

CHAPTER 2

Young People in Urban and Rural Areas

Young people in urban areas; their needs and appropriate youth activities

31. The main area of training needs in urban areas of the Caribbean region is vocational. Both young men and young women in these areas need specific skills if they are to be placed in employment, or engage in satisfying self-employment. Employment is one of the main means of counteracting the delinquency and demoralisation that are increasingly characteristic of the slum areas of the overcrowded cities. It is in these areas, where the effects of large-scale unemployment are most severely felt, that a compensatory strategy is most urgently needed to provide not only skills for which there may be employment demands but an understanding of what employment means, what employers expect and how the labour market operates. Youth programmes which will enable young people to have access to existing job opportunities are thus a fundamental need in the cities, especially in view of known scarcities of labour in certain skilled occupations particularly, for example, in the building industry and related trades such as plumbing, carpentry, electrical installations, etc.

32. Outside the modern sector of employment, there is an area of small-scale activity, which is perhaps contracting under the pressure of modern technological advance, but which is nevertheless still in existence in most of the region's cities. This is craft employment. Craftsmen in leather, metal or wood often produce distinctive and individualised goods for which an increasing market can be foreseen in the highly industrialised countries where public taste frequently turns away from mass-produced items. Employment opportunities also exist in service occupations such as vehicle maintenance, hairdressing, and photography. Food processing offers openings on a small scale.

33. It was strongly argued that there has been insufficient attention paid to these types of employment. If training and other means of development are directed at this basic level, providing an opportunity for improved business practices, advice on design and marketing, capital for better equipment (so enabling products to be improved in quality without destroying work places), then an expansion of employment opportunities and training possibilities for young people at this level is possible. With this aim in view, both governments and private industry throughout the region should be encouraged to contribute towards the development of the small businessman. Places in existing training establishments might be made available to the small firm's employees and the effects of their training assessed by observing them later in their working situation.

Social and vocational programmes

34. Young people in the cities are also at a disadvantage in terms of social and recreational facilities. Youth centres can provide only minimal opportunities for recreational activities, together with some facilities for coaching and improvement of skills. In the main, the training ground for young people in Caribbean cities is the streets. Many athletes and sportsmen of major standing have emerged, but such achievements have normally occurred despite the deficiencies of the existing system. Both governments and the private sector have tended to become involved to some degree in sports and recreational development generally. The seminar considered the example of the West Indies Sugar Company in Jamaica which offers training in cricket, football, volleyball and athletics. A need was seen, however, to develop activities which would depart from the traditional pattern of organised games and seek to make contact with the substantial numbers of young people, particularly girls, who are not attracted by such activities. A further need exists for the development of recreational activities which can take place after nightfall. Possibilities which might be further developed, and which would extend the range of interests of young people in cities, include drama, creative dancing, craftwork, music and singing.

35. The possibility was thus envisaged of youth centre programmes much wider in scope than has often been the case, offering a richer social and recreational programme but in addition making some contribution towards vocational training needs, particularly in those areas where employment opportunities are known to exist and where the special interests of young people lie.

For example, in the case of girls, courses in hairdressing and beauty care might be developed primarily as a recreational activity but could ultimately evolve along vocational lines. For boys, activities such as vehicle maintenance and repair could develop similarly. The special case was considered of the entertainment industry with particular reference to Trinidad and the steel band tradition. Interest in steel band membership among young people, particularly young men, is strong and opportunities for cash earning are considerable, especially when related to the tourist industry. Here again there is an opportunity for recreational activities to be devised within a youth centre departing to some degree from conventional patterns but making a contribution towards a solution of employment problems.

36. The needs of urban youth were also viewed from the viewpoint of socialisation. Because of parental and family background and the kind of society in which they live, many young people in the urban areas, particularly the overcrowded and economically depressed urban areas, are at a multiple disadvantage. By the time they reach adolescence their intellectual development may have been seriously impaired in comparison with other groups and their capacity for fitting in with the recognised norms of established society greatly diminished. Their ability to profit fully from educational opportunities or to find regular employment is thus limited. In these circumstances, there may be a case for including in youth programmes a distinct educational component which would supplement the social, recreational and vocational aspects of programmes by courses in citizenship, in responsible parenthood, in family planning, possibly even in political matters in the broadest sense. There must, however, be some doubt as to the effectiveness of such training in the case of young people who have been reared in slum conditions, with all the disabilities that this implies, and who continue to live in and be subjected to all the influences of these conditions. There is some evidence from Jamaican experience that it might be possible within a more intensive training situation than that provided by the non-residential youth centres to divert permanently the employment aspirations of urban youth away from the urban situation. Among the trainees in the Jamaican youth camps who have shown most enthusiasm for agricultural training are several of completely urban origin. Following their youth farming as a career. Not all young people are unwilling to leave the towns; given suitable training and follow-up, many can become usefully involved in rural work.

