. The INTV's publications on the art of Ambrym and on its own works are of high quality and have contributed substantially to expanding the audience for Melanesian art' (ADB/AIDAB 1987).

A difficult change

Despite these efforts, it is proving difficult for the Institute to change. As the Second National Development Plan points out, it is the country's main facility for technical and vocational education and at the same time acts as a kind of safety net for students unable to continue a conventional secondary education (Vanuatu, NPSO 1989). On both these grounds, it is of crucial importance to Vanuatu, which like many developing countries has a high rate of population growth and is facing acute problems of training and employment. The efforts devoted to education mean that the capacity of educational establishments must be increased in order to enable them to take in more students. In the secondary sector, the number of places in Year 11 was increased in 1987 from 60 to 120 at Malapoa College and from 30 to 60 at the Lycée de Bougainville. Another 60 places should be available in 1991 at the Matevulu College on the island of Santo.

As far as technical education is concerned, although the INTV alone offers between 450 and 500 places, in October 1990 it only had 200 students. In view of this situation, the Ministry of Education has asked the Institute to take another 100 English-speaking students from the beginning of the next school year and emphasized the urgent need to recruit

³Ninety-eight per cent of education and training expenditure is financed by overseas aid and 2 per cent by the State (United Nations 1990).

Anglophone teachers and to translate existing teaching materials into English. It also suggested that a committee responsible for planning the future of the Institute be set up without delay. The creation of such a committee was one of the recommendations made by the ADB/AIDAB report with the difference that the composition now proposed gives greater prominence to government and administration, while restricting the role of the private sector to a minimum.

It now seems to be taken for granted that responsibility for the Institute will remain with the Ministry of Education. There is no longer any question of its being transferred to the Department of Labour in the Ministry of Home Affairs, as was suggested by the Second National Development Plan in response to a conclusion put forward by the ADB/AIDAB report, which stated that 'in order to develop vocational and technical training sensibly, close attention must be paid to the needs of the labour market and close links maintained with employers, a task for which the Ministry of Education is not equipped' (ADB/AIDAB 1987).

In adjusting to the requirements of the public and private sectors, the academic role played by the Institute should not be neglected but rather strengthened and improved. This should make it possible to bridge the gap between secondary and higher education and turn the INTV into an advanced and decentralized technical education facility capable of taking in students from neighbouring countries.⁴

Its primary objective, however, is to become a truly national facility capable of meeting the country's most pressing labour requirements. In 1987 the Principal expressed the view that students, who until 1985 had not had any problems fitting into working life, seemed to be finding it more and more difficult to find a job. This situation could be explained by the decline in the economic situation and the growing scarcity of posts held by expatriates that could feasibly be filled by locals. Without a thorough knowledge of the labour market, it is not easy to measure the significance of these factors and to ascertain whether they are the only ones at play.

The labour market

Unfortunately, data in this field are both scarce and of poor quality. Most of the information available dates back several years and the most recent data are disparate and speculative. This means that an accurate assessment of the current situation is impossible and makes projections for the future hazardous.

⁴At the time of writing there is no official final examination for the end of secondary studies under the newly unified education system and since the discontinuation of the French Baccalaureat, francophone students no longer have access to higher education in France.

Trends since independence

The characteristics of the labour market since 1980 can be discerned from the general population census of 1979 (Vanuatu, NPSO 1983) and the census of Port Vila and Luganville conducted in 1986 just before the *Second National Development Plan* was drawn up (Vanuatu, NPSO 1986). These data, together with the estimates in the ADB/AIDAB report, make it possible to put together a picture of the general structure of the labour market and the way in which it has developed in recent years.

In 1979 the population of the country was 111,251, of whom 93.8 per cent were ni-Vanuatu nationals. The number of persons of working age (16 to 64) was 56,632 and the actual working population was 48,144 (an employment rate of about 85 per cent). More than four-fifths of the working population were living in rural areas, engaged mainly in farming (89 per cent) (Vanuatu, NPSO 1983).

In 1989 the employment rate was of the same order and the working population was estimated at 60,200 (Vanuatu, NPSO 1989). Drawing on data from various sources, the ADB/AIDAB experts estimated that in 1987 the total number of wage-earners was 15,270, the majority working in urban areas (58.5 per cent) and the rest (41.5 per cent) in rural areas.

Table 3 Vanuatu: assessment of the salaried workforce, 1987

Composition of the workforce	Estimated number
Permanent civil service posts	3300
Temporary civil service posts	640
Urban private sector	5800
Plantation workers	2300
Rural employment other than plantation work	2800
Local public employees and cooperatives	430
Total	15270

Source: ADB/AIDAB, *Vocational Training and the Labour Market in Vanuatu*, Report of the ADB/AIDAB joint technical assistance team, Vanuatu, 1987.

An indication of urban employment trends can be gained from a comparison of the 1979 and 1986 censuses. While the population of Port Vila and Luganville rose by 25 per cent, employment fell by 3 per cent as a result of economic depression. Trends varied from one sector to another. Jobs in agriculture fell by 10 per cent, while service sector jobs increased by the same proportion and industrial employment remained stagnant.

