

**Commonwealth Youth Programme  
Occasional Papers**

# Employment and Youth



**Commonwealth Secretariat**

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### Editorial Note

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## P R E F A C E

This paper was commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat under the Commonwealth Youth Programme in order to outline and analyse some of the more serious employment problems facing young people in developing countries - and to indicate areas where practical action is required. It is an overview paper written by Dr. H.W. Singer, Fellow of the Institute of Development Studies and Professor of Development Economics at Sussex University with the assistance of Lyn Reynolds. Dr. Singer is also adviser to the I.L.O. on the World Employment Programme.

The views expressed remain those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Commonwealth Secretariat or of Commonwealth Governments.

It is hoped, however, that the paper will be of benefit to those concerned with reducing unemployment and alleviating its ill-effects, throughout the developing world.

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## 1. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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Peter Gutkind (1) maintains that a "back to the land" movement does not hold any real answers to the problems, employment and otherwise, of the less developed countries. However, this is a minority view because it is more widely felt that the problem of employment in general, and of youth employment in particular, must to a large extent be solved in the rural areas as it is here that the great majority of the population of the less developed countries well and try to make a living for themselves. It should be remembered, though, that not all the rural population are engaged in agriculture and that non-agricultural rural occupations are important and must also be considered.

### *The Problem*

The first main problem is that of inducing rural youth to stay in their own or other rural areas rather than migrating to the towns. More specifically, if a young person does decide to become a farmer there is the problem of ensuring that he does not become one of the 'working poor' - not actually unemployed in the sense that they are not engaged in any economic activity but rather exerting their energy for a return which leaves them below or near a poverty or subsistence level. It is thought that the way to combat both these problems is through the training of "the modernising young farmer" (2) who will be able to increase his agricultural productivity so that farming becomes an economically viable and productive occupation and a more attractive alternative to the job opportunities which the urban areas have to offer. Although there is a great deal of debate about whether aspirations generated in school and elsewhere promote rural/urban migration of the young, the fact is that the prospects in the rural areas are very poor and that urban migration is a logical response to this fact. "The unwillingness of young people to enter these sectors (rural and manual labour) is often perfectly logical, and long-term solutions to this problem may well be found in economics rather than education." (3) That is, the problem of rural-urban migration is not a separate and distinct problem per se but is rather the outcome of other problems which result in poor employment opportunities

in rural areas. Once these have been tackled the rural/urban migration problem itself will diminish considerably.

### Areas for Research

#### *Effect of training*

The question of the best way to train potential modernising young farmers is considered in greater detail elsewhere in this report, but here one can point out the need for research as to the effectiveness of different modes of training - varying in such characteristics as the location of the training (within one's own community or in single-purpose training centres, etc.); the length of the course; the particular course content, etc..

#### *Follow up*

Specifically, it could be discovered whether more is to be gained from the inclusion of some subjects not traditionally thought of as being related to farming, such as basic principles of management or book-keeping or marketing, than from exclusive concentration upon 'pure' farming subjects. Evaluation of the different training methods should be carried out some time after completion of the course so that one can also determine the extent to which principles learned during training are applied later in actual farming practice. Where it seems that lessons are not being applied efforts could be made to discover whether this is due to faults in the training or unconsidered constraints in the real, as opposed to the training, context of farming. Having identified these constraints, perhaps lack of working capital or lack of access to required agricultural inputs, etc., steps could be taken to devise ways of overcoming them. Of particular relevance to rural youth would be studies which aimed to identify the problems facing the young trainee when he comes to set up in farming for himself for the first time. What are the

#### *Constraints on trainees*

constraints upon him: apathy or hostility from elders or untrained contemporaries; lack of capital; access to land? If the efforts of different young farmers could be studied it should be possible to observe the facilitating effects of the removal of these constraints, for example through the provision of low interest establishment loans, credit facilities, help in marketing arrangements, etc.. If, as is quite likely, young farmers enjoying the benefits of these measures cannot be found then it might be possible to finance pilot schemes of a few chosen young farmers to observe the effects from there.

*Productivity  
of trainees*

Studies of the way in which young farmers might use initial loan capital and other services might suggest to governments other ways in which they could assist; or it might provide useful guidelines for predicting how successful a certain farmer might turn out to be and therefore point towards criteria which might be used to decide who could or could not qualify for an initial loan or working capital. Research could help to show the effects of land tenure systems or the social context upon the productivity of the young farmer. Is the tenure system preventing new farmers from obtaining workable pieces of land, is the system related to other social or legal practices? Is productivity of the land greater when it is divided up between several farmers rather than worked as one concern? Is the young farmer likely to be more successful and/or remain in farming if he returns to his own community as an individual, or if he starts up in a settlement scheme with other young farmers? Or is the answer a compromise, semi-formal settlement schemes for young farmers within their home communities? Do young farmers have better social/economic/moral claims to settle previously unused or underutilised land than other groups either from the surrounding locality or from areas of particularly high population density? Will the returns from a settlement of young farmers be greater than from settlements, formal or otherwise, of these other groups? The answer to these questions could be found from studies of the different groups.

*Effects of  
land tenure  
system*

*Leadership  
patterns*

The role of the modernising young farmer is seen to include elements of aiding others, and especially of leadership in farming matters in the community. It would be instructive to discover whether the extent to which this lead is followed is dependent upon certain outlooks and characteristics of the population being taught and led. Could these attitudes be modified in a positive direction by measures such as the spread of functional adult literary programmes? Further research might also be able to discover the best accepted and most useful role for the young farmer in the rural community.

*Follow-up  
training*

As well as programmes of research to evaluate the effect of initial training, the benefits of further follow-up training could be examined. When is the best time for these follow-up courses, how soon after initial training, how long should they be for, what subjects should they concentrate upon, should they be on-the-farm or in special centres? The content of the training programmes themselves could also be examined in the light of criticisms to the effect that research into the production of staple food crops is often neglected in comparison to cash or export crops. (4) Being able to produce basic food more efficiently will free labour time and land for the production of other cash crops.

*Local  
conditions*

Little is also presently known about the relationship between labour intensiveness, employment and output for different crops. Further knowledge about these factors could well have an effect upon what is taught in training programmes, which crops are recommended for use in which situations, etc.. As has been pointed out (5), the need is for crops with higher labour requirements per hectare and with a seasonal labour requirement which does not clash with that of other crops grown, and which will provide a continuing and high financial return to the farmer. Knowledge as to which crops fulfil these conditions in different areas could be gained either from local field observations or, more likely, specially constructed and monitored experiments, and then used by the nearby young farmer training programmes.

*Information  
dissemination*

There is a need also for research, and for training establishments to keep up to date with the findings of such research and to pass on information to trainee farmers, into the possibilities of farm mechanization, and the use of new kinds of machinery suited to the conditions of the less developed countries in factor availability considerations. For the same reasons, that every effort should be made to upgrade the information available to the young farmer through training programmes, heed should be paid to the call for greater attention to see research/propagation/multiplication/distribution and to fertiliser production/distribution/

advice/application. On a more local level valuable information could be gained from ecological surveys determining input and technique change responses and how these would affect actual peasant economic levels and social patterns. (6) A criterion for the evaluation of mechanized farming aid which should probably be given greater attention is its appeal to younger farmers. The gap between agriculture and the prestigious modern sector will seem less if the farmer is not relying solely upon traditional hand tools but can also use more modern mechanized means and has the necessary mechanical knowledge to care for them properly and carry out simple repairs.

*Target group*

Of course it is not being argued that all new information should only be made available to young trainee farmers, but rather that they are the obvious first-target group in that they are easier to reach because of their training involvements, which also provide them with material and moral support when they come to trying out new methods. They are also more likely than other, older, farmers to have a progressive and co-operative outlook and, especially if organised into some kind of settlement scheme, can help to play an important part in leading and teaching the local farming community by means of their example.

*Keeping up to date*

It should be discovered whether, and if so, to what extent, the young farmer keeps in touch with new developments in agricultural knowledge and techniques. If he is up to date in his information, what communications systems/methods are used and how could they be better developed - and fed with more complete and recent information?

**Rural Development**

*Rural infrastructure*

Buildings and other facilities provided by public works programmes - roads, health centres, etc. - will all improve the social and economic infrastructure of rural areas and thus their productivity and attractiveness for the young farmer. Part of the attraction of towns for the young is the social life they offer, both in terms of entertainment, etc. and increased social interaction with other young people. Better social infrastructure in the rural areas will help to

redress the balance between the rural and urban areas in this respect. Some of the public works programmes could be concerned with building facilities for occasional and more regular entertainment, and better roads and other communications will greatly increase the ease with which young people from different villages can congregate together. Opportunities to meet a number of different young people is also provided by the training programmes themselves and can be maintained after training if they continue to live together as, for example, in co-operatives, settlements or some other such arrangement. Such services as rural health programmes will also open up the need for a whole new cohort of trained para-professional workers such as the rural medical auxiliary - again an expansion in the employment opportunities for rural youth. Road construction will ease transport and marketing constraints which depress production and incentives for agricultural (and non-agricultural small-scale rural 'industrial') improvements. Research studies could help to indicate the best roads or market centres to develop in terms of their being of prime strategic value in a situation of scarce resources.

*Non-agricultural employment* Non-agricultural rural employment also has potential and in fact is vital in the overall development of the rural areas. Most non-agricultural rural occupations will be undertaken by self-employed individuals and small productive self-supporting groups and this should be taken account of when planning training schemes which will hopefully lead to increased productivity; when deciding which subjects will be taught and how. For example Callaway points out (7) that in a study of small businesses in Ibadan most proprietors had only vague knowledge of book-keeping and accounting. These could therefore be profitably introduced into training schemes.

The use of young unemployed rural secondary school leavers to assist small-scale businessmen in rural areas is an experimental project which has been successfully tried out in Kenya. The aim was to provide an individual extension service providing on-the-spot advice, as a valuable form

of assistance and training for rural small businessmen in record keeping, stock, cost or credit control, merchandising, pricing policy etc.. Selected school leaver recruits were trained for only two months, with the emphasis upon guided experience actually in one or more small-scale shops, blending gradually into actual consultancy work. Results were promising, for both the small businessmen and for the school-leaver consultants who all managed to find permanent employment without any difficulty once the experiment ended.

*Orientation  
of training*

As with agricultural training, training for other rural occupations will be further considered later. Here one may just point out the usefulness of exploring the potentialities of national apprenticeship schemes, with government backing, which have the advantage of ensuring that the trainees are learning skills which are needed and maximising the chances of their finding a job when they are qualified. Because of the small-scale nature of rural occupations apprenticeships will usually be with a single master and benefits are to be gained from training and upgrading the skills of the masters, which will of course in turn be passed on to the apprentices. As the rural infrastructure develops - e.g. better roads and communications - a need will arise for skills which were previously only to be found in the towns, for example motor mechanics, and studies could be made of the best of spreading these skills to the rural areas. Could skilled urban mechanics be brought to the rural areas to teach their skills or will the apprentices have to train in the towns, and if so, is there any way of ensuring that, once trained, they will return to the country? More skill-imparting training centres will need to be established in rural areas and local studies could indicate where these could best be situated. As with agricultural training there should be follow-up programmes, both to evaluate and compare initial modes of training and to continue training by means of periodic short-term courses.

*Strengthening  
small scale  
Enterprise*

Although individual enterprises will most likely be of very small scale it may well be to their advantage to group together, either physically or administratively, for marketing etc.. Again,

studies could be undertaken to help point out the best ways in which this can be done. If these studies indicate the viability of rural industry and craft centres, further research should be carried out to see how governments would best support and back these, with the possibility of regional or national co-ordination of buying and selling.

### Appropriate Technology

As the Commonwealth Youth Ministers' Meeting (Lusaka, 1973) suggested, there is a lot of scope for examining ways in which employment for youth can be generated by further development of both intermediate processing of primary products and the establishment of appropriate secondary industries based on primary industries. The determination of appropriate industries is most important as not all industries will be equally suitable or effective. Albert Waterston (8) cites the case of the attempt to revive the traditional textile industry in India under the first Five Year Plan, which turned out not to be economically feasible. Small-scale, labour-using light industries which he thinks are appropriate, and which should be further investigated, include the processing of agricultural commodities produced in the area and the manufacture of agricultural imports, for example fertilizer mixing, cattle, pig and poultry feed mills. Other possibilities are consumer goods and the production of building materials for capital construction and infrastructure projects, although again the viability of these in any particular situation would have to be researched.

### *Assessing Alternatives*

### *Choice of Technology*

Research should also be undertaken with an eye to the development of where more appropriate technologies, e.g. work-intensive, would be appropriate, and the ways in which they can be more widely introduced and accepted. Where research institutes for simple tool improvement exist, as in the case of T.A.M.T.U. in Tanzania, ways to co-ordinate and act with small-industry programmes should be tried out. Again it would be beneficial to determine how the government can best finance and aid such projects. The stages in building up a significant intermediate consumption-goods production have been identified for Tanzania, but apply in general to

### *Choice of Products*

other countries too (9). Firstly, there is a need to identify appropriate goods in terms of local (or national) needs. Secondly, the need to evaluate the feasibility of small-scale manufacturing in the production of these goods. Thirdly, a need to work out a commercial channel system probably linked to national and regional trading companies, to provide purchasing and selling facilities. Fourthly, the need for an educational and promotional campaign for the new products, and lastly, although the actual production units themselves will be local and decentralised, there will be a need for central co-ordination of technical data and advice, initial technical and management training and assistance, and for initial finance. The setting up of new bodies may be necessary to provide this.