37. An important purpose of youth programmes in the cities is the bridging as far as possible of the rift between the privileged and underprivileged sections of the community. Frequently, it was felt, the more fortunate sections of the community, young and old, live in a way which does not bring them into contact with conditions of social and economic distress. Yet there are often reserves of goodwill and interest which could be usefully tapped. The National Volunteers programme in Jamaica, and the proposals for a similar organisation in Trinidad and Tobago, might provide valuable models upon which youth service to the disadvantaged sections of the community could be based.

38. At the other end of the spectrum, there is special concern over another problem which is becoming increasingly urgent in urban areas throughout the world, in the Caribbean no less than anywhere else. This is the question of unattached youth, the large number of young people who remain unresponsive to organised youth activities, preferring to stay away from existing centres and very often presenting the gravest social problems. Some of the reasons for this lack of response were considered: lack of activities or facilities in the most depressed areas; suspicions by parents and young people in these areas of any organisation that appears to be "official"; the impression that many youth programmes are designed exclusively for juveniles; a lack of self-confidence resulting from deprivation, and a consequent unwillingness even to take the initiative of joining an organised group; doubts over the social norms that some groups often seek to project. Problems also arise in relation to the ability of existing youth officers to deal with the unattached young people. Youth officers are frequently trained to operate in an institutionalised setting, and are in many cases heavily over-worked, often with largely administrative matters. Young people who are willing to participate present an easier problem than unattached youth. Youth workers are very often either unable to venture beyond their familiar working setting or, more frequently, reluctant to do so when this might mean greater frustration or even physical danger. The seminar saw the need for new approaches to work with unattached young people. These involve a direct initiative on the part of youth workers, who would seek out the unattached rather than waiting, usually in vain, for these young people to make contact with the established organisation. The difficulties and complexities of this type of work, requiring professional skills of a higher order than have been available so far, have important implications for youth work training in the region and for the deployment of youth workers by all the agencies involved. Experience in this type of work in the

region is limited as yet, and the importance was stressed of carefully documented experimental work so that experience can be shared among all interested agencies.

Programmes for young women

39. The lack of formal provision for youth is more acute generally in the case of young women. This results in part from the way in which youth programmes have developed in many Caribbean countries. They have tended to be heavily biased towards recreational activities and particularly towards group sports which naturally appeal more to young men. Many youth centres were indeed for a long time confined to young men. Even in those cases where this policy has been altered in recent years and a systematic attempt has been made to bring young women into the youth centres (as in many youth centres sponsored by the Jamaican Youth Development Agency) it has proved difficult in practice to attract girls into the centres and provide a programme with a sufficient range of activities to hold their interest. When planning youth programmes for young women, there is urgent need to include activities related to their potential role as future home makers. This is especially desirable in view of the established pattern of early motherhood. Activities such as home management, child care, cookery and nutrition, sex education and family planning might usefully be included in out-of-school education programmes for girls and could readily be based on urban youth centres if personnel and materials were provided. Such activities would not necessarily hold the interest of all the girls attending the centres nor attract the interest of those outside who might profit most from such courses. Additional activities, therefore, would have to be devised to fit in with the recreational interests of young women, for example, drama, popular outdoor sports, or dancing, as a means of arousing an interest upon which more specifically educational activities could be built. An opportunity should also be provided for young women to become aware of the broader problems of their society through courses which would put before them current development issues and the potential contribution of women towards their solution.

The young offender

40. Delinquency is not a problem exclusive to the cities, but the living conditions prevailing in many parts of the cities and the unemployment and high population density of these areas combine to make the problem of delinquency more acute there.

In recent years this problem has assumed major proportions in the larger metropolitan centres within the region and acquired particularly violent overtones. Public opinion throughout the region is strongly against the young criminal and too little consideration is given to the social and economic conditions which provoke anti-social conduct or to considering new policies of prevention. It is frequently held that the most appropriate treatment for a young urban offender is to detain him in a "place of correction" in the most remote rural location possible, despite the fact that after "correction" the young person will return to the the environment from which he originally came. Youth programmes will not in themselves solve deep-seated problems arising from the whole environment. Educational effort tends to be dissipated by the other factors weighing upon a young person. Nevertheless, involvement in urban youth programmes and association with young people who have not collided with the law might assist in the rehabilitation of the young offender. It might, therefore, be valuable for youth organisations to make contact with establishments for the young offender and initiate activities within these establishments in the hope that the interest aroused in the youngster will carry over after his release and contribute towards his rehabilitation. It is important that probation officers and others concerned with follow-up work with young offenders should be conscious of the possibilities afforded by youth service activities when devising programmes.

