Programme des emplois et des compétences techniques pour l’Afrique

Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa
EMPLOYMENT CREATION THROUGH RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAMBIA

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This report has not been officially cleared with The ILO and in no way commits that organization.
## Preface

### Chapter 1: Preliminary remarks

**a) Agricultural versus non-agricultural employment**

**b) Integrated rural development**

**c) Employment in a rural context**

### Chapter 2: Two approaches to non-agricultural employment promotion

**a) Introduction**

**b) The non-agricultural activities**

**c) Actual and possible activities**

- (1) household activities
- (2) crafts
- (3) small scale industries
- (4) rural public works

**d) Organisation, finance and marketing**

- (1) household activities
- (2) crafts
- (3) small scale enterprises
- (4) rural public works

**e) Non-agricultural employment promotion linked to rural development projects**

### Chapter 3: Existing activities for rural development

**a) The Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources**

**b) The Ministry of Local Government Lands and Mines**

**c) The Ministry of Education**

**d) Other activities**

**e) Agricultural development**

**f) Projects for agricultural development**

### Chapter 4: Final remarks

**a) Employment prospects**

**b) Village dynamics**

**c) Some problems**

### Chapter 5: Summary and recommendations
EMPLOYMENT CREATION THROUGH RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Preface

This report has been prepared for Mr. G.E. Armstrong, Chief Economist in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development. In December 1973 he had suggested that the JASPA Dakar team should try to study possibilities for non-agricultural rural employment promotion in The Gambia.

During our discussions in Banjul between November 22 and 29, 1974, it was decided that I would not do at this stage a survey of existing non-agricultural activities since at that moment it was not known which kind of data the Land Resources Development (LRD) study, carried out by the Overseas Development Ministry, would provide. Instead I would prepare a background paper showing the possibilities for rural employment promotion. This report also summarizes the existing structures for rural development and the role they could play in the promotion of non-agricultural employment.

The problem of employment planning in The Gambia is treated in another report prepared for Mr. S.B.M. Fye of the same Ministry, to which reference will be made in the text.

After discussions with the leader of the LRD project I felt it would be possible to do a more thorough study of non-agricultural employment possibilities on the basis of their material which will be available in May 1975. In that case this report might serve as a background paper for such a study.

I would like to thank the Gambian Government and the UNDP for the assistance given during my mission. For this report I have heavily drawn from previous missions to The Gambia and a number of reports made available to me.

Meine Pieter van Dijk
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Dakar, January 1975.
CHAPTER 1
PRELIMINARY REMARKS

a) Agricultural versus non-agricultural employment

The distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural employment is an analytical one, and is more difficult to apply if the level of development in the rural areas is low. In less developed societies everybody is involved in agricultural and non-agricultural activities at the same time, making the distinction for employment promotion purposes somewhat artificial.

In the application of this distinction the size of the rural community is another crucial factor, since its size influences the degree of specialization. In larger communities it will be more likely to find that non-agricultural activities are carried out by specialists. In the smaller ones most people will be involved at the same time in agricultural and non-agricultural activities.

In this report agricultural and non-agricultural activities are treated in relation to each other. Agricultural production is the basis for non-agricultural activities. These either:

- serve agricultural production
- use agricultural products or
- are possible if agricultural production is above a certain sufficiency level.

According to the author non-agricultural employment promotion should be linked to agricultural development. This idea is also indirectly expressed in the title of this note: (Agricultural and non-agricultural) Employment creation through rural development. The idea will be elaborated in chapter 2.

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1 This formulation implies that we define agricultural activities rather strictly. In the case of The Gambia this means mainly the production of groundnuts, rice or cotton.
b) **Integrated rural development**

As a working definition of rural development I have chosen D.L.W. Anker's definition. According to him the concept relates to: strategies, policies and programmes for the development of rural areas and the promotion of activities carried out in such areas (agriculture, forestry, fishery, rural crafts and industries, the building of social and economic infrastructure) with the ultimate aim of achieving a fuller utilisation of available physical and human resources and thus higher incomes and better living conditions for the rural poor, and effective participation of the latter in the development process.

The attractiveness of this definition is:

a) its broad scope: agriculture, forestry, fishery, rural crafts, industries and infrastructure are mentioned.

b) its accentuation of the social and economic infrastructure. Even when a good road connects a village with other parts of the country, social isolation can still be felt very strongly. The village does not automatically share, because of this road, in national health, education, water or electricity facilities. Nor does the village necessarily receive more assistance to achieve development. It may become however, because of this road, conscious of its need for development.

c) it stresses the use of available resources.

d) along with higher incomes, better living conditions for the rural poor are demanded. This stresses the importance of an equal distribution of the benefits of development.

e) finally it pleads for an active participation of the rural poor in the development process, which seems the only guarantee for a continuous development with an equalizing effect.

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With respect to rural development it is easier to mention a number of problems than to suggest concrete solutions. The prevailing idea at the moment stresses an integrated approach to rural problems. Integrated rural development means in this report, to try to be conscious of all the problems at the same time and try to solve them simultaneously. In this report that would mean that thinking on agricultural development should be linked with thinking on non-agricultural employment possibilities.

It should be noted that integrated development has sometimes a different meaning: considering the problem of the urban and the rural sector at the same time, or also: integration within the rural sector of various components of a rural development programme.

c) Employment in a rural context

Employment and unemployment have a somewhat different meaning in the rural areas than in the urban context. Unemployment in the city means mostly: being without wage employment. The word employment will be discussed now; unemployment in the rural areas does not really exist, but under-employment is a very usual thing.