There were also contrasting trends from the ethnic point of view. The proportion of ni-Vanuatu in the labour force rose from 75 per cent to 88 per

cent, though trends differed according to the type of work involved. More than 90 per cent of jobs requiring few qualifications and little capital were in the hands of nationals, but in the field of management and business progress towards localization was much slower.

A survey of public sector employment conducted by the NPSO in 1985 produced similar findings (Vanuatu, NPSO 1985). Only 4 per cent of ni-Vanuatu staff employed in the public sector held senior posts, whereas the figure for expatriates was 74 per cent.

Table 4 Structure of public sector employment, 1985

Occupation	ni-Vanuatu		Expatriates		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Senior professional/technical	122	4	245	74	367	11
Intermediate professional/ technical	1479	49	41	13	1520	20
Junior professional/ technical	58	2	-	-	58	2
Senior management and administration	80	3	17	5	97	3
Supervisors	32	1	1	-	33	1
Skilled and semi-skilled workers	1220	41	27	8	1247	37
Unskilled workers	5	-	-	-	5	-
Total	2996	100	331	100	3327	100

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, *Survey of Public Sector Employment*, 1985.

A partial explanation of this state of affairs can be found in the level of education of the population. The 1986 census showed that, as a rule, those in managerial positions had completed secondary education and those in intermediate positions had completed only the first cycle of secondary studies. A more detailed breakdown (Table 5) shows that more than half of ni-Vanuatu mechanics, carpenters and shopkeepers had no more than primary education and more than half of the shorthand-typists, accountants and company managers had completed their secondary studies with varying degrees of success. It also revealed clearly that expatriates occupying the same posts generally possessed a more advanced level of education.

Table 5 Employment structure by nationality and level of education, 1986

Type of employment	Number	%	Highest level of education					
			Primary		Secondary		Higher	
			Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Motor mechanics								
ni-Vanuatu	192	89	117	61	56	29	19	10
Non ni-Vanuatu	24	11	7	29	12	50	5	21
Total	216	100	124	57	68	32	24	11
Carpenters								
ni-Vanuatu	244	95	163	67	63	26	18	7
Non ni-Vanuatu	13	5	5	38	5	38	3	23
Total	257	100	168	65	68	27	21	8
Shorthand typists								
ni-Vanuatu	305	91	42	14	192	63	71	23
Non ni-Vanuatu	30	9	1	3	15	50	14	47
Total	335	100	43	17	207	62	85	25
Accountants								
ni-Vanuatu	78	54	13	17	42	54	23	29
Non ni-Vanuatu	66	46	-	-	21	32	45	48
Total	144	100	13	9	63	44	68	47
Retailers^a								
ni-Vanuatu	73	41	41	56	24	33	8	11
Non ni-Vanuatu	103	59	16	15	49	48	38	37
Total	176	100	57	32	73	42	46	26
Foremen, supervisors								
ni-Vanuatu	33	67	16	49	13	39	4	12
Non ni-Vanuatu	16	33	2	12	8	50	6	37
Total	49	100	18	37	21	43	10	20
Hotel and restaurant management								
ni-Vanuatu	22	31	10	45	10	45	2	9
Non ni-Vanuatu	48	69	1	2	32	67	15	31
Total	70	100	11	16	42	60	17	24
General managers								
ni-Vanuatu	28	45	4	14	17	61	7	25
Non ni-Vanuatu	34	55	-	-	9	26	25	74
Total	62	100	4	6	26	42	32	52
Administrative managers								
ni-Vanuatu	55	61	7	12	24	44	24	44
Non ni-Vanuatu	35	39	-	-	3	9	32	91
Total	90	100	7	9	27	30	56	62

^aOwners of a business.

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, Urban Census 1986, unpublished tables.

Assessment of the current situation

Shortcomings in job creation. A general census was conducted in 1989 but the only information available at the time of writing concerns the population of the country and of the towns of Port Vila and Luganville. A comparison with 1979 reveals that the size of the capital's population has almost doubled in ten years and that the population as a whole is increasing at a rate of 3 per cent per annum.

Table 6 Vanuatu: population, urban areas, 1979 and 1989

	1979	1989	1979/1989 % increase
Total population	111251	142030	28
Population Port Vila	10001	19400	83
Population Luganville	5183	6900	33

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, Census of Population 1989, preliminary unpublished statistics, Vanuatu, 1990.

Pending the availability of more detailed results, it is necessary to rely on the projections drawn up by the NPSO at the time of the Second National Development Plan. These forecasts, which seemingly need to be revised downwards, estimate that the working age population (15-64 years) will be 83,125 by 1991, an increase of 17.7 per cent over 1986. The ADB/AIDAB report estimates that the number of salaried workers will increase from 15,270 in 1987 to 16,450 in 1991, working on the basis of an annual increase of 1.5 per cent recorded during the years 1979 to 1986. If localization is feasible and creates another 500 jobs, a total of 1,680 jobs will become available, a figure barely capable of absorbing one-sixth of the extra labour entering the labour market. The discrepancy between population growth and the increase in available jobs is great.

Apart from these extrapolations, no coherent studies of the labour market have been undertaken and the available data are not easy to interpret. As the ADB/AIDAB report points out, the number of expatriates working in the country cannot be determined with any accuracy from an analysis of the work permits issued. In other cases, information exists but has not been used. This is true of the quarterly survey of business activities carried out by the NPSO since 1985 and the authorization system to which the private sector is subject.

