Youth and Development in Africa

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

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REPORT
of the
Commonwealth Africa Regional Youth Seminar,
Nairobi, November, 1969

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Published by the
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

To be purchased from the
Commonwealth Secretariat
Printing Section
Marlborough House
London, S.W.1.

S.B.N. 85092 023 X

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Foreword

Populations grow; they also grow younger. Social problems change; old restraints go. The city calls; the countryside loses out. The swelling numbers of school-leavers - and of the unschooled - need jobs and "a piece of the action". And as communications improve, expectations rise - in Asia and the Americas, in the Pacific and Europe and Africa.

These things happen faster, in many parts of the world, than the skills and resources required to cope with the problems that they throw up can be marshalled. We need to bend our efforts jointly to the task if we are to acquire swiftly enough the knowledge and understanding and techniques that will help to convert what has been recognised in recent years as a universal and disturbing social phenomenon into what it can be - a source of inspiration and strength on the national and international level.

The youth "problem" differs, of course, in its nature between "developed" and "developing" countries and between countries of differing political systems. But everywhere the root of the problem appears to lie in the understandable dissatisfaction of the rising generation with the established social and economic order. In the developing countries, this dissatisfaction takes on particular overtones because of its close link with the problems faced by the increasing numbers of young people who are emerging from a traditional way of life but who find that the modern economy has not developed sufficiently to receive them and to offer them the opportunities to use their talents creatively and satisfyingly.

In recent years this problem of transition from traditional to modern society, of equipping young people with skills and attitudes and opportunities to make the transference, has been the subject of thought and experimentation in many countries.

The African countries of the Commonwealth have made a remarkable contribution to this process. The object of organising the Commonwealth African Regional Youth Seminar was to facilitate the exchange of some of the experience accumulated among those engaged in this work.

The origins of the seminar lay in a proposal advanced by the British Government at the Meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in January 1969. Before that time the Education Research Officer in my Education Division (Mr. A.W. Wood) had undertaken a preliminary study of the organisation and training of young people in the Commonwealth countries of Africa. The proposal before the Heads of Government Meeting was that a series of studies on youth questions be undertaken by the Commonwealth Secretariat. The proposal was generally welcomed and the Secretariat was authorised to examine its feasibility. In my view the undoubted success of the seminar reported in the following pages offers firm evidence of the usefulness of a Commonwealth initiative in this field.

The holding of the seminar was made easier by the generosity of three Foundations - The Commonwealth Foundation, the Bernard Van Leer Foundation and the Dulverton Trust. We are most grateful to them.

I should like also to express warmest thanks to the Government of Kenya for allowing the seminar to meet in the impressive capital of their beautiful country.

The Nairobi Seminar was a new departure for the Commonwealth Secretariat. It was in some ways an experiment. The principal members of it, instead of being delegates expressing the official views of their governments, were present and spoke as experts in the field of youth organisation and training in the several African member countries of the Commonwealth. Associated with them were persons with similar experience and knowledge from other Commonwealth countries, as well as consultants whom we invited because of their special knowledge and wide experience of the problems to be discussed, and observers sent by international organisations and other agencies with related interests and terms of reference.

The main purpose was to pool the thinking and experience of these experts with a view to producing a report which we hope will be useful not only to the participants, but to policy makers both governmental and non-governmental.

This report is not a blueprint for youth training in Africa; still less does it seek to outline an ideal policy for youth. It stresses the view that there is room for a multiplicity of ideas on youth problems and training in Africa today, that there can be no single model solution and that original thinking and experimentation must be encouraged and promoted by governmental and non-governmental agencies, national and international, if effective inroads are to be made into the enormity of the training need among young people out of school - and often unemployed or under-employed - in the developing countries of Africa.

The views recorded in this report are of course those of the experts who attended the seminar, and not necessarily those either of the Governments of nations in Africa and other parts of the Commonwealth from which they came, or of the Commonwealth Secretariat. But I believe that the report contains much that will be of interest and service not only to the countries of Africa, but also to other countries both within and outside the Commonwealth.

Arnold Smith
Commonwealth Secretary-General

Marlborough House,
Pall Mall,
London, S.W.1.

Preface

This was a seminar in which participants, professional personnel within the field studied, were invited to attend as individuals, not as officials nor as representatives of the governments or organisations by which they are employed. The basic intention was to provide the conditions and opportunity for an intensive and uninhibited consideration of the problems of youth and youth training in an African setting.

The African region provided participants from Botswana, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Uganda and Zambia. In addition, some participants were drawn from Commonwealth countries outside the African region - Britain, Canada, Ceylon, Jamaica and Mauritius. Observers attended from the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations, from the Freedom From Hunger Campaign and Oxfam. In addition, the Secretariat invited four consultants - with recognised expertise in particular areas with which the seminar was concerned - to attend the seminar, deliver lead papers and participate fully in discussions. These were Professor Archibald Callaway, Mr. Alec Dickson, Mr. David Moore and Mr. Patrick van Rensburg. A complete list of participants, consultants, observers and Secretariat staff is provided in an Appendix.

The preliminary planning of the seminar was carried out by a planning group set up by the Secretariat. The planning group prepared general guidelines for the detailed work of the seminar.

The seminar programme sought to establish a balance between discussions in plenary session on general themes, intensive discussions in small groups on particular questions,

and field visits to allow participants to see something of on-going youth training in Kenya and to discuss directly with those engaged in this work the day-to-day problems that are being encountered. A variety of establishments were visited - the Kenya National Youth Service base at Yatta, the National Christian Council of Kenya's "village polytechnic" at Mucii-wa-Uratta, the Mwea-Tebere rice scheme, the Starehe Boys' Centre and the Christian Industrial Training Centre at Pumwani. The co-operation of all those concerned with the management and direction of these establishments is gratefully acknowledged together with the assistance in the organisation of these visits given by the Department of Community Development and Social Services, Government of Kenya.

The official opening of the seminar was carried out by the then Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Kenya Government, The Hon. Mwai Kibaki. The full text of Mr. Kibaki's speech is included in the Report, together with the text delivered on behalf of the Minister of Labour, The Hon. E.N. Mwendwa, at the closing ceremony. In acknowledging with gratitude the contributions of the Ministers, the Commonwealth Secretariat would also wish to record its thanks to the Government of Kenya for the many services and facilities which it provided and which went far towards ensuring that the seminar ran smoothly.

The Chairmanship of the seminar was accepted by Mr. Jonathan Njenga, Director of Community Development in the Kenya Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services. Mr. Njenga's wisdom and experience were of the greatest value in guiding plenary discussions along fruitful lines.

The reporting of the seminar is determined by the kind of gathering it was and the personalities who took part. It was not the intention of the meeting to lay down lines of policy. There were no resolutions. The seminar simply gathered together a wide range of experience and opinion on what is a very new field and one regarding which there is already much controversy. The report aims to reflect the main viewpoints advanced and opinions expressed. The result is a synthesis of the main ideas and arguments of the three working groups, together with the essence of the arguments advanced in plenary sessions - as well as in the informal get-togethers outside 'normal' working hours. This is supplemented by the reproduction in full of the texts of the major contributions in plenary sessions, including the addresses of the consultants, and by a selection from the seminar documents.

SUMMARY

OF THE MAIN IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS

The following ideas and suggestions put forward by the seminar may assist in the development of policy:

Training needs and problems (Pages 10 to 15)

1. The difficulties of young people out-of-school who face unemployment call for priority of attention in development efforts because of the grave social and political problems raised.

2. Comprehensive measures of rural regeneration are required. Most aspects of the youth problem, even its manifestation in the cities, can be tackled by the development of the rural areas.

3. The situation of primary school leavers poses special problems which perhaps require priority treatment. Nevertheless, projects for them should be so planned as to have some effect on all sections of the community.

4. Programmes for training young farmers in improved methods should contain an inspirational element designed to strengthen both their motivation towards development and their power to overcome difficulties.

5. Projects for capital works in rural areas provide the opportunity for skills training and cash earnings which would be reduced if labour saving equipment were employed upon them.

6. The provision in rural areas of facilities for the enjoyment of leisure might lessen to some degree the attraction of the towns.

Involvement of young people in planning programmes (Pages 15 to 17)

7. Less well educated young people are not given enough opportunity to take part in the planning of youth programmes. If programme planning is diverted away from the centre such young people can contribute usefully to this process.

Training and employment (Pages 17 to 18)

8. Training in vocational skills can satisfy specific demands in the modern sector. Such training itself is no solution to the broad employment problems among young people.

9. Training for self-employment or for employment in self-supporting groups offers greater prospects of satisfactory results in solving these problems.

Finance (Pages 19 to 20)

10. Increased spending on employment-related training outside the formal school system will be called for and this may be partly at the expense of formal schooling.

11. Public opinion would need to be educated to this by the demonstration of the economic and social benefits.

12. Formal (in school) education and informal (out-of-school) education both contribute to the preparation of the young for employment and community life. Recognition of this fact would be made easier and funding facilitated, if both aspects of education were considered as a whole for budgetary purposes.

Administration of training (Pages 20 to 22)

13. If governments in addition to conducting their own training programmes also controlled and supervised the content, methods and financing of all other programmes, they would be in a position to ensure that all agencies were working towards agreed ends.

14. The special contribution of the non-governmental agencies lies in pioneering new training approaches.

The location and structure of training programmes (Pages 23 to 28)

15. In training the young farmer there is special value in providing land and capital in combination with vocational skills. Training in situations detached from where the future farmer will actually work poses complex problems in ensuring the application of skills learned.

16. In the case of rural artisans, training on the job produces the best results. The training can be done largely by existing craftsmen if their training capacity can be developed by up-grading programmes.

17. Training programmes will be more successful if parents are involved. This can be achieved in various ways, e.g. through providing material assistance, through social activities, through frequent discussion.

The role of national youth services (Pages 29 to 33)

18. The distinctive contribution of national youth services lies in their ability to promote national consciousness among a group of young people of relatively low educational level.

19. National youth services are particularly well suited to undertake development projects of especially large scale.

20. National youth services are best employed in training young people for and motivating them towards rural development.

21. The graduates of national youth services can be most effectively used as agents for general rural development if they are deployed extensively throughout the rural areas; on the other hand, grouping them together intensively in settlements is effective in achieving quick development gains.

Training and the generation of employment (Pages 34 to 35)

22. Training, without employment outlets, is of limited value, but in some circumstances the operation of a training programme can promote within a community the changes necessary to generate employment for trainees.

Follow - up (Pages 35 to 37)

23. Effective follow-up to programmes is essential to ensure that skills taught are applied on the job and to provide feed back information. Follow-up is thus as integral part of the training programme.

Settlement schemes (Pages 37 to 42)

24. Settlement schemes can provide an efficient means of profiting from the investment in training for rural development

but they are not the only means of doing so.

25. Since such schemes often entail a high cost for each settler established on the land, demand a high proportion of the energy and resources of planners and absorb only a small fraction of the total number of those in need of opportunity, they are better adapted to specialised developmental situations than to solving the main problem of raising the level of the mass of the rural population.

26. Micro-settlements which make use of small groups of trained youth within existing communities can be especially valuable in promoting rural change with the minimum of social dislocation.

27. Settlements can provide an opportunity for the employment not only of agricultural but also of other skills of various kinds.

28. Settlements confined to young people pose particular administrative and sociological problems which may be overcome by structuring settlements so as to allow a natural social balance to be restored once they are firmly established.

Programmes for urban youth (Pages 43 to 46)

29. Effective training programmes for the hardcore of urbanised young people will provide the skills to fit them for employment and also include a special emphasis on social training in order to compensate for their lack of contact with traditional culture and education.

30. Since any form of productive employment necessarily restores the morale of young people, purely social programmes for urban youth might well be developed to include ways in which young people working as a group can act as an employable work force.

The role of the formal school (Pages 46 to 49)

31. Curriculum reform in primary schools, whilst in itself desirable, is unlikely to bring about profound alterations in the attitudes of primary school leavers towards agriculture until there are far-reaching changes in the system of rewards for farming and a general improvement in the standard of rural living.

32. Secondary schools can provide activities designed to promote in future leaders an awareness and understanding of the problems of the mass of the community, particularly in the rural areas.

33. The pre-service and in-service training of teachers both at primary and secondary levels can be used to instil the ideal of community service and to provide the capacity to do something practical about this.

Involvement of university students (Pages 50 to 51)

34. An element of practical field work useful to the community and to development generally can with advantage be included in the structure of much first-degree university work. There is also the possibility of a period of community service by university students after the completion of their first degree.

Youth programmes and young offenders (Pages 51 to 53)

35. Unemployment is the root cause of much juvenile crime, particularly in urban areas, and might be tackled through training programmes related to employment opportunities, especially rural development programmes.

36. For potential young offenders in urban areas, less formal approaches to social work with young people, involving for example 'street corner' youth workers and an extended 'shelter' system, might prove rewarding.

Programmes for young women (Pages 53 to 54)

37. There should be parity of access to training programmes between young men and women and, in particular, there should be greater emphasis on the inclusion of young women in agricultural training programmes.

Evaluation (Pages 55 to 57)

38. Programme evaluation is necessary in order to win the support of planners and policy-makers, to determine whether a programme is attaining its ends, to measure its impact, and to reveal to programme operators defects within the programme.

39. Scientific evaluation is the more valuable when supplemented by the wisdom of the experienced operator especially

if it is to be formulated in practical terms. The task of evaluation will be facilitated if policy-makers define precisely and realistically what they wish to have evaluated.

Training costs (Pages 57 to 60)

40. In view of the need to extend the benefits of training to the maximum number of out-of-school youth, costs of training should be minimised. The establishment and enforcement of a costs policy for all training institutions will contribute to this end and will promote cost consciousness among aid-donors.

Leadership training (Pages 60 to 62)

41. Leadership training should seek to produce leaders who understand the problems of the mass of the community, especially in the rural areas, and are concerned to further ideas of partnership in the development effort between the leadership and the community as a whole:

The organisation of international co-operation (Pages 63 to 66)

42. An inter-departmental co-ordinating body especially concerned with the training and employment of young people can act as a focus for aid to out-of-school education and training.

43. The further development of youth training programmes would be greatly assisted by greater international exchange of information both on approaches to training and on such other matters as tools, equipment and constructional techniques.

The supply of overseas volunteers (Pages 66 to 67)

44. Volunteer service by young people outside their country can in certain conditions be useful in the development of youth programmes; this service is a two-way process, the volunteer both giving and receiving.

45. Longer rather than shorter periods of service by volunteers with technical skills are generally to be preferred.

46. Governments should define precisely the functions for which overseas volunteers are required and the technical skills sought.

An African volunteer force (Pages 67 to 68)

47. The possibility might well be investigated of establishing an African volunteer force for work both within Africa and elsewhere. Such an operation should not divert resources from the main priority in the youth field - providing for training needs of the mass of young people out of school.

Commonwealth co-operation (Pages 68 to 69)

48. Further regional meetings should be organised within the Commonwealth to discuss youth problems, and these might usefully lead to a Commonwealth Ministerial meeting.

49. Existing arrangements for experience exchange within the Commonwealth in the field of social development and youth activities should be expanded.

50. Existing bilateral provision for technical assistance in the youth field should be complemented by the expansion of Commonwealth multilateral technical assistance arrangements to include youth programmes.

51. The Commonwealth Secretariat should develop its existing arrangements for providing information on youth training and act as a functional clearing house on all matters relating to the involvement of young people in development.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. MWAI KIBAKI, MINISTER OF COMMERCE & INDUSTRY, AT THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE SEMINAR

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great honour and pleasure for me to be here to-day to speak to you at the opening of the Commonwealth African Regional Youth Seminar. I take this opportunity of welcoming you to our capital city of Nairobi and to our country, Kenya. I hope the present grey clouds will disappear and that the weather will improve so that you may thoroughly enjoy your stay and see the country at its best.

It is very appropriate that Kenya should be the venue for this Seminar, for the problem of youth, which you have met here to discuss, is one that confronts us here in Kenya in a very acute form. Indeed, my colleagues and I are agreed that youth presents the greatest social problem facing us in this country. Furthermore, the problem is not a static one. On the contrary, it is growing increasingly more serious.

We are very glad, therefore, that the Commonwealth Secretariat decided to hold the Seminar in Nairobi and to invite here participants from other Commonwealth countries which are faced with the same problems as we have to deal with. I do assure you that the Report of the Seminar will be eagerly awaited, not only by Government, but also by local government bodies, by the voluntary agencies and by all those who are concerned with the future of our young people to-day. Since the participants in the Seminar are experts who are themselves active in youth organisations and training schemes, I feel confident that your Report will command attention from those who are responsible for designing a policy for youth not only here in Kenya, but throughout the Commonwealth and beyond.

We are all very familiar with the problem of school-leavers who cannot find a job. Since Independence, we have been steadily adding to this problem. This is because of the rapid growth of educational facilities which has taken place in recent years. In our great enthusiasm to expand education, we have encouraged our people to build new schools. When they have built the schools, we have then tried to find them teachers and

equipment. In the last six years, no fewer than 6,000 new primary schools have been built by self-help. This programme, encouraging and commendable though it is, has enormously increased the number of school-leavers in Kenya. At the same time, of course, we have been increasing the provision of secondary school places. In spite of all that has been done in this regard, however, the number of primary school-leavers who will not get a place in secondary school will double in the next few years. It is simply impossible to expand our secondary school system to the extent that every primary school leaver could be given a secondary education.

There has been in Kenya, as elsewhere, a tradition that school-leavers are able to find employment. This tradition lingers on, and those school-leavers who cannot be absorbed into the secondary school system, expect to be given a job, mostly in the towns. But we know, of course, that this is out of the question. The result is frustration, boredom and a growing feeling of disenchantment. What can we do to solve this problem of the unemployed school-leaver?

I should like to suggest that you should look at this problem as one of economic development. There has been a tendency at some previous Conferences which have considered this question to discuss it as a social problem and to regard the unemployed school-leaver as an evil to be got rid of. Of course, these young people are a social problem but I am sure you are more likely to find a practical solution to this unemployment problem if you consider it in the context of development. The approach should be through the question, "What can we do with this particular category of manpower?"

In Kenya, sixty per cent of our adult labour force is illiterate. By a variety of training methods, we have been able to improve their skills and we have devised ways and means of increasing their productivity. They have not been treated as a social problem but as an economic problem. We have made progress towards solving this problem by asking ourselves the question, "To what good purpose do we put this manpower?" I suggest that precisely this same question may point the way to solving the problem of unemployed youth.

In the short time you have been in this country you will not have failed to notice that we are in the midst of an election campaign. Indeed, my colleague, the Minister of Co-operatives and Social Services, is unable to be here this morning because

he is campaigning in a constituency at the Coast. If you looked at the election manifestoes of all of the candidates in the election, you would find that first place is given to the expansion of free primary education. This is because we are all very keen to increase the educational facilities which are available for our people. But, of course, the more primary schools that are opened, the worse becomes the unemployment problem. In fact, we are accelerating and intensifying the problem by our policy of education expansion. I have already said that we cannot expand our secondary education programme fast enough to match the growth of our primary school out-put. Other African countries are faced with exactly the same situation. I do not know of a single African country which will have the resources in the next ten years to expand its secondary schools rapidly enough to absorb the primary school leavers into secondary school. The problem, therefore, is a continuing one, which will remain with us for a long time to come.

This means that the most careful consideration must be given to these young people to fit them to fill a role in development.

What employment openings are there for young people in Kenya today? Since Independence, the industrial sector of our economy has grown at an impressive pace. But it requires the investment of a considerable amount of capital to produce another work-place in industry, and the industrial sector cannot grow fast enough to absorb more than a comparatively small number of primary school leavers. In Kenya, therefore, the solution to the unemployment problem lies not in industry but in the agricultural sector. As in many other African countries, agriculture will continue to be the dominant sector of Kenya's economy for many years to come, and it is here that we must look for employment opportunities for our school leavers.

I do not wish to spend time in discussing education and the content of the curriculum of the schools. But it cannot be denied that in the past our primary education was so academic that it led the pupils to believe that the aim of education was to fit them for a white-collar job, usually in the towns. They were led to believe that manual labour, especially manual labour on the land, was degrading. Obviously, there was something wrong with an education system which produced attitudes of this sort. Recently, we have been reforming the structure of education in Kenya and already there are signs of healthier attitudes on the part of the school pupils towards manual labour. But it is not only the

attitude of the pupils which must change. Their parents also must come to see that there is nothing degrading in manual work and that their children can enjoy a good future in agriculture. They must be taught that training for agriculture is a proper aim of education.

Already quite a lot has been done in Kenya to ease the problem of the unemployed school leaver. I want to mention the work of the voluntary agencies which, in many parts of the country, have endeavoured to provide training in various skills and have pioneered settlement schemes. Recently, the voluntary agencies came together to form the National Council of Voluntary Agencies. His Excellency the President is also Patron of this National Council, which will give you an indication of the keen personal interest which Mzee takes in this problem.

There is also the work of the Kenya National Youth Service. The members of the Kenya National Youth Service receive a vigorous and thorough training in a variety of skills. Experience shows that when members leave the National Youth Service, they find it fairly easy to obtain employment. They are acceptable to employers because of the discipline and the skill-training they have received.

These are just some of the efforts which have been made in Kenya to tackle the problem of unemployment. As far as they go, these efforts have been successful, and a great many individual young people have been helped by them. But in the context of the country as a whole, the effect of these efforts has been marginal. A great deal more remains to be done.

That is why the Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr. Arnold Smith, is to be congratulated on bringing this matter of the unemployed school-leaver to the front. At the Prime Ministers' Conference in London in January, there were some members who felt that youth was not a suitable subject to be discussed at the Conference. Fortunately the majority recognised the importance of the subject and accepted that youth was one of the biggest problems afflicting all developing countries in the Commonwealth.

The new thinking that you will bring to bear in the course of the seminar will, I feel sure, produce practical ideas which will be very welcome to us and will receive our careful attention. I have already made it clear that the questions you will be discussing demand an urgent solution. Youth cannot be ignored

or kept waiting. Youth is ambitious, and energetic, yet frustrated because its talents are being wasted. When ambitions are thwarted by society which denies youth the opportunity to develop its potential, a serious and explosive situation can arise. Potentially, therefore, this is our most acute social problem, and the greatest source of instability in the nation. It is vitally necessary that it is solved without delay.

It is thus with all sincerity that I wish you well in your deliberations over the next two weeks. I hope you will not spend all your time in the Panafric Hotel but that you will be able to see the problems on the ground for yourselves. There are a number of interesting schemes in Kenya which you could profitably visit either during the Seminar, or afterwards, if you are able to extend your stay in the country. We are not proud, and we shall be glad to receive your comments when you have visited some of our training projects.

Finally, I should be grateful if you would convey my thanks, and those of my colleagues, to the Commonwealth Secretary General for arranging to hold this Seminar in Kenya.

Now I have pleasure in declaring open the Commonwealth African Regional Youth Seminar.

ADDRESS DELIVERED ON BEHALF OF
THE HON. E.N. MWENDWA, M.P.,
MINISTER FOR LABOUR,
AT THE CLOSING OF THE SEMINAR.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a privilege to have been invited here today to close your extremely important seminar.

We live in a world of great advances in science and technology. It is an exciting world, but one which is becoming increasingly complex. Problems and pressures exist on a scale which was unknown when I was young, and are continuing to grow. Today's youth faces difficulties of adjustment to a degree never before experienced in the whole history of the world, and our generation must accept the heavy burden of providing the right guidance and training, for the future generations.

The children being born today are the primary school population of the 1970's; the secondary school population of the 1980's and the young workers of the 1990's. The trends of population statistics show us quite clearly what is going to happen. In the next ten years, the number of children and young people in the world is going to increase almost incredibly radidly. We cannot shrug this off, or bury our heads in the sand. The growth of population is taking place, it is going to alter the whole structure of society, and we must face it and plan for it. As the Labour Minister, for example, I must take account of the fact that Kenya will have its share of the world increase in young labour over the next ten years, who must somehow be integrated into the economy.

Here in Africa, development has got off to a late start, and we have an overwhelming need to accelerate progress and catch up with the rest of the world. Our basic resource is the energy, intelligence and courage of our people; and the speed and success of development is bound up with how well we are able to prepare and train the rising generations.

I understand that one day of your Seminar was spent in a visit to a Unit of the Kenya National Youth Service, and I expect it was explained to you that this was one of the major steps

innovated by us following our Independence. The Service illustrates certain basic principles which we in Kenya feel are important.

First, the Service is a force for development, engaged on massive projects under the National Development Plan which, in the long term, will generate opportunities and employment for our people. The youths enter the Service to give to the Nation, rather than to get for themselves.

Secondly, it is the rural areas of our country where we wish to see the standards of living raised; where there is much room for agricultural improvement, and where there is great scope for the creation of local trades and industries. A major factor in achieving this, quite apart from any specialised training, is the cross-fertilisation of ideas. The youth comes out of his village into the National Youth Service, travels across the face of Kenya and is exposed to all manner of experiences and ideas. When he returns home after two years, he has a new vision and is an agent for change. He may try growing a new type of crop, which he has seen elsewhere, but which is unknown in his area. He may build a kiln to find out if the soil of his area can make the sort of bricks he has seen manufactured by this method, and so put in train a revolution in house construction. He may set up a bicycle-repair shop, which will be as significant to his village as a new factory would be in a city.

Thirdly, we are not afraid of that old-fashioned word 'discipline'. We believe that discipline and efficiency go hand-in-hand. We believe that the young must be disciplined if they are to make the best of their lives. It is because of this factor that the National Youth Service has won the confidence of employers, thus enabling those Servicemen and women who come from poor backgrounds, and who have little to go back to in the villages, to stand an excellent chance of gaining jobs in fair competition with persons enjoying a much better formal education. And there are numerous examples of ex-Servicemen being promoted rapidly to positions of responsibility and trust, because of their disciplined approach to work, and despite their original lack of formal schooling.

Fourthly, the Service is a crucible for experimenting with new techniques. For example, it used to be thought that a person with a full primary education behind him needed about two years' training to obtain a Trade Test Certificate Grade III, the lowest of the nationally recognised trade qualifications. The Service's

Vocational Training Unit has now given conclusive proof that this time can be cut to one year only, even with people who do not have a complete primary education, and who in some cases have never been to school at all.

It is very important that we are prepared to subject our youth programmes to critical scrutiny, so that we may be certain they really are giving value for money. It was for this reason that we welcomed the proposal by the International Labour Organisation that it should carry out an independent costs and benefits analysis of our National Youth Service. We are encouraged by the resulting report, which shows a benefit-cost ratio of 1.198 on a basis of all costs including foreign aid, or a ratio of 2.103 if the Kenya Government's costs alone are taken into account. Considering that many of the human benefits of the National Youth Service training can not be quantified, and that these could only serve to make the ratio better still, we feel we have cause for moderate satisfaction.

The National Youth Service is, of course, only one of a number of measures being taken to meet the needs and aspirations of youth in this country. There are others, and we want yet more. We certainly need to establish many polytechnics in the rural areas whereby those school leavers who cannot find places either in the secondary schools or in direct employment are going to be trained for various vocations such as agriculture, crafts and commercial subjects. If we have to contain the flow of rural population into the urban areas, we must train the youths for rural employment as well as ensuring that social facilities and infrastructure in the rural areas are improved. It is my hope that your Seminar will point the way to further developments, and I look forward very much to reading its report and conclusions.

Finally, I should like to express the hope that you have enjoyed your stay in Kenya, and to thank you for choosing our country as the venue for your important meeting.

PART 1

The Report of the Seminar

CHAPTER 1

Problems and Policies

Training needs and problems

The training needs of young people in many parts of modern Africa are a reflection of the total situation concerning youth and employment in developing countries. Recent projections by the International Labour Organisation indicate that in world terms the labour force under twenty years of age can be expected to grow from 230 millions in 1970 to more than 245 millions in 1980. An expansion from 211 millions to 264 millions is predicted for the age-group twenty to twenty-four years, making a total increase in the labour force under twenty-five years of age of approximately 68 millions of which 64.5 millions will live in developing countries. This degree of expansion must be set against the discouragingly slow rate of new job creation, particularly in the sought-after modern sector of the economies of developing countries. Therefore, exceptional measures must be adopted if a significant proportion of these young people are to be fitted for and established in any form of rewarding employment.

With these considerations in view, the seminar directed its attention mainly to the mechanics of various projects which have been established in African countries in recent years with the object of training young people and creating employment outlets for them. There was a general feeling that projects of this nature, what the I.L.O. has called "special employment and training schemes for development purposes", have a function in particular situations, and that there is value in any exercise which seeks to isolate the causes for success and failure of such projects. Nevertheless it was regarded as essential that the attention of all agencies interested in this field should be directed to the broad dimension of the training needs of young people out of school and not simply towards activities aimed at particular segments. For example, isolated "success stories" which have

raised substantially the level of living of a few young people involved in a particular project are valuable mainly is so far as they are capable of replication on a broad front. This is not, of course, to minimise the value of experimental work which may contribute to the design of programmes which tackle the long-term training needs of the mass.

The seminar doubted the value of concentrating on selected groups of young people. These may act as divisive influences on rural societies both socially and economically. No matter how many local successes may be recorded, the fundamental need, without which there can be no widespread answer to the overall training needs of young people out of school, especially in the rural areas of Africa where the vast majority live, remains for a general raising of the rural base. The aim must be rural development on a broad front involving the whole of rural society and not simply those elements in it which happen to come below a certain age limit.

The urge of young people throughout Africa towards "modern" ways of living was recognised. The well-known causes of this were re-examined - the impact of commercialism, the transplantation of modern ways of living through the spread of government in all its forms into even the remotest areas, the mass media, the schools. The process of modernisation is, however, not equally spread throughout Africa and even within particular countries there are still substantial variations of degree in this respect.

The consequences of the urge towards a "modern" way of life when opportunities in modern-sector employment are so limited, and are likely to remain so for many years, were also reviewed. The drift to the towns, job seeking, disillusionment, frustration, petty crime, prostitution, vandalism, alienation from agricultural work, particularly agriculture in the traditional context, political unrest arise from this fundamental factor.

Whilst these manifestations have become established features of the youth situation in most parts of Africa in recent years, it was stressed that the needs, interests and aspirations of young people are not static. Young people form the most volatile element in these societies and this should act as a powerful justification for directing development efforts towards the younger sections of the population. In contrast, when young people continue to live within traditional rural society and the traditional rural economy, powerful customary constraints may

deter them from innovative activities. Young people in African countries who are responsive to change can often encounter frustration in their relationships both with the traditional life and with "modern" society which cannot expand sufficiently rapidly to absorb them. Young people in many African countries frequently regard themselves as social rejects. They seek to contribute something towards their societies' advancement but are unable to do so. The tensions which result inevitably lead towards various forms of social upheaval.

The seminar did not analyse in detail the problems of particular groups, urban, rural, etc. It was accepted that the essential cause of the widely advertised youth "problem" in Africa today lay in the rural areas, in continued rural decay and in the lack of comprehensive measures of rural regeneration. The frustrations of young people in traditional society, the problems of the young drifter in the cities, the antipathies of the primary school leaver towards the land, even the general lack of broader social responsibility of the young university graduate, can all be tackled by a thorough-going development of the rural sector. Despite such programmes, there will still be a substantial group of unemployed young people in cities for whom special measures related to the urban environment will be required. Although a high proportion of young people who seek employment in the major towns are of rural origin, most tend - after a year or so when their efforts to obtain remunerative jobs have produced a sufficient measure of disillusionment - to return to the rural areas. Those youth of rural origin who remain in the urban areas (either indefinitely or intermittently jobless) are usually found to have come from particular areas where the fertility of the soil is exceptionally poor, where money circulation is low or negligible, and thus where opportunities for profitable work with even the most modest prospects for the future, are virtually non-existent[1].

It was believed that the root of any widely applicable answer to the training and employment demands of the large majority of young people must lie in the broad development of the rural sector and therefore of all categories of young people. Primary school leavers, however, who make up an increasing

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[1] This is explained in a detached analysis of the dimensions, composition and characteristics of the problem of unemployed youth by Archibald Callaway, "Education and the Rise of Youth Unemployment", in P.C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, (eds.) The City of Ibadan (C.U.P. 1966).

proportion of young people out of school in many African countries, pose special problems and may therefore require special measures. The justification for this priority lies in three main factors. First, one of the effects of formal schooling is to heighten political awareness. The primary school leaver can, therefore be expected to present more of a political problem if his employment ambitions are not fulfilled than will the young person who continues in the traditional environment and is unaffected by formal education. Secondly, because of the investment in cash and effort required to produce a primary school leaver, supplementary measures to bring a direct return on this investment may be justified. Thirdly, the primary school leaver, having at least numeracy and literacy, should present a training advantage and facilitate the attainment of the training end. However, while priority in the development of programmes should be given to the primary school leaver, opportunities for training must be provided for all sectors of out-of school youth, including young people with no formal schooling. Where programmes for primary school leavers offer a combination of training and development activities, provision should also be made for the project to involve as far as possible the surrounding rural community as a whole.

There was some examination of the particular problems encountered in the development of programmes in rural areas. Again, it was clearly recognised that conditions vary very widely throughout Africa. Nevertheless, certain broad features of the training and employment situation of rural youth can be discerned. First, there is an overriding lack of skilled people whether in farming itself or in jobs ancillary to farming. Secondly, there is a general lack of knowledge of the types of training approaches which can be adopted in order to provide these skills. Thirdly, there is a widespread lack of motivation among young people towards farming which is, for the vast majority, traditional, and therefore largely subsistence, farming. This lack of motivation is often compounded by traditional practices which inhibit the development of improved agriculture, for example grass-burning, over-stocking, resistance to fencing, etc. Fourthly, when training and motivation can be provided, the final realisation of the goal of training programmes often requires that the newly trained young person be capitalised in some measure; lack of adequate means for capitalisation is a grave constraint on the effective operation of training programmes. These particular problems are aggravated by the normal constraints on rural development work throughout most of Africa-falling commodity prices for many of the most reliable and well-established cash-earning crops, lack of roads, marketing systems, pest control, storage, etc.

Perhaps the main contribution of training programmes directed at young people in the rural areas may be to inspire in these young people enough dedication and motivation to accept what is inevitably going to be a life of few material rewards and considerable hardship. This was regarded as necessarily an ideological process. The importance was also stressed of "training for frustration" both educated young people who seek to equip themselves for work in rural development and equally those young people who are trained for farming or other directly productive rural work. An explanation was sought for motivation in trained youth towards national development. Some participants in the seminar regarded this as necessarily a purely monetary matter; others contended that the harsh realities of the rural economies of many African countries demand that training programmes be supplemented by other motivational elements, ideological or spiritual.

The role of governments as the prime suppliers of development capital and promoters of development activities in the rural areas was emphasised. In this dual function, governments should look carefully at the kinds of initiatives that they promote, bearing in mind always the size of the employment and training needs of young people in the rural areas. In particular, governments should accept a training responsibility in the execution of capital works projects and use these as an opportunity for the development of local skills and the injection of cash into rural economies by the provision of even occasional employment. Related to this are considerations governing the kinds of technology appropriate to necessary large-scale development work in rural areas. Can there be any justification, for instance for the use of modern, large-scale labour-saving equipment in situations where paid employment is so desperately short? It is important not only to build labour intensity into large-scale works in the rural areas, but also for governments to give more support, both material and in terms of training, to the development of rural small industries.

The development of rural programmes primarily for young people is also impeded by still powerful social factors, particularly where customary forms of social organisation remain strong. In many traditional societies there is a deep-seated reverence for seniority and old age and a suspicion of transferring responsibility to young people.

A further social problem centres upon the powerful motivation among many young people to see city life and enjoy the social facilities, real or imaginary, which are associated with

this. In part, this drive towards the cities is the product of the virtual absence of social and recreational facilities for young people in many rural areas. It may to some degree be modified by building up leisure facilities, even of an elementary sort, in the rural areas.

Whilst the development of social activities for young people is of real importance, it must be recognised that to provide such facilities will not in itself, as seems often to have been assured in the past, solve what are primarily employment problems.

Involvement of young people in policy-making, planning and implementation of youth programmes

Generally, the seminar agreed that there is a problem concerning the lack of co-operation between young people and adults in policy-making, planning and implementing programmes for youth. This applies to young people in general and not simply to unemployed youth out of school. In traditional society, the social barriers to the involvement of young people in decision-making were strong and still endure in many instances, particularly in rural areas. It is of the greatest importance in planning programmes to fit them into the social and economic conditions of particular areas; the custom and tradition of local society relating to young people should, therefore, be fully researched and understood. There is, for example, little point in training young people as rural activists or "animateurs" if it can be predicted that the older generation will not heed the trained young people simply because of their youth. It would help to avoid counterproductive social tensions if change introduced through the development of youth activities were wherever possible built on existing patterns and existing relationships.

A similar lack of understanding and communication was seen between educated and uneducated youth. Uneducated youth are often suspicious of programmes in which numbers of educated youth are involved and therefore tend to hang back and fail to profit from activities which can be particularly beneficial to them.

It was observed that in many African countries young people are already involved in policy making. At national level this is the particular province of senior politicians and civil servants. By comparison with other continents, young people are highly represented among this group in African countries. Further down the scale, young people have the opportunity to

involve themselves in the evolution of policy through participation in the youth sections of political parties. Despite this, the mass of young people, particularly uneducated young people, are not consulted in the making of policy and must too often carry out plans which they do not fully understand.

Some consideration was given to how young people can express themselves more effectively in policy-making. One possibility suggested was that there should be a national non-party association of youth clubs and groups which can speak for youth. Such a body would however, be likely to speak for organised youth only; this would amount to a small proportion of the total. Another possibility would be the devolution of policy-making to a much greater degree away from the centre down to regional or even local levels. Indeed certain countries are already experimenting with the devolution of planning in this way. In any new planning structures that may emerge as a result of these developments, it is of the greatest importance that some provision should be made for young people to have an effective voice. If planning cannot be understood by the young people at whom it is aimed, then it is bad planning and unlikely to succeed. Equally, sound planning, understandable to those who are supposed to benefit from it, should allow those being planned for to be involved.

The greatest opportunity for the involvement of young people was seen to be in the work of implementation, in the actual creation of job opportunities by directing energies and aspirations to those ends which are likely to prove rewarding; in many cases this means the rural sector. Before this process can readily occur there will have to be fundamental changes in the schools so that effort is devoted towards providing young people with some understanding of the likely employment situation after school. Furthermore, rural development programmes will have to be devised into which young people can fit and which will provide them with some confidence in their future in the rural areas. As an essential precursor to this, it is necessary to seek information on the employment situation. This implies research in order to provide detail on the respective jobs of young people and adults so that any programme which seeks to create employment opportunities may build soundly on the existing structures. Some new forms of job-making can sometimes destroy traditional employment. This is particularly the case with small rural industries which are already providing much employment in certain rural areas and which may be menaced by ill thought-out incursions of more "modern" industry in the guise of training programmes for rural youth. This underlines the fact that in order to help young people,

it is almost always necessary to help adults also. It is certainly necessary to keep in mind the existing situation in the whole community in the development of programmes, whether these seek to raise the level of farming or to build up local crafts and skills. The essential task is to build bridges between young and old.

Training and Employment

The seminar considered at length how far the employment situation relating to young people can be affected by training, and how the aims and content of training programmes may be affected by an understanding of the realities of the employment situation.

The employment situation varies in its nature from country to country and even from region to region within countries. Nevertheless, there is a common explosion in demand for jobs particularly for young people. Essentially, the satisfaction of this demand depends on the creation of new employment. The traditional reaction of decision-makers to the prospect of large numbers of young people who are unemployed or underemployed has been to expand facilities for further training whether by the extension of formal education, which absorbs larger numbers for longer periods, or by the erection of vocational training establishments of various types. The former expedient merely defers the problem. The latter approach assumes that to equip a young man with skills will necessarily solve his employment problems. Whilst this assumption may have some force in situations where artisan skills are lacking, and throughout Africa at the present time there are pockets where this is the case, the overall size of the modern sector of the economy where these skills are required is small. Furthermore, the number of such jobs throughout the continent may for some time continue to be comparatively small. It is dangerous to erect costly training facilities which can rapidly saturate the demand for artisan skills if the modern sector of the various economies is not expanding rapidly and new employment is not being created.

Given this general situation regarding employment - a small, slowly growing modern sector together with a large, mainly traditional rural sector - the mere provision of skills training, whether in particular crafts or in agricultural skills, does not in itself constitute any real solution. It may, if carefully related to detailed manpower planning, serve to supply a flow of persons with the skills required in the modern sector.

Recognising the realities of the employment situation

therefore, the seminar regarded it as essential that training programmes should take into account the need to train for self-employment or employment in productive, self-supporting groups. Experimental programmes, aiming at establishing independent co-operatives with a range of rural skills supplementing basic farming skills are operating in certain countries. The important feature of such programmes may be their success or failure in orienting trainees towards rural living and the need to develop the rural areas, whilst at the same time redirecting the aspirations which trainees often have towards "modern" employment. In this connection experiments in various parts of Africa in productive training, whereby trainees combine earning with learning, and from earnings contribute to the costs of training, have particular value. Other experiments which seek to graft small-scale training and apprenticeship on to existing craft employment are also important, particularly when related to schemes for the improvement and development of established small industries and businesses. This again illustrates the need to correlate youth programmes with the development of the community at large.