41. The need is urgent throughout the region to develop new approaches to work with young people out of school, particularly those from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds, in an effort to make earlier contact with the potential delinquent. Such new thinking is also required in work with young people who have contravened the law. It is of particular concern that in certain countries in the region juvenile offenders are still kept in corrective custody in the company of mature criminals and, even where institutions for young offenders have been established, there is in some cases still a predominant feeling that such establishments must be primarily punitive in their function. A greater understanding is generally needed of the social and economic background of much juvenile crime, and of guidance and counselling work as a means of identifying particular personal difficulties.

Young people in rural areas

42. The seminar recognised that in many Caribbean countries there is no clear distinction between urban and rural areas.

People often live outside the urban area yet earn their livelihoods within it. It is also possible to combine agricultural employment of a traditional sort with occasional employment in the modern wage-earning sector of the economy, in agriculture or industry. In other instances, the modern sector, in the form of hotels, has moved into areas that might be considered completely rural, thus bringing a range of influences to bear on the rural areas which might disturb traditional patterns of living. Throughout the rural areas the impact of the mass media is strongly felt, promoting a style of living that is essentially urban, and a sense that prosperity and a better life necessarily lies in the towns. The effect is steadily to undermine the young person's interest in and links with the rural community. This, combined with the prevalence of sub-economic land holdings of small farmers, low returns from farming, a low level of agricultural technology and an "inherited" distaste for farming, results in a general move away from the land by young people, an ageing agricultural population and an increasingly neglected national resource. This situation coincides with continued widespread urban unemployment. The seminar agreed, therefore, that means must be sought to interest young people in improved farming, thus both relieving employment pressures and contributing towards national commodity needs and export earnings.

43. At the same time it was recognised that it is not possible to solve this problem solely by the provision of training in agricultural skills. The Jamaican youth camps demonstrate the ineffectiveness of programmes which attempt to tackle the problem through training alone. These youth camps have done much by way of development and introduction of high-value crops suitable for cultivation by the small farmer, yet, no matter how efficient and imaginative the training programme may be, unless it forms part of an overall programme for the development of rural areas in terms of material facilities, social amenities and services to farmers, then the lure of the urban areas will not be counteracted. If, however, a young man can see beyond his agricultural training to a working situation where he will have access to a land-holding of economic size, where the application of his acquired knowledge will receive support through agricultural credit and loan systems for tools and equipment enabling him to breakaway from old-fashioned farming practices, and if the marketing of his produce is organised so as to give him a reasonable return for his efforts, then, in many Caribbean countries it might well be possible to involve substantial numbers of young people in farming and related activities.

The organisation and location of training

44. Two main possibilities for training were envisaged, training in specially built institutions (rural training centres, youth camps, farm institutes), or training on the job in actual work situations. Combinations of these were also thought feasible, as was a more effective use of existing facilities. The best form of training would depend on the particular activity being undertaken, the degree of sophistication of the course content, the level of technology employed, and the nature of the group of young people for whom the programme is designed.

(a) On the job training

45. Training in the work place or on the job has certain advantages. For both agricultural and industrial trainees it can be expected that learning on the job will have a greater realism since they are acquiring skills in the situation in which they are already employed or where they will eventually find employment. Such trainees are also more likely to enter the type of employment for which they are being prepared. In some countries the close link between training and working conditions may not be entirely an advantage since it reduces the likelihood of emigration. To be effective, training on the job must be carried out by competent trainers, whether farmers or artisans, who must themselves be given training. This should produce valuable side-effects in terms of an improved public image for farming or crafts through the introduction of improved equipment. As this occurs the programme becomes increasingly likely to attract and hold trainees. Training in the work place has social advantages also in that the young trainee retains his link with his own community and continues to be fully a part of it. He is unlikely to acquire exaggerated expectations of his prospective standard of living, and with them a belief that only in the towns can he find the quality of life that he is seeking.

46. It is important that parents, the local community and local leaders should be involved as closely as possible in training efforts within rural communities. This has a two-fold benefit. The trainee's participation in the programme is likely to be more effective if his parents understand and support it. Secondly, if the programme is concerned with new approaches to development, including new techniques and practices, then the closer the community is involved in the programme the more it can be expected that there will be valuable spill-over effects. In planning programmes the possibility should be considered of parents making a direct personal contribution, for example by providing materials,

facilities or services. Their identification with the programme will be consequently greater and the chances of success enhanced.

