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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS SMALL-SCALE ENTREPRENEURS
IN AFRICA**

presented by

Keith Harston

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDEGENOUS SMALL-SCALE ENTREPRENEURS IN AFRICA

by

KEITH MARSDEN

I.L.O.

1. the case for small-scale industry playing a leading role in the economic development of Africa is by now well established and documented.^{x)} Governments are becoming increasingly aware of the need to design programmes and policies which will encourage the growth of small businesses. This present paper will concentrate on just one aspect of these programmes, the selection and training of indigenous small-scale entrepreneurs (both existing and prospective) in an African context.^{xx)} It is worth reiterating at the outset however that these will only be effective if small businesses in general operate in a favourable economic climate. This is largely conditioned by sound public policies, such as the provision of adequate credit facilities, equitable pricing and allocation of scarce raw materials, a fair share of licences for imported equipment and tariff protection for infant industries.
 2. We shall discuss the question of appropriate training programmes for African small-scale businessmen in the following sequence:
 - First of all, we will describe the main functions of the entrepreneur and examine some of the personal characteristics required for success.
 - Secondly, illustrate the level and content of the teaching material and demonstration techniques desired, including various ways of communicating given knowledge.
 - Thirdly, suggest suitable institutional settings for such training.
- 1) See for example: H.W. Singer: Small-scale Industry in African Economic Development in "International Development: Growth and Change", McGraw Hill, 1964.
- Small Industry in East Africa, Economic Commission for Africa, October 1964.
- I.L.O. Activities relating to the Development of Small-scale and Handicraft Industries in Africa, 1960-65, I.L.O. Geneva, December 1965.
- The Role of Small Enterprises in the Industrialisation of the Arab Countries, I.L.O. Geneva, January 1966.
- xx) Although this paper was written with Africa south of the Sahara especially in mind, some of the concepts may also be relevant to developing countries in other parts of the world.

3. Four reasons can be advanced for adopting this approach:

1. Training resources, both human and financial, are scarce. If they are to be employed to the maximum effect, some selection procedures are necessary whereby instruction can be devoted to those persons who have the aptitudes and motivations to gain most benefit from it. Anyone who is to separate the sheep from the goats among candidates for entrepreneurial training programmes should have a broad understanding of the qualities demanded and be able to identify them in a heterogeneous group of people. This applies especially to Africa, where entrepreneurs have been drawn from an expatriate class in the past. Given the desire to "africanise" industry, this means that many of the trainees will be starting from scratch without a successful business record behind them as proof of their potential for further development. The personal characteristics of the candidates must therefore feature more prominently in the selection process. We will show that entrepreneurs require some special innate characteristics if they are to succeed, and these are not necessarily disclosed by conventional academic tests.
2. Similarly when drawing up training syllabuses one should be familiar with the kind of things that the owners of small firms in a range of industries have to know if their businesses are to survive and prosper. Even if, in one sense, entrepreneurs are born and not made, they can still be taught various techniques which will help them to make the best use of their natural instincts. The aim should be to include all essential elements of their duties and functions while at the same time recognising their limitations, so as to avoid cramming them with a lot of irrelevant or theoretical knowledge which they cannot apply in their particular situations. These limitations can be personal (educational level, prior industrial experience) functional (the fact that they are usually solely responsible for all aspects of management determines the amount of knowledge they can absorb) and environmental (the machinery at their disposal or within their means, the availability of outside finances, the skills of their workers, the characteristics of the market, etc.).
3. Given a judicious selection of information and techniques, a lot still depends upon how this knowledge is put across. A course on production management given to a group of diverse manufacturers may fail because each one is unable to relate the generalised concepts to his own narrow product field. An equally important consideration is the extent to which classroom instruction should be combined with on-the-job practice and management development with technological training.
4. The institutional framework for these training programmes must be designed around the particular needs and circumstances of the recipients. The owner/manager of a small business can rarely afford to spend more than a day or two away from his workplace, for instance. A three months full-time course in a central institute is generally impractical for existing entrepreneurs, whereas night classes in local technical schools might fit the bill well. Potential newcomers to the ranks, on the other hand, may require a fairly short period of intensive ground work instruction which will limit the time during which they will be a charge on their families or the

state. This may be followed up by in-plant advice from extension personnel while they are finding their feet in their own businesses.

