

CHAPTER 2

Youth Training Programmes in Rural Areas

Planning and Implementation

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

The location and structure of training programmes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

community as a whole.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Youth activities of a social nature

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

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

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

The role of the national youth services

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the training programme and the training establishment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Training and the generation of employment

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

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

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

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

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

Follow-up

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Settlement schemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Problems of youth settlements

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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