47. This type of working association also helps to establish local leaders, giving them the opportunity of making a personal contribution towards the development of their communities and their countries. In the Caribbean local leadership in the rural areas is often inadequate. People are hesitant to come forward and rarely feel that they themselves can achieve anything substantial. Parental and community involvement can thus be an important by-product of on the job training. In the region generally, examples of on the job training are not numerous, certainly not on a large scale. The work of the Guyana Co-operative Union's settlement and training programme falls largely within this category although it does also include a short institutionalised pre-settlement training element. Other examples examined by the seminar, although they are not exclusively concerned with young people, are the training programme in bay oil production sponsored by the Tropical Products Institute in Dominica and Grenada, and the Belvedere Settlement Scheme, also in Dominica.

48. The main advantage of this type of approach lies in the economy of cost. No expensive capital investment in training facilities is required, nor, in most cases, are residential facilities. On occasions, investment in training (including technically qualified and experienced trainers) will need to be supplemented by the purchase of land, so that an identification between the employment envisaged and the training course may be evident from the beginning. Cost comparisons between institutional and non-institutional training are not always a simple matter of calculating the value of investments in each case.

(b) Institutionalised training

49. Institutionalised training has its own advantages. Where new skills or techniques (new agricultural methods or new crops) are to be introduced into a rural community training cannot be based upon the development of existing skills. In some cases there may be no existing community upon which to base a training programme. The training institution in these circumstances becomes a developmental agency opening up new land. It may eventually become the focal point around which a new community develops, as its trainees complete their courses or new settlers enter the area, willing to be pioneers but seeking nevertheless some contact with governmental services. The experience of Guyana's Tumatumari Camp in a recently opened area of the

interior illustrates this situation.

50. Institutional training may also be essential when the immediate environment is especially hostile or demanding. Physical problems alone may make necessary a consolidated training establishment. An example of this may be found in the long-established project of Chestervale Camp in Jamaica, where agricultural activities have had to be developed in the most challenging circumstances of the Jamaican Blue Mountains. Or again, the skills which the programme may seek to introduce may require plant and materials which are particularly costly and which therefore it is only feasible to provide through an institution. Finally, in cases where trainees suffer extreme social disadvantages a training institution may be necessary in order to provide a substitute social environment to reinforce the skills training programme and compensate in some degree for deprivation.

51. It was recognised that such training establishments can never replicate fully the conditions in which the trainee will have to work. Nevertheless it is important for such establishments to try to create a training environment in which conditions approximate as closely as possible to real life. Close links should be established as a matter of policy between the training institution and the surrounding community so that trainees are constantly kept aware of the real situation in the community in which they will work and begin to recognise how improvements might be brought about. In order to achieve realism in the training environment, it is important to avoid expensive buildings (both for living and for instruction) and other costly equipment such as machinery outside the young farmer's price range. A tendency was observed in some situations for those who lay down policy for youth training at the highest levels to overlook the fact that there is a relationship between the appropriateness of training and the material conditions of the training establishment.

52. A special asset of the institutional approach is that it enables instructors and teachers to work most efficiently with the young people with whom they are brought into contact. Institutional training, however, is prone to give rise to a traditional teaching situation, concentrating on theory at the expense of communicating practical skills. On the other hand, the classroom has practical advantages for non-vocational, general education and motivational courses.

53. A youth training establishment in a rural community can provide a valuable base for other activities for the benefit of the community as a whole, meeting the need for social, recreational and adult education facilities.

54. Many countries facing the problem of equipping young people of equipping young people for work in rural development and involving them in a practical way, have found useful a combination of approaches. In the case of young farmer training, primary training might be carried out on the land, whilst secondary training in the form of specialised short courses on particular topics might be provided in institutions. These would thus build upon and enrich initial training on the job and lead to the progressive introduction of a higher order of skills. Such secondary courses may also include activities ancillary to agriculture, for example, marketing, business management, accounts, or the provision of motivation. They also provide an opportunity for social and cultural activities.

55. The seminar considered that the fullest use should be made of existing institutions whether or not these are primarily intended for training. Some institutions, for example community centres or youth centres, have already accepted this extended role and are engaged in the provision of training. More could probably be achieved by a more imaginative use of existing facilities. The example was examined in Trinidad of a proposed project for the adaptation of abandoned railway stations for use as community centres. Similar ventures might be possible elsewhere where economic patterns are changing.

Content of training courses; vocational and non-vocational.