4. Having set out and explained our line of approach, let us now elaborate on the points given above. In the space available it can only be a cursory coverage but we hope to stimulate further discussion and fresh thinking on this important topic.

Entrepreneurial Functions and Characteristics

5. Various elements can be identified in entrepreneurial activity. These will be related to the personal characteristics that should be possessed by entrepreneurs.

a) Risk Taking

6. Most analysts (e.g. Schumpeter, Lazarsfeld, Meier and Baldwin) agree that the executive or entrepreneurial role calls for decision making under uncertainty. Characteristically, the factors determining the outcome of business efforts are numerous and difficult to assess and control. The sale of goods on a more or less free market is, of course, one major source of these difficulties; the dispositions of buyers are subject to only limited control and prediction. They in turn are influenced by those diffuse but important factors which go under the label of general business conditions, and possible courses of action which may be beyond ready prediction or control. The great part of the efforts of business executives is directed towards minimising uncertainties.
7. In the case of small private businesses the entrepreneur will have to risk also his own savings, or those of his family or close associates. It should be stressed, however, that entrepreneurship is not synonymous with capitalism or private ownership of the means of production. Entrepreneurial qualities are required equally by the managers of public sector organizations and co-operatives if they are to survive in the "mixed" economies present in many African countries. And they are being increasingly demanded of executives in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, as central directives are relaxed and decisions on what to make and how to make it are left to individual management and where the market will determine the wisdom or otherwise, of their decisions.
8. It follows that people who are attracted to and perform well in an entrepreneurial role should be people who like working under the conditions described, and should "blossom" in situations of moderate uncertainty where their efforts or skills can make a difference to the outcome. The entrepreneur should possess what the psychologists call a high need ("n" for short for Achievement. That is, he should gain strong satisfaction from overcoming challenges and obstacles in his path, and react positively to them, rather than exhibit anxiety and indecision on face of new situation. He should generally possess considerable self-confidence and will tend to perceive
- x) F.X. Sutton: "Achievement Norms and the Motivation of Entrepreneurs" in "Entrepreneurship and Economic Growth", Harvard University Research Centre in Entrepreneurial History, 1954.

the probability of success, when faced with a challenge, as greater than do those with low "n" Achievement, particularly when there are no facts to justify their estimates. High Achievement motivation can be measured by various psychological tests and by overt evidence in the individual's record, e.g. success in competitive sports (as illustrated by Gamoudi of Tunisia, Bikale of Ethiopia and Keino of Kenya, for example), can be taken to indicate some of the qualities required of African entrepreneurs.

b) Energetic, Innovating Activity

9. A second component of the entrepreneurial role frequently mentioned is energetic, innovating activity. The entrepreneur should always be searching for means of doing things in a new and better way. He must be persuaded that change can occur and that it can be brought about by individual action.

10. It has sometimes been argued in the past that no real innovation is required in the developing countries, that they only need to apply existing knowledge and techniques evolved elsewhere. It is now being realised that technical advance does not consist merely of imitation of Western or East European methods. Few techniques can be adopted from abroad without a considerable amount of adaptation, which requires solving unique problems. The factory in, say, Western Europe or the United States depends to such a great degree upon the technical and institutional complex within which it operates, that if it were deposited intact in any less developed economy and run by its Western managers in the same way in which they run it in the West, it would break down within a very short time. To make it operate efficiently, the Western managers would have to solve problems of supply, marketing, maintenance, repair, personnel relations, management structure and contractual and financial relations which they had never before faced. Indigenous individuals attempting to introduce new production units or methods must likewise solve problems, large or small, which no-one anywhere has previously faced.