In many cases, the data represent partial or approximate assessments. This is true of public sector employment, which has not increased to any extent since 1986 and accounts for some 4,000 employees. Since 1988 the improvement in the economic situation seems to have resulted in the

creation of new jobs in the private sector. Between 1985 and 1990, the number of industrial firms increased from 67 to 100 and the workforce in this sector from 557 to 1,200 persons (Garae 1990). With the aid of the Asian Development Bank, a number of small firms have grown up specializing in the manufacture of furniture, T-shirts, shell products and agricultural foodstuff products (beer, fruit juice, tinned beef, coconut oil soap and even 'kava', the traditional drink which has now become a common consumer product and an export). The Minister responsible for small business has succeeded in restricting employment in certain sectors (transport, retailing) to local employees so as to encourage their participation in the development process. Tourism now provides 1,000 jobs in the catering and hotel industries alone, as opposed to 683 in 1985, and accounts for 15 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP).

The financial sector, set up in 1971 with the aim of creating a 'tax haven', accounts for 12 per cent of GDP, the same percentage as the manufacturing sector. In 1989, although more than 1,500 companies were registered in the country and some 250 ships of various origins were sailing under the country's flag, the financial sector's contribution in terms of employment was no more than 400 jobs, ninety of which were held by highly-qualified expatriates.

It is generally estimated that 25 per cent of urban employment is formal and 75 per cent informal. This trend may well have accelerated in the last five years with the decline in employment and the increasing rural to urban migration of young people lacking the qualifications needed to become part of the economy proper.

Shortage of qualified labour. The employment problem is one of quality as well as quantity. The report just submitted by Vanuatu to the United Nations Second Conference on the least developed countries points out that the activities of the productive sector in Vanuatu are seriously restricted by the shortage of local staff with the necessary professional, technical or administrative qualifications (United Nations 1990). The lack of qualified labour in both the public and private sectors detracts from the effectiveness of investment and development programs, as well as being a serious obstacle to the maintenance of the existing economic, social and material infrastructure.

The areas in which this lack of qualified labour is particularly acute are those where advanced levels of skills and responsibilities are called for. In addition, there are insufficient staff capable of performing general administrative, managerial and supervisory duties, whether as accountants or financial controllers, senior administrative staff or executive secretaries and supervisors. In the building industry and the public works and services sectors, the priority need is for specialist skills in mechanics, electricity or

electronics. The inadequate levels of maintenance and repair are seriously undermining the effectiveness of existing equipment, a situation compounded by the shortage of staff able to operate it. In the islands, many generators are not working simply because there are no villagers who know how to adjust the injectors.

Equipment provided under foreign aid schemes (for example, tractors) remains unused, for want of staff able to operate them properly.

In discussions held by the author with company directors emphasis was placed by the directors on the inadequate training of existing staff and on the companies' inability to provide and finance such training themselves.

A survey of the job offers published during the first half of 1990 in the local newspaper, the *Vanuatu Weekly/Hebdomadaire*, gives an indication of the sectors where the absence of qualified labour is most acute. In six months 330 jobs were offered by ninety-five different advertisers. Of these, 18 per cent were in the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, fisheries), 13 per cent in the secondary sector (manufacturing and construction) and 69 per cent in the tertiary sector, of which half were connected with tourism (hotels, catering, transport). A breakdown of the qualifications required shows that half of the advertisements were for intermediate staff having a conventional or technical secondary education and 29 per cent required an advanced level of studies while vacancies requiring only a minimum level of skills represented no more than one-fifth of the total (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7 Vanuatu: labour market vacancies, January-July 1990

Activities	Advertisers	Vacancies	
		Number	%
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	9	59	18
Manufacturing industries	6	20	6
Construction, public works	6	24	7
Shops	14	20	6
Hotels, restaurants	11	99	30
Transport, telecommunications	7	30	9
Non-commercial services	19	30	9
Financial services	12	19	6
Other services	11	29	9
Total	95	330	100

Source: *Vanuatu Weekly/Hebdomadaire*, January-July 1990.

Table 8 Vanuatu: labour market vacancies, skills required

Level of skills required	Number	Vacancies	
			%
Advanced	96		29
Intermediate	168		51
Low	66		20
Total	330		100

Source: *Vanuatu Weekly/Hebdomadaire*, January-July 1990.

The explanation for this shortage of qualified labour, both in terms of quality and quantity, is to be found in technical and socio-cultural factors. In the first place, it derives from the shortcomings of the education system at the primary level. 'The inadequate level of qualifications among the workforce is partly a result of a lack of professional skill and inadequate or suitable training opportunities. It is equally due to the poor quality of primary education and the difficulty in acquiring during the first cycle of secondary studies those general skills necessary to perform successfully a wide range of intermediate-level jobs (literacy and numeracy and, in particular, powers of reasoning)' (ADB/AIDAB 1987).⁵

Financial constraints have also had adverse effects on training. Some schools, especially in rural areas, can no longer afford the equipment needed to operate normally and are suffering from chronic staff shortages. The salaries paid to local teachers are not attractive and a certain number of expatriate staff are kept on because they are funded by foreign aid programs.