56. In considering the content of courses, it was generally agreed that a balance should be found between vocational and non-vocational elements. Emphasis on vocational to the exclusion of other aspects would neglect an important responsibility of programmes for the development of the individual personality and the equipping of socially disadvantaged young people from rural areas with attitudes and knowledge conducive to the modernisation of rural communities. Rurally based training courses cannot at present guarantee their students employment in farming or associated rural industry. It is necessary, therefore, to include in courses general elements which will assist a young person to obtain employment outside the rural areas, or outside the specific vocation for which he is trained.

57. Whilst recognising the importance of including non-vocational elements in training activities, cost factors will limit the extent to which these can be provided, particularly if out-of-school programmes are designed primarily to relate to the employment situation. Practical training can include the promotion in

the trainee of sound work habits and attitudes which are crucial components in any training programme. These do not have to be taught formally in a traditional classroom situation. Nor is character building dependent on theoretical instruction. It can derive from direct involvement in work situations, the management of productive activities, the organisation of productive work and community service activities. In general, if more self-reliance is to be promoted in rural youth in the Caribbean, a greater measure of responsibility should be placed upon them in all aspects of youth work. Too often governmental and non-governmental agencies have acted on behalf of youth, with the consequence that attitudes of dependence have been created and there is insufficient acceptance of what young people can do for themselves.

58. Vocational components in training programmes can stimulate trainees towards carrying out activities which reduce costs. Teachers, instructors and planners tend to overlook cost factors and assume that "budgetary provision will be made". An important product of non-vocational courses is an awareness of the cost factor and of the related obligations on everybody involved in youth work to keep costs down so that programmes can extend their coverage as widely as possible. The foundation of positive motivation towards development, not yet a common characteristic among most young people in the Caribbean, depends on a clear understanding of economic and social realities, of potentialities and deficiencies, particularly in the rural context, and on the possible contribution of young people in promoting change. Appropriate non-vocational elements should, therefore, be an essential part of all youth training and leadership training programmes, especially in the rural areas where morale is frequently very low.

Rural youth programmes and rural employment

59. The background to the operation of many programmes for rural youth is not so much unavoidable unemployment, as in urban areas, but an antipathy to traditional rural employment and a reluctance to consider how traditional occupations might develop within the rural environment. The seminar believed that, subject to certain conditions, it would be possible to plan and execute rural-based training programmes to tackle the problem of negative attitudes and provide a practical training in techniques for developing the employment potential in rural areas.

60. In the agricultural sector, which in the main still affords

most possibilities, the availability of land to trainees subsequent to their training is the crucial factor. In the Caribbean region generally there is comparatively little unallocated land still available. In many territories, however, more land might become available if measures were implemented for the full and effective use of existing land and if these measures were related to a system for the redistribution of land to allow for more intensive land use. Several governments are planning for action towards this end. Even in the smaller and more densely populated islands land at present under-used might become available for wider distribution. Action along these lines is an essential pre-requisite for the development of successful agricultural training programmes affecting large numbers of young people. Given these measures, the possibility could be investigated of the introduction of high-earning crops suitable for cultivation on a small scale, exploiting the favourable climatic conditions and the growing luxury market in the region, and making full use of constantly improving communications with overseas markets. Small-scale experiments with crops such as iceberg lettuce, mushrooms and peaches by the Jamaican Youth Camps indicate the way ahead. More basically, there are growing food needs within the region in essential foodstuffs which have at present to be imported, often from the U.S.A. Here, too, is an opportunity for the modernising young farmer to move ahead.

61. While agricultural development with appropriate training and back-up measures can offer productive employment opportunities, the rural areas might also afford opportunities in small-scale industries, related for the most part to the particular agricultural resources in the area. Examples are oil extraction from copra, soap and cosmetics manufacture, canning, preserving and food processing generally. Diversification could also be extended into small-scale production less closely related to agriculture but still drawing on local resources in terms of skills, design ideas and materials, for example carving and woodwork, ceramics, leatherwork and garment manufacture, all related in some measure to luxury requirements. Many of these activities can also serve local needs, for example, furniture manufacture, the tailoring of school uniforms, or vehicle maintenance and repairs.

62. It was recognised that increasing and diversifying agricultural production and developing further small-scale rural industry depend largely on the establishment of reliable markets both overseas and at home. The process of diversification might to some extent stimulate local demand, provided that governments

act to encourage greater consumption of local goods rather than imports. This might mean tariff protection in some cases. Export promotion requires effective marketing organisations to bring maximum benefit to the producer. It also depends on special advantages in skills, quality and cost-competitiveness, particularly labour costs. The Caribbean region already possesses some of these advantages. Training programmes should seek to identify and develop these and rectify the deficiencies.