11. The creative, problem-solving personalities exist in every country but need to be identified and encouraged so that the rigidities of traditional hierarchical societies can be reduced. In selecting persons for entrepreneurial training it is necessary to distinguish them from the natural bureaucrats, those who seek both protection from anxiety and a desire for arbitrary authority in hierarchical organizations. These are

x) For a full discussion of achievement motivation and its role in economic development, see D.C. McClelland: "The Achieving Society", D. van Nostrand, Princeton, 1961.

xx) Everett E. Hagen, "The Role of Different Sciences in the Teaching Curricula of the Institutes", 4th Annual Meeting of Directors of Training Institutes in the field of Economic development, O.E.C.D., Washington, September 1964.

not likely to make effective entrepreneurs.

12. Again various tests have been devised to identify the energetic, creative individuals. For instance Arenson^{x)} has demonstrated that when asked to doodle freely on a piece of paper, they tend to fill up the space with discrete and different lines rather than scribble backwards and forwards over the same place. They seek variety rather than sameness in what they draw. At first sight this might seem somewhat theoretical and remote from practical realities. It has, however, been tried out in the field with promising results. A very interesting study by Frazer^{xx)} in India shows a high correlation between the "n" Achievement rating of trainees on a village mechanics course, as disclosed by the graphic expression method, and their subsequent success as small scale entrepreneurs. Such lines of investigation would seem to be well worth pursuing in Africa.
13. The need is recognised by African leaders. For example the government delegate of Togo, Mr. Adossoma had this to say to the 1966 Conference of the I.L.O. "It is too often forgotten that the success of an undertaking depends largely upon the entrepreneur. When we say that managerial staff is lacking in many African countries, that is not to say that Africans lack enterprise. But this spirit requires a good deal of experience and certain qualities: rational training of intelligence, moral courage, human qualities, a certain inclination for risk and so on. But the lack of the spirit of initiative among many Africans is partly due to the heritage of the colonial era. And so we must change this mentality and attitude towards work; we must decolonise, we must clear the minds of most of our compatriots, because the time when everything came from the metropolitan territory is gone. We are now entirely responsible for the future and we must develop a spirit of initiative and of creative imagination".^{xxx)}
14. May we suggest that this latent spirit already exists in Africa. It just needs to be brought to the surface and equipped with the tools to make it effective in industry. And particularly important, those who possess creative imagination must be encouraged, by appropriate financial and social incentives, to channel it into business rather than exclusively into white collar jobs which are presently so much more attractive in many African countries.

c) Individual Responsibility

15. Entrepreneurs frequently have to make decisions for which they bear sole responsibility. Responsibility of this sort implies individualism. It is not tolerable unless it embraces both credit for successes and blame for failures, and leaves

x) E. Aronson: "The Need for Achievement as measured by Graphic Expression". In J.W. Atkinson (Ed.) "Motives in Fantasy Action and Society", van Nostrand, 1958.

xx) T.M. Frazer: "Achievement Motivation as a Factor in Rural Development": A report on Research in Western Orissa, Haverford College, 1961, quoted in McClelland, op. cit.

xxx) 1966 International Labour Conference. Official Record.

the individual free to claim or accept the consequences, whatever they may be. x) The achievement satisfaction of the owner/businessman comes from having initiated the action that is successful and not just in public recognition. Again this has implications for policy in Africa. The entrepreneur should be neither horned in from all sides by controls over his actions nor spoon fed by advisory services which make all the decisions for him. He needs ample scope to choose his own course of action from a variety of alternatives. If the market mechanism is allowed to function properly, this should provide many of the necessary economic sanctions and rewards. There remains, of course, a wide area in which government intervention or guidance is required to ensure that the pursuit of private gain does not conflict with social welfare. And positive government action has to be taken to restore some semblance of balance to the lopsided economies which have been inherited from the colonial era.