In the first place the real problem for people in the rural areas is to make a decent living. A reasonable income seems more important than working a regular forty hours' week with a fixed income, social security and 20 days holiday a year.

An implication of this paragraph is that an increase in agricultural productivity and hence an increase in income may be more important than the creation of non-agricultural employment. This implies that the costs and benefits of creating non-agricultural employment will have to be compared with those of creating additional agricultural employment as well as those incurred to achieve a rise in agricultural productivity.

1 Low productivity, low level of education and training, the lack of an organisational structure etc.
3 D.L.W. Anker: op.cit
4 This statement implies a value judgement. Village-inhabitants may have a different point of view, for example because of the status associated with wage employment.
Secondly, work in rural areas depends very much on the season. At times one has to do more than 10 hours of heavy work a day, at others there is almost no work or only very light work to be done.

In this light many non-agricultural activities can be understood to have a complementary character: they provide work at a time when there is no other work available or they can provide additional income to the income gained by farming activities.

On the other hand it is possible to find people working full-time in non-agricultural activities. As mentioned above the degree of specialization depends very much on the level of development and the size of the community.

CHAPTER 2

TWO APPROACHES TO NON AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT PROMOTION

a) Introduction

The distinction between agricultural and non-agricultural employment promotion will be used in this chapter in order to be able to suggest policies that will stimulate non-agricultural employment. The problems and the costs of increasing agricultural employment and productivity are not further considered except briefly in chapter 3e and f.

Two different approaches to non-agricultural employment will be elaborated:

- The first approach takes the existing non-agricultural activities and occupations as a starting point and investigate means to upgrade them, or initiate them in communities where these activities do not yet exist.

The second approach suggests linking the stimulation of non-agricultural activities to agricultural or rural development projects. For each project one would consider which non-agricultural activities are necessary for the project and should be promoted, or which other activities could be stimulated along with the project. Preference is given to this second approach because of some advantages explained in the following text.
Something should be said of the importance of the non-agricultural sector. The non-agricultural sector provides a number of products and services to the villages and it is also known from studies in Nigeria for example\(^1\) that a large part of the labor force is employed in this sector, permanently or on a part-time basis.

Summarizing it may be said that non-agricultural activities are important since they provide employment possibilities (seasonal for the whole year through), they provide additional income, they diversify the rural economy and are crucial for a balanced future development of the rural communities.

b) The non-agricultural activities

A number of socio-economic studies have been undertaken in The Gambia as a part of Land Resources Development project. The data are not yet published, but according to the Mid-term review report information has been collected "about all aspects of the village's social and economic infrastructure using a combination of interviews, observation and a series of questionnaires". The project leader Mr. Dunsmore explained that these data can be made available in 1975. Since they will be on computer tape it would not be too difficult to ask for a number of cross-calculations to get a picture of the non-agricultural activities and the people involved in these activities.

A restriction may be that the 12 villages from which this data was collected are all in the Eastern part of the country which limits the representativity of the data.

\(^1\) ILO: Socio-economic conditions in the Ifo, Otta and Ilaro districts of the Western State of Nigeria, a fact-finding report for the Pilot Project for Rural Employment Promotion in the Western State (Geneva, 1970). In this study it is found that some 40 percent of the employed males in rural Western Nigeria were engaged entirely or part-time in non-farm activities. Besides increasing their number, their work can also be made more productive.
Mr. Dunsmore's own impression was that the most important activities found in the villages were: trading, blacksmithing, money lending, woodcarving, leather working and music making.

Table 1 gives a list of the activities and occupations that can be found in the rural areas ordered according to increasing complexity. The advantage of this grouping is that it shows what is existing at the moment, and its degree of sophistication.

Alternatively one can subdivide these activities considering the conditions under which they take place, in:

- household activities
- cottage industry type of activities
- traditional crafts
- small-scale industries
- rural public works.

A drawback of this classification is that once one starts developing a craft, it will become a small-scale industry at a certain moment. In the same way a simple activity like keeping bees can become a very modern one if the honey is processed in such a way that it satisfies urban standards of quality.

In the following paragraphs we use the subdivision considering the conditions under which the activities take place, keeping this limitation in mind.

The cottage industry type of activities seems to be scarce so only the other ones will be considered below as actual or possible ones. In paragraph d) a number of organisational problems, as well as the problem of financing and marketing are discussed.

A number of the activities mentioned have been suggested to me by R. Storm who presently undertakes an agro-economic study in the Casamance (Senegal) for the University of Leyden, Holland.
Table 1: Non-agricultural activities in the rural areas

Most simple:
- hunting and fishing
- collecting and cutting of straw products (for roofs, matts and basket-weaving)
- cutting of trees and collecting of wood (for houses, fences and fires)
- collecting of wild growing fruit and vegetables (for consumption or processing)
- collecting of palm-wine
- collecting salt
- herding of animals
- keeping chickens or other poultry
- keeping bees
- shelling of grains (rice)
- tanning of hides

More complex:
- trade (petty trade or modern consumer goods)
- village chief
- making palm or groundnut oil
- weaving
- constructing houses
- cloth dyeing and making batiks
- hair dressing
- marabouts, wise, traditional medical advisers
- traditional transportation (sometimes with a horsecar)
- fruit and vegetables growing

Occupations:
- the blacksmith (primitive tools, eventually small farm implements)
- making shoes
- writing letters
- shop keeper
- carpentry and woodcarving (mask makers)
- musician
- well digger
- cance builder
- silver and gold smiths

Modern:
- manufacturing, hire, repair and maintenance of farm implements, bicycles etc.
- brick and tiles makers
- transport (including ferries)
- trading (agricultural inputs or luxury products)
- youth clubs

Officials:
- administrators
- taxcollectors
- extension workers
- nurses and or health inspectors
- teachers.
(1) Household activities

Non-farm activities need not be restricted to traditional handi-craft activities but can be extended substantially. For example, cloth-dyeing and batik making can be expanded for sale to the tourists or abroad. Vegetable growing and fruit collecting can be stimulated if marketing can be organised. Poultry production would be more popular if someone would come to the villages regularly to buy these products.