63. The need to promote maximum employment opportunities in rural areas implies the use of labour intensive methods, both in agriculture and small industries. Such approaches would result in wage levels rather lower than those in the modern sector to which young people aspire and would demand of young people a high sense of dedication and motivation. This raises some questions about wage levels in the modern sector and whether sacrifices on the part of the more fortunate members of the community might not help to minimise the effect of social divisions and consequent dissatisfactions.

Follow-up

64. All training programmes should establish clear objectives from the start. Follow-up procedures should be organised to ascertain how far the objectives are being attained and indicate how programmes might be improved. Follow-up is an essential part of a continuing training process.

65. A fundamental factor in the attainment of the objectives is the emergence of strong and independent local leadership capable of giving the support which would otherwise have to be provided by the training organisation. During training programmes and in the early follow-up phase it is important to identify leaders. When possible, special training courses should be organised for them.

66. The divided nature of extension services is a special weakness. It was argued that all agencies coming into contact with rural training programmes, and the young people trained under these programmes, should work together with a common strategy, combining their various special skills. Extension workers should normally possess a wide range of skills and not be excessively specialised. Training of such personnel might be appropriately carried out in multi-purpose centres, rather than in centres specialising in one particular aspect, for example

health, agriculture or social work. Extension personnel engaged on follow-up work would then be expected to have some knowledge of particular skills as well as an awareness of community needs and how to set about meeting them. Follow-up activities should take into account the importance of enriching rural society through the development and improvement of social and recreational facilities, so helping to bridge the gap between rural and urban conditions.

Settlement schemes

67. Settlement schemes are not necessarily the most effective or appropriate form of follow-up to rural training programmes, although they can make an important contribution in some situations. Guyana, with its vast areas of undeveloped land, might benefit from such schemes, although, because of the size of the developmental task there, it is questionable whether settlement schemes along the formalised and highly directed lines that have operated in some parts of the region would be appropriate.

68. In general, rural youth training programmes from the beginning should be related as precisely as possible to the ultimate employment end. Settlement schemes might be one such end, but programmes can also produce young people for life and work elsewhere than in settlements. One possibility is the systematic placement of trained young people in stagnant rural areas to work with the adult community and seek to promote change in agriculture and in other ways.

69. A further possibility is for rural youth training programmes to produce a cadre of sub-professional youth and community workers operating at village level and reinforcing the established structure of social work and social welfare. In effect this would be 'settlement' within existing communities. Experiments along these lines have been conducted in various parts of the world, in most developed and in developing countries, but not as yet in the Caribbean region. The explanation lies not so much in the lack of need for this type of work as in the lack of imaginative structures through which young people can work and in the chronic problem of adverse attitudes towards the rural areas.

70. Various problems inhibiting the development of settlement schemes in the Caribbean region were examined. First, close governmental supervision and high capital costs in terms of infrastructure, training, land purchase and preparation, mean that only a small proportion of those young people who might be trained

for settlement can in fact be recruited. Secondly, there are certain doubts on the socio-economic consequences of settlement schemes, particularly if they are composed largely of young people. The highly capitalised schemes tend to produce a new stratum in already excessively stratified societies where class differences are known causes of friction. Again, young people, particularly when facing severe development tasks, can benefit from the mature leadership which adults can provide. Finally, settlement schemes aimed at young people have sometimes been set up without fully recognising the intensity of the resistance to agriculture, particularly on the part of those who have advanced comparatively far in formal education. The result is a reluctance to participate on the part of those young people for whom the scheme was intended.

The employment situation

71. The employment situation in the Caribbean forms the essential background to all youth work, and must be taken into account when formulating policies for youth, whether already out of school, or about to leave school. In practice this means that existing organisations and institutions working with young people should, on the one hand, understand and inform young people of available employment opportunities and, on the other, equip them as far as possible to make the most of these opportunities. This implies more efficient vocational guidance in the schemes, so that on leaving the young person is under no illusion about what the employment market offers. It requires also that youth centres should accept a positive role in relation to the facts of the employment situation by including in their programmes provision for some skills training, as a preparation for further training on the job or in a suitable vocational training establishment.