Training for special sectors of youth

Within the seminar's general affirmation of the need for a broadly based approach to rural development involving the entire community as the fundamental solution to the problems of the vast majority of young people, it was agreed that different strata of young people present differing training problems and training needs can be expected to vary in urgency. The crucial argument in this connection centres upon the primary school leaver. Generally, primary school leavers should in theory offer a training advantage in the form of an educational base upon which to build. They should therefore respond more readily to more complex training than young people or adults who have not been to school. In the establishment, development and processing of certain high-value crops, existing training experiments in Uganda and the Western State of Nigeria indicate the special value of a minimum level of general education to assist the particular scheme to proceed successfully. At the same time rural training work with primary school leavers may be at a particular disadvantage because of their exaggerated job aspirations which very often make this group reluctant farmers who are willing to use any opportunity which may turn up either during or after training to enable them to avoid farming. In other situations, there is special value in training together young people with some schooling and those with no schooling to the mutual advantage of each group in social terms. Whilst special programmes for young people with

some formal schooling are practicable, there is danger in such programmes of exaggerating social cleavages and of overlooking the training needs of unschooled youth. In the latter connection, whilst these needs are no less valid, they evoke a different response and are, in social and political terms, less immediately threatening than those of the primary school leaver.

Finance

The idea of increased priority in expenditure on employment-related training outside the established system of formal schooling, was generally favoured. Where finance is limited, however, it may be necessary, if there is to be increased expenditure on informal education, to find this at the expense of the formal education system. The opinion was voiced, though not entirely unanimously, that this possibility must be confronted and tackled bravely despite the political dangers inherent in such a decision. This would imply curbing the continued expansion of various forms of formal schooling and reallocating resources for a time to activities more immediately related to development, including training for such activities. The alternative to this would be a continued growth in the numbers of young people emerging from schools seeking a level of employment which is simply not available in sufficient quantity to meet the demand. This in itself would imply sooner or later heavy expenditure on remedial measures in order to combat the frustrations and dissatisfactions of large numbers of unemployed young people.

Any decision to give increased priority to training for young people out of school would not be easy to reach: not only politicians and administrators, but electorates, would need to become convinced of this view. In certain countries, where the expansion of formal education has gone furthest, some dissillusionment is already perceptible among parents with the advantages which schooling supposedly brings to their children. This dissatisfaction is a useful point of departure in attempting to educate parents in the need for expanded programmes of job-oriented training. At the level of the decision-makers, it was agreed that the case should be pressed for youth training to be regarded as an immediate investment in national development. It should not, as has often been the case in the past, be viewed as a palliative device within the social welfare field, which does not produce returns in terms of development gains. The onus rests with those concerned with and involved in youth training to prove their case for increased expenditure on training out-of-school youth by demonstrating real economic and social benefits.

An alternative view takes into account the commitments of African governments to the targets for educational expansion laid down at Addis Ababa in 1961, and the difficulties for any government in curbing the expansion of schools. Recognising this, the seminar suggested that there should be a redefinition and expansion of what is thought of as education so as to include within this term the out-of-school sector, namely extension, youth training, literacy, various forms of adult education work, indeed, all efforts to communicate knowledge and skills in order to raise the technological ceiling of whole communities. Such a broadened view of education would bring together as a body the range of largely unco-ordinated and unrelated activities which now constitutes informal education. This would make informal education more readily identifiable for the purposes of financial support, and would increase understanding of and assistance for training related to employment and job creation.

Administration

The seminar discussed problems relating to the initiation and execution of youth programmes, in particular, problems concerning the allocation of overall responsibility for programmes, the division of operational responsibility between governmental and non-governmental organisations and the co-ordination of activities between all interested agencies.

The special diversity of youth programmes was stressed: they include extension work, apprenticeship of various forms, training in or relating to settlement, social or largely social, activities in non-residential youth centres. Programmes vary in aim, in duration, in location. Some form of co-ordinating agency should be evolved to survey the whole field and ensure that all bodies actively engaged in it pull constructively towards a common end and that agencies which should be concerned with the future of young people, particularly industrial and commercial interests, acknowledge and exercise this responsibility.

The conventional device adopted to achieve co-ordination is a National Youth Council or National Youth Co-ordinating Committee, usually a body advisory to governments representing the operational agencies and interested departments of government. Many such Councils work long and devotedly in the cause of youth as they see it. Nevertheless, some dissatisfaction was expressed with this traditional mechanism. Such bodies, because of their loose, federated nature, and because they often represent established interests in the youth field, can hardly be expected to

initiate new ideas . Indeed they may tend to stifle creativity in a sphere where creativity may be more important than co-ordination.

A possible alternate form of co-ordinating mechanism was discussed, namely a National Development Advisory Council, which would embrace all age groups and interests and view youth training in the context of overall development. In this respect, the recent experience of Ceylon is of particular interest. In Ceylon, following direct intervention at the highest political level, a new National Youth Council was set up with the particular task of directing the energies of some two million young people with some education who were unable to find employment. This situation existed while at the same time 70% of Ceylon's food needs had to be imported. The new Council brought together all interested ministries and representatives of the private sector in a joint programme to create employment for young people in national development work. Already 30,000 young people are engaged in such work. The Council is regarded as a valuable example of working co-operation between government and business interests in the formulation of new approaches to the involvement of young people in constructive efforts towards development, satisfying a need hitherto ignored.

In addition to running its own training programmes, government should scrutinise the finances, and control the type, content and objectives of programmes offered by all agencies. Government power to control what is taught is necessary in order to avoid the problems that can arise when the training programme of a particular agency diverges from what is generally seen as the needs of the country. The way in which this control is exercised is of special importance. If governments agree that non-governmental agencies should be allowed to operate in the field of youth training, and admittedly not all governments are prepared to concede this, then control should be exercised in such a way as not to stifle initiative.

A particular role for non-governmental agencies was seen in training for development, including the training of young people. Non-governmental organisations cannot be expected to command similar resources of finance and manpower as can governments. Their contribution should therefore lie in pioneering new training approaches, in devising new solutions. In view of this experimental function it is important that their power to innovate should not be curtailed as long as these agencies are willing to work within the broad guidelines laid down by government. Indeed, sound development necessarily involves large numbers of

small projects as well as smaller numbers of large-scale programmes. Indeed, to date, the small projects have a particularly good record of successfully attaining the training ends sought. Such projects are often closely based on the realities of particular local situations and because of this tend to attract local loyalties. Governments are well fitted to initiate and control large-scale projects; it is much more difficult for them to set up and operate the many micro-projects that are also part of the total sum of a healthy overall development programme. It is at this level that non-governmental agencies, often possessing resources of skilled manpower with the necessary detailed local knowledge, can make a specially valuable contribution.

CHAPTER 2

Youth Training Programmes in Rural Areas

Planning and Implementation

In accordance with its general emphasis on rural development and the involvement of young people in this process, the seminar gave intensive consideration to the organisation of training in the rural areas - the location of training activities, the organisational structures, the content of courses, the distinctive role of national youth services, possibilities for the generation of employment through rural youth programmes, the arrangement of follow-up and the special problems of settlement schemes.

The location and structure of training programmes

On the location of training, four possibilities were envisaged:-

(a) training in the trainee's own workplace;
(b) training in the workplace of others;
(c) training in purpose-built institutions;
(d) training in improvised or non-purpose built institutions.

Of these possibilities, none could really be regarded as applicable in all circumstances. The field of youth training is so diverse, and local social and economic conditions so variable, that it is essential to maintain flexibility in determining how and where young people are to be trained. In selecting a particular formula, many factors must be taken into account - income possibilities, local influences, including the attitudes of parents and other adults, the aspirations of potential trainees, the particular training objectives sought.

Within these considerations, appropriateness is measurable by the level of success recorded in attaining training ends, in restraining costs (since it is obviously in the general interest that investment in rural training should affect the maximum number) and in minimising the disruption of established rural society.

The central figure clearly is the modernising young farmer. In the communication of improved farming skills to young people, coupled with the organisation of the means of ensuring the application of these skills in practice, rests the whole future of the development of the rural areas of Africa. Already a very wide range of training approaches has been adopted in seeking to carry out this task and no distinctly superior approach has emerged. There are strong protagonists of approaches which are in many respects fundamentally opposed to each other.

The sharpest line of division in the seminar occurred over the place of purpose-built institutions in the training of future farmers, whether these were youth camps or farm institutes. Doubts were expressed at the value of extended courses in specially constructed training institutions. It was argued that the essential problem is to establish the young farmer on his own land, or land which he shares with a group of which he is a member. Thus the primary task becomes the location of land, the establishment of trainees on it and the provision of necessary training on the spot. This may be through a more intensive form of extension, or by the trainers taking up residence with the selected group until such time as it is apparent that the group has reached a self-sustaining stage of development. The particular value of this latter method are many. It goes far towards ensuring the application of all aspects of a particular development and training programme; it involves rural living in all its aspects and not simply those aspects provided for in an artificially determined curriculum; the context of training is actual and not simulated; because of the continued presence of the training team, a confidence can be built up between trainer and trainee which is less likely to operate in other situations. Thus the trainee's commitment to the project is likely to be strengthened since his training is directly concerned with the development and improvement of land in which he has a personal stake.

Possible drawbacks to training in situ are, first, a trainer/trainee ratio is required which may be regarded as extravagant and secondly, an over-intensive concentration on a small select group arouses a danger of causing rifts in the rural

community as a whole.

In contrast, however, many points were levelled at institutionalised farmer training, particularly at training courses of an excessively long duration. There is often a danger of such training establishments becoming 'show places'. The circumstances in which training takes place - soils, climate, technology, management, level of capitalisation - have often little similarity to the actual working situation which the trainee must in future face. Separate training necessarily poses complex problems in ensuring the application of newly acquired skills after the training course and involves a unique set of problems associated with transference from training to working environment which training in situ avoids.

In certain circumstances, however, some form of institutional training will probably be the only approach possible. This applies particularly when populations are very widely scattered, and when an extension service does not have adequate numbers to allow for intensive training of select groups. A combination of training on-the-job and institutionalised training may then be feasible. Basic farmer training is carried out, according to this view, either by trainers working and living with selected groups or by mobile rural training teams moving from group to group over a more extensive area. Within this system of basic training, there should also be developed a network of multi-purpose rural training centres providing a variety of short courses on a range of special subjects of concern to rural people. Such courses may last from one day to possibly a few weeks and should normally be concerned with the communication of specific skills and information to farmers, or farmers' wives, without disturbing the basic agricultural routine by which the family earns its livelihood. The centres thus act as focal points for follow-up to training.

It was recognised that institutional training is particularly suitable in helping to create motivation towards social and national objectives. Many countries place high priority on shaping a national consciousness, and in some cases ideology, in their young people who are regarded as pioneers of social and economic change in the rural areas. Similarly, voluntary agencies engaged in training for rural development may also be concerned to impart to trainees an element of moral or spiritual teaching in addition to a particular vocational element. The example was cited of rural Bible schools which train church workers at village level who must also be self-supporting,

progressive farmers. In such cases, purpose-built institutions are more suitable.

In training for rural crafts and industries, the same broad preference for on-the-job training operates as in farmer training. A few activities which have an unavoidably high degree of capital involvment may lend themselves more to institutionalised training. Even crafts and mechanical skills are on the whole best taught through apprenticeship, largely again because of the realism of the training environment, the appropriateness of the materials and tools, and the level at which training activities are pitched. Organisers of institutionalised craft training, in their efforts to devise training programmes suitable for rural craftsmen, tend to provide courses of an excessively high level. These courses are indeed often a rephrasing of the traditional technician training which the instructors themselves have undergone. The effect of such courses is to heighten the job aspirations of trainees and positively induce them to leave the rural areas in search of modern sector employment, the only possible outlet for the level of skill with which they are equipped.

In certain rural areas where there already is an artisan tradition, the problem arises of finding enough 'masters' with the ability and the facilities to undertake apprenticeship training even on a modest scale. Any development of on-the-job training of young people through apprenticeship may have to be associated with a programme to up-grade the skills and facilities of established craftsmen. In this respect there may be a valuable role for short courses at centralised training institutions, followed, of course, by systematic follow-up. Such courses need not occur in institutions concerned exclusively with artisan training but might well be located in multi-purpose rural training centres. This special need illustrates the view that effective training for young people in rural areas necessarily implies the education of the community as a whole. This should create an atmosphere of progress and understanding into which young people trained for and motivated towards change can fit and find their local community moving with them and not against them. The training of farmers, a sector where traditional ways and attitudes are most deeply rooted, also illustrates this. No matter what approach to training is adopted, whether institutional or otherwise, the involvement of parents in the training of their children is of the greatest importance. This can be achieved through discussion between parents and trainers, both in the family home and in the training location if this is separate, and possibly by the direct involvement of parents in practical ways,

for example by the provision of land or livestock. Parents should thus understand the aims of the training programme and indeed have a direct personal stake in the programme being successfully pursued to its conclusion.

The content of training programmes; vocational and non-vocational elements

It was agreed that, for immediate purposes, 'vocational' training would be taken to mean technical training for specific skills, including support knowledge which helps to make the trainee more productive and effective in his craft. "Non-vocational" training was held to mean those elements of a training programme of a general educational, social or cultural nature. It was, however, recognised that any educational activity which develops and improves human potential can be regarded as in some way vocational.

Viewed thus, it was generally agreed that the primary objective of training must be vocational - to raise the level of skills of rural communities, and particularly of young people in these communities, and to seek to bring about the application of these skills through adequate employment. However, to assist in the application of acquired skills, an overall training programme may have to include elements of a social, cultural or political nature. The particular value of such components is in strengthening the trainee's personal motivation towards the employment end sought by the programme. Examples were studied of training programmes which had sought to provide purely technical training, and had presumably raised the skill level of trainees over an extensive period. As little or nothing was done, however, to rouse the trainees' commitment to the particular development activity which the training programme was intended to service (in this case large-scale resettlement schemes) a crippling drop-out rate occurred because of the trainees' conviction that farming was too menial an occupation for them. The provision of non-vocational activities in order to strengthen motivation and understanding in trainees, or indeed to restrain counter-productive motivation inherited from formal schooling, is a necessary aspect of training programmes. This applies particularly to programmes concerned with the settlement and training of young people as improved farmers, in view of the deep-seated resistance towards agriculture that often exists.

Whilst therefore the value of non-technical elements in training programmes was admitted, it was regarded as of the greatest importance that the objectives of such elements should be very thoroughly understood by trainers and that such courses should be very carefully prepared with these objectives in mind. Motivation training is a delicate weapon which can be of the greatest value but which can backfire very easily.

There are dangers inherent in the inclusion on a random basis of general educational elements for their own sake in training courses, particularly if these amount to a substantial part of the complete course. Such activities merely exaggerate the social dangers of giving a superior training to a select few whilst the vast majority receive little or no training. Too great an emphasis on general, non-vocational training tends to induce a theoretical and predominantly verbal frame of mind and may therefore exaggerate any unrealistic job aspirations that already exist in the trainee, thus reducing rather than increasing the possibility of his being productively employed after training.

Youth activities of a social nature

An additional, if related role, was seen for social and cultural activities. One of the reasons why young people abandon the rural areas for the towns and cities is the lack of social activities in the villages. There is an acute need for an enrichment of village life socially and culturally. The inclusion within programmes for training rural youth of social and cultural activities even of a minimal nature may help to satisfy this need. Again, social activities provided for trainees within specific programmes should as often as possible be extended to include the local adult community.

Activities of a purely social nature may be provided at quite low cost for unattached young people in the rural areas. In their simplest form such activities may merely consist of a meeting place and simple sporting activities. The contribution of such programmes towards the solution of the fundamental problem of raising rural skills and promoting employment cannot be expected to be great. It is, however, a more effective means of reaching far larger numbers of young people in the rural areas, particularly young women who are often the least catered for, than any selective and intensive training programmes. The important achievement of this type of programme is in making some kind of contact with the mass of the rural population who are often unaffected by any sort of development-oriented activity

and who may indeed be suspicious of it. They are less likely to be suspicious of a local football team or mobile film show. Their being brought together for an apparently minor and purely social purpose can become a growth-point for subsequent activities with an element of vocational training or cash earning contained in them. Possible activities are home economics, child care, family planning, carpentry. Furthermore, they may help to act as a means of training in self-reliance, especially if these activities can be planned and programmed by the young people themselves.

The role of the national youth services

Discussion on the role of national youth services was focussed primarily on how these organisations can contribute distinctively to the training needs of young people out of school. Subsequently, particular problems were considered relating to the national youth services and possible lines along which these organisations may develop in future.

It was noted that many governments throughout Africa, in acknowledging a responsibility for providing training for young people outside the formal schools, have opted for some form of national youth service. The objectives of this approach to training are fundamentally the same although there are substantial differences in the manner in which training programmes are executed. Essentially the services seek, by intensive training in camps and involvement in work projects, to increase the employability of young people who are outside the school system. The formula is a combination of skills training in various occupations and social training through exposure to discipline together with various forms of general and civic education. The variations between the services centre, for example, on orientation towards agricultural or industrial training, involvement in major development works, degree of political identification, duration of training, nature of the non-vocational education provided and level of capitalisation. The services are centrally directed, nationally financed, uniformed, and regarded as fundamental to the nation-building process.

The distinctive value of these services is their particular concern with the nation, with the promotion of a consciousness of the nation and of national policies among a group of young people whose general educational level is not high and who therefore cannot be expected to have any clear understanding of what in most countries is still a very new concept. To carry out

this function, the services bring together in one body young people from differing tribal and religious backgrounds, providing a means for them to work and live together for a time as a truly national community.

A second distinctive function of a national youth service lies in the scale of project with which it is possible for a large body of disciplined and trained young people to become involved. Such a service, given the tools and equipment, can undertake major development projects, for example road and dam building, afforestation, bush clearance, which are too demanding in terms of sheer physical strength and technical capacity for customary self-help methods of community improvement. This aspect of national youth service work is not universally practised, primarily because of the costliness of equipment, of setting up the necessary maintenance facilities and providing the skills training so that such work can begin to be undertaken.

Vocational training was not regarded as a distinctive province of national youth services. Even a combination of vocational training with civic and social training may be carried out by other types of training organisations. As yet it is not apparent whether the national youth service approach has contributed substantially to the training needs of the mass of young people in rural areas. Clearly, because of the limited nature of the training facilities in terms of sheer space and accommodation, and because governments have not been able to undertake a large-scale expansion of camp training, the actual numbers of young people who have undergone, or indeed who are likely to undergo, such training are small in relation to the size of the training need. The case for the national youth services should therefore rest essentially upon the success of camp graduates in applying what they have learned once they return to their villages and in their achieving substantial changes at village level. As yet, none of the services has carried out a thorough follow-up of graduates who have returned to the villages. There is therefore no firm evidence available upon which to base general arguments on the impact of national youth service training on the process of rural development.

Particular achievements of youth service graduates were, however, noted, for example the intensive programme of settlements in Malawi and the work of such graduates in organising voluntary youth clubs in the villages which contribute to general social needs as well as providing an opportunity for community service locally.

It was generally agreed that there is an urgent need for a systematically organised series of follow-up investigations to discover whether such graduates can act as innovators in rural areas, and the kind of tensions and resistances they encounter from an older generation suspicious of young people seeking to change established ways and often, it must be admitted, suspicious of anyone associated with "government". One of the main drawbacks of national youth service training closely identified with government may well be that the products of such training are perhaps too closely bound up with government in their own minds, and therefore too dependent on the direct support of government. Research on the impact of youth service graduates at village level should be carried out by the social research departments and Institutes of Development Studies which are beginning to emerge in several African countries.

What happens after training was regarded as the crucial factor affecting the national youth services. These services, despite admitted difficulties, have become part of the established training apparatus of government. The essential task is therefore to seek out the most effective role for the services as training agencies bearing in mind that in most cases this type of training is not cheap. The particular role for the services is the production of trained and well-motivated young people who should act as innovators at village level. Training in industrial skills may be more effectively carried out by other means. If the services are to operate effectively within the broad process of rural development, which is the major means of providing for the mass of young people, then graduates must be employed extensively throughout the rural areas rather than intensively in settlements. At the same time, settlements offer a simple and quick way in most instances of obtaining a tangible return on training. The broader process of rural development takes much longer to yield returns and these are themselves much more diffused. However, the employment of national youth service graduates intensively in settlements is, as a strategy, exposed to the criticism that it serves to create a new rural elite, a rural middle-class, at a time when the needs of the rural masses are most acute.

If alternatively graduates of the youth services are deployed widely throughout the rural areas, there are various considerations which must be borne in mind. The resistance of adults unfamiliar with the nature and aims of a particular training programme can be expected. This again underlines the need for the association of the adult community as closely as possible with

the training programme and the training establishment.

Despite measures to increase the understanding of the adult community, the task of the unsupported ex-youth serviceman alone in the rural areas, cut off from the source of his skills and inspiration, can be very difficult. Close and frequent follow-up of graduates is desirable. The youth services themselves might develop an extension arm for this and other purposes. In many instances, it is possible to rely upon other agencies, including other branches of government, to provide follow-up; the local administration, the development ministries, the political party can all be brought in. Yet it remains the case that the training organisation itself is best aware of the qualities which it wishes to instill in the young people who pass through its hands and it appears obvious that the services should have a major stake in the process of follow-up.

A further possibility is that a new pattern of deployment of graduates after training may be adopted - a pattern which takes up an intermediate position between the intensive settlement and dispersal of graduates singly. This would involve the location of groups among the trainees prior to graduation, possibly groups originating from more or less the same area. These would then return to their home areas and be assisted to obtain land reasonably close to each other so that they might combine their development efforts and act as a mutually-supporting unit.

Concern was expressed at the dangers of national youth service training inducing cultural alienation among trainees. This applies particularly to longer training courses when young people may be absent from their home communities for up to two years. During this time the young people concerned are exposed to national concepts and given an acquaintance with a national culture. This process cannot be expected to replace the culture in which the trainees have been reared. The very fact of being away from village life, from other age-groups - both young and old - and in some cases from the opposite sex, can break a young person's attachment to his own community and result in difficulty in eventually finding a natural place in that community after training. This explains the preference among youth service graduates for urban employment, or employment in "national" organisations such as the armed forces or the police. Whilst it is of course not in itself wrong that these services should draw on youth servicemen as recruits, this must detract from the effectiveness of the services as training agencies for rural development.

A possible means of counteracting this tendency, at least to some degree, would be to ensure that work projects are carried out with rather than for the community. This would require fundamental decisions on the role and function of the services and, in some instances, changes in the training approach.

There was lengthy discussion over the costs of national youth services. Here again there is a wide range of experience, costs varying substantially according to the training approach adopted and the length of courses. An organisation which seeks to turn out young farmers with marginally improved skills is unlikely to incur costs as great as those of an organisation seeking to turn out either modern farmers who are intended to work with modern equipment, or heavy machinery operatives. The total costs of the services are very difficult to isolate, especially since it is recognised that their intention is to provide more than a vocational training. In any analysis of costs and benefits, it is necessary to take into account social and political returns as well as returns in terms of numbers trained and projects completed.

For youth service settlements, figures can be more easily obtained; cash inputs and outputs are generally precisely ascertainable. The example of the Malawi Young Pioneers was examined. This organisation has concerned itself particularly with minimising training costs and establishing low-cost settlements. In this case, the costs to the service relate to the establishment of basic infrastructure - roads, wells but not houses, the provision of tools of a low-cost, labour-intensive nature, the provision of food until first crops are harvested and the transportation of the settler and his family to the scheme in the first instance. When, in addition, the costs of the ten month training period are computed, it is estimated that the cost of establishing a trained member of the youth service on the land amounts to approximately £100, a substantial proportion of which is repayable.

In other instances, however, the costs of training preclude any large-scale expansion of the national youth services. Indeed it is felt that before any major expansion of the services can take place, there should be a consolidation of the services at their existing level until it has been decided what their precise role should be within the general training picture now and in the future.

Training and the generation of employment

It was generally felt that training itself solves nothing. In its crudest form, training without corresponding economic development merely results in unemployed former trainees, who necessarily are more frustrated, more prone to anti-social action than they were before training. It is important therefore that training programmes, whether for young people or for the whole population, should be planned in the light of carefully assessed manpower needs and economic opportunities. Supplementary to this, and relating especially to young people, there is a need for an emergency approach to the problem of youth employment. Planners and employers should look again at the entire breadth of the labour market to consider how young people may be usefully fitted in and at the kind of training needed. The implications of this on the types of technology selected by both governmental and non-governmental agencies for development projects were noted. The higher level of recurrent costs which a more labour-intensive approach to development works may imply must, however, be taken into account.

At the same time, particularly in rural training programmes, it may be possible in the actual operation of the programme to bring about the necessary economic changes in the surrounding community which would produce employment opportunities. The starting-point for such development and training activities will in most cases be agriculture. Settlement and training have already produced encouraging results in various parts of Africa. In a few cases, attempts are now going ahead to introduce supplementary skills although it was assumed that, for example, a carpenter who chooses to live on a settlement scheme would in the first instance also have to be a farmer. It may be expected, however, that as the settlement advances, the opportunity for full-time employment in specialised occupations will increase. What remains unproven is whether it is possible to devise a settlement and training programme which can employ a diversified range of skills from the beginning. Plans which seek to do this were generally felt to be too ambitious. At the same time it may be wise to consider in the planning stage how supplementary occupations might develop within such schemes.

Further employment opportunity may result if existing craftsmen can be up-graded and their skills and facilities improved. The outcome may be to stimulate the whole rural economy, with resultant generating of new jobs. The programme which is being launched under the auspices of the International

Labour Organisation in the Western State of Nigeria with the object of up-grading existing artisans in rural townships, should be of considerable interest to all concerned with rural development and youth employment in modern Africa.

In many rural areas there are in addition various existing needs which are catered for from outside, or not met, but which could be met locally if necessary skills and capital were provided. Again the opportunity for training programmes, backed up by capitalisation and technical support, presents itself. The example was studied of the various Botswana brigades which have now extended their activities beyond training in various skills - building, textiles, leatherwork, farming, mechanics - to include the establishment of independent rural co-operatives, servicing various local communities and substituting local goods and enterprise for goods and services previously imported, or simply unavailable. Conspicuous in the latter category is bore-hole maintenance, vital in a country as arid as Botswana, and the servicing and maintenance of motor vehicles, hitherto only available in the principal towns.

Follow-up

Effective follow-up is regarded as an essential adjunct to all forms of training. Training should not be regarded as a short-term process concerned simply with equipping people with particular skills. Programmes should also be committed to and involved in ensuring as far as possible that the skills taught are applied in the working situation. This process necessarily involves what is commonly understood as follow-up but the seminar preferred to regard this as an integral part of the training programme and therefore properly the province of the training agency. Follow-up would necessarily involve other agencies concerned with rural development, particularly the 'development' departments of government and non-governmental agencies, where appropriate, such as political parties, the churches, co-operative unions, family planning associations, etc.

In addition to supporting the trainee in the operational situation, thus assisting the programme towards the attainment of the training objective, follow-up has another equally important function. It seeks to obtain information on the effectiveness of training which can be fed back to the training agency and used, when necessary, to modify the training programme and thus improve its overall effectiveness. Action research of this nature is regarded as essential if training programmes are to remain

sensitive to the continually changing needs of the employment situation in rural areas.

Systematic follow-up, fulfilling the above objectives, has, however, certain essential requirements in terms of administrative and professional support.

In the first instance, policy-makers and planners at national level must realise the importance of follow-up as an integral aspect of training so that in any arrangement for project funding, provision for follow-up is included. This often presents particular problems since the follow-up phase of a training operation, assuming in this instance institutionalised training, comes some time after the launching of the original operation, the provision of finance for capital costs, etc. There are also special difficulties in obtaining finance for recurrent expenditure, particularly when a project is externally funded. Nevertheless, the proper functioning of follow-up in training programmes is of crucial importance if training is to be effective. It was hoped that policy-makers will appreciate and accept this.

A need was seen for structures to enable training to continue to operate after the preliminary training phase and even after some time has been spent in the working situation. If action research reveals that particular problems are beginning to affect the operation of the trainees, for example problems concerning the integration of a group into a particular community, then it may be necessary to organise short supplementary training courses. Equally it may be desirable that trainees should be alerted to new features of development work in a particular region, for example the availability of new varieties of seed, improved farming equipment, the launching of literacy classes or a family planning drive. It may be necessary to entrust trainees with additional responsibilities after they have spent some time in a working situation, for example the organisation of local youth groups or co-operatives. For all of these purposes, training establishments in the rural areas are necessary to support follow-up. Without these, the operation of follow-up becomes limited to what the extension agent can achieve in a face-to-face situation with individuals or very small groups. This again underlines the value of low-cost multi-purpose rural training centres, with limited residential and teaching facilities, flexible enough to provide short, intensive training courses in the wide range of activities of concern to rural communities.

The double function of follow-up activities, as a feature of the on-going programme and as a feature of programme

evaluation, presents certain problems. It is important that trainers themselves should be involved in follow-up activities and should not be confined to the artificial atmosphere of detached training establishments. In order to obtain feed-back information, it is desirable that among those engaged in follow-up work should be persons skilled in techniques pertinent to follow-up investigations, in particular, the preparation of questionnaires, the conducting of interviews, and the presentation of information to programme planners in usable form.

The duration of follow-up activities poses special problems. The basic purpose of follow-up should be to assist the programme in examining training ends. In theory, therefore, follow-up should continue until those ends have either been attained or the programme is terminated. In practice, the duration of follow-up must vary according to the level of sophistication of the programme, the complexity of the technology employed, the nature and frequency of further inputs after initial training, the quality of the trainees. While, therefore, no time-limits can be laid down, follow-up visits should be frequent after the completion of initial or subsequent training, gradually dwindling as the follow-up service judges that training ends have been attained.

Finally, it was stressed that much of the discussion on follow-up would not apply to on-the-job training for craftsmen or farmer training in situ, since these approaches synthesise skills training and its application in the working situation.

Settlement schemes

Discussion on settlements focussed primarily upon their role as effective employment ends of rural training programmes for young people, extending subsequently to cover broader problems relating to the role of settlements in rural development generally.

It was agreed that there was a need for a clarification of terminology, particularly of the terms "settlement" and "resettlement". "Settlement", it was agreed, means the permanent settlement of people in productive employment on the land. The definition does not necessarily imply the formal placement of sizeable groups of people, trained or otherwise, on clearly demarcated land which is being brought into productive use for the first time. It includes the establishment of small groups or families within an area with which they have direct

personal and traditional links and where therefore they fit naturally into the existing social and economic framework.

"Resettlement", it was agreed, should, be applied only to particular situations associated with emergency conditions of some form, for example the compulsory movement of population from areas about to be inundated following the construction of a new dam, the abandonment of badly eroded land, the placement of refugees.

Settlement schemes, whether large and formal or small and informal, can provide an efficient and rapid means of capitalising on investment in training for rural development. It would, however, be unwise to regard such schemes as the sole outcome of such training, particularly since most types of formal settlement pose social problems which are specially complicated in settlements consisting largely of young people.

The main drawback of large-scale, heavily organised schemes is that they cannot absorb more than a small fraction of unemployed young people. Experience in several countries has shown that large-scale schemes have a high cost per settler established on the land. There is therefore a major danger that the concentration of money, manpower and materials on large-scale land settlement schemes affecting only a few will divert too great a proportion of the energy and resources of planners, administrators and field operators from the more urgent task of raising the level of the rural mass and providing the opportunities within the rural sector as a whole for absorbing young people into productive employment on a very large scale.

Detached settlement schemes can contribute effectively to development needs when, for example, new crops requiring close supervision of the growers are being introduced, or in other development situations where specialist management is necessary, for example irrigation schemes. Such projects are obviously valuable in building up new knowledge and experience. They often present an attractive picture to urban-based administrators or passing aid-givers. It cannot be emphasised too strongly, however, that such schemes, because of their high cost and very limited capacity for replication on a large scale, offer no solution to the employment needs of the mass of young people in the rural areas of most African countries.

Trained youth offer very promising human material for such settlements. It is essential, however, that a balance should

be struck between employing trained young people in intensive settlements and returning them to their own communities where they may be expected to have a progressive influence on all sectors of rural society. Among the factors which determine this balance is the availability of land suitable for specialised development or alternatively the capacity of training programmes to produce young people who are able in isolation to make a useful contribution to the development of the whole community. It is at once admitted that it is a much easier training task to equip young people with the skills and motivation to develop new land, with no pre-existing population, than it is to equip them to return to their own communities and have a progressive impact there when faced at the best with adult apathy, at the worst with physical resistance.

There was strong support for the idea of the small, informal settlement within an existing community as the most suitable compromise between intensive, detached settlement and reimmersion in the unreformed rural mass. For such settlements to function successfully, land must be available to young people within existing forms of land tenure. Settlement programmes should include educational work aimed at the older members of the community so that at least they are prepared to allow the young people to apply the agricultural practices and techniques of production which they have acquired in training.

An appropriate training approach for such micro-settlements might be to draw trainees from a particular area and train them together, preferably but not essentially on the land allocated. The objective is both to permit the young people to provide support for each other and, by working as a group, to become a more effective force for rural change. Trained and motivated groups of this nature can influence a community in both a direct and an indirect way. There already exist a few isolated examples of both approaches in different parts of East Africa. The indirect approach is indicated by the Nyakashaka settlement scheme* in Western Uganda, based upon high-value crops - tea, strawberries, "English" potatoes - completely unknown previously to the existing rural community although their cultivation was well within the technical capacity of the community. After a few years of non-commital observation, during which time the settlers developed the land and began to reveal various symptoms of rapidly increasing economic prosperity, the surrounding community progressively revealed an interest, which the scheme

* For an account of the Nyakashaka re-settlement scheme, see Chapter VII.

was equipped to answer, in the same crops. Over the next few years, production, particularly of tea, by the local farmers on their own lands overhauled and outstripped that of the original settlement.

An example was also examined of more positive action for rural progress by trained groups of young people, also in East Africa, but on this occasion in an area of widely scattered population and minimal development. In this area, the primary task was to bring the diffused rural population together into groups upon which development activity might be focussed and prove to them their potential progress if they lived and worked together. Again in this instance the first initiative was by indirect example. A trained group of young people banded together to form a village and slowly persuaded others in the surrounding community, not necessarily young people, to join them. Over several years, a balanced village community emerged and achieved remarkable development gains largely through the efforts of the community itself. Over a wide surrounding area, interest slowly grew in emulating this particular method of village development. Frequently, however, requests were made to the original village community for direct guidance in how to set about the task. Already in the original village a new generation of young people had emerged and had been allotted a place in the decision-making process of the community. It was rapidly agreed that the task of spreading the particular ideas of the community should be entrusted to selected groups of young people, an experiment which in the event proved particularly successful, satisfying their need to work progressively within their own environment and providing them with the opportunity for social challenge on a broader scale.

The seminar believed that settlement in the broadest sense does indeed offer a promising outcome to agricultural training programmes and can ultimately develop so as to provide an outlet for other skills and crafts. Strong reservations were expressed over the value of large-scale, detached settlement schemes which are suitable only for limited, experimental purposes. Small-scale, low-cost settlements, closely linked to the way of life and level of living of the local community can, however, provide a useful outlet for trained young people and can offer a base from which such young people may work outwards in achieving more widespread rural progress.

Problems of youth settlements

In view of the efforts in recent years in many parts of Africa to establish settlements confined at least at first to young people, the seminar gave special attention to the administrative and sociological problems of such settlements.

Central to the administration of large-scale settlements, is the role of supervisory staff. Ideally, leadership and instruction should be provided from amongst the settlers themselves, although this is difficult to organise and depends on the nature of the original training and of the complexity of the agricultural operation with which the settlement is concerned. Where the training organisation is a national youth service, with an established hierarchy, the problem is to some extent alleviated, provided that it is the policy within the service to channel even the officers into settlements. This approach has been successfully adopted in certain instances. When the agricultural operation requires close and direct supervision by staff with a professional training in agriculture, problems may arise over the relationship between the technical and administrative staff of the settlement on the one hand and the settlers on the other. It is of the greatest importance to be aware of the dangers of a master/servant relationship developing. This can produce tensions which may culminate in an angry reaction by settlers against supervisors, taking the form of lack of co-operation with and apathy towards settlement management, high rates of drop-out and even, in extreme cases, violent resistance. Conversely, it can produce a demoralisation of the settlers which may extinguish any self-reliant spirit, prolong dependence on official hand-outs, and indefinitely postpone the day when supervision can be phased out.

Various administrative measures are possible to guard against this tendency, such as the provision of preparatory and in-service courses for settlement staff and the provision of integrated accommodation in the settlement for staff and settlers. The staff should be encouraged to play a full part in the community life of the settlement and, if married, should bring their wives and families to live in the settlement.

A related factor which strengthens morale and settler commitment is the scale and quality of housing for settlers and whether housing and other amenities not essential to the agricultural operation should be provided as part of the scheme or whether the settlers should be trained and required to build their

own housing with possibly some building materials being provided. This latter requirement can substantially reduce capital costs and strengthen settler identification with the project.

The distinction between administrative and sociological problems in settlements is not clearcut, administrative problems in many cases having a direct relationship with problems of community building.

In general, the seminar was afraid of the possible consequences of removing young people from their families and their existing social milieu. This often deprives communities of their most enterprising young people and denies the older members of the community the support which traditional society throughout Africa has required that the young should give to the old and which is generally held to be one of the real strengths of African social structures. Conversely, dangers arise in youth settlements due to the establishment of a community with a very narrow age-range, lacking the experience and wisdom of the elders. Moral sanctions, traditional education, advice on how to bring up children, can all be lacking in settlements confined to young people. In economic terms, the absence of a balanced society, composed of all age-groups, can be harmful, for example at harvest-time when seasonal additions to the labour-force are required.

Once a youth settlement becomes fully established and shows signs of prosperity, then the complete family group tends to polarise around the successful member. It would appear to be essential therefore that settlement structures be sufficiently flexible to allow other members of the settler's family to join him at a subsequent date to rebuild 'normal' society. Unfortunately, in many cases tightly controlled settlement schemes, involving new approaches to land tenure, often do not allow this and sometimes settlement schemes deliberately disrupt traditional society. Such approaches were rejected by the seminar. Projects, whether concerned with training in isolation or training for settlements, which have the effect of alienating a young person from his society are essentially unsound. Many patterns of training adopted so far have had this effect to some degree and have thus served to accentuate the breaking away of young people from the traditional ties of family and community. The prime need, as far as youth training for rural development is concerned, is for patterns of training to be evolved which will assist the rural society to move forward progressively whilst avoiding the more painful side-effects of social disruption.

CHAPTER 3

Other Forms of Training

While placing primary emphasis on training young people for rural development, the seminar also considered the related problems of other young people, in particular the needs of young people in urban areas, the relationship of the work of the formal school with the problems and opportunities of out-of-school youth, the organisation of activities to involve young people in secondary school and universities in work of national development, the role of youth programmes in the rehabilitation of young offenders, and the special requirements of young women.

Programmes for urban youth

In any discussion of the training needs of young people in urban areas, there must be a clear understanding of the fact, indicated by intensive research in various cities in different parts of Africa, that the majority of young people seeking employment in these areas at any one time are of rural origin and usually retain strong family ties with the rural areas. Many of them return to the rural areas once they realise that the cities have much less to offer in the way of employment than their earlier expectations led them to believe. Programmes for young people in cities should aim at the hardcore of truly urbanised young people, as yet only a small proportion of the whole, who live their lives in the towns. Above all, it is vital to avoid accentuating existing differences between urban and rural areas by establishing distinctive training in the towns; this aggravates the existing situation whereby there are two kinds of education, a superior kind in the cities and an inferior kind in the rural areas. Similarly with youth training, the needs of young people out of school should be considered in totality. Rural development on a broad front, and the

involvement of young people in this, offers the most promising avenue for tackling the problems of large-scale unemployment among young people in the cities. By attacking the problem at the source, rural development can be expected to reduce the flow of young people into the urban areas and avert the need for remedial measures to absorb frustrated young people in the towns.

There remain, however, the needs of the fully urbanised nucleus who are facing the most depressed employment stituation and the gravest social dislocation. For these young people, programmes should be devised which will provide skills training for the modern industrial sector, for service occupations and for "intermediate" crafts and trades. The needs of urbanised youth for social training are more acute than those of young people in the rural areas, because urban youth have little or no contact with traditional education and culture. Therefore, non-vocational elements in urban training programmes have a special significance, in particular civic education, health education and training in home economics.

Skills training can be approached in a variety of ways; again, there are no fixed formulae. The main possibilities are apprenticeships, more extended craft training in technical and vocational training institutes, and short training courses for limited skills at "operative" level either in institutions, or on-the-job, or a combination of both.