The problems faced by private companies are quite different. Because of the small size of the local market, many are small companies with restricted staff numbers (in 1985 the average number of staff employed by small companies was eight). However they continue to employ expatriate staff in senior posts at great expense because they cannot find similarly qualified staff locally and cannot afford high training costs.

Socio-cultural factors also play a prominent role. First and foremost is the traditional way of life which is based on a coherent value system, far removed from that governing the concerns of a materialist and technological civilization. Combining the traditional with the materialist is difficult for those caught between a professional and a social world whose respective rules are different and, in some cases, contradictory. These

⁵A report by a delegation from the World Bank and UNESCO on an investment program in the education sector, published in 1985, pointed out that 39 per cent of primary school teachers had no training. Primary school education has now been reformed and standardized but teachers still have no manual on which to base their teaching (World Bank 1985).

difficulties were raised in discussions with company directors and teachers and the fact that many pupils rapidly lose the knowledge they have just acquired when they return to their original environment was highlighted. Cases were cited of young ni-Vanuatu who, after successful completion of an educational or vocational training course, return to their island to grow copra and drink kava. Several company directors stressed the reluctance of their ni-Vanuatu employees to assume responsibilities which required them to give orders and secure obedience from their colleagues.

These attitudes appear to be less the result of individual character traits than of a limited level of training and the dominance of a communal way of life where decisions are the prerogative of custom chiefs or the product of a consensus and not a one-way process. The problem then is not so much one of learning to exercise authority but rather of adapting the dominant traits of the Melanesian identity to the demands of the modern world. Indeed, the success achieved by people of mixed descent in positions of authority at a national level and by ni-Vanuatu in senior positions in New Caledonia could be explained by the greater degree of individual autonomy they enjoy and their looser involvement in the social fabric.

Prospects for future years

Structural problems and economic uncertainties. There is no reason to think that the labour market will develop significantly in future years, given that the present situation is a result of structural factors which cannot be changed overnight. Between 1984 and 1989, annual growth in GDP did not exceed 2 per cent while the population continued to grow at a rate in excess of 3 per cent. Since 1988 the economic and social outlook has brightened but not sufficiently enough to reverse this trend. Once the findings of the 1989 census are published, a better idea of trends over the last decade and a more solid basis for planning ahead will be available. However, this information will do nothing to offset the absence of reliable and regular statistical data, or the fact that, because it has a small-scale economy largely open to the outside, Vanuatu is particularly vulnerable to both national and international economic trends. Two illustrations of this phenomenon are the fall in copra prices during the 1980s and the recent increase in the number of ships registering in the country as a direct consequence of the civil war in Liberia.

As the ADB/AIDAB report also points out, forecasts and projections concerning the labour market often prove inaccurate for the simple reason that the future is unpredictable. More specifically, an approach based on conjecture is made complicated by the very loose relationship existing between qualifications and employment, particularly in a country such as

Vanuatu where the value placed on salaried employment is lower than in many developed economies.

The celebrations to mark the tenth anniversary of independence in July provided an opportunity to reflect on the last ten years and on the prospects for the coming decade. As government officials and senior administrators were at pains to point out, the question of a qualified workforce remains central to the problem of development in the immediate future, particularly as it is combined with an excess of unqualified labour. According to NPSO forecasts, by 1991 more than 3,000 young people with no more than primary education will be entering the job market (Vanuatu, NPSO 1989). Some of these will have no alternative but to fall back on subsistence activities in rural areas or to swell the ranks of the unemployed in urban centres, with all the attendant risks of delinquency.

Of those that stay at school, only 2 per cent progress beyond the first phase of secondary education. In ten years the number of higher education diplomas awarded has risen from 10 to 541. Such results are inadequate given the highly-qualified workforce the country needs if it is to free itself from dependence on expatriate labour, particularly in the key sector of the administration of the economy.

According to senior officials of the NPSO, the Third Development Plan, due to be launched in 1992, will not set itself such a broad range of objectives as the Second Plan, but will focus instead on two or three priority sectors, placing the emphasis on the development of human resources. It must strengthen the unified education system introduced in the primary and secondary sectors and extend this to include technical education, while at the same time promoting training and proficiency courses for adults.

In addition, an important education project has been launched by the World Bank, together with the Australian and Vanuatu governments, designed to increase the number of secondary education places by 750 over the next five years, in combination with a complementary teacher training program.

More generally, the labour market will be governed by economic and social trends. The economy was severely affected during the second half of the 1980s by political instability, a series of cyclones, the fall in copra prices and a collapse in foreign trade. The situation has picked up since 1988 with the improvement in the political climate and the resumption of investment, triggered by the reconstruction program introduced following Cyclone Uma in 1987. The government's firm backing of the private sector and effective policy to promote tourism have helped to restore a climate of confidence and generate fresh optimism as to the future development of the economy.