72. The overall employment situation in the region, shows that, while jobs are very limited within the existing wage paid structure, there are certain known areas of opportunity. It is important, therefore, in shaping a national youth employment policy that there should be the clearest appreciation by young people of where these opportunities lie. Possibilities include the building and catering industries and service occupations such as domestic work, auxiliary nursing or craftwork. Young people are often aware of possibilities in this type of employment but are not attracted towards them because of traditional aversions. Youth programmes should accept the responsibility of tackling these prejudices at their root. One possible approach to induce different attitudes is through self-interest. Training girls in

home economics in Barbados has proved successful because of the possibility of subsequent emigration to North America as skilled workers. A new venture in the Jamaican youth camps programme has been to launch training programmes for hotel workers in conjunction with hotels in the neighbourhood of the particular camp. Employment is guaranteed to all trainees by the hotels concerned and the trainees gain in prestige from involvement in the luxury atmosphere of the Jamaican North Coast. Camp policy is to ensure that these trainees play their part in the social and ceremonial activities of the camp so that other trainees can clearly appreciate the outward manifestations of their fellow-campers' material good fortune. Motivation towards certain categories of employment therefore, may be achieved through the urge to share in material prosperity.

73. Additionally, the possibility might be explored, as in other countries, of systematically motivating young people through youth programmes towards specific types of employment which are seen to be both in the national interest and satisfying in themselves. There may be some doubt over what can be regarded as an authoritarian approach, and one which might be received unsympathetically by highly individualistic young people in the Caribbean. Yet educational efforts of this sort have been successfully made in countries which are in no way less democratic. The essential prerequisite is a series of agreed national goals, understandable and sympathetic to young people, with which they can positively identify. Once these goals are established, youth activities can be set up to increase understanding of them and provide whatever technical skills are necessary to assist in their attainment. Experimental work along these lines is already in progress in Guyana with the establishment of a Co-operative Republic and the definitions of the principles of Co-operation as the national ideal. The settlement activities of the Guyana Co-operative Union depend largely upon young people in their aim of developing the interior primarily through agriculture. The Union is already achieving positive gains in motivating and training its participants for an agricultural and co-operative way of life very different from the traditional life of their people.

Training and employment

74. There is a widespread tendency to consider training as an end in itself, and frequently, when training structures are set up, there is little or no consideration given to subsequent employment. There is a widespread belief that unemployment among young people and its socially disruptive by-products will somehow

disappear if "training" is provided. In fact very often training structures set up to relieve the effects of large-scale unemployment merely act as reservoirs which contain labour surpluses for a time and offer a nominal training not necessarily related to real employment possibilities. With the completion of the stipulated training period the dangers of large-scale youth unemployment will be augmented by the release on to hard-pressed labour markets of a further batch of unemployables.

75. Training in itself solves no problems. It can be effective only if it enables young people

- to fit into existing job openings
- create new job openings, or
- profit from job openings elsewhere.

76. In these circumstances, the seminar believed that on the whole there should be more skills training, and more varied skills training, throughout the region to enable young people to adjust to employment in any of the three ways listed. Despite fairly comprehensive training structures in the larger territories, there are still particular shortages in certain categories of employment. The case was noted of nurses in Jamaica. Since 1962, more nurses had been trained than the island requires but current shortages of trained nurses caused by emigration had made necessary the introduction into the hospitals of a new category of nursing auxiliaries. Similar situations exist in Trinidad and Tobago and in the Windward Islands. Shortfalls were also noted in other professions and in certain categories of artisans such as builders, in places where rapid hotel development is in progress.

77. Throughout the region there has been insufficient careful analysis of the detailed employment structure to enable training programmes to be shaped to meet requirements. Inadequate assessment of actual training requirements has resulted in some overtraining. The example was cited from St. Lucia where a hotel and catering training course at middle management level has been built into the newly established vocational training centre in Castries, although the immediate need as far as the hotels are concerned is for people with the basic skills for elementary hotel services. As a result, the Hotels Association on its own initiative established a basic training programme which will provide employment for all who complete the course satisfactorily. Over-training frequently means that the ex-trainee regards himself as too well qualified for whatever employment may be available

locally. His problem, he feels, can be solved by emigration. Although this may relieve the region of surplus population, it does little to satisfy proved needs in various technical fields.

78. There are special problems relating to agricultural employment. The inherited resistance to farming is such that it can probably be overcome only by building up a new public image of the farmer. This means high capitalisation and expensive supporting services. Schemes which have sought to change the image of the farmer and to train young people for modernised farming have been tried in various parts of the region but have generally been so costly both in finance and in supervisory manpower that the numbers affected are very small.

79. Many young people will, however reluctantly, return to the land, and special youth training programmes should seek to reach large numbers of these young people. In this connection, the achievements of the Jamaican 4H movement are particularly noteworthy. It reaches over 25,000 young people in rural areas, providing both an opportunity for building up their farming skills and enriching their social and recreational activities.