All this would create more employment opportunities in rural areas. The young could particularly benefit from this as the older rural population are presumably settled in agricultural production (even if only upon a seasonal basis) or in other traditional activities. Therefore, it is mainly likely to be the young who are available to work full time in new rural industries- who will have more positive attitudes towards such work and who will be more eligible for training in the necessary productive and management skills. If very small-scale operations are favoured young industrial workers will need the same help, i.e. initial capital, working loans, etc., as was recommended for young farmers, and again there is the same need and scope for feasibility and viability studies here.

*Importance of  
Communications*

However, much will depend upon good communications - from research bodies, as to the goods which are best suited for small-scale production, and from the productive units themselves, as to what kinds of jobs are available, and which skills will be most marketable. Employment exchanges, vocational guidance and counselling services, etc. are largely to be found in the urban areas, and even there they operate with less than 100 per cent effectiveness. With the development of more, albeit small-scale, industry in the rural areas, the possibility of having some kind of similar or, if possible, better, service in the rural areas should be examined, learning from the shortcomings of the urban services.

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## 2. THE STATUS OF YOUNG RURAL/URBAN MIGRANTS with special reference to the informal sector and the role of young people in that sector

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The majority of young rural migrants in the towns of the less developed countries, especially those who have completed primary education or beyond, come looking for the prestigious and relatively well paid jobs in the modern sector. However, as discussed in another section of this report, these modern sector jobs are in short supply and tend to go to those with the greatest amount of formal education. This leaves great numbers of young people unemployed in the urban areas, unwilling to return to their homes in the rural areas, especially if they have relatives living in the towns with whom they can stay. In the future it is to be ardently hoped that an improvement in the economic and social infrastructure of the rural areas, increasing their attractiveness and enhancing the opportunities they offer youth for productive employment, together with a greater emphasis upon and increased facilities for, agricultural training and assistance, will do much to stem the rural-urban migration of young people. However, for those young rural migrants truly permanently settled in the town and also of course for the young urban-born unemployed, some kind of solution must be found actually within the towns. As pointed out by the Commonwealth Secretariat themselves, "Programmes for young people in the 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." (1) "Urban" has come to be identified with "modern" or "formal" jobs, ignoring the fact that a large number, if not the majority, of the urban workforce are not a part of this modern formal sector. Rather they constitute the urban informal sector. The extent to which this informal sector can absorb young people into productive employment is thus of great importance.

## The Urban Informal Sector

The importance of the urban informal sector has often been ignored in the past because it was thought that it was composed only of 'petty' traders, etc. or other 'marginal' activities. However, there is evidence that the bulk of employment in the informal sector, "far from being only marginally productive, is economically efficient and profit-making, though small in scale and limited by simple technologies, little capital and lack of links with the other ('formal') sector." It includes "carpenters, masons, tailors and other tradesmen, as well as cooks and taxi drivers, offering virtually the full range of basic skills needed to provide goods and services for a large though often poor section of the population." (2) In all, the study continues, an estimated 20% of income earning opportunities in Nairobi in 1969 were provided by the informal sector. The authors suggest that the sector is distinctive not because of the marginality of its activities but because of six other characteristics, namely: ease of entry; reliance upon indigenous resources; family ownership of enterprises; small scale of operation; labour-intensive and adapted technology- skills acquired outside the formal school system and by unregulated and competitive markets. Although this source refers only to the informal sector in Kenya, the situation is the same in towns in other countries as well. For example, the businesses in Ibadan studied by Callaway are in fact all part of this informal sector. (3) The ILO Kenya Report (op.cit) maintains that a change of government attitude towards the informal sector could do much to increase its productivity and profitability, because it is felt this sector is at present largely ignored, rarely supported, often regulated and sometimes actively discouraged by government. Taking their recommendations of measures which would promote the informal sector, one can see how these could be adapted so as to particularly aid young people and how outside, non-governmental bodies can help to play a part in this process. One of the measures recommended is that the government should review trade and commercial licensing procedures, with a view to eliminating unnecessary licences and implementing instead health and safety inspections.

*Measures to promote the informal sector*

*'Popularization'  
of the informal  
sector*

*Local  
Employment  
Agencies*

This raises the whole question of entry to the informal sector. However easy entry to this sector may be, this is an irrelevant factor if young people simply do not wish to join this sector and would prefer to remain unemployed, waiting for the vague possibility of a job in the formal sector. More should therefore be done to 'popularise' the informal sector amongst urban youth. Perhaps successful informal sector proprietors could be encouraged to give talks to young people, possibly in youth clubs, about their work and the opportunities for others. Master craftsmen could be encouraged to pledge to take on apprentices under a national apprenticeship scheme, legal regulations about the number of skilled journeymen etc. which they must employ before they can take on recognised apprentices being waived if necessary, and it should be ensured that young people know about these opportunities. Again, these could be publicised amongst youth clubs etc. and could be put on the books of employment exchanges, which at present tend to deal only with formal sector employment. In fact, in view of the rather limited success of employment exchanges, there is perhaps a case for the foundation of some kind of agency within each town and city which could make a point of getting contacts within the informal sector and encouraging existing proprietors to take on young employees or apprentices and then offering a service to young people, giving them information about these vacancies and assisting them in any other way that they could, for example handing out information about other possibilities of training in this or other informal activities and the likelihood of obtaining work after any such training if this was not actually on the job. Young enquirers should be told which are the most likely up-and-coming skills needed - for example, vehicle and small machine repair and maintenance or in the expanding service sector. Furthermore, it should be pointed out to them that the average amount of capital needed to set up in business oneself varies considerably from activity to activity (4), thereby affecting the likelihood of being able to set up in business oneself soon after the completion of training.

*Involvement  
of existing  
businesses*

Removing the licence barrier would theoretically mean that young people could enter straight into self-employment, but this seems unlikely except upon a very small scale. Therefore it may be more beneficial to the young to offer grants and loans to existing businesses, but on the condition that they take on a certain number of young employees and give them proper training, and, possibly, that the proprietors or master craftsmen them-selves undertake to receive extension-type training to upgrade their own expertise and thus that which they can pass on to their trainees. Of course though, finding the training personnel to carry out such a programme would represent a considerably problem in the implementation of such a plan. In spite of this, however, it is true in general, as well as in this instance, that more attention should be paid to the training not only of the young people themselves but also of those who will in fact be their trainers as there is often a serious shortage of such people. Perhaps a training centre for those training staff who will be particularly concerned with unemployed youth could be established, including within its curriculum emphasis upon the special problems of youth and practical field work amongst youth people. Some kind of supervisory service might be necessary here to ensure that young employees are being trained and not just used as a source of cheap labour.

*Financial  
aid to  
trainees*

The time to give financial aid to the young people themselves is when they have completed their training and are ready and competent to set up in their own shop. Again it is Callaway who points to the fact that many of the more mature urban unemployed school leavers have held apprenticeships with indigenous masters, but, after completion of training could not start work on their own or get jobs which gave them enough money to pay their own food costs. (5)

Another recommendation of the ILO Kenya Report is that there should be moves to intensify technical research on products suitable for production or for use in the informal sector, giving special priority to capital and intermediate goods, repairs and construction. This is one aspect of

*Increasing  
productivity  
of informal  
sector*

a very important point. Not only are young people to be encouraged to enter into employment in the informal sector rather than to remain unemployed, but every effort must be made to try and raise their productivity within that sector. As with modernising agriculture, this demands that research should be carried out to find ways of raising productivity: that all effort should be made to ensure that all new information is embodied in the training that the young people receive and that they are given every assistance in later putting what they have learned into practice.

Basic technical research and development is obviously the first step in this process. The need for small-industry research bodies has been mentioned elsewhere in this report in relation to the rural areas, but the need is equally great for the urban areas as well. This body could be responsible for finding ways of producing goods which would mean that they could be manufactured in the informal sector. This would probably entail a concentration upon labour-intensive, intermediate technology methods of production, ensuring that capital input costs were kept to a minimum. Co-operation and contact between such bodies in different countries would be advantageous and lead to an interchange of ideas.

*Development  
of informal  
sector*

Co-operation and co-ordination would also be required to communicate the results of any such research to the informal sector workers. This would be with another body which would inform those working in the informal sector of the findings of the research and development body.

*Incentives*

Aid could be given to the producers to help them change to new goods or to use new methods, either directly through loans, credit facilities, etc. or indirectly through training, which would have to be by means of an extension-type service taken to the producers at their place of work. Preferential treatment could perhaps also be given, again in terms of loans or credit facilities, to young people setting up in certain lines of production - for example, say, making capital goods or going in for repair work if these were thought to be particularly important. Particular

encouragement could be given to young trained people to set themselves up in self-help groups or co-operatives which could then be given special preference through loans etc. in the production of newly researched products or production of familiar products by means of new techniques. The ILO Kenya Report (op. cit) also recommends that large firms, in the formal sector, should be induced to develop a network of small sub-contractors. The inducements offered for this purpose could be graduated and increased if special preference was given to using young sub-contractors or if the large firm instituted some kind of training scheme to train its own sub-contractors and took on young, previously unemployed, trainees. The government itself should also be sure to offer more of its own construction contracts, etc. to informal sector workers, especially, where possible, young workers who have only just set themselves up in business.

*Gaps in  
knowledge:  
a case for  
delaying  
action*

However, there is a case of delaying any such specific actions until much more is known in general about the informal sector. As pointed out before, this sector has by and large been ignored up to now and therefore little is known of its own internal characteristics and dynamics as well as the relationship it stands in with other sectors - for example the urban formal, agricultural or non-agricultural rural sectors. Far more knowledge is needed here before one can be relatively certain of the outcomes of any prescribed measures in the informal sector. Such features as the demand constraints upon the growth of the sector should be looked at far more closely. If the informal sector is supplying the majority of goods and services to the poor urban population what would be the effects of, say, a more equitable distribution of income? It could be presumed that this would lead to increased demand for the informal sector's goods and services, but might the tastes and needs of the poor consumers change if wealth were to be more evenly distributed? If the productive capacity of the informal sector were to be improved and new goods and ways of production introduced, with more reliable demand requests through sub-contracting, government contracting etc., would the sector undergo changes so fundamental that it really could not be regarded as

the informal sector any longer? For example such things as apprenticeship schemes; access to outside loan capital; sub-contractor relationships with large firms; new improved technology; training schemes, and possible government guarantees of a certain percentage of construction contracts, etc. would mean that the informal sector could no longer be characterised by ease of entry, reliance upon indigenous resources etc. as it is at present. (6) Thus, we might not be improving the sector so much as changing its fundamental nature altogether, which may mean that the features which we wished to encourage in fact no longer exist.

This is not to say that this definitely will happen, only that so little is at present known about the workings of the informal sector that there is nothing to say that it will not happen. Thus possibly to start taking certain measures vis-a-vis the informal sector is tantamount to tampering with elements in a system the material workings of which are not at present known. It could be that the informal sector is relatively flourishing at the moment because of the low returns which it offers to those who work within it. To increase those returns for the individual informal sector workers could mean that their products no longer appealed as either cheap consumer goods or cheap inputs for the formal sector. Its present separation from state intervention may well be the key to its present relative economic success.

*Research  
needs*

As said before, to suggest these factors is not to maintain that they are necessarily true, it is to point out that we do not at the moment know enough about the workings of the informal sector to know what is true and what is not. More information and research is necessary. In particular, the role of the government and the formal sector should be more closely scrutinised. How far are their present attitudes towards the informal sector the result of ignorance and oversight and how far the result of deliberate policy, founded upon entrenched vested self-interest? To the extent that it is the latter rather than the former the question of the development of the informal sector becomes political rather than purely economic and recommendations for government action become less and less likely to be implemented.

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### 3. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL SECTOR AND OTHER MODERN SECTORS

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Although much emphasis is placed upon the modern in most less developed countries (LDCs), this sector is still relatively small, especially in terms of employment opportunities, because of the use of capital - rather than labour-intensive methods of production etc. As Klaus Bettenhausen points out (speaking specifically about Asia, but the comment is generally true for most LDCs), "Employment generation in the modern sector will, for the time being, remain limited. Even if significant additional employment could be generated in this sector, this will be a lengthy, long-term process. In the immediate future there appears to be no possibility of any spectacular rise in job opportunities. (1) As within the urban informal sector, therefore, improved opportunities in the urban modern sector can probably only be thought of in the short term as a solution to the problems mainly of the core of truly urbanised youth who have no base in the rural areas to which they may return. An additional problem is that although obviously one wishes to see better prospects of employment for these urbanised youths any enhancement of the urban employment situation taken by itself will increase its attractiveness vis-a-vis the rural areas and will thus spur rural-urban migration. "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. (2) This applies not only to education and training but to any employment facilitating measures for urban youth. Therefore, such measures will have to be combined with others which will help to stem rural-urban migration of youth - differential wage rates, special help for youth in rural areas etc. - which will be discussed more fully later in this section.