A problem may be the production methods used. These often need to be upgraded for example: oil production, hides tanning and making honey should be improved to satisfy the urban consumers tastes.

It goes without saying that women have an important role to play in these types of activities. The mixed vegetables schemes in The Gambia have shown that they are interested in gaining some cash.

(2) Crafts

Crafts and artisanal activities have always existed and deserve to be stimulated and upgraded e.g. carpentry, metal work and the various stages of construction work. Woodcarving, silver and gold products, weaving and leather products can be sold in tourist centres. Ceramics can be introduced, and if clay is available one can easily attempt the manufacturing of bricks.

Small-scale tool manufactures and furniture makers would be a next step in the development process, they could also take care of repair and maintenance. Finally the hiring of agricultural implements could be introduced.

This idea is expressed by e.g. S. Guha: The contribution of non-farm activities to rural employment promotion, International Labour Review, vol.109 №3, May 1974. Some of his suggestions are incorporated in this text.

Locally made shoes may have a hard time to compete with modern shoes especially since the marketing of modern shoes is much better organised.
(3) **Small-scale industries**

If the above-mentioned activities expand we will call them small-scale industries at a certain moment. A small-scale industry stimulation project is envisaged in the Banjul area with help from the UNDP and the Peace Corps. From the experiences of this project, similar projects could be designed for the rural areas. The manufacturing of farm implements would be important, but also small-scale manufacturing of concrete or soil-cement blocks can be initiated and eventually even tiles and sanitary wares could be produced locally.

Of special interest for the rural areas would be small-scale agro-based industries. Fruit, vegetables and cash crops could be processed. A fuller list of possible agro-industries can be found in the appendix of another report prepared for this Ministry and in a UNIDO report prepared for The Gambia on this subject.

(4) **Rural public works**

A number of activities could be organised in the rural areas, falling under this heading, using unskilled seasonally under-employed labor and preferably locally found products.

One could think of the following construction works: road construction or improvements (including bridges), irrigation works, construction or improvement of houses, schools, dispensaries, community centres, store houses, etc...

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1. The UNIDO has also studied the problem, for example the idea of a workshop suggested in the Neilson report may be worth trying. He also suggests to create a Gambian enterprise council, to appoint local enterprises development officers and to establish an artisan development centre. See Neilson: Small-scale industries in The Gambia (UNIDO, Vienna)


3. It should be noted that in some countries (e.g. states of India) the national construction sector is complementary to the agricultural sector in the sense of using agricultural labor in the agricultural off-season. The danger of this situation is that it pulls the people out of the rural areas and secondly that it may be only a temporary phenomenon since in the long run the industry might become capital-intensive and need less labor but need it the whole year through.
d) Organisation, finance and marketing

As shown above a lot of activities can be started or stimulated in the rural areas, but three problems do arise: who is going to organize the activities, how are they financed and the results marketed? In the case of public works the last questions would mean: are the results going to be used?

(1) Household activities

Regarding these activities some experience has been gained by a Peace corps volunteer in the organisation of a batik co-operative. The women contributed the money themselves and the tourists in Banjul bought the products. The same can be done for dyed cloth. For the interior of the country it would be more difficult to organize such handicraft activities but it could be done the same way.

A national handicrafts organization could post someone in a village for a certain period to train the people and take care of the marketing of the products and the stimulation of the co-operatives afterwards.

It would also be possible to organize marketing on a private basis. Someone would have to come to the village every month to buy certain products and sell them for his own account. In this case there is a risk of exploitation of the villages, which can be avoided in the case of a national handicraft organisation.

Vegetables and fruit growing should be organised on a co-operative basis, using the existing Department of Co-operation. With respect to poultry production, marketing is the greatest problem. Again a co-operative or private individual could help to solve this problem.

Other questions related to new activities are, who are going to benefit from the project, how are the activities going to influence the income distribution and do the activities make the rural areas more dependent of the cities? These questions are not discussed in the present report.
Crafts will have to be stimulated and developed by some kind of vocational training. It would be necessary to start a training centre, to exploit the possibilities for upgrading artisans. It would probably be necessary to provide the construction, wood and metal workers with some tools and materials. It should be noted that it is often important to promote and maintain better production methods and to stimulate the use of improved materials or designs. This raises productivity and facilitates marketing.

The Central Government will have to provide the money for these types of projects, although large support could probably be obtained from international and all kinds of private aid organizations.

Marketing in this case would probably not be a big problem since the craftsmen will produce mainly for the local market. Silver and goldsmiths usually know their trades and have their own marketing channels. The woodcarving products are sometimes bought by private traders who bring them to the tourist centres. The same seems to happen with woven materials and leather products.

Small-scale enterprises

The problems for a small-scale entrepreneur are more complex. He would need some training in accounting, some knowledge of the tax system and have some ideas about production techniques and marketing. The same centre as mentioned above for the crafts can be used, but the contents of the programme would have to be somewhat different.

