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

*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 business-
men*

*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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