*Employment  
prospects:  
Need for urban-  
rural balance*

## Improving Employment Prospects in the Modern Sector

These qualifications should be borne in mind in the following examination of the two ways in which the employment prospects of young people in the modern sector can be improved. The first way is indirectly, through any measures which will enlarge the employment generating efforts of this sector. The second way is through more specific measures which would ensure that a certain proportion of any jobs created go to youth in preference to other workers, or by means of which more young workers can be taken on than would be the case if they were other workers, because of differential wage rates etc..

*Employment  
Generation*

Turning first of all to the more general measures, it has already been pointed out that at the moment, and in modern manufacturing especially, methods used are generally very capital-intensive. Furthermore, as output from the sector increases, employment generated tends to increase at a much slower rate because of increased labour productivity, through economies of scale etc.. This use of capital-intensive methods in the face of large-scale unemployment is partly due to government policies which in effect subsidize the use of modern capital equipment, thereby resulting in an artificial distortion of the relative factor prices for capital and labour. However, this is a complex area of study in that some industries can only be operative with the present state of technology in a capital-intensive way and in others, although there may be a range of different alternative technologies available to them, there may very in terms of efficiency, productivity etc. and some, although labour-intensive may in actual effect turn out to be capital-intensive as well.

*Capital and  
labour inten-  
sive methods*

"The availability of alternative technologies differs widely between industries. There is only a very narrow range of efficient technologies in the heavy chemical, pulp and paper, and metallurgical industries, which are all of a capital-intensive nature and are characterised by fact technological change. In most cases these sectors do not absorb the kind of manpower which is abundant in developing countries. In regard to them the choice would be between importing the latest technology

because its very high capital cost would be justified by other factors (such as natural resource endowment), and abandoning altogether the idea of creating an industry of this type.

"Fortunately, for many industries there exists a variety of efficient technologies, with different grades of capital cost and skill and employment requirements. This is the case of textiles, clothing, footwear, metal working and miscellaneous industries." (3)

*Political  
factors*

Although there may well be an excellent case in opting for labour-intensive methods, even when these may turn out to be slightly less efficient, the extent to which alternative technologies will be applied depends upon political factors, especially bearing in mind that many of the modern sector enterprises in LDCs are foreign-owned. As these tend to 'import' their production techniques from parent companies in developed countries, they are hardly likely to be keen to change over to more labour-intensive methods of production, and their position in LDCs is often such that there is no real way of forcing them to do so. All these factors must be borne in mind when considering the value of setting up research bodies looking into the possibility of labour-intensive production in the modern sector. Such a body may well be able to recommend efficient labour-intensive methods of production, but whether such methods will be put into use is another matter altogether.

"Virtually all research and development is currently undertaken by government agencies and the larger firms of the developed countries. As neither of these groups stand to benefit from undertaking such research, the new methods of production are unlikely to come from the established sources. As most modern technology is imported by the Third World countries, the scientific research institutions in these countries have not faced a demand from local industrialists for production-orientated research. However, these institutions will need to become one of the main sources of innovation." (4)

*Development  
of alternative  
technologies*

Therefore, if one believes that in spite of opposing forces it is still possible to find a way to persuade enterprises to consider the possibilities of alternative technology in production, there is a need for research bodies to investigate different methods. Such bodies would undoubtedly benefit from an interchange of ideas with similar organisations in different LDCs. Even where firms are willing to introduce alternative technologies problems of management and organisation in the implementation of such changes will occur. As well as research bodies then, there will also be a need for assistance to managements. "While remaining labour-intensive the new technology must involve a higher labour productivity. This is likely to involve not only the introduction of new machinery and equipment, but also new methods of management, particularly in the organisation of labour." (5) The constraint of shortage of skilled management has also been noted by others: "... the management problem posed by large working groups is a difficulty in situations where such groups would otherwise be an economic alternative to machinery and where local supervisory skills may be lacking." (6) At this point the importance of this management constraint upon the general employment creating potential of the modern sector is emphasized; later on the special significance of this for the employment of youth in particular will be considered.

*Management  
implications*

*Wage struc-  
tures in  
modern  
sector*

However, before moving on to more particular policies one last general factor will be discussed. This is the wage structure in the modern sector. These wages are generally high compared to those available from other income sources, which of course is one of the reasons why there is such a great amount of rural/urban migration. It is argued that a general reduction in such wages would lead to the employment of greater numbers of workers in the modern sector, but again this is a complex issue, involving such factors as the artificial cheapness of capital relative to labour because of certain government policies; shortage of certain skills but abundance of unskilled labour, as well as the existing methods of production which call for only a limited amount of labour anyway. The relationships between

these and other factors would have to be analysed in some depth before one could be sure of the effects of an overall cut in wage rates in the modern sector.

### **Opportunities for Young Workers**

However, the arguments are slightly different when one focuses upon young people and the wages paid to them. If young workers were initially paid less than older workers for the same job then presumably greater numbers of young people would be taken into employment, although of course in itself this only displaces one group and puts another in its place and does nothing to increase the overall availability of employment opportunities. A similar measure is to increase the rate of labour turnover, which in many LDCs has tended to slow down in recent times. "Nowadays ... the reduced labour turnover may lower the average educational level of the labour force while excluding the generally better educated younger generation with a higher skill potential; far from promoting African employment, the relatively high wages may discourage labour-intensive innovation and the application of known labour-intensive innovation and the application of known labour-intensive technologies in the modern sector, thus reducing rather than increasing the absorption of African labour. Instead of producing labour stability in the urban sector as a whole, the relatively high rates of pay may have been an important factor in the heavy influx of rural dwellers into Nairobi and other towns where there is a large floating population looking for work or engaging in informal activities, often violating labour laws and standards." (7) Older workers are now sticking more closely to their jobs and the median period for which a worker keeps his job has increased. Therefore, the authors continue, "One obvious policy implication supported by the declining trend of labour turnover is that the former need for offering higher wages and other facilities in order to stabilise the industrial labour force no longer exists. In fact, because of the large influx of people from rural to urban areas due to the wide disparity in average incomes between these areas, there is now a case for not allowing urban wages to increase and widen the gap." (8)

*Increasing  
rate of  
labour  
turnover*

One means of increasing labour turnover and of giving young people a better opportunity of obtaining jobs in the modern sector would be to lower the retirement age in this sector and to give incentives such as lump-sum retirement grants or facilities for older people to settle in rural areas or in the informal urban sector, as the needs of this outgoing workforce must certainly not be overlooked. Added to that there should also be incentives, of course, for young people to remain there once they have if they cannot find a job. Of course the social and economic situation will vary from country to country, as will the opportunities for compensating the early-retired older workers. Precise differences will not become clear until there has been further research into this hitherto neglected area. "But there should be no doubt that labour turnover data can provide useful indications of the trend of unemployment, and, if collected regularly and in detail, can give guidance for general economic policy besides being useful to employers in structuring their wages, training and employment policies. In African countries very little attention has been paid to this aspect of the employment situation and almost nowhere are labour turnover data systematically and regularly collected. From the point of view of comprehensive employment strategy there is a good case for wider collection and analysis of information on the causes, nature and extent of labour turnover in the modern sector." (9)

It could be argued that to increase labour turnover in this way is to replace an older, more experienced and skilled, though probably uneducated as such, workforce with one that is young and, although probably of a higher general educational standard, less experienced and unskilled. This may be true if the young person is an unemployed school leaver who has never had a job in the modern sector before and who has not had any further vocational training. However, the potential of such a young person is great and therefore measures should be taken to guarantee that this potential comes to fruition. In other words, there must be provision for adequate vocational training, while experience is something

which will be picked up once employment commences. But a better educated young person can be assumed to need less training and/or to put any training received to better use. A number of recent studies have shown that there is a 'trade-off' between levels of education and training requirements. A summary of a detailed investigation of the extent of this 'trade-off', using data from the Zambian Manpower Survey, is given by Richard Jolly and Christopher Colclough. (10) Although they found that the range of educational levels within which there could be a trade-off between education and training seemed to be fairly large (between 8 and 19 years of formal education in their particular example used), they also found that "the range within which there can be an effective trade off with a reasonable cost ratio may be very limited."

### **Vocational Training**

The vocational training can take place either in special institutions or on the job. As argued elsewhere in this report, on-the-job training is generally preferable. However, for those being trained within specialised institutions, emphasis should be placed not only on equipping them with the requisite skills but also with an attitude towards work which will help them to fit in more easily with modern sector job demands, for example time-keeping, dealing with routine, and regularity etc.. As always, the bottleneck will probably lie in finding qualified trainers, preferably those with modern sector employment experience themselves. The early-retired, older workers may well fit the bill here, especially if the pre-work training that the young people receive can be augmented with additional skill-raising short-term on-the-job training once the young person has found a job. As well as going on to work in specialised training institutions, some of the older experienced skilled workers who might otherwise be laid off under an early retirement scheme could be kept on by the companies themselves with a view to training the young incoming workforce in basic skills, with perhaps some extra training at the end from actual professional trainers.

*Attitudes  
towards work*

*Trainee schemes*

More firms must be encouraged by the government to offer trainee positions. Perhaps a scheme similar to apprenticeships in craft occupations could be instituted. At the moment taking in of trainees is unpopular amongst firms because they feel that they are taking on workers who will not be productive until they have finished training. Thus the tendency is to look for trained staff only. However, the firms must be taught that they have a responsibility to train the workforce in the skills they require. Governments could ensure that firms which take on trainees are recompensed to some extent, preferably by money from industry levies, thus placing the burden upon firms who fail to take on a proper quota of trainees. There might also be a system to ensure an overlap between the employment of the older skilled employees and the young trainees. For example trainees could be taken on several weeks or months before the older worker he is replacing retires. During the ensuing period they could work together, rather in the relationship of master-apprentice. Governments could arrange some kind compensation for the firm which is thereby having to pay double wages to get one job done. In any such scheme, there should be no discrimination according to sex, and girl trainees should benefit.

*Training in Management Skills*

As pointed out earlier in this section, modern sector enterprises often suffer from management constraints at various levels (clerical, foreman, supervisory etc.). This offers good opportunities for young people, especially, perhaps, those with secondary or higher education (although of course, the way should not be barred to those who have less education, especially in terms of within-plant promotion structures. The training of young people in management skills will represent a particular problem though. If there is an existing shortage of managers there are hardly likely to be large numbers willing to leave their jobs to act as trainers, and it will not be possible to take many young people on for on-the-job training. This indicates a need for institutions concerned with business and labour management training, which, at the start, may have to be reliant upon expatriate staff, although it will be most important that these should have had considerable local experience if at

all possible. Once the shortage of managers in business has been overcome the training function of such special facilities will probably diminish as on-the-job training for future generations of managers will become more feasible. The institutions' role might then change to that of being centres for spreading new ideas and information. Such centres could serve not only the urban formal sector but also the urban informal and the rural sectors, as the need for good management in all sectors of the economy is becoming increasingly evident.

If there are to be better opportunities for them in the formal sector then obviously young people must be made aware of them as well as of the best ways of training for them. Again, the need for better employment exchange services, vocational guidance, etc., which has been pointed out elsewhere in this report, should be stressed, as well as the need for the services to take an active role, going out to reach young people in youth clubs and other meeting places rather than passively waiting for young people to come to them.

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#### 4. THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF EMPLOYMENT FOR YOUNG WOMEN

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Some of the problems of employment for young women obviously stem from the conditions of general under-development. Indeed, the general rule is that the more restricted employment opportunities for young people in general are, the more do the existing opportunities tend to be reserved for men. But here attention will be directed more towards the problems which are specific only to women and which characterise their situation.

*Lack of  
data*

The first problem in a consideration of the employment of women is that of measurement. Statistics which only take account of paid work - whether in money wages or in kind - are inapplicable and misleading in that much of women's work - in agriculture or in domestic settings - is unpaid. Therefore it is difficult to get an accurate idea of the magnitude of the problem and it is frequently understated. For example, if one wished to compare rates of unemployment for men and women, figures giving the number of those without paid jobs would over-emphasize the female situation as many women, although unpaid, are, if anything, overworked. On the other hand, definitions such as that used by Callaway (1), where he defines married women as being unemployed only if they possess specific qualifications, such as nurses or teachers, will underestimate the problem and, furthermore, in a skewed and biased way, are effectively ignoring the uneducated or those only with basic general education. These problems pertain when talking about women of any age, including necessarily young women. Young women prior to marriage will, of course, always depend more upon employment than older women. It is probably better, therefore, to use a general concept such as 'engagement in productive activity' rather than the more confining concept of employment, which seems to implicitly infer paid labour (Although even the concept of productive activity is often value-laden and may be used in a narrow sense, ignoring or underestimating women's vital

*Defining  
female  
unemployment*

contribution to everyday life in terms of their domestic tasks, child care, etc.. Therefore it should always be used in a broader sense which recognises and includes these valuable activities.) When the problem is put in this way, it becomes clear that the main problems affecting women may be more those of poverty, inferior status, lack of claim to a proper share in family income, etc. rather than lack of employment.