In Senegal the ILO actually has such a centre at Kaffrine, as part of an agricultural and vocational training project. It has three sections: construction, wood and metal work. See an appendix of G. Barlev: The Gambia: A preliminary survey on possibilities of rural development, (UNDP/Rehavot Settlement Study Centre, Rehavot 1973).

In Kaffrine the students make certain tools during the period they stay in the centre. With respect to material, the use of local available material is stressed.
Credit facilities are important for the small-scale enterprise and the users should be well informed about the possibilities and complications of credit. Again it may be necessary for the government to provide cheap materials and equipment.

In Nigeria e.g. the idea is that the credit institutions should also provide suggestions about the running of the business and help to solve marketing problems if necessary. In Senegal, a small-scale enterprises promotion organisation exists since 1969 but De Wilde remarks that it will be necessary for the whole question of indigenous business promotion "to encompass all the factors bearing on the successful development of national enterprise", which implies that such an organisation may be necessary but is not a sufficient condition.

**Rural public works**

A lot of literature does exist on this subject. Public works can certainly contribute towards rural development, but much should be learned from previous experiences. A good organization and motivation are very important for their success. Technical know-how would have to come from a department like the Public Works Department. Unfortunately in The Gambia this Department is understaffed and has a number of problems with its actual program. Another type of organization should be envisaged, if it is not possible to extent the Departments responsibilities.

Officials in the villages may be asked to help to organize at the village level and explain to the people how they will benefit from the works. Officials are a category of people who have a special relation with the villagers. If the officials live in the villages this marks already a certain level of development. But to help to mobilise the people their relation with the people is of crucial importance.

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1. For example by means of the local enterprises development officers mentioned on page 10, note 1.
3. Like teachers, extension workers etc. (see table I).
4. From the point of view of national salary employment it should be noted that their number will probably increase in the future and that their presence will create additional employment since they will employ people in their household and will spend a certain amount of money in the village.
Sometimes they themselves are from the rural areas, but too often one finds people who still have their hearts in the city, while their role could be a dynamic one in the rural areas.

Public works are certainly going to cost money and evaluations have to be made to see if it is worth spending the money. The money will have to come partially from the village, partially from the central government and maybe from some aid organisations. The possibility of channelling the money and know-how through the Area Councils will be discussed below.

To realize an optimal utilisation of the project after its completion, the financing of the recurrent expenditures should be considered from the beginning.

e) Non-agricultural employment promotion linked to rural development

When a rural development project is formulated one will find that a number of non-agricultural activities are necessary and their promotion could be linked to the project. In the first place buildings, roads, irrigations works etc. have to be built. Secondly the presence of the project will lead to an increased demand for all kinds of goods and services, (fuel, carpentry work, wells, transportation, repairs etc.). Finally one can envisage the need for new activities as a result of the project: someone will have to sell or transport the products, someone should be educated to repair pumps and machinery, etc.

The idea of this second approach to non-agricultural employment promotion is that right from the start a project should try to stimulate the non-agricultural employment possibilities linked to the project. In this way one provides new skills and services to the rural areas, which will make life there more attractive.

An advantage of this approach is that the necessary organisational structure exists and a project budget has been made available. Other rural development projects suffered from bottlenecks external to agriculture and now these bottlenecks could be removed simultaneously with agricultural development.

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The non-agricultural activities may also fill the time of farmers who either now or when they have adopted a new approach to agriculture are underemployed. The problem in this respect is that the LRD results are not yet known. These may show for example that double cropping is often possible and will eliminate underemployment almost entirely.

An effect of rural development will be that incomes will rise. If there are no possibilities of spending this money, it will leak away to the city. For this reason local shops should be selling tools, seeds, fertilizers and consumption goods or preferably produce them. If in the village one does find furniture makers, construction workers, bicycle repairers and eventually fuel suppliers and electricians, they will have more to do because of the extra demand.

A lot can be learned from the approaches to rural development in for example Nigeria or Senegal. In the latter country research is very advanced, but the implementation lags behinds for various reasons. Nonetheless a great deal of the results should also be applicable in The Gambia.

Financing problems have to be approached at the macro level or along the lines suggested for rural public works. Marketing problems are part of the project and will have to be studied in advance.

It would be necessary to give an example of this approach and the present Agricultural Development Project (mentioned below) could have been taken for this purpose. Unfortunately I did not have the time to collect the necessary data.

In the decision making process about alternative approaches to employment promotion, the problem exists of differing results from the application of cost-benefit and investment per employee criteria. For example the benefits of someone who can repair a pump can be considerable. A cost-benefit analysis in this case would show that it is worth having a man. If on the other hand one uses investments per employee criteria, alternative employment creation may be cheaper.
EXISTING ACTIVITIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Institutional deficiencies are often a constraint to development, so it may be important to review briefly the structures existing in The Gambia for rural development activities.

a) the Ministry of Agriculture and National Resources

The Department of Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources organizes the extension service. According to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry, the ideal would be to have one extension worker to 500 farmers, but at the moment we are far from this.

A number of extension workers are actually working for the Agricultural Development Project (discussed below). Barlev\(^1\) states in his report that extension officers and assistants are too busy with commercial activities such as selling and supplying fertilisers, collecting money etc..., which deters them from professional matters. He also mentions the lack of manpower in the intermediate stratum, such as village instructors for a group of villages.

The 25 Mixed Farming Centres in The Gambia fall under this Department. Their main purpose is to train farmers in ox-drawn cultivation but the staff of the Centres are also responsible for extension activities in their areas. The functions of the mixed farming centres could be extended. They could have an important role to play in rural development if one could find financial means and personnel and if a proper programme were formulated.