Tourism as a driving force for development and job creation. In the early 1980s the government was not favourable to an over-rapid expansion of tourism for fear that it would upset traditional lifestyles and values. It wanted tourism to expand at the same rate as other activities and restricted tourist development to three islands in the group. After a series of ups and downs in the 1970s and a decline during the troubled days prior to independence, tourism began to take off again at the beginning of the 1980s. With the help of Ansett Airlines, the government launched Air Vanuatu, in which it had a majority shareholding (51 per cent), and in 1983 the number of visitors rose to 32,374 (including 27,000 tourists). Numbers then declined as a dispute developed between the government and Ansett, the former accusing the airline of not doing enough to promote Vanuatu and the latter viewing as excessive the 10 per cent tax imposed on it. Eventually the airline withdrew and in 1987 the number of visitors declined to 14,642, including 9,201 tourists. After an unfortunate experience with Hong Kong tourist promoters, the government secured the services of a Boeing 727-200 from Australian Airlines in 1989. Air Vanuatu flights resumed under the national flag alone, with the aircraft being managed by Australian Airlines and leased back to them five days a week. Tourists began to return to Port Vila and in 1988 their numbers reached the 1986 level of 18,000. In 1989 the figure rose to 24,000 and should be higher still in 1990 (Garae 1990).

Since the beginning of the year, the government has assumed control of domestic flight connections and created the company Vanair. Through this company and through Air Vanuatu, the agency Vanuatu Travel and the National Tourism Office, it is now actively encouraging tourism, which it sees as a source of currency and jobs and as the best means of revitalizing the economy.⁶

In association with the Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TCSP), set up in Suva in 1988 by the countries of the region with the support of the EEC, the government is also endeavouring to channel tourist development so as to minimize its harmful effects on the physical, as well as the social and cultural environment. Development has thus been restricted to the islands of Éfaté, Santo and Tanna, although the chiefs of other islands such as Malakula, Pentecost and Ambrym are beginning to show an interest. Against this, however, is the fact that the go-ahead has recently been given for the opening of a casino in Port Vila.

All these measures are starting to take effect. The major international hotels in Port Vila, originally established at the same time as the financial centre, have just completed conversion and extension programs. Hotel

⁶Studies show that tourism in Vanuatu would have a favourable impact on incomes, tax revenue and jobs. It has been calculated that the multiplier would be 0.56 for incomes, 0.21 for tax revenue and 0.88 for jobs (Yacoumis 1990:82).

capacity, which at present is only 450 rooms in Port Vila and 570 for the country as a whole, is expanding rapidly. The Le Lagon Hotel, purchased by the Japanese chain Tokyu Hotels, has been improved and extended. The former Intercontinental Island Inn, recently purchased by an Australian and American group, was the next to be refurbished; its name was changed to the Radisson Palms Resort and a casino added. Opposition Leader, Barka Sopé, recently opened the Talimoru Hotel, which has forty-two rooms and is intended to provide budget-style accommodation. Another seventy-two-room hotel opened its doors two years ago on the island of Iririki, close to the town centre, and there are plans to extend its capacity to 200 rooms by 1991. The financial company Bali Hai, with Japanese backing, is planning to buy the hotel, build 200 additional rooms, add a marina and develop the waterfront opposite the island. Other projects include the construction in the same area of a condominium and a 200-room hotel by the Japanese group Fuji. A fifty-bungalow complex is to be created on the northwest coast of Éfaté at the site of the former American, and earlier British, port of Havannah Harbour, while on the east coast the Japanese company Plaza Homes intends to renovate the Manuro Paradise Resort which it recently purchased. Attention is now also turning to the island of Santo which has a major aerodrome, built by the Americans during World War II, and all the potential to become an ideal tourist destination with its white sand beaches and its unspoilt, wide open spaces.

Other factors are combining to encourage the growth of tourism. In addition to Air Vanuatu, international air services are provided by Air Calédonie Internationale. Major work is under way at Bauerfield Airport with the construction of a new terminal by Japanese interests and a 600 metre extension of the runway by Australian interests so as to enable large-capacity Boeing 767 jets to land. At the same time, efforts must be made to diversify the tourist clientele, which for the moment comes mainly from Australia and New Zealand. The introduction of a direct link with Tokyo should open up the Asian market. This prospect, together with the existence of the financial centre, lies behind the growing interest shown by Japanese and Australian investors not only in the hotel sector but in real estate in the residential areas of Port Vila such as Tassiriki, above the Erakor lagoon. Another favourable factor is the improvement in the telecommunications system with the installation of a new and ultra-modern telephone exchange which will bring the number of lines from 2,000 to 4,500, with scope for extension up to 10,000 and will provide automatic connections both internationally and with remote parts of the country.⁷

⁷This system, provided by the company CIT-Alcatel, has just been installed by Vanitel as part of a joint venture agreement with the Vanuatu government. Vanitel itself was set up under a joint venture agreement between the English company Cable and Wireless and the French company Radio Cable.

The revival of tourism and the favourable conditions under which this has occurred offers grounds for future optimism. In discussions with the author leading figures in this sector predicted, that over the next five years, on the strength of projects in progress, tourist numbers will double and could reach 60,000 by 1996, together with a parallel doubling of hotel capacity which should rise to 1,200 rooms. It is generally accepted that the addition of one hotel room has a job creation factor of 1.5. This means that 1,000 additional jobs are likely to be created in this sector over the next five years. However, this depends on present trends consolidating and continuing. In this sector as in others, turnarounds can be sudden and unexpected, as was shown by the events of 1987.