### **Women in the Traditional Sector**

Traditionally, women often have several activities in which they take part - domestic work and agriculture or home craft industries or trading, the precise mixture or share of women in these activities depending on local traditions. As already mentioned, the problem is not so much that they are un- or under-employed in any or all of these activities but rather that in all of them they have very low productivities or at any rate low incomes - they are usually the majority of the 'working poor'. Solutions therefore must lie in (a) raising the productivity of the existing occupations or the incomes associated with them and/or (b) pulling down the barriers, economic and socio-cultural, which presently debar women who wish to participate from entry into the wage labour force working in different occupations with higher productivity. Before studies can be made and policies implemented to bring about these changes though there is a basic and pressing need for more information about the present situation, about how women in different settings divide up their time, their daily routines, time spent on different activities, etc. A further point to make is that, although we are here considering young women, a fair proportion of these will already be married and quite possibly also have small children, in which case their problems will be somewhat different from those of young unmarried women, as from married women with older or grown-up children.

*Low productivity*

*Lack of basic information*

*Discrimination starts early*

The path leading towards the discrimination against young women and their confinement by and large to low productivity and dependent activities starts at school and before. A smaller proportion of girls than boys receive education at any level, the gap

*Educational  
bias:  
research needs*

between the two often increasing with age and stage of education. This may be because of cultural beliefs of the inferiority of the women's status or capacities, so that education is therefore to some extent wasted upon her. However, even those who remain in school are not spared from treatment founded upon this inherent belief and from another which logically follows on from it, i.e. that activities can be divided into those which are intrinsically 'female' and those which are intrinsically 'male' (this even extends to jobs in the modern sector), and that those which are female are by and large lowly, unproductive, unskilled or badly paid. Research should be carried out to see whether these ideas are embedded in the curricula of rural and urban primary schools. Are girls and boys taught different subjects in different ways; the girls getting lessons in home economics while the boys get pre-vocational courses which help them to decide upon what they will do after school and to prepare for it? Traditional attitudes are often blamed for a large part of the problems of young women but these are hardly likely to be overcome if teaching in primary schools is segregated in this way. Has any experiment ever been made of teaching young boys elements of home economics, child care, etc.? If so, were there any positive results in terms of a change of attitudes towards women and girls and their roles? If no such experiment has ever been tried, perhaps one could be set up and the results monitored.

*Primary school  
leavers*

If a girl fails to pass from primary to secondary school, as of course the great majority do, she has been prepared for nothing except domestic or subsistence activities. The female primary school leaver is seen as constituting a special problem. Family constraints prevent her from migrating to the town in most developing countries, Latin America being the great exception, and therefore a need for special programmes at village level is recognised. "In many African societies, however, women often show an aptitude for and an inclination towards handicrafts, including pottery, weaving, dyeing, basket-work, etc. and training programmes should be devised to accommodate this." This

*Traditional  
training*

training, together with special programmes at village level "... 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." (2)

Therefore often already the young boy starts to get training in productive skills while the young girls get taught traditional skills in such a way that they are unlikely to raise the usually low productivity of these crafts or to see them as something beyond a bridge between school and marriage in that there is not the premise underlying their training, as there is for that of young boys, that they are preparing for future productive employment. Retraining suggested in the preceding paragraph may be a useful suggestion which is much better than doing nothing at all and which could improve welfare in many directions, yet it is not a fully satisfactory answer to the total problem.

#### **New possibilities**

*Traditional  
teaching:  
new approaches*

Firstly, there is a place for such subjects as home economics and traditional crafts to be taught but they must be taught in a manner and context which opens rather than closes horizons for the young girl. Home economics can be taught not only as an end in itself, and, as already point out, not necessarily only to girls, but as a means of freeing the girl for other work should she wish to do it. At present women in the developing countries spend a very large percentage of their time on domestic tasks such as drawing water and preparing food, therefore any equipment or knowledge which would cut down this time would obviously be an advancement. Research into the possibilities of simple equipment which would ease the execution of these domestic tasks should be carried out. These are more likely to be accepted by the younger girls as they have less experience of the traditional methods than older women and could be demonstrated at schools. There is obviously also a case for having young, educated women on the staff of such research bodies as they will have a better

*Reducing  
domestic  
burdens*

knowledge of the exact problems to be overcome. Knowledge of nutrition is obviously also vitally important as young women often already have, and certainly will have in the future, young children whose future mental and physical development can be greatly affected by the nutrition they receive in their infancy.

*Teaching new attitudes and skills*

Secondly, if traditional crafts are going to be taught at schools they too should be taught in a different way, in an attempt to improve the young girl's productivity in them and in view of changing external conditions. They should be taught in the same way as skills are taught to boys - not merely with the status of a bridging occupation between school and marriage. As well as the actual craft itself the girls could be taught the elements of book-keeping and managing a business, about marketing, etc. In that way there is a greater likelihood of the girl being able to set up on her own after school. Girls often learn crafts informally too, from female relatives, and as with boys learning skills, there should be efforts made to upgrade the skills of the woman imparting her own skill to her pupils and a movement to give the relationship between the two more of the legal and, hopefully eventually, social status of an apprenticeship. Examples of all female craft co-operatives in various parts of Africa show that young women can organise themselves into productive units - although, of course, there is nothing to say that men cannot be included in these schemes as well.

*Agricultural training*

Apart from crafts women have traditionally played a major part in agriculture in many less developed countries. However, there is still extreme suspicion or even hostility towards the idea of young girls taking part in agricultural training programmes. However, they should be treated as any other aspiring young farmer, especially in view of the fact that many of them will be effective heads of household if their husbands migrate to towns leaving them in the country as often happens. However, mere training in agricultural methods is not enough. Girls must also be given courses in farm management and in rural leadership, both of other young girls and women in particular but also

*Extension  
programmes*

of the wider community in general, though any attempts of theirs to put this into practice will most likely be met with resistance, both cultural and legal. More research is needed into the status of women in relation to land rights, and how this could be put to rights if it is discriminatory. This applies equally in communally owned and managed ventures as in privately owned land. More attention should be paid in land reform and associated research and technical assistance to such problems relating to women. Greater attention should be paid to the female farmers by the extension workers and in particular it has been suggested that women might respond more readily if these were female rather than male. "If women extension workers are felt to be the answer, how many are needed and what type of training would be most appropriate? ...it is recommended that studies be conducted to find out the views of the rural women themselves." (3)

*Representation  
of women*

The views of all women should be heard far more often - the older because of their experience, but also the younger because they are the ones who will be most affected in the future by far-ranging decisions taken today. They are also the ones most likely to take easily to a more vocal role. Most importantly the views of young men and women - the latter traditionally excluded because of both age and sex, should be given a place on development planning boards, etc.. A supporting structure of women's organisations would strengthen the claim for this representation and make it easier to appoint individuals who spoke for others as well. But how can such organisations best be encouraged? One suggestion is the provision of leadership programmes (4), although the exact format of these would need careful deliberation. Another suggestion is for government grants and loans to women's groups for their co-operatives, self-help and development projects, such loans presumably strengthening existing organisations and acting as an encouragement to the formation of new ones. (5)

*Facilities for  
women workers*

There is also scope for the possibilities of some kind of self-help child care scheme, creches or nurseries. Experimental day care centres could be

set up and reactions to and consequences of them examined. This could be tied in with surveys of women's attitudes to work and the reasons they tend to go in for some crafts/occupations/professions more than others. For example, is the previously noted preference of girls for handicrafts not so much because it is somehow intrinsically work satisfying to women but because of more mundane and therefore alterable reasons, such as it allows time for domestic work and child care? If these constraints were removed, through the better organisation of domestic life, the use of simple labour saving devices and the provision of child care facilities, would these preferences still hold? Similarly with opportunities for girls with secondary or higher education. It has been noted (6), especially for younger women as these are the ones with more education, that there is a much greater proportion of women in the professions than in higher (or lower for that matter) administrative jobs. However, upon closer inspection it turns out that this is because of a great predominance of women in two professions, namely teaching and nursing. Other professions, such as the law, are still very much male strongholds. More research is needed into why these professions and not others attract and accept more women. Is it because they fit in well with other, for example, domestic, commitments, because they are considered more 'respectable' for girls, or because their work content is inherently more congenial? Similarly are men content to let women enter these professions whereas they are often extremely hostile to the thought of their doing other high level jobs because they pay worse, have lower status, are considered not fitting work for men, or what? As women do already have a strong foothold in nursing though, this should be used to its full advantage. Research should be carried out to discover what the potentialities are for work as para-professionals in the health services, for example as medical auxiliaries in rural health centres, an occupation which is likely to expand fairly considerably in the future. It should also be found out what measures can be taken to ensure that women have equal opportunities in getting the training for such jobs along with men. Similarly, in relation

*Women in the  
professions*

*Equal access  
to training*

to young women working on family planning programmes, especially as it is probably, if developed countries' experiences are anything to go by, that as young women see better openings for themselves in employment they will voluntarily and spontaneously decide to make greater use of family planning services.

#### **Women in the Urban Sector**

This brings up the question of the special problems facing the more educated girls and their employment chances - normally taken to mean their employment chances in the modern urban sector. This identification of the educated with the modern is in itself in some ways a mistake; the educated young person, whether male or female, has a lot to offer in other sectors as well, and it is the idea that the informal rural and especially the agricultural sectors are fit only for the uneducated which has led to so much migration to urban areas and to the unemployment problems encountered there. Before looking at the problems of the educated girl though, the plight of the less well educated urban girl may be briefly examined. The urban girl is in some ways in a weaker position than that of the girl in the country because she at least, even if her education has left her without any productive skills, can often participate in, albeit near subsistence level, agriculture, crafts or small-scale trading. If the urban girl has not learnt any specific skills, and the chances are very much that she will not have, she has less openings available to her. By far the most important activity of urban women in many parts of Africa, aside from domestic duties, is trade, and it is quite likely that the uneducated urban girl will try her hand at this. Again though, this is for the majority of women, a low productivity, low reward activity, requiring often long hours at the market. She will probably start by sitting in with an established female trader, eventually working for her or setting up on her own, as very little capital is usually required for this. (7) As with crafts and agriculture the possibilities of training for these girls should be examined not in trading as such but in how to manage such small-scale enterprises, how to keep books, etc.. Studies have found that female-run

*Unskilled  
urban girls*

businesses such as this small-scale trading are nearly always on a much smaller scale than male-run businesses. (8) The reasons for this should be discovered - are the restraints time (because of domestic commitments), capital, other businessmen or government hostility or some other factors? What can be done to combat this? What are the potentialities and possibilities for women traders to organise themselves into co-operatives or other groupings and would this be beneficial?

*Job seekers*

Further figures should be collected on the number of girls and young women seeking jobs. What kinds of jobs are they looking for and how successful are they? How do they fare in relation to similarly qualified men? How helpful are employment exchanges and do they discriminate in the kinds of jobs they notify young men and women about? In particular the modern sector would appear to present an almost closed door to young women,

*The modern sector*

except for the most lowly and unskilled jobs which men often do not wish to do, and even here it is often older, widowed or divorced women who get most of the jobs. Education and training are often the constraints here. Less women get the degree of training to qualify them for the better jobs, but girls also do less well than young men in the lower level jobs even when they have the same extent of education. It should be found out why this is so. Often it may be a question of attitudes, in that modern sector work is thought to be not quite respectable for young girls, but is this all? Would government campaigns and a 'publicity relations' job have any effect upon this image of the modern sector? Does the government in fact really want to encourage young girls to get themselves better jobs or is it just paying lip service to this idea? The fact that very well educated girls find it far more difficult to find jobs within government administration than similarly qualified young men does add some substance to this suspicion.

*Employers attitudes*

There should be a good deal more research into some specific aspects of employers' attitudes towards employing young women. Is this because they take less well to the modern work environment with its emphasis upon regularity, punctuality,

etc.? If this is so what is the cure? Can some of it be traced back to an education which goes some way towards preparing boys for such work but far less towards preparing girls - rather the end state for them is still as home life and traditional work. Is it because of having to pay such fringe benefits as maternity grants, and if so, could a system be devised whereby all firms, not just those employing women, had to contribute to these so that a firm was not penalized for employing a greater number of women? Or is it such things as having time off for pregnancies or because girls leave when they get married? Even in developed countries these are emotional subjects and would therefore particularly benefit from having further objective information obtained from surveys and studies.

