

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

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

# LOCATION OF PROJECTS



## K E Y

### The Gambia

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

### Sierra Leone

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

### Ghana

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

### Nigeria

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

### Uganda

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

### Kenya

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

Tanzania

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

Malawi

21. Malawi Young Pioneers (various).

Zambia

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

Botswana

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

Lesotho

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

Swaziland

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

## THE PROBLEM

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

1. What needs to be done to equip the primary school leaver to fit into the economy in appropriate sectors?
2. In what ways can the primary school leaver be fitted to contribute a larger return on the national investment in education?
3. How can the primary school leaver be helped to see a constructive future in society for himself?

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> D.F. Heisel "Demographic Trends and Educational Needs", paper for Conference on "Education, Employment and Rural Development", Kericho, Kenya, 1966.

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

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

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<sup>1</sup> Botswana, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>Callaway A. "Unemployment among School Leavers in an African City" I.I.E.P. Paris. May 1966.

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

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>Callaway defines "unemployment" in this particular context in the following terms:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Programmes examined can be divided into three categories:

1. the national youth services,
2. low level vocational training often related to resettlement,
3. youth programmes of a mainly recreational nature.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE PROGRAMMES

### 1. THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICES

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that after the first year M.Y.P. settlers receive no direct assistance from the organisation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (1) What balance should be maintained between theoretical and practical subjects?
- (2) To what extent should such courses include non-vocational subjects such as English, Mathematics, Book-keeping, "Development Studies"?

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup>c.f. the nutritional problems among "successful" rice farmers at Mwea-Tebere, Kenya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### (1) Structure

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

### (2) Returns

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

### (3) Indebtedness

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

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

#### (4) Preparation within training courses

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

#### (5) Supervision

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

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

#### (6) Leadership

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

#### (7) Social factors

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



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

#### (8) Dimension of projects

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

#### (9) Costs

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

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

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

#### (10) Location of Training

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

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

### 3. YOUTH PROGRAMMES OF A MAINLY RECREATIONAL NATURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### 4. COMPREHENSIVE VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT

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

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

## CONCLUSION

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

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

1. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Bathurst, The Gambia.
2. Social Welfare Department, Ministry of Education, Labour & Social Welfare, Administrative Building, Bedford Place, Bathurst, The Gambia.
3. The Executive Secretary, Boys' Society of Sierra Leone, P.O. Box 1223, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
4. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, New England, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
5. Njala University College, via Mano, Sierra Leone.
6. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Ministerial Buildings, George Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
7. National Organiser, Ghana Workers Brigade, P.O. Box 1853, Accra, Ghana.
8. Agricultural Settlements Division, P.O. Box M.37, Ministry Branch Post Office, Accra, Ghana.
9. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Ibadan, Nigeria.
10. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Jos, Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria. (for Benue-Plateau State only)
11. Christian Rural Advisory Council, P.O. Vom, via Jos, Benue-Plateau State, Nigeria.
12. Rural Development Director, Church of the Brethren Mission, Garkida, N.E. State, Nigeria.
13. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Culture and Community Development, P.O. Box 7136, Kampala, Uganda.

14. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture,  
Entebbe, Uganda.
15. Department of Rural Economy and Extension, Makerere  
University College, Kampala, Uganda.
16. The Director, Kenya National Youth Service Headquarters,  
P.O. Box 30397, Nairobi, Kenya.
17. National Christian Council of Kenya, P.O. Box 5009,  
Nairobi, Kenya.
18. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Social Services  
and Co-operatives, Nairobi, Kenya.
19. National Service Headquarters, P.O. Box 1694,  
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania..
20. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Food  
and Co-operatives, P.O. Box 9192, Dar-es-Salaam,  
Tanzania.
21. The Chairman, Ruvuma Development Association, P.O.  
Box 48, Songea, Tanzania.
22. National Adviser, Malawi Young Pioneers, National  
Headquarters, P.O. Box 694, Limbe, Malawi.
23. The Director, Zambia Youth Service, Church Road,  
P.O. Box 2251, Lusaka, Zambia.
24. Principal, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, P.O. Box  
1493, Kitwe, Zambia.
25. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development,  
Box R.W. 197, Lusaka, Zambia.
26. The Principal, Swaneng Hill School, P.O. Box 101,  
Serowe, Botswana.
27. The Warden, The Mochudi Centre, P.O. Box 208,  
Mochudi, Botswana.
28. The Commissioner of Community Development, Private  
Bag 6, Gaborone, Botswana.



29. The Commissioner of Community Development, Private Bag 6, Gaborone, Botswana.
30. Lesotho Association of Boys Clubs, Box 451, Maseru, Lesotho.
31. The Warden, Morija Mophato, Private Bag, Morija, Lesotho.
32. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Maseru, Lesotho.
33. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, Maseru, Lesotho.
34. The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Administration, P.O. Box 432, Mbabane, Swaziland.
35. Swaziland Agricultural College and University Centre, Luyengo, Malkerns, Swaziland.