The Department also offers subsidized tractor ploughing services to rice farmers, besides the ploughs, seeds and fertilisers that are sold. This year the ploughing scheme will be accompanied by a mobile workshop donated by the Russians and providing all kinds of technical services for the repair of agricultural machinery and implements.

\(^1\) G. Barlev op.cit
The horticultural staff of the Ministry have assisted with the onion and mixed vegetables growing schemes. From a production point of view these have been very successful, unfortunately marketing and the selection of the varieties were weak points.

Other responsibilities of the Ministry are channeled through the Veterinary Department, the Fisheries Division and the Department of Co-operation.

The last Department can have an important role to play for rural development. Besides the purchasing and marketing of groundnuts the co-operatives are also concerned with attendant production and subsistence credit facilities. According to Dobson there are some 62 districts societies with a total membership of 70,000 made up from some 600 villages. But there are also 25 Thrift and Credit Societies with a total membership of 1600 and considerable savings. In the past these were mostly made up of women dealing with dyeing, petty trading, sewing and rice growing. Some of the less active co-operatives involved men and were concerned with fishing and gold and silver work. A recent addition are the poultry farmers.

It can be concluded that there is an existing organization for co-operatives and that this organization should be strengthened and a number of new co-operatives organized (for handicrafts, fruit vegetables, etc.) But it should be realised that a strong motivation and a thorough organisation are crucial for their success since in the past a lot of goodwill has been lost by the co-operative movement because of some bad experiences.

b) The Ministry of Local Government Lands and Mines

The Gambia numbers five Divisions and in each division one finds

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2 The North Bank Division (Kerewan), MacCarthy Island Division (Georgetown), Western Division (Brikama), Lower River Division (Mansakonko), Upper River Division (Basse). Area Councils are to be found in Kerewan, Georgetown, Brikama, Mansakonko, Basse and also in Kombo St Mary and Kuntaur.
an Area Council dealing with local taxes used for municipal services and development activities in the area. The budget and activities of the councils are supervised by Commissioners of this Ministry and its Local Government Inspectorate.

The same Commissioners also supervise the Community Development staff in the Ministry, who guide two Community Development centres, one in Massembo in the Lower River Division and one in Basse in the Upper River Division.

Finally the Physical Planning Unit which has recently published some interesting reports on future development of The Gambia also falls under this Ministry.

One can conclude that the elements for a regional policy exist. At present there is much talk also about decentralization and if a proper relation can be established between the Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development, the Ministry of Finance and Trade and the Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Mines, regional planning with a decentralized decision structure geared towards rural development could be developed.

If we look how the system functions at the moment it should be noted that a number of Government Services actually have counterpart organizations in the Divisional capitals.

The idea of this decentralization was to spread development, in the hope that the Divisional capitals would become growth poles and absorb a part of the urbanisation process. But so far they do not seem to function as such for a number of unanalysed reasons.

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1 E.g.: The Gambia 1974, National Settlement Network Studies, UNDP-UN/OCT Physical planning and development project, (Banjul, 1974)

2 and will be compatible with the system for employment planning suggested in M.P. van Dijk op.cit, especially chapter 3.
The second level of a regional planning policy under the central government could be the Area Councils. They are now involved in rural development activities and it looks like they could be made more effective if they were reinforced. A manager, a technician (an international volunteer to start with) and a certain budget would be essential to good functioning.

At the moment the Area Councils work on a small scale to construct bridges and roads. In a later stage, they could probably be used for the ideas suggested in chapter 2 (rural public works).

Finally, Community Development activities fall under this Ministry and they should be part of an integrated policy of rural development. The centre existing in Massembe was initiated by a Dutch pensioner with support of a non-governmental organisation. The farmers are motivated to self-help in Community Development activities such as the construction roads, small bridges, schools, nurseries and wells. The other centre in Basse is more recent and helps the population to formulate projects and deal with urgent problems but without any direct material aid such as food or cement. They show how to make use of existing institutions dealing with aid and development. The experiences of both centres are worth evaluating and their findings should be taken as a starting point for new initiatives.

In general, it can be said that the existing structure could be used much better if an integrated policy with respect to the Divisions, the Area Councils and the Community Development Centres were formulated. Barlev in his reports notes that the Community Development staff could have increased the number of annual projects using the Council's money for purchasing materials and paying the farmers for their voluntary work. A number of questions of course remain to be solved. Which organisation would be the coordinating body, at which level initiatives and decisions should be taken and how is one going to staff and finance the new structure?

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1 Barlev : op.cit

2 He has the World Food Programme in mind and suggests payment could be wholly or partially in food.
The Ministry of Education

The educational policy of the Government was completely reformulated recently. It seems that a stronger emphasis will be laid on education for life in the rural areas. In general, there is a need for such and also for the development of more vocational training possibilities.

A vocational centre exists presently in Banjul, financed and organised by the UNDP/UNESCO and provides training in mechanical, automotive, carpentry and masonry trades. The pupils train later on in the workshops of the Public Works, Public Works Department, The Gambia Port Authority etc. and the Department of Agriculture.

Another Centre can be found at Lamin. It is financed by West Germany and prepares for self-employment; it also intends to contribute to the development of apprentices' training.

Finally a new college for extension workers and agronomists will start soon.

In general it should be asked in which way these institutions can help rural development. They could certainly take people from the villages who have a non-agricultural occupation or are among the better farmers and try to train them and upgrade their skills.