The generally accepted view in the seminar was that the basic and primary approach to sound development is to study what already exists and to seek to build on this base before looking for alien institutions which might be transplanted. Therefore attention should be given to the traditional craft training system which exists in many African cities, particularly in West Africa. Apprenticeship is functioning in these cities and has, in certain occupations, functioned for centuries. It has shown a remarkable capacity to evolve and adopt itself to more modern categories of employment, for example vehicle repairs. As a first step in helping numbers of young people to obtain usable skills in the urban areas, interested agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, should intervene to up-grade the skills and improve the working facilities of the existing entrepreneurs. By assisting this natural process and advancing the work of adults in the community, the interests of youth will also be served. The training offered within the established system is strictly relevant to the employment

situation and thus the chances of the trainee either obtaining employment with an established entrepreneur, or of setting up his own small business, can be expected to be considerably greater.

Formal institutional training in certain specialised crafts and skills is necessary, despite the very high cost of technical training institutes and the grave difficulties in obtaining staff with the necessary qualifications to teach in them. Because of this, formal training of this nature should be confined to particularly specialised occupations which cannot be catered for within the existing industrial and commercial structure. It is important that governments should establish a working association with the modern industrial sector and induce commerce and industry to accept a substantial share in the provision of industrial training, whether directly within the industry itself or indirectly by bearing some of the costs of establishing formal training facilities. Kenya's recent decision to establish an industrial levy on large firms to be used to offset some at least of the costs of technical training is an important step forward. Technical training in which commerce and industry is directly involved, and related to proven manpower needs, is less likely to overproduce skilled personnel, a major danger of institutional training establishments.

Industry should be "educated" in other respects. Particularly, industrialists should be required to examine the structure of their operations to consider how the maximum employment can be incorporated into the production processes. There are major implications in this for the level of technology used in industry. The seminar generally sympathised with the "intermediate technology" approach and commended the efforts of the Philips Electrical Company which had recently erected, in addition to its highly modernised and labour-saving production line at Eindhoven in Holland, a labour intensive factory at Utrecht for the production of radios as a model for what can be done in developing countries which are rich in labour but whose capital resources are low.

It was admitted that urban-based industry will not be able to absorb more than a small proportion of the young people likely to seek employment in the cities. If the frustration and disillusionment of young people seeking such employment is to be mitigated, emergency programmes must be provided at least

to absorb their energies, cater for their social needs, and possibly even provide simple accommodation for those with no homes.

Social programmes in urban areas have a long tradition throughout Africa and are the starting-point for most youth work in African countries. Such activities have been in the past initiated and organised by various voluntary agencies although recently some governments have taken a greater interest whether through involvement in the co-ordinating arrangements of the national youth councils or by direct intervention in setting up governmental programmes. Social activities for young people in the towns must be duly commended. More can, however, be done to increase the pertinence of such activities to employment and development possibilities. The example of the Sierra Leone Boys' Society was studied. In this case a voluntary organisation has grouped together unemployed young people out of school initially for social activities but has subsequently broadened its programme to include a voluntary work component. So successful did this become that, progressively, small opportunities for paid employment gradually emerged, suggesting that even in the most depressed employment conditions, the provision of leadership and organisation, and bringing together young people in groups, can produce what is, in a small way, an employable work-force. Such an approach is, of course, essentially a temporary palliative in relation to massive unemployment among young people in the cities. Nevertheless, it represents a valuable contribution towards restoring the morale of young people which protracted exposure to urban conditions can easily erode.

The role of the formal school

The impact of formal schooling, particularly the rural primary school, on out-of-school youth, and the problems it poses for out-of-school education and training, lies in the aspirations that the primary school arouses. Young people leaving such schools, especially those who have been able to complete the full primary course, often have fixed ideas concerning their status as "educated" people and the type of employment which they should now acquire. Their schooling has been regarded both by them and by their parents as an opportunity to escape from rural life. Having undergone the modernising process of schooling, the young primary school leaver must seek an employment outlet for his newly acquired modernity. This means emigration to the city where appropriate

employment is reputedly found. This broad stereotype is still mainly applicable in most countries.

Not much can be done within the primary school to deal with this situation. Parental ambitions and the aspirations of the young people themselves demand that the schools provide an opportunity, however tenuous, for every child who enters them to make his way forward to secondary school. This strong motivation has defeated several attempts over many years to introduce an element into the curriculum of rural primary schools which might stimulate a sympathy towards rural life. Nevertheless curriculum change along these lines is still to be desired. For example, the local rural environment may be drawn upon to the maximum as a useful source of teaching material for a variety of 'subjects'. Simple rural science may be taught and possibly even, in the upper primary school, some elementary vocational subjects introduced, although reservations were expressed on the last suggestion. However, the efficacy of such measures in bringing about real changes in the aspirations and attitudes of primary school leavers either towards the land or towards manual labour is doubtful. The necessary prerequisite for such changes is that there should be something approaching revolution in the complete pattern of rural living and especially in the system of rewards associated with farming. If the rewards from the modern urban sector and the "traditional" agricultural sector are harmonised, the present image of agriculture as a dismal, depressed and poverty-ridden occupation will be erased. Once young people about to leave school can see the economic and social potential of rural life then they are likely to respond to changes in the school curriculum.

At secondary school level, the problems are very different. Most secondary school leavers can still expect to find employment in administrative and supervisory posts in government, commerce and industry, although, with the rapid expansion of secondary schools in recent years, even secondary school graduates may in the not too distant future be faced with employment difficulties. Within the structure and organisation of secondary schools, provision should be made for activities which will promote in the future leaders an understanding of and a sympathy with the problems of the mass of the community, particularly with the problems of the rural areas. The effect of protracted exposure to purely academic and verbal educational experiences, in the exclusive environment provided by many secondary schools throughout Africa is to erect barriers of mis-

understanding between secondary school students, the ruling elite of the future, and the rural masses.

Various ways of attacking this problem were reviewed. Courses can be included within the regular academic curriculum, and without any dilution in academic content, which acquaint students with development problems. This may either be done through a reorientation of existing social studies courses or through the introduction of a new course, along lines already successfully pioneered in Botswana, called Development Studies.

Initiatives of this type can be accommodated within the orthodox academic tradition of the secondary schools. The curriculum should be reorganised, however, to include a positive element of community service, with students carrying out direct tasks aimed at community improvement. There was much sympathy with this proposal, but very often it is not easy in rural areas to find suitable tasks and often particularly difficult to avoid the pit-fall of working for rather than with the community surrounding the school. Despite these difficulties, it is essential that secondary schools should tackle the problem of community service and seek to break down the isolation that often exists between the schools and the rural population.

Equally, secondary school students can undertake vacation projects which may positively assist the work of development. For example, secondary school students can be a valuable resource for essential data-gathering for social and economic research, an area where their verbal skills may be particularly useful. Reservations were, however, expressed on the utility of another of the popular vacation tasks for secondary school students - involvement in adult literacy work. The "each one, teach one" approach has little continuing effect, and the modern concept of work-oriented functional literacy demands trained instructors who themselves possess the technical skills which the literacy programme is seeking to communicate.

The seminar stressed the high costs of secondary schooling, particularly of fully residential schools, the usual pattern in most countries except in urban areas. Possibilities were suggested which can bring costs down to some degree. The experience of Swaneng Hill and Shashi River schools in Botswana again has relevance for other countries. In these schools, recurrent costs have been reduced by students carrying out chores such as cooking, cleaning and contributing to food requirements from their own agricultural work.

At Swaneng, it has also been shown that it is possible for students to be directly engaged in capital works, in building school facilities such as classrooms, dormitories, the assembly hall, provided that student labour is supplemented by technically skilled manpower for specialised tasks.

Apart from their monetary value, such activities also play an important part in building healthy attitudes towards manual labour.

Teacher Training

Changes along these lines both at primary and secondary school level will also involve new approaches to teacher training and major retraining of teachers already in service. The isolated teacher in the typical small rural primary school, himself possessing often little more than primary schooling, is already hard-pressed, faced with swelling enrolments and rudimentary teaching facilities, to attain the basic objective of elementary schooling - to ensure literacy and numeracy. If additional burdens are placed upon him arising from major curriculum changes and requiring an outward-going attitude to the community, it is doubtful whether he will have the capacity to make any real contribution. At secondary level also there are problems largely centring on the attitudes of academically-trained and oriented teachers who often see their role as confined largely to their particular discipline. Changes may be possible through in-service training and some restructuring of pre-service training. If on the other hand the conventional curriculum is to be supplemented by courses involving practical community service, together with training to develop a sense of community responsibility and the practical capacity to do something about this, then specially trained staff must be provided to concern themselves with these additional activities.

The idea of the Community School or Village College was commended. Such schools provide conventional classroom teaching for children of various levels and also accept a role in direct service to the community during the very considerable periods of time when classroom and other facilities are not in normal use. The schools can provide a community meeting place and offer facilities for social gatherings, women's clubs, activities such as "4 H" clubs and adult literacy classes. The community and the school overlap to a substantial degree and it is desirable that representatives of the out-of-school community

should have some share in the management of those activities which concern them.

Involvement of university students

Much of the general comment on the contribution of secondary school students to the needs of the local and national community applies equally, if not more, to university students.

Involvement of universities, students and staff, can be approached in two ways. First, existing courses of study can be carefully examined so that when, for example, practical field work is carried out as an aspect of the normal requirements of a particular course, this is as far as possible related to community needs. Certain courses of study with an obvious practical element, for example medicine or agriculture, can be easily oriented in this way. There are greater difficulties with courses of study of a more theoretical nature. For such courses there is a need for a practical element, possibly within the actual degree structure, equivalent to the compulsory practical examinations for, for example, doctors, veterinarians and chemists. With ingenuity and fresh thinking, it may be feasible to include a component of practical field work, possibly from within the general area of social or community service, for all students. The existing practice in African universities within several subject areas on the Arts and Social Science side was examined. Geographers have a particularly good record in tackling problems of concern to the mass of the community. Sociologists have also been active in basic social research, first degree students in sociology being frequently required to carry out a field project as an essential component in their course. In general, there can be no longer any excuses for any of the social sciences not to be fully committed to projects of direct relevance to community needs. This would not mean dilution of course content.

A further possibility is direct action in community and rural development work either by groups of students and staff or by individual students. Teams of university students and staff are particularly valuable in that they are likely to be composed of young people of the widest range of ethnic origins and therefore may be expected to contribute distinctively to national and social development. The effective operation of such teams can be assisted by the existence of a central organisation to set up suitable projects and liaise with local community organisations and the departments of government concerned with development

work. Again it is not always easy to find really appropriate work projects. Projects selected must involve the university team actually working alongside village people so that each side of the educational gulf that divides most African societies comes to some understanding of the other. As a general rule the more such projects involve physical labour by the students, the easier it becomes to build bridges across the rift in society and break down the popular feeling that "educated" young people do not soil their hands.

A further development is the introduction of a year of social service after the completion of university (or equivalent) training. There was some disagreement over whether such service should be organised on a voluntary basis or whether it should be a compulsory requirement. The experience of Tanzanian National Service, the Ethiopian University Service and the Iranian Army of Knowledge is relevant.

Youth programmes and the rehabilitation of young offenders

Before any definite decision can be made on the types of rehabilitation procedures that can be applied to young offenders, it is necessary to assemble basic data on the young people concerned, particularly on the type of offence they have committed, their origins (whether rural or urban), age and family situation. The form of rehabilitation procedure appropriate for a young person from the rural areas temporarily adrift in the city is necessarily different from that for homeless urban youth with few, if any, family connections.

The vast majority of offences committed by juveniles occur in the urban areas. Juvenile crime is increasing steadily in most cities both quantitatively and in the degree of sophistication exhibited. The root cause of this, in the majority of cases, is believed to be unemployment, poverty and demoralisation due to severance of contact with traditional social ethics and morality. The obvious solution in the majority of cases is to reintegrate the young person into his home environment. This usually implies repatriation to the rural areas. Repatriation in itself, however, is not a solution. There is already evidence available in Kenya which shows that repatriation can occur repeatedly. After some time in the rural environment, the basic causes which induced the young person to migrate to the town in the first place again operate and he again gravitates townwards. If it is to succeed, repatriation has to be coupled with some kind of follow-up of the young person whereby contact is

maintained with him after his return, his problems listened to and his reacceptance into his own community facilitated. Ideally this work should be carried out by a probation service. In fact, this is not usually possible due to scarcity of resources in cash and manpower. Informal follow-up procedures in the rural areas can sometimes be arranged. The experience of the Starehe Boys Centre, which repatriated more than 90% of the young people coming into contact with its Rescue Centre in Nairobi, suggests that valuable informal arrangements can be made with sympathetic individuals in the rural areas who may be willing discreetly to maintain contact with the young person after his return. A young person who has committed an offence in the cities can be expected to be rather disillusioned with the supposed appeal of these areas and more willing to consider seriously what the rural areas can offer him. If repatriation can be combined with inclusion in some form of training programme, then the likelihood of success is even greater.

There remains the problem of the urbanised minority which will presumably include within it an element of habitual offenders. Their central problems are insecurity, lack of a home background, possibly even lack of food and clothing. For these young people, institutional programmes have a crucial part to play. They provide a substitute home and social training in the broadest sense. The costliness of the necessary facilities means that they can accommodate only a few of the most serious cases of need. In addition, many young people who are potential offenders do not wish to give up the "independence" that they enjoy in the cities. They resent any attempt to group them or organise them. Institutionalisation necessarily means this. New approaches to social work with young people may, however, be tried in African urban contexts, approaches which have shown encouraging results in other countries. Street corner youth workers who go out to find young people in need rather than wait until the needy come to them, can play a useful role. The establishment of many more "rescue centres" or shelters should be considered to which young people alone in the cities can come for a place to sleep, a simple meal, conversation, without committing themselves to participation in any particular programme. Such shelters need not be in any way impressive structures. Indeed the more imposing their appearance, the less likely they are to achieve their objectives.

The crux of the problem, whether in the urban or the rural areas, is employment. Therefore, training leading to employment is likely to be the most rewarding policy for

tackling the problem of growing juvenile crime. Programmes for young offenders should therefore not be detached from the overall problem of youth training, rural development and the generation of employment.

Programmes for young women

Two main areas of need were examined:-

(a) training for productive employment;

(b) training for domestic life.

In the first category, it was strongly felt that there should be no special distinction made between men and women, that women are equally capable of being trained in what are often regarded as male vocations and, if they have the aptitude and inclination, should be allowed access to training. In many African societies, however, women often show an aptitude for and inclination towards handicrafts including pottery, weaving, dyeing, basketwork, etc., and training programmes should be devised to accommodate this. In one particular area, agricultural training, there should be absolute parity of access to training in view of the importance of women in traditional agriculture. Training on-the-job and short courses are again generally favoured. A careful consideration of employment possibilities after training must, clearly, dictate course content and the provision, where necessary, of the means of establishing trainees in independent employment.

Examples were examined from Botswana of an autonomous group of female textile workers - weavers, dyers and dressmakers - who established an independent co-operative after training and, from the highlands of southern Tanzania, of a women's group set up within an existing village community which established a small woollen industry using locally produced wool and, as far as possible, local dyes and designs.

Training for domestic life constitutes a distinct need and should be approached in two main ways. Where young women are already engaged on a programme of skills training, for example in a national youth service, home economics, health, hygiene, child care, etc. should be included in their programme. Similar provision should be made for women outside formally constituted programmes through, for example, locally organised clubs or, in the case of slightly more specialised

courses, at rural training centres.

Young women who complete primary school but are unable to continue into further training have special needs. Migration to the cities is much less frequent among girl primary school leavers than among boys, family constraints on girls presumably being stronger. Yet having had several years of education, such young women find reassimilation into the family community very difficult. Often tensions develop within the family, for example between "traditional" mother and "modern" daughter. For this particular group, fundamentally altered by the effect of formal schooling yet closely tied to the family community, social programmes at village level are especially important. They provide an opportunity for the young girl to retain the skills acquired in school and possibly the opportunity through small-scale craft activities of some cash-earning. The role of this kind of programme is to provide for the young girl with some schooling a satisfying bridge between school and marriage. Obviously with the age of primary school enrolment steadily falling in most countries, and with the increase in the number of girls in school, programmes of this nature are of increasing importance.

CHAPTER 4

Supporting Structures:

Factors relating to the Development of Programmes

Evaluation

The importance of thorough evaluation of youth programmes lies in the following aspects:-

(a) it is a means of winning the support of planners and policy-makers whose backing is essential if out-of-school education and training is to develop to significant proportions; it also seeks to guide planners in the best use of resources already allotted to the out-of-school sector of education;

(b) it enables a precise estimate to be made of whether a programme is attaining its stated objectives, the impact of the programme in terms of attitudinal and behavioural changes, and of increased productivity if the programme is related to vocational training;

(c) it reveals to programme operators short-comings within the programme itself - in teaching content, methods and media used - so that the programme can be continually refined and improved.

Within these objectives conflicting demands are, to some degree, placed upon evaluation activities. This potential conflict centres upon the distinction between long-term evaluation, that is the overall measurement of the impact of a particular programme over a substantial period of time, and what has been termed action research which aims to provide operators with analytical data which can be used to modify and improve the programme. Both sets of activities are, however,

important and should be satisfied as far as possible.

Comprehensive evaluation must draw upon a wide range of skills and academic disciplines. Ideally, therefore, it should be carried out by inter-disciplinary teams. Many countries suffer, however, from extreme shortages of personnel professionally qualified in the particular areas required. Therefore, either a close relationship should be established between programmes and the universities, preferably with inter-disciplinary bodies such as Institutes of Development Studies, or evaluation teams should be provided from external sources. Some concern was, however, expressed at the frequent inability of academic evaluation activities to take account of the political and social elements and pressures which are either contained within, or weigh heavily upon, on-going programmes and may modify or distort stated objectives. Academic evaluation should therefore be supplemented by the wisdom and experience of the hardened operator.

Many academic evaluation exercises tend to become too detached from the needs and realities of the operational situation. They become over-intellectualised and unable to present the results of evaluation to administrators and operators in understandable and usable terms.

There was equally little sympathy with the conventional form of "evaluation." This has tended to feature a rapid visit to a project by a single "expert", usually an experienced if superannuated operator, inclined to deliver himself of a rapidly prepared digest of views accumulated en passant, coupled with his own necessarily subjective impressions based upon experience elsewhere. Such experience may not be particularly relevant to the immediate situation.

Alternatively, those responsible for programmes often do not define clearly enough what it is that they wish to have evaluated. The over-all operation and impact of a nation-wide programme affecting many thousands of participants is probably beyond the scope of realistic evaluation. Too often, however, evaluation teams are required to look for the effects of programmes at national level. Tasks for evaluators should be set in measurable terms if planners and administrators want comprehensible results. Such tasks necessarily imply seeking to isolate the effect of a programme on a specific production process in a particular community. They may also be concerned with a comparative assessment of teaching content or various

methodologies.

Finally, it was stressed that provision for certain evaluation procedures should be made at the earliest possible stage in the life of a project. This does not necessarily mean the attachment of a fully-manned evaluation team to a project from its inception, although in certain experimental situations this may be valuable. It should, however, include provision for the collection of essential baseline data against which subsequent measurements can be made.

Costs

The seminar considered how the limited funds can best be utilised and examined how the costs of training facilities may be minimised to extend the benefits of training to the maximum number of young people.

One school of thought argues that out-of-school youth, having missed the advantages of secondary schooling, should, if given a "second chance" by inclusion in programmes for the supplementary education and training of young people, not be required to accept material facilities of an inferior nature. This can serve to exaggerate existing feelings of second-class social status. Whilst there was some sympathy with the reasons for this viewpoint, it was not widely supported within the seminar. The fundamental issues are the training of, and the stimulation of employment for, the maximum numbers of young people outside the school system. This necessarily involves minimising the costs of training.

Various methods whereby costs can be curtailed were reviewed:-

(a) low-cost buildings: in many training situations, whether the programme is centred on an institution detached from the actual employment sought, or whether training in situ is adopted, some buildings are required. As a general principle, it is desirable that the cost of buildings be kept to a minimum. In recent years, there has been in many countries a wide variety of experimentation in minimising building costs, both in relation to youth programmes and in other development activities. Information blockages, however, still exist between countries. There would, for example, be considerable value if a register of information on

low-cost building techniques were prepared, possibly confined initially to the Commonwealth countries of Africa. Subsequently it might broaden to embrace any relevant experience. The preparation of such a register by the Commonwealth Secretariat would be an especially valuable initiative;

(b) labour costs: these can be reduced by using, as far as possible, voluntary labour (the surrounding adult community; work-camps) and the labour of the trainees themselves. Since there is some risk that, in the use of trainee labour, savings on costs may be made at the expense of the training end sought, a balance should be struck between this form of "self-reliance", and the overall training function;

(c) the production of food: in certain circumstances the trainees themselves can contribute towards minimising the recurrent costs of training by producing some of their own food. Again, however, the training end must be paramount and food production for its own sake should not be exalted into such a high position within the overall programme as to diminish its effectiveness in achieving the essential training end;

(d) domestic organisation: trainees can carry out essential domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning, maintenance of facilities, thus reducing the need to provide supporting staff;

(e) equipment: basic training equipment can often be devised using local materials within the training programme itself, thus reducing the need to import costly items from overseas, items which are indeed often inappropriate to the training programme in terms of level of technology. The manufacture of low-cost, labour-intensive tools and equipment is an essential feature of rural training work generally. The seminar noted with interest the activities in recent years of the Intermediate Technology Development Group Ltd., and pressed for a wider circulation of the information which this Group is making available on tools, equipment and materials suitable for rural development;

(f) transport: this is inevitably one of the most costly items in any rural development programme. To assist in minimising transport costs, the need was stressed for further experimentation on, and increased information on, low-cost animal-drawn vehicles in areas where their use is practicable;

(g) productive labour: where new skills are being introduced though a training programme into an area where these were previously lacking, it may be possible for a training programme to provide a commercial service to the surrounding community and thus contribute towards training costs.

These measures can make an important contribution towards paring down the overall costs of training. They have further significance in that they incorporate a training function, and help in preparing trainees for the real working situation whilst reducing the artificiality of detached institutionalised training.

Implications were seen in these suggestions for aid-giving and aid-receiving, whether multilateral or bilateral, governmental or non-governmental. Governments should clarify to aid-givers their concern to minimise training costs, to diffuse training to affect the largest numbers, and to avert the erosion of the effect of training brought about by establishing unrealistic facilities. As a matter of urgency governments should establish a cost policy for training establishments.

Goverments can do this with comparative ease in institutions for which they, or their aid-giving partners, are responsible. Often, however, non-governmental organisations are responsible for the financing of training programmes. These may present more of a problem. In order to ensure that all organisations involved in youth training accept a common policy on the costs and scale of training, governments should exercise their right to withdraw planning permission or registration from projects involving exaggerated expenditure by comparison with local norms.

On the side of the aid-giving agencies, there was concern at the growing disillusionment in many countries with aid generally. An overcritical approach towards receiving aid may reinforce this disillusionment and ultimately further diminish the flow of external assistance. The best way to

convince aid-givers that they should reduce the flow of aid is to use aid wastefully. If donor agencies see that resources are being used to the best advantage, they will be more ready to continue giving aid.

Leadership training

The seminar considered the problems of leadership training in the developing countries of Africa and the role of youth programmes in this process.

In order to assess how training may function, it is necessary to define the qualities of leadership which are thought to be worthy of encouragement. The qualities suggested are - personal example, identification with and knowledge of the group led, understanding of others including their needs and aims, ability to interpret and stimulate two-way communication, ability to inspire others, imagination, integrity.

These qualities were reviewed with reference to the present situation in many countries. The particular lack in many countries is modern leadership in close touch with and attuned to the problems of the people whom they are required to lead. In many respects traditional leaders, who are in daily contact with the life of their people, can be expected to have a more immediate understanding of their everyday problems. The process whereby leaders are now prepared - by and large the formal system of schooling - can sometimes result in an estrangement of the emergent leader from his community and its problems. There may be a parallel lack of understanding of the modern leadership by the mass of the population. The danger seen in this situation is that the leadership seeks to promote development by telling the people what is thought to be right for them instead of seeking to discern and satisfy the people's needs and interests, and shape development techniques and plans accordingly.

Three broad types of leadership training were ascertained:-

(a) Leadership emerging from society: this is possible either through the traditional structures or forms of authority or through new structures which have been incorporated within existing society, youth groups and youth activities being one obvious category. Here again the role of government is crucial. Local leadership emerges more readily where social

conditions consciously seek to promote this. Equally, the converse is true. If, therefore, the "modern" leadership, which in most rural areas means the local administration and the development departments of government, sees development work as being its personal monopoly, that is, something which the mass of the population cannot be expected to appreciate but in which they must be induced to acquiesce, then local leadership is likely to be stifled at birth. Indeed, from the viewpoint of the imported "leaders", the emergence of leadership potential from below obviously constitutes a threat to their position and is therefore to be resisted. Sound development, particularly in the rural areas, must, however, be based upon the understanding by the mass of the rural population of what they themselves can achieve and equally of what others can achieve for them. Local leadership which has emerged organically from the rural population is thus essential if this understanding is to be aroused. Therefore, all activities which seek to promote local leadership, and in particular programmes for rural youth training, should be encouraged and at the same time educational effort must be directed at the imported, "modern" leaders to increase their understanding of this situation and induce them to support rather than resist it.

(b) Indirect training through formal education: procedures for the location and development of potential leaders are intrinsic in the established practice of the formal school, particularly at the secondary level. The dangers inherent in such patterns are parallel to the dangers contained in conventional academic curricula. The values that such procedures induce are not the values of the mass of society and are thus in some respects liable to amplify the rift between the future administrator and the mass of the population. In any re-organisation of secondary schools, consideration should be given to the value of established leadership training procedures such as the prefect system, sixth form privileges, etc.

(c) Other non-traditional forms of leadership training: various additional ways were considered whereby leadership, both at policy-making level and at the level of the implementer, is trained. These are through youth groups, through vocational training institutions, through specific leadership training courses, through counterpart training, through military and related training. All are of great value in the process of comprehensive social development, particularly in the rural areas, and therefore necessarily of equivalent value

in catering for the mass needs of young people out of school. The relatively small numbers of young people affected by such courses is alarming. In addition, many of these courses, apart from those particularly concerned with the promotion of leadership, do not give enough attention to the future role of the trained young person as an agent for social change in his community. This again underlines the need for all training courses to include non-vocational elements to motivate the trainee towards the development process, to commit the young person to the pr omotion of new ideas and attitudes after his training and so to clarify to him his position as a potential leader in his community.

CHAPTER 5

International Co-operation

The seminar considered various issues in relation to international co-operation in the field of youth activities. First, questions relating to the achievement and improvement of international co-operation were examined. Secondly, the role of volunteers from external sources was studied, suggestions were made on how this might be made more effective, and implications of existing arrangements for providing and receiving volunteers were assessed. Thirdly, the possible creation of African volunteer organisations was discussed and some suggestions made on how such a programme might be mounted. Finally, consideration was given to the development of Commonwealth co-operation in the field of youth activities.

The organisation of international co-operation in the field of youth activities

International co-operation may be organised in three ways:

(a) the supply and exchange of personnel including technical assistance;

(b) financial and other material aid;

(c) the exchange of information.

Each of these three elements was reviewed in detail; aspects relating to the provision of volunteers were reviewed

separately.

(a) The supply and exchange of personnel - The role and operation of "experts" supplied under existing arrangements for international co-operation, whether bilateral or multilateral, was examined critically. Such personnel receive high salaries, out of all proportion to the local priorities and valuation of their contribution. These salaries are not easy to recognise as appropriate when intense publicity is being focussed on the low living standards of many developing countries. Little purpose was seen in the very short-term visit. To serve any really useful purpose, a visiting expert should be able to spend enough time with a programme to develop some understanding of the detailed social and economic situation in which it operates. This would obviate the need to draw heavily upon the expert's earlier experience which may well be obsolete or otherwise inappropriate. In the supply of operational personnel, the need for careful orientation was particularly stressed. All expatriates need time to adapt to local conditions. For a substantial period of the time which they serve they will necessarily operate at less than maximum efficiency due to the process of acculturation. Orientation is therefore necessary at all levels. It operates in three ways:

(i) in the sending country;

(ii) in the receiving country in a centralised group;

(iii) on-the-job.

Of these, orientation before departure was thought to be of doubtful or limited value. Often those responsible for orientation are retired colonial government personnel from an earlier era and no longer in close touch with the real situation in the countries concerned. Similar problems are apparent in much formal orientation after arrival. Such orientation may be valuable for personnel who are to work in one centralised system with a basically similar working situation throughout, most obviously the schools. It has less value in relation to rural youth programmes which depend so heavily on knowledge of the local situation. Often such orientation programmes are carried out by urban-based personnel who themselves are not well acquainted with the actual situation in the rural areas. Thus, for the purposes of training young people for rural development, the most useful device seems to be on-the-spot orientation directly attached to a programme. This can,

however, consume hard-pressed resources both of finance and time. Therefore there can be no ideal solution to this problem but all approaches should be tried.

(b) Financial and other material aid - It is particularly difficult to bring financial and material assistance to bear on the whole dimension of the problem of youth training and employment. Activities are diffused. Responsibilities are shared. Lines of demarcation of responsibility between different departments of government and between governmental and non-governmental organisations are blurred. Given this situation, international aid cannot easily be directed effectively towards the need for an amplified system of out-of-school education and training related to development. In recent years several governments have attempted to achieve co-ordination in relation to rural development. The results have not been entirely satisfactory. The real need, it was argued, is for governments to set up a powerful co-ordinating mechanism, attached to an influential department of government, which will ensure effective co-ordination of all activities relating to the needs of young people. This body should act as a focal point for international aid and ensure that aid for the training of young people is used to the best effect. To do so, it should be given the power to co-ordinate all government departments and all non-governmental agencies working in the youth field and to create and allocate functions and responsibilities. Such a body must make itself felt at all levels of society, from the highest councils of state to the remotest villages. Its establishment would imply a recognition by governments that the "problem" of young people out of school has reached emergency proportions and that emergency measures are required if it is to be dealt with satisfactorily. Such an initiative could greatly facilitate and improve the effectiveness of international aid in this field.

(c) The exchange of information - This operates at two levels. First, there is the exchange of technical information and secondly, the exchange of information for "educational" purposes. Possible areas for the exchange of technical information were reviewed. These include information on low-cost building techniques, on labour-intensive, low-cost tools and equipment suitable for local manufacture, on animal-drawn transport and machinery, and on special approaches to training out-of-school youth. The "educational" exercise is rather different. Within individual countries, attention must be attracted to the out-of-school sector of education by all means of publicity available so that the needs of this sector are constantly in the public eye and

policy-makers are kept alert to these needs both in the allocation of internal resources and in negotiating aid agreements. Publicity for out-of-school education is necessary at the international level also in assisting planners in determining emphases within aid programmes and in reassuring public opinion in donor countries that resources provided are being productively used.

The supply of volunteers

In view of the virtual explosion in recent years in the sending of volunteers, usually from "developed" to "developing" countries, and the valuable concept of youth helping youth, the seminar gave special consideration to the problems of volunteer sending and receiving, the involvement of volunteers in rural youth training, and the future evolution of volunteer-sending programmes.

The sending and receiving of volunteers is essentially a two-way process. A volunteer, sent in answer to a specific request, can be expected to make some contribution towards the development of his host country. There will also be considerable gains to the volunteer himself in terms of broadened experience and understanding. The volunteer's own country will also benefit in terms of the development of a more enlightened body of opinion. In general, emphasis is laid too exclusively on the contribution that the volunteer makes and not enough on what he receives and takes away.

In recent years African countries have received requests from sending agencies throughout the world to be allowed to send volunteers. If is often very difficult to produce enough satisfying projects to absorb volunteers, particularly those with minimal skills and experience. Many of these are prepared to serve for only a relatively short time. It is the general experience that volunteer service of one year, still more of less than one year, is of very limited value, compared with service for two years or more. This applies particularly in rural youth training.

There are also pressures to use volunteers outside the schools system. The highly controlled environment of the schools, however, particularly the secondary schools which for volunteers from Commonwealth countries present no language problems, probably constitutes the most appropriate sphere of operation for volunteers from overseas without technical skills. There is however a particular need for personnel who can

contribute towards youth training and rural development. The young, unskilled volunteer can contribute little in what is a particularly complex field requiring detailed knowledge of the people involved in the project and involving rigorous living conditions. Nevertheless, volunteers who are definitely skilled and understanding, and who are willing to commit themselves to longer than average periods of service, may be able to contribute usefully to this work. There are, however, major difficulties in supplying personnel with the kinds of skills and background required. Efforts by certain sending agencies to retrain and reorient volunteers who are regarded as having hidden aptitudes for rural development work, were viewed by seminar members with interest but with little conviction.

Receiving governments were urged to adopt a much more critical attitude in receiving volunteers, to define precisely the functions for which they are required and to state clearly the particular skills sought. Once requirements have been established in this way, governments should insist upon fulfilment and not accept unlikely substitutes.

The financing of volunteers was considered. There was no agreement on whether governments should in all cases refuse to pay the in-country costs of volunteers, although in view of the "invisible" gains accruing to sending governments, participants at the seminar believed that a more substantial share of the costs of volunteers should be borne by the providing agency. Against this, if volunteers are provided at no cost to the host government, there is a temptation to retain the services of volunteers rather than to provide employment for a local person. In addition, if host governments must bear some of the in-country costs, this encourages a more selective and critical approach to the use of overseas volunteers.

An African volunteer force?

At the time of the foundation of one of the largest of the British volunteer-sending agencies, the expectation was that its function would be essentially short-term. It was hoped that the presence of large numbers of young volunteers from overseas would promote a legitimate desire within African countries to set up their own volunteer programmes. The ultimate objective was that youth should be stimulated into serving their own communities. This hope has yet to be realised in Africa on a significant scale, presumably mainly for financial reasons. Many governments regard volunteer activities as

stop-gap measures useful only until regular staff can be provided. Nevertheless, the time may have come for a small beginning to be made in establishing African volunteer programmes both for deployment internally and for service elsewhere. In order to restrain costs, the external operations of such a programme might be confined at first to neighbouring countries. Some delegates expressed reservations about one African country accepting what would amount to aid from another, although this may be overcome if a degree of reciprocity is observed. Finance will be a major problem. It was suggested that some of the agencies which now place their own volunteers within African countries might assist in launching African volunteer programmes.

The possibility of any major expenditure being incurred on what was regarded as an unobjectionable but essentially peripheral activity, affecting only the few, was viewed with some concern. The main priority must lie in providing for the training needs of the mass of unskilled and frustrated young people out of school for whom concepts such as volunteering for service abroad are far removed from reality.

Commonwealth co-operation

The seminar welcomed the opportunity which had been provided for those concerned in youth training in the Commonwealth countries of Africa to meet together and exchange ideas and experiences. This successful venture, it was suggested, should be followed up by similar meetings in other regions of the Commonwealth at which the viewpoint of African countries might also be represented. These seminars might, as Commonwealth Heads of Government contemplated at their meeting in January 1969, be precursors to a Commonwealth meeting in due course of ministers concerned with youth problems, who might go further towards establishing formal arrangements for Commonwealth co-operation in the youth field.

Existing arrangements organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat, for the promotion of exchange of experience among professional experts within the general field of education, established at the Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference in 1968, have enabled personnel concerned with the planning and development of youth programmes to visit each other's countries and profit from comparing experience. It was hoped that such arrangements could be developed further. One area which may be worth further examination is actual exchanges

between young people. Again, however, there was concern that expenditure incurred in such exchanges could result in the diminution of resources allocated to the priority problem of training and employment.

In the field of technical assistance, it was agreed that the Commonwealth with its shared traditions, its ease of communication, offers a particularly valuable opportunity for effective co-operation. Bilateral arrangements already provide for a considerable amount of technical assistance work to take place within the Commonwealth, between individual rich countries and individual developing countries. It was suggested that the possibility should be investigated of developing and expanding such assistance on a multilateral basis by including provision for youth training and youth activities within the arrangements which have developed in recent years under the Commonwealth Technical Assistance Programme. Proposals for expanding the scope and extent of the Commonwealth Technical Assistance Programme, drawn up at a meeting of senior technical assistance and development officials held in Barbados in September 1969, are currently before Commonwealth Governments for consideration.

It was suggested that information exchange was a field in which the Commonwealth Secretariat could usefully become more active. On the instruction of Commonwealth Heads of Government, the Secretariat has recently been studying the question of developing an information service. Given the funds, this could include information in the field of training and mobilising school leavers for development work. In particular, the Secretariat, it was suggested, could use to good advantage its special position to develop co-operative programmes involving both governments and non-governmental organisations. It was envisaged that the Secretariat might ultimately provide a functional clearing house on matters relating to the involvement of young people in development, and a comprehensive service to all interested bodies, and include within its work the exchange of information, the exchange of personnel and a consultancy service, making use of the capacities and expertise not only of the more advanced countries but also of developing countries themselves.

PART 2

CHAPTER 6

Addresses by the Consultants

(i)	Alec Dickson	: "Young People: Needs and Opportunities"
(ii)	Archibald Callaway	: "New Perspectives in the Youth Employment Problem in African Countries"
(iii)	Patrick van Rensburg	: "Education and Training in Relation to Rural Development"

YOUNG PEOPLE: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

by

Alec Dickson

Honorary Director, Community Service Volunteers

Where do we start? It could perhaps be with Baden-Powell: not with his founding of the Scout movement on Brownsea Island in 1908, but rather further back to the siege of Mafeking, where he saw that in a situation of stress boys had a vital function to fulfil by running messages. Or it might be with the age grades and initiation training that characterised traditional African society, whereby the young were prepared for their role in the adult community. But in this context I think first of William James, in his famous essay on "The Moral Equivalent of War", writing in 1910 of the need to call youth

> "to coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stokeholes and to the frames of skyscrapers".

Then there was Lewis Mumford, in his "Faith for Living" - written in 1941, just before Pearl Harbour brought America into the war - asking

> "why should the young not have their first experience of public service on work that serves for local improvement? They should be toughened off in lumber camps, on fishing boats, behind the hay-wagon and the threshing machine, on the road-gang and in the quarry. It should not need another war to effect this purposeful mobilisation of youth".

Moving from America to Asia, my mind goes back to a recent meeting in Delhi, where Mrs. Indira Gandhi told a gathering of Indian students, on the eve of National Independence Day:-

> "Social service for young people in the West may be a luxury - for our young people it is a necessity".

And I recall the young night receptionist at my hotel in Teheran last summer describing his experience in the "Army of Knowledge" - the alternative form of National Service which sends high school leavers to teach in the remote rural areas of Iran - the words, "That was the one good thing I have ever done in my life".

Is this relevant to the problems in Africa that we are discussing at this conference? Not primarily. Asia (and Latin America, too) wrestles with the problem of involving the privileged, intellectual elite in the uplifting of the masses. Certainly we, too, should be considering this aspect of things during our conference. But we are concerned here in the first place with the tens of thousands of Primary School leavers whom education has alienated from the notion of subsistence farming and for whom the economy just does not provide the jobs that they crave for.

Till yesterday they were a blessing, providing the indispensable additional hands to the peasant on his farm and sustenance in his old age. Now, suddenly, they appear in the guise of a problem. The young in Africa have become, it seems, what the elderly have become in westernised society - a burden and an embarrassment. (How striking it is to discover that the highest honour that the people of Kenya can bestow on their President is the title "Mzee" - Old Man).

The Hunger for Work

Frau Dr. Wolf, a Member of West Germany's Parliament deeply concerned with overseas aid, said a few weeks ago that the poster showing a pot-bellied child no longer represented, except in isolated pockets of famine, the real nature of Africa's distress. Rather it was a school leaver staring at a "No Vacancies" notice outside some office or factory. Where formerly they passed through tests of great physical severity - to be accepted then into the adult community - today the certificate brings them into a queue of other unemployed applicants. Their initiation is into insignificance.

You are not alone, let it be said with emphasis. Seeing the young people, so obviously gifted and of such manifest goodwill, who come to your countries as overseas volunteers, it would be understandable if some Africans were filled with bitterness or envy. First, because no-one really enjoys being the recipient of other people's benevolence or being regarded as deserving of

aid. Second, because these overseas volunteers are fortunate to be in a position to give. Yet today it is not so much the Peace Corps that is relevant to Africa - as the Job Corps for America's 'drop-outs'. Because the Job Corps represents the United States' struggle to find a solution for the discards of their educational system.

Nor is this something new to America. It was in the Great Depression of the 1930s that Roosevelt established the Civilian Conservation Corps "to conserve the soil of America and the soul of America's youth". (Note, in passing, how one need - soil conservation - was to be met by another: the hunger of young people for work). That splendid phrase which David Lilienthal of the Tennessee Valley Authority, used then - "Dreamers with Spades" - could apply so well to young people in Kenya's National Youth Service or the Malawi Young Pioneers.

For some countries, resort has even had to be made to the export of youth. Malawi has for decades exported its young men to South Africa, to Rhodesia, to Zambia: "Machona" - the lost ones - they used to be called. Well, it happens elsewhere, too. The Netherlands accept that many of their young people will have to emigrate, and part of their national resources are devoted to giving them the best kind of training to prepare them for a life overseas. I myself am a detribalised Scot: it has been the lot of so many of our young people to seek their destiny beyond Scotland's border, and even today they are leaving the Highlands and Islands for work in the cities.