The INTV and the labour market

This research has highlighted the fact that there is a crucial shortage of qualified labour in the country, accompanied in urban areas by a growing mass of unqualified job-seekers. This discrepancy between supply and demand is exacerbated by a rate of population growth which continues to outstrip economic growth and by the creation of fresh aspirations now that the country has taken charge of its own destiny. This imbalance could be rectified by an economic upswing and the expansion of job-creating sectors such as tourism. The same goal could also be achieved by appropriate training measures to provide the country with the labour it needs. This has begun in the primary, secondary and higher education sectors and must be extended to technical education, where the INTV has a crucial role to play. In order to respond to very specific needs and assume new responsibilities consistent with the expansion of its activities the Institute must break away from its original structure and approach. Recent economic trends have not facilitated this transition. Now that the situation is gradually returning to normal, it should be possible to take measures to strengthen existing training programs, introduce new ones and offer a more responsive approach to labour market needs.

Failure to adapt

The central problem facing the INTV has its roots in the difficulties experienced by any established institution undergoing a reformation and a questioning its own role. The INTV functioned like a well-oiled machine as long as it remained a link in the French education system, providing francophone students with an education in French which was modelled on the French system. After independence this role was called into question. A process of pragmatic adjustment to the changed circumstances had begun but was interrupted in 1986 when the Institute was asked to embark on immediate conversion at the very moment when a large part of its operating resources had been cut off. The result was a difficult situation which was

overcome only by dint of improvisation, ingenuity and self-sacrifice, whether in recruiting or training new staff at a moment's notice, introducing new training programs, devising new manuals or setting new examinations. The present situation is equally uncomfortable in that the Institute is attempting to steer a course between two different organizational structures. Although a new command structure has laid down its objectives and tasks, accompanied by rules governing recruitment, training and the use of existing equipment, for practical and financial reasons the old operating structure has remained unchanged with regard to workshops, equipment and teaching staff. The resulting confusion is more than simply a question of adaptation but raises the problem of how far conflicting demands can be met. The thinking behind the creation of the INTV in the early 1970s was to provide a tried and tested form of education, both sophisticated and expensive, placing the emphasis on general and theoretical as well as practical training and with no more than token regard for local conditions. The approach governing the reform of the Institute, however, is intended to be experimental, simple and economical, less general and more pragmatic in nature.

In addition to this fundamental problem there are specific problems connected with the new operating conditions and the level of expectations placed on the Institute, which is being asked to continue providing a high level of general education, while also offering more practical and more specialized training.

Pupils arriving at the Institute are now older but their educational standard does not appear to be any higher, largely because of failings rooted in the primary education system, the systematic refusal to allow pupils to repeat a year, and a selection process which results in the Institute receiving the pupils least suited for further education. The reduction in the syllabus from three to two years—on the assumption that pupils recruited at a higher level from the unified system would have a greater level of knowledge—and the decline in financial resources and teaching staff, have led to a parallel reduction in the level and number of training courses offered, often in areas where the demand is greatest (for example, diesel mechanics). All this is reflected in a drop in standards at the Institute, which in the long term could tarnish the reputation it has succeeded in building up in the past.

There have also been difficulties in adjusting to the introduction of new rules. The problem of absenteeism, for example, is partly connected with the fact that school fees now have to be paid at the beginning of each term (6,000 vatu for day pupils, 10,000 vatu for boarders), a requirement which some parents find difficult to meet.

Above all, there is the problem posed by the language of instruction. Since the Institute now draws its students from a unified system it must become bilingual. It has opened its doors to anglophone students and is to extend this policy further from the beginning of the 1991 school year. However, the teaching is still given in French and, with one or two exceptions, the teaching staff do not speak English. This presents awkward problems for the rare anglophone students, who can speak Bislama with their francophone fellow pupils but no longer have the option of the Institute's intensive French teaching unit, which was closed down in 1987. There is talk of re-opening the unit with a specialist French teacher, but its role can only be secondary, since, as an official of the Minister of Education has pointed out, the Institute's job is to provide a technical education and not to teach languages.

The problems do not make it any easier for the Institute to open itself up, as it must, and respond directly to local needs, but rather encourages a reticent, wait-and-see approach. The fact that French was the language of the opposition at the time of the struggle for independence, coupled with its current minority status (less than one-third of pupils coming into Year 10 are francophone), means that any attempts to incorporate Anglo-Saxon elements into a French structure are viewed with suspicion. The prejudices existing between francophones and anglophones prior to independence have subsided but have not disappeared and it is not easy to overcome them and forge a fresh outlook in keeping with the national interest.

The INTV's relations with business circles also remain limited and poorly organized. The reasons lie in the origins of the Institute which, like similar French establishments, has the characteristics of an academic institution rather than a specialized technical institute. Relations with the private sector have never been placed on a formal footing and the teaching has never been combined with placements in the form common in Anglo-Saxon countries. As a result, ties established with local firms have been sporadic. They have been based mainly on personal contacts established by teachers and in most cases have concerned only francophone companies.

However, surveys conducted in different companies show that the language barrier is only of minor importance in the working environment. The problems encountered by former INTV students in adjusting to the working world derive less from the medium of communication than from the lack of practical skills which would enable them to make an immediate contribution. Yet at the same time several employers have expressed satisfaction at their level of general education, welcoming the fact that they are not merely proficient in a single area but can be used in a variety of roles. These remarks apply in particular to former students with a BEP diploma. Students with a CAP diploma were often employed in sectors

very different from their initial training. This was true of students trained in masonry, carpentry and mechanics, who were found to be working in the distribution and sales sectors. However, the surveys conducted in firms were not sufficiently representative to draw conclusions as to the versatility of the students concerned or their difficulties in finding a job corresponding to their initial training. Nor were they thorough enough to give an exact picture of requirements in the sectors covered by the INTV.