d) Knowledge of Results or Actions

16. The entrepreneur ordinarily has definite concrete knowledge as to whether he has done a good job or made a series of correct decisions. The review of a business firm's activities on well defined, tangible needs, such as the profitable manufacture and sale of piston rings or toothbrushes, implies a focus on the concrete outcome of complicated courses of action. Businessmen seem to mean something like this when they stress that business is "practical". Research has shown that persons with a high need for Achievement, which appears to be a vital characteristic of entrepreneurship, perform significantly better when they have positive and definite "feedback" as to how well they are doing. This should be objective confirmation. Profits might be described as one form of concrete feedback, not only, or even necessarily as a tangible personal reward, but as an objective measure of success.
17. On the contrary, those with a predominant need for Affiliation (i.e. for the establishment of close friendly relationship with others as the primary motivation) are more concerned to learn from others whether they had been behaving nicely and properly according to the best rules of co-operative interaction. This type of personality might be better fitted for the civil service or the very large industrial organizations.
18. From the psychological point of view, it does not automatically follow that all kinds of people like to have concrete knowledge of results of their choices of action. Such knowledge is a source of anxiety because it cuts both ways: it provides not only proof of success but also inescapable evidence of failure. Consequently some people prefer functioning in an occupation in which a person can rest assured that he is doing a good job if he follows established traditions closely. To want more definite feedback is to run a greater risk of being wrong. The success of a businessman, however, is determined by "results", not by following established prac...

x) Sutton, op. cit.

xx) As personified by William Whyte in "The Organisation Man". Simon and Schuster, 1956.

tices. x)

19. Research has suggested that those individuals who have demonstrated a pronounced mechanical aptitude (making things with with a direct visual feedback of the results) in adolescence tend to become better entrepreneurs (so long as they also possess some of the other characteristics we have discussed) than do those with a particular flair for getting on well with people, or executing orders conscientiously, or manipulating ideas. This is especially true of the industrial entrepreneur who has to start on a small scale through lack of capital, and must work on the shop floor himself at the beginning. Prospective small-scale entrepreneurs in tribal Africa may therefore be found among those who have made the best canoes or weapons or liked to dismantle and repair bicycles, etc.

e) Long Range Planning and Organisational abilities

20. Industrial entrepreneurship, usually involving investment in fixed assets, requires long term planning and anticipation of future possibilities, and not merely reacting to emergencies as they arise. The entrepreneur has to think ahead more than most people, and generally the larger a business grows the greater the importance that must be given to planning.
21. He must also organise the activities of other persons - a co-ordinating function. It is in this area of planning and co-ordination that the strictly managerial functions assume importance, and where managerial techniques and tools, which can be taught and acquired, can be combined with the innate entrepreneurial characteristics which we have been discussing.
22. All the labels which are given to specialised managerial techniques found in large organisations, industrial engineering, cost accounting, preventative maintenance, inventory control, market research, personnel management, etc., can also be applied to the activities of the owner/manager of a small firm. The difference between them is largely of sophistication and complexity. Most managerial techniques involve control - control of workers, materials, machinery, quality, money, etc. When large numbers of any of these things are involved then the controls over them must be formalised and "depersonalised" in this way decisions can be made on factual information which has not been collected or observed by the manager himself. While work routines and rules of behaviour (for time keeping, disputes, etc.) must be codified and instilled through formal media. This in turn requires techniques of selecting, collecting, recording, sifting, analysing and communicating these control information and instructions. Hence the specialised clerical, technical, supervisory and managerial personnel which must be present in large organisations if they are to operate smoothly and the directors are to be fed with the data they need for long term planning. This explains why the production economies of scale achieved in large firms may be offset by higher administrative overheads.
23. In very small firms, however, most of these techniques and personnel are unnecessary, because the numbers of workers,

x) McClelland op. cit.