*Boys:  
preferential  
treatment*

In agriculture, trading, crafts and other skills, as well as in the modern sector, the chances are that, if boys continue to be treated preferentially, better trained and given better general preparation for a more productive economic life, the gap between the opportunities for young women and young men will continue to widen. Many people concerned seem to regard this as being almost inevitable, since they maintain that concentration upon better opportunities for young girls must await the time when the employment problems for young men have been solved; and that to increase female participation in the labour market before that time will only increase net un - and under-employment and perhaps even low average family wages as women are employed in preference to men because they will accept lower wages. There are several objections to this point of view and a need for much greater research and analysis of the processes involved. Firstly, that the raising of the productivity of young women in traditional 'female' occupations, through better access to education, better specialized training, better organisation of domestic duties, does not represent a threat to any of the 'men's' jobs. Secondly, that if women were better organised and made more aware of the opportunities available to them they might begin not to accept lower wages. If this were so there would be less of a case for discriminating against one whole sex so that the other sex's job interests

*False basis*

*Sex balance  
in rural areas*

were safeguarded. Further, the argument that child care, etc. would suffer carries less weight if there are better child care, etc. facilities and if young men eventually be persuaded that they have responsibilities in this direction too. Lastly, and perhaps the area where research is most urgently needed, is it indeed inevitable that an increase in male unemployment will follow from increased female participation? Boserup (9) thinks not. She maintains that if the rural areas and rural occupations could be made more attractive to both young men and young women, far fewer of these would migrate to the towns. In that event more of the urban jobs could be undertaken by young urban women - provided, of course, that they had been suitably trained. The effect might even work the other way, in that if more urban girls could get more of the urban jobs there would be fewer available for rural migrants and this might serve to stem the flood from the country to the town a little. Boserup puts these ideas forward as untested propositions but surely there is every reason for carrying out studies in order to test them, as, if the general mechanism is correct, improving girls' opportunities in both rural and urban areas will be seen to be a way of increasing overall national productivity, and this will therefore constitute a most damning argument against those who believe - who want to believe? - that the problem of employment of young women is one which must wait until that of the employment of young men is solved.

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## 5. NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICES AND SIMILAR INSTITUTIONS

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The UN defines National Youth Services as "...one of the means employed, in addition to the usual formal and informal education and training programmes, for the implementation of national youth and development policies. It is concerned with the all-round development of young people, male and female, according to their individual needs and capacities and the needs of the country, so as to enable them to participate more effectively in national socio-economic development." (1)

*Common characteristics*

National Youth Services vary from country to country, in emphasis, size, location, etc., but all share to a large extent this basic orientation towards instilling into the minds of young people commitment to the aims of national development and giving a sense of direct participation. They are mainly concentrated upon the rural areas and often have a semi-military form of hierarchical organisation. They are usually located in special camps and have a preponderance of young male, as opposed to young female, participants. As most of these participants will have only completed primary school, or not even that, they provide general and civic education, mixed with varying degrees of vocational training and community development work. Schemes range from the Kenya National Youth Service which is highly capitalised, spending at least half its time upon public works projects, dam or road construction, etc., which are included in the National Development Plan, and which would otherwise be carried out either by private contractors or other government departments, to the cost-minimising Young Pioneers of Malawi, who concentrate upon the establishment of small-scale agricultural settlements. There "...emphasis is placed firmly on the training of small-scale farmers using improved, low cost techniques, on motivating these trainees towards an improved form of farming or on organising facilities whereby the skills and attitudes communicated by the training programme can be

expressed." (2) In spite of these differences between organisations in different countries, however, it is still possible to point to features which merit closer scrutiny in all of them and which would have to be given very serious thought of any country considering setting up its own organisation.

### *Goals*

The most basic question of all perhaps is whether National Youth Services represent the most effective way of fulfilling the goals set up for them. Obviously implicit in this question is the need for an evaluation of the costs and benefits of the present Services. What are the criteria for this evaluation? They will vary from country to country. In some the Services are seen as an alternative to formal schooling for the general education of young people. In others the prime motive is a means of giving the young people some vocational training and aiding their transition into productive employment. In still others Service graduates are seen as a 'vanguard' or a 'spearhead' of rural progress. Their task is to learn a more modern, effective method of farming and to instil this, and a positive attitude towards national development, through local rural communities. The implementation of the development plan, the avoidance of social unrest, are among other objectives.

### *Criteria for Evaluation*

As the aims of the different services vary so will the criteria upon which to evaluate them and the other institutions with which their contributions to national development - whether conceived in terms of economics or more as a socio-political force - have to be compared. For example, if the service concentrates upon general education it should be compared to alternative sources of formal and non-formal education. If the accent is upon employment creation through vocational training, is Service training better or worse than other forms of vocational training, are graduates more or less likely to find employment than those trained in different ways - for example through a system of apprenticeships? The basic question though is always the same: is the amount of money, trained personnel and other resources which are devoted to the National Services being used in the

*Cost effective-  
ness*

best way? The Services are usually highly capitalised and well endowed with other resources and yet only cater for a few thousand youths. Does the training which these few thousand in each country receive make a greater contribution towards national development in general, and the alleviation of the problems of young people in particular, than alternative actions involving a greater distribution of the same resources over a greater number of young people? This could be through either existing institutions or through new specially created ones, although that raises the question of what form they could and would take. Below, suggestions will be made as to the way in which existing or new National Services could be improved, but the foregoing points must always be borne in mind. It may well be that evaluation studies would reveal that a particular National Youth Service did not in fact represent the best and most effective way of achieving national aims for youth. In that case, of course, the following recommendations of ways in which National Youth Services may be improved would be irrelevant, except in so far as their implementation could so improve the Service or Services as to reverse the result of the comparative evaluation studies'.

#### **Leadership and organisation**

Because National Youth Services were often set up fairly rapidly, usually in the 1960s, there was no time for the initial specialised training of Service Leaders. In fact, there is still a shortage of trained Youth Leaders and those that do exist have often been 'converted' from related fields such as teaching within formal school education, military personnel, agricultural extension officers, etc.. While such persons will obviously have a background of contact with youth, it is suggested that they will be in need of a fairly radical reorientation of their outlook and methods to be effective as leaders within the youth services. These services emphasize the training of youth in social and civic awareness and responsibility, and as future leaders and agents of change in the traditional rural areas. Such attitudes will hardly follow from rigidly structured teacher/pupil, leader/led relationships

*Reorientation  
of leadership*

within the youth services. The role of the leader within the service should be something similar to that of the service graduate within the community, i.e. leadership by example and from a base firmly rooted amongst those who are being taught and led, helping them to help themselves. Training of service leaders within one central or a few regional training centres will probably not produce leaders with these kinds of attitudes. Investigations should be carried out into the possibility of training leaders locally in the areas where they will be stationed with the youth service. Furthermore, because, as we have argued elsewhere in this report, on-the-job training is usually better than institutionalised pre-vocational or vocational training, this should take place amongst young people. (3) One of the consultants to one UN Report (4) even goes so far as to suggest: "As for the leaders and organisers they should be drawn from the mass of the young people themselves, who are better than adults at picking out their natural leaders and who accept them more readily since they have been chosen according to their own criteria and not those of adults." It is unlikely that governments will transfer such complete power of choice to the youth service participants but certainly some scheme whereby they at least have a say could be arrived at. Furthermore, schemes could be set up to choose future leaders from amongst present service participants. It will be suggested later that interchange between the different national services would be a good thing. This is especially true for these future service leaders, and the possibility of an exchange programme merits further scrutiny.

*Local  
training*

*Peer group  
leaders*

*Coordination  
of national  
youth pro-  
grammes*

It is also suggested that there should be greater ministerial coordination in all aspects of a national youth programme. "That, to ensure the effective planning and implementation of a national youth policy and the appropriate functioning of a national youth service programme within it, suitable structures should be established for interministerial and intersectoral cooperation and coordination, and in particular, that there should be close cooperation between those responsible for national planning and those responsible for national youth service programmes." (5)

*Advantage  
of small  
units*

Obviously a movement towards new roles for service leaders and service participants would weaken the resemblance many of the youth services have to the military services with their rigidly structured hierarchical command systems, and would probably lead to the service being divided up into more numerous, smaller-scale units. However, this may be all to the good, as existing research has indicated, and further research may well verify greater effectiveness from smaller-scale units. "The successful training schemes are organised in small units, which are either autonomous or largely independent components within an overall programme, for example the agricultural settlements of the Malawi Young Pioneers. There would appear to be several pointers which suggest that for rural development training, whether for young people or for the agricultural population as a whole, the widespread centrally-administered programme does not produce the direct and personal contacts between trainees and those organising the training programme which are basic to the building of good morale and confidence, factors which are essential if technical skills are to be given a real opportunity of being applied. The need is for close personal contacts, identification between trainer and trainee. This again points to the desirability of flexible, mobile training teams moving to the trainees after the location has been determined at which trainees will be employed." (6)

*Implications*

Obviously to change from a large-scale, hierarchical organisation to one on a smaller scale, flexibly led and possibly with mobile elements, is a serious decision, not to be taken lightly and not easily implemented. Results from research looking into existing services organised on both scales would be helpful. Such studies, the UN suggests (Report op. cit.), might best be carried out by teams of international experts working for an international body. If such experts did confirm the advantages of smaller-scale units and more flexible organisations the question arises of how far the national youth services would remain separate identifiable organisations if such changes were carried out. This would revive the need for further evaluation studies, both of the services

and alternative facilities and might well lead to a major re-think upon policy towards youth organisations.

*Cooperation  
between service  
and non-  
service youth*

The UN Report (op. cit.) suggests that there should be far closer cooperation and coordination between youth services and other youth organisations, including broader organisations also concerned with young people, than there usually is at present. In fact, the national youth services should be seen as only one element in an overall "National Youth Programme". Having youth services which concentrate often large resources upon so small a number of young participants can only be justified if those participants act as catalytic agents amongst the majority of young people. Much more attention should be paid to possible ways of achieving this. Should there be greater contact between service and non-service youth while the former are actually in service or only after they have graduated? What could be done through the running of local youth clubs, etc.? Would local or larger-scale meetings, seminars, conferences between all youth, service and non-service, be of any use? It has already been mentioned that service graduates could play an important role in subsequent leadership and training within the services, the same is probably true outside the services. But would they need further training for this more diffuse, less intensive youth work? Are there any facilities for giving them any training they may need for this new kind of work? Could international agencies/experts play a part here? The UN Report (op. cit.) points out that there is a lack of youth-work information and theory developed in, or applied specifically to, developing countries. "Knowledge about youth psychology and sociology, dynamics of group work and leadership and community organisation are not always well-adapted to developing country situations." International agencies and/or experts sponsored by them could play a major part here. Research into these areas could be initiated by them. Established youth workers, preferably from the developing countries, but if too few of these could be found, also from developed countries, could be sent to make reports, fact-finding missions etc.. Seminars, conferences and other meetings of youth workers in the developing

*Role of  
service  
graduates*

and alternative facilities and might well lead to a major re-think upon policy towards youth organisations.

*Information  
gaps*

countries could be organised to discuss exactly these issues and exchange experiences.

Attention should also be paid to how the views of youth, whether in youth services or not, can be represented and put forward to the government planning bodies. Youth service graduates, as well as university studies doing some short-term community service work, could be of use here, helping non-service youth to reflect upon and articulate what they want from a national youth programme.

### The Content of Youth Service Programmes

#### *General Education*

The content of youth service programmes will vary according to their aims, for instance improving the general and civic education of early school leavers or giving employment-oriented vocational training. Where the aim is to improve general education this should be taught in a different way from in ordinary schools in order to gain full advantage from the distinctive service environment. More research needs to be done into how this may best be done- what new teaching equipment and aims may be necessary- how the trainers themselves can be taught to make best use of these, etc.. Especially where service graduates are seen as a means of inspiring rural, social and economic development, teaching should always be practically based in the local communities and service participants should be encouraged to have an active rather than passive (taught) role in their studies. Again, contact in conferences, seminars or more informal meetings of service teachers and participants would be advantageous, as would interchange of information about teaching methods and resources used.

#### *Vocational training*

Where emphasis is upon vocational training great thought should be given to the best way of providing this. Do the community development activities undertaken apply, or complement the skills learned? And with all such training, ways must be found to keep trainers up to date and fully informed of all developments in their field. It should be discovered whether the youth services are more effective for teaching some skills but not others. For example, a service training in

*Skill  
development  
through  
service*

agriculture followed by help in establishing a settlement - including grants of land, capital, etc. - may be a better way of helping young farmers than, say, specialised institute-based agricultural training courses which might leave the graduate without any aid as to finding capital or land. On the other hand, outside apprenticeship schemes in rural or urban skills or crafts which provide a guarantee of a job for the trained apprentice may be considered better than youth service skill or craft training which does not necessarily lead to a job upon completion of service.

Variations in the size and location of service training should be studied and, if thought necessary and possible, pilot or experimental schemes of various kinds could be carried out. These exploratory studies were often not carried out at the start of the youth services. "Many of these programmes were hastily set up in emergency conditions to help meet the problems created by unemployment among school leavers and the exceptional flow of rural young people to the cities. Because of the urgency, the plans often started off large-scale with no time taken for pilot experiments." (7)

*Evaluation of  
achievements*

Now is the time for evaluating achievements to date and for setting up these experimental schemes to discover possible better alternatives. These may lead to a fairly drastic reorientation of the services and basic changes in the way they are organised. For example many are presently organised upon a camp structure - i.e. centred upon a few large-scale centres of intensive activity. Studies may prove that, where the services are required to provide leaders for rural community socio-economic development, this is best done by means of a more diffuse structure with participants firmly rooted in the community from the beginning. This is in direct contrast to the present usual situation where service participants are fairly isolated from real interaction with the local community, although they may be carrying out community projects (but for the community rather than with it), whilst undergoing intensive training. The rationale is that this intensive

training equips them for their later roles as leaders and 'spearheads of progress'. As mentioned before, this view is by and large untested, and the few studies which have been carried out would seem to indicate a need to move away from large-scale, intensive training as "...informal in situ training programmes (the Nyakashaka Scheme in Uganda, Tanzania's Ruvuma Development Association, and the Faith and Farm programme in North-Eastern Nigeria) have a particularly high rate of retaining trainees in the employment sought." (8) In view of the radical consequences this could have upon the organisation of the service programmes this is obviously an area which requires very careful and comprehensive study over a period of time.