Based on discussions with leading business people these requirements can be assessed approximately as fifteen to twenty persons qualified in each discipline in the immediate future and five to ten each year after that. This would involve initial training of 150 specialists followed by an annual output of between forty and eighty persons.

These figures can serve only as a guide and the same is true of the survey of vacancies appearing in the local press during the first half of 1990, of which 21 per cent coincided with training options offered by the INTV, 6 per cent were in related areas (plumbing, painting, welding, woodwork) and 10 per cent were for supervisors and foremen, while the other 15 per cent concerned positions of responsibility requiring not so much an advanced level of education as proven professional experience in the hotel business, commerce or finance. These results must also be qualified by the comment that many employers prefer to recruit staff indirectly through personal contacts or word of mouth. In the public service many posts are filled by the posting of vacancy notices at the workplace. With these reservations, it is possible to draw a comparison between the vacancies appearing in the press and the training offered by the INTV.

There is a high degree of correspondence between the two lists in the field of secretarial skills, accountancy and mechanics, although demand in the latter sector is mainly for specialized skills, such as diesel mechanics which the Institute offered only briefly. It would also seem that the Institute's training options cover only one-fifth (69/330) of the vacancies advertised by firms (Tables 9 and 10).

In general, firms had a favourable opinion of the INTV and the students it turned out, but felt that the establishment was too large and ill-suited to the country's needs, with its old-fashioned or over-sophisticated equipment and teaching which was seen as too general and insufficiently practical. The most favourable opinions came from companies with regular contacts with the establishment (Vanital Socometra), whereas for many anglophone companies the Institute remained rather mysterious and remote from their concerns.

Table 9 Training courses offered by the INTV and job vacancies

Course	INTV graduates (1986-89)		Vacancies (1/1/1990-1/7/1990)	
	Number	%	Number	%
Secretarial skills	61	19	9	13
Accountancy	55	17	11	16
Tourism	6	2	13 ^a	19 ^a
Masonry	30	9	-	-
Carpentry	26	8	10	14
Mechanics	97	30	17	25
Electricity	24	7	3	4
Electronics	4	1	4	6
Arts	22	7	2	3
Total	325	100	69	100

^aEstimated.

Source: Vanuatu National Institute of Technology; *Vanuatu Weekly/Hebdomadaire*, January-July 1990.

Table 10 Vacancies matching training courses offered by the INTV

	Vacancies available
Secretary	12 ^a
Assistant accountant	11
Plasterer	2
Carpenter	8
Joiner	2
Painter	4
Plumber, fitter	4
Electrician	5 ^b
Electrical engineer	4
Mechanic	15 ^c
Welder/sheet metal worker	2
Total vacancies matching training courses	69
Total vacancies	330

^aIncluding three executives secretaries.

^bIncluding two refrigeration experts.

^cIncluding two diesel mechanics and a majority of maintenance mechanics.

Source: Vanuatu National Institute of Technology; *Vanuatu Weekly/Hebdomadaire*, January-July 1990.

The conclusion which emerges is that the INTV has a key role in the training of the qualified personnel which Vanuatu needs. In order to meet the expectations placed on it, the Institute must become more open to the outside without sacrificing the qualities which established its reputation.

Suggestions and recommendations

These remarks concern existing training programs and those which it would be sensible to introduce, as well as the possible extension of the Institute's sphere of activities. As the ADB/AIDAB report of 1987 pointed out, the main constraints on technical and vocational education are the disparate nature and poor coordination of existing facilities, the lack of ni-Vanuatu teaching staff, the lack of versatility of expatriate staff and, lastly, the lack of diversity of the courses together with their failure to meet local needs.

As far as training options are concerned, it would be useful to re-launch those options which were only available for a short period of time because of the departure of, or failure to replace, the teaching staff concerned. These include tourism, art and the training of specialist mechanics. Tourism is not sufficiently developed to warrant the creation of a school of tourism, but there is sufficient justification for it to be an ongoing option to ensure that the initiative taken in 1989 does not remain an isolated example. It could be re-launched and expanded in cooperation with the tourist industry and the management of leading hotels who, in order to make progress in this field, have been forced to organize their own training programs with the help of outside consultants. To ensure that it coincides with the wishes and objectives of the government, it should be done in conjunction with the National Tourism Office, which has already coordinated short-term training programs and is planning others, involving regular use of the services of Fijian experts.

The Melanesian arts and crafts section, which ceased to operate in 1990, could be re-opened. Here again, the assistance of the National Tourism Office and the Handicraft Centre which it was instrumental in setting up could be sought, while the work produced by students could be promoted and sold by means of exhibitions and sales, displays in hotel shops or by encouraging the use of traditional motifs in local architecture. This would help to finance the section, improve the INTV's public image and bring Melanesian art to a wider public.