What the educationists would argue

What would the educationists be telling us if they had been invited to this conference? They would be saying, I think, that experience has shown it to be useless to begin an agricultural programme in the Primary Schools. At that age the children are too young and small to undertake any labour of real value. As things are, teachers care for farming as little as pupils: work on the school garden is regarded, at best, as a chore, at worst, as a punishment. Still less is its introduction feasible, in the Kenyan context, in the Harambee schools: it is at the top - at the Alliance High School, for example - that a start can be made. To present agriculture as vocational training is fatal, they argue. The only possible basis for teaching agriculture must be that, since agriculture is the way of life for 90% of the

population, it is reasonable that the subject should figure in the syllabus of secondary schools, where pupils can understand its significance in relation to other activities.

This has a robust ring of practical commonsense about it, and it may be academically sound 'as things are'. But something profounder than curriculum reform or even the concept of the community school is at stake here. For the last 40 years or so the view that education should be child-centered has prevailed in the West. Now voices are to be heard to the effect that the community, too, has claims. The sight in Africa, even today, of 6-year-old boys tending cattle, and girls of the same age carrying a baby brother or sister on their backs, hardly suggests that 13-year-olds are too young to accept responsibilities.

Trying to restore what schooling has destroyed

Leaving aside all the economic considerations, manpower implications, rural development planning and employment prospects, is it a fair hypothesis that things began to go adrift when educational responsibilities came to be seen solely as obligations that the community undertakes for the establishment of schools, rather than duties that young people assume towards the community? Today the Harambee schools represent sacrifices that the community makes for the benefit of the children, rather than vice versa.

And so we have a variety of programmes - from Man O' War Bay and similar ventures to settlement schemes and Builders Brigades - trying to restore that sense of communal endeavour and self-reliance which conventional schooling has come near to eliminating. They become almost remedial exercises: not only expensive in themselves but counterproductive in that they seek virtually to undo this particular consequence of the educational system. It is as though the two approaches were cancelling each other out. However vigorous the mopping-up operation may be, one is conscious meanwhile - in Russell Prosser's apt phrase - of the tap being left on, pouring out still more thousands of children with unfulfillable expectations.

National Youth Service: - possibilities and limitations

As one answer to this problem, several countries have established some form of National Youth Service. Through road-building and bush-clearing and similar tasks, young people contribute to their country's development, and a sense of national

unity is engendered, surpassing tribal loyalties. They aim to achieve that "purposeful mobilisation of youth" of which Lewis Mumford wrote. Nevertheless, these organisations are today drawing criticism on a number of grounds. First, they deal - principally on account of their very considerable cost - with only a small percentage of the real total. Second, they offer a kind of life - with the provision of food and uniforms and accommodation - which may make it harder, not easier, for the young people to go in for farming afterwards. At any rate they do not generate jobs to absorb their members on discharge, though some of them (e.g. Malawi Young Pioneers) link their training now to resettlement schemes.

But even if it is only for limited numbers that they provide an alternative to despair, this is surely good. Nor is it only in Africa that a sense of common belonging is needed: the recently published Report on Race Relations in Britain advocates some form of diversified National Service, chiefly because it would promote social cohesion and give young coloured immigrants a feeling of sharing in the obligations of citizenship alongside our own young people.

For the elite - or the unemployed?

Where there may be confusion of thought is whether this approach should be for the highly educated elite, or for the underprivileged workless. The Ethiopian University Service entails students teaching in village schools for a year as a basic condition of their receiving a degree, just as the Iranian Army of Knowledge, already mentioned, and the Medical Corps and Development Corps which have followed it, send Persian secondary school leavers to help in rural areas as an alternative to military service. Tanzania's concept of National Service is also moving in the same direction.

This approach would seem not to discourage local self-help, but to support it. For community development projects generally mean the people building or paying for the construction of schools and clinics, but not dealing with the recurrent costs of staffing them: this kind of National Service helps to do just that. Through the social application of the relay-race principle, these well-educated students - replacing each other at regular intervals - bring an intensity of effort to bear upon the task during their year or so of National Service. They represent something half way, so to speak, between the dedicated saint and the indifferent government employee. But this, of course, is different from the

approach required for finding permanent work for thousands of ex-Primary School leavers or preparing them for farming.

It is, however, the discipline and uniforms that go with these National Youth Service organisations which cause unease to some observers, especially to those who remember what happened to Ghana's Young Pioneers. Certainly I encountered resistance over twenty-five years ago when I urged the need for something on these lines, first in East Africa and subsequently in West Africa. The British Administrators, Educationists and Social Welfare Advisers feared that any proposal to involve young people in nation-wide service to their country must be tainted with Nazism or Fascism, and so my suggestions were fiercely rejected.

To feel wanted - the fundamental longing.

Today, it may interest you to learn, quite a number of the young people whom I am involving in community service in Britain have not volunteered: they have been sent. I have in mind the young entrants into the Police Forces, 18-year-old Cadets, who are sent to us by their authorities to have some experience of social work as an integral part of their training. Their Police Authorities believe that exposure to situations of human need - without the protection of uniform or rank - is just as vital to their training as drill or athletics or the law book.

When they enter my office it is not necessary that they should identify themselves as having been sent by their Police Authorities. The faint look of martyrdom on their faces distinguishes them from the ordinary volunteers. Some of them ask: "It's only four months I have to do, Sir, isn't it?" But then something strange happens if that same evening they open the door of a hospital ward and find themselves faced with a dozen paralysed or spastic children, whom they have to bath, put into pyjamas, lift into bed and perhaps even tell a story to before they sleep. By midnight these young men are no longer asking "Why do I have to do this ?" Deep down within them they now understand why, and within days or even hours they become indistinguishable from the most spontaneous and committed of our volunteers. It is the situation, and not any words I have said to them, which has brought about this change of attitude in them. Most of us have been brought up to believe that action is a consequence of conscience. But for many young people today - and perhaps not only for the young - conscience may rather be a consequence of action. In other words, through experience we can teach the young to care.

The right to serve.

An Arab boy said to me recently in a school in Israel: "It isn't fair - here the Jewish boys are conscripted into the Forces, but we Arab boys have to volunteer!" He interpreted this to mean that the Jewish boys were wanted by the Israel authorities, and the Arab boys were not: and he was right. We have got to think much more deeply about these implications. It is no longer the simple school debating question of Compulsion versus Volunteering. It is a much profounder issue: - how do we enable young people to feel needed?

You may also be surprised when I say that in my organisation in Britain, we never reject. No matter how inadequate a young volunteer may seem to us (or himself), we never reject him. To serve overseas, that is a privilege. But to serve their own country, that is their right. (Incidentally, it is much more difficult, in our experience, to make a worthwhile contribution in one's own country than overseas. Perhaps it is because what we call Community Development in other people's countries is generally known as Politics in our own.)

Now we are taking this approach even further. We are reaching out for the disadvantaged - the handicapped, the delinquent, the immigrant. For example, we have been accepting young offenders, specially released from reformatories and other delinquency institutions. For such young people, who generally feel rejected, to discover that they are wanted by the community, to learn that they have it within their power to help others, this can bring about a change in attitude that no other training can achieve.

Handicapped as helpers

We try to find situations where to be disadvantaged can be turned to advantage. I think, for instance, of a voluntary welfare organisation which, like many other similar bodies, urgently needs to have someone who can take telephone calls at night and at weekends. Their solution: a bedridden volunteer, unable to move because of paralysis, who is happy to take calls on the telephone beside her bed, and then contact the appropriate member of staff either immediately or the following morning: she has a vital role to play, not despite her disability, but because of it.

Or I think of John - an 18-years-old and irrevocably blind - going to a centre for spastic children. These children have reached an age when they realise that they are not going to improve and are full of doubt regarding their future. Suddenly into their lives comes a young man who in their view is infinitely worse handicapped than they, and yet who not only is self-reliant but has come to help them. Furthermore, he cannot properly fulfil his function - exercising them in the swimming pool - unless they, in turn, help him. John's impact on the morale of these spastic children has probably been greater than that of any able-bodied volunteer.

This concept of reciprocity, of mutual aid, seems to me of deep significance. We had a volunteer, Tim, working with immigrant children in a London borough. After school he would knock on doors and old English ladies would enquire what he wanted. "Can you help me?" he would ask: (a classically good opening, rather than "I've come to help you! ") He would explain how his Asian pupils would return home from school, and talk Urdu, Gujerati, Tamil, Bengali, etc., with their families until their return to class the next morning, thereby undoing what he had been teaching them. Would these ladies allow some of his Indian boys to visit them, so that they might practise their English? With infinite caution, some would agree. Tim would then rush back to his class, saying: "There are old English ladies living alone in this town, who've never been visited. We're going to help them, aren't we?" And so when two 12 years - old Punjabi boys spent half an hour trying to talk with these ladies, each party was convienced that they were needed by the other, as, indeed, each was.

This may sound rather middle-class and remote from the problems of African school-leavers. But does not the absence of this concept of reciprocity bedevil relationships between developing countries and the West, making Tecnical Assistance and the process of giving and taking such an explosive affair? Furthermore, in the context of Africa today, workless school-leavers are to be regarded as amongst the disadvantaged. At Starehe Boys Centre in Nairobi - where to be orphaned or destitute is a condition of acceptance - boys serve as volunteers in hospitals during their holidays, growing in self-respect through the experience of being needed by others.

Education for self-reliance.

Twenty years ago a conference on this theme would have assembled with the assumption that industrialisation was the

answer. Today, with less optimism but probably with a greater sense of reality, we recognise that the majority of people in Africa will have to continue to earn their living from the land. Then do we understand the implications of education for self-reliance? "Kuuliza si ujinga", to ask is not stupid, as the Swahili saying goes. It may be a contradiction in terms to speak of organising training for self-reliance, rather like planned adventure, or prepared spontaneity.

Education for self-reliance of the kind required will not come, I fear, through the adventure training courses and award schemes that we British have pioneered. Partly because adventure for adventure's sake is something of a luxury in countries where the struggle for existence is itself sufficiently demanding; when I asked some years ago how one would translate the word into Swahili, the answer was "Hatari" (danger) and this was not something that one sought for its own sake. Partly, too, because it can mean different things to different people.

There was a Peace Corps volunteer, assigned to a secondary school in the capital of a developing country, who wrote home plaintively; "Don't they think I'm man enough to work in the Bush?" For the overwhelming majority of young people in Africa and Asia, the excitement lies in exactly the reverse direction in the city.

During four very full years I was responsible for a scheme in West Africa which strove to relate adventure to community development. We used every kind of device to create a sense of social awareness, on the one hand simulating civil emergencies that called for individual initiative, and on the other confronting our students with problems that demanded their co-operation. I was reminded of all this a few months ago, at a gathering in France of European volunteers who had returned from service abroad. In recounting their experiences, all began by paying tribute to the preliminary training they had received in their own country, but then went on to describe the difficulties they had encountered in their projects overseas, some of them so intense that they had almost proved their undoing.

Need for sustained follow-up.

There was the young Swiss builder, sent to supervise the construction of a school in a remote part of the Cameroons, who on arrival at the site discovered not the dozen masons, carpenters plasterers etc. whom he expected, but a milling crowd of four

hundred illiterate tribesmen. There was the Peace Corps teacher in Liberia who was assailed by loneliness and isolation to such a degree that she feared a nervous breakdown, and returned before the end of her service. Then there was the German Development Corps agriculturist in Afghanistan who was warmly welcomed by peasant farmers, but just could not relate upwards to the uncaring officials. Finally, there was the Canadian teacher of physical education, posted to a Training College in Guyana, who found that there simply was no job to do: she was a pawn in a manoeuvre to justify an increased staff establishment. All of them had been trained for their assignments, but not in how to deal with frustration. All discovered that the initial preparation was not enough: they stood in need of continued help, of sustained follow-up. There is a growing feeling in social work in Britain that more important than preliminary courses today is in-service training: what really counts is the quality of supervision on-the-job. Will it not matter even more with our plans to help young African school-leavers settle on the land?

There could, however, have been an alternative explanation for the distress encountered by these volunteers in their projects. The training they received, based in every case on an institute or centre, may have given them initially too much support, and for that very reason failed to educate them for self-reliance. "Now do without me", said Nietzsche's Zara-trustra. That is exactly what one young British volunteer did: destined for service in Israel, he decided to organise his own training, and contacted the local Jewish community in his nearest city (Leicester), seeking permission to attend their synagogue, studying the Talmud in translation, and enquiring how a Gentile could best make himself acceptable to them. He not only staggered the Jewish community in Leicester - but ensured his own acceptance in Israel. "Education for Self-Reliance" is the title that President Nyerere has given his book. It is a subject that we need to think deeply about, for certain kinds of institutional training, which we have depended on heavily in the past, may in effect have made it more difficult for trainees subsequently to stand on their own feet.

Changing attitudes harder than teaching skills.

The Report of the Kericho Conference, 1966, the Kenya Christian Council's "After School - What?", and so many other reports are all unanimous on one point: most African school-leaver's job-expectations are quite unrealistic. Changing

attitudes may be far harder than imparting skills. Andrew Carnegie brought highly experienced Scottish craftsmen to the States, to master the revolutionary techniques of steel-making that had been developed: ultimately he found that totally raw immigrants from Eastern Europe were able to operate the new processes much more quickly, because they had nothing to unlearn. When I worked in rural welfare in Iraq it was easier to get illiterate peasants to drive tractors than to get young teachers to ride horses: the latter involved a drop in status.

In its early days the Peace Corps received many requests for the American Farm Boy. Developing countries hoped that this attractive figure - in blue denim overalls, a spanner in one hand, a corncob in the other - might influence some of their own educated youth with his practical, down-to-earth approach. Alas, this cheerful personality survived only in the film "Oklahoma!" Undismayed in the conviction that the customer is always right, the Americans set about "re-tooling", to recreate him. What they did was to re-examine (mechanically, of course) the application forms, some of whose questions had been framed so as to reveal an "under-emphasised rural bias". Whilst most candidates were Liberal Arts B.A.s, the replies of a number had indicated a love of the countryside. These were the ones chosen for intensive "crash" training in agricultural techniques and behold, here were the American Farm Boys, model 1961. It had been fairly simple to give them a working knowledge of up-to-date food-growing methods, but useless to do so unless they were emotionally content to serve in rural areas.

Seductions of institutional centres.

The Foreign Service Department of Israel's Ministry of Agriculture runs courses for young agriculturists from overseas. "We cannot show them here very much that they have not learnt already at the Farm Institutes and Agricultural Colleges in their own countries", Gershon Fradkin, the Director, told me. "But here they encounter men - educated men - who love the land: and it is this feeling for farming, rather than any specific new techniques, that we try to impart here".

The Israelis understand, too, the importance of training not lasting a moment more than is strictly necessary. Prolong the duration of a course beyond a certain point and students may start wondering how they can extend it still further: with every day that passes it becomes more difficult for them to return to the harsh realities of rural work in their own communities.

A more radical way of avoiding the seductions of institutional centres is to organise training through mobile teams, which conduct campaigns or courses in situ. Staff are kept alert, having to adapt their "message" to the local problems: the whole community, rather than a chosen few, can to some extent share in what is being presented: and it avoids what our American friends call the "reverse culture-shock syndrome", the difficulty of relating the vision acquired in far-away circumstances to the situation back home. (As astronauts know, re-entry is more dangerous than blast-off.)

Frustration of training without work opportunities.

But training not followed by some work opportunity, as Guy Hunter has written, is quickly abandoned and discredited. And Freddie Wood has pointed out in one of our conference papers, training in itself cannot solve what is basically an employment problem. So how do we create jobs? With tens of thousands of their young people facing the prospect of permanent unemployment - partly as a result of automation - a group of Americans have developed a programme of "New Careers for the Poor". Even amongst the least intellectually endowed and the worst educated, they argue, there will be found those with a capacity to care for others: and these can be trained to serve as auxiliaries and aides in the "caring" professions. This approach entails not only preparing people to fill unexpected roles but adapting and reshaping established job structures so as to make use of underskilled manpower. In a quite different approach the Neighbourhood Youth Corps has been set up in many cities of the United States to enable socially deprived youngsters to undertake jobs to improve their own locality: an African counterpart is to be seen in the Boys' Society in Freetown.

Role of intermediate technology.

But something far more fundamental is required for the rural situation that prevails for the greater part of Africa and Asia. An increasing number of governments are wondering whether the concept of Intermediate Technology may be relevant to their needs. Dr. Schumacher, Economic Adviser to the National Coal Board in Britain, has developed this concept out of disenchantment - born from his experience in Burma - with the impact of industralisation on peasant life. This impact he feels, has brought despair to millions in developing countries, and disillusionment to many aid-giving nations. The growth of a dual economy results in a very modern sector, and a hinterland

of impoverishment. Then, says Schumacher in a vivid phrase, "the hinterland takes its revenge", for the unemployed swarm into the city and proliferate in the slums and shanty-towns, poisoning the city and making it unmanageable.

Putting men to work: not labour-saving machinery

The large-scale, capital-intensive mechanisms of the West bring havoc to the simpler economies and cultures of Africa and Asia. For every new job created by a modern factory, ten small jobs disappear elsewhere. But, argues Schumacher, if a product = capital + labour, then a decrease in capital means an increase in labour: the product remains the same. Philips, the great electronics firm, recently set up a special workshop in the Netherlands,* dispensing with the more automated processes of production in order to demonstrate how radios can be manufactured using hand-assembly and the kind of work-force so readily available in the East. It is this labour-intensive approach which is required in developing countries. We should be thinking, says Schumacher, in terms of hand-operated machinery, animal-drawn equipment, bicycle-trailers, water-catchment tanks, do-it-yourself kits, low-cost processing of skins and hides and so forth.

"Only the best is good enough for Africa" - Aggrey's famous phrase of the 1920s - can be tragically misinterpreted. For what is best is not necessarily what is foreign, it is what is most appropriate (Intermediate Technology is known in India as Appropriate Technology). Schumacher urges that:-

(a) workplaces should be located where people are living at the time;
(b) they should be working with local materials, for local use;
(c) production should be simple, minimising the need for sophisticated skills;
(d) methods should be cheap enough not to demand expensive, imported machinery.

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* Specially located at Utrecht, without telephone installations, so that communications with the parent company at Eindhoven has to be by letter, as in developing countries.

Not two sectors - but shared sacrifice

It is the educational counterpart to this approach that we should be considering. Education and production must be linked, with schools in rural areas becoming half-classroom/half-farm, and in towns half-studies/half-workshop. Only thus can the alienation between learning and labour be avoided. Schumacher's conviction corresponds strikingly with President Nyerere's view, quoted by Patrick van Rensburg in his paper for this conference: "Every school should also be a farm... the school community should consist of both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers... the school members should learn that it is their farm and that their living standards depend on it". And both would agree in saying to the privileged few: "If society enables you to get an education, something so valuable and so much better than what most of your fellow countrymen can get, then you have to give something in return".

The trouble lies in the presence of the two sectors, one providing an 'inferior' kind of education, the other a 'superior' kind, as one of our conference papers puts it. Why should the young, or anyone else, for that matter, be prepared to accept a simple existence based on sweat, when, so visibly, others don't? Sacrifice becomes tolerable when it is shared by all: not when others - the 'Wa-Benzi'* - are seen to be enjoying the good things of life. A uniform condition of economic austerity and a unifying philosophy of self-reliance, such as prevail in Tanzania, may perhaps be pre-requisites.

What can our Open Society offer?

Does this mean that an Open Society, such as characterises Britain, has no contribution to make in this field? Here I am not so pessimistic. I do not wish to speak of all that goes by the name of 'participation' today; rather I would like to pinpoint a number of developments which suggest that we may be edging a little nearer to what might be regarded as a compassionate community.

In London S.E.1. the postmen are saying to the Welfare Departments in Southwark and Lewisham: "Taking round the letters we get to know who is in trouble. Would you like us to let you know where there are folk in need?" They have been followed by the dairymen, delivering milk to households, who have said: "Even without knocking on the door, we can tell by the way the bottles are set out whether something unusual is afoot". And in Leeds the men who enter houses to check the

*Wa-Benzi' - those driving about in Mercedes-Benz cars.

gas and electricity meters have likewise offered to inform the appropriate authorities when they find people in need of help. What is significant is that these men in the humblest forms of public service have suddenly realised that they are potentially in the front ranks of social workers.

The Army in Britain, now that there are proportionately more troops in the United Kingdom than at any time for over 150 years, is developing a programme of Military Aid to the Community ('Operation MAC'). The first soldier-volunteer to be released by the Ministry of Defence is now attached to my organisation. This Corporal/Carpenter is acting as a 'catalyst' or organiser, enabling groups of local young volunteers to make semi-derelict accommodation habitable for people urgently needing housing. In a sense he is the urban equivalent of the "animateurs" serving in the rural areas of French-speaking Africa. It is valuable training in leadership for the Corporal; good public relations for the Army; a service to the local community; and an encouragement to the young people of the neighbourhood. I have spoken earlier of Police Cadets helping those in need, as an integral part of their training. We need in every country to make all those in Government Service more sensitive in human relations and more aware of their responsibilities to the community.

Learning to give - as an integral part of education

I would not be so strong an advocate of relating education to the needs of society in Africa, did I not believe equally that in Britain our schooling must become less child-centred and more community-orientated. When I founded V.S.O. eleven years ago, it was to enable a few - a small elite - to make their contribution. In my present work we believe, as I have said, that any young person offering himself should have the opportunity of service. Now we want to take this development still a stage further, so that all young people have some experience of helping others, as a basic constituent of their education. In other words we aim to integrate community service with the curriculum.*

* See "Community Service & the Curriculum" (Schools Council Working Paper No.17), Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968: "School in the Round" (Alec & Mora Dickson), Ward Lock Educational, London, 1969.

It is not easy to gain the acceptance of educationists for this thesis; it is harder still to work out the practical ways by which it can be implemented. "You have entered an era where you can no longer pay others to do your caring for you", we say to young people: and certainly the social problems facing us in the West - loneliness, race relations, boredom, drug dependence, delinquency - cannot be solved just by appointing professionals to tackle them. Yet the most difficult task is not to evoke a response from the young: indeed, a few days before my departure for this conference our National Union of Students, normally a thorn in the Government's side, urged the Secretary of State for Education to relate university and college syllabi to the service of the community. No, rather the problem is to persuade the authorities to take advantage of their offer. When we talk of the need for training, perhaps it is Government Departments which stand in need of guidance in how to see problems in terms of what people can do to solve them.

Service related to the Syllabus

Old people living alone in the West meet with accidents in their home from time to time. A fall, a seizure, a stroke renders them incapable of movement: and possibly it may not be for some days that they are found - dead. How could neighbours or passers-by be alerted in such instances? This was the problem that 14-15 year-old children and their teacher set themselves at a school in Lancashire this year. It was no good installing a handle or bell that required to be operated by the stricken person possibly unconscious: it had to function of its own accord, precisely because no action had been taken. After weeks of fruitless experimentation, with the movement of water in the pipes and other means, pupils and teacher realised that what they were seeking was available at any electrician's shop, namely a time-switch that could be set to sound an alarm after a predetermined passage of hours. But somehow the device had to be prevented automatically from working if, in the normal course of events, no accident occurred. What natural action undertaken in the course of an ordinary day by any householder would neutralise the appliance, thus preventing a false alarm? There followed months of further tests, using phenomena such as the opening and closing of doors. In October they had the answer: - every time the lavatory plug is pulled the arm of the time switch is returned to zero! When I left for this conference the Welfare Departments of both Manchester Corporation and Walkden Council were arranging to install pilot schemes.

The imaginative woman-teacher at that school does not call her subject 'Community Service' or 'Social Education'. For her it is Science, but applied to the needs which she knows are real to her pupils and the neighbourhood. The school itself has become an agent of change. Most of us have been told that 'education is preparation for life'. At that school they are not getting ready for life: they are living it here and now.

PERSPECTIVES ON YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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SUMMARY

SUMMARY

1. Opportunities for employment of youth within large-scale modern establishments (government service, large industries, modern transport and commerce) are limited and will remain so, proportionately to applicants, for decades to come.

2. The principal efforts in creating job opportunites for youth must, therefore, focus on the smaller economic units within the economy: that is, on farms, and on non-farm enterprise in rural and urban areas.

3. In order to be successful in increasing the rate of employment absorption of youth within these smaller economic units - in jobs that are, in prospect, productive and rewarding - there is urgent need to grasp the essential characteristics of what presently exists and to find ways for improvement.

4. Thus, in designing programmes to create jobs for youth, the beginning should be made with things 'as they are' rather than 'as they should be'. What happens naturally? For example, how does a child who does not attend school learn the basic skills for his (or her) occupation, whether on the farm or in trading or craft enterprise? To what educative influences is he exposed and what are the elements within the process of growing up to become a member of the adult work force? Again, what is the significance of master-apprentice relationships in trading and in workshops?

5. Efforts to upgrade the skills of fathers and masters (through extension services) mean the improvement of the training of youth dependent on them. Since the economies of scale are by no means always on the side of large enterprise, jobs can be created for willing youths.

6. The problem of jobless educated youth is particularly pressing in all tropical African countries. It is important to understand, however, the varied degrees of urgency of these school leavers, especially of those who have migrated to cities and whose homes are in areas of low money circulation.

7. In designing programmes to assist in the creation of jobs for this hard-pressed category of school leavers, it is better not to cause too marked a disruption with existing patterns of life and work. How many discontinuities can a society afford?

8. At the project level, the following principles appear to be relevant. Projects should be evaluated in terms of whether they are or are likely to be:

a. labour-intensive

b. self-perpetuating

c. self-multiplying

d. high in self-help (low in public cost)

e. minimum of discontinuities with existing cultural arrangments

f. 'for' youth; 'with' youth; 'by' youth.

9. At the aggregate level, government policies should be consistent with the employment needs of youth and give maximum attention to:

a. efficiency of the system of prices (including subsidies, etc.) with its incentives which encourage initiatives and responses of youth in their self-creation of jobs;

b. industrialisation should be viewed as a gradient stretching from large capital-intensive units (for manufacture of cement, textiles, etc.) with high productivity and relatively high wages, through intermediate size, to the wide variety of labour-intensive smaller units with low productivity and low wages;

c. rural development should be given priority, with both general and specific programmes to help farm families improve economic productivity and to encourage small-scale farm processing units and those providing services for farmers;

d. direct control of migration of youth (mainly school leavers) to cities is ultimately futile and no substitute for a well-articulated series of rural development programmes that raise farm incomes, improve non-farm enterprises, and encourage self-help community projects (with, in some instances, compensatory help in planning and provision of materials by local authorities).

PERSPECTIVES ON YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICAN NATIONS

I. IDENTIFICATION OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT NEEDS

1. The problem in outline

How do individual projects to assist young people fit within the total effort of national development? What is the impact of these projects likely to be in the long run? Are they self-multiplying? In other words, projects that help the 'few' have to be thought of in relation to their results for the 'many'; those which are short-term in focus should be measured against the long-term nature of the problem of youth employment and training. There is not much use in promoting piecemeal solutions, in fact, unless at the same time government policies are moving towards alleviating this problem on a variety of fronts. This presentation is concerned with both levels of interpretation and analysis: at the aggregate level and also at the disaggregated level; or, putting it another way, at both the macro and the micro levels.

In Africa today, there is increasing concern with the critical problem of youth employment, for young men and women, in both rural and urban areas. Governments (as well as voluntary organisations) recognise that, in large measure, success in achieving sustained and meaningful long-term development depends on the national ability:

1. to promote welfare measures that will maintain or improve the physical and mental well-being of youth before and after their joining the national work force;

2. to provide the facilities for their necessary basic education and training in specific skills;

3. to create an economic environment in which productive and rewarding work opportunities are available for youth.

The reasoning behind this determination to assist youth is that

these young people have 30 to 40 years of working life in front of them. Given the opportunities, they will help to modernise the society and the economy.

Welfare programmes for youth are part of the total welfare outlays of the nation. When the local environment is improved by such measures as eradicating malaria and smallpox, extending modern medical facilities, improving nutrition, providing a clean water supply and encouraging better sanitation, then parents can give their children a healthier start in life. There are also specific programmes undertaken by governments, voluntary organisations, and local leaders for youth: (1) providing recreation and a sense of belonging (youth associations of all kinds in both rural and urban areas); (2) giving supplementary occupational learning (for young men-farmers' or fishermen's clubs, for young women - sewing or homemaking clubs); (3) supporting special groups (centres for blind and those handicapped in other ways); and (4) giving corrective or remedial training (homes for juvenile delinquents). No African nation - for that matter, no nation anywhere - is in a position to do all it would wish to in the field of welfare for its youth. Difficult choices have to be made in establishing priorities.

Confronted by rising numbers of school-age children and by advances in science and technology requiring long-term investment in new and higher-level skills, those responsible for educational planning also have before them complex decisions. Above all, ideals of a larger, more diversified, improved system of general and technical education have to be matched continuously with competing claims for the use of present and future resources.

Neither measures for the needs of welfare nor provision for training in skills, however, can have meaning unless there exists an economy of opportunity for youth to find beginning jobs that are productive and remunerative. Such openings derive in large part from the pace and patterns of economic development. Generally, the higher the rate of growth that is achieved, the greater the number of employment opportunities that are revealed. These opportunities are increased by the extent to which higher labour intensity is encouraged, where this proves economically and technically feasible. The balance between investment in rural and urban development also affects the types of work available for youth.

Most national economic and social plans are designed on at least a three to five-year basis with horizons that stretch for

a much greater period and thus allow the short-term plan to be viewed within longer time dimensions. In the same way, the focus on the needs of youth has to be extended in time. What are the expected numbers of young persons who will be reaching the age for joining the national work force at particular stages in the future: five years, ten years, twenty years from now?

By world standards today, African nations have high annual net increases in their populations: typically between 2 and 3 per cent. In the present context, what does this mean? (1) There are high proportions of children to total populations. Frequently between 40 and 50 per cent are below the age of 15 with consequent dependence on adult workers for provision of their needs for food, clothing, health, education, and so on. (2) The rate of advancement in the economies has consistently to exceed the annual net increase in population in order that people's expectations for improvements in their living standards begin to be met. (3) Because of the increasing numbers of young entrants to the labour force each year, the problem of making the economic and social arrangements that would reveal suitable beginning employment opportunities for youth becomes more formidable.

Just as the needs for youth employment have to be seen in the longer time dimension, they must also be projected against the diversity of home backgrounds. For any one African nation there is not one environment, but many. Different groups of people vary in their traditions, their ways of living, their initiatives and their responses. Different natural resources mean contrasts in degrees of wealth and poverty: some areas have cash crops, plentiful land, or mineral wealth; while others have only subsistence farming or perhaps a grave shortage of fertile land.

In recent years, economic and social change in Africa has taken place at unprecedented intensity, yet one of the characteristics of this rapid change is its uneven spread and uneven depth. In certain rural areas, families live now in almost the same manner as their forefathers have done for many generations. At the opposite extreme, some families in cities live as they might in any modern metropolitan centre anywhere in the world. Certain areas have vigorous local crafts and small industries; others have attracted a concentration of large industries; while still other areas have no signs of any industrial beginnings. Some places have had modern schooling for three or four generations; others have no schools yet. Thus, there are not only marked differences between individual societies within nations, but also

many variations in the extent of modernisation.

Because of these disparities in background, multiple approaches are necessary to the problem of youth employment, requiring close knowledge of local cultural and material conditions. What are the characteristic forms of social organisation and of immediate and extended family relationships? How widespread have been the effects of such modern forces as the widening market, the school, introduction of new cash crops, beginnings of industrialisation? What are the salient features of economic organisation: communal, co-operative, private or family enterprise? What group associations, whether traditional or modern in origin, care for aspects of welfare for young people? How do young people develop skills in these varied local conditions? What are the usual lines of absorption of youth into the adult working scene? What is the role of young women in the evolving society? What conditions do local leaders (either traditional elders or particularly successful individuals) make in helping to meet the needs of young people? What has government and voluntary help so far accomplished?

2. Learning processes.

Young people growing up in Africa are exposed to either one or both of two distinct learning processes: the first comprises the various indigenous forms of learning; the second, the disciplines of modern classroom education. The indigenous learning, through a variety of means - ceremonies and rituals, songs and dances and story-telling, combined with arduous training in specialised arts and work processes - has passed on from generation to generation the spiritual values and technical knowledge of African societies. Modern classroom education has existed for varying periods in different parts of Africa. Both learning processes play their part in transmitting knowledge and cultural values and in preparing youth for undertaking their life vocations.

In Africa today, the percentages of children who are gaining formal primary education vary widely: a number of countries have more than 40 per cent of school-age children in classrooms; some have less than 10 per cent. The average for all countries taken together of children achieving literacy - that is, allowing for drop-outs before the fourth year of primary education - would probably be around 30 per cent. (Adult literacy also varies considerably with a few countries greater than 25 per cent, some less than 10 per cent, and an average for all countries somewhat less than 20 per cent.) At the secondary level, a few

countries in Africa have been able to provide for more than 10 per cent of that age group.

Clearly, any appraisal of the needs of youth must consider all youth and the varied processes of learning, both in the classroom and out. How do the 60 to 70 per cent of children who do not attend school learn the basis for their life work and become absorbed into the labour force? What policies and specific projects for education on the job can improve their abilities and widen their outlook?

The characteristic form of enterprise in any African country is the self-employed family unit: the farm, the craft or artisan workshop, the stall in the market or the shop, the small transport business. Children who do not go to formal schools often become 'economically active' at around age 7 and learn on the job. Some children in a family may learn the occupations of their parents; others may be apprenticed to relatives to diversify their training.

This widely-spread indigenous training in skills is central to any explanation of the emergence and growth of private and family productive enterprises in Africa. Through this system, young people (including, nowadays, youth who have attended formal schools) are learning a wide range of arts and crafts, from the traditional skills of wood-carving and bronze-casting to the contemporary ones of electrical wiring and dry-cleaning. They are learning to trade, to drive vehicles, to handle tools and machines. They are learning to make clay bricks and concrete blocks, to build houses, to bake bread, and to repair cars, trucks, typewriters, and household electrical equipment.

The distinction is sometimes made that indigenous learning processes are static, passing on only traditional skills, while modern education alone provides the dynamic approach necessary to transform societies. Such a sharp contrast is misleading, particularly when it can be shown that new techniques and new skills are being infused through this indigenous learning system. What is clear, however, is that parents or masters cannot teach skills to their children or their apprentices which they do not themselves possess. It follows that any assistance to raise the technical performance of adults - for example, through agricultural extension or through a business extension service - will eventually help these young learners. This is an indirect means: to raise the skills of fathers and masters is to help sons and apprentices. Or youth can be helped by such direct means as

short courses for young women in poultry-keeping or sewing, for young men in particular aspects of farming or craft work. Any national or local policy for youth employment should thus consider ways for upgrading skills on the job.

3. From school to work

While the challenge is that of providing opportunities for all the youth of a nation - rural and urban, young men and young women, those with formal schooling and those without, those following traditional occupations and those hoping for jobs in the modernising economy - there are certain groups who call for special attention: who because of the rapidity of social change have become displaced from their home communities and are living more or less precariously at the margins of city life. In most African countries today, these youth who have hopefully set out from rural areas to search for jobs in cities are those who have had some years of formal schooling.

Rising populations and rapidly expanded facilities for elementary schooling have meant vastly increasing numbers presently passing out from primary schools. Secondary schools and vocational training centres are able to accommodate only a small proportion of this number. Many of the rest search for jobs and often remain unengaged in any constructive work for long periods. One effect of modern education is thus to convert a situation of under-employment in villages into one of open unemployment in towns and cities.

This gathering unemployment among school leavers may be illustrated in terms of a simple model: the rate at which these young people are leaving school is rising much faster than the rate at which beginning opportunities for rewarding employment are expanding within the economy. And thus, given the attitude that many have towards traditional farming and other low-income rural occupations, the backlog of uncommitted youth grows.

Indications for the years ahead in some African countries are already becoming clear: university graduates will be required to accept employment at a lower starting salary with promotions coming slowly; secondary school leavers will have to accept jobs of a lesser order; and primary school leavers will have little chance for beginning wage-paid work.

For most countries, however, it is the job-seekers with

from four to ten years of formal schooling for whom immediate policy action is required. The reasons for such attention can be summarised:

1. The problem is getting bigger. Each year the number of jobless youth in the cities grows.

2. Aspirations have been aroused through the process of formal education. Nor is it only the ambitions of school leavers themselves: there are also the hopes of parents and relatives who have usually denied themselves other forms of expenditure in order to promote their children's education and to prepare them for a better way of making a living.

3. Too great an exodus from rural areas can lower farm production and delay agricultural modernisation.

4. Too rapid an influx into cities brings pressure on the municipal water supply and sanitation, sometimes leading to urban squalor and vast shanty towns. Governments may then be pressed to provide heavy expenditures on amenities, which may further widen the contrast between rural and urban development.

5. When unemployment stretches over a long period with consequent insecurity, there follows the threat of increasing juvenile delinquency and crime, physical ill-health and mental disturbance, and resort to drugs.

6. Heavy expenditures of scarce public resources, as well as private funds, have been devoted to the education of these youths. The payoff from this investment is being delayed.

7. If the society becomes more and more divided into those who enjoy the conspicuous comforts of modern living and those who are excluded, large numbers of unemployed present a distinct threat to national stability.

8. Unemployment has a high social and economic cost. Those not working reduce the standard of living and the potential savings of those who are. And for the nation - when development is urgently being sought - unemployment means a tragic waste of human resources.

9. If long-term solutions in harmony with the general pattern for economic advancement are not designed now, some countries may be pushed during an emergency to adopt stop-gap,

or even coercive, measures that could turn out to be very costly. Temporary set-ups organised under pressure have a way of turning into permanent institutions, which may not be the ones desired by the architects of national progress.

In meeting this problem, there appear to be a number of approaches open to governments - central and local - from both the side of education and the side of employment.

One solution often put forward is to change the curriculum for primary schools, particularly in rural areas. This suggests that if farming were effectively taught, then school leavers would become farmers and not drift to the cities and towns. But primary education cannot be narrowly vocational. Pupils who complete the course should be able to read and write, to do a certain amount of arithmetic, to understand enough science and history to interpret the world around them, and to learn enough civics to be aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of their nation. This does not make pupils into farmers or carpenters or nuclear scientists; it is basic to all these careers. Education is not only meant to adapt pupils to their society, but also to equip them to alter it. And it may well be that widespread primary schooling provides the foundation for modernising agriculture, not by trying to teach pupils to become farmers, but by giving them the tools of literacy and the confidence to try new techniques for doing things. In recent years, some have pointed out the necessity for improving the quality of education; this is one of the formidable tasks facing educational administrators. There is also a need for curriculum adjustment (for example, much more science right through primary school taught at appropriate levels; more participation in local culture through music, dance, art, folklore).

When education is viewed in its widest meaning - to include indigenous learning processes, on-the-job training, community-improvement education, as well as the formal types of classroom instruction, then certain questions arise as to what kinds of post-primary education are most suitable to prepare young school leavers for the transition from school to work. For those with a bent towards farming, what short courses or regular assistance can be given by agricultural extension to help them become progressive farmers while working on family land holdings? What is the role of young farmers' clubs? In the urban setting, what kinds of concentrated training (on-the-job or short courses) should be given to upgrade masters and apprentices in certain small industries?

Such non-formal education helps to direct the already achieved literacy of school leavers to the needs of development.

II ANALYSIS OF POLICY OPTIONS

1. Employment opportunities for youth: development from below

The presence of youth who are uncommitted, or only partly committed, to constructive work, brings to focus the underlying underemployment of labour that characterises a wide variety of activities in African countries, for example, in farming, petty trading, small industrial enterprises. The problem of creating more productive work opportunities at rising levels of real income - that is, of reducing the incidence of underemployment and of open unemployment among youth - is to a large extent just the problem of development itself.

What has been the economic record? Most African countries have been able to achieve positive, and in many cases, steady, rates of growth over the period since 1960, ranging from 2 to 5 per cent a year. But these economies have not been able to provide a sufficiently high level of meaningful employment opportunities for young people. General development has opened up some work here and there - in government administration, public utilities, communications, large industries, commercial firms - and this heightened economic activity has conditioned an atmosphere in which people have created jobs for themselves and their apprentices. But not enough.

University graduates and trained technicians are urgently needed for positions at the higher echelons, but there has been neither the expansion nor the turnover at the lower levels to allow employment for any great numbers. Public services in many countries, in fact, have too many employees. Banks and bigger commercial enterprises are not taking in young recruits in any great quantity. Large plantations require many labourers at the beginning, during the planting period, but after that not many for maintenance. The large mines have, for the most part, stabilised their labour forces and are able each year to take only a few replacements; and these are usually selected from the miners' sons who have grown up on the mine compound. The modern building and construction industries hold greater prospects for wage-paid employment, but they are dependent on private and public funds as well as a continuing climate of political stability and business optimism.

Creation of modern industries is a slow process. And since the trend in such industries is for greater mechanisation with proportionately fewer - more highly skilled - workers, the capital investment needed to employ one worker often amounts to between £500 and £5,000. In the crucial period ahead, the flow of internal savings, together with foreign loans and investment, will create jobs in modern industry for only a small fraction of those demanding work. Even by 1980 it is unlikely that many countries will have more than 6 or 7 per cent of their people gainfully employed in factories and mines.