*Under-representation of young women and girls*

One aspect in which existing youth services are certainly deficient is in their provision for girls and young women, who are greatly under-represented among the service participants. Ways in which more of them could be included should be researched. The present constraint could well be merely discrimination on the part of the service organisers, but if it were found to be due to apathy or negative attitudes on the part of the young women and girls themselves ways of overcoming this should be found. Could existing women's and girls' organisations play a recruiting role here? Could service graduates do more through their contacts with rural youth, in youth clubs etc.? If young women are seen to have a part to play in the development of agriculture and rural activities in general there need be less difference in their service training from that given to boys and men. In view of the poor position of women and the way they are often virtually ignored in development work in the rural areas. Female service graduates obviously have a most important, and also difficult, job to do in acting as initiators of progress amongst rural women. Even the UN would seem to hold different views vis-a-vis men and women in the youth services. The consultant whose quotation on the advisability of letting service participants choose their own leaders was presumably only thinking of male participants, as he goes on to say "it is for planners to decide in the light of local economic requirements on the type of training to be provided for girls and the number of girls to be trained." (9)

*Initiators of progress*

There may indeed be a case for planners to have a say but surely this is true for boys and young men, not just girls and young women.

International agencies such as the Commonwealth Secretariat could play a major part here in encouraging international exchanges of women's group leaders, female youth leaders and female service participants. Interregional or international - or smaller-scale seminars and conferences could also be important in increasing the awareness as to what needs to and can be done to bring young rural women more fully into countries' development programmes.

### Follow-up Employment

In so far as the National Youth Services do not seek to be ends in themselves they must be evaluated in terms of how well they fulfil their own aims, whatever these may be, and especially in comparison to how well these aims could be met by alternative uses of the same resources.

Because of their rural orientation many of the services encourage and help their graduates to form settlements upon completion of service training and may help them, at least for a limited period, with grants, advice, etc. as well as the initial donation of land upon which to found the settlement. There is a great need of follow-up studies here - to see how far improved agricultural methods etc. learned during service are implemented after settlement. If the settlers tend to lapse could they be helped by later refresher courses or by special attention from agricultural extension workers? If there are female graduates amongst the settlers are they still regarded as equals or are they reverting to more traditional roles with the males taking the decisions etc.? How long can settlements be expected to continue as young people's communities? What happens when participants want to marry and have families? What role will wives/husbands have? More fundamentally, what is the relationship between the settlement and the surrounding community? Are the settlers really teaching by their example and are they really functioning as 'spearheads of progress'? If not, is this because of individual settlement deficiencies

*Impact of  
rural service*

or because of basic structural factors which mean that the settlements in fact remain isolated from the rural community as a whole? Could this be rectified by changes in location, size, etc. of the settlements? Would it help to settle young farmers in their own areas, for example? How do service settlements compare to settlements which might be set up by other, non-service young farmers?

*Effectiveness  
in rural  
development*

Of course service graduates can only be an effective force in national and especially rural development if they enter into productive employment, which does not necessarily mean wage-employment. The numbers which stay in agriculture after starting in settlements or who find employment in other crafts or skills in which they have trained could be ascertained from surveys. Wood (10) quotes a source which estimates that of 157 Zambia Youth Service graduates trained in agriculture who left the service in December 1958, 136 were inducted into the Zambian Police. He comments: "...the effect of intensive orientation towards identification with the nation can be to accelerate alienation from the trainee's own culture and exaggerate the tendency for ex-trainees to look for 'national' employment in occupations such as the police or the army. While this trend is not in itself wrong, if it develops to significant proportions it must detract from the primary purpose of national youth services - to produce trained and motivated young people for rural development work." It would be informative to discover whether this varies between services and whether this is associated with the degree to which the service's activities and settlements are integrated within local communities, and whether the situation is the same in services giving more emphasis to craft or skill vocational training. In these what help is given to graduates to find jobs utilising their skills and how could this help be improved? What happens to the few girls and young women who complete service training, and for whom, presumably, openings are not readily available in the police or armed forces?

In a broader analysis, it would also be important to study to what extent the employment which Youth Service leavers have been able to secure, has been genuinely additional due to the new skills taught, or to what extent it has simply taken employment away from other groups, e.g. by preference shown by employers to the 'displaced' Youth Service leavers or due to pressure on employers by the authorities to show such preference.

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G. THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF TRAINING AND  
EDUCATION FACILITIES  
in relation to employment prospects  
for young people

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*Finding a  
balance*

The underlying problem in this area is to establish a closer relationship between education and training on the one hand, and employment opportunities for young people on the other hand. Although in view of the independent human and social value of education (especially literacy) it would be wrong for this to be a simple exclusive relationship (particularly in general education, less so in specialised training), it is also wrong to have education/training systems completely out of gear with employment situation realities. If education/training does not enable young people to engage in productive activities one has merely raised the educational level of the unemployed. This can - and does - happen if general education is geared to an examination system designed to select pupils for successive stages of higher education (which in the nature of things can only be obtained by a small minority), and not the realities of life as lived by the great majority of the people, including young school leavers. Each stage of education should always be treated as terminal and designed to equip its pupils with the means to understand the forces determining their lives, thereby giving them some potential for changing them. Similarly in specialised vocational training the aim is not the training as an end in itself but as a means towards the end of finding productive employment. This aim will be thwarted, however, well one has mastered a particular skill, if the learned skill is not one in demand in the labour market.

*Educational  
ends*

**Manpower: Supply and demand**

Therefore a prime requisite in the pursuit of a better 'fit' between education and training and the employment situation is better knowledge of that situation - both as it is now and also, or perhaps even more importantly, as it will be in the future. In other words, there is a need for far more research to be carried out into the manpower needs

*Prediction of  
manpower needs*

as well as the likely or projected manpower demand of the less developed countries and for manpower plans to be based upon the results of these researches. Predicting future manpower requirements is a difficult job, and such projections have often proved inaccurate in the past. There is a need for much more work to be done upon the improvement of methods used. This has been pointed out already by the recent Lusaka Meeting of Commonwealth Youth Ministers: "One of the major difficulties facing most educational planners is the paucity of reliable data available to them about the likely manpower requirements of their country. The science of manpower forecasting is in its infancy and priority must be given to the development of more effective employment policies and more realistic manpower forecasting. Only then will educational planners be able to anticipate more closely the demands likely to be made of them." (1) This suggested priority should be fully supported and implemented. In implementation of this priority, there might be a case for initiating a project to investigate past manpower predictions, especially in the recent past, to try to determine why some succeeded where others failed. For example, it should be studied how the problem of the changing relative importance of different sectors over time was and is dealt with, or whether information about the self-employed was and is included. One author points out that plans are often drawn up without any definite information about self-employment in 'private' sector employment or its distribution within sectors. Only "wage employment" is considered and then only with firms having more than twenty-five employees. (2) In view of the overwhelming importance of the non-wage employment sector in most less developed countries this naturally leads to a distortion of information and, therefore, of policies based upon this information. It is unlikely that the informal, non-wage employment sector will ever be regarded as an important source of employment generation if it is ignored in the official manpower statistics. As also stated by Jolly and Colclough (3), referring to past African manpower plans, "Nevertheless, it is probably true that pre-occupation with the parts of the problem that

*Importance of  
different  
sectors*

could be readily quantified often diverted attention and effort from those that could not. Training and informal education, though usually mentioned in passing, were never as fully incorporated into the calculations as were the more easily quantified outputs of the formal education system. Although a few studies were made of the utilisation of skilled manpower, and of measures to improve skilled manpower efficiency, such studies were rare. Finally, the implications of human resources development for the wage structure were seldom much explored because of the preoccupation - even the obsession - with the quantitative planning of the supply of and demand for skilled manpower."

*Data  
collection*

Ways in which data for manpower statistics are collected should also be re-thought and revised. The same author (4) points out that information about the level of education required for a specific job is taken from an inspection of the education requirements for certain jobs on the cards of selected employment exchanges. Thus data about jobs available in rural areas is omitted and requirements distorted. Furthermore, the exchanges used were all in Delhi in this case, while there is nothing to prove that education requirements for the Delhi labour market apply over India as a whole - even in other urban areas, let alone the rural. There is therefore a patent need for research into the whole area of manpower planning and manpower-need prediction and into ways in which it can be improved. This is fundamental to the employment problems facing youth in the less developed countries today. Until the time dimensions and nature of the situation are better known how can accurate diagnoses and prognoses be made? We need information about the situation today to be able to predict the situation tomorrow when the present generation of school children (and other children) enter into the labour market.

Even without detailed manpower figures it is obvious from the large numbers of unemployed education youth existing in most less developed countries that available education has not been leading to opportunities for productive employment.

*Formal  
Education*

The shortcomings of formal school and university education are not really within the subject area of this report beyond the statement - which would be widely supported today - that a major mistake would seem to have been the viewing of lower levels of education as being geared almost exclusively towards examinations admitting entrance to higher levels of education. This is out of place in less developed countries where the drop-out rate within each level and between levels is extremely high. This is especially true of primary education, and has led to the suggestion in the ILO Kenya Employment Mission that a new, longer, primary schooling course should be designed instead as a terminal experience, i.e. it must be recognised that this is all the education that the majority of school children will receive, and that after completion of this course most of them will be looking for productive employment. (5) Thus, lessons should be made relevant to the local environment and children should be helped to develop skills and knowledge directed to their future employment in the community. Not only will this result in their being better prepared to find local employment but it will also do much to lessen the identification (often deeply rooted in history) of education with modern-sector and other urban jobs amongst rural school children.

*Children's  
needs*

*Basic skills*

This is not an argument for turning general education into nothing more than a protracted course of vocational training. It is not suggested that children will leave school as fully trained farmers/artisans or whatever. The school will teach basic skills and concepts which will hopefully foster an outlook and attitude which will lead pupils to seek proper vocational training once they leave school. "Pupils who complete the primary course should be able to read and write fluently in their own and in the national language to do a certain amount of arithmetic, to understand enough science and history to interpret the world around them, and to learn sufficient civics to be aware of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. This does not make pupils into farmers or carpenters or nuclear scientists; it is basic to all these careers. Education is meant not only 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." (6)

*Non-school  
education*

Obviously then in the field of formal school education there is tremendous need and scope for research into the possibilities and potentialities of large-scale radical curriculum reform, especially as in the past the influence of developed countries has been very strong here, both in subject content and teaching materials used. The changes likely to be taking place in school education, must be borne in mind when considering what needs to be done in non-school education and training: vocational- technical- non-formal; apprenticeships, etc. etc., as these tend to pick up where formal schooling leaves off - although, of course, some types of non-formal education are designed to aid precisely those, including still some young people, who never managed to obtain any education at all for themselves. The group most represented in out-of-school education and training are those who have had between 0 and 8 years of formal education, who are unable to go on to secondary schools or to find wage employment, who are often not old enough and who lack the skills required to find productive employment. Much more attention must be paid to the problem of the transition between education and employment. (7) What are the best ways of informing youth of the opportunities available to them, especially in rural areas? How effective are employment exchanges, vocational guidance or counselling services? If a young person decides that he would like to undertake some further training, are the opportunities for doing so fully explained to him? Is he advised which skills are most relevant, which are declining and which coming to the fore? For example, motor mechanics are going to be needed more and more in rural areas with improved transport facilities, as are other mechanics able to service and repair the intermediate-type machinery which will hopefully accompany modernization of agriculture and small-scale manufacturing. But if this trend is not pointed out to young people,

*Guidance on  
employment  
opportunities*

they may think that their only chance of becoming a mechanic is to move to an urban area. Similarly, it might be that some skills used in small-scale craft industries, for example, can be predicted to decline or change in the future or that there is an over-supply of trained skilled people in a certain occupation, so that young people still learning that skill will find it hard to get jobs or to compete with others if setting up in business on their own. Information should also be available to young people as to the likelihood of being able to set up in business alone having acquired a certain skill. The level of capital needed varies greatly from skill to skill and this is probably a factor which the young person would have to be taught to bear in mind.

*New Govern-  
ment agencies*

The possibilities and advisability of setting up new government agencies to fulfil this task should be investigated. How could it keep up to date with information and how could it reach the young people themselves? Present employment exchanges are very much town-based, but the need for information about training opportunities and prospects is just as great, if not greater, in the rural areas. Also it is probably desirable to reach the young people before they have actually entered into the labour market. This suggests that such a service should be attached to schools, especially primary schools, but then all those children who did not start school, or who drop out before completion of primary education would be excluded. Therefore a better idea might be to approach them through informal youth clubs, etc. instead of, or as well as, through the schools. Research could be undertaken into this and into the advantages of using other forms of publicity such as radio or newspapers. Wherever the agency was situated it should be sure to keep abreast of local developments which would mean changes in skills required and be in contact with central planning bodies in order to gain up to date information about future developments planned for that locality.

