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Youth Skills Training as a Strategy for Rural Employment in Zimbabwe: A Case Study

DANIEL P KASAMBIRA ⁺

ABSTRACT

This article attempts to assess the role of Youth Training Centres in Zimbabwe by reference to observation and investigation ('case studies') of two training centres, one a government training centre established since Independence and one a nongovernment training centre established prior to Independence. This article compares the two centres on the basis of history, geographical situation, level of educational requirement for entry, programme content and flexibility, and employment creating ability, amongst several variables. Some attention is paid to the need to train for rural development and to the concept of education with production and how these concepts have been translated practically in these centres.

The discussion on the two centres is used to point to some potential policy implications for training and education and focuses on the need for collaboration, coordination and cooperation between the public and private youth training centres. The author ends on a note of optimism born out of the recognition of the problem of youth unemployment and training needs in Zimbabwe and the attempts to deal with these problems.

Introduction

Much national attention and concern is being generated over the issue of youth unemployment. As high unemployment rates sweep the nation it seems appropriate to assess the role of youth training centres, highlighting current trends and underlying issues vis-a-vis skills training for youth.

This is only a case study of two youth training centres; one public and one non-governmental, at one particular point in time. Therefore, its empirical base is very narrow - one out of 13 government youth training centres and also one among numerous non-government ones. The two training centres were selected on the basis of (1) willingness to share normally unavailable information and insights; (2) logistics of convenience and practically in the

⁺ Associate Professor of Sociology and Social Work, Mansfield University, Mansfield, Pennsylvania 16933, USA.

case of Magamba; (3) national reputation in the case of Driefontein; (4) favourable recommendations; (5) type of sponsorship; (6) potential ease of comparison; (7) programme focus, notwithstanding specifics and idiosyncrasies.

In order to obtain accurate data and gain an understanding of the dynamics of the two selected youth training centres, the author utilised on-site observation and investigation including such documentation as existed, over a six-month period. Among the major findings of the study are structural, organisational, and operational differences, positive and/or negative aspects of the programmes responsible for the apparent success or lack of it, strengths and weaknesses of each programme and possible planning and policy implications.

This study makes no pretense of being exhaustive either in topics or in references. Only findings that, in the author's view, are supported by reliable sources and investigative data have been included.

Almost immediately after gaining independence in April 1980, the Government embarked on a programme to establish a network of youth centres through the country. These were residential work training programmes focused chiefly on rural youth and work in rural areas. They were organised primarily for the unschooled youth where literacy and trade skills could be learned, providing unemployed youth with skills needed in the locality.

In reply to one Member of Parliament's question to the Minister of Youth, Sports and Culture regarding the activities being carried out at Youth Camps, which were previously viable agricultural enterprises, the Deputy Minister, Mr Midzi, had this to say:

“These are skills-training institutions or centres at the farm. Basically, these training institutions are used to train and equip youth with practical skills which enable them to effectively participate in rural development programmes such as co-operatives of various types and other self-reliant projects. There is a wide range of skills taught which include, for your information, agriculture, building, home economics, weaving, typing, bookkeeping, accounts and office practice. The training programmes undertaken on these farms which are now turned into training centres is very practical-oriented or based so that trainees also do a lot of production as part and parcel of their training; hence the farms are still viable production centres over and above their primary function as training institutions.”

Of late, much has been said on the concept of education with production. In trying to modify the direct linkage or correlation between education and employment, the Government is calling into question the wisdom and

appropriateness of a massive quantitative expansion of the educational system, especially at the primary level, that fails to provide practical skills, crucial in the world of work. Until recently, formal education had become what Todaro (1982) calls the 'the rationing tunnel through which all prospective job-seekers and/or holders must pass.' There is clear evidence that many current efforts on the part of the Ministry of Education are being directed towards an educational system and content that improves and equips Zimbabwean youths for living. In the 'People's Weekly' (1985) it was stated that the education system, under ZANU (PF), will aim to raise the ideological consciousness of the people in the political, social, cultural and economic spheres. Technical subjects will become the core around which academic subjects revolve to meet the needs of industrialisation. This will apply from the primary level upwards.

In January 1981, at the initiative of the Minister of Education, Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with production (ZIMFEP) was established with the following mandate:

“to resettle the thousands of former refugee children who had been studying in camps in Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia during the liberation struggle and at the same time to transform the colonial education system which Zimbabwe inherited at independence.”

A prevailing notion seems to exist that the new is created, not out of the old, not out of the best of the old, but out of the death of the old. ZIMFEP was given the crucial task of pioneering educational experiments that would overcome the division between theory and practice, mental and manual labour, academic and practical subjects. The new approach links schooling to real life and to the needs of the society and became known as 'education with production'. ZIMFEP views co-operatives as one of the major sources of job creation and has encouraged schools to set up co-operative projects and to teach co-operative principles.

In terms of technical services, ZIMFEP has launched a new programme which assists in upgrading the practical subjects such as building, woodwork, metal work, agriculture, home economics and farm mechanics taught at the schools, set up production units at schools and provide further training to school leavers. In May 1984 Dr Mutumbuka stated: “it is absolutely a matter of life and death that these skills needed for the development of Zimbabwe become part and parcel of the school curriculum.” The Prime Minister concurred when he stated at Glen Norah School, “... a country brimful of theorists without manual workers is headed for self-destruction. This is a bankrupt policy which is headed to starvation amidst a wealth of untapped resources.” It was reported in **Moto** (1985) that the current content of

education is considered to be irrelevant for development because it does not equip students with skills for self-employment, but gives them only basic literacy skills.

Rural training centres have been established to provide needed vocational skills for youth. So far, it has been reported that 13 of these youth centres are operational nationwide. About 75 to 80 per cent of the course work is practical with only a minimum of theory. The idea behind the training is to equip the young people with basic technology and skills which will enable them to either go back into their rural communities as better farmers, or to start agricultural co-operatives of their own.

Useful practical suggestions regarding the training schemes were submitted by Brand et al (1980) in the document entitled **Zimbabwe Youth Services: Some Proposals**. The group suggested that the training schemes launched should be closely related to employment opportunities. The employment opportunities will either be existing already or they might have to be created within the rural areas. The training programme should be structured in such a way that some of its graduates would be able to create self-employment projects.

The basic assumption in conceptualising vocational training is that the curriculum developed and offered responds to the skills needs of the rural youth, rural community and the nation at large. Much has been said and written regarding the concept of appropriate technology. Technology can only be deemed appropriate in the context of some predetermined goals and objectives that are provided or generally accepted as the direction of beneficial change and utility. The following two case studies highlight some typical aspects of how the Zimbabwe government, through the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, and other non-governmental organisations are attempting to equip rural youth with the appropriate technologies and skills for use in the rural areas of Zimbabwe.

Magamba Youth Training Centre

Shortly after independence, the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture opened several youth training centres in an attempt to cater for and accommodate the thousands of young people who had been displaced by the war of liberation and to see to it that they were trained and somehow gainfully employed. Situated about 20 kilometres from the Mutare city centre is the Magamba Training Centre personally visited by the author for on-site investigative and observational study. Magamba, with a population of 288 trainees, 59 of whom are girls, had a very humble beginning indeed in terms of physical facilities. After three year of existence, it now boasts a new campus comprising dormitories, classrooms, workshops and administration building and dining and cooking facilities.

Programme

The youth who undergo training at Magamba as well as the other twelve training centres all over the country are Youth Brigade members chosen by their districts. Applications are submitted through the district Ministry of Youth office to the provincial councils and finally to the head office in Harare. The head office then allocates the trainees on the basis of expressed self-interest and the availability of vacancies. Entry qualifications into the two-year programme reveal diverse backgrounds of academic achievement. The Principal of the centre explained that so far intakes have been restricted to those applicants with little or no formal education. These, admittedly, happen to be the most disadvantaged and lack ways and means for self-improvement. Upon entry into the programme, the trainees are divided into two categories by education, those from grades 0-7 and those from form 2 to 4. This separation is intended to facilitate communication and instruction. For those trainees who do not speak or understand English, classes and lectures are held in the vernacular and examinations are administered orally for those who are illiterate or functionally literate. Skills are taught with a practical bias. The graduates are not specialists but practicalists. In order to achieve this goal, about 75 per cent of the course work is practical with the rest devoted to theory related to the practical thrust.

Courses offered at Magamba include, among others, agriculture and physical education both of which are compulsory to all. The rationale for making agriculture compulsory has to do with agriculture being the main occupation in the rural areas from which the trainees come and to which, it is hoped, they will return to settle upon the completion of their training. In view of the government's resettlement scheme, utilising what one would describe as 'land without men for men without land,' the graduates will go back to these communities as equipped and better farmers or to start agricultural co-ops of their own.

The agricultural component of the training programme includes livestock (pigs, cows, chickens) horticulture, forestry and conservation and farming management. The agricultural sequence begins in September each year so that the trainees can be involved in the whole process, from ploughing, seeding, tending and harvesting, to marketing and accounting. Surplus produce is sold to the public while the rest is used for the student body. The grain is used as the staple. Chickens are kept for meat, eggs and for sale, and so are other livestock. The overall emphasis is on education with production.

In addition to agriculture, other courses must also be taken and passed. These include carpentry, roofing, plumbing, joinery, welding and building for the boys and home economics for the girls including cookery, fashion and fabrics (sewing), weaving, knitting and crocheting and homecraft including decorations. The trainees attend the school free of charge and are supplied with uniforms as well as protective clothing.

Those trainees in Grades 0-7 begin with carving and stone work, leather work and simple wood work. Uncertain of immediate employment upon the completion of the training, carving and stone work can provide the graduates with income while waiting for the jobs for which they were trained to become available. The needed raw materials are almost always readily accessible without cost and a market for the finished products exists both in the rural and urban areas.

In order to provide the trainees with a meaningful work experience, Magamba trainees in building and carpentry have been involved in the building of Odzi Secondary School, and a clinic in the Makoni district, free of charge. This exercise exposes the trainees to the world of work and practical experience and training. The experience also encourages the trainees and gives them confidence in their training, skills and the ability to use them in the real world. They are able to establish their credibility and reputation in the community through these community projects. Skills in building, carpentry, plumbing and roofing were effectively utilised in these projects.

One of the major problems that the centre graduates are confronted with is that of finance or capital. Training without the provision of financial assistance to enable the young people to get established, for instance, workshops for graduates in carpentry is a drawback. The Government has realised this and according to the Deputy Minister of Youth, Mr Midzi, "Youth projects have been started with interest-free loans provided by the Government. The projects operate on a co-operative basis with the majority being in the area of agriculture." The Principal of the centre hoped that those graduating at Magamba, who desire to take advantage of the government's offer of loans, would do so and establish workshops in the rural areas from which they originally came.

Currently, several graduates of the training centre are making school benches for the Mutare City Council on contract. The Centre has provided the use of one of the buildings for a workshop and formed a co-operative in the process. Obviously, the Centre is extremely proud and happy over this achievement and the utilisation of the skills gained at the Training Centre.

While Magamba may be enjoying some degree of well deserved success and achievement, several unfavourable conditions prevail. Beginning with the name, Magamba is closely associated with the struggle. The assumption is that the name should in fact elicit a sense of pride and achievement. Some interviewees, including the staff, attested to the erroneous connotation reflective of the unpleasant war experience that the *povo* are trying to forget. Magamba suffers a distorted and tarnished local public image. Sadly, through no fault of its own, the public perceives the Training Centre in terms of a 'military academy'. The uniforms, the required physical exercises which the public interprets as military drills, the name, the behaviour and attitude of

some of the trainees, the government sponsorship of the programme and the refugee and veteran status of most of the trainees all seem to convey and confirm that image. The physical isolation of the Centre also perpetuates the military image that the trainees portray. Happily, due to a great deal of effective public relations efforts on the part of the administration, the image is changing for the better. In terms of location, Magamba is virtually surrounded by commercial farms and only 20 kilometers from downtown Mutare. This makes it peri-urban. This situation effectively deprives it of the sense of being part and parcel of a viable community. Its interaction with the public on a regular basis is almost non-existent. Consequently, the centre lacks visibility to the potential client, and arena for activities, the community, while, because of its newness, it needs to prove its quality and validity.

Generally, government-operated institutions seem to lack the necessary flexibility that permits innovation and experimentation with new ideas and evolving approaches. Essentially, what this flexibility adds up to is the freedom to do whatever is necessary to achieve the objectives of the programme. The formality and rigidity of operation being experienced appears to be driving our creativity and blocking action at Magamba Centre.

On the opposite side, Magamba's newness creates excitement, enthusiasm and a real sense of purpose directed toward nation building. The entry requirements are inclusive and facilitate the accommodation of all who desire to be trained. Free uniforms and tuition are a definite positive aspect of the training centre. A strong sense of comradeship is felt everywhere on campus. The physical plant seems to have adequate modern facilities and equipment, particularly in the areas of carpentry, weaving and sewing. There appears to be a conscious effort, dedication and trend toward self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Driefontein Mission

In Zimbabwe, non-governmental organisations, both domestic and foreign, have made significant contributions to community development through the years, both in areas of projects and training. Traditionally, Christian missions have always believed strongly that their calling was one of service to the whole person and that Christianity also leads to western civilisation. Consequently, missionary organisations have been involved in education, health, agriculture, social work and vocational training.

For decades, Driefontein Mission, situated in the Masvingo province in the south-eastern part of the country, has diligently served the nation, particularly in the area of vocational training for rural youth. The mission has as one of its aims that of providing vocational skills training that equips the rural youth to find profitable self-employment in their community.

In order for the author to obtain first hand and accurate information, knowledge and experience, a visit was made to Driefontein mission. During the visit, an extensive interview took place with the resident programme Director. Other interviews were subsequently held with all the instructors and several students. In the interviews, it was quite clear that the general thrust of the Mission's training programme was the conviction that development is not possible until a pool of skills exists in rural areas. In addition, it was also believed that the long-term relief of poverty and unemployment could only be effected through self-reliance training. The programme is therefore designed to provide youth with an opportunity to earn a livelihood and to effect an immediate improvement in living conditions in rural areas. Hence the intensive training course in practical skills are at levels of expertise relevant to rural areas. The programme is designed for a rural setting and is run on a self-reliance basis.

Programme

This is a three year programme. Entry qualifications are at the secondary level. The core of the programme's offerings includes courses and areas of content that involve the following: Introduction to industry, technical drawing, vocational knowledge, arithmetic, workshop theory, elementary knowledge in bookkeeping, and Zimbabwe economics, including marketing and costing. General knowledge includes Zimbabwe society: Present and future, and socialist transformation and its implications. In the evenings, first aid lessons and human development are offered. Bible study is undertaken in an effort to enhance individual character.

Specifically, knowledge and skills are obtained in areas such as metal work, focusing on scotch cart construction, welding, wheel barrow making and a variety of repair work likely to be needed in the community. Woodwork and carpentry activities include the making of coffins, furniture (usually modest and simple to suit the rural taste and purse), wooden and steel door and window frames, school and church benches, beds, cribs, brickforms, stools, ox-yokes and coffee tables. A new area of special interest is bee keeping. The Kenya-type bee hives are made for local use by bee keepers, with prospects of nationwide patronage and sales. Tailoring includes activities such as making simple children's clothes, school uniforms, dressmaking and mending of old clothes. Motor mechanics and other technical skills are being utilised in the immediate community and beyond.

On request, a carpentry instructor portrayed the prospects of the Mission's graduates as follows:

“Hypothetically, take carpentry for instance, as you already are aware, wood is cheap and plentiful around here; the articles to be made are in

great demand locally, one can be an established simple village carpenter in one of the growth points or shopping centres. The training here has included elementary business management and bookkeeping. Traditionally, the school has given some financial assistance and technical advice to help set up the graduate in business in the rural areas. Upon graduation, each graduate in carpentry is given a free reference book on carpentry, our graduates can keep bees, farm and grow vegetables. These activities can generate income to provide for the everyday basic need.”

When the author enquired by Driefontein seemed to be enjoying some considerable measure of success with the programme, one of the instructors had this to say:

“We train our youth for a rural setting, simple but appropriate technology, using elementary affordable tools easily obtainable in rural settings. Our graduates can survive, as long as they adhere to the Mission’s emphasis on quality and good wholesome character. Driefontein thrives on its good name and reputation. Although there is no official government recognition of this Programme and no financial aid either, we continue to provide what we consider to be necessary vocational training that should produce opportunities for self-employment and self-sufficiency, and we are well on our way to achieving that goal. The duration of the training here is longer than most training centres I know (3 years). We are non-elitist and manual labour intensive. In fact, our time is divided thus: 10 per cent instruction and 90 per cent practical training. Above all, we seem to be providing for our rural youth the kind of training and technology that suits their rural lifestyle, should they choose to do so and many of them do.”

The students that were interviewed expressed satisfaction with the type of training they were receiving, particularly those who were in their third and final year. Some indicated interest in joining co-operatives while others hoped to start businesses of their own. Still others showed interest in finding jobs with Ministries or parastatals with services in the rural areas.

Driefontein is community-based and is readily accessible to the people. This direct link provides education programmes and hospital facilities which help to improve the living standards of the masses and act as catalyst for community activities. In this context, the community becomes the laboratory for the ‘hands-on’ experiences for the trainees which is an integral component of their training. Driefontein is well established with a support network that includes the school, the farm and the hospital. It is for all practical purposes a self-sufficient enterprise.

Driefontein has always been able to demonstrate to the public the general value of its existence and utility. It provides valuable services such as education, health, repairs of implements, technical advice to local farmers, bee keepers and carpenters. The well qualified, dedicated and experienced staff also takes part as consultants and experts in the work of community development, thereby gaining experiences and competencies which prove useful to them in training their students. In consultation with the staff, the community can make available or create employment opportunities for the graduates of the training centre.

The rapport that exists between Driefontein and the community was said to be a good and wholesome one and is cherished by both parties. Driefontein's national reputation for excellence relative to previous achievements in areas other than that of youth training is a function of twenty-five years of experience and service to the nation. This commands respect and a sense of permanence and stability; a commodity not currently being fully experienced and enjoyed by its counterpart, the Magamba Training Centre.

Comparison of the two programmes

The basic assumption and key thrust in conceptualising a training programme for youth is predicated upon the fact that the curriculum developed responds to the needs of the immediate community and the nation. The objectives which meet the identified skill training needs should be reflected in that curriculum. By and large, the two training centres under discussion have met the criteria but are in varying stages of development.

While the core of the programme offerings at the two centres show no wide disparity, some significant differences were observed and identified. The organisational and operational procedures were found to be somewhat diversified, ranging from the recruitment and admission of trainees at an unspecified level of general education at Magamba, to secondary level at Driefontein and requiring up to three years to complete the programme. The trade-off is in the keeping of youth off the job market for at least three years, giving the Government much needed breathing room for the purpose of creating new job opportunities.

The content area of Driefontein training programme is broader, with competency based at a higher level and more rigorous than that of Magamba. Trainees receive an encyclopaedic type of training with the resultant effect of a better and more marketable set of skills for use in rural as well as urban areas. The training is oriented towards practical and immediate application in response to the needs expressed by the government, the various ministries and the local administrators of community projects. Much of it is applied directly:

for example, the construction and production of coffins, scotch carts, furniture, wheel barrows, bee hives, door and window frames, repair of machinery and the sewing of school uniforms. This approach clearly reflects the built-in entrepreneurial nature and motive inherent in the curriculum. One of the most original features is the school's financial assistance to help in setting up graduates in business by providing some 'seed money'.

The majority of Driefontein's trainees were observed to be older, more mature, extremely motivated, goal oriented and displaying a seriousness of purpose. The autonomous nature and status of Driefontein affords it the flexibility to exercise its legitimate choice between alternatives and to be innovative. Therefore, its style of operation is not cramped by external interference and pressure. Both training centres have highly qualified staff commensurate with the level of substantive content emphasis. The staff is supported by appropriate technical equipment and apparatus. Although Driefontein has some foreign instructors involved in its programme, the content is clearly domestic and reflects local concerns. Overall, the ideal scope and the forms of skills training programmes seem to be captured in the nature and character of both training centres studied.

Potential policy implications

The policy of the Zimbabwe government is to devote the maximum available resources to the development of the rural areas. This suggests that these areas will be given priority in terms of manpower and other assets of growth. In general, as far as youth are concerned, the strategy is a fourfold one: (1) to increase the vocational emphasis of the schools; (2) to encourage those children who enter the school system to stay long enough to acquire literacy and a commercially usable skill; (3) to deformatise the educational processes and apparatus so that skills can be acquired and improved at any stage of life; (4) to seek a wage structure in the economy as a whole that is effective as an instrument for mobilising human resources and, at the same time, as consistent as possible with social, political and economic objectives.

Most policy makers do not have the time to begin coaxing ideas out of people but are only too happy to accept any proposals that reflect serious competent thinking, analysis and appraisal in any given area of public concern. That being the case, those persons involved in training centre activities are obliged to collect salient data on community development in general and youth skills training in particular, or any other areas of concern. This data can be shared with the appropriate policy makers as guidelines to assist them in policy formulation and programme development. Given the increased emphasis on the community development theme, and the ensuing expectations that youth skills training centres, both government and

non-government, will be instrumental in equipping youth with the necessary skills, a policy that entertains collaboration and coordination becomes crucial and valuable.

The concept of 'collaboration and coordination' reflects a simple but profound observation, often overlooked, that Zimbabwe is, in fact, a diverse and complex nation, areas are different, people are different, the level of character of job opportunities are different. Consequently, it makes little sense to develop a programme biscuit cutter in a central office and then superimpose that particular design upon every region of the country without regard to area differences; differences that are frequently strengths rather than weaknesses.

The key function of the Ministry of Youth, Sport and Culture, as a matter of policy, would be to diagnose the peculiar characteristics of each area; to look carefully at its population, its job market, its training and supporting networks; and to design programmes that will maximise movement away from youth employment. The 'doing one's own thing' approach negates the opportunity to discover gaps and overlaps that may exist in the area of youth training. It is fully recognised that infusing content in existing programmes is a valid approach to programme building and designing. Many non-government institutions could be revitalised and rejuvenated by the fusing of new ideas inherent in the new approaches in the context of the new political, economic and social realities.

Youth skills training centres need to be collectively involved in the fundamental state of the art vis-a-vis vocational training. With a policy that embraces collaboration the government can benefit by taking advantage of the experience and flexible elements present in various non-government programmes. This is central to the Government's ability to deal with interregional events, problems and issues connected with training centres in order to achieve the roles of partners in development and progress. Having been in the business of skills training for some time, some non-government organisations have collected, simplified and synthesised information relative to the youth training that can supplement the government's development efforts. In addition, the record clearly indicates that, in post-independent Zimbabwe, external aid and sponsorship of projects has increased. Non-government institutions have been able to mobilise and generate foreign exchange for development projects. This has made and will continue to make a tremendous impact and contribution within the context of government's policy of promoting self-reliant communities. Collaboration, coordination and cooperation between public and private youth skills training centres enhances conformity and assures uniformity. None of the existing centres is adequate to meet the need independently. An integrated, collaborative, coordinated and cooperative approach and effort enhances a holistic and truly unified national perspective in youth skills training activities. This allows for the development

of a blue print equally appropriate to all institutions while recognising those differences that are unavoidable. Mutually supportive relationships between the government and non-government centres, with each reckoning the value of their complementary roles and impact, can be an asset in promoting and augmenting the government's efforts at youth skills training and the reduction of youth unemployment in the nation.

Conclusion

It is an indisputable fact that Zimbabwe is one of the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa where youth unemployment and skills training problems are of the greatest and gravest concern. The government has partially rectified the problem by instituting rural youth skills training centres. Non-government organisations are also playing a very significant role in this endeavour. The national programme is small when compared with the nation's great need to train youth. Thus, the goal of the training programmes has been to test new approaches to training which, if successful, could point the way to new training techniques for schools across the country. These two examples show that, as far as the training of youth in Zimbabwe is concerned, the future can be viewed with some confidence. The present government, through its ministries, has grasped the fundamental importance of this problem and has not begrudged the necessary means for training youth, conducted in combination with private organisations. What of the future of rural skill training centres for youth?

Leaps and take-offs are feats which are normal only for panthers, acrobats and aeroplanes. If demanded of a foreign exchange starved nation with a youthful population, and considering the state of the economy, such performances must call for programmes very different from those of the past or present day Zimbabwe. These are watershed days for Zimbabwe. Perhaps the most important function that the Youth Training Centres now serve is as greenhouses for new sensitivity and sensibility; places where young people are converted to the philosophy of self-reliance. In this sense, they serve as potent agents for social change, development and innovation. Broadening the youth skills training concept to include the remaining non-participating non-government and government schools nationwide, the youth training centres will further demonstrate their relevance and give notice that their contribution to the political, social and economic scene is not transitory but meant to be permanent and significant. It is this author's optimistic view, based on information and personal observation of Magamba and Driefontein, that the youth skills training centres will find in this moment of change, a significant opportunity to make an impact on the youth unemployment problem.

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