There is, therefore, a glaring inconsistency between what people are hoping for and what is being accomplished. To some extent this gap is understandable; hopes must run ahead in order to spur achievement. Even so, the presence of job-seeking youth at the present cumulative scale constitutes a serious warning.

Governments account for over half of the total capital formation in their countries. The more immediate results of government spending can be measured: the lift in output, income, and number of wage jobs. But the less immediate results arising from the response of private enterprise to government participation in the economy are much more difficult to assess. These responses may be illustrated by countless examples from African countries. A new feeder road brings multiple results: transporters and traders move into the villages; more consumer supplies flow in; higher surpluses move out; a co-operative for marketing farm produce is started; farm extension work becomes more effective. And as incomes rise, more money is spent locally: the tailor has more orders; the carpenter has more business; more apprentices are required; more jobs are available. Or take another example. Government initiates a highly selective programme for technical and other aid to small industries. After a time several firms meet success; others emulate; output and employment rises.

It is sometimes argued that the push for high rates of economic growth is incompatible with the achievement of high levels of employment in a free economy, but the two objectives may well turn out to be more harmonious than is commonly supposed. Certainly there can be no real national development without involving the masses of the people.

Since there are limited possibilites for providing beginning jobs in sufficiently large numbers in the more modern

establishments, what are the capacities of small-scale economic enterprises, in both rural and urban areas, to absorb more young people into profitable work?

These enterprises include the small businesses of traders, self-employed artisans, craftsmen, builders, transporters, and processors of agricultural products. These indigenous enterprises represent, quite often, a really competitive element in these economies. They take many more workers in proportion to each unit of capital than do the large modern factories; they also provide low-cost training within the traditional apprenticeship patterns. And they are of fundamental importance to the progress of any country both in conveying a flow of incentive goods to farmers and in creating the atmosphere for entrepreneurial talent to develop. But there are wide differences among countries in the variety and strength of these small enterprises.

It is true, of course, that the impetus for these small enterprises to emerge and develop derives from the general strength of the economy of which they become a part. They are especially sensitive to movements in export trade and to the often related rise or fall in government spending on general development. But governments would do well to think of industrial policy on a gradation stretching all the way from the modern large firms to these smaller industries. The aim of policy would be to help improve the production and marketing techniques and the management of these small-scale concerns.

Depending on local variations, governments can, at low cost, design policies to improve the functioning of these smaller enterprises which will in turn provide training and jobs for youth. Raising productivity in these firms will not reduce their demand for more labour. As the cost of production falls and the design and quality of products improve, the smaller industries are better able to compete against the cheaper range of imported articles. Foreign exchange will be saved. The result, in fact, will be the opposite: more products will be introduced into existing firms, new modern firms will arise. A lift to one sector spurs the rate of growth of the economy as a whole. More jobs will be created.

In situations where the comparative economic advantage is clearly with the large factories, there is no point in pushing the modernisation of crafts and small industries. That is, no African country should be placed in a position of subsidising more costly methods of achieving greater output in the interests of a higher level of employment and of training facilities on the job. But the economies of scale are by no means always on the side of

the large industrial units. In the case of shoe and sandal making, for example, it has already been proved that smaller enterprises with specific modern machines and some assistance in overcoming obstacles in production and marketing have been able to compete with large factories in both quality and price. Estimates could be made of the capital costs involved and the expected return in output and employment from different methods of production. When considering subs titution of local products for the multitude of imported goods, the African scene offers many possibilities to the small industrialist, from food-processing to furniture-making in both urban and rural areas. And import protection becomes meaningful when a really concerted effort is being made to improve these enterprises.

A programme to help indigenous small industries could have several major effects. (1) Substitution of local products for imported goods with a consequent saving in foreign exchange. (2) A higher labour absorption of youth for training and eventual employment. (3) More jobs for skilled wage-paid artisans alongside the customary apprentices.

The suggestion has been made that small-scale rural and urban industries should be created by giving special courses to youth and in this way training them to become entrepreneurs; but this plan is unrealistic as well as expensive. Far better to work with the natural process by helping existing craftsmen and former apprentices to improve their skills. They in turn will train apprentices.

Whatever efforts are made to create more employment in urban areas, however, the greatest number of productive and rewarding jobs for young people must be found in rural areas, in both farm and non-farm activities. Promoting such opportunities for youth depends on far-reaching measures that aim to transform the economic and social conditions of the rural areas as a whole.

These measures would be directed towards hastening improvements in the quality of existing crops and the introduction of newer varieties, for use by farm families and for sale locally and abroad. They would include the stepping-up of performances of crafts and small-scale industries that process farm products and that endeavour to meet local needs for goods and services of many kinds; they would also encourage the creation of further indigenous non-farm enterprises in all villages and townships throughout the rural areas. More than this: such measures would provide renewed stimulus to rural communities everywhere

to carry through communal projects, assisted when necessary by an alliance with central or local governments which would help by advice or actual participation.

What is required, first of all, is a really effective general policy toward agriculture, which would demonstrate that improved farming can bring as much money and as rewarding a life as other occupations. Thus, as part of this concerted push to give a 'new look' to rural areas, governments would be encouraging youth, particularly school leavers brought up on family farms, to take up farming as a vocation. Governments have discovered, however, that it is no use telling these young people to go back to farming when no plans exist to help them. On reaching a sufficiently mature age, they will need some practical help, some on-the-job training, even if only by regular visits to ensure continuous improvement, which in turn gives them greater rewards and makes farming worth while from their viewpoint.

Surveys conducted in several African countries show that most unemployed school leavers who have migrated to cities are not averse to improved farming as a way of making a living. Their objections are to traditional farming in conditions where the prospect of achieving a reasonable income later, is very slim.

Control of the influx of young people into cities, perhaps with forced repatriation, is ultimately futile. Such controls not only create dissension but also are usually inefficient in their operation; moreover, they merely pass the problem back to the rural areas. They are no substitute for real incentives. As long as young Africans see in farming a poor and stunted life, they will seek for what seem to them the better opportunities of the cities.

In the present context, what specific policies can be worked out which have meaning both for improving this system of farming while at the same time providing a future for youth? Experiments already under way in Africa show some possibilities: (1) establishing large farm settlements on unused tracts of land which might draw young farmers from a radius of, say, 40 miles; (2) encouraging smaller farm settlements on unused land close to their present villages; (3) helping individuals to introduce improved methods while engaged on family holdings.

Although large farm settlements are too expensive to be widely imitated, some of their features can be retained in a

greatly modified version. Experiments have begun in which villages provide land for their own youth and the government gives initial support with subsistence payments to the settlers, subsidised seedlings, and advances for buying tools. Settlers then pay their own way as they go along. Agricultural extension advises on blocking out the land into individual units of economic size which allow for expansion over a series of years and which combine suitable crops for the area in a judicious selection between income now and income later. Co-operative buying of requisites and selling of products has been introduced. Since in the early stages the young farmers live with their own families in the village, the costs are kept to a minimum. Yet these young farmers make a distinct break with traditional farming. And when the farm unit reaches its full size and the cash crops come into full bearing, they will have an income equal to, if not above, the lower wage-earners in the cities. They will also have the greater security of growing their own food, ultimately living in their own houses and not worrying about losing their jobs.

For those young men who start on their family land, agricultural extension workers can make regular visits to encourage them, individually or in groups, in overcoming the obstacles they meet in trying to put into practice improved methods. Small amounts of credit may be given, and advice on techniques of production and marketing. Such an approach to specialised training and settlement in existing villages has been tried out in several African countries.

Young farmers' clubs can be expanded everywhere to extend instruction, encouragement, and group feeling through the period before the youth is ready to start farming on his own; and, of course, after beginning on his own as well.

Any realistic programmes for helping to create young modern farmers based on arrangements of low cost and community self-help, and taking into account ethnic and sociological factors, will be steps in the right direction. The aim is two-fold: to initiate expanding economic farm units and to furnish a local exhibition of what improved farming could look like. Where new nutritional crops, higher-yielding strains of existing crops, better poultry, and more skilful methods of management are introduced by these young settlers, they represent an effective demonstration to local villagers. Adult farmers are likely to take greater notice of the accomplishments of their own sons than the work of government demonstration farms. They will then be more willing to meet farm extension officers and try out some of their

suggested improvements.

In the rural areas, the provision of local amenities demands more attention. Lack of them has much to do with school leavers' rejection of rural life.

In some African countries, the recent period of brisk political activity has created an unfortunate climate that 'Government will provide'. This has meant the virtual collapse of local initiative in meeting many collective needs in villages and smaller townships. Where this has occurred, new directions are required. Central and local governments, acting jointly, will have to formulate clear-cut policies towards making certain that local people know just what sort of counterpart help can be obtained through government as they themselves, under voluntary leadership, initiate projects for improved market stalls, for building dispensaries and schools, for constructing feeder roads, and the like.

Some of these projects, by their nature, are exclusively an affair of government initiative; others are better handled by government in alliance with local leadership; others again are more the business of local people's own efforts (but even here government surveys or planning advice can be helpful). Here then is one of the vital aspects of the traditional African scene - which in many countries needs to be re-defined and given a fresh start - self-help for meeting community needs.

Top priority should be to move ahead with programmes to upgrade the millions of peasant farms and the tens of thousands of small-scale industries in urban and rural areas; and to encourage local voluntary leadership in every area to undertake multitudes of projects to meet community needs. Working with natural processes in this way means a frontier effort in what may be called 'development from below.' When people feel part of such genuine nationwide movements, the rising numbers of hopeful youth (both schooled and unschooled) will have better chances of finding rewarding work for their lifetime ahead.

2. The relevance of social programmes

Every African nation has a variety of institutions and programmes promoting the welfare of young people. Some of these derive from traditional life and social organisation, such as a dance group formed by a particular age-set of young women to perform at local festivals. Others are contemporary modifica-

tions of traditional associations; for example, savings clubs among city youth based on clan relationships. Others still are comparatively modern in origin and purpose, perhaps related to schools or churches or mosques. Some have international or regional affiliations, such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A.

The objectives of these associations vary widely, but they have certain effects in common: they foster a feeling of belonging to a group, give a sense of direction and purpose, provide experience for youth in organising their own activities, develop discipline and a heightened sense of self-respect. Some clubs encourage the improvement of domestic skills for women, such as homemaking, child care, sewing, knowledge of hygiene and nutrition; of occupational skills for young men, such as young farmers' and young fishermen's clubs; of abilities in sports, such as swimming or football groups.

All of these clubs for youth are important and need further emphasis, particularly in those rural areas where traditional forms of recreation and association have disappeared and no new forms have taken their place and in cities where so many young people are displaced from their home communities. They are significant for boys and girls in their early teens (from 13 to 15) as well as for older youth. Those organisations which are relatively low-cost may need encouragement to become self-perpetuating and self-multiplying. They are worthy of the extra administrative attention from voluntary organisations and from governments.

3. New training and work schemes

In response to urgent local situations, many African nations have set going youth service programmes which provide facilities whereby trainees can make an organised, disciplined contribution to national development during their period of service. Such service to the nation through work projects may be for a few months or may stretch over a period of one or even two years. Almost all the programmes are rural-oriented. A few only cater for girls and young women. Examples are: Jeunesse Pionière Nationale (Central African Republic), Service Civique (Mali), National Youth Service (Kenya), National Youth Organisation (Liberia), Young Pioneers (Malawi), Youth Service (Zambia).

For Africa as a whole, the total youth in national service of these kinds is probably no more than 55-60,000. What is the validity of helping 'the few' at considerable cost in public funds within training-service or training-service-settlement programmes? One answer is that these youth later become demonstrators or initiators; they provide leadership in their communities. They set an example that makes follow-up policies, designed to help others, easier. 'The many' will then have a set of models of what can be aimed for.

On economic grounds, these schemes may lend themselves to criticism because of their high public cost and because they often divert scarce capital and administrative talent from more urgent development tasks. And often such labour-intensive works can be accomplished more cheaply by the use of more machinery and perhaps with more experienced labour. Another difficulty frequently occurs in introducing specialisation and differential rewards for work done; without these, youths have less spur to self-improvement. Then, also, there are problems in finding continuous work that has meaning within the general development of the area and for which recurrent costs can be borne once the capital works have been completed. If a scheme keeps youth for a very long period, or has no definite time limit, the best answer may well be simply to recruit them to central and local government service for public works - as apprentices of various kinds - and thus give them the benefit of training on the job, participation in specialised work, with rewards changing as they gain ability and experience. But against these economic appraisals should be weighed the less measureable social gains of improved personal discipline and attitudes towards society and of practical expressions of patriotism.

At the present stage, much is known about benefits, or hoped-for benefits, of national youth service programmes. These private and social benefits should now be related to the costs of alternative ways of achieving the same, or better, results.

III DESIGNING NATIONAL POLICIES TOWARD YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

1. Youth employment planning

The greatest single contribution that an African nation can make for its youth is the creation of a 'climate of economic opportunity' by providing enough beginning jobs that are productive and rewarding. The foremost policy issue, therefore, is

how to make essential modifications in the functioning of the economy, by channelling investment to the public and private sectors in such a way that gives meaning not only to immediate economic growth but also to longer-run economic and social development. This means, in practice, that employment creation for youth must become a conscious objective within the development strategy, even if this results in some reduction of overall national economic growth in the short run.

In order to provide a focal point for the multi-dimensional policies relating to welfare, skills, and jobs for young people, a Youth Employment Plan might be worked out and kept continuously under revision. With manpower and education assessments, it would form an integral part of the nation's economic and social planning.

The Youth Employment Plan would bring together all the aspects of the problem into a meaningful pattern so that, instead of fragmentary solutions based on limited perspectives, the solutions would be viewed as reinforcing each other within the whole process of development. The problem would be analysed in all its diversity and within its immediate and long-term dimensions.

Thus, the difficult balance between rural and urban advancement will be more correctly appraised. Education, both classroom and non-classroom, will be more suitably related to local environments. Curriculum reform will be seen in its relation to agricultural extension. Vocational guidance and a flow of information can take place in relation to government schemes for helping young farmers and for aiding indigenous businesses. The respective roles of central and local governments can be worked out to mesh with the contributions of local self-help and voluntary organisations.

Essential, and urgent, adjustments needed in the systems of incentives and of rewards to labour within all occupations, and at all levels, will be placed in perspective.

The Youth Employment Plan would be helped by continuous research to determine the relative costs of various training and work schemes, to review pilot projects in terms of costs and results, and to exchange experience with other African countries.

2. Co-ordination of programmes

In any African nation, responsibility for youth activities is usually highly decentralised. There is, no doubt, every reason why this should remain so. On the other hand, there are frequently no less than five or six ministries and perhaps 10 to 20 voluntary organisations which are involved in aspects of this work in the field. Clearly, much is to be gained by greater co-ordination of these national programmes. In fact, the trend as observed in several African countries is to bring this about. The question, therefore, is: how best can these programmes - involving welfare, skills, and jobs for youth - be brought into a more co-ordinated administrative pattern and merged with over-all strategy of national and local development?

In similar manner: what procedures can be evolved to ensure co-operation among governments, in each region within Africa and for Africa as a whole, in the exchange of information on specific projects, the obstacles encountered and successes met?

Outside contributions to national youth programmes, including the provision of technical assistance, - for a nation, a region within Africa, Africa as a whole - again present a disparate picture. Major steps are, however, being taken among specialised agencies of the United Nations to rectify this through joint-agency meetings on youth activities in Africa and by the exchange of experience through documentation. What further lines of action can be followed so that all contributors, and African nations themselves, can be kept informed?

EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN RELATION TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

By Patrick Van Rensburg

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Education and training geared to rural development in a predominantly rural country ought probably to be mass education and training with, primarily, vocational objectives. The national system of education will doubtless include the preparation of a certain number of people, through longer and more intensive training, for work in the modern sector, or for such professions as doctors and engineers. Here we need do no more than identify for later discussion the very grave problem constituted by the existence and extent of privilege in living conditions of more highly trained people. How far the poorer developing countries can afford to provide moral, cultural, spiritual and artistic education, given that if it is to be effective it is likely to be costly; and whether, if it cannot be given to everyone, it should be provided for a small minority, are other and essentially political problems; but we ought to be alerted to the implications and I shall discuss them in the course of this paper.

I should like to declare my personal view of what education ought ideally to be, lest I be accused of having a purely utilitarian attitude towards it. Ideally, the objective of education ought to be the fullest development of the personality, skill and intellect of every individual as a member of society, and education should enable everyone to liberate themselves from basic want. It should create fully conscious men, in the recognition that men are political, economic, social and cultural beings, and it should give them the ability and the sensitivity to control the environment without destroying it. There are accumulating wisdoms, values, knowledge and artistic expressions over the whole range of human experience which each generation and each society will want to transmit, though some selectivity and bias may be inevitable.

However, in the poorer countries, we cannot meet these ideal aims of education for everybody right now. The ideal goal for everyone can, in fact, be achieved when the economy is sufficiently developed and resources are available for the purpose.

The quickest way of getting to that goal is to develop the economy as quickly as possible so that increased expenditure can be made available at each stage of growth for what - in economic terms - shall be determined as an optimum strategy in education, a strategy that clearly must give pre-eminence to the utilitarian and vocational objectives of education.

The optimum strategy for education will, of course, be determined within the framework of the best possible economic plan, and this must naturally have reference to the existing shape of the economy. Frederick Harbison identifies three main categories in the labour force of most African countries. Only about 5% to 10% of the working population is employed in the modern sector, which embraces mining, large scale industry and large scale agriculture, transport and the civil service. (In fact, in few other developing countries does the proportion employed in the modern sector exceed 15%). By far the largest component, Harbison says, between 50% and 70%, is found in the very low productivity or subsistence sector, which "encompasses a wide variety of economic activity ranging from subsistence farming in rural areas to petty trade, hawking, peddling, personal services, stealing and petty crime in the sprawling urban ghettoes.

"Another 30% to 40% of the work force may eke out a somewhat better living in a sort of intermediate sector. In the urban areas, this includes small retail trade, handicrafts, artisans, small-scale family-type manufacturing, small transport operations and household enterprises. In the rural areas it includes similar activities as well as individual part-time or full-time cash crop farmers." Harbison suggests that this sector "is a dynamic element in most developing countries. It manufactures for, sells to, and services the bulk of the population. But wages and productivity are relatively low."

The modern sector, Harbison points out, rarely expands at more than 5% per annum which means that, if only 10% of the labour force is employed in the modern sector now, employment opportunities within it will absorb only one half of 1% of the country's labour force each year. It is a characteristic feature of the modern sector that wages and consumption levels are relatively high. Clearly, it has to be asked whether the total output of the modern sector is, in most developing countries, doing very much more than maintaining its own living standards as it slowly expands. The new employment opportunities that it currently offers to one half of 1% of an average developing

country's labour force must be set against the annual growth of the labour force of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ and more. The ability of the modern sector to contribute to development that benefits all sectors of the population depends on its capacity to bring its living standards down to levels that the economy, as a whole, can afford. The privilege enjoyed in the modern sector has a profound effect on the aspirations of almost the whole population. The modern sector arouses ambitions which its methods of development - capital - intensive as they are - and which its living standards - high as they are - prevent it from satisfying for all but the few. But once aspirations have been aroused and then frustrated, it is only with considerable dissatisfaction that people will return to the land.

It is not only the privilege of those living in the modern sector which creates problems. The market and money economy is almost totally geared to the workings of the modern sector and though it does not take account sufficiently of the nature and workings of the traditional economy, it may sometimes have a powerful effect upon it which may indeed be a negative effect. The superior products of the modern sector might drive the local, small producer of comparable but less well-finished products out of production. And, where people come to depend on money as the medium of exchange, in the absence of it because exchange becomes increasingly difficult, production tends to cease. Money may also become the easiest means of organisation, and where there is a shortage of entrepreneurs with money, there will be unemployment, even of those with skills. This will become more marked as traditional authority, which might have been able to organise production without money, begins to disappear. The traditional and rural economy comes to depend on the modern sector with its money and market economy, or on export, and production (other than of food) becomes limited to what the modern sector will buy or what can be exported.

Rural mobilisation

It does seem to me that the most effective and speediest programme of economic development simply must include the mobilisation of the vast numbers of population of the countryside - and that it must do so with the minimum of foreign capital input, in order to produce an ever-increasing surplus. I would expect to see this surplus allocated between investment in agriculture and industrial development, in proportions dictated by assessing the likelier source of substantial returns, these being repeatedly reinvested on the same basis. The employment of people is, in

itself, a worthwhile goal and added justification for rural mobilisation. The Agricultural sector is the major field of actual and potential employment, not only of the mass of the people but also of most of those who receive any education. It is also one of the few original sources of capital in a poor country, and it is the source of food for the hungry.

My own view is that the main vehicle for rural mobilisation ought to be more intensive and variegated production in the villages or in farm settlements. The proposals I am about to make are based on my experiences with a small co-operative production group that has recently begun to function after I had spoken to a number of villages in Serowe. Within the villages and settlements people must be involved in organised and more intensive production of a wide variety of food and beverages and such housing, furniture and household needs as fuel (wood and charcoal), soap, candles, blankets and medicinal herbs, such clothing and footwear, and such personal comforts as beer, snuff and tobacco, as can be made from local materials (or grown locally), with the simplest skills and tools and the minimum of cash inputs. The work should be organised co-operatively and a member's share of benefits must be determined entirely by labour inputs. The main aim should be to provide the villagers themselves with a wider variety of goods and services, and while cash sales should be permissible, production must not be limited only to what will sell for cash. This is not to say that there should be no production for cash sales, however. Indeed, there needs to be some, as the village will need things which it cannot produce itself. But a community may have all the facilities and abilities to produce more vegetables, eggs and meat, but if it is limited to cash sales, the shortage of cash will set a ceiling on production. Because of the shortage of cash in most rural areas, individual production does not as easily lend itself to diversified production along these lines, as co-operative production arrangements do. Limeburning and brick-making are examples of production requiring only the simplest skills and tools, and when local resources make the two possible simultaneously, a mixture of slaked lime and brick dust can produce pozzolana cement. Spinning, weaving and knitting are skills that can be easily learnt and only the simplest tools are needed. Bricklaying is quite a common skill and, provided that only simple standards are expected, can be quickly learnt. A communal garden for vegetables, tobacco and the raw materials for beermaking; a communal orchard and tree plantation; communal fields for cotton, sunflower for oils; and small groups of communally owned goats, pigs, sheep and poultry, and draught

animals; a communal pasture area for these animals; all these are within the capacity and competence of villagers to provide and maintain. Techniques of intensive horticulture and flood spreading in agriculture, make all these projects feasible in all but the most arid regions. Oil extraction and cotton ginning require processes and tools to which villagers may quickly graduate. Roofing with local materials, simple carpentry, candle and soap making, basket-making and pottery, beermaking, tobacco curing, are all skills within the competence of villagers (if not already commonly practised). The introduction of new recipes can stimulate the increased production of a greater variety of food through stimulating new tastes, and can certainly be quickly assimilated by village women.

Once those villagers involved in co-operative production find that their standard of living has risen through this type of co-operation in the use of local resources, with almost no cash disbursement, they will be more ready to co-operate in the communal projects which require a large labour force working together, such as the building of dams, catchment tanks, hafirs, roads, land conservation measures and terracing, and the building of communal workshops, lime kilns and furnaces. Individual production will not lead as easily to participation in large-scale projects as co-operative production will do. I think it worth stressing, also, that individual effort is simply incapable of lifting the rural poor out of their poverty.

Traditionalist, conservative elements, or land-owning, stockowning or other richer elements of the rural population might oppose and resist moves towards communal gardens and fields, herds and flocks, and the various means of production. A beginning has to be made with the few who are willing to merge if not all, at least some, of their labour, their fields and their stock and their success will encourage others to join forces with them.

The involvement of villagers in production, especially where burning processes are used as in limeburning and iron smelting, will make it clear to them that production does not depend on white man's magic. They may acquire a new attitude towards scientific processes even though they may not grasp the nature of the processes. Once people are involved in production and have a stake in the nation's economic life which they can really feel, their participation in the political life of the nation will be more vigorous and more real; they are also likely to be more receptive to literacy campaigns, disease prevention campaigns and other extension services. This

approach to rural development depends for its success on an integrated approach. Extension services need to be co-ordinated and integrated and both local and central Government need to have a well defined policy about services and infrastructure, about communications and energy and water supply. The central Government also needs to have a well-defined policy about the gap in living conditions between the traditional and modern sectors.

Educational implications of the co-operative economic approach

What are the implications for education of the economic planning strategy which I have suggested is desirable? Education must first of all be able to serve the policy of rural mobilisation. Indeed this must be the main objective of educational policy. The recognition that most of those who pass through primary schools will find no employment other than on the land or in village industry in the rural areas, brings us face to face with the need for changes in the orientation, organisation and content of primary education, though the effectiveness of reforms must depend on raising the quality of teaching in the whole primary system. Primary education is regarded almost entirely as a preparation for secondary school, even though the majority of children will never go to secondary school. Primary education must prepare people for the lives that the great majority of them will have to lead in the rural areas. I fully support the views of President Nyerere expressed in his Education for Self Reliance regarding changes in the orientation, organisation and content of primary education, though I would like to make some suggestions that add to and slightly modify his proposals in the light of my experience during the last five years with an on-the-job apprenticeship-type training for primary school graduates, which has largely been covering costs by the productive work of the trainees.

The school-leaver problem exists precisely because there is a lack of capital to solve it. There are not the resources for secondary education for all, nor for paid employment for all. It was in recognition of this fact that in early 1965 I initiated the launching, with almost no capital outlay, of a programme of on-the-job training in building construction. The recurrent costs of this programme, with its trainees taking three-year courses, have been fully covered by the productive work of the trainees over the last $4\frac{1}{2}$ years. The work undertaken has been mainly for public or semi-public authorities like churches, co-operatives, local government and schools, which have benefitted from lower prices without any drastic fall in

building standards. The programme has for the last two consecutive years entered trainees for Government-conducted trade tests and out of a total of 48 candidates 32 have obtained certificates. To this programme (which I called the "Builders Brigade") has been added a Textile Workshop, run on similar lines though providing a two-year course, to teach spinning and weaving, textile printing and dressmaking. A Mechanical Brigade is now under way and a Tannery Brigade is envisaged.

All the trainees in the Brigades now receive five hours each week of technical theory instruction in the classroom, and five hours fifty minutes of academic instruction provided by teachers at Swaneng Hill School in English, Mathematics, Science and Development Studies, all the syllabuses being vocationally-biased. All trainees are receiving, in addition to their practical and theoretical instruction and academic teaching, three meals a day, overalls, tools, and bonuses related to their productivity.

I think that we have had enough experience with Brigades now to suggest that the Brigades system of education and training has the capacity to become the main avenue of post-primary education. I have noted the success of the Builders Brigade in covering its costs these last $4\frac{1}{2}$ years, and the low capital cost of launching it. Admittedly, Swaneng Hill School kept the Brigade in work at times and helped it with management problems, but this does not invalidate the principle of on-the-job training that covers costs by productive works, and prices have been below market prices. Until Brigades are accorded their proper place in the educational system and fully supported by Government, support has to be provided by voluntary agencies simply in order to demonstrate to all that the programme is a viable one. The Textile Workshop is covering a large proportion of its costs - not, however, including salaries of expatriate volunteers; its capital costs were R125 (about £73 sterling) per trainee. The Builders Brigade can become the main source of qualified builders for the country, provided modern sector expatriate experts are not allowed to impose unrealistic standards that the country cannot afford. Even so, the Textile Workshop and the Builders Brigade cannot be multiplied without limit, and the supply of these workers must be related to the demand for them within the planned economy. Each industrial activity needs to be carefully examined to determine whether a Brigade system of industrial training is possible within it, provided that the appropriate resources exist in the locality. But no industrial brigade can be multiplied without limit. It is in agriculture that the

opportunities for skilled manpower are so very much greater. The Serowe Farmers Brigade has been meeting only a very small proportion of its costs. By the end of 1969, the capital input per trainee will approach R1,000 (about £585 sterling) but we should by then be covering almost all the local costs, though the salaries of expatriates - who are needed in the early stages - will prove a heavy burden to the Brigades.

Problems & Potentials of Farmers Brigades

A training programme requiring a large capital input is less likely to provide a large-scale solution to the school leaver problem in Africa than a programme needing only a small investment of capital. In terms of these objectives, I would have to admit that the Serowe Farmers Brigade has not been a success; it has been far too expensive. But a number of points have to be made to put this judgement into proper perspective. We wanted to cover the high local running costs from the outset and the farming operation which we then felt could best meet these, given our arid climate, was, we thought, a dairy farm. We knew that we would have to wait two to three years for income from cattle-breeding. We knew even then that we ought to have moved into fattening immature stock, but from the moment the Brigade started we were beset by drought and the Brigade began to eat into capital that should have been used on buying steers for finishing. When we launched the Brigade, our instructors and managers were all expatriates with no previous experience of our very special conditions, but even when we overcame our technical difficulties - largely by acquiring the services of Mr. Vernon Gibberd, who had been specialising in research in our conditions (working with another agency) - and after we had introduced intensive water usage, and flood spreading methods, we soon came up against the market factor. We could produce milk, eggs and vegetables in large quantities, but we could not sell all that we produced; for even though many of the villagers would have liked to have them and needed them, they did not have the cash with which to buy them.

In the particular conditions of Botswana we could see an ideal solution for a Government committed to this kind of policy, to both the market problems and the problem of capital, though such a solution could not lie with a private agency. I produced estimates for a model Farmers Brigade for this climate. In terms of this model the main money-spinner will be cattle; this is the only realistic policy if the Brigade operates in and depends entirely on a money economy. The capital costs per trainee would

be R650;(about £380 sterling);the recurrent costs to be covered are high, amounting to R110 (about £64 sterling) per trainee per annum. But this sum pays for food seven days a week, practical training, cash bonuses, academic and theoretical teaching. It also covers depreciation, capital accumulation (both to assist trainees with settlement and to permit growth) and pays part of the cost of one moderately paid expatriate. The important point to make is that three-fifths of these capital costs represent the price of local beef cattle and of other small stock. The latest National Development Plan tells us that in 1967 there were in Botswana 1,100,000 cattle, 647,000 goats and 212,000 sheep. It would require only 12½% of the national herds to provide a programme in agriculture which, linked to industrial Brigades, could solve the school leaver problem in Botswana. It is believed that something like 20% of the population owns 60% of the national herd, which demonstrates that at least in Botswana privilege is not confined to the modern sector alone, but exists in the traditional sector as well - though there are customarily obligations on the rich that mitigate this. Nevertheless, redistribution of wealth is accepted as one aim of taxation almost everywhere, and in Botswana could clearly achieve a great deal.

The overriding importance of the market factor is stressed by all this, and it is a factor that a voluntary agency cannot overcome. In our pioneer attempts to establish a Brigade as a working model for others, we had to provide money-spinners and they needed considerable capital; we did not have the power to obtain this through fiscal policy and taxation. We could have reduced the capital investment (but not eliminated it by any means) if we had not started with a dairy, but on the other hand this was labour-intensive, provided a good training programme in animal husbandry, and also provided an immediate income. The dairy cattle remain with us and are breeding, so that in real terms of our investment, nothing has been lost.

The market factor can be overcome to some extent if, for example, the trainees can be given in kind the sort of things they would have spent their money on and which money would have been spent on for them, if money were freely available. It ought to be possible to achieve an integrated Brigade training programme with the industrial Brigade meeting some of the needs of each other and of the Farmers who provide the economic base of the programme, and with the Farmers providing food for them all. The main limiting factor on the variety of Brigades is the variety of resources in each area.

Of course, cash will still be needed for all sorts of things that cannot be provided internally and this will depend on exports or on serving or selling to the modern sector. But cash is needed anyway; at least it should not set the ceiling on the range and extent of activity and development. I am certainly in no position to state categorically that the Brigade system can everywhere solve what we euphemistically call the "school leaver problem"; whether that would be possible or not would depend partly on the numbers of young people leaving primary school each year, and on the resources available in each country. But most countries will have some organised production of exportable agricultural commodities or of agricultural produce saleable for cash in the modern sector, like cattle in Botswana. It should be possible to organise a certain amount of Brigade production in these commodities. And all but the most cursed of lands must be able to yield, whether in minerals, plants or animals, materials for home-building, for the making of clothing, footwear and furniture, and for the production of a wide variety of foods and drink, and personal and household goods.

Settlement Problems and Plans

In the immediate future, the Serowe Farmers Brigade has to solve the problems of settlement - or of absorption into the economy - of its first graduates. The Botswana Government is tolerant of our experimentation and fully supports Brigade training but has not yet accepted the whole of our programme and its implications. As yet our co-operative village development programme is not sufficiently developed to absorb the 20 Farmers Brigade trainees who have so far opted for a communal settlement. In the present economic set-up of Botswana, the farmer trainees are well aware of wage levels in the modern sector and the pressure is on us to raise capital that will produce something comparable in settlement. I am quite certain that settlement is the right course for poor farmers in the difficult climatic conditions of this country, and it has to be a significant part of the policy of rural mobilisation. In the present system, the Farmers Brigade itself is only a consolation prize for people whose first ambition was the secondary school gravy train. And settlement, which ought to become one of the spearheads of development becomes instead the last resort for frustrated ambition.

The settlement we are proposing will, we hope, be open to members of families, and even to untrained farmers, on an apprenticeship basis, to avoid their becoming new centres of

privilege. Of course, it can be argued that the capital which is spent on the Farmers Brigade itself and which would be spent on the settlement scheme increases the danger of this, and the danger will remain for as long as the Farmers Brigade trainees can see that other people who have undergone institutional training are doing so much better than they are. This is a problem that has to be tackled throughout the economy. The wage levels in the South African mines may for a time set a minimum beneath which settlement earnings should not fall, but that situation should disappear as privilege is seen to be whittled away, because this reduction of privilege could create an atmosphere of national commitment.

Of course, once co-operative village development became a part of national policy, given the attention due to it, most Brigade trainees could find a place within the settlements. No doubt it would be in the national interest to open up new areas and Brigade trainees would provide just the material for this purpose.

Until co-operative village development is a national policy, we are trying to plan diversified settlements, though we are by no means unaware of the difficulties that face us. We know from other parts of the world that the policy will work, given a national determination to make it. The capital costs of settlement can be drastically reduced if settlers can be persuaded to accept some of their earnings, not in cash, but in kind. There is a ceiling on production from poultry, pigs, dairy, goats, vegetables (and some other crops which could be intensively produced from borehole irrigation), determined primarily by market limitation. Yet production should be increased in settlement and the production of these products does not require large sums of capital. The capital is required for the cattle because they alone are a sure means of producing cash, and cash of course is necessary to buy things from outside the settlement. Production of these non-money earning products can be increased only if they can be exchanged for the goods the farmers would buy if they had money. It is for this reason that I favour, in principle, a diversified settlement programme, involving farmers, builders, bricklayers, limeburners, spinners. weavers, seamstresses, teachers, nurses, blacksmiths, mechanics, brewers, carpenters, thatchers, tanners and so on, so that there will be a vigorous internal exchange of goods and services and in which the demand of an ever-increasing variety of agricultural products normally not easily marketable inside Botswana enables farmers to exchange their produce.

for industrial skills and services produced within the settlement. The diversified settlement might have a central co-operative exporting not only the raw agricultural products, but processed products as well, such as mats, leather goods and cooking oil, enabling the settlement as a whole to benefit from the value added by industrial processes. Goods and services that the settlement needs but cannot itself produce, like fuels and fertilisers, can be imported in exchange for its produce.

There are other problems that need to be solved before the Brigade system can become widespread, one of the biggest being the supply of instructors. This is a problem which could only be solved by a crash training programme for instructors. There must also be land to absorb trainees of Farmers Brigades and the authorities must be willing and able to allocate it in sufficient quantity.

Reform of Primary Education

I said earlier that I would like to supplement President Nyerere's proposals for a reform of primary education, in the light of my experience with Brigades. President Nyerere assumed that the great majority of young people who attended primary schools would not proceed to secondary school. Their primary education would be all that they would receive. Primary education ought therefore to be sufficient in itself to equip them for life in the rural areas, which would provide the only possible work opportunities for most of them. "We should not" wrote the Tanzanian President, "determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist or administrator need to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things ... Our sights must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus." President Nyerere's view is that "Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop ... This is not a suggestion that a school farm or workshop should be attached to every school for training purposes. It is a suggestion that every school should also be a farm, that the school community should consist of both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers. .. The most important thing is that the school members should learn that it is their farm, and that their living standards depend on it.

"... The farm work and products should be integrated into the school life; thus the properties of fertilisers can be explained in the science classes ... the possibilities of proper

grazing practices, and of terracing and soil conservation methods can all be taught theoretically at the same time as they are put into practice ... the school farm must be created by the school community clearing their own bush ...". With all this I agree; there is no doubt that agriculture and rural science provide just as good a medium and discipline for inculcating rational thought, and for sharpening powers of observation and deduction, as does the teaching of the French Revolution in African primary schools.

President Nyerere also points out that the primary school entrance age is laid down in the interest of the small minority who will be lucky enough to get to secondary school, while the great majority who do not, will be too young to do anything else when they leave school. He wants the entrance age fixed at ten.

My proposed modifications of President Nyerere's policy for primary education are by no means radical, and amount to adaptations for those countries where the Brigade system could be generally applied - that is, those countries where the resources are available (both of exportable and saleable commodities, as well as of those for local production and exchange) to cope with the numbers of primary school leavers involved.

There is no doubt that Brigade training would be most effective if it were preceded by a seven year primary course in which agriculture, rural science, science, mathematics and some form of civics and development studies course, were taught along with the predominantly practical activities. This applies especially to Farmers Brigade training. Clearly, ten years of training and education, ought to produce better qualified farmers and artisans then seven years will do, especially if Brigade training is of a high standard.

Where primary education can be followed by Brigade training, then I believe the entrance age should be fixed at eight years; the first four years are probably too early to attempt any actual vocational training, but this can be stepped up year by year. Certainly in the early years, even if the primary school is organised as a farm, much in the way the Brigade is, there is little chance that the children would be able to cover the costs of their education in the way a Brigade does.

In those countries where the circumstances favour the establishment of Brigades on a large scale, the Brigade system

of education and training can replace the existing secondary school system, and all who wish to proceed to further education should first work in one of the Brigades.

In addition to industrial activity in the villages, the economic plan will want to provide for a certain amount of large scale industrialisation, mining, and even large scale agriculture. There will be a need for very large dams, power stations, national roads and communications. A certain number of people will be needed, like doctors, engineers, agriculturalists and veterinary surgeons, whose training is long and intensive. And extension and research workers will be needed to serve and promote rural development. Some discrimination in the intensity and length of training of different personnel is unavoidable and will have to be tolerated. On the other hand, if these more highly trained people, who will no doubt form a small minority, are to enjoy economic privilege, then as now, there would be great pressure and competition for the limited number of places in the relevant training institutions. Privilege - as I suggested earlier - not only acts as a magnet but also creates dissatisfaction with alternative avenues of training for jobs with lower salaries. This is true also of the gap between urban and rural living conditions.

Non-Vocational Aspects of Brigade Teaching

Before proceeding to analyse the existing pattern of secondary education, and before discussing the large, all embracing post-Brigade institutions which I feel should be established, I need to say something more about the non-vocational aspects of Brigade teaching. While this system of education should be self-contained, it ought to be able to lead on to the next stage. The objectives of education at this level ought to encourage rational thinking, initiative, reliability, self-discipline and loyalty to agreed communal objectives, integrity and moral courage, and the ability to feel compassion for others. It should clearly inform them about the nature of their society and more especially its economy and their role in it. It should also give them some commitment to national objectives. We should be quite clear and quite precise about what people need to know in order to think rationally. We can help people to think scientifically and to think about production, without trying to make scientists of them; we certainly do not need to take them through the laborious process ofexamination science syllabuses. Agriculture and rural studies provide just as good discipline for rational thinking, for making sound judgements, as an understanding of European history. If

compassion, and through it, commitment and tolerance, can be inculcated, it can be done as well through a well-written and simple story in a local setting, as through the teacher's interpretation of the difficult language of Shakespeare. There should always be opportunities and time for music, and discussions over a wide range of topics. In earlier writing I may have tended to underestimate just how much people can learn from practical and productive work, from co-operative work and discussion, and from having responsibility for their own affairs.

The main purpose of the existing pattern of secondary education which is directly modelled on the British Grammar school or French Lycee, is to prepare young people for life in the modern sector. Culturally, it alienates them from the rest of the population and I shall attempt later to define this and examine its implications. It also elevates them into an economically privileged class. Because it is so costly, secondary education can be provided for only a very small minority in a poor country but, because it provides for its successful graduates access to the glittering prizes of the modern sector, there is tremendous public pressure for more and more secondary schools.