## Rural Education and Training

### Agricultural

*Aims and  
methods of  
training*

Although it was stated earlier that primary general education should not become vocational training, especially in relation to teaching farming in rural areas, this is not to say that there is not an urgent need for agricultural training for young people. The problem is to find the method, or combination of methods, of training which is most effective - or, even more basic than that, to decide upon what should be counted as effective. In other words, what is one looking for in the results from training? Will this be measured purely in terms of the productivity of the land and other resources used by the young farmers who were trained to be measured at some agreed time after the training? Or should it include some consideration of the extent to which those young farmers have, individually or working together in some kind of group arrangement, disseminated their knowledge and acted as foci for the spreading of their improved knowledge throughout the community? This latter concept of success will be far more difficult to measure than mere physical outputs per acre or similar direct productivity measures and may lead to a different ranking of training methods. However, in the movement for greater overall rural development the value and relevance of considering only whether trained young farmers themselves are doing well, whilst ignoring their role vis-a-vis the rest of the agricultural and rural community must be doubted.

*Evaluation by  
results*

Having chosen one's criteria of evaluation, whatever they might be, it would be useful to see which method of agricultural training produced the best results. Basically, the training splits into two kinds: firstly, on-the-job training, with young farmers already installed upon some land and instructed mainly by extension officers- secondly, training based upon rural training centres, which may or may not be residential. Such courses combine elements of both theory and practice. Different varieties of these two kinds of course exist and should be examined and compared. For example, training centres may be single - or

multi-purpose, resulting in some form of 'village-polytechnic' and may or may not encourage the setting up of co-operative self-help movements, either by pupil farmers still undergoing training or by young farmers who have just completed the course. Of course, young farmers who have completed these courses may later get some extension-type training as well, on their farms.

*Training:  
Follow-up*

As mentioned earlier in this report, follow-up studies should be carried out to determine the extent to which learning in training is later kept up; to discover if the training is at fault when training is ignored, or whether there are other constraints working. For example, a young farmer may not be able to raise enough capital to try out new crops or new techniques he has learned if these require a large initial outlay. Training is for farming in the existing real world and therefore these constraints should be borne in mind when deciding upon the content of training. Would it be better, and possible, to train the farmers in more labour-intensive methods, or could a capital shortage problem be overcome by young farmers working together in co-operatives, and if so what help can their training courses give them to prepare for this? If follow-up studies do reveal

*Effectiveness  
of training:  
constraints*

constraints such as shortage of capital which, presumably, governments could do something to alleviate, there should be some system of communication between young farmers supported by training officers, back to the government. There is little logic in the government spending money on training facilities for young farmers if these are ineffective because of other factors which are also to some extent within the government's control, such as the supply of capital, credit, fertilizers, etc. and land tenure systems. This demonstrates that training alone can never be a complete solution. No matter what potential a young farmer has he will never come to anything if he is denied land to work upon and money with which to equip himself for farming.

*Management  
skills  
required*

It has been suggested that those farmers who succeed are those who have more than a little of the 'businessman' about them. (8) Moris calls therefore for agricultural training based more upon ideas and

less upon manual labour: "...in short, the distinguishing characteristic of the progressive farmer is his adept management of both money and labour. His managerial skill is the overriding factor which accounts for success in the use of all other factors."

(9) Although some might see this as a rather extreme view, especially in the context of self-help co-operative farming where the management of hired labour is not a pressing concern, there is widespread agreement that the young farmer today does need to know far more about managerial and marketing activities, about how to keep his own books, etc. than ever before. As pointed out in Section 1, there is great scope here for a critical appraisal of the contents of agricultural training.

*Needs of the  
trainers*

As well as appraisals of the training of the young farmers, that of the training officers and extension workers themselves should also be examined. Their vital role in training young farmer means that every effort must be made to keep them up to a high standard. The training of women farmers and farm women may require special arrangements, and perhaps the appointment of women extension officers. How can more women be brought into the extension service? How can training officers be kept up to date with developments in their own and other countries? Could there be more meetings of extension officers and training staff at local, regional, national and international (perhaps Commonwealth) levels, to exchange experiences and learn from each other? And more meetings not only with other people in the same field of training, but also with workers from research institutes, youth workers, etc.?

*Community  
participation*

Furthermore, it must be remembered that the communities themselves, especially the young members trying out new approaches to farming, must also be given a central role. They must be given a chance to explain to government and to training staff what they want in and from agriculture. New ventures such as co-operatives and settlements could also benefit especially from an interchange of ideas and experiences with others attempting the same thing, in similar and different conditions.

## Non-Agricultural

Training in non-agricultural skills in rural areas tends to be either centred upon a formal training establishment (as, for example in Kenya in village polytechnics) or to be very informal, for example a girl learning a home industry craft by sitting in with a female relative from an early age.

### *Acceptability of training*

The need for modern up-to-date training is just as necessary in these skills as in agriculture - possibly more so because the situation is changing so quickly. "Skill requirements expand rapidly when more advanced technologies begin to penetrate a traditional rural area. New types of farm implements, mechanical rice driers and hullers, bicycles, trucks and bush taxis, diesel and electric pumps, movie projectors and transistor radios - all such revolutionary innovations require new skills for operating them and, even more important, for maintaining them in working order.

### *New skills*

The indigenous training systems by which traditional skills are passed from father to son, mother to daughter, or master craftsman to apprentice, are often not adequate to handle these new and more sophisticated skills. Hence they must be modified or supplemented by new skill training programmes." (10) This is the area where the pitfalls mentioned earlier must be avoided - the continued passing on of traditional skills which are declining in importance or which should now be changed to different, better ways, while new skills desperately needed for the development of the rural areas are ignored because there is no-one in the community who can teach a young person how to be a motor mechanic, etc. If a young man goes to the town for this instruction the chances are that he will not come back to the country. Sometimes old skills are used, while production is organised in a different way - for example, in a co-operative which creates an additional need for new skills such as book-keeping, control of stores, accounting, how to cope with suppliers and the government, how to market co-operative produce, etc. The need for measures to ensure that the teaching of new skills is introduced into the rural areas has already been mentioned. The possibility of finding people

### *Administrative needs*

*Training the  
trainers*

already skilled in these lines and inducing them to come and move in rural areas, taking on local young people as apprentices, could be investigated, but is perhaps rather unlikely. The alternative is to introduce people teaching these new skills into training centres, and ways of doing this should also be looked at. As with agricultural training, there is a need to investigate the training of the centre teachers themselves. Are they kept up to date with recent improvements on their own skills? Are the governing bodies of the centres well informed as to which new skills are needed in their locality in view of agricultural and other developments?

*Evaluation of  
training  
methods*

In fact, there is need for a complete new evaluation of training centres and traditional methods of passing on skills in the rural areas. Emphasis should always be placed upon ensuring that, wherever possible, training leads to an actual job opportunity. Is this more likely with the traditional method, and there does it depend upon whether the relationship between skilled worker and learner is informal or of a more formal, apprentice-type nature? If apprenticeship more often leads to a job at the end of training, what can be done to encourage more skilled workers to take on apprentices? With the advent of more rural industries, what can be done to see that these take on a fair share of trainees, not just skilled staff? Of course, if these industries are using new skills they will have to train their own staff. What could be done to encourage them to take on young people for this training? How can information about such openings best be communicated to the young people?

*Comparative  
studies*

Much information could be gained from surveys - national and international - of training centres, comparing the effectiveness of different arrangements, for example, residential versus non-residential, or specialising in either a single or several skills, etc.. What is being done to keep them in line with changing skill requirements in the rural areas? Are they fully informed of future developments in the area? What percentage of their trainees get jobs immediately upon leaving, or within a reasonable time after leaving, and if not, why not? Coombs and Ahmed (11) mention the

*Evaluation of  
training  
centres*

case of the Mobile Trade Training Schools set up in Thailand in the early 1960s. An evaluation of these schools carried out in 1971 found that just over half of the graduates interviewed had full - or part-time paid employment and fewer than half of these said that they were using the skills learned at the training schools. All training centres should be subject periodically to such evaluations. If skills learned are ones which would lead to self-employment but ex-trainees are found still not to be using their skills, then the reasons for this should be discovered. As with farming, the lack of initial capital could be an important factor; if so, what could be done by governments to ease this problem?

*Interdependence  
of rural work*

Although agricultural and non-agricultural training have been treated separately here, this is merely for heuristic convenience and their interdependence in real life must never be forgotten. Both are vitally important for overall rural development. Many rural families combine agricultural and non-agricultural work in flexible proportions and by means of flexible arrangements. The young farmer will never be able to 'modernise' successfully if he cannot get someone to repair any simple machinery or vehicles which he might be using- and much of the value of new crops will be lost to the countryside if they cannot be locally processed. Conversely, changes in agriculture - as for example the production of new crops to be processed - help to determine what non-farm skills are necessary in the rural areas. If the rural areas in general are often neglected in less developed countries, then within these areas this is even more true of the potential of non-farm skills and employment. There is need for much to be done to combat the situation described here. "Surveying the wider scene, we

*Non-farm skills  
neglected*

found a dearth of non-farm skill training programmes in rural areas in most developing countries. We also detected a strong inclination on the part of outside professional advisors to prescribe solutions for rural training needs that were strongly biased by their urban backgrounds and industrial training doctrines and standards. It seems doubtful that most of these solutions are appropriate for rural areas." (12)

## Urban Education and Training

*Primary  
schooling  
irrelevant*

Criticisms of systems of general education in less developed countries usually focus their attention upon the inapplicability of curricula for preparing youth for life in rural areas. However, in so far as primary education is geared towards entry into secondary education and beyond, and thus indirectly towards coveted jobs in the modern urban sector, it is also unsuited for the needs of the majority of urban youth. Only a very small percentage of these will be able to get jobs in this modern sector- the rest, if they manage to find work to do at all, will most probably take up some kind of activity in what has been described and analysed as the urban informal sector. (13)

*Out of school  
training*

Two kinds of out-of-school training can be distinguished in the towns, pre-vocational preparation for jobs and on-the-job training. The first category includes such things as post-primary or post-secondary instruction in secretarial schools and technical workshops, technical training during youth service or perhaps military service- pre-work training provided by commercial firms or voluntary organisations- correspondence courses. The second includes more or less informal apprenticeship training in low or intermediate productivity enterprises - for example: carpentry, mechanics, tailoring, building trades, printing and other crafts and small business; apprenticeships in high productivity enterprises in private or public industries or services and short-term and refresher courses for junior workers, extending or supplementing pre-vocational education and/or apprentice training. (14)

*Pre-vocational  
training*

The major problem with pre-vocational training is that there is usually no guarantee of a job for the trainee after completion of the course. For example, many young people may pay for typing course hoping that this skill may provide an opening into the modern sector, but there are far fewer jobs than there are trained young people and they are likely to go to those who have the highest level of general education. Moreover, the quality of the training may be poor or unsuitable for the jobs available. Thus, those least likely to get jobs are the young people who take something

*New approaches*

like a typing course after completion only of primary education. It is not easy to link such courses more closely to employment possibilities but several possibilities could be examined. Direct government control is one possibility, perhaps through a system of licensing of training establishment to see that only so many and no more courses are run, and also to enforce quality standards, or a more voluntaristic approach may be preferred. Would better information dissemination amongst young people, about their likelihood of getting a job, given certain types of training, be at all effective? This is rather doubtful given that the young people must be aware from friends and by observation of the unlikelihood of their getting a job in the modern sector. But even so they may still be determined to do everything possible to increase their individual chances, by taking typing courses, etc. and prefer to suffer periods of unemployment, at least for a while, rather than consider getting less well paid or less prestigious employment in the informal sector or return home if they are rural migrants. As with the problem of migration, where the major solution is thought to lie in enhancing the attraction of remaining in the rural areas, so perhaps with the modern/informal sector relations in the towns the best solution may be to enhance the opportunities in and attractiveness of working in the non-modern informal sector.

*Enhancing the informal sector*

One way of doing this would be to upgrade the on-the-job informal sector training. On-the-job training has the great advantage of a natural job at the end of training, and its development should therefore be encouraged, not only in the informal sector, where it is already the main method of training, but also within the modern sector. Implementing schemes within the government section to achieve this should be fairly straightforward, but it will be more difficult to persuade private concerns to co-operate. However, the possibility of government measures to ensure their cooperation should be investigated, either by offering subsidies or tax rebates or by imposing quotas for on-the-job training on all firms of larger size, including specifically foreign enterprises.

*The quality of informal sector training*

Within the informal sector the problem is one of increasing the quality of existing on-the-job training in order to improve the productivity of this sector and remove some of the unnecessary obstacles and restrictions now imposed. There are several ways in which this can be done. Firstly, the possibility of improving the skills of the master craftsman or small businessman taking on apprentices should be explored. The more skills the small producer has himself, the more he will impart to his apprentices. In a craft workshop this would include upgrading the actual craft skill: in all small enterprises it would entail teaching the basic skills of book-keeping, management, etc.. Preliminary surveys could be made to test the attitudes of the master craftsmen and businessmen to such schemes. They might well be affronted and hostile, in which case schemes would have to be drawn up to reach the young apprentices more directly - perhaps through day-release or evening classes. This would raise the problem though of getting teachers and buildings in which to hold these training sessions. Such practical considerations would also arise if the master craftsmen and businessmen were willing to have their own skills upgraded. How could they be trained? Would it be practical for them to take time off work to attend courses or would it be better to have an extension type service? If so, where would all the staff needed to run such a service come from? It might be easier and ultimately more effective to encourage self-help schemes amongst different businessmen and craftsmen with the more progressive helping and teaching those less so. There may, however, be too much mutual suspicion and competition for this approach to get very far, except in favourable circumstances.

