
Towards a Renewal of Apprenticeship in West Africa

**Enhancing the Professional Integration
of Young People**

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The analysis and conclusions of this document are those of the author. They do not necessarily reflect the official position of the AFD or its partner institutions.

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Foreword

This research is the outcome of a field survey in four countries: Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo. It follows on from a study conducted by *Agence Française du Développement* (AFD) on vocational training in the informal sector which was published in 2007. The study showed that traditional apprenticeship, which is widespread in West Africa, is gradually changing in terms of training content, pedagogical practices, and accreditation and certification methods. It is thus becoming a postprimary vocational training system may eventually involve hundreds of thousands of young employees in craft workshops in the four countries surveyed.

AFD's Research Department defined the methodological and operational framework for the overall study. Richard Walther was entrusted with the scientific and technical responsibility and drafted the report for all of the countries surveyed. Ewa Filipiak oversaw the conduct of the survey, accompanied the author on field visits, and closely re-read all of the data gathered from the different informants. Tania Haïdara checked the accuracy of the data published on Mali. