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EMPLOYMENT PLANNING FOR AN EMPLOYMENT POLICY

FOR THE GAMBIA

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Dakar Task Force

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This report has not been officially cleared with The ILO and in no way commits that organization.
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EMPLOYMENT PLANNING FOR AN EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Preface

This report has been prepared for Mr. S.B.M. FYE, Senior Economist in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development. In December 1973 he suggested that the JASPA Dakar team should assist with the formulation of an employment policy document.

During our discussions in Banjul between November 22 and 29, 1974, it was decided that I would suggest a system for employment planning. Such a system would generate the data necessary for the formulation of an employment policy.

This means that the present report is limited to the suggestion of an employment planning system; an overall employment policy is not elaborated.

Another limitation is the choice for the project planning approach. The arguments against this approach is that we should consider the economy as a whole instead of considering a number of individual projects. A justification for the approach in the case of The Gambia is that the number of projects is rather small, which makes an overall view still possible.

The problem of employment creation in the rural areas is treated in more detail in a separate report prepared for Mr. G.E. Armstrong of the same Ministry and reference is made to this report in the text.

I would like to thank the Gambian Government and the UNDP in Banjul for the assistance given during my mission. A number of ideas stem from previous missions to The Gambia and from publications made available to me.

Meine Pieter van Dijk
Member JASPA Task Force ILO

Dakar, February 1975
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

a) A comprehensive employment policy

A comprehensive employment policy would consider all the aspects of the employment problem at the same time and in relation to each other. This would mean that something would have to be said about agricultural and industrial development, about an income and price policy, about monetary, fiscal and trade policies and finally about the growth of the population, about migration, education and training.

Employment promotion is also comprehensive in another way. Not just one Government division is responsible for it, nor one level in such a division, but ideally everybody in the Government should have some sense of the employment aspects of their work.

This report does not try to formulate a comprehensive policy. It concentrates on an employment planning system. An inventorisation of existing and future employment should precede a comprehensive employment policy and provide the data necessary for the formulation of such policy.

Fortunately some information on actual modern sector employment is available in The Gambia from the Quarterly Surveys of Employment and Earnings. The survey relating only to modern sector employment should be completed with data on the other sectors of the economy.

The proposed planning system concentrates on possible future employment development.

1 A problem in a small country like The Gambia is to which degree it can formulate its own policy, independent of neighbouring countries or of the international economic order. The policy of The Gambia with relation to groundnut prices and the tourism policy of the Government have shown that The Gambia can do something. On the other hand for tax and trade policies The Gambia will probably have to formulate its policy together with other West African countries.

2 Published by the Central Statistics Division, Banjul. The information covers establishments in The Gambia employing 5 or more persons.

.../...
b) The employment planning system

The employment planning system suggested in this report tries to register future developments of employment in The Gambia. The idea is to start a card system, showing for each future project its direct and indirect employment effects and its manpower needs. An indication should also be given for each project of the various technologies among which one can chose for the realization of the project. For each level of technology, the number of employed and the amount of investments involved should be given. For manpower and employment forecasting it is also necessary to assess the present and future labor force in the existing organizations.

The employment planning system proposed in this report needs to be well organized. Someone in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development could be made responsible for the employment planning system and start to build up a network of information flows and a filing system with a card containing the necessary data for each project.

c) The policy decisions

A problem rising when one suggests a new system is, who is going to determine how the system will work? To clarify the situation several decisions have to be separated.
1) deciding to start such a system
2) deciding on the criteria which will be used in the system for its functioning
3) deciding on what kind of policy will be followed, based on the data generated by the system.

1 By manpower needs we mean the need for persons with a certain specialization and a certain level of experience (the staff).
2 According to Third Development Programme of The Gambia (Government Printer, Banjul 1971) the bottleneck is not so much financing the projects as the ability to identify projects and implement them. With a careful manpower plan based on the project cards this problem could be solved.

.../...
A brief comment can be made with respect to the three types of decisions:

ad 1) It is hoped that this report is convincing that it is worth starting such a system; the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development would then have to elaborate the idea. The approach is not new and is used for example in Senegal ¹. Since The Gambia is a small country it should be relatively easy to start such a filing system. The system could be reasonably accurate and easily kept up to date.

ad 2) The level of technology and the number of employed, both in relation to the amount of necessary investments, will be the most important criteria of choice among projects suggested in this report. It may be necessary at a certain stage of development to revise the criteria used, this should be a question of reformulating national priorities at a certain moment.

ad 3) The data generated by the system will give a picture of the development of employment resulting from a number of projects. The conclusions drawn on the basis of these data are a question of national policy. If it is shown for example that modern sector employment will grow only very little, the Government can decide to accept more projects in this sector, or it can decide to concentrate on employment creation in the rural areas, when the government feels the potential for development should be found in the rural areas ².

In summary, apart from the proposed system a national development strategy showing the priorities in The Gambia has to be formulated. If this strategy concentrates on the abundant factor in The Gambia (labor) this will still be reflected in the criteria chosen for the functioning of the system and the conclusions drawn on the basis of the data generated by the system.

¹ Unfortunately many of the project cards in Senegal have not been properly filled in. In a number of cases for example the employment questions have not been properly answered.

d) **Outline of the report**

In this report a project is defined as any initiative by the Government or by private individuals resulting in the productive employment of several Gambians.

In chapter two we explain the functions of the proposed system. After a brief chapter on its implementation, chapter four summarizes the report and lists the recommendations.

An appendix tries to assess the development of employment by means of listing a number of projects.

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned approach to employment planning has not been made concrete for a project, nor has an attempt been made to design an example of a questionnaire to be presented to the initiators of new projects.
CHAPTER 2

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE SYSTEM

a) The elements and the results

Often one finds the word "employment" in the first introductory chapter of a development plan; it should be found in each chapter of the plan: "deals" with any given sector of the economy, thus reflecting the Government's concern with employment.

This concern must also be reflected in the choice of the projects which will be undertaken in each economic sector, either by the Government or by private initiatives. For this purpose, the following information must be available for each project.

a) the total direct and indirect employment that will be created by the project in the future. These figures should be related to the amount of investment involved and the priority of the project for the country.

b) the number of necessary manpower, defined as individuals with a certain specialization and degree of experience, to staff the project. This information should be specified according to the type and level of education required and an indication should be given of the availability of this quality of manpower in The Gambia.

c) the possibilities of undertaking the project on a more labor-intensive basis and the costs or advantages of a more labor-intensive approach, each time related to the necessary investments.

Each of these three points will be elaborated below in a paragraph. On the basis of this information it is possible for the government:

- to choose between different ways to realize a certain project.

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1 A more labor-intensive technology may be more expensive, but on social grounds (which must be adequately specified) still be preferable.
The capital-labor coefficients corresponding with the different technology levels should be taken as a criterion to determine the most labor intensive projects. The total amount of investments available functions as the upper limit for the number of projects that can be realized.

- to compare projects in different sectors of the economy. Before weight has been given to the national priority of a certain project, it is possible to compare the different capital-labor coefficients of projects in different sectors and chose to stimulate the sector which will employ the greatest number of persons for a certain amount of investment.

- to determine total future additional employment, by adding up all the direct and indirect employment effects. This would also give an impression of the changing importance of the various sectors of the economy.

- to start a manpower planning exercise. By adding up the manpower by specialization one would know the necessary numbers of a certain profile for future development.

It should be noted that usually the rate of return of a project is taken as the criterion for the selection of projects. It is still suggested to calculate this rate and to compare only projects which have at least a positive rate of return. Since in general there is always a lot of uncertainty about this rate we may as well chose to let the criterion of created employment with a certain amount of investments be more important than the rate of return.

Other effects of the project are also important and will have to be considered, for example: income distribution effects, effects on the health or nutrition etc. Since it is very difficult to quantify all these effects, they are condensed in one factor in this report: the national priority of a project. The better a national strategy will be defined, the easier it will be to give a weight to this factor.\footnote{We do not treat here the discussion in economic litterature about the possibility of combining different objectives or the problem of a conflict between two objectives. See for example for the latter problem F. Stewart and P. Streeten : "Conflicts between output and employment objectives", in P. Jolly et.al. (ed.) : Third World Employment, (Penguin, Middlesex, 1973).}
A second list of preferred projects has to be made once the projects have been weighted with this factor.

b) The calculation of the employment effects

Manuals for project analysis\(^1\) offer very refined methods of estimating direct and indirect employment effects of projects. In practice one often has to work with more simple calculations.

As an example of such a calculation our study of the impact of tourism in The Gambia could be taken\(^2\). In this study we first calculated the number of people working in hotels (direct employment). Ideally one should proceed to find out:

1) How much of the money spent in the tourism industry would be spent in The Gambia and how much employment (income) this would generate.

2) What would be the employment effect of the expenditures of all the individuals employed by the tourism industry (directly and indirectly).

3) What would be the employment effect of the expenditure of all the tourists.

\(^1\) e.g. : I.M.D. Little and J.A. Mirlees : Project appraisal and planning for developing countries, (Heinemann, London, 1974), or UNIDO : Guidelines for project evaluation, (UNIDO, New York, 1972).

Since these data were difficult to obtain, we looked into all the activities which are linked to the tourism industry and estimated the number of people working in these sectors, for example as taxi-drivers, in the restaurants, in the construction sector or to supply food etc. Then we tried to assess which percentage of them was employed due to the tourism industry. This figure gave us the number of indirectly employed persons\(^1\).

Although this example relates to the entire tourism sector it can be imagined that the same exercise can be done for an individual hotel, if the choice was to invest in a hotel project or in some other project.

These figures will have to be related to the amount of investments necessary to realize them. Indirect investments, for example in infrastructure should also be taken into consideration.

c) The calculation of manpower needs

Related to development and to each new project is a certain demand for staff. It would be good if each investor or government organization planning a project would try to figure out from the start which quantity and types of jobs will be created.

*Aggregation of quantities by type of jobs is necessary to check if there are Gambians for these posts and if not, how they can be trained. The Ministry of Education could coordinate the information about the supply of manpower.*

Training can be organised by the government or by the people organising the project. If foreign manpower has to be used, it should be remembered that this is expensive, but on the other hand it facilitates training if they work with Gambian counterparts.

The availability of skilled and unskilled labor may be a problem which should be considered if the project is situated somewhere in the interior of the country. In that case, employment opportunities during the agricultural off-season would be important.

\(^1\) Which turned out to be rather low in The Gambia since much of the supplies are imported. See Wheeler-Van Dijk, op.cit.
d) The choice of technology

For a proper use of the existing factor endowments in The Gambia the choice of the level of technology is crucial. In a country like The Gambia labor is the abundant factor and only highly labor-intensive production methods can result in a comparative advantage for the country.

The most serious problem is the levels of technology to be proposed in rural projects, since a large part of the population will be affected by this choice. One has to find in this case the equipment maximising production and the use of available manpower.

In the urban small-scale sector, technology is developed from below, which almost automatically means that an intermediate kind of technology will be developed. Small-scale industry projects will try to improve the productivity of this sector, but will certainly try to keep the use of capital limited to a minimum by choosing labor-intensive production methods.¹

Technology in the modern sector is a different problem since it is mostly introduced by foreign firms, which are not easy controlable. Nonetheless it can be requested that the initiator of a project in this sector suggests different modes of production and shows the level of employment and investments associated with each of them. If necessary the Gambian Government could at the same time ask an international organisation specialised in technology questions to advise on the proper level of technology, given the problem and the Gambian context.²

¹ For the problem of increasing productivity and employment, see also the appendix, paragraph b).
² A lot of experience exists and research has been done. The implementation of the ideas and sometimes the adaptation of the ideas to the local situation lags behind. The Intermediate Technology Group in London and the ILO World Employment Technology Research Branch should be mentioned for their expertise in this field. The Gambia should perhaps open a small office or division to look into these problems.
e  Conclusions

If all the above-mentioned information is available, The Gambia finds itself in a position to determine its future development.

A choice between sectors can be made and between projects in these sectors.

Generated employment for a certain amount of investments and national priority of certain projects were suggested as criteria for the selection of projects.

The total of available funds for investment functions as an upper limit for the number of projects which can be started.

Total additional employment and manpower necessary for carrying out the projects should be calculated and are important data for the Government to determine its employment policy.
CHAPTER 3

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SYSTEM

The implementation of the system remains to be done. It was suggested to make someone in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development responsible for the data gathering.

As described in another paper\(^1\), the elements of a decentralised government organization exist in The Gambia. This means that the proposed system could also function on the divisional level. In that case, the possible projects in each Division would be listed and evaluated using the above-mentioned information.

An advantage of this approach is that it would be possible to check on an equal distribution of projects over the country. Another advantage could be that projects for agricultural and rural development could be more explicitly compared with urban projects.

In that case the official in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development would not collect all the information himself, but use the information supplied by the Division.

The experience of the ODM Manpower Planner working at the moment in The Gambia will be very important for a more detailed design of the system. He could probably answer the following questions:

Which levels of manpower are scarce and can the demand for them be easily determined? How easy is it to trace all the projects which will be undertaken in The Gambia? What are the sources of supply of manpower and can this information be co-ordinated?

Finally, a detailed questionnaire has to be prepared to be presented to the initiators of projects. In this respect, one can draw from experiences in other countries.

\(^1\) M.P. van Dijk, op.cit.
CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 1

It is explained in this chapter that it is not the author's intention to sketch a comprehensive employment policy. The inventorisation and choice of future projects\(^1\) should precede such a policy.

The report suggests a system generating the data necessary for an employment policy. For this system it is necessary to collect data on the employment created by the project, on the manpower necessary to staff the project and on different levels of technology that can be used for the realization of the project.

Once the decision has been taken to start such a system, two other policy decisions have to be taken. First about the criteria used in the system and secondly about the employment policy which will be based on the data generated by the system.

It is suggested to accept created employment per unit of investment as the most important criterion, assuming that only projects with a positive rate of return are considered.

With respect to the second question, it is suggested that a national strategy should be defined separately, showing the priorities of the Government. From the employment point of view such a strategy should focus on the abundant factor in The Gambia: Labor. For an optimal use of this factor, rural development and small-scale projects with an adequate level of technology are of crucial importance.

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\(^1\) A project is defined as an initiative by the Government or a private individual creating employment.
Chapter 2

Each of the elements of the suggested approach is treated in some more detail.

Total direct and indirect employment effects should be calculated following the project appraisal approach. In practice these methods have often to be simplified because of a lack of certain data.

Manpower needs of the projects can be calculated if the initiators specify in detail the number of specialists of a certain level and specialization needed. Demand should be compared with supply.

The data on supply of Gambian manpower could be co-ordinated through the Ministry of Education. Since many Gambians study abroad, it should not be too difficult to coordinate this information with the help of the Visa Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The availability of unskilled labor will probably not be a problem except in certain regions where agricultural development will absorb the larger part of the labor force, especially during the agricultural season.

The problem of the choice of technology deserves serious consideration. A Gambian organisation could look into these problems in consultation with international organizations which have gained considerable experience.

The problems of appropriate technology for agricultural development, for the stimulation of small-scale activities and for the modern sector are quite different and will have to be considered separately.

But if the approach is adopted it will be possible for The Gambia: 1) to choose between different ways of realizing a project. 2) to compare projects in different sectors of the economy. 3) to determine total future employment. (The sum of all projects cards would give the future employment figure.). 4) to start manpower planning.

.../...
The employment created per unit of investment is suggested as a criterion. If created employment is high a project will be chosen. Since it is realised that other criteria are also important, it is suggested to consider only projects with a positive rate of return and to concentrate the other criteria (income distributional effects, effect on health etc.) in one factor: the national priority factor.

The list of projects meeting the employment criterion then has to be re-weighted with this factor to draw up the definite list.

Chapter 3

Implementation of the system would mean that someone in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development would start collecting the necessary information and bring out the results.

It is also possible to collect the information and do the analysis at the Divisional level. The advantage of the latter course would be that one could check that the projects are divided equally over the country.

Finally, the system still has to be refined and it is suggested to use the experience of the present manpower planner for this purpose.

A questionnaire to be presented to the initiators of projects providing the necessary information will have to be prepared, using experiences in other countries with a project planning approach.

Appendix

Actual and possible employment is treated in an appendix since no in-depth study has been made of this subject.

A great part of the employed are self-employed (82%) and this again proves that this group should not be forgotten.

Possibilities for rural development have been elaborated in another paper.

.../...
Small-scale industry promotion policies are important and it is suggested to create a unit in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development for this purpose. An organization like the SONEPI in Senegal could also be considered.

In the modern sector tourism and fishing industries seem to be most promising. Some attention is paid to agro-industries, river transportation, dams by means of public works, an oil refinery, a beer and soft drinks plant, mining, a wharf; and a steel-window manufacture and a tiles making plant.

Among the problems to be considered in each case are the level of technology chosen, the financing and the marketing.

One conclusion which will certainly be drawn when all the projects are considered together is that they will not provide enough highly productive employment. So it remains important to determine a national strategy attacking that problem and based on the exact information generated by the system suggested above.

Appendix : Actual and possible employment in The Gambia

a) Actual employment

According to an ILO report\(^1\) total estimated employment in 1965 was 87,900. This figure is broken down as follows :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>16,000</th>
<th>81,8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage and salaried</td>
<td>71,900</td>
<td>18,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I) farm families</td>
<td>61,100</td>
<td>69,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) merchants</td>
<td>9,300</td>
<td>10,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) oysterers and fishermen</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>87,900</td>
<td>100,0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Farm families and the self-employed in general form the large majority. This should be another reason why special attention should be paid to them.

According to the Quarterly survey of employment and earnings\(^1\), wage employment has grown since 1969:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentages(^2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1973</td>
<td>16,723</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>17,004</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>21,026</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1974</td>
<td>24,594</td>
<td>4.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part of this growth reflects seasonal employment due to the tourist season.

The percentage of wage-employed is not too low\(^3\), but certainly wage employment cannot grow fast enough to absorb all the unemployed city dwellers.

For employment creation it is important that the self-employed get assistance, since this group is about four times as large as the group of Wage-employees and will have a higher labor-absorptive capacity.

b) Employment promotion of the self-employed

A large part of the self-employed are the farmers. To stop migration it is first of all necessary to make life in the rural areas more attractive. This can be done by paying a good price for agricultural products and secondly by providing facilities like water, electricity, schools, medical and social centres (the latter can be used also for amusement purposes for example films, dancing groups etc.)

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\(^1\) See: Survey of the first quarter of 1974, page VI. (Central Statistics Division, President's Office, Banjul, June 1974).

\(^2\) Of the April 1973 population: 494,279

\(^3\) Senegal for example counts 125,000 employed on 3 million inhabitants or 3.2 percent.

.../...
On top of this, rural development should be organized on a much larger scale. At the moment, extension services are too small and rural development projects too few.

An approach to rural development has been worked out in more detail in my paper on employment creation through rural development¹.

Other projects which can be of great help for the self-employed are small-scale business assistance or training projects. These projects aim at bringing the productivity of a small enterprise to a higher level, but should also have the employment objective in mind. The result will be a higher income for the owner and probably his employees and more production for the society. If the extra income is saved and reinvested the possible employment reduction because of improved productivity will be largely compensated. This point also stresses the need for saving institutions.

To support the small-scale business the Government could decide to buy some kinds of products mainly from this sector.

One of the main points for the success of rural development projects and small-scale enterprise schemes is a strong organization. In case of rural development projects, the Department of Agriculture would be the responsible organization, and would certainly need an extension of its staff.

A unit in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development should be made responsible for small-scale enterprises promotion. The envisaged UNDP/Peace Corps indigenous enterprise advisory scheme could for example be guided by this unit. Other tasks could be the co-ordination of training and extension work for small businesses in rural areas and in general to suggest a policy stimulating small-scale industries. Something could be learned from for example Ghana or Nigeria. A number of suggestions can be found in the UNIDO (Nielson)

¹ M.P. van Dijk: op. cit. - In that report the importance of employment creation in the rural areas is very much stressed, to avoid the problem of urban unemployed and to make use of the existing structures.../...
report on small-scale enterprises. An organization comparable to the SONEPI in Senegal could be envisaged.

c) Modern sector labor absorption prospects

We concentrate here on modern sector absorption in the sense of reviewing some possibilities in this sector and their possible employment impact.

1) The tourism industry has been steadily growing, but the conclusion of our above-mentioned report was that The Gambia could have benefited much more from it from the point of view of the employment created (direct and indirect employment). The report shows that the hotels in southern European countries are often more labor-intensively organized than those in The Gambia. The conclusion should be that the Government has not been sufficiently conscious of this problem and should change its fiscal policy, and if necessary the Development Act, accordingly.

Another conclusion was that the future prospects of the tourism industry are not as bright as expected because of the international economic crisis and the increase in fuel prices. The creation of a new mono-product economy should in general be avoided.

Other possibilities are:

2) Beer and soft drinks plants. There seems to be quite a market for locally bottled drinks. The use of return bottles usually involves a lot of labor and saves the importation of packing material.

3) A warf. With a growing fishing industry and improved harbour facilities, The Gambia will certainly need a place for building, repairing and maintenance of ships. This is in general quite a labor-intensive industry, but the manpower would definitely have to be trained before they could actually start working.

4) Mining. Since ilmenite will probably be exploited in the near future it is important to consider the different techniques of delving it from the point of view of their labor-intensiveness.
5) Agro-based industries. Much more will be possible in this broad field in the future. The processing of agricultural products can be based on quite labor-intensive techniques. On the other hand it will often use products for which there would otherwise be no market since the supply is very seasonal (oranges, mangoes, baobab fruit etc.). In this way, the income going to the rural areas will also be increased. Fruit and vegetables that can be produced in The Gambia are: limes (juice and oil), oranges, mangoes, baobab fruit, onions, carrots, red peppers, beans and cassava. They can be used for canning or for juice or jam making. Groundnuts can be processed (soap, oil, margarine etc.), rice can be milled and cotton ginned. A 10,000 ton seed-cotton ginnery is planned already.

6) A steel window manufacture and a tiles making plant. If the boom in construction (because of new hotels) continues, there will be an increased demand for this kind of products. They can be produced in small-scale establishments, probably in a rather labor-intensive way.

7) A river transportation company could be established with the double purpose of transporting goods and people to the interior and back to the coast. Such a company can be very important for the successful marketing of products produced in the interior at the coast or abroad or vice versa.

8) An 1,000,000 ton oil refinery will be constructed producing also for export. In this branch, the level of technology can vary quite a lot between a small labor-intensive plant and a large capital-intensive one.

9) If the Government decides to construct the dams proposed in the National Settlement Network Studies the work may be organised as a large-scale public work\(^1\), thus involving a considerable number of individuals.

10) Because of the ocean and the river, fishing can be expanded, if necessary by means of fish farming and would employ a great number of Gambians.

\(^1\) For an elaboration of the public work approach, see M.P. van Dijk op.cit.
It seems that, taking apart rural development, the fishing and the tourist industries are the most promising in The Gambia. Unfortunately the country is very much dependent on foreign investors for the development of its modern sector. To **diminish** this dependence the possibility of large-scale public works and rural development projects should be considered. A national development strategy stressing these possibilities of self-help could be of great importance.

In all the above-mentioned cases the technology question should be considered from the beginning. Can the project be carried out with more labor-intensive techniques and at what costs?

The problem of marketing the goods produced should also be considered at an early stage. At the moment, for example, no real Gambian export organization exists, but export is done on an ad hoc basis\(^1\). This is very dangerous for a country with such a small interior market.

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1 The NTC does not export and the GPMB handles only groundnuts, cotton, rice and palm kernels. There are therefore no channels for vegetables, poultry and cattle or handicrafts products.