These people will, especially when they are somewhat older, certainly go back to their villages and could function there as non-formal educators. They will be the ones teaching the young people and training them for productive rural employment. In the case of non-agricultural activities some marketing outlet should be available, or else the fear for concurrence could spoil the idea.

d) Other activities

An organization which is very active in The Gambia is the National Freedom From Hunger Campaign Committee (FFHC). The Committee was created to be a platform for dialogue and action on priority rural development issues between the Government and the non-governmental sectors.

It is interesting to note the imperatives which FFHC Committee has formulated on the basis of their experiences in an internal note:
The Committee has identified rural training for community self-development as a top priority. For this reason, it has supported the onion growing scheme and studied the Kenyan village polytechnics programme. The latter functioned as an example of community-based rural training and it is intended to start something similar in The Gambia.

At the moment the FFHC is reformulating its programme. It seems to be important to draw the conclusions from previous experiences.

Another initiative affecting the rural areas is the Young Farmers Clubs. These clubs bring agricultural problems into the schools. Some collective rural radio listening clubs also exist serving the same purpose.

c) Agricultural development

Non-agricultural employment should be, in the author's opinion, linked to agricultural development. In The Gambia agricultural development will mean diversification away from groundnuts.

The cultivation of rice, cotton and cassava are being encouraged at the moment and the LRD study will certainly have a lot to say about the future development potential of agriculture. Fishing, animal husbandry, cattle, fruit, poultry, horticulture and forestry are the other fields deserving attention because of their development potential.

- training programmes must be concerned equally with the motivation aspect of inspiring trainees
- successful training must be integrated into the community context and apply to the community as a whole
- an account should be made of existing employment possibilities
- there is a need for coordination among programmes carried out by various government and non-government services. A national organisation should be responsive to and supportive of initiatives at the community level
Intensification of agricultural production can be reached by:
- using fertilizers and selected seeds
- using ox-ploughing
- farm development and management courses
- soil conservation
- irrigation
- selected mechanisation, using appropriate technology ideas for the choice of equipment
- determination of optimum time for sowing, fertilizing, weeding, preventive treatments, harvesting and threshing.

The LRD project studied soils, climatic conditions, areas suitable for double cropping in rice, and possibilities for the production of groundnuts, cotton and rice. Since their results are not yet published it is hard to make a forecast about the agricultural future of The Gambia.

An IDEP-team will assist with the formulation of a long-term agricultural strategy but faces the same problem of unpublished LRD data.

For our study, data on future labor requirements are of special interest. When new products and production methods have been adopted, it may well turn out that the rural population will be more intensively employed and have less time to spend on non-agricultural activities.

It has also been suggested above that increased agricultural production will stimulate the demand for non-agricultural production and services, and these will have to be provided or the incremental income will leak away or be hoarded.

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1 Some of these points come from Barlev op. cit

2 This UN-Institute in Dakar has sent professors Vu Van Thai and Ba to The Gambia recently.
f) **Projects for agricultural development**

The rice, cotton and cattle projects will be briefly reviewed below. Other projects such as the poultry development centre, the hides and skins export unit and the village water supply project will not be discussed in this report.

The agricultural development project is financed and organised with the help of the World Bank. In the first phase (1973-1975) one hopes to increase by 3,000 acres the area of irrigated rice production. The project's staff survey and design the possibilities for rice production. They provide credits, implements and seasonal inputs while the farmers do the actual work of the collective village schemes.

The project manager advocates an integrated approach to rural development and the project could certainly serve as an example for the approach to non-agricultural employment promotion advocated in chapter 2e.

A large scale cotton project in the eastern part of The Gambia aims to expand the area under cotton cultivation from 1,000 to 10,000 acres between 1974 and 1978. The project is financed by the African Development Bank. Along with the project a cotton ginnery will be built in Basse. The Gambian Produce and Marketing Board is involved in this project, and it seems that more non-agricultural activities could be linked to the project.

The livestock resources development programme is based on a number of studies by the WB, the LRD and other institutions. The UNDP project document is now available and the cattle marketing board has been re-established recently and buys 95% of the cattle marketed.

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1. The Bank provides three staff members and in the first phase (1973-1975) some 2.5 million dollars will be available, while for a second phase this amount may even be doubled.

2. Some 230 acres were established in 1973; another 1,000 were to be added in 1974.
Gambia has a large cattle population and the danger of over-grazing is a reality. The price of meat has been increased to stimulate selling. The prospects of the project seem to be rather bright.

Related non-agricultural employment possibilities could be found in the transport and in the processed meat industry. But also agricultural employment will be increased if fodder crops are grown to feed the cattle during the dry season.
CHAPTER 4

FINAL REMARKS

a) Employment prospects

The report on employment planning in The Gambia mentioned above, treat in an appendix the employment prospects for the modern sector. Together with the present report a complete, though rather rough picture of future employment prospects in The Gambia is given\(^1\). It seems that most Gambians will have to be employed in the rural areas and the Government policy should be directed towards this necessity.

A framework for reflection on non-agricultural employment promotion has been given in this report. It has been suggested to link non-agricultural employment promotion to rural development projects or consider the possibilities for promotion for each type of activity found in the rural areas, separately.

It is now necessary to evaluate the chances of implementing these two approaches, which were elaborated in chapter two.

A preference is given to the second approach linking non-agricultural employment promotion to agricultural or rural development projects. Realising that it will not be possible to do just this it is suggested to embark on both approaches. Since The Gambia is formulating its priorities in the framework of a development plan at the moment, it may be that a number of the suggestions in the text could be of some use.

b) Village dynamics

It is interesting to imagine how a village or rural area could reach a stage of self-sustained growth. Can we have for example Keynes at the village level? Keynesian theory state that the stimulation of the economy\(^2\) by means of public works or other development projects would bring the whole economy on a higher level through multiplier effects.