machines and products involved are small enough for the control to be exercised by one man, largely by personal action or instructions based upon his observations, experience and memory, rather than on recorded data. Nevertheless the same basic functions are still required in both small and large firms. Take quality control for example. The success of both types of organizations depends, inter alia, upon maintaining a consistent quality of product to meet the standards demanded by their particular markets. The small-scale entrepreneur, like the managers of large firms, needs to know what is required of his product and how to reach this standard by the selection of materials, and in the production process. But he can see or inspect a wide enough selection of customers, suppliers, materials, work in progress and finished goods, to be able to set these standards and control them himself. The very large organization, on the other hand, needs personnel familiar with probability theory for the sampling of markets and products, laboratory examination of materials, psychological and medical tests for the selection of inspectors, etc., i.e. systematic procedures to measure and record the characteristics of people and things in an objective way so that control can be maintained, despite large numbers and remoteness from the point of activity or source of information on the part of management.

24. This distinction between managerial functions in small and large firms is an important one for those who have to draw up training syllabuses. It will be seen that the managerial tools required by small-scale entrepreneurs have a predominantly technological content. A course on quality control for small shoemakers, for example, would include instruction on how to cut leather, to take account of the lines of stretch and varying substances of each skin, to control the height of the backparts of the shoes, etc. It would not cover such topics as statistical control of experiments, activity sampling and the correlation of the length of the working day with the reject rate of quality inspectors, all of which might feature in a course for quality control managers of large shoe factories. These latter are generalised techniques which can be applied to a wide variety of products. The former however demands a detailed knowledge of the particular product in question, its materials and components and the manufacturing process used.
25. Of course common elements and principles can be found in the practice of management from one small business to another in different industries. Also as a business grows, less reliance can be placed on the owner's observations and decision making becomes more "ritualised", based upon assembled data or delegated authority. An enterprise employing only 5 workers can more easily be controlled by word of mouth decisions by the owner than one with 75 employees. And there are undoubtedly differences in this respect according to the technology used, e.g. between process and "one-off" industries.
26. In general, however, it would seem that training courses for prospective African entrepreneurs, or for those already operating units with fewer than 100 workers, ought to be built around the particular technology of each trade. One might go as far as saying that the teaching of any techniques connected with production management should be an integral part of a technical training or skill-up grading course. This

means that the trainers should be familiar with specific industries and the techniques appropriate to them, rather than be specialised in one or other of the managerial fields such as industrial engineering, marketing, accounting, etc.

27. On this point a distinction should be made between training courses and consultancy services. A good industrial engineer or marketing consultant, if given sufficient time in a client's factory, will be able to acquire enough technical knowledge of the particular product being manufactured to adapt his generalised management technique to the needs of the situation. A specialised industrial background is not an imperative in this kind of consultancy work. But this approach to development is very expensive and would mean that only a tiny fraction of firms could be covered in the small-scale industry sector. Classroom training, combined with short visits to each entrepreneur by extension service staff allows knowledge to be disseminated more widely. Here, however, the instructors do not have the time to gain the necessary specialist knowledge of each trade from scratch. They must therefore bring it with them in the form of prior experience.
28. Even this, by itself, is insufficient. When foreign instructors are used they should not only have a specialised industrial background but, before embarking on a training course, they should be given an opportunity of discovering the undoubted differences which will exist between these industries in their own countries and the African country to which they are assigned. An awareness of these differences, and some understanding of the economic and social factors responsible, are prerequisites for well designed training curricula. A lot of time spent preaching the virtues of flow production lines and high division of labour which might be applicable in the expert's home country, will be wasted if the capital and managerial resources required to set up and control them are just not available locally.
29. The fact that successful technical co-operation programmes involve much more than a direct transfer of knowledge is being appreciated by both donors and recipients alike. Thus Professor Everett Hagen has said "The American who feels that his technical method of doing a job, and of organising an enterprise for its doing, is the most efficient way, and that his job is to show the indigenous individual the efficient Western way has partly failed in his job before he starts. The adviser's job is to learn the context within which the indigenous individual operates and to be creative in adapting advanced techniques so that they will function within that relationship. ^{xx)}
- x) This point is stressed in the Conclusion of the Meeting of Experts on Social and Cultural Factors in Management Development, I.L.O. Geneva 1965, which discusses training techniques for professional managers of large-scale industry.
- xx) From Professor Hagen's contribution to "Development of the Emerging Countries - An Agenda for Research", The Brookings Institute 1962.