80. Another possibility which merits further investigation is that of increasing cash earnings on even small acreages. Experimental crops such as mushrooms, peaches, iceberg lettuce, grown in the Jamaican youth camps, have shown that good financial rewards can be achieved particularly when there is access to luxury markets such as are afforded in most Caribbean countries by the hotels. In a number of areas these hotels at present must import fruit and vegetables often from as far afield as the United States. This situation offers excellent opportunities for cash earning by the small farmer, provided that the necessary ideas are put before him, the necessary skills and supporting services supplied and the necessary marketing facilities arranged. Many of these possible activities afford opportunities for rural-based youth activities. A definite commitment by governments towards the development of the rural areas and improvement of the situation of rural people, and practical measures to back up this commitment, are essential to the success of programmes designed to train young people for life in the rural areas.

81. Another factor affecting the youth employment situation is the advancement of the small tradesman and artisan. Many such operate throughout the region and might, if suitably supported and advised, create new employment openings for young people. This is especially important in the case of those occupations with

a specific craft content in view of the unfulfilled demand by the tourist trade for distinctive Caribbean goods. The future prospects for craft employment related to the tourist industry, with its high-earning potential, are good, and youth programmes (and the schools) should seek to stimulate in young people an interest in artistic and craft work which might afford productive employment in future.

82. The small rural-based artisan presents different problems. He is frequently competing at an increasing disadvantage with more modern industry based elsewhere, either in the urban areas of the individual territories or outside the region altogether. If small industry is accepted as worth developing as a source of increased youth employment, it might be necessary for governments to intervene directly both by providing supporting services (as is already happening to some extent) and by protecting the small businessman. Protection may be afforded either by tariffs (which will encourage import substitution), or by the specific allocation of certain kinds of production to small rural-based industries, even at the cost of price variations.

Training objectives

83. The seminar advocated an emergency strategy for youth training related to the facts of the employment situation and embracing various areas of governmental action which had often in the past operated in isolation from each other. In most of the countries thorough surveys are required of present and projected manpower needs. These would provide targets for training programmes. There is a similar need for careful analysis of the skill content of the different categories of employment that might be available, so training courses may be shaped to meet differing requirements. Frequently, it was felt, training establishments within the region do not consider carefully enough those categories of employment with modest training requirements for which elaborate and costly facilities might not be necessary.

84. The identification of existing opportunities for employment and the establishment of training facilities to equip young people with the necessary skills and attitudes to capitalise on these opportunities are only part of the necessary provision. In addition the need remains to look further into the various national economic structures and consider how maximum employment can be promoted, how training programmes should be formulated so as to generate particular skills and at the same time generate new employment. The mat-making industry in Dominica is an example

of the exploitation of marketable skills related to a locally available material and supported by the sponsoring programme's organisation of the production and marketing operations. In Dominica, where wood is available locally in abundance, developments are planned in wood carving. In this instance, proposals are being considered for the importation of carvers from Haiti, where these skills are already well established, and the institution of a combined training and production operation. The non-indigenous trainers will eventually be phased out as the indigenous business operation develops.

85. There is a general need to ensure as far as possible that development projects offer the maximum opportunities for employment. Too often in the Caribbean there is an unquestioning acceptance of the need for any developmental or commercial operation to make use of the highest level of technology in its operations. The reasons usually given for this are either the close proximity of the U.S.A. and the inevitable influence of American ideas in this respect, or the power of the trade unions which insist on maintaining wage rates at a level which necessarily encourages employers to think in terms of substituting machines for men. The seminar thought it crucial that within each country there should be devised and accepted a wages policy appropriate to situations where employable labour is abundant and where jobs are scarce. Labour intensity should then be a general principle governing the objectives and content of training.

86. An additional element in this argument relates to public taste, particularly in consumer items. Here, it was argued, the mass media tend very often to promote an interest in habits of consumption based on those in highly developed economies, so creating a demand for imported goods. It must be emphasised that import substitution through maximised local production would play an important role, and a fundamental objective within such a strategy should be the promotion of locally manufactured goods. "Buy Local" campaigns and the careful redirection of consumer demands through the mass media should be designed to this end.

87. Another essential aspect of training programmes is motivation, whether in programmes for young people in rural work or pre-industrial training programmes for urban youth aiming to give them the attitudes, discipline and familiarity with materials and tools needed to adjust successfully to industrial employment and training. There is also the need to build into programmes with a primarily vocational purpose some more general educational elements relating to the cultural situation or showing how the

project fits into the development plan as a whole. An understanding of his relationship to his society, his government and its plans and policies might help to reinforce the enthusiasm of the trainee for the particular programme in which he is involved.