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\(^1\) It has never been my intention to formulate a comprehensive employment policy encompassing e.g. fiscal, monetary, wage and price policies.

\(^2\) Preferable a closed economy, like a village can be to a certain extent.
In the case of a village self-sustained growth would require that the income effects and the production surpluses of an initiative are spent and used in the village and elicit other production and income effects\(^1\). But we have to face a number of possible complications in the case of a Gambian village:

- People may spend a part of their earned money in luxury goods which will have to be "imported".
- The marketing of the fruits of a stimulation may at first not be well organized or the surplus may fall in outsiders' hands.
- Increased money supply may not elicit increased production.
- The people may not be conscious of the development potential of their village, nor will they be motivated to develop their village.

These problems all stem from the fact that the surplus may not be productively invested within the village.

It has been noted that financing is not the biggest problem in The Gambia, which means that the organization of projects and skilled manpower for that purpose are the bottlenecks. In this context it should be remembered that a lot of under-employed persons could be mobilised if an appropriate national strategy were developed.

In a country like The Gambia the most important resource is human manpower. A national strategy should be based on the existing factor endowments. In that case, modern industry will be of little importance for The Gambia since it uses mostly capital and technology\(^2\). On the other hand, rural development and small-scale activities with an appropriate level of technology should be stimulated, since in that case one uses the abundant factor.

For this purpose it is very important that the individual Gambian is convinced that the government is really concerned about his problems. One might say that The Gambia is lacking an inspiring development philosophy. In the author's opinion, a lot of problems mentioned above will be more easily solved if such a philosophy exists.

\(^1\) This resembles the principle of Chinese rural communities

c) Some problems

A choice has to be made between using either Government services or private initiative for the realization of the suggestions mentioned in Chapter two. Government services may be less flexible, but they are certainly more easily controlled. Unfortunately, a number of Government services are not yet strong enough to extend their functions and this factor should be considered.

The kind of projects suggested for rural employment promotion seem to fit very well in the framework of western private aid and volunteer organisations. They could certainly contribute to the financing and provide a number of specialists.

In the field of marketing it is regrettable that a national organisation is missing. The GPMB markets only groundnuts, rice, cotton and palm kernels while the National Trading Company does not handle any exports. Still export is very important for a country like The Gambia with a small interior market.

A number of problems still remain to be considered. In the first place the present report does not mention a number of sociological problems which will go along with rural transformation. Nor have we studied the problems of social stratification, land tenure or income distribution within the rural areas or between the rural areas and the cities.

Finally, rural development should be accompanied by the provision of services to rural areas. These services (schools, roads, health centres, amusement, electricity, water etc.) should make life in the rural areas more attractive and in such a way lessen migration. The present text has said nothing about how this should be organized.

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1 It should be noted that foreign aid may increase the dependence on other countries, and may be in conflict with a national strategy which would stress "self-reliance" for example.
Chapter 1

The report tries to study possibilities for non-agricultural rural employment promotion. The division between agricultural and non-agricultural employment seems artificial to the author, since the two are very much related. Non-agricultural employment promotion in this view should preferably be linked to agricultural or rural development. This is called an integrated rural development approach.

Chapter 2

In this chapter, two approaches to non-agricultural employment promotion are explained. The first takes the existing non-agricultural activities as starting point and investigates means to stimulate them. The second approach suggests linking the stimulation of non-agricultural employment to rural development projects.

A procedure has to be developed to compare the costs and benefits of additional employment according to the first approach and the second approach and these costs should be compared with the costs and benefits of employment creation in agriculture or in the urban areas.

Non-agricultural activities are divided in household activities, crafts, small-scale industries and rural public works.

Table 1, in the text, gives a list of these activities.

For each of the four categories some examples are elaborated and conclusions drawn with respect to their organization, financing and marketing. This is an elaboration of the first approach.

(1) Household activities
It is suggested to promote cloth dyeing, baticking, fruit and vegetables collecting, poultry, oil production, hides tanning and honey processing.

.../...
Women are extremely important for these activities and the approach should consider that. Co-operatives and a national handi-
crafts organization could organize the promotion of these activities. The problem exists as to whether marketing is to be organized by the state or by private initiative.

(2) Crafts

Woodcarving, carpentry, blacksmithing, silver and gold products, weaving, leather products, ceramics and clay bricks are mentioned as crafts deserving stimulation. It is suggested to upgrade them by providing some vocational training. They can be the stepping stones for future development. Marketing would not be a big problem since they would mostly produce for the local market.

(3) Small-scale industries

The manufacturing of farm-implements is suggested as well as concrete or soil cement blocks. In the future, tiles and sanitary wares could also be produced on a small-scale. The importance of small-scale agro-based industries is also stressed.

Concerning the organization something may be learned from the experiences of the envisaged project for small-scale business promotion in Banjul. The workshop clusters idea suggested by Neilson is also quoted.

Credit facilities should be provided as well as cheap material and business advice.

(4) Rural public works

It is suggested to construct or improve roads, houses, irrigation works schools, dispensaries, community development centres and store houses.

A good organisation and motivation are crucial for the success of public works. It is suggested that the Area Councils could organize the work with the help of officials stationed in the rural areas.
Financial problems have to be solved by dividing the burden between the Central Government, the rural areas and private organizations. An effective use of the results should be guaranteed from the beginning.

The engineering know-how would have to come from a technical organization. Probably a new division focusing especially at intermediate technology would be appropriate for this purpose.