30. Similarly Mr. Maceess, the Congolese (Brazzaville) government delegate to the 1966 I.L.O. Conference expressed the hope that "experts will endeavour to acquaint themselves fully with the needs of the countries helped, to adapt their counsels to the needs expressed and not to seek through rigid(x) introversion the adaptation of the latter to the former."
31. These views apply particularly to anyone working in the area of small-scale industries, which operate at the grass roots level of economic and social life in each country. They are therefore a truer reflection of its characteristics than many large-scale organisations which exist in "foreign" enclaves of their own.

TEACHING METHODS

32. This leads us to a discussion of teaching methods. Most of the existing or prospective entrepreneurs in Africa will have had only a primary or technical secondary education. They will not be accustomed to thinking in abstract or generalised terms. Even those managerial techniques which have universal application in small businesses (like some accounting methods which are required for external control purposes - taxation, etc.) still need to be described and illustrated by reference to the particular products and processes familiar to the trainees if they are to be grasped thoroughly. The owners of small factories should not be expected to relate general principles to their own specialised needs. It is far better to teach them in a technical language which has a direct interest to them.
33. In view of the shortage of teachers with an industrial background in Africa, a strong case can be made out for the use of teaching machines and programmed books. These should have been prepared by persons acquainted with the local situation. Material assembled for presentation in the West of Eastern Europe will generally be inadequate. A liberal use of pictorial images to convey ideas is called for in multi-lingual tribal societies, where the knowledge of the lingua-franca, English or French, may be rudimentary. These will also help the entrepreneurs to transmit their newly acquired knowledge to their own workers who will often be illiterate. Visual aids of all kinds, flannel boards, overhead projectors, flip charts and films, should be employed at every opportunity to explain and reinforce the written and spoken word.
34. In parenthesis, it is interesting to note that the recent developments in learning theory, upon which programmed instruction is based, have reinforced the arguments in favour of the "bridging" role that small firms can play in the transition from a backward to an advanced industrial economy. Just as the individual learns best if the knowledge is given to him in the form of small, graduated steps, at each of which he can check whether he has absorbed the information before proceeding to the next, so society as a whole can more readily gain the knowledge and experience to run a complex industrial structure if it has gone through the stages of operating small and medium businesses with relatively simple

x) Provisional Record International Labour Conference, 13 June 1966.

technologies and organisational problems. In other words, learning in all its forms, would be seen as a cumulative, progressive process.

35. Returning to training methods, case studies can be useful in simulating a business problem, but these should preferably contain local characters and situations and refer to the particular industries from which the trainees are drawn. As far as possible, however, situations should be experienced or witnessed rather than simulated. On-the-job training, where the entrepreneur is helped to overcome real life problems as they arise, is better than desk study. Group visits to factories to see manager techniques in action may be arranged. Full time residential courses for would-be entrepreneurs could have a small manufacturing unit attached, run on commercial lines, in which the trainees could be given responsibility for certain aspects of the day to day operation during this period.