*Involvement of craftsmen and businessmen*

*Refresher courses*

Once apprentices are trained there should be the option of refresher-type courses for them where they could be informed of ways of further improving or maintaining their skills. It might be found that lack of capital was preventing craftsmen and businessmen from expanding and therefore being able to take on more young apprentices. The government could undoubtedly help here. Government contracts for smaller firms could also be linked with a requirement to train apprentices.

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## 7. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

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*Rural development*      The youth employment problem, even if it appears as an urban phenomenon, must be seen to be rooted in the rural areas. Consequently, the main solution to the problem must be to increase the attractiveness of and the productive opportunities offered in, the rural areas. But this does not exclude the need for measures in the urban areas aimed predominantly at those youths who are truly born and bred town-dwellers.

*Agricultural improvement*      Within the rural areas all possible efforts must be directed to make agriculture more attractive and productive for the young farmer, whether he farms individually or as part of an organised group. Success will depend to a great extent upon the quality of agricultural training and extension (which should produce young farmers competent in farm management, book-keeping and marketing as well as the more traditional agricultural skills) and upon the availability of land and capital as well as more specific agricultural inputs. More research resources will have to be devoted to finding new ways of improving small farmer productivity, simple mechanization, better seeds, techniques etc. -

*Productivity*      and within this priority field special regard is needed for the requirements of young farmers. Wherever possible the young modernising farmer should be encouraged and helped to act as a catalytic agent, promoting better farming practice and organisation throughout the community as a whole. The effectiveness of the various forms of National Youth Service training in this direction should be evaluated and compared with the results of other methods, outside a National Service.

*Youth Service Schemes*      and within this priority field special regard is needed for the requirements of young farmers. Wherever possible the young modernising farmer should be encouraged and helped to act as a catalytic agent, promoting better farming practice and organisation throughout the community as a whole. The effectiveness of the various forms of National Youth Service training in this direction should be evaluated and compared with the results of other methods, outside a National Service.

*Non-agricultural activity*      Non-agricultural rural activities are also important. Productivity levels of young people learning traditional crafts and skills must also be raised, through an upgrading of their own and/or their employer-trainer's skills and through the dissemination of better knowledge of the principles of small business organisation and

management. A scheme for using secondary school leavers as catalytic agents to help small rural producers and traders deserves further exploration.

*Rural  
infrastructure*

Public works programmes to improve the infrastructure of the rural areas will create a need for new skills, e.g. mechanics to repair equipment used in public works or the vehicles using new roads, etc. Such infrastructure also provides opportunities for improving the acceptability and attractiveness of rural life for young people which should not be ignored.

*Upgrading  
the informal  
sector*

In the towns far more emphasis should be placed upon the opportunities for productive youth employment in the informal sector, and upon the raising of incomes in that sector as a whole in relation to the 'modern' sector. Skill development and training in small business management will once again be very important in opening up opportunities for young informal sector workers and as a viable alternative to the formal sector. A prime requisite for the development of this sector is seen to be a fairly fundamental change of outlook and policies on the part of governments, who at the moment tend to obstruct or ignore this sector.

The 'modern' sector employs, and is likely to employ in the foreseeable future, only a very small percentage of the labour force. Therefore the main task here is to try to maximise the intake of young workers through incentives for increased labour turnover where this is compatible with maintained or even enhanced productivity, and the setting up of more training opportunities for young workers, both on-the-job and in special courses.

*Employment  
of women  
and girls*

Finally there are two other considerations which apply in all sectors of the economy. The first is the need to pay special attention to the problem of young women and girls, who usually stand at a disadvantage to young men in terms of opportunities for productive employment. This is particularly important in agriculture, because of the important role that women have traditionally played in that sector; they must not be discriminated against in the movement to train modernising young farmers.

*Participation  
of youth*

The second consideration is the need to hear far more from the young people themselves upon all these issues that relate to them, to promote their participation in public life and to recognise and facilitate the role they can play in local and national planning.

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'Labour Turnover and Employment: Some Evidence From Kenya' International Labour Review Vol. 11, No.6, December 1974.

Early concern over excessive rates of labour turnover in Kenya and consequent attempts to stabilise the workforce have been replaced more recently by a situation of increasing shortage of urban employment opportunities for newcomers to the workforce as a result of low labour turnover. This reduced turnover may lower the average educational level of the labour force by keeping older people in their jobs while excluding the generally better educated younger generation with a higher skill potential. Labour turnover before and after independence in Kenya is briefly examined. Using the information gathered in a survey conducted in 1971 as part of the ILO/UNDP

Employment Mission, Labour turnover through time, in different areas and by age group is examined, as well as its possible causes. The policy implications of the decline in turnover rates are seen to include an ending of the need to offer high wage rates and other facilities to the industrial workforce, and the possible creation of incentive schemes to promote early retirement amongst the existing workforce. The need for wider collection and analysis of information on the causes, nature and extent of labour turnover in the modern sector in developing countries is pointed out.

**Ramanujam M.S.**

'Requirements of Technical Manpower in India  
Indian Economic Review Vol.VIII No.2 October 1973.

A brief article pointing out the problems of predicting future manpower requirements, and the biasing effects of many of the techniques which are often presently used.

**Richards P.J.**

'Job Mobility and Unemployment in the Ceylon  
Urban Labour Market'  
Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics  
Vol.35 No.1, February 1973.

An article on the urban labour market in Sri Lanka, demonstrating that the lack of voluntary labour mobility in certain sectors tends to inhibit the job searching efforts of new entrants and to concentrate unemployment amongst young workers and recent school-leavers. The employment preferences and attitudes of unemployed youth are examined, as are the factors which limit labour turnover, making use of the research results of a survey of 800 shop workers.

**Senftleben W.**

'Landerschliessungsprojekte für Jugendliche  
in Malaysia' Institut für Asienkunde,  
Hamburg Mitteilungen No.55, Hamburg, 1973.

A booklet on land reclamation projects for young workers in Malaysia. Includes descriptions of regional planning programmes and central government pilot projects, especially concerning the

cultivation of coconut trees for palm oil. The importance of youth land schemes for fighting unemployment is argued.

**Sheffield J.R. (ed)**

'Education, Employment and Rural Development.  
Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference  
1966, East African Publishing House, 1967.

Report of a meeting of academics, policy makers, administrators and representatives of aid agencies to examine the issues of education, employment and rural development in the context of contemporary Kenya. Various conference papers on these issues and conference conclusions which point out the need to concentrate the development effort on certain key growth points, aimed at getting the maximum return on the scarcest resource, whatever that is decided to be. Various specific recommendations are made in the three fields discussed.

**Srivastava R.K.**

'The Unemployment Problem with Special Reference to the Rural Sector' Marga, Colombo 1973.

An article on the employment problems in Sri Lanka with particular reference to unemployment among young workers in the agricultural sector. Attention is paid to the impact of demographic factors on unemployment and the occupational choices and aspirations of school leavers. A summary of some employment policy goals is given.

**Turnham D. & Jaeger I.**

'The Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries: A Review of the Evidence' O.E.C.D. Development Centre Studies, Employment Series No.1, Paris, 1971.

A description of the nature and ramifications of the employment problem in developing countries, gathering together as much empirical evidence as could be found. Topics looked at include: the labour force and the structure of employment in less developed countries; unemployment; income distribution; nutrition and working efficiency; and employment growth: trends and prospects.

## United Nations

'Participation of Women in the Economic and Social Development of Their Countries'  
Commission on the Status of Women, Report of the Secretary General, UN? New York, 1970.

An analysis of the replies of governments to a questionnaire on the role of women in the economic and social development of their countries. Questions cover the present role of women in this respect, areas where their role might be increased, women's contribution to the economic and social development of their countries. In most countries at present, replies revealed, women do not, by and large, enjoy equal status, and where they do participate actively in national life their level of responsibility is usually comparatively low. Although progress was seen to have been made in this direction, many obstacles still remain, such as traditional attitudes about the roles of men and women, male and female sectors of labour, lack of education and training for women, and lack of initiative on the part of women themselves. Female participation in higher level planning bodies is virtually non-existent. However, few countries had gone into the problem of effecting basic changes in the respective roles of men and women in modern society. It was noted that there seemed to be a tendency to count on measures to expand overall development and progress to lead automatically to greater participation of women in the development process and in the labour force of their countries.

## United Nations

'Report of the Interregional Seminar on National Youth Service Programmes' organised jointly by the United Nations, the ILO and the Government of Denmark -7-30 November 1968. UN, New York, 1969.

Seminar Report and consultants' papers. The purpose of the meeting was to review the experience gained so far in national youth service programmes and the part they play in promoting the participation of youth in national development. National youth service programmes are considered within the context of national youth policies, with particular

reference to their objectives and general principles, organisation and administration, programme content and relationship with national social and economic development.

#### UNICEF

'Wasted Asset: A Survey of Rural Youth in Two Indian Districts'

Indian Institute of Public Opinion, New Delhi 1973.

A report on the research results of a 1971 questionnaire survey of employment opportunity for rural youth in the 11 to 20 age group in two districts in India. Includes information on demographic aspects, the rate of educational development, drop-out and employment trends. Also upon the education and training courses offered to drop-outs, and the development of community services by young people.

#### Wood A.W.

'Informal Education and Development in Africa'  
Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1974.

A study concerned with the evaluation of programmes of out-of-school education and training for young people, particularly primary school leavers, in the 12 Commonwealth countries of Africa. An attempt to assess why such programmes have expanded so rapidly in recent years, comparing the methodology and effectiveness of different approaches, outlining common problems and solutions, and indicating future lines of development. The programmes of each of the twelve countries is considered in turn, followed by a synthesis of programmes and policies in relation to National Youth Services, low level vocational training, often related to settlement, and youth programmes of a mainly recreational nature. The general conclusion is that it is only through all-round rural development, coupled with various measures to bring equilibrium into urban and rural rewards, that young people will be motivated to learn new skills and apply them independently in rural situations.

Woods D.E.

'Youth and Youth Organisations in Ghana'  
Young Women's Christian Association of  
Ghana. Geneva 1973.

A booklet examining the situation of youth, including young workers in Ghana and describing existing youth organisations. There is a discussion of the access to education, the educational system, employment problems, housing and political participation, as well as an examination of the organisations related to religion, community development, vocational training, and leisure activities. A comprehensive youth policy is recommended.

## COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME

The purpose of the Programme is to promote the well-being and development of young people in the Commonwealth. Its objectives are:

- to encourage and support the active participation of young people in the process of national development;
- to give recognition to the contribution made by young people to the development of their society;
- to seek to eliminate unemployment and to alleviate its effects;
- to provide opportunities for increasing international understanding among young people;
- to promote and encourage any activities in furtherance of the foregoing objectives.

There are six main elements to the Programme:

### **Regional Centres for Advances Studies in Youth Work**

to provide opportunities for specialised training and research for workers in youth services and for youth leaders

### **Youth Service Awards**

to encourage and recognise at the national and Commonwealth levels outstanding contributions by young people to development and to enable them to travel to exchange ideas and techniques.

### **Applied Research**

through research fellowships enabling multi-national interdisciplinary groups to investigate youth problems

### **Study Fellowships and Bursaries**

to enable key workers in the youth field to attend training courses or make short study visits to other countries

### **Youth Information Service**

to assemble and disseminate information concerning youth and development in the Commonwealth

### **Support for Youth Programmes**

by making resources available to Commonwealth countries to involve young people in developmental activities.

## COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

### Youth Division Publications

#### ABOUT THE YOUTH PROGRAMME

Commonwealth Youth News - quarterly newsletter  
Commonwealth Youth Programme - descriptive brochure  
Memorandum of Understanding and Financial Regulations - member governments' official agreement on the Commonwealth Youth Programme  
Commonwealth Youth Service Awards Handbook

Information sheets on the Regional Centres for Youth Work, and on the Fellowships and Bursaries Scheme for Youth Personnel, are available on request.

#### YOUTH AND DEVELOPMENT SERIES

Youth and Development in Africa (1970) - out of print  
Youth and Development in the Caribbean (1971) - out of print  
Youth and Development in Asia and the Pacific (1971) - £1.00  
Youth and Development in Malta (1972) - £1.25  
Youth and Development in Cyprus (1972) - £1.25

#### YOUTH PROGRAMME PUBLICATIONS

Approaches to Employment Problems in Africa and Asia (1973) - £1.25  
Training and Social Development Programmes - a Directory of Facilities in Developing Commonwealth Countries (1974) - £1.00  
Evaluation of Social Development Programmes, with special reference to Youth Work (to be published shortly) - £1.00

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