The idea to link non-agricultural employment promotion to rural development is elaborated. This is the second approach suggested. Carpentry work, well digging, construction work, transportation and the provision of fuel are some examples. The importance of someone who can repair a pump or other equipment is reiterated. According to this approach, these activities would have to be organized along with the agricultural or rural development project. This means that training, credit and advice have to be provided.

Chapter 3

This chapter reviews the existing activities relating to rural development. The Ministry of Agriculture and National Resources encompasses the Department of Agriculture which is responsible for:

- the Extension Service:
  1) there is a need to increase the number of extension workers;
  2) they seem to be too busy with commercial activities, which deters them from professional matters;
  3) there is a lack of manpower in the intermediate stratum such as village instructors for a group of villages

- the Mixed Farming Centres:
  1) their functions should be extended, but "oxinisation" should continue.
  2) training should be reappraised and the centre should be more associated with the local community, offering a range of courses to the people.
  3) it is necessary to formulate a proper programme for the centres and:
  4) to find financial means and personnel.

- the subsidized tractor ploughing service:
  1) the possibilities of ploughing at an intermediate technology level (tractors versus tillers versus oxen) should be studied.
the provision of other services such as the preparation of sites and the construction of irrigation works may be more important than providing free tractor ploughing services.

3) the provision of such a service should be an integrated part of rural development plan.

4) the mobile workshop should also be used for other purposes

horticultural staff:

1) more attention should be paid to marketing of fruits and vegetables and the selection of seed varieties that will be distributed.

2) the onion and vegetables growing schemes should be expanded, but only if recommendation 1) is followed.

3) also store houses should be build for different kind of vegetables.

The Veterinary and Fisheries Department could also play a role in rural development, respectively by:

1) assisting the livestock development project;

2) organizing up-river fishing, fish farming or the transportation of fish to the interior.

The Department of Co-operation is very important for the organisation of rural activities:

1) the image of the co-operative movement should be improved by building up a strong organization.

2) new co-operatives should be organized in a number of fields (handicrafts, fruit and vegetables).

3) fraud and misuse should be made more easily detectable.

4) a closer co-operation between the staff of the Department of Co-operation and the extension workers should be organised. They should know each others' work.

5) a system has to be designed to provide credits for initiatives in the rural areas through the co-operatives and the Gambian Commercial and Development Bank.

The Ministry of Local Government Lands and Mines:

1) a strong central organization should co-ordinate the work of the Area Councils and the Community Development staff and formulate an integrated approach to rural development in consultation with the other ministries involved in rural development.

.../...
2) the elements for a regional policy are existing. If an agreement can be reached between the different ministries involved, regional planning with a decentralized decision structure, geared towards rural development, can be developed.

3) the idea of a number of growth poles all over the country should be revived and the poles should be stimulated accordingly.

4) the Area Councils could be made more effective if proper management, technical skills and a budget were supplied.

5) the Area Councils can be used for the organization of rural public works.

6) it is suggested that other projects to be initiated in the rural areas should be based on the results of an evaluation of the Development Centres' activities.

7) problems that remain to be solved are:

- what would be the co-ordinating body for rural development?
- at which level should decisions and initiatives be taken?
- how are the new structures to be staffed and financed?

The Ministry of Education:

1) the new educational policy, with a strong emphasis on education for life in the rural areas, should be fully implemented;

2) vocational training should be expanded;

3) existing institutions should consider training people from the rural areas for a short period;

4) these people should afterwards be used for non-formal education in the villages.

Other activities:

1) the imperatives formulated by the FFHC on the basis of their experiences should be made well known;

2) their organization should be strengthened. A permanent secretariat for the Committee seems to be essential;

3) if the organization functions as a platform of ideas on rural development, the Government should be informed about their results;

4) the Young Farmers Clubs and the Collective Radio Listening Clubs should be better utilized.

Agricultural development:

1) diversification should be stimulated.

2) besides other agricultural products, fishing, animal husbandry, cattle, fruit, poultry, horticulture, and forestry deserve attention.
3) ox-ploughing, soil conservation, fertilizing, irrigation, the provision of good seeds and advice are important for agricultural development.

4) the results of the LRD study may partially change the pattern of agricultural production and deserve serious attention.

5) the existing projects for agricultural development could be extended to consider also non-agricultural employment possibilities related to the project.

Chapter 4

This chapter makes some final remarks about the employment prospects for The Gambia, about village dynamics and some other problems.

1) employment prospects for The Gambia will lay primarily in the rural areas and in small-scale projects.

2) it is suggested that both approaches mentioned in chapter 2 should be tried at the same time, although a preference is given to the approach that links non-agricultural employment promotion to agricultural or rural development projects.

3) the dynamics of village development are briefly discussed to show some of the complications for The Gambia: marketing problems, the preference to spend money on luxury products, the lack of increase in production as a reaction to increased demand and the lack of ideological motivation.

4) it is suggested that a national development policy should concentrate on the abundant factor in The Gambia: labor. Rural development and small-scale activities with an appropriate level of technology should be stimulated.

5) the importance of a national development strategy, showing the people in the rural areas that the Government is really concerned about them, is stressed.

6) the approach suggested in chapter 2 fits very well in the philosophy of private aid and volunteer organizations; they could be used to provide financing and manpower.

7) for marketing abroad a new organization is necessary since the GPMB markets only cash crops and the NTC does not handle any export at all, while export is very important for a small country like The Gambia.
8) rural development should go along with the provision of services to the rural areas: water, electricity, health centres, amusement etc.

9) a more profound study of non-agricultural employment using LWC data or data based on a survey is desirable. But an approach focusing on the experiences of existing organizations may be as important.