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

36. Finally, we come to the question of the appropriate institutional framework for these training programmes. A formula which is frequently encountered is the multi-purpose small industry institute sited in a major city, but with extension arms aimed at providing services to smaller units in the provinces. Experience has shown that this is not an ideal answer. Some of the reasons do not concern us now, but of relevance are the following factors:
- a) Small entrepreneurs living more than a few kilometers away from the Institute cannot afford the time or expense to attend courses. Their businesses would collapse if they left them for several days on end, except in the rare cases when they have partners who are able to carry on in their absence.
 - b) It is very difficult to find qualified extension personnel willing to travel around giving advice to the entrepreneur in situ. Government pay scales and travel expenses are often not attractive enough. Their families live in the capital city where amenities are very much better. Hotel accommodation in the villages and small towns is frequently primitive.
 - c) An institute designed to serve small firms per se, in whatever industries they may be found, usually finds itself staffed with generalists or administrators and lacks the technical experience in depth to contribute very much to specialised needs of each industry.
 - d) The attitude of the small-scale entrepreneurs towards these government sponsored organizations may be, at best, one of apathy because they feel that they have little to learn from "theoreticians" and because they have no financial stake in their operation, and at worst, a suspicion of government prying into their own affairs.
37. If these points have any validity, a new approach is suggested. One of the major arguments for small-scale industry playing a

leading role in African industrialization is the fact that small units can be viable in the smaller towns, and that the geographical scattering of industry will induce more balanced economic and social development between urban and rural areas. Training programmes could assist in this process if they too were decentralised, by bringing them to the entrepreneurs rather than visa-versa. The physical facilities probably exist already in the provinces, in the form of classrooms and equipment in the technical schools under the educational ministries. If not, any meeting room can be improvised and existing small factories used as demonstration units.