In the mechanical engineering sector, steps should be taken to re-open the diesel mechanics course, which has operated only sporadically and has only awarded six diplomas in the last five years. It could also focus on equipment maintenance which is deficient in more or less all quarters. Similar measures are needed in the electrical sector.

The INTV would also do well to embark on complementary continuing education programs aimed not at young people of school age but at adults at work. This could involve evening classes and part-time courses in areas such as accountancy, management, financial control or selling. They could be organized in conjunction with overseas technical training bodies such as the Fiji Institute of Technology, the Auckland Technological Institute or the branch of the National Centre for Arts and Crafts in Noumea.

Consideration could be given to other proficiency courses for adults to improve their general level of skills and equip them better for making decisions and assuming responsibilities. This would complement the training given under the Trade Training and Testing Scheme, which is much more specific and limited in its scope.

All this can be achieved only by expanding the Institute's role to the point where it is no longer just an academic establishment but one providing a broader training, both more practical and more specialized. One way of doing this would be to introduce formal arrangements for placements with companies so as to extend and back up the training programs followed and give them the flexibility and practical content which has sometimes been lacking. An approach of this kind can be introduced without any change in administrative responsibility, though greater consultation will be required within the future advisory committee, where representatives of both the private and public sectors should be allowed to express their views and share in decision-making. This would enable the INTV to become a truly national facility rather than the adjunct of a general education system confined to an academic elite.

Appendix
Statistics of the Vanuatu labour market

Table A1 Examples of salaries in the private and public sectors, 1990

Occupation	Monthly salary ^a (vatu)
Private sector	
Bricklayer	10,000
Receptionist	15,000
Sales assistant/check-out assistant (supermarket)	17,000/30,000
Secretary	30,000
Shell polisher	20,000/40,000
Aluminium welder	40,000
Qualified mechanic (with references)	50,000/100,000
Executive secretary	60,000
Butcher (supermarket)	60,000
Public sector^b	
Office worker	30,000
Diesel mechanic	33,000
Shorthand typist	45,000
Computer technician	51,000
Accountant	54,000
Sub-editor	75,000

^aThe minimum legal wage is 8,000 vatu.

^bUsually includes an annual bonus of 30,000 vatu.

Source: Information obtained by the author in discussions with leading business people and government administrators.

Table A2 Urban employment trends by nationality, 1979-85

Type of employment	1979			1986		
	Non ni-Vanuatu number	ni-Vanuatu Number	%	Non ni-Vanuatu number	ni-Vanuatu Number	%
Technical and professional staff	426	452	51	297	805	73
Administrative staff and company management	174	40	19	104	123	54
Clerical workers	546	684	56	103	1041	91
Service workers	169	1522	90	93	1896	95
Rural workers ^a	81	1485	95	41	490	92
Transport, manufacturing and unskilled workers	464	1878	80	118	2102	95
Armed forces and others	30	53	64	2	160	99
Sales workers	248	258	51	195	672	77
Total	2138	6372	75	953	7289	88

^aAgriculture, forestry and fisheries.

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, *Report of the Census of Population 1979, 1983*; and *Report of the Vanuatu Urban Census 1986, 1986*.

Table A3 Employment structure in manufacturing and processing industries, 1985

Sector	Companies		Jobs		Jobs/company Number
	Number	%	Number	%	
Food	13	19	207	37	16
Drinks	3	5	48	9	16
Textiles, clothing, footwear	23	34	91	17	4
Wood products (furniture, fittings)	10	15	46	8	5
Paper products (incl. printing works)	4	6	62	11	15
Chemical and non-metal industries	6	9	39	7	4
Metal industries and metal products	5	7	36	6	7
Machinery and other equipment	3	5	28	5	9
Total	67	100	557	100	8

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, *Business Establishment Survey 1985*, (unpublished).

Table A4 Urban employment trends by sector, 1979 and 1986

Sector	1979		1986	
	Number	%	Number	%
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1510	17.7	574	7.0
Mines, quarries	7	0.1	15	0.2
Manufacturing industries	450	5.3	387	4.7
Electricity, water	54	0.6	118	1.4
Construction, public works	732	8.6	703	8.5
Retail trade/hotels, restaurants	1434	16.9	1580	19.2
Transport, telecommunications	740	8.7	850	10.3
Financial services	297	3.5	551	6.7
Other services	3286	38.6	3464	42.0
Total	8510	100.0	8242	100.0

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, *Report of the Census of Population 1979, 1983; and Report of the Vanuatu Urban Census 1986, 1986.*

Table A5 Urban employment trends by employment category, 1979 and 1986

Employment category	1979		1986	
	Number	%	Number	%
Technical and professional staff	378	10.3	1102	13.4
Administrative staff and company management	214	2.5	227	2.8
Clerical workers	1230	14.5	1144	13.9
Sales workers	506	5.9	867	10.5
Service workers	1691	19.9	1989	24.1
Rural workers ^a	1566	18.4	531	6.4
Transport, manufacturing and unskilled workers	2342	27.5	2220	26.9
Armed forces and others	83	1.0	162	2.0
Total	8510	100.0	8242	100.0

^aAgriculture, fisheries and forestry.

Source: Vanuatu, National Planning and Statistics Office, *Report of the Census of Population 1979, 1983; and Report of the Vanuatu Urban Census 1986, 1986.*

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