Harbison writes that "the absorptive capacity of the modern sector for university graduates as well as secondary and primary school leavers is also strictly limited. Even in African countries, university graduates (in most fields except science, medicine and engineering) are experiencing difficulty in finding suitable jobs. This is now true in Nigeria. Within a few years, the same will be true of East Africa. Ethiopia already has a formidable surplus of unemployed secondary school leavers. In Kenya, the surplus of secondary school graduates is likely to reach alarming levels within the next few years. This situation will become aggravated as the output of university graduates swells and as the remaining jobs held by expatriates are filled by Africans." There will be openings for qualified secondary and primary school teachers for a while yet in Botswana, and in the immediate future as mining starts, a lot of graduates and school leavers will find jobs. But we should guard against drawing long-term conclusions from this. Harbison stresses that "there will simply not be enough high-level positions in the large public and private bureaucracies nor clerical and white collar jobs ... to absorb the outputs of the educational industry. This is clear from most manpower surveys ... and it squares with the experience of countries in Asia and Latin America whose education systems are more advanced than those in Africa."

The emerging nations are not going to develop their economies without a great deal of productive work; much hard manual work is going to be necessary in the process. These countries cannot afford machines to do this task. This is a reality that people from developed countries find hard to accept. What Julius Nyerere says of Tanzania is valid for Botswana and will remain so despite mining developments.

"And the truth is that our ... republic has at present a poor, undeveloped and agricultural economy. We have very little capital to invest in big factories or modern machines; we are short of people with skill and experience. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement. It is the use of these latter resources which will decide whether we reach our total goals or not. If we use these resources in a spirit of self-reliance ... then we shall make progress slowly but surely. And it will be real progress, affecting the lives of the masses, not just having spectacular showpieces in the towns, while the rest of the people live in their present poverty."

The developed countries are rich enough that the manual workers can be paid, and paid quite well. But there are not enough resources in the underdeveloped countries to pay even low wages to the vast army of workers who will be needed to undertake the necessary tasks of development. In emerging countries the leadership must either force the ordinary people to work or they must join them and lead them. It is in this context that Frantz Fanon's injunction assumes its full meaning: "It is only when men and women are included on a vast scale in enlightened and fruitful work that form and body are given to that consciousness. Then the flag and the palace where sits the government cease to be the symbols of the nation. The nation deserts those brightly lit, empty shells and takes shelter in the country where it is given life and dynamic power."

Dangers of producing an elite

Since it was founded in 1963, the policies of Swaneng Hill School have always taken account of the danger of creating a small, privileged and even self-perpetuating elite in a country such as Botswana where shortages of capital dictate that only a handful of people can receive post-primary education. To quote myself, we have throughout been "extremely anxious to discourage the notion that education is just a ladder on which ambition climbs to privilege. We have felt that it is of some importance that the

educated minority in a developing country should feel committed to stepping up the pace of development and committed also to the idea that an ever-increasing number of people should share the benefits of development. We try to ensure that, when our students leave us, they will feel under some compulsion from within themselves, through sympathy and fellow-feeling with the poor and hungry, to fight want, ignorance and disease in their country. We seek to equip them not only with the commitment but also with the confidence, knowlege and skill to tackle themselves, the problems facing their country."

During the last six and a half years, a fair proportion of our students have shown a very satisfying degree of awareness of our policies during their stay at school. Many of the students have participated quite effectively and enthusiastically in voluntary manual work on construction and other projects both within and outside the school, and they have built a number of buildings themselves, including a massive school hall, now nearing completion. The students do all the chores in the school and even their own catering (except for week-day lunches), they run a co-operatively organised vegetable garden, and, generally speaking, they accept a standard of living below that of secondary students at other schools. But while I record the successes, impressive as they are, I must also honestly acknowledge that there is also quite a fair body of students who have managed to remain uninfluenced by the policies of the school. Their sights were set squarely on the certificate that will still, in this economy, for a while yet, provide the openings to well-paid government jobs and they remain committed to that objective when they leave. And even those who are aware of the school's policies and objectives, finally find that their moral attitudes become undermined by the irresistible financial temptations of the modern sector. Even some of the most responsive students, as they near the hurdles of the final examinations, abandon their commitment to voluntary work and communal service to concentrate on their certificates. While society offers excessively high rewards and a permanent, total release from manual work and physical drudgery for academic attainments, even those most dedicated to wider social, political and economic progress will find themselves drawn to the glittering prizes.

If a valid case has been made from these arguments that everyone undergoing post-primary education should go through the Brigades, then they equally support the case that no group of students, at any level, should exclusively be academics and be wholly released from manual or productive work.

In a paper I wrote for a seminar at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, I had the following to say about post-primary education: "The main economic justification for the academic functions of the secondary school is no doubt that they are a necessary part of the training, not only of top-level technicians", but of all those whom I have already acknowledged to be necessary to planned development and whose training must be longer and more intensive than that which Brigades can provide.

"What qualities," I asked, "besides their respective vocational skills, will enable these people best to serve the economic plan? Can such qualities be taught? Does the teaching of them depend on academic learning? Intelligence is clearly inherent, and while initiative, the ability to discriminate and to reason, and original thought, are bound up with it, all these qualities can be improved through education. Being well-informed also depends primarily on education. Young people can probably be trained in reliability, self-discipline, self-confidence, and organising ability. Integrity, moral courage and enthusiasm can be inculcated; so too, possibly, can compassion - and through it - dedication and commitment, and tolerance, qualities which make leadership at all levels sounder, wiser and more humane. Certainly the ability to communicate with others can be improved by education.

"Some of these qualities could doubtless be learned in Brigades, not in formal teaching situations, but by virtue of the responsibilities thrust on trainees for running their own affairs. But in general, those qualities associated with mental processes, and those based on a foundation of knowledge, are probably best learned from academic work. Of course there will always be exceptional individuals who can make the most of scanty education to develop their talents, for whom the limited education of the Brigades will be quite enough to take them further."

"Mathematics does help teach precision and it helps us to organise our thoughts. Science helps us shape our view of the world and our attitude towards our environment; it gives us mastery over our resources. Speaking for myself, I have no doubt that I am a more compassionate man because of the impact on me of the deeper appreciation of English literature that came to me through study."

I am not now quite as certain about these words as I

was then. Earlier in this paper I wondered aloud how far we could afford to provide certain aspects of non-vocational education when only the minority can have it. I am sure that there are certain human qualities recognised by most cultures as admirable and worth inculcating or instilling where it is possible to do so. I have mentioned some of these as worthwhile encouraging during Brigade training. I am now in some doubt, where before I was more sure, whether the inculcation and instilling of any of these qualities can be said to depend on any academic discipline, though it is true that some qualities might be heightened by a real appreciation of literature, art and music. Whatever we may hope to arouse in our students with exotic cultural treasures, I think we must be aware that cultural alienation is bound up with elitism. I suppose that cultural alienation only has significance on this score. The African elite is objectionable to men like Fanon, Nyerere, Sekou Touré and Moumouni not because he appreciates Beethoven, Cezanne or Milton, but because the economic privilege he enjoys constitutes economic exploitation. The view of culture that these African leaders have is essentially a politically orientated one. Fanon writes that, "Culture... in its essence ... is opposed to custom for custom is always the deterioration of culture ... The native intellectual ... must realise that the truths of a nation are in the first place the realities of the life that is being lived by its people now." Sekou Touré adds that, "To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come themselves, and of themselves." While this is all frankly political, I think it makes the point that there is no harm in presenting western culture, as gifts, for appreciation and to add to human sensitivity, as long as we do not seek deliberately by so doing to create a privileged elite. It may well be however that these cultural gifts ought more appropriately to be presented on the radio rather than to small minorities in schools.

How many subjects ought each student to take who proceeds beyond the Brigade for further education? Clearly his vocational choice should dictate a nucleus of subjects. In my earlier thinking I took the view that every student specialising in either technical or academic subjects ought to take some subjects in the other. What I am prepared to question, I think, is the subject content of the subjects which the student is taking other than those in which his vocational choice makes him specialise. I would be prepared even to question whether we need to retain the compartmentalisation of academic dis-

ciplines in respect of the non-vocational subjects. What this means is that in respect of further education, as in respect of the Brigades, we should be willing to re-examine our aims in every subject - when it is to be taught non-vocationally. What is probably required in respect of both Brigades and further education is to outline specific bodies of knowledge that everyone needs to know to help them to be responsible, useful, tolerant and rational members of societies. These are areas on which my staff and I will be concentrating our attention in the immediate future.

Proposals for post-Brigade education & training

Further education after primary schooling and Brigade training, ought to be provided in large post-primary institutions providing technical and commercial training, scientific training and such academic training as can be justified, agricultural training, rural development training and even teacher training. These institutions ought to be linked to Brigades (though not every Brigade will be linked to an institution) with the greatest integration possible of the two, to prevent the growth of a status structure in society. If the spearhead of development is to be in the villages and settlements, many of the more intensively trained people will be needed to work there and take to the rural areas their skills. A good preparation for this is close and frequent contact with the Brigade trainees who will be the husbandmen and artisans of the rural areas.

These large institutions of further education will have to provide a much larger proportion of economically unproductive academic training than the Brigades, and they will need to employ highly qualified teachers. They will need considerable subsidies and should limit these by covering as much of their costs by productive work as the constraints of academic studies will allow. This is another good reason for a close and careful study of just what and how much academic work is needed for the average student in the institutions of further study. It is not only productive work that is necessary but the jobs like catering and cleaning which cost a great deal if servants are employed. And besides, the attitudes of students will be very much affected by their residential conditions in boarding establishments; standards should not be higher than can be provided in the rural areas. It is important, too, to discourage the notion that largely academic work sets those who do it above those who do not.

Productive work is also important in equating the institution's students with the trainees of the Brigades. And, of course, it contributes to the development of the community.

While voluntary work and service within the school are important and should continue, they are not enough by themselves, and service in the outside community is quite vital not only because development in the community is a good objective in itself but because the commitment to the community will close the gap between the elite and the ordinary people, through the constant reminder of the realities of underdeveloped rural life.

The school should do all it can to promote economic development in the community, and the only limitations on this are those set by the skills of staff and students. Members of my staff and I initiated the Swaneng Consumers Co-operative Society, and we and several students helped to run it in the early stages; some of us are still associated with it. Members of the staff also helped launch a producers co-operative and students helped launch a livestock marketing co-operative. I have made mention of other projects we are working within the village.

I have several reasons for advocating an all embracing institution of further education. A diversified curriculum in each secondary school will facilitate the provision of training in a wide range of subjects. The combination of several institutions into one will itself make the wider range of courses economic; it will prevent the duplication of academic faculties in a whole lot of different technical institutions and teacher training colleges. Large centralised institutions can co-operate better with manpower planners in preparing and providing the professional, technical, clerical and entrepreneurial skills in the proportions required by sound economic planning. The wider curriculum would help institutions to cater better for a wider range of aptitudes among its pupils, and this it will need to do as development proceeds and as more and more young people are admitted to the institutions. Then again, by offering a wide range of subjects, including technical subjects, the establishment would become more effective in promoting development in the surrounding community.

Every one of the subjects offered in the all-embracing institutions should be made to serve the policy of making the school a focal point of development, and provide the basis for productive work. The possibilities in science are obvious, and indeed the school laboratories should do considerable research

work for the village into the economic potentialities of local resources. Some of the academic disciplines can be harnessed to promote literacy campaigns, disease prevention campaigns, and to provide publicity material for rural development generally. Indeed, here is a more sensible vehicle for teaching English than writing essays on rather irrelevant topics.

Course in Development Studies.

In my booklet on Education and Development in an Emerging Country, I described at length a draft course in Civics. We have now produced a new draft and renamed the course Development Studies. I should like to add to what I have said in general about the course in my booklet, and I should like to stress that some form of this course ought to be included for all students as a compulsory feature of whatever non-vocational material is to be taught in the institutions of further education. The Development Studies course consists of seven sections. The first is an economic analysis section, explaining the factors of production, the meaning of consumption and investment, the importance of the surplus to development provided it is invested rather than consumed and what specialisation means. The section also discusses money, employment and labour, the allocation of resources, capital accumulation and population growth.

The second section deals with pre-industrial history, starting with man as a hunter and gatherer and proceeding through the first agricultural revolution to the eve of the industrial revolution. This section shows man's early efforts to use the resources of nature to his advantage, and also how each technical innovation was part of a cumulative process that made the next step possible and so created the climate that made the industrial revolution technologically feasible. The third section analyses scientific progress both before and after the industrial revolution and notes its role in development. The fourth section discusses politics and how governments and ruling classes have always played an important part in the control of the surplus. The fifth section concerns economic development and industrialisation. Here we show the main contrasts between industrial and pre-industrial societies, and we discuss the first industrial revolution, some early experiences of industrialisation, the special problems of industrialisation today, and some contemporary experiences of industrialisation. The problems of rising expectations, prestige spending, luxury imports, are discussed along with the pros and cons of intermediate technology

and labour-intensive methods. The sixth section discusses the economic situation in the student's own country and section seven analyses social and cultural change related to economic development and industrialisation.

Economic development makes very heavy demands on developing societies and as many people as possible within the society should have an understanding of what these demands are. Everyone should know the conflict between investment and consumption and the need to keep down wages and salaries. All should have given serious thought to the conflict between the demands of development and established custom. The engineer and the architect, for example, should both be aware of such problems as the effect on employment levels and import statistics of capital-intensive (as opposed to labour-intensive) techniques, when planning roads, dams and other major construction work. In most developing countries primary teachers constitute quite a sizeable proportion of those who draw salaries: to secure their co-operation in implementing the economic plan would be of immense value, particularly because of the great numbers of children whom they could influence.

Of course, the knowledge that comes from Development Studies is not of itself any guarantee of correct decisions, or of co-operation, but a great many people in positions of responsibility and authority, with power to affect quite profoundly the course of development, take the wrong decisions and the wrong turnings, often simply through lack of the right information.

It is important that people be made to understand just how complex an economy has to be to sustain a civil service. It is important that they be taught about the processes of production, the importance of the accumulation of tools, of increasing skill and knowledge, and the indispensible requirement of hard work for everyone. They must also be shown that agriculture is almost the only original source of capital, and how important it is to revitalise agriculture to promote development. Too many of the educated young have a contempt for the land. They see education precisely as a means of escaping from the land into offices. The country's development and the production of food will be adversely affected by this contempt and by the neglect of rural areas and agriculture.

If the post-primary school is to be involved in local economic planning and development, the Development Studies

Department is in the best position to co-ordinate and organise this involvement. It will be seen from my outline of the course (Civics, under the heading 'The Local Plan') in my booklet, that I proposed that the school should undertake detailed resource surveys in the area around the school using students as data collectors and enumerators. We have already made a start on this at Swaneng Hill School in conjunction with the Ministry of Development Planning.

The Development Studies course can be one of the main instruments for making students aware of their society and its needs, of the needs for rural development and for an integrated approach to it within a comprehensive national development plan. Given the right national and educational atmosphere, it should be possible to inculcate a sense of dedication and commitment to a national progress that is designed to benefit all.

CHAPTER 7

A Selection of Documents

(i) A.W. Wood : "Vocational and Social Training of Primary School Leavers in the African Countries of the Commonwealth"

(ii) A.W. Wood : "The Experiment at Nyakashaka, Uganda"

(iii) P.G. Batchelor : "Faith and Farm: A Community Orientated Rural Training Project"

(iv) G.W. Griffin : "The Role of National Youth Services"

VOCATIONAL AND SOCIAL TRAINING OF PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH

This report is sponsored by the Commonwealth Secretariat as an aspect of the Secretariat's concern with youth problems in the member countries of the Commonwealth. It is the product of a series of visits by Mr. A.W. Wood, Education Research Officer, to the twelve African countries of the Commonwealth during the period November 1967 to February 1969.

LOCATION OF PROJECTS

K E Y

The Gambia

1. Mixed Farming Centres (various).
2. Young Farmers Clubs (various).

Sierra Leone

3. Boys Society of Sierra Leone, Freetown.
4. Bumpe School, near Mano.
5. Kenema Rural Training Institute.

Ghana

6. Ghana Workers Brigade, Somanya Camp.
7. Young Farmer Training, Department of Agriculture, Settlements Division, Apeguse.

Nigeria

8. Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme.
9. Farm Institute training for young farmers, Northern States (various).
10. Christian Rural Advisory Council: "Faith and Farm" training, Benue-Plateau State.
11. C.R.A.C: Church of the Brethren Mission farmer training, North Eastern State.

Uganda

12. Young Farmers of Uganda (various).
13. National Union of Youth Organisation (Western Region).
14. School Leaver Training and Settlement, Nyakashaka and Kidoma Settlement Schemes.

Kenya

15. Kenya National Youth Service (various).
16. Mucii wa Uratta Rural Training Centre.
17. Youth Centres (various).

Tanzania

18. National Service (various).
19. Marangu Farm Training Centre, Kilimanjaro.
20. Ruvuma Development Association.

Malawi

21. Malawi Young Pioneers (various).

Zambia

22. Zambia Youth Service (various).
23. Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation.
24. Chipembi Farm Training Centre.

Botswana

25. Swaneng Hill School, Serowe.
26. Mochudi Centre.
27. The Lokgaba Centre, Francistown.
28. Lobatsi Youth Training Centre.

Lesotho

29. Lesotho Association of Youth Clubs (various).
30. Morija Mophato.
31. Young Farmers Clubs (various).
32. Leribe Farmer Training Centre.

Swaziland

33. Swaziland Youth Service.
34. Swaziland Agricultural College and University Centre, Luyengo.

THE PROBLEM

One of the recurrent problems facing those who are planning educational and social development in low-income countries, and particularly the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, centres on the primary school leaver. In a situation where numbers completing primary schooling are growing steadily, a variety of problems have presented themselves in recent years associated with this expansion.

1. What needs to be done to equip the primary school leaver to fit into the economy in appropriate sectors?

2. In what ways can the primary school leaver be fitted to contribute a larger return on the national investment in education?

3. How can the primary school leaver be helped to see a constructive future in society for himself?

At the heart of this 'youth' problem in the developing countries of Africa lie the facts of the rapid rate of population growth in these countries at the present time and the slow rate of change and growth in their economies.

A recent study by the International Labour Organisation[1] suggests that in low-income countries generally more than half the total population is under twenty years of age; the equivalent figure for Western Europe is less than one third. Moreover it is expected that, as the population explosion continues, this proportion will increase until the end of the century.

The dimension of the problem was indicated by data provided for the 1966 Conference in Kericho, Kenya on "Education, Employment and Rural Development": "The combined effects of fertility, mortality and migration have produced in Kenya a very young average age. Nearly half of the population is less than 15 years of age. At the same time, the proportion in the older ages, say 60 or more years, is only about five per cent".[2] The

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[1] "Vocational Preparation and Employment of Out-of-School Youth in Developing Countries" in "Carnets d'Enfance", I.L.O. Geneva, June 1968, p.26.

[2] D.F. Heisel "Demographic Trends and Educational Needs", paper for Conference on "Education, Employment and Rural Development", Kericho, Kenya, 1966.

effects of this situation on the number of children of primary school age were also provided - for 1965, the figure was 1,769,000; for 1970, 2,058,000; for 1975, 2,439,000; for 1980, 2,908,000.

The 'developing' countries generally, of which the twelve Commonwealth countries of Africa[1] provide a cross-section, are countries which are making very determined efforts, involving the expenditure of a high proportion of the nations' income, to provide formal education for their young people. An indication of how the expansion of primary and secondary schooling was envisaged by African governments is given by the targets set for enrolment at these levels of formal education by the Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education in May 1961. In the long term, this meeting hoped for universal primary education by 1980. Secondary education would, it was hoped, be available by then to 30% of those completing the primary course. The meeting also set short term targets covering the period 1961 to 1966. It was hoped that, by means of an annual increase of 5% per annum over this five year period, 51% of the appropriate age group would enrol in primary school. For secondary level education, enrolment would rise from 3% to 9%. These projections, felt by many observers to be optimistic, and already falling short of expectations at least in the short run[2] imply that systems of education in Africa will continue to be highly selective and that, in particular, a substantial proportion of those who complete the primary school course will not have access to any form of secondary education. Within the primary course itself, there may also be selection procedures which limit the numbers of those able to advance. The net result of these arrangements is that the formal education of many young people is limited to the primary level. The formal education that the primary schools have been able to provide has generally been academic and literary in character, primarily satisfying the needs of the small percentage of the school population who proceed to secondary school.

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[1] Botswana, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia.

[2] C.M.O. Mate "Addis Ababa in Restrospect", paper for the African Studies Association of Great Britain Conference, University of Sussex, July 1968.

During the colonial period, various attempts were made, both at the primary and secondary levels, to change the emphasis of the formal school curriculum by injecting a more practical element which would, it was hoped, provide the pupil with a body of skills and knowledge of practical relevance to him after he left school. The reasons why these early attempts at curriculum reform did not succeed are partly educational, partly political, partly concerned with socio-economic factors.

The first instance is illustrated clearly by the experience of Uganda's technical schools in the 1950's; these schools were deliberately framed to provide a non-academic, prevocational secondary education for selected primary school certificate holders. Repeatedly the complaint was made by the instructors in these schools that their pupils were not physically mature enough to use their equipment. In any case, it was argued that a school setting was not the appropriate location for trade training. The majority of these schools have since become conventional secondary schools.

Before and since political independence, many parents were and still are opposed to any attempt to add a more practical element to the curriculum since, for them, the objective of formal education is to assist their children to get away from the need to work with their hands. After independence, the dictates of manpower planners led to an increased emphasis by those who shaped educational policy on secondary and tertiary education. For primary education, as far as enrolments were concerned, there was some effort at restraining the rate of expansion, the main emphasis being placed on developing existing schools so that they would be able to offer the full primary course. The follow-up to the Addis Ababa Conference led, however, to the beginnings of a process of examination of primary school curricula with the objective of working out new patterns which might be more realistic in terms of the needs of the rural communities of Tropical Africa. Initially the movement for curriculum reform was confined to mathematics and science; ultimately it has extended throughout what is taught in the primary school. Although this movement has subsequently intensified considerably, for example following the publication in 1967 of President Nyerere's statement "Education for Self-Reliance", the effect of curriculum reform upon the mass of primary schools must necessarily be slow.

Limited opportunities for advancement and conventional curricula thus coincide with, in the eyes of the mass of the

population, a general belief in the efficacy of formal education as the means of escaping from the arduous and unremunerative life of peasant agriculture, a belief based more on past experience than on present practice. When formal systems of education were first set up, the possession of a primary school certificate was sufficient to qualify those who achieved this for direct clerical employment in government service, or for admission to training in the agricultural extension service, or to be trained, or, even directly employed, as primary school teachers. With social and economic change, and the accompanying expansion of education systems, this situation could not endure.

The overall developmental pattern in the countries of Tropical Africa differed from that of those countries which developed earlier in that economic growth did not precede the expansion of education systems. Existing precedent seems to indicate that as economic growth proceeds, so the need for trained manpower exerts pressure on governments to extend educational opportunity. In the countries with which this study is concerned, pressures other than economic contributed to the expansion of education systems. For political and social reasons, particularly after the Second World War, in many of the countries of Tropical Africa the provision of both primary and secondary education was rapidly expanded. In those parts of Africa under British rule, the broad educational strategy, as it became increasingly apparent that political independence could not be long delayed, was to provide educational facilities to prepare local personnel to man the administrations after the departure of the colonial power.

At the mass level, the feeling continued that education was in itself worthwhile, even though opportunities for advancing within the system continued to be limited. The popular demand called for increased provision of primary level facilities and for a curriculum which offered an opportunity of entrance to the secondary school.

With political independence, it might have been expected that the educational priorities of the new governments would change as a result of pressure from the new mass electorates. In the event this has not proved to be the case. Despite the expansion of secondary and tertiary facilities which had occurred during the latter part of the colonial period, the newly independent Commonwealth countries of Africa still do not have sufficient high level manpower of their own to meet all the manpower requirements of the administrative and social services.

In order to maintain government services, and to expand the work of economic development, it is still necessary to employ expatriates, though in rapidly decreasing numbers. It therefore remains the first priority in educational planning to expand secondary education and universities in order to increase the supply of African manpower at the top levels. The expansion of primary schools is given a lower priority, as is the education of the adult masses. Thus, although following independence there is a greater relationship between economic and educational planning, the output of the primary school systems continues to be greatly in excess of the absorptive capacity of secondary schools and other training facilities.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that economic development has on the whole proceeded much more slowly than the development of formal education. In particular, this has meant that acceptable employment opportunities have not been created at a rate sufficient to satisfy the employment demands of the young people coming out of the primary schools. Because of this, those parts of countries where development has been accelerated, and where, therefore, job opportunities are likely to arise, have become places which young school leavers from less developed parts of these countries gravitate in search of employment, thus accentuating social problems in the urban areas. Secondly, the level of education attainment demanded of entrants to training courses at the tradesman/extension worker/primary school teacher level has risen, partly in consequence of new demands, partly because secondary school leavers, failing to satisfy their initial employment or further education aspirations, have become candidates for training and employment in sectors which previously were the perquisite of the primary school leaver. Similarly, basic clerical staff in government service are increasingly recruited from secondary school graduates. The net result is growing frustration among primary school leavers.

An insight into this situation, not admittedly typical as yet of all the countries with which this study is concerned, is given by A. Callaway describing the situation in the Nigerian city of Ibadan. [1]

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[1] Callaway A. "Unemployment among School Leavers in an African City" I.I.E.P. Paris. May 1966.

"In the city of Ibadan, there are at least 20,000 young men who have completed six to nine years or more of formal schooling but are uncommitted to productive work of any kind. Some of these will move away from the city back to their home villages or townships; a few will pass on to stay with relatives in other cities; but the majority will remain and persevere in their search for work. As each year passes more school leavers arrive in the city and the backlog of unemployed youth grows."

Callaway proceeded to analyse the employment pattern of the unemployed male labour force in Ibadan.[1] He estimated that, based on a 10% sample of the households in three areas of Ibadan, 28% of the total male labour force was unemployed. Of this, 78% consisted of primary school leavers who had in the main completed the primary school course. A significant proportion of the remainder had had at least some primary schooling.

It can thus be seen that whilst the expectations of primary school leavers for employment of a certain quality have remained for the most part undiminished, in practice the possibility of such employment is increasingly slender. The hopes of escape from farming and the tedium of rural life are therefore frustrated, and the frustration leads to a rising incidence of juvenile crime posing grave political problems.

The diagnosis of this problem has been carried out in recent years in many of the Commonwealth countries of Africa. Valuable work has been done in exposing such factors as the reasons for drop-out during the primary course, the job expectations of primary school leavers and the reactions of primary

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[1] Callaway defines "unemployment" in this particular context in the following terms:

"A man is defined as unemployed who is over the age of 14, who is not continuing his education full-time, who is neither incapacitated nor elderly (over an approximate 60 years of age) and whose earned income during the previous nine months was insufficient to meet personal (not family) food costs."

..... Callaway op. cit. p.8.

school leavers on discovering, more or less quickly, that their hopes of employment outside agriculture will not be achieved in the vast majority of cases. These studies have underlined the social and political dangers which arise as a result of acquiescence in the progressive expansion of a disappointed generation of semi-educated youth.

It must be assumed that the ultimate answer to these problems will come through the gradual success of economic development programmes. As growth proceeds, the slack in labour markets should be taken up. Recent years have, however, seen little contraction of the gap between the numbers of primary school leavers seeking employment and the number of jobs available. Even in countries such as Kenya, where economic growth in recent years has been comparatively rapid, the 'No Vacancy' signs and the morning queues outside factories are still to be seen and indeed such estimates as have been made of the way in which employment can be expected to develop would suggest that for the primary school leaver group the situation in the immediate future will worsen before it improves.[1]

The situation facing most of these countries is that, whilst enormous efforts have been made in recent years to expand formal educational facilities, it is becoming urgently necessary to develop programmes of informal education which are designed to absorb the energies, temper the frustrations and possibly provide low-level, job-oriented training for those young people who are not able to make progress in the formal educational systems as these are at present structured. It must be recognised that such programmes will not in themselves solve the problems posed by the superfluity of primary school leavers who cannot find employment; training in itself cannot solve what is basically an employment problem. There are, however, some interesting examples of training programmes which, because of their strong orientation towards development work, seek to stimulate the employment opportunities which should absorb permanently the young people involved in them.

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[1] O.D.K. Norbye "Long term employment prospects and the need for a large-scale rural works programme", paper prepared for Kericho Conference on 'Education, Employment and Rural Development', p.249

The initiative in establishing youth training programmes often rests with government departments such as Labour, Agriculture and Community Development, or has been the concern of voluntary organisations rather than of Departments of Education. In consequence, although there has been a wide range of experience among and within the different countries, there has been relatively little inter-communication of this experience, particularly between countries, but also to some extent at the inter-Departmental level. Although it is recognised that each country has its own unique character which is a product of its individual social and economic circumstances, there are certain broad similarities within the developing countries of Africa, and particularly those with a common institutional structure, which would suggest that a comparative analysis of how individual countries are tackling the primary school leaver "problem" would be useful in helping to shape a constructive policy on youth.

This study therefore seeks to examine the primary school leaver "problem" in each of the twelve African member countries of the Commonwealth, touching only briefly on the particular nature of the "problem" in the individual countries, but examining, and assessing, programmes which have been adopted with the objective of tackling this problem. What has been sought is, firstly, to examine each country and discover how the problem is being approached in each case, secondly, to document as many different approaches to out-of-school education and training of young people as possible.

Programmes examined can be divided into three categories:

1. the national youth services,

2. low level vocational training often related to resettlement,

3. youth programmes of a mainly recreational nature.

1. These are large-scale organisations, fully financed by governments, concerned to instill the idea of national economic and social development into the minds of young people whose formal education in school has ceased (or indeed in some cases may not have begun), and to divert the energies of these young people into the work of national development by providing low-level technical and vocational training and by assuming responsibility for carrying out specific developmental projects such as

road improvements, bridge-building, bush clearance, the construction of dams and drainage systems and large-scale agricultural enterprises. Organisations of this sort tend to be highly capitalised and possess a complex assortment of administrative apparatus, field leadership, training staff, base accommodation, instructional facilities, transport and specialised equipment. In order to emphasize the "national" character of these organisations, and to underline their corporate dedication to the work of national development, it is the general pattern for a para-military structure and outward appearance to be adopted. In some organisations, this feature is more prominent than in others. Some are classified as part of the security forces of their countries and given some measure of training which would facilitate their use in conjunction with regular security forces if circumstances required this.

2. These tend to be smaller scale programmes, partly or wholly supported by governments, or in some cases by voluntary agencies and community self-help schemes, aimed at providing vocational training, usually in agriculture, for selected young people, the immediate objective being to produce a cadre of young progressive farmers who, by their successful example, it is hoped, will stimulate the desire among the rural population in general to follow their methods and share in the resultant prosperity. The second objective of this type of programme is to demonstrate to the population in the rural areas that agriculture can be prosperous and can bring the "good things" which tend to be associated with the urban existence.

3. These programmes, generally associated with voluntary bodies, are designed to combat the monotonous and unproductive existence which young people experience once they have completed formal schooling and are faced with failure to obtain paid employment or further training. Their usefulness lies in providing young people with outlets for their energies which might otherwise be diverted towards delinquency.

It might be suggested that a fourth category exists - the comprehensive programme for the development and transformation of rural communities as corporate social units, as opposed to schemes which single out the youth sector for specific attention. Only one programme of this type is included in this study, the Ruvuma Development Association, operating in the Songea District of Southern Tanzania, because the investigation has been limited essentially to youth and youth training. The R.D.A. programme is deemed to be worthy of such attention for a variety

of reasons. It has been specially commended by President Nyerere in his 1967 statement "Socialism and Rural Development" as a pattern for progress very close to the ideal which he would wish for the whole of rural Tanzania. It has developed to its present form out of an aspect of the activities of a specific youth programme, the TANU Youth League. The activities of the Ruvuma Development Association are still in many respects orientated towards youth, with, for example, the main brunt of the work of spreading the Association's ideas for a rural society throughout the countryside being delegated to selected young people from within the Association. As part of this process, the lead is being taken by the Association's primary school at Litowa Village in working out a new primary school curriculum designed to meet as precisely as possible the needs of young people who can be expected in the vast majority of cases to spend their lives in a rural setting.

THE PROGRAMMES

1. THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICES

At present (April 1969) five of the countries studied (Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia) have formally organised national youth services. A sixth, Swaziland, is planning to establish such an organisation in the latter part of 1969. In addition, the Ghana Workers' Brigade continues to operate as a nationally administered body particularly concerned with directly organising manpower for modern sector employment but no longer specifically concerned with young people. The body which influenced the way in which many of the current national youth organisations function - the Ghana Young Pioneers - was disbanded in 1966.

Each of the national youth organisations has it own distinctiveness, as well as many similarities with the others. The fundamental starting-point for each one is the same - that government must actively seek to make some provision for the educational and training needs of young people who are unable to advance into the upper levels of the formal educational structure. In recognising this obligation, and in trying to discover how a contribution might be made at the national level, there has been an understandable effort to seek out operational models from other contexts. The Ghana Young Pioneers, founded in 1955, predated the other national youth organisations in Africa by several years. When it was first set up, its founders were concerned firstly with trying to provide an element of systematic vocational training related to local circumstances for the increasing numbers of young people for whom there were neither immediate possibilities of formal education nor of paid employment; secondly, it was hoped that the energies and potential of these young people would be harnessed to forms of community development work which required more systematic employment of manpower and particular skills than was available in individual village communities. As a result of considering Israeli experience, and with the assistance of an Israeli training mission which was attached to the Ghana Young Pioneers for a time, a training formula was developed which has had a powerful influence on national youth organisations throughout Africa, many of which have at one time made use of Israeli training missions or advisers. The training formula emphasises the need to bring young people together in training camps where they

receive a carefully balanced combination of the basic training of a soldier, emphasising drill, physical fitness, obedience to discipline, willingness to work hard; a continuance of general education, emphasising number, reading skills and civic education; and an element of particular skills training, the most frequent being "improved" agriculture, building, carpentry, motor mechanics. The courses vary in length and in the depth in which they tackle particular areas of training. In essence, however, the components are the same. The main exception to this is Uganda's National Union of Youth Organisation which has not adopted a camp structure but has sought to diffuse the essential training formula on a wide scale through local youth centres.

There are similarities in their administrative organisation also. As with the former Ghana Young Pioneers, the Kenya National Youth Service (KNYS), the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP), the Tanzania National Service and the Zambia Youth Service (ZYS) conduct all or part of their training course in base camps located throughout the various countries, serviced from a central national headquarters. The organisations have their own administrative arrangements with their own hierarchies, partly recruited directly from government departments or other bodies, partly promoted from within the service itself. It is expected that increasingly the individual organisations will be able to provide their own supervisory personnel. In appearance also, the Services have a general similarity, having adopted a modified military uniform and chain of command. There is some variation in the degree to which the organisations adhere to military patterns. In the case of the Zambia Youth Service, one of the advertised functions of the organisation is to supplement the nation's defensive arrangements and some weapons training has been introduced in order that the Service might be enabled to discharge this function. Both the Kenya National Youth Service and the Malawi Young Pioneers can in law be called upon to assist regular security forces. In the latter two organisations drill and marching feature prominently, but weapons training is not carried out. Uganda's National Union of Youth Organisation (NUYO) operates in a different fashion. Youth Assistants, working through the established Community Development Department, seek to educate young people in community self help; there is very little emphasis on the "military" aspect of the training formula and members are not uniformed: many Youth Centres provide facilities for physical training and sporting activities.

All the organisations seek to orient their members towards the task of national development although each expresses this orientation in a particular way, this being very much the product of the developmental situation in each country. The Kenya National Youth Service is perhaps the clearest on this issue. KNYS divides its time between training and educational work on the one hand and on carrying out specific tasks which further the nation's development on the other. All KNYS work projects are defined in Kenya's current Development Plan. The Youth Service is therefore carrying out work which would otherwise have to be carried out either by private contractor or by other departments of government. The organisation claims that it can perform these tasks at rates which are commercially competitive with regular contractors. The nature of these undertakings - major roads, dams, bush clearance - means however, that KNYS, while performing a useful immediate task, is not providing the bulk of its personnel with the type of working experience which would have much applicability after completion of the period of service - with the exception, of course, of those young people who undergo a specific training in a particular skill for which there are currently employment opportunities available in Kenya.

Concern with the provision of training which is strictly appropriate to the essential nature of the nation's development programme has gone furthest in the case of the Malawi Young Pioneers. As far as Malawi's broad development plan is concerned, for the present, agricultural development is recognised as paramount, and the Young Pioneers are seen as an agency for the direct promotion of better agricultural practices throughout the rural areas of Malawi. It is recognised that for the rural masses there is no immediate prospect of a translation to mechanised agriculture. MYP seeks, however, to work to an intermediate target, providing its trainees with instruction and experience in applying and using agricultural techniques and equipment which should be within the price-range and technical competence of the average small farmer. Mechanised farming is deliberately ignored. Emphasis is laid on improving on the inherited agricultural practices familiar to every young Malawian. At the same time, technical instruction is supported by general educational and physical education courses which seek, firstly, to inspire the trainee with the urge to improve and, secondly, seek to give him the physical strength to carry out the improvements in practice.

The Zambia Youth Service comes between these two extremes, as does Tanzania's national youth organisation. In the case of ZYS, there has been a shift in training policy which corresponds to the greater emphasis that the Zambian government is currently laying on the development of the rural areas of the country which have received less attention in the past. When ZYS was first instituted, the intention was clearly to supplement facilities for training in particular trades estimated to be in short supply in Zambia. This was coupled to the traditional camp structure and other training activities. It became apparent that whilst there was no reason why trade training, at least up to a point, could not be carried out within the detached atmosphere of the camps, firstly, this could not provide practical experience in actual working conditions; secondly, it was not a particularly economic way of carrying out the work.

Most significantly, however, it was evident that persons trained in vocational skills within the camp structure would necessarily seek employment in those areas of Zambia where already there was a markedly disproportionate level of industrial development. The role of ZYS was redefined in terms particularly of the need to develop the neglected rural areas. The result has been that, apart from the original two "skills" camps, subsequent ZYS training has been linked to the production of improved farmers, motivated towards rural development through the non-vocational programmes of ZYS and equipped for the establishment of co-operative farms through a system of support and loans shared between ZYS and the Department of Agriculture.

A general feature of the youth organisations is their smallness, although it is claimed on their behalf that they have an influence which is out of proportion to their size. The largest in terms of numbers in service is the Kenya National Youth Service, currently (1969) totalling 3,500 young people, the vast majority being men. At its maximum (1966-67) KNYS enrolled 5,000 members and would aspire to this total again once current budgetary problems have been overcome. The Malawi Young Pioneers has expanded very rapidly during the 1967-68 period and now (1969) totals some 2,200 members actually in service. MYP policy is that the size of each base should not exceed 100 persons. Although determined efforts are being made to expand base facilities throughout the country, MYP's practice of deliberately diffusing its activities by means of many small bases would appear to have a limiting effect on the numbers that the organisation can absorb. The National Union of Youth Organisation in Uganda, which has not adopted the camp structure, is able

to make contact with much larger numbers of young people, particularly in the rural areas. Presumably, however, the effectiveness of NUYO in communicating the essential training formula to its members is diminished through the lack of intensive instructional situations.

The essential reason why the national youth services have had to remain limited in the numbers which they can accept, and therefore limited in the contribution that they can make towards the absorption of unemployed primary school leavers, is cost. The national youth services, with their camp and administrative structures, are not a cheap approach to the problem of organising youth. The question of costs exposes one of the main differences between the various organisations. The Kenya National Youth Service, because of the heavy apparatus which it requires to carry out its chosen activities, is necessarily costly. Vehicles and machinery have to be serviced. Spares and replacements are regularly required. Those organisations which have chosen to emphasise agricultural activities are therefore at some advantage on the question of costs. The Zambia Youth Service, however, as a matter of policy, does not seek to preoccupy itself too closely with cutting costs. It is argued that members of ZYS should be encouraged to feel a pride in the Service and in themselves and that, if they are to be the initiators of new standards of rural living, it is important that they should practise these standards whilst in the Service. Living for ZYS members is therefore of a very high standard; buildings are of permanent construction: classroom facilities are of average secondary school standard; the Servicemen eat well; dormitory and recreational facilities also compare well with post-primary institutions within the formal educational system. In contrast, the Malawi Young Pioneers make the most determined efforts to reduce the material costs of establishing base facilities. Much of the construction is carried out by the trainees themselves as are the necessary bush-clearance, drainage and similar activities. In the newer camps, accommodation is erected in traditional style using traditional materials. The trainees contribute substantially towards the cost of feeding themselves. The entire exercise is spartan in the extreme, with the emphasis on identification between the way of life of Young Pioneers and that of the mass of rural society. NUYO in Uganda, without the camp structure, does not face the problem of providing residential facilities. However, the network of Youth Centres extends throughout the country and, to operate effectively,requires regular investment in training materials. Similarly, NUYO has launched the idea of using a single residential

centre for more intensive work with selected members. Here again, cost questions figure prominently in any consideration of how this centre might fully be developed.

The high cost of selective/intensive training for young people,[1] in accordance with established national youth service formula, implies therefore that any expansion of national youth organisations is likely to be slow, particularly when the countries concerned are decided that their first priority for educational expenditure must lie at the higher levels of the formal system. The youth services are competing for scarce resources and have not markedly demonstrated that they are able to make more effective use of these resources in terms of numbers accommodated than have traditional educational institutions.

The most controversial issue surrounding the national youth services, and one which requires the greatest attention in any consideration of the operation of this approach to youth training, concerns arrangements for follow-up. On this issue there have in recent years been various new initiatives and it would appear that few of the organisations are as yet satisfied that the ideal arrangement has been evolved.

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[1] Precise information on the costs of national youth service programmes is difficult to obtain, largely because the complete cost of these programmes is met from various sources within the countries themselves and from elsewhere. Thus the annual working budgets of the individual organisations do not provide a reliable guide to the real costs of these programmes. Some indication of costs can be given. In the case of the Kenya National Youth Service the 1967/68 recurrent expenditure by the Kenya Government on the Service amounted to £488,901, implying an approximate cost to the Kenya Government of £100 per Serviceman . To this must be added other elements such as the capital cost of Service's equipment (provided mainly by and external agency) and the cost of the various training personnel attached to the organisation. The Malawi Young Pioneers similarly represent an annual cost to the Malawi Government of approximately £60 per man per annum. To this must be added the costs of settlement after training (divided between M.Y.P. and the Department of Agriculture), the cost of technical assistance personnel and the cost of assistance to M.Y.P. under the World Food Programme. Again the real costs of the training programme per trainee are much higher than those incurred by the Malawi Government.

Problems concerning follow-up arise directly from the initial training philosophy motivating the national youth organisations. Crudely, the first intention was to absorb frustrated young people and provide them with a training which would hopefully make them better and more useful citizens. In the case of the former Ghana Young Pioneers and the Workers' Brigade, what was originally envisaged as a limited training period eventually evolved into a continuing career. The training offered did not alter the overall employment situation in the country. It was therefore decided to retain Ghana Young Pioneers within the organisation, presumably to avoid aggravating the unemployed primary school leaver situation by adding to this unemployed ex-Pioneers. It became clear that training in itself was no solution and organisations have devoted great attention to the problems of assisting their members to transfer from the sheltered existence within the services to an acceptable autonomous existence of their own.

The Kenya National Youth Service organisers make it clear to new entrants that the Service cannot guarantee to obtain employment for them at the end of their initial two year period. The Service, however, does agree to seek employment for members who consent to undertake a third year within the organisation, on the understanding that, as soon as employment is found, the Serviceman is expected to leave the organisation. In the event, only a small proportion of Servicemen agree to a further period within KNYS; a substantial proportion of these are undergoing specialised trade training and can expect therefore that their ultimate employment prospects will be fairly good. For the majority, what they have to offer to prospective employers is a period of disciplined training: understandably, therefore, many ex-members of KNYS join the Kenya Armed Forces or Police. A substantial proportion must, however, return to the rural areas and there would seem to be some force in the criticism that their KNYS experience will have had little bearing on the everyday realities of life as a small-scale farmer, the life most former trainees will have to lead. KNYS has not been able to conduct any thorough survey of the post-Service careers of its members.

The Zambia Youth Service has become committed to the idea of promoting agricultural co-operatives and during the latter part of the training period, this objective becomes more and more prominent. Trainees receive theoretical instruction in particular aspects of organising agricultural co-operatives.

Whilst they are still in the training camps, they begin to group themselves naturally into what will be the eventual co-operative. Within the Service, the future co-operative works together and moves as a unit on to the land which the Service obtains for it. The Service continues to maintain an interest in the new group, providing material support in the form of equipment and other materials as well as financial support during the early months. ZYS depends, however, for the success of its programme on the Agriculture Department's system of loans for improved farmers, particularly for those forming co-operatives. Once the co-operative receives this loan, direct support by ZYS ceases although informal contacts are maintained.

The Malawi Young Pioneers organisation has changed its attitude towards follow-up since 1967. Originally, Young Pioneers, when they completed their training, were encouraged to return to the villages in the rural areas from which they came and deliberately seek to promote progressive ideas there by example on their individual small farms, by spreading the ideas that they had absorbed during their training through local youth clubs which they themselves were responsible for establishing and by discussing particular topics with the older generation, thereby introducing ideas on improved agriculture. The early output of MYP was therefore dispersed throughout Malawi and there was little possibility of cross-checking whether in fact the young people who had undergone training were indeed acting, according to their own stated objective, as "a spearhead for rural progress". The logical progression from this situation came in 1967 when MYP established its first settlement scheme as a pilot venture, firstly, to demonstrate the effectiveness of a body of Young Pioneers as mutually-supporting progressive farmers, and secondly, to demonstrate that intensive training for improved agriculture would be best followed by intensive settlement in order to provide the trainees with optimum conditions in which to practise what they had been taught. The experience of MYP's pilot settlement during 1967[1] led to an intensification of the settlement programme generally with more than 90% of MYP graduates giving written guarantees of willingness to participate in it. The effect of this has been to change MYP from an organisation which is seeking to "educate" the rural masses into one which has a practical objective of training for settlement.

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[1] It should be noted that after the first year M.Y.P. settlers receive no direct assistance from the organisation.

Uganda's NUYO has also slowly edged into the business of settlement, or in this case resettlement. Here also the problem that revealed itself was that young people who were responding to what the organisation had to teach were frustrated in their ability to apply what they were taught as long as they were in the confines of the traditional home, and necessarily of traditional agricultural ideas. Initially NUYO sought to overcome this by establishing group farms whereby small numbers of young people, while still living with their parents, would establish small independent co-operative units. It has been realised, however, by NUYO that such devices are essentially half measures and that if these young people are to apply fully the agricultural practices that the organisation's specialist advisers would wish, then there is need for wholehearted identification with improved agriculture which only a resettlement scheme can bring. The first NUYO resettlement scheme, using selected members from various branches who have undergone a more intensive training, has already been launched.

The national youth organisations represent an attempt by the governments concerned to demonstrate their interest in out-of-school youth and their determination to make a practical gesture towards the provision of constructive training for these young people. Of the five operational organisations, only one (MYP) claims the right to be exclusively concerned with the country's youth. In general, where the camp structure has been adopted, it has not been possible, for financial and for administrative reasons, to involve more than a small proportion of the countries' youth in these organisations. In general, they are not a cheap method of training although one organisation (MYP) has made great efforts to minimise raining costs. The training formula, whether within the camp structure or using other methods, is common to all although emphases vary between organisations, particularly on such matters as political identification. Increasingly, the organisations have come to realise that merely to train young people is not in itself a solution but should be followed up by arrangements whereby the controlled application of what has been taught will be possible. The result has been the establishment in recent years of settlement schemes by various organisations. Finally, in terms of the overall numbers of young people who are receiving some primary schooling but are unable to advance to any great degree within the formal educational structure, the national youth organisations have not been able to make any substantial contribution towards their absorption and training. Such a contribution would appear to be unlikely whilst costs remain high and the primary concern of

the educational efforts of governments is with the expansion of the upper levels of the educational structure.

2. LOW-LEVEL VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVERS, MAINLY IN AGRICULTURE, OFTEN RELATED TO RESETTLEMENT

No attempt is made to consider formal government-backed technical or trade training establishments. What is considered is a variety of programmes, sometimes governmental, sometimes voluntary-sponsored, for training primary school leavers and the organised application of this training. Programmes within this category range from very large-scale schemes for training youth in agricultural settlement schemes, to small-scale, very localised craft training and agricultural apprenticeship. In all cases, the objective is the same - to supplement the academic education of the primary school leaver, equipping him with "useful" skills and the opportunity to apply them. Because of the overriding importance of agriculture in the economies of the countries studied, most of these schemes are concerned with training for improved farming.

The main factors concerning programmes in this category again centre on the content and effectiveness of training, the nature and location of training institutions, numbers trained and costs of training. In addition, since within this category there has been more experience over a longer period of time with resettlement, problems associated with this process are also considered.

Training courses in this instance are almost entirely vocational. The questions that have to be decided concerning the content of courses are

(1) What balance should be maintained between theoretical and practical subjects?

(2) To what extent should such courses include non-vocational subjects such as English, Mathematics, Book-keeping, "Development Studies"?

Firstly, in respect of the balance between theoretical and practical aspects of the courses, it is a general feature

of these programmes that their content is devised by specialists within the particular subject area, and not by specialists concerned with training and training problems. Predominantly these programmes seek to train farmers; the content of training courses thus tends to be devised by professional agriculturalists who may therefore over-exaggerate the degree of technical agricultural content required in such courses. This would seem to be borne out with reference to such widely dispersed programmes as the Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme, the various residential farmer training programmes in Tanzania and the Lesotho Farmer Training Centres. All these programmes would seem to operate on the assumption that to train an improved farmer, what is required is an elementary version of a Diploma in Agriculture course. What in fact appears to happen in such cases is that, because of the emphasis on technical content, the theoretical aspect of the training is exaggerated and with this is also exaggerated any academic pretensions that the trainees may have imported from the formal primary school environment. Experience seems to suggest that, particularly when such courses last for several years[1], it becomes very difficult to convince the young people concerned that they should see a future for themselves as farmers. The effect of the training is to heighten their aspirations for supervisory positions in government service and the courses, therefore, may defeat their own ends. If there is any sense at all in special training programmes for "improved" young farmers, there will necessarily be some specialised agricultural content - and indeed much of the point of making use of primary school leavers for such courses is that they have the general educational background to profit from this - care should obviously be taken to frame the content of courses in such a way as to counteract any existing trend towards exaggerated job aspirations that may exist. Where this has been done most successfully, notably in the case of the Nyakashaka Scheme in Western Uganda, the technical content of the training course was almost exclusively related towards particular agricultural purposes i.e. in this case tea-growing. Some expertise in one area was sought but there was no question of training for a measure of general agricultural expertise.

As a general rule, it would seem important either for these courses to be planned by agriculturalists in conjunction with training experts, or for agriculturalists involved in such courses

[1]The longest courses were of three years duration, namely, those provided at the Mahiwa Farmer Training Centre in Tanzania and the Serowe Farmers Brigade, Botswana.

to realise that their primary responsibility in these operations is that of training and that course content and methodology should be appropriate to the training purpose. Viewed thus the degree of technical content in courses concerned to train young people for improved farming would not appear to be so very high and indeed those programmes within this field which seem to have been most successful - the Nyakashaka tea-growing scheme in Uganda, the "Faith and Farm" programme in the Benue-Plateau State of Nigeria, the Mixed Farming Centres in the Gambia - are all distinguished by their very specific and limited course content, that is,they aim to train their students in performing carefully selected tasks well and are not concerned to produce watered-down agriculturalists. Secondly, with regard to the inclusion of non-vocational subjects, there are very clearly two opposing philosophies on this issue, both of which can point to some success. Nyakashaka, "Faith and Farm" and the Gambian Mixed Farming Centres are almost entirely technical in content. The alternative philosophy is revealed in organisations such as the various "brigades" organised originally at Swaneng Hill in Botswana; the Uganda Young Farmers Clubs; the "village polytechnics" programme in Kenya; the Boys' Society of Sierra Leone,in those aspects of this programme which have an economic purpose. In the second category, it is argued that the mere provision of technical or practical skills and employment opportunities is not enough, that there must be a supplement to this which either seeks to cater for the social needs of young people or which seeks to provide them with the necessary incentive to apply their skills. The same argument is strongly put forward by the Malawi Young Pioneers, whose organisers contend that only a limited degree of improved skill is necessary provided that the trainee is also inspired to work hard and regularly.

The main problem here again concerns pretensions. One of the recurrent battles which has to be fought by programmes dealing with primary school leavers is associated with the need to direct the educational aspirations of these young people into more satisfying channels. If the training course offers any suggestion of academic content, those aspirations which have been roused by an academic primary education which was assumed to lead forward to secondary level, can easily be resurrected

and the prospects for ultimately placing the trainees into employment diminished.[1] Equally, however, with regard to the successful "technical" schemes already mentioned, it would be difficult to argue that they were purely concerned to communicate particular and limited agricultural techniques. Especially noticeable in some organisations is a strong religious element, emphasising the group spirit, and presumably strengthening the will to succeed. In some cases where a traditional religious viewpoint is no longer acceptable, attempts are being made to provide motivation through the development of group spirit by the provision of "Development Studies" courses. These are based upon the idea of communicating to the trainees the ideals and objectives of national development and the potential contribution of the trainees to this process. The efficiency of such courses remains as yet unproved. Viewed in more practical terms, there would appear to be a strong argument for providing improved farmers with courses in such "useful" subjects as elementary book-keeping, health and nutrition[2] and possibly family planning.

The argument over practical versus theoretical training in many ways parallels the discussion on vocational and non-vocational subjects. Clearly, any programme which seeks at the end to produce a successful independent farmer (or builder, weaver or leatherworker) requires a pronounced element of practical activity. The debate is really over whether there should be any theoretical work at all and if so, how much. Again the "extremists" can point to their successes. The Nyakashaka Scheme has never built classrooms. Such group instruction as took place occurred under a convenient tree. The same principles are being applied in the efforts to replicate the Nyakashaka Scheme at Kidoma, in Bunyoro, Western Uganda. The 'Faith and Farm' programme has gone to the extent of breaking up the concentrated instructional group and now disseminates its trainees among proven "master farmers" where they are visited periodically by the organisers. On a larger

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[1] Witness the high rate of fall-out from such assorted schemes as the Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme, the Northern Nigeria Farm Institutes, the Bumpe Farm School, Sierra Leone, Mahiwa Farmer Training Centre, Tanzania, Chipembi Farm Institute, Zambia.

[2] c.f. the nutritional problems among "successful" rice farmers at Mwea-Tebere, Kenya.

scale, the I.L.O. Mission which has now worked for several years with the Ministry of Economic Development in Ibadan, in the Western State of Nigeria, and has concerned itself particularly with the so-called primary school leaver "problem" has reached the general conclusion that the most appropriate way of attacking this problem is by the visiting mission working to upgrade established local craftsmen who, as they expand, might be expected to absorb larger numbers of young people in apprenticeship programmes. The emphasis throughout is on purely practical training in the workplace doing the particular job.

The advocates of more diversified training argue for the need for centralised institutions in order that such training can be carried out while conceding the overriding importance of practical work. It is generally true to say that the practical content of institutionalised training courses has risen sharply in recent years largely in reaction to initial over-emphasis on the theoretical content of the courses. The training institutes associated with the Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme provide the clearest instance of this. Originally, these courses included a substantial theoretical element introduced deliberately in order to attract the primary school leaver. Whilst this undoubtedly drew large numbers into the institutes, at the end of the two-year period, comparatively few were attracted into the settlements as farmers. Later courses were restructured in order to play down the theory and emphasise the practice. The same is true of the Northern Nigerian Farm Institutes, although these do not appear to have pursued theoretical studies to the same degree as in the Western Region.

A further trend within training institutions is towards the simulation of conditions for practical work which are more realistic in terms of the eventual working conditions of the trainee when he completes the course. Establishments such as the Marangu Farmer Training Centre for Youth in Tanzania or the Swaneng Farmers' Brigade have devoted a great deal of time, effort and ingenuity to this end and undoubtedly can be expected to provide a more appropriate training. It remains debatable, however, whether such efforts can ever produce working conditions which will ever be truly "real" in terms of the everyday life of the farmer.

The training institution has expert supervision constantly available; its site is selected to minimise agricultural difficulties; financial support is available far beyond anything

the individual farmer can hope for. Where will the Marangu trainee find the rich soils and ample rainfall of Kilimanjaro? Where will the Swaneng trainee find the irrigation systems, the marketing arrangements that he is familiarised with in his training? No matter, therefore, how determinedly trainers seek to simulate "real life" for practical work, reality will necessarily escape them and they will be forced back to a consideration of whether they would not be better occupied providing the practical training in the place where the trainees will eventually work. Why must the trainees always move and not the trainers?

This leads to a consideration of settlement and resettlement. Here again the source of much of the current debate lies in the experience of the Nigerian farm settlement schemes, particularly that in the former Western Region. The basic assumption in this instance was that if trained young farmers were to have the opportunity to apply what they had been taught, it would be pointless to deposit them back into the agricultural environment from which they came, where, it was expected, the atmosphere of unreformed agriculture would gradually erode all that they had been taught and the training effort wasted. Therefore it was decided that the trainees, after completing their training, should be settled in situations free from any direct contact with unreformed agricultural practice. Here they would be provided with superior material services as befitted their status as improved farmers, and subjected to more intensive supervision by the agricultural extension service so that, within a few years, the efficacy of modern agricultural methods would be demonstrated to all.

Elements of this settlement philosophy can be found in almost all schemes, successful or unsuccessful. The Nyakashaka Scheme stressed the need for a different kind of farming and during the period when the trainees were in the scheme's debt forbade participants to grow traditional crops. The Mwea-Tebere Scheme sought to bring local farmers together in villages so that optimum use could be made of irrigated rice lands. The Malawi Young Pioneers' settlements emphasise the value to the Agriculture Department of a consolidated block of trained and development-orientated young farmers. Whether or not the idea of a community where membership is limited to young people, with different aspirations and estimations of their own worth and place in society is a sound one sociologically, the fact remains that many training schemes, because of their rightful concern with organised follow-up have become involved in the business of settlement. The experience already accumulated on

analysis indicates some of the factors that can affect success or failure:-

(1) Structure

There has been some debate on how far the way should be prepared for settlements by the establishment of material facilities. At one extreme, the Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme provided housing, community facilities, roads, water, etc. before the first settler reached the scheme. On the other hand, schemes such as the Nyakashaka scheme began with the settlers erecting their own individual shelters. In this respect, much clearly rests on an understanding on the part of the organisers of the settlement and of young people on the degree of personal involvement and commitment expected of the participants; and the physical capacity of the latter to undertake the effort required. Clearly, if the settlers erect their own housing, they increase their personal identification with the scheme and reduce the ultimate burden of repayment.

(2) Returns

There is very strong evidence that the settlements which strike roots quickly and become firmly established are those which show early financial returns to the participants. The experience of the Western Nigerian Farm Settlement Scheme clearly illustrates this. Those settlements which have been most successful, e.g. Ogbomosho, are based on arable crops which were able to produce almost immediate returns. The settlements which have not become firmly founded are for the most part tree crop settlements when returns were necessarily long-delayed. One factor accounting for Nyakashaka's remarkable success was the ability of the settlers to master a technique of tying down the tea plant so that an early growth of leaves suitable for picking was forced. It would certainly seem that if settlers' expectations from improved farming are heightened, then it is necessary to provide solid financial gains and fairly quickly.

(3) Indebtedness

Whilst obviously some measure of financial assistance is necessary to get an agricultural settlement fully into action, the degree of indebtedness would appear to be an important factor affecting settler morale and thus the willingness of settlers to stay on the scheme. This may be a consideration in

determining the degree of inputs other than those necessary for the success of the agricultural operation. Morale can also be affected by the timing and size of repayments. Experience would seem to show that repayments should not begin until the settlers are receiving adequate returns and when these begin, should not be so high as to deprive the settler of most of the fruits of what he has worked for.

(4) Preparation within training courses

Training courses tend to be concerned with the immediate task of communicating skills and incentives. In some cases, however, systematic preparation for settlement is provided within the course itself. Here indeed might there be a strong argument for non-vocational instruction if training leading to settlement elsewhere is thought desirable. The Zambia Youth Service takes practical steps to establish a co-operative pattern before the training course and settlement begins. The Swaneng Farmers Brigade in Botswana has launched on an elaborate schedule of preparation for eventual settlement several months before the operation is launched. While exercises of this nature would seem to be valuable, experience suggests that the success or failure of a settlement will eventually be an economic matter. No matter how expertly planned the motivational courses may be, it would appear that where settlements fail to attain economic standards acceptable to the participants, their demise is only delayed. Alternatively, there are examples of settlements where ultimately the economic returns on the project would seem to be in little doubt - many of the Western Nigerian settlements would fall in to this category - where greater preparation of the trainees in the realities of settlement, a greater motivation of them towards settlement, might have diminished early demorali sation and high fall-out rates.

(5) Supervision

Since the generally agreed eventual objective is an independent, self-supporting community, free of indebtedness, taking its own decisions on planting, harvesting, marketing,etc., it would appear important that supervision of settlements, particularly of young people, should encourage the maximum degree of self-reliance from the beginning. This can be achieved by associating settlers with decisions through some form of committee structure so that they become practically involved in the executive decisions affecting their own lives and get into the habit of taking decisions. Settlements which have relied on

heavy supervision by officers of government have found that it is difficult to persuade settlers that they are indeed working for themselves and are not minor functionaries of the organisation or of the government. After the settlements have been launched, there is a tendency to limit the activities of the supervisory staff to the provision of technical assistance and the administration of outstanding loans. This tendency has necessarily developed furthest in those settlements which have been most successful economically, where settler morale is high and where settlers have developed the confidence to participate in the process of decision-making.

(6) Leadership

Some settlement schemes have operated without designated leadership from the beginning, evolving their own leadership to suit their own purposes when required. In the organisation of other settlements, it has been regarded as important that before the settlement is launched, there should already be recognised leadership to which settlers can turn during the initial and most difficult period when the settlement is becoming established. Much would seem to rest on the extent and nature of external supervision. If external supervision is to be kept to the minimum, organised leadership among the settlers is essential. With regard to settlements for young people, there would appear to be a case for including leaders of an older generation, as is being done in the Malawi Young Pioneers' settlements.

(7) Social factors

Reference has already been made to single age-group settlements. Such settlements are necessarily unbalanced socially, consisting almost entirely of young men, to which, eventually are added young wives and children. It has been argued that in social contexts which place considerable importance on the advice and guidance of the older generation, particularly, for example, in matters concerning women, settlements which are almost exclusively of one age-group are necessarily socially weakened. Family loyalties in most African situations, and particularly in the rural areas, are strong; the exclusive settlement does not permit traditional social groupings which would allow these loyalties to express themselves. As a result, settlers often maintain two homes and are not able to identify fully with the new society that the scheme would seek to build up. The answer may be to accept a double-household system for a time at least in order to avoid social tensions. This is a solution

which appears to be working fairly comfortably on some of the Workers' Brigade farms in Ghana. Alternatively, as is the case in the Ogbomosho scheme in Western Nigeria, the answer may be to locate the settlement so that it has sufficiently easy access to "traditional" society to allow normal social contacts to continue. The lesson in this instance would seem to be that schemes should either be fitted carefully to an existing social system, once that system has been fully studied and analysed, or should, as with the "Faith and Farm" settlements in the Benue area of Nigeria or the Nyakashaka scheme in Uganda, move into an area which is largely unpopulated as long as some outlet for the normal social instincts of the trainees is provided.

(8) Dimension of projects

To attempt a comparison between training and resettlement schemes and the national youth organisations in terms of numbers trained would be an unfruitful exercise. These schemes cover the widest range of very diverse effort, ranging from massive, heavily funded and administered, government-sponsored projects to small independent efforts. Again, however, the gross numbers trained represent a very small proportion of the numbers who need such training. Whereas, however, the national youth organisations are all working, more or less, to the same training formula, with the exception in some respects of Uganda's NUYO, schemes in this category have been able to experiment with many different approaches and therefore possibly offer more general lessons. Indeed it would be argued by many organisers that mass "solutions" are impractical, that what is needed is a wealth of different programmes tailored as far as possible to individual situations. Where success can be pointed out, and there are several undeniable successes, it is usually a tailor-made scheme aimed precisely at a particular local situation with necessarily a diminished capacity for replication.

(9) Costs

On costs, again experience covers all extremes, ranging from thousands of pounds of expenditure per trainee settled, to schemes where the training project finances itself through a revolving fund, with the exception of administrative costs. What is clearly shown is that to spend large sums of money on training youth is very easy but that with ingenuity and determination costs can be minimised. It is here that the Botswana "brigade" formula merits attention. This formula has now been applied in various parts of Botswana to projects in the construction

industry, cattle management, leatherwork and textiles. The essence of the "brigade" type of training in this instance, is that it should be possible in certain circumstances for a well-organised and administered training project to undertake commercial business in the course of the training and, with the money earned, contribute substantially to the costs of training, in some cases even meeting the entire costs. The theory has been applied effectively in the training of building trade workers in various parts of Botswana, largely due to the shortage of small-scale commercial builders there. It has, however, still to be proved that commercial earnings from the training programme can fully cover costs although here again this is affected by the diversity of the programme. Swaneng building trainees undergo a much wider range of courses and use of wider range of educational resources in terms of plant and personnel than does, for example, the Mochudi Builders' Brigade, hitherto a purely technical programme and one required to go out and seek work in the Kgatleng District of Botswana. The Mochudi Builders Brigade has come very near to financing its own training operations.

Minimising costs has also been a preoccupation of the 'Faith and Farm' programme in the Benue-Plateau State of Nigeria. In this case, the cash input per trainee has been reduced from firstly the cost of two oxen and a steel plough (£48.10) to the cost of one ox and a plough (£35). The trainee's family is required to find the cost of maintaining the trainee during his one year apprenticeship, and of setting the trainee up as an independent farmer, although local authority loans also assist with this. The money loaned is repayable over a four to five year period and is immediately used to sponsor other trainees under the scheme. The administrative and technical assistance costs of the scheme alone are non-recoverable.

(10) Location of Training

Generally, arising from the cost issue, both in this particular context and indeed to some extent in the context of the national youth organisations, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the main factor which serves to inflate the cost of training is the insistence in so many cases on consolidating training activities in institutions concerned purely with training. Costs are thus inflated in two main ways - firstly, the institution necessarily requires fabric of a certain standard, for teaching work and accommodation both of staff and students; secondly, for the training programme to have any observable effect,

controlled settlement of trainees is almost a necessity which again requires the construction of living and other facilities, certainly for settlers, probably for other staff. Apart from this, the training is carried out in one context, the settlement in another - thus the likelihood of wastage of trainees and of financial resources is increased. The logical outcome of this would seem to be training in situ, bringing the trainees and trainers together on the site of settlement and slowly allowing the trainers firstly, to assume an advisory role and secondly, to phase themselves out completely. Already it can be shown, admittedly for the most part only in small schemes, that training in situ produces most encouraging results particularly in terms of trainees who actually stick to the task for which they were trained. The Nyakashaka scheme paved the way in this respect, transforming an empty, unproductive range of hills in Western Uganda to an area of increasingly wealthy small-scale tea-growers, at modest cost, most of which had been repaid within five years of the scheme being launched. Other projects have advanced along these lines. In Ghana, the Department of Agriculture, inheriting responsibility for the farms and personnel attached to the former Young Farmers' League, has decided against large-scale farm institute training and has attached agricultural instructors direct to the farmers on their land, working with them, instructing at the same time, whilst selecting particular farmers for short bursts of intensive training on more specialised aspects of farming at farm institutes. In Botswana, a training project for school leavers largely in cattle management is about to be set up at Nfetledi cattlepost, the trainees agreeing to construct their own accommodation at the cattlepost, gaining initial experience with a largely traditionally-managed herd before moving into a neighbouring area where, it is planned, they will build up their own co-operatively owned cattlepost and herd. There is therefore a slight but encouraging trend away from institutionalised training. The continuance of this should vitally concern those who would wish to encourage the development of the wealth of low-cost training schemes for young people that would seem to be required if some inroads are to be made into the vast training needs of this sector of society.

3. YOUTH PROGRAMMES OF A MAINLY RECREATIONAL NATURE

At this point, in many respects, the entire debate on what should be done about "idle youth" begins. For many years, the answer was often assumed to rest in the "toss them a football" philosophy which gradually elaborated itself into the provision

of youth centres equipped with slightly more than footballs and organising outlets for youthful energies slightly beyond physical games. It has for long been assumed, and is still in many parts assumed, that young people need activity to deter them from "mischief", that the most acceptable activity will be recreational and that, by some undefined chemistry, once youth gave way to adulthood all problems would be over.

Testimonials to the philosophy can still be seen throughout Africa usually in the form of battered recreational centres gifted by some well intentioned philanthropist or conscience-stricken corporation. The philosophy is still embedded in many youth programmes.

In many countries, the Scouting/Guiding movement is still firmly established in the youth field. However, these organisations tend to involve mainly in-school youth and may indeed be organised as a specific aspect of the formal school curriculum. Their activities bear little relation in any case to the needs of a "developing" situation.

Organisations such as the Lesotho Association of Youth Clubs have made some attempt, while generally remaining within the recreational philosophy, to involve out-of-school youth. In so far as this has been successful, obviously some contribution has been made towards combatting the monotonous and arid way of life that young people who are unable to secure employment find themselves living. Programmes of this sort appear to operate most successfully in the urban areas where absolute idleness is more of a problem than in the rural areas. In Lesotho also, various active women's organisations have successfully moved into the field of youth organisation for girls and have evolved a pattern of activities partly centred on traditional dance and music, partly on elementary homecraft. A laudable practical element has therefore been introduced.

Perhaps the best example of such a venture in the youth field, which began as a primarily recreational project, but has moved in response to the need for more constructive activity in more practical directions, is the Boys' Society of Sierra Leone. This body was set up in 1966 by a group of mainly professional people in Freetown in order to make some useful contribution towards dealing with the problems posed by the growing numbers of unemployed youth in that city. Initially, the organisers had much goodwill, little money, and little conception of what they might be able to do. The Society had no centre, and very few

other facilities. The "toss them a football" approach loomed large, supplemented in this case by the provision of nourishing meals for all who attended the Society's gatherings. It rapidly became clear that the young people concerned were interested in doing something practical so that they might in some positive way earn their meal. As a result the Society's volunteer organisers embarked on a vigorous work-finding programme which led to the youth turning up in large numbers at public buildings to tidy up the compounds, doing general maintenance. From this, they graduated to beautifying the city by planting flower gardens - all still without cash payment. The main need, however, was for paid employment and the Society set about attacking this problem in various ways. A craft shop was opened in Freetown on behalf of the Society, and Freetown filling-stations, moved by the sight of the new civic flower gardens, agreed to pay the Society to provide the same service. Further plans will involve the Society going into the palm oil business. During all this the recreational aspect of the programme has continued, catering for young people whose needs are perhaps more limited.

Again, however, in all these programmes, the gross numbers involved are not large. In this particular category costs can vary considerably, the decisive factor being the generosity of the organisation's sponsor. It would seem that in the main such organisations have a useful palliative effect. If, however, the needs of out-of-school youth are to be catered for fully, an approach has to be developed which does more than combat the symptoms of youthful frustration. The basic need is for employment; the way towards the attainment of employment is practical training.

4. COMPREHENSIVE VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

The work of the Ruvuma Development Association in the Songea District of Southern Tanzania is such a unique contribution to the attack on the primary school leaver "problem" that it merits separate consideration. Briefly, the Association consists of fourteen villages which have slowly evolved from an original nucleus at Litowa, established by members of the TANU Youth League in 1961. R.D.A. thus has its origins in a youth programme although the R.D.A. philosophy would now be strongly against singling out one particular sector of society for special treatment. By the efforts mainly of the villagers themselves, a unique community has been built up, markedly improving on traditional subsistence agriculture by co-operative efforts, but more markedly evolving a new way of life in rural Tanzania

which, it is argued, provides the young with incentives and outlets enough in the construction of a community which is progressive. Its material standards and social standards testify to this. It, also, is revolutionary in terms of the overall pattern of rural living to be found in many parts of Africa. The success of R.D.A. seems to rest in the conviction which its members have developed not only that they should seek to improve themselves but that they can and are improving themselves. There is a remarkable optimism among the R.D.A. villagers, a feeling conspicuously absent elsewhere. It is this optimism that allows the R.D.A. to claim that there is no primary school leaver "problem" in these communities. In effect, what has happened is that twelve villages have got off the ground by their own efforts, that the young people of the villages have a tremendous pride in this achievement and are actively seeking to promote these achievements both by further development in the R.D.A. villages and by working with other villages which are interested in following the R.D.A. pattern. The rural situation, therefore, is seen by these young people as worthwhile. It is not identified with failure but with an almost evangelical new hope. Why should they leave such a situation for the uncertainties of the remote towns? The applicability of what has been achieved by R.D.A. elsewhere in Tanzania, as well as elsewhere in Africa, remains one of the most interesting issues in this entire field.

CONCLUSION

A diverse range of practices has been adopted in recent years to deal with the problems posed by large-scale unemployment among primary school leavers. Governmental and non-governmental agencies in all twelve African countries of the Commonwealth have become acutely aware of the need to provide opportunities for this sector of the nations' youth to make a contribution to national development and at the same time to temper their personal frustration through useful employment. From experience of training programmes already accumulated, there are many lessons which can be learned which should assist in the evolution of practical policies for youth. It remains, however, very clear that nowhere is the effort and substance invested matching the dimensions of the problem.

Further information on the projects mentioned in the study can be obtained from:-

1. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Bathurst, The Gambia.

2. Social Welfare Department, Ministry of Education, Labour & Social Welfare, Administrative Building, Bedford Place, Bathurst, The Gambia.

3. The Executive Secretary, Boys' Society of Sierra Leone, P.O. Box 1223, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

4. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, New England, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

5. Njala University College, via Mano, Sierra Leone.

6. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Ministerial Buildings, George Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.

7. National Organiser, Ghana Workers Brigade, P.O. Box 1853, Accra, Ghana.

8. Agricultural Settlements Division, P.O. Box M.37, Ministry Branch Post Office, Accra, Ghana.

9. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Ibadan, Nigeria.

10. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Jos, Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria. (for Benue-Plateau State only)

11. Christian Rural Advisory Council, P.O. Vom, via Jos, Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria.

12. Rural Development Director, Church of the Brethren Mission, Garkida, N.E. State, Nigeria.

13. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Culture and Community Development, P.O. Box 7136, Kampala, Uganda.

14. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Entebbe, Uganda.

15. Department of Rural Economy and Extension, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda.

16. The Director, Kenya National Youth Service Headquarters, P.O. Box 30397, Nairobi, Kenya.

17. National Christian Council of Kenya, P.O. Box 5009, Nairobi, Kenya.

18. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Services and Co-operatives, Nairobi, Kenya.

19. National Service Headquarters, P.O. Box 1694, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

20. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Co-operatives, P.O. Box 9192, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

21. The Chairman, Ruvuma Development Association, P.O. Box 48, Songea, Tanzania.

22. National Adviser, Malawi Young Pioneers, National Headquarters, P.O. Box 694, Limbe, Malawi.

23. The Director, Zambia Youth Service, Church Road, P.O. Box 2251, Lusaka, Zambia.

24. Principal, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, P.O. Box 1493, Kitwe, Zambia.

25. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Box R.W. 197, Lusaka, Zambia.

26. The Principal, Swaneng Hill School, P.O. Box 101, Serowe, Botswana.

27. The Warden, The Mochudi Centre, P.O. Box 208, Mochudi, Botswana.

28. The Commissioner of Community Development, Private Bag 6, Gaberones, Botswana.

29. The Commissioner of Community Development, Private Bag 6, Gaberones, Botswana.

30. Lesotho Association of Boys Clubs, Box 451, Maseru, Lesotho.

31. The Warden, Morija Mophato, Private Bag, Morija, Lesotho.

32. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Maseru, Lesotho.

33. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Maseru, Lesotho.

34. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Administration, P.O. Box 432, Mbabane, Swaziland.

35. Swaziland Agricultural College and University Centre, Luyengo, Malkerns, Swaziland.

THE EXPERIMENT AT NYAKASHAKA, UGANDA

by

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Buhweju County was until recently the highest, most inaccessible and least developed part of Ankole District in Western Uganda. Because of the steepness of its slopes and quality of its soil, Buhweju did not share in the modest prosperity which came to Ankole with the widespread planting of coffee following the Second World War. The population was slipping away, having dropped by approximately 50% in the previous twenty years, mostly to the neighbouring Igara County, an area much more suitable naturally for peasant-grown coffee. By the early 1960's, large areas of the Buhweju Hills were almost entirely abandoned.

It was this empty, remote and beautiful area that was selected by the Church of Uganda to launch its first experiment in the informal training and settlement of school leavers. The project was made possible by the Church acquiring the services of an agricultural missionary with many years of practical experience with projects of this type in the Sudan.

Land ownership in Ankole is a vexing problem, still without any clearly defined system of regulation. In general, any Munyankole who wishes to farm can look out for himself a vacant piece of land which suits his taste and begin to cultivate it. More recently, there have been attempts to introduce a system of land titles which would work against the traditional system by apportioning the land in individual holdings to selected farmers who would have the right to fence and exercise the prerogatives of ownership. At Nyakashaka, the problem of obtaining the land has been solved partly by only using Banyankole in the scheme and partly by the Church receiving a "lease" to an area of 3,000 acres of hilly land from the local chief, an official who holds his office on a hereditary basis, he being a direct descendant of the former Kings of Buhweju. Elements of both the traditional and the modern systems of land tenure are visible in the land tenure arrangements adopted at Nyakashaka.

The Church obtained an area of 3,000 acres of uncultivated land mostly on steep hillsides at an altitude of 6,000 - 7,000 feet. The area has a cool climate and more than adequate rainfall (50" per annum) but the acidity of the soil made it unsuitable for the cultivation of those crops which the Ankole peasant farmer naturally inclines towards ("matoke" (plantains), coffee, groundnuts and maize). It was obvious that if an agricultural settlement was to be successfully established at Nyakashaka, the need was for high value crops which would make best use of the area's main natural resource, its relatively cool climate. The most comparable area to Buhweju climatically is Kigezi District in the extreme south-west of Uganda where a similar terrain and climate has enabled many co-operatives to emerge growing vegetables for the Kampala market. In the event, it was decided that the Nyakashaka settlement would base its economy on tea (particularly suitable for the acid soil) with strawberries and "English" potatoes as secondary cash earners. The settlement also has a small dairy herd attached to it although this is not felt to be especially successful.

The human factor is however the most important element in the Nyakashaka scheme. Those who founded the settlement were guided by certain general considerations. Firstly, and most urgently, young men with six to eight years of basic education had to be attracted to the land. This could be achieved only by producing in them a changed attitude to agriculture. It had to be shown that a life in agriculture could be, firstly, profitable, secondly, challenging intellectually, and thirdly, could provide for them and their families the benefits of community living hitherto associated with town dwelling.

It was also recognised that in many countries attempts to provide training for farming through farm schools or farmer training centres had been both costly and not particularly successful. The Nyakashaka experiment was therefore conducted on the assumption that farmer training could not be effectively carried out other than on the actual land which the future farmers would themselves work. There was also built into the scheme a positive attempt to counteract the attitude of the primary school "graduate" that he, as an educated man, could only be trained in agriculture for a place in the Government's advisory service. Young men joining the scheme had to be prepared to work as general labourers for a six month period with no definite prospect of acceptance as settlers at the end of this period. Having completed this "probation" period, the management selected from the labourers those considered suitable for acceptance as

settlers. The element of selection is felt to be important[1]. Even then, the settler's status is not guaranteed. For the three years the trainee farmers are allocated six acres of land. Of these, five are placed under tea and the other acre used for the settler's house and minor crops. During his three year "apprenticeship", the farmer is both trained in modern farming techniques, particularly as they affect the specialist crops grown at Nyakashaka, and in organising a system of co-operative marketing. The training given is to the largest degree possible of a practical sort. The trainees can implement directly, on land which they are personally identified with, the techniques they are taught. The ultimate reward comes at the end of the three year period when the farmer, provided he satisfies the management, receives an individual land title to his own farm, and membership of a successful co-operative organisation.

The Nyakashaka scheme is one of the few examples of this type of project which can be fully analysed in terms of cost-effectiveness. By the end of 1967, one hundred and twenty farmers had been trained and settled. The voluntary organisation which provided most of the financing for the first phase of the project has produced an analysis of capital and recurrent costs over the period 1963 to 1967. Capital costs are estimated as adequate to cover up to four hundred farmers[2]. These divide into a returnable and a non-returnable element. The former comprises loans to settlers for the purchase of tea stumps and fertiliser plus assistance with house building (£16,500[3]). The latter consists largely of capital equipment (tractor, rotavator, lorry, workshop equipment) and staff housing (£5,500). Recurrent expenditure over the same period again divides into a returnable and non-returnable element. The former covers the hire of occasional labour and maintenance costs (£7,500), the latter, staff salaries and travel costs (£10,900). The total cost of the scheme over the first four years was estimated at £40,000 of which £27,400 was ultimately reckoned to be recoverable from the farmers.

The Management insist that settlers should repay the various loans which they receive under the scheme. It is felt that repayment is good for the morale of the settlers and that

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[1] The scheme began with 110 applicants. Of these, 30 were accepted as the first batch of settlers.

[2] By mid-1967, 120 farmers had been settled.

[3] Calculation based on the cost of settling 100 farmers.

money recovered in this way can be used to train and settle further young men according to the principles already established. The repayments are made over several years by deductions from the individual settler's earnings through the co-operative dairy or from his green leaf account once the tea is fully productive.

The cost of launching this experiment can be estimated fairly easily. It is a much more difficult task to define precisely what has been gained by the Nyakashaka scheme since the impact of this project is registered in much more than economic terms and, even in economic terms, its effect extends over a much wider area than the one hundred and twenty or so young men who had been trained and settled by the end of 1967.

Firstly, it is possible to make a rough assessment of the earnings of fully trained farmers once the first tea attains full productivity (1968). It is estimated that the Nyakashaka tea will yield approximately £50 per acre to the grower after it has been processed. This figure is a modest estimate; in certain areas of Western Uganda tea has yielded £75 per acre. A settler should be able to earn from tea alone more than £250 per year. This sum will be increased by whatever he earns from dairying, strawberries or potatoes. From this, the settler will have to make a regular repayment towards the cost of his training and settlement but care will be taken not to overburden the young farmer with over heavy financial obligations. A net income of £300 per year should be possible.

Secondly, Nyakashaka is more than just an agricultural settlement. From the beginning, it has been the Management's policy to build up the ancillary services of the settlement. One of the first major achievements was to break down the isolation of Nyakashaka and Buhweju County generally by the construction of a road fifteen miles long through the hills to connect with the main Mbarara-Fort Portal road. This road was primarily necessary in order to get the newly plucked tea to the Ankole Tea Estates processing plant at Kyamuhunga but incidental benefits have accrued, not least being an intrepid free enterprise bus driver who makes a daily run from the main road at Bushenyi to the settlement and usually succeeds in getting there. A whole new area has been opened up by the road. This is well evidenced by the newly built housing, churches and schools, and the newly planted "shambas", which follow the road as it approaches Nyakashaka.

The economic effects of the Nyakashaka scheme do not

confine themselves to the settlers alone. The opinion has been expressed on various occasions that settlements composed exclusively of one age-group and one level of educational attainment are unbalanced socially. One of the scheme's main achievements has been its success in attracting other farmers to the area, settling in the valleys below Nyakashaka and deriving a steady income out of catering for the food needs of the settlers. At Nyakashaka itself, the land does not lend itself to the cultivation of local food crops and, in any case, is too valuable under cash crops. Local farmers have also been induced to settle on the periphery of the Nyakashaka area and to begin cultivation of their own tea which is marketed at the Nyakashaka co-operative. This trend should become more pronounced when the tea processing factory which the Uganda Government has pledged itself to establish in this area makes its appearance.

The economic implications of the widespread production of tea and other valuable cash crops at Nyakashaka and in the surrounding area cannot as yet be fully ascertained. Tea takes several years to become fully productive and, in fact, only in 1968 did the first Nyakashaka tea reach this stage. Nevertheless already it is possible to draw certain parallels between Buhweju before the scheme and the same area afterwards. Whereas the area produced virtually nothing in the early 1960's, with a scattered and dwindling population, it is estimated that the value of sales from the area during 1967 should be between £12,000 and £15,000, and this is before any of the Nyakashaka tea reaches full production.

The outward social effects are plain. A new society has emerged where previously there was nothing. The sound economic base built up at Nyakashaka is already being reflected in improved amenities, although the area where the scheme itself is situated does not lend itself to the building of community facilities. Land is carefully apportioned among the settlers, individual holdings being directly contiguous. Facilities such as schools, churches, a community centre, a sports field are already developing in the valley below Nyakashaka, not on the scheme itself. There are obvious social, as well as practical advantages in this. The settlers, by participation in the life of the the local community that is emerging, do not develop an exclusive society of their own but become one element in a more natural social unit that is building up in and around Nyakashaka.

Despite these social links with the rest of the area, the Nyakashaka settlers have a corporate spirit of their own which

is felt to be one of the most important factors in the success of the scheme. It has been the deliberate policy of the Management to promote this spirit through a variety of procedures which have now become firmly established. The farmers elect a committee which presents the settlers' collective viewpoint to the Manager and which has the right to consult with the scheme's Board of Governors who are the Trustees of the Nyakashaka land. It is felt to be important that the Manager should always be at hand for consultation with the committee. The members therefore know that the Management shares their detailed problems and that the scheme is not being directed from some distant official centre. Similarly, the co-operative society is an elected body. The farmers themselves are entirely responsible for its operations. It handles all the scheme's income and is responsible for the grading of the settlers' tea prior to despatch to the processing plant. Again, the success of the co-operative rests largely upon the community sense which has developed at Nyakashaka.

A recent observer of the Nyakashaka experiment[1], in commenting upon the spirit of the settlers, has stressed that this feature dates from the early days of the settlement when the pioneer settlers living in grass huts were breaking in the first plots in preparation for the planting of tea. There was at this stage little indication to the young men of what Nyakashaka could become and hope could easily have been lost. The northern part of Ankole District has a rigorous dry season and in fact the first planting of tea stumps succumbed because of lack of rain. It was decided then that, in order to reinforce the group's determination and spirit, there should be a daily gathering of the farmers for prayers and to exchange the day's news. These open air assemblies did much to fuse the settlers together and cause them to stick to their purpose. Other factors undoubtedly contributed to the solidarity of the settlers. Nyakashaka in the early stages was a very remote and lonely place, particularly before the outlet road to Bushenyi was constructed. All of these factors no doubt contributed towards the sense of collective purpose which has enabled Nyakashaka to survive and prosper. As an indication of the degree of technical success which membership of a compact and determined social group of this sort can achieve, only one farmer was expelled from Nyakashaka in the first four years of its existence for failure to maintain an adequate standard

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[1] Belshaw 'The resettlement of school leavers in Uganda' p.3.

of husbandry and observe the rules which govern the scheme[1].

The real test of Nyakashaka's success as an experiment in diverting the young school leaver into rewarding agricultural activity rests on whether the method which has succeeded in Buhweju can be transplanted elsewhere. The environmental conditions in Buhweju were after all rather exceptional. Empty mountain ranges, fertile enough to allow a cash-crop economy to be built up, are not all that common even in tropical Africa although Uganda still has large areas of virtually empty country which could be farmed profitably. Some guidance ought to be available within the next few years from what results from an experiment started in 1967 in Bunyoro District.

WAMBABYA PROGRESSIVE YOUNG FARMERS SCHEME

The original Manager at Nyakashaka, having launched the Nyakashaka experiment, accepted an invitation to attempt to repeat the Nyakashaka experiment in Bunyoro District. There the social problem of how young school leavers should be constructively employed is also present and, as in Buhweju, there is abundant empty land. At that point, the resemblance ceases. At Kidoma, near Hoima, on the peripheral flats of Lake Albert, the second training and settlement scheme for school leavers has been launched. The country is low, very wet and hot. Population is sparse and tropical forest very thick. Environmentally this area is a complete contrast to Nyakashaka.

The scheme has been allotted 5,000 acres which means that the individual farmer, on completion of his training period, will receive more than fifteen acres of land. For the present, all land is held by the Board of Governors who will grant individual holdings only when the Management decides that the trainee farmer has mastered his craft and is otherwise suited for full settler status. The training will again be completely informal, carried out by the Manager working directly with the trainees in the practical tasks of agriculture which they will be required to perform once they achieve "independence". Capitalization is approximately the same as at Nyakashaka.

The most unusual feature of the new scheme is that it

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[1] All farmers, on accepting their plots, must sign a document explaining the rules and conditions which govern the Nyakashaka scheme.

has again been decided that the economic base of the settlement will be tea. Despite the lower altitude and climate differences this is regarded as technically possible largely because of high rainfall (60" per year). It will however be necessary to supplement this by irrigation.

As with Nyakashaka, subsidiary crops will be grown although the exact pattern of cultivation is not yet clear. The extra land available will in this case make it possible for food crops to be grown by the settlers themselves and the main subsidiary cash crop is likely to be vanilla.

The scheme has been launched. Volunteers have come forward. The arduous preliminary phase of bush clearing and road making is now in progress. The ultimate verdict on the success of the Nyakashaka method in an alternative environment can not however be given as yet.

The experiments at Nyakashaka and Kidoma provide many noteworthy pointers in the planning of informal education for modern agriculture.

Firstly, great emphasis is laid on the attainment of commercial viability as quickly as possible. The initial phase is hard and it seems essential that the trainees receive some cash reward for their efforts as quickly as possible.

Secondly, the schemes are not heavily institutionalised. Nyakashaka began with a collection of grass huts and emphasises open-air instruction. Only now, with the scheme beginning to pay solid cash dividends, is there a tendency towards constructing permanent housing and community facilities. Much emphasis has been laid in other schemes on the need to have such facilities from the beginning. Nyakashaka does not bear out this point. The essence seems to be commercial success. The "luxury" items - schools, churches, etc - can come later.

Thirdly, training is completely informal and carried out in direct association with the particular crops in which the scheme is specialising. No need is felt for organising instructional facilities. Much stress is laid on self-education, "learning by doing". The role of the settlers in running the co-operative is noteworthy in this respect.

Fourthly, there is great stress laid on the need for the settler to repay a substantial element of the cost of the scheme.

However, repayments are not insisted upon immediately on the settler being established and are spread over several years so that the farmer is not crushed under an overweighty burden of debt.

Fifthly, emphasis is laid on the need to develop a corporate spirit which will fuse the group together, give them a sense of common purpose and dedication to the task of making their scheme a success. The settlers are closely involved in the operation of the scheme so that they understand clearly that it is their effort not that of some remote external agency. At the same time, the society created must guard against building social barriers between itself and the neighbouring community and practical co-operation between settlement and the rural community at large develops through the participation of the local farmers in certain activities of the settlement and through the sharing of certain community facilities.

Finally, the role of external agencies is clearly delineated; firstly, they provide the necessary capital assistance in order to prime the pump and set the development process going; secondly, they provide expertise, initial leadership and a sense of direction which is always close at hand, particularly in the early stages. The capital element is kept deliberately small in order to guard against the danger of creating over-luxurious training facilities and the external presence is gradually withdrawn as the scheme gains the self-sustaining momentum which is necessary if it is to endure.

Unquestionably, the Nyakashaka scheme is one of the most interesting cases of school leavers being successfully trained for and established as farmers. Whether the formula can be technically duplicated is one of the most interesting rural development issues facing Western Uganda at present. There are however issues which the attempts to reproduce the experiment at Kidoma cannot resolve. These largely centre on the degree to which the Manager's presence is a necessary element in the process and on the effect of the very different climate conditions on the settlers' ability to tackle the physical conditions of Bunyoro. (Buhweju has a most invigorating climate whereas Bunyoro can produce tropical conditions of the most enervating sort). Nevertheless, in a field in which successes are few and costly failures all too common, the experiments in the informal training and resettlement of school leavers in Western Uganda merit the closest attention.

NIGERIA

"FAITH AND FARM" : A COMMUNITY ORIENTATED RURAL TRAINING PROJECT

By P.G. Batchelor,
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Faith and Farm:

1. The "lingua franca" of the area in which Faith and Farm works is Hausa and in that language the slogan for the project is "Kyautata Zaman Kauye". This means: "Towards Village Improvement" and describes accurately what the Team is trying to accomplish. The objective is to meet needs as they are found; and when we go with an open mind we find a great variety of needs. True, there are, as we expect, spiritual needs, as men and women grope for a faith that will bring them security despite the breakdown of established patterns of order and authority. But there are also countless other needs: the need for greater production from the farm to feed growing families where more children survive than ever before; the need for youth to regain a respect for parents and elders despite all the new teaching they get at school; the need to control disease in an age when the hypodermic needle means so much more to people than soap and water; and, of course, many, many more. So many more that the Team does as much in the way of channeling requests for help to other sources as it does in meeting needs themselves or, better, showing people how they can solve their own problems.

2. Geographically, Faith and Farm works in two main areas; Jos and Maiduguri. Jos is the capital of Benue-Plateau State: Maiduguri of the North Eastern State. The Jos area is a rough rectangle with the capital towards the North, running some 200 miles south and about 100 miles wide. This is an area of very rapid growth of the Christian church and as a result there has been a fairly good response to some new ideas brought in from outside. The other area, based on Maiduguri, is much larger geographically but less heavily populated and less intensively covered by Faith and Farm. The project is controlled, through a Committee, by the Council of the Plateau Church of Christ in

the Sudan.

Methods of Work:

3. Through a body known as Agricultural Missions in New York, I was, in 1957, able to meet with people from a number of developing countries who had come from various parts of the world to attend a six week seminar in Kentucky. From the many findings that emerged out of our studies and discussions together one fact seemed incontrovertible: the least successful way to train farmers in the less developed countries is through farm schools. Over and over again we heard and read of expensive institutions failing to get more than an infinitesimal proportion of students back on to the land as vocational farmers. When we came to start Faith & Farm the following year, we were determined to avoid a large institution. In the years that followed, our experience and observation has not led us to modify this conviction. Mind you, we have never been hampered either by zealous politicians demanding status symbols of supposed agricultural progress nor by an abundance of money with which to embark on a large building programme. Working on a shoestring budget can be a blessing in several ways.

4. The only methods of training people in new techniques, both as regards farming and home life, seemed to be:-

a) Apprenticeship Schemes

b) Working with people in their own situations

c) Short Courses

d) Rural Youth Clubs

and, to back up all these methods,

e) The use of bulletins and visual aids.

5. The organisation of all this started off by being in the hands of one missionary on a part time basis with a Land Rover. Today there is a small Team, led by a Nigerian, with four or five other touring members, each responsible for various aspects of the project.

Apprenticeship Scheme:

6. As a low cost means of getting the best value for your money I can think of nothing more effective than apprenticeship schemes. You need no buildings and no paid teachers; you have no boarding problems and no unrealistic theoretical attitudes. And, most important of all, you get a good percentage of trainees established as farmers practising at least some of the techniques they have learned.

7. You do need an attractive goal for the trainees to work towards, good, co-operative and trustworthy farmers to take the apprentices, trained personnel and reliable transport for regular supervision both during and after training, land for resettling the trainees and a loan fund to help set them up.

8. Over the first ten year period in which Faith and Farm ran such an apprenticeship scheme, we trained a total of 74 men. Most were in their late teens or early twenties, though the few older men we have taken have proved extremely satisfactory. Of these 74 men, 52 are farming today. Of the 22 drop-outs, 9 never got started on their own farms after finishing their training and 13 gave up, usually in their first or second year. Of those who are farming today 44, or 84% of those still farming, are using the innovation that was their goal during training, namely ploughing using bulls in contrast to doing all the farm work by hand. Some, though not as many as we would like, have also graduated to use other improved practices.

9. More significant than these figures, however, is an assessment of local acceptance of the innovation. An indication of this is the spontaneous growth in the numbers of farmers using the improved practices. In areas where our farmers have proved most successful this growth has been very rapid. It is never possible to give exact figures when people whom you have not trained or even consciously worked with change their techniques, but it seems that at least an equal number of farmers, at a conservative estimate, to the numbers we have trained, have taken up ploughing with bulls through the influence of the more successful of our farmers. From there, acceptance of the new methods mushrooms and this has happened in certain areas.

a) Master Farmers:

10. This is the name we give to the few carefully selected

farmers to whom we entrust men to be trained in better farming methods. There are nine Master Farmers at present, five of whom are former apprentices. Before a man can become a Master Farmer he must have proved himself to be above average not only in the special skill the apprentices will need to learn but in other aspects of farming. He must have a good character, have finished repaying any loan he got from Faith and Farm and have a happy home life, for the apprentices will be living as members of the family.

11. He receives no payment for taking apprentices nor for the time he spends teaching them; all he gets is £N6 towards the food the apprentice will eat during his nine month stay.

b) Apprentices:

12. As we interview applicants an attempt is made to find out whether they are mentally and physically suited to the challenge of breaking with tradition, being "odd man out" as still happens in some areas. Are they prepared to move away from their home areas, if necessary, in order to farm on completion of their training? If he is chosen (we can now take about sixteen apprentices a year) he has to find clothing, travel money and the £N6 food money to give to the farmer.

13. At first, conscious of the fact that boys who had been to primary school were not happy about returning to the kind of life lived by their farming parents, we restricted the choice of apprentices to those who had been to school. We got sufficient apprentices but the problem came with those (a majority) who had to be resettled away from their homes on completion of their training. We found we had created small communities of young men and as they began to get married, the lack of parents and grandparents brought about major social disturbances. In particular, the young wives, lacking trusted elder counsellors from their own tribes, became dissatisfied and got into various kinds of trouble.

14. Now we take late teenage boys and men with no top age limit and with no educational qualification beyond being able to read and write well in Hausa. In this way we get about 20% school leavers and a sprinkling of older men, too, resulting in much more stable communities.

c) Training:

15. The apprentice will live with the boys of the family and be treated just like any one else of his age in that family. In some respects he becomes the slave of the Master Farmer. He will be up early taking his turn at the household chores as often as he will be seeing to the cattle. We want the training to be tough; if there are going to be drop-outs let them take place before we invest money in them to get them set up, not after!

16. The trainess start in March and leave at the end of November, thus completing a full growing season. The classrooms are the fields and the huts where the men eat together.

d) Establishing the Apprentice:

17. Two bulls and a plough with a little fertiliser and good seed, cost between £N50 and £N60 in the part of Nigeria where we work. Faith and Farm has a loan fund and usually helps those who have finished their training successfully with one plough (about £N21 provided in kind) and one bull (about £N15). The other bull, seeds and fertiliser have to be found by the farmer with the help of relatives. We feel it is important to have others besides ourselves showing confidence in the man. Repayments come in pretty well if a member of the Team makes sure he is around to collect at the time the farmers are receiving money from the sale of their produce. Otherwise, it is amazing how quickly the money evaporates! Some of the farmers get behind-hand with repayments following crop failures or the disaster of a bull that has died.

18. In a few cases, the apprentices have land belonging to their family that is available and big enough for them to use with bulls. More often than not, we have to help them find land. Wherever possible we like to put the farmers in small groups - each with his own farm. Those in such communities have, on the average, done much better than the lone farmer, though there have been some grand exceptions.

19. Although the first year is so hard, we have deliberately avoided any kind of subsidy towards living expenses. We have seen where this has been done in other areas and the farmers feel very badly about withdrawals, or reductions, in the subsidy; living allowances take away from the need to be self reliant. It

is true, the men need to find help from others, but this is more in keeping with traditional African community life. As they are helped one year, they can in turn help others in a similar position in future years.

e) Other forms of Apprenticeship:

20. We feel that the scheme as developed over the past ten years has been a success. In particular, the trainees are not alienated from hard work on the land under conditions similar to those they will be experiencing when they work for themselves. The example of the Master Farmer's home farm does not present an unattainable goal. Building on what we have learned, Faith and Farm is now preparing to select Master Farmers who can teach other innovations than the use of bulls as draft animals. In some areas it is more relevant to teach poultry or rabbit-keeping, tree crop farming or vegetable gardening. With some of these skills it might be necessary to vary the length of the apprenticeship served.

Working with people in their own situations:

21. Our problem was that the Team was so small and the area and numbers of farmers needing help so large. We could not afford to add more paid extension workers to the Team so had to use existing material: lay pastors in charge of village congregations. This proved a happy choice. They are farmers, with wide contacts with people of all creeds through their Christian work. Out of some 700 of these lay pastors, groups of congregations have chosen 50 to be Faith and Farm agents. They are scattered so as to cover the whole of the area in which we work, and each has responsibility, as far as rural improvement work goes, in twenty to thirty villages, in addition to his own. Some may have received a little rural training if they attended a Bible School but for all of them we insist on a two week training course every February.

22. One of the things needed in villages if people are to improve their standards of farming and living is the availability of budded fruit trees, good breeding poultry, chicken wire, insecticides, vegetable seeds and fertilisers. With the co-operation of two large firms manufacturing agricultural chemicals and domestic insecticides, each of the agents was set up as salesman as well as extension worker.

23. This revolutionised their effectiveness. Instead of their

having to say: "The only thing that will get rid of the termites from your house and grain store is dieldrin but the nearest place you can get it is 200 miles away" which doesn't help anybody, the agent has the termiticide on hand himself and can show the people how to use it. This is real extension work, and because the chemicals used are effective, farmers have come to trust the agents when they give advice on other matters. Chickens, fruit trees, wire, seeds and other necessities are also distributed through the agents.

24. These agents get no pay: they are voluntary workers supporting themselves by farming. But they are given $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the value of the sales they make. For some this can give them £10 to £15 a year. For others, with less push or poorer markets, under £1.

25. Whenever possible a member of the Team stays overnight with the agent he is visiting. The use of motorised cycles, carried in the kit-car until needed, helps to achieve this. It is then, after supper with the family, that deeper needs are discussed and problems solved. And the lucky village that has the kit-car that night may be entertained to a show of colour transparencies, teaching something new or maybe attempting to drive home an old health lesson that still has not caught on.

26. Some agents do excellent work, getting out on bicycles or on foot to the villages around, holding meetings, short courses and discussions, and really helping farm families with some of their worries. One has been responsible for a group of hill farmers moving down to more fertile, accessible plains, to the delight of the Administration. Others of the agents are less active and a few confine their activities to a little selling at the weekly market. Not exactly their "raison d'être" but certainly meeting a need!

27. By correspondence with the Team they share problems and ask for advice. Newsletters from the Team to the agents keep them in touch with one another and remind them of seasonal operations they should be thinking about.

28. It is a very low cost method of working with people in their own situation; its weakness lies in the range in ability and drive of the voluntary agents; its strength in the fact that great numbers of farm families are being reached and helped. Over the last ten years, the number of Government extension workers in agriculture has increased rapidly, and there are now

also a few in home economics. Frequent meetings with officials and workers at all levels ensure a uniform policy and excellent relationships.

Short Courses, Visual Aids and Youth Clubs:

29. Some of the courses last just for one day: others for a weekend or a full week. The course for agents is for two weeks. They cover a range of agricultural and health subjects and are often for specific sections of the community. With every subject we aim to have a duplicated bulletin to hand out.

30. These bulletins and the newsletters, the transparencies and the posters mean a lot to the farmers. They are not only teaching aids, but they help to identify the source of the teaching; this in turn generates the confidence that comes from familiarity. Some of the bulletins and visual aids the Faith and Farm Team writes and produces: others come from Government, research centres, commercial firms and from a rural work co-ordinating body in the northern states of Nigeria known as the Christian Rural Advisory Council. We have found that transparencies taken locally not only serve more exactly the purpose for which we intend them but are more popular with the viewers.

31. Young Farmers' Clubs, despite their tremendous potential, have really been successful only in the schools in the areas we serve. "Open" clubs, run in a few cases by Faith and Farm agents, are all too rare and need much more supervision and help than the Faith and Farm Team has been able to give. The few that have survived, usually because of good leadership, have had practical projects that teach members new farming skills.

Is Faith and Farm Relevant Elsewhere?

32. There is no doubt that Faith and Farm has made a big contribution, both directly and indirectly, to the rural people in the areas served. The question is whether such a project could be introduced in other areas or other countries. So much depends on voluntary service in this project; the Master Farmers are not paid, so it is possible to train apprentices without giving them a living allowance; the Agents are not paid so there are many of them, covering a wide area. Such a programme is possible since the workers are already committed to the principle of helping others for no material reward because of their religious principles. In a church programme, work

similar to Faith and Farm can be introduced and is in fact being carried out successfully in several areas. In a Governmental set-up, could deep patriotism or loyalty to some other ideology produce a similar commitment? Could the idea of voluntary help be modified, say by having part-time extension agents and paying honoraria to the Master Farmers? In an age where every developing country sees the urgent need to help its rural communities and where, inevitably, the money to do this is in short supply, some form of low cost agricultural training is essential.

THE ROLE OF NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICES

By G.W. Griffin,
Director of National Youth Service, Kenya.

1. Preamble

1. The past decade has witnessed the creation of national service schemes for youth in many developing countries, both inside and outside the Commonwealth. A variety of approaches has been tried, with varying degrees of success; and, in view of differing conditions in every country, it is apparent that no standard pattern of scheme can be advocated. Certain policy considerations and problems, however, will be common to the majority of schemes; and this paper sets out to suggest possible answers based on the Kenya experience.

II Why have a National Youth Service? Is it worth its cost?

2. Common reasons for the creation of schemes include:-

i. The assimilation of militant youth who have been actively engaged in pre-independence struggles and who, once Independence is achieved, require re-orientation to fit them for normal working lives. Such a reason may be politically pressing to a degree where it dominates all others at the start, but its nature is transitory, and it has no place in long-range planning.

ii. The creation of a pool of trained (and possibly armed) manpower to support the Army/Police in defence/internal security. In Kenya, legal provision exists for the Youth Service to be employed with the military in the event of "war, insurrection, hostilities or public emergency", and it has been found in practice that a by-product of Youth Service training is to fit a substantial number of young people to go on to careers in the armed forces, Police and Prisons departments; but

these factors were not fundamental to the creation of the Service, nor do they affect its day-to-day operation.

iii. The relief of unemployment. In an under-developed country with a rapidly growing population, the practical value of this reason is likely to be marginal - although its psychological value may be great.

iv. Education and Training. It must be noted that the cost of keeping a youngster under national service is much the same as putting him through some form of secondary education (between £100 and £200 p.a.)

v. Project work in aid of national development. Again, the cost of keeping a National Youth Serviceman differs little from paying the minimum wage to an unskilled workman; but there is the advantage that a disciplined corps of volunteers can be used in isolated areas where it would be difficult to employ ordinary labour.

vi. Creation of a national spirit among youth - an important factor where a country has many tribes, and, for unity, must seek to move from a tribal to a national outlook.

3. The strength of a proper national youth service is that it can combine all these things in a single scheme; and that reasons (iv) and (v), taken together, make good economic sense.

III. How large should a Service be?

4. Obviously, this must depend on many factors. It is worth considering, however, that it may be false economy to make a Service too small - since, once basic accommodation, staff, transport, etc., have been provided, overheads do not rise in proportion to an increase in Servicemen and women.

5. For example, in Kenya we compute costs as follows:-

Service strength	Cost per Serviceman per annum
3000	K £ 151
4000	K £ 134
5000	K £ 127
7000	K £ 120

IV. How long should the Service period be?

6. Kenya started by stipulating one year; but experience soon showed this to be too short. Time is required for a man to:-

(a) pass through basic recruit training;

(b) serve in the field and make his contribution to project work;

(c) be selected for a course of vocational training, and pass through that course; and

(d) exercise his new skill within the Service, and gain experience in it.

7. Two years is a reasonable period to cover all this, and is now standard in Kenya. There is flexibility, however, so that a man can be released after only one year; or can volunteer for a third (or even a fourth) year where circumstances make it desirable.

V. What sort of discipline is recommended?

8. If the work and training programmes of a National Youth Service are to justify its cost, they must be efficient. If efficiency is to be achieved there must be discipline. A permissive approach to hundreds, perhaps thousands, of young people living en masse under camp conditions for long periods of time is useless, and could be dangerous.

9. Having regard to this, the Kenya National Youth Service sought to design a system which would achieve discipline without destroying the voluntary nature of the Service. The solution, which has now worked satisfactorily for five years, is as follows:-

i. The Service is uniformed, and has a clearly defined rank structure.

ii. All recruits are required to undergo two months basic training on joining the Service. This is designed to inform them about the Service's aims and organisation, give them basic skills in such matters as campcraft and first-aid; and, above all, to accustom them to accept constituted authority. As in Army basic-training, there is an emphasis on foot-drill; but no arms training is given.

iii. The N.Y.S. Act and Regulations provide for offenders to be charged and punished under similar procedures to those used in the armed forces, punishments varying from an offical warning through fatigues, fines and confinement for not more than 14 days, to dismissal from the Service. However, desertion carries no penal sanction; so that punishments are accepted in voluntary spirit since, in the last analysis, a person can always leave the Service rather than undergo them.

iv. It is made very clear to Members that the Discharge Certificate given to them when they leave the Service will truly and accurately reflect their disciplinary record; and also that the Service will not recommend them for outside employment unless their record is good.

10. It is vital, of course, that officers set the best possible example at all times. Officers who fail to reach the standard required should be disciplined without hesitation - and, if necessary, be removed from their posts.

VI Where should the leaders come from?

11. In starting the Kenya National Youth Service, it was accepted as a fundamental premise that the establishment of good discipline, and good standards of character training, must have top priority. In selecting the initial cadre of uniformed officers, therefore, we sought men of strong character and upright personal lives likely to be able to exercise authority over young people by precept and example. It was also necessary that they should have the administrative ability to control funds, stores and transport.

12. We did not accept the view, advanced from certain quarters, that the running of a National Youth Service was an extremely difficult, almost esoteric, task for which all leaders must first undergo special training. In any case, we had no time in which to run courses - since the Service started under great pressure, and our first officers had barely time to unpack before the first intake of men arrived! In the event, we pinned our faith on the maturity and commonsense of the officers we chose - former soldiers, policemen, schoolmasters, hostel wardens, etc. - and were justified in doing so. Since not all of these had administrative experience at the level required, they were supported by half-a-dozen expatriate officers supplied by the British Ministry of Overseas Development, and by two Staff Officers (one British and one Israeli). The system worked well, and now, 5 years later, all save two of the expatriates have been phased out.

13. Once a Service is going, it will throw up leaders from among its own ranks and slowly become self-sufficient in this respect. In Kenya, over the five-year period, Servicemen have climbed the promotional ladder (set out below) as far as the rank of Senior Training Officer, and are providing very competent and responsible leadership at all junior levels.

Director
Deputy Director
Assistant Director
Commandant
Senior Training Officer

Training Officer
Section Commander
Section Officer Grade I
Section Officer Grade II/Sergeant (Volunteer)
Corporal (Volunteer)
Lance-Corporal (Volunteer)
Servicemen/Servicewomen.

VII. How should the Volunteer's time be split between work and education?

14. As a working guide, a ratio of two-thirds work to one-third education is reasonable. However, it is the Kenya view that work and education cannot be regarded as existing in water-tight compartments. The Service's project programme is itself an education in good work habits, and these are more important than the impartation of any particular trade or skill. Furthermore, life in a project camp under isolated bush or desert conditions, is invaluable training in self-reliance.

15. The standard Kenya programme for each company of 100 recruits is as follows:-

Month of Service No: -	Disposition of Company:-
1)	
)	basic training
2)	
3)	
)	
4)	
5)	Project/Farm work
)	
6)	
7)	
8)	
9)	
10)	Centralised full-time education
11)	

12)	
13)	
14)	
15)	Farm/Project work
16)	
17)	
18)	
19)	Centralised full-time education
20)	
21)	
22)	General duties
23)	
24)	

16. As the Company progresses, its numbers dwindle - since members are continually withdrawn to enter specialist courses for junior leaders, trade training, agricultural training, driving, plant operating, store-keeping, accounts and clerical work, health inspection duties, etc., etc. Thus, in its final months, a company may well have shrunk to no more than twenty or thirty men - who may be amalgamated into another company, or be deployed on general duties in a Unit Headquarters.

VIII. What kind of education should be given?

17. After six months in the field, each company is withdrawn to follow a three months' concentrated educational programme at a special Unit. Classes range from basic literacy up to lower-secondary. No attempt is made to prepare the men for the same examinations as are set to school-children. Instead, the aim is to eradicate illiteracy, and then to give courses in English language, basic mathematics, elementary science and civics. Instruction is related as closely as possible to the likely practical needs of the students in everyday life on leaving the Service.

18. Courses of basic agricultural theory are also incorporated, being designed to relate to the practical farming work which each Company undertakes during one or another of its periods in the field (the Service possesses its own farms ranging from a large sheep and cattle ranch to a high-fertility mixed farm). Men who show particular aptitude are sponsored to a six-month course at a Farmers' Training Centre, and then go back to one of the Service's farms for further practical experience in a supervisory role - following which they qualify for a special certificate and can either gain employment on private farms or go on to advanced training with the Government Agricultural or Veterinary Departments.

19. Men may also be seconded from their companies to attend formal trade training at a special National Youth Service Unit at the Coast. Here crash courses have been designed to enable large numbers of men to reach the standard of the Government Grade III Trade Test (a recognised labour qualification) within 12 months (inclusive of selection time, a mid-course holiday, and the final trade-testing procedures which are carried out in Nairobi). The trades covered include masonry, carpentry, fitting, turning, vehicle mechanics and electrical work. Instructors have been provided by the Geneva-based World Organisation for Rehabilitation and Training under a contract financed by the United States Agency for International Development, and Kenyan counterpart instructors are also being trained.

20. Although the greater number of N.Y.S. tradesmen come from these special courses (where the success-rate at first attempt varies between 80% and 90%), a steady stream of personnel pass the same tests direct from the Service's Field Units, all of which have developed on-the-job training programmes of their own. It is of note that girls also do well, and have successfully taken tests in such trades as fitting and turning which had never before been passed by women in Kenya.

21. In the Service's very large Central Workshops in Nairobi, a limited number of personnel are taken on from the Grade III to the Grade II Trade Test - which involves their extending their service period from two years to three in order to have time to complete the course.

Also controlled from the Central Workshops is the Service's Driving School (80% of Service vehicles are driven by volunteers - men or women - trained within the Service), and the Plant Operator Training School which carries out useful construction work on actual projects at the same time as producing men qualified to handle bulldozers, graders and similar heavy plant.

22. There are numerous in-service opportunities for volunteers to train in store-keeping, accounts and clerical duties, health work, etc., etc. as the Service operates with a minimum of salaried personnel and much of the responsibility of its day-to-day running must be carried out properly and efficiently by enlisted men and women.

23. The fundamental policy on which all the foregoing is based is the need:-

(a) to generally foster initiative and a spirit of self-reliance,

(b) to give those men and women who will return to their rural areas (about two-thirds of the total strength) skills which are likely to be useful to them - either in better farming, or in the development of small rural businesses and industries,

(c) to give the remaining one third of the volunteers qualifications which will enable them to obtain a footing in the increasingly competitive urban economy,

and to achieve this through an integrated scheme of work and training.

IX. What kind of work can a National Youth Service undertake?

24. In Kenya, we took the following as our criteria :-

(a) the Service was created for work - not for show.

(b) in view of its relatively expensive nature, the Service should not be employed on minor jobs that are properly the province of community development and self-help groups; but should undertake tasks of real economic significance.

(c) each project should be capable of providing sufficient work to occupy at least one Company (100 men). It was felt that detachments smaller than this would not be economical in terms of administration and supply.

25. Since efficiency on major projects was the aim, a reasonable balance had to be struck between hand-labour and the use of machinery. Through the United States Agency for International Development, a fleet of heavy plant (bulldozers, graders, scrapers, rollers, cranes, etc.) was obtained from American "excess" sources. Much of this plant was old (10 to 15 years of age) and this has created many problems in regard to spare parts. Nevertheless, it gave (and is giving) reasonable service and was certainly suitable for a new organisation that had to start from scratch in gaining project experience. The Service is now embarking on a phased programme to replace its old plant with modern machines.

26. Three types of project have proved particularly suitable for National Youth Service work in Kenya:-

(a) Road-building. The Service began by constructing access roads in National Park, then undertook a 35 mile road across the Aberdare Mountains, then moved on to complete a £500,000 major road to service a new hydro-electric scheme. Its largest present project is a 300 mile road across the desert to link Kenya with Ethiopia.

(b) Bush-clearing, both to combat tsetse-fly infestation and to open up new areas of land for settlement. The largest scheme so far has been the clearing of 14,000 acres of dense bush near Lake Victoria.

(c) General earthworks needed, for example, in airport construction; or in controlling rivers by building anti-flood embankments.

27. With most projects, the Service works on behalf of Government Ministries or public bodies such as the National Parks. It bills them for work done, and pays the money back to the Treasury as an appropriation-in-aid. Some very large projects, such as major roads, are specially financed in their own right, and the Service undertakes them in liaison with the Ministry of Works and with firms of civilian Consulting Engineers.

28. The Service responds readily to national emergencies of any kind, and detachments can be rushed to assist in famine relief, etc., as necessary.

X. What status should a Youth Service have vis-a-vis other uniformed bodies?

29. Since members of a National Youth Service are not salaried, it is the more important that morale be kept high by all possible means, and that the volunteers should feel they enjoy parity of esteem with persons serving in the Armed Forces, the Police, etc. Equally, it is vital that the latter Services understand the functions of the Youth Service, and do not regard it as some sort of up-start rival. In Kenya, great care was taken from the start to foster understanding and co-operation; and relation-ships are now extremely good. On national ceremonial occasions (State Openings of Parliament and the like) the National Youth Service has clearly defined functions of its own such as ushering and control of seating. On National Parades, the Service provides both marching and mechanised detachments (the former carrying spades instead of rifles). The Director of the Service is accorded the same courtesies (from the use of a Flag Car to a seat on the Presidential dais) as are other Service Commanders. On a payment basis, the Service provides men and women for gate control, ticket selling, car park control, arena attendance, stewarding, etc., at Agricultural Shows, exhibitions and conferences. This is valuable, not only for morale, but for bringing the Service to public notice and, by demonstrating the high qualities of discipline and honesty possessed by the men, gaining the interest and confidence of employers.

XI. Conclusion.

30. There is nothing intrinsically difficult about creating a National Youth Service. Young people will respond with enthusiasm to tasks, no matter how difficult, which they can see are of benefit to their country. The hardships of living under tough conditions are accepted in a spirit of adventure. Discipline and esprit-de-corps follow naturally from the wearing of a common uniform, working for a common end, and from mature and honest leadership. Perhaps the most important factors are practical planning to suit the Service to the actual needs of the country rather than to imported ideas; flexibility in altering programmes in the light of experience; and commonsense in the handling of the young volunteers.

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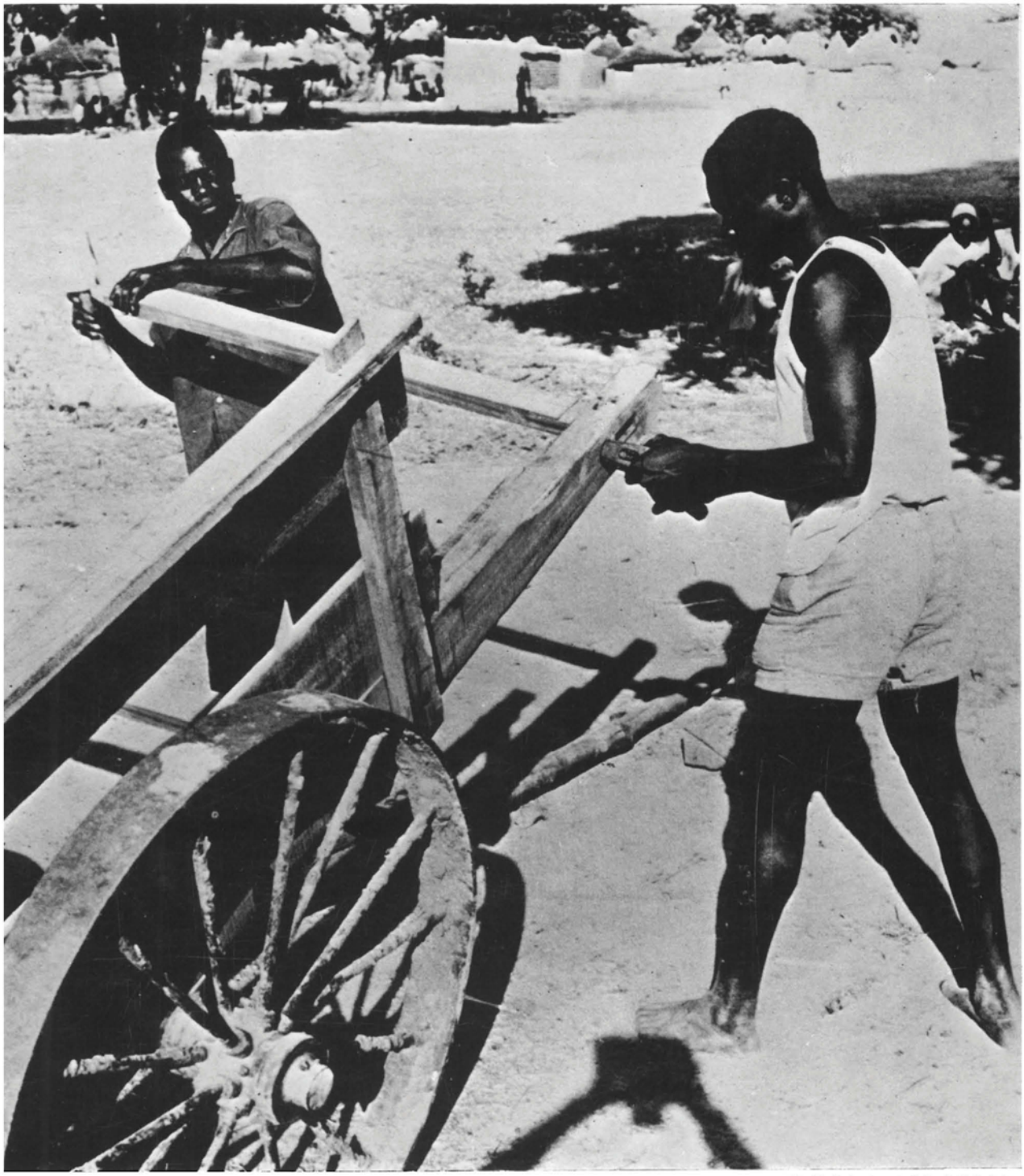

Cover photographs by courtesy of the International Labour Office

S.B.N. 85092 023 X

ISBN 978-1-84859-172-1

Published by the
COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

To be purchased from the
Commonwealth Secretariat Printing Section Marlborough House · London S.W.1