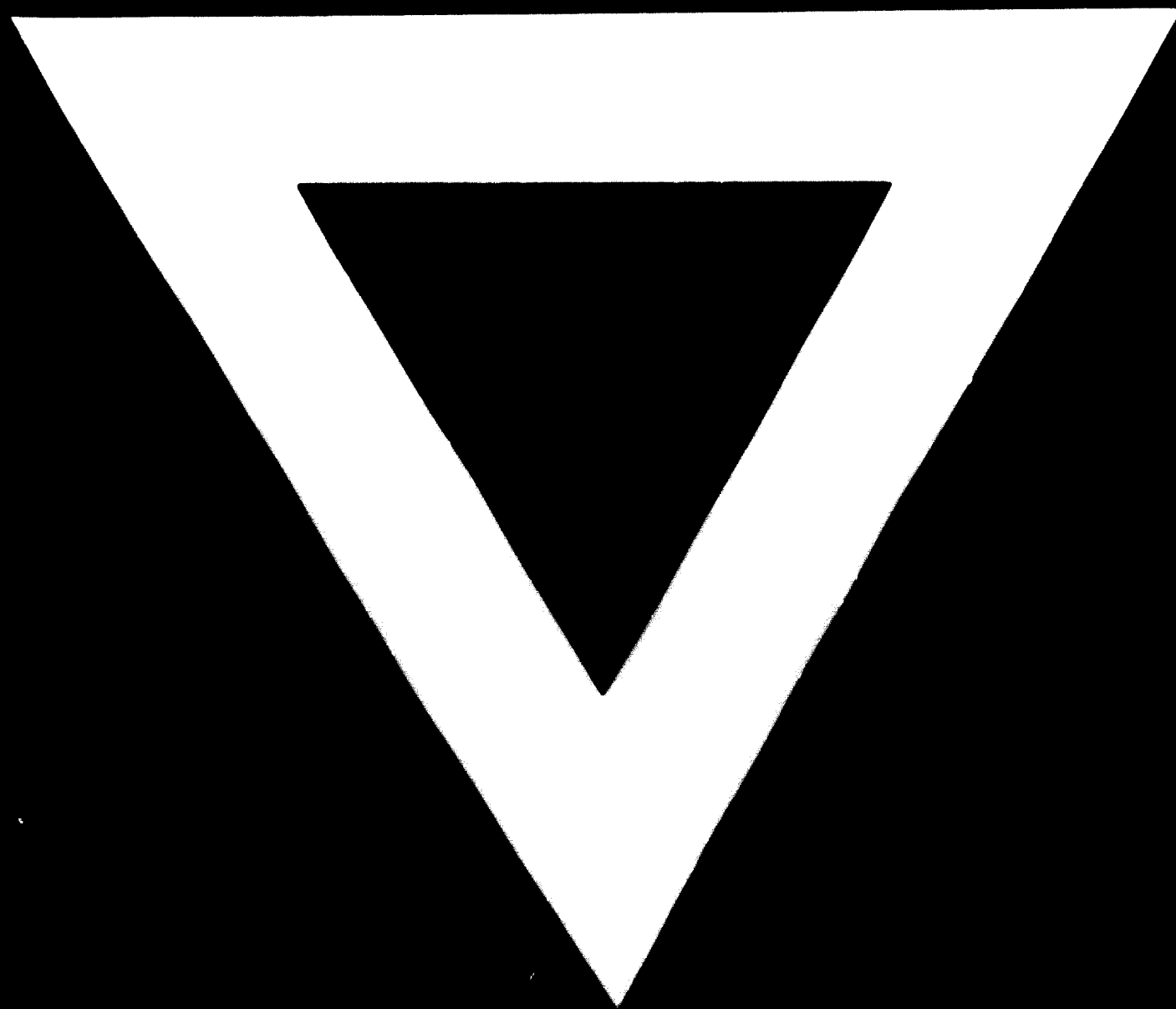
38. What is more important is that the local government authorities and the businessmen themselves should participate in the planning, financing and execution of these programmes, so that they are designed around local needs and personal involvement in their successful operation is ensured. Evening classes after normal working hours could be organised, with the instructors drawn from industry itself, the teaching staff of technical schools and accountants in private practice. Regional associations of manufacturers in each major trade could be formed and assume responsibility for, inter alia, training programmes for their members. Full time courses of six months or a year for prospective entrepreneurs might be fitted into the curricula of these technical schools or adult educational colleges.
39. This dispersal of training facilities might result in a lowering of quality compared with the level which could be attained in a central institute. This can be justified if it results in "multiplying the islands of development in Africa", to use Singer's words^x, rather than in deepening the existing islands. At the moment there is a tendency to make invidious international comparisons about training facilities and the calibre of staff employed. These are irrelevant and dangerous. The best international standards could only be achieved in most African countries by putting all their training eggs into one basket. What is likely to be more conducive for harmonious and sustained growth is the widespread improvement in managerial methods in small-scale industry, compared with the present level in each country. It is better to keep an eye on these internal indicators of progress than to set too high an initial standard, which would inevitably result in failure, disappointment and undue concentration of resources.
40. On this question, let us leave the last word to an African spokesman, Mr. Morah, the Nigerian government delegate to the 1966 I.L.O. Conference. In the following extract from his speech to the plenary session, Mr. Morah refers specifically to the International Centre for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin, but his words apply equally to training facilities, techniques and institutions in Africa itself.

"There is no doubt that in our epoch training techniques have already reached amazing heights in some countries, producing results which are breathtaking when compared with the past. Naturally, my Government favours the view

x) Singer, op. cit.

that it is only proper that both the techniques and the equipment in use in Turin should approximate as far as possible to the best which have been tried elsewhere and proved effective. It is in this way that the world as a whole serve as a research laboratory and make the fruits of its labour available at the Centre. Nevertheless, my Government wishes to sound a note of caution in this context. The use of these modern developments must not be made in utter disregard of conditions which obtain in countries from which students are drawn for training. In general, these are the developing nations which do not have the means to equip themselves with the most modern machines which call for extremely refined and complex skill in the men who use them. If students leave Turin for their homes and fail to find opportunities to apply what they have learnt, they will most likely be exposed to frustration, and their countries will not reap the full benefits of their training. For these reasons, the Institute should always strive to achieve the difficult dynamic balance between its methods its equipment and the conditions broadly existing in countries from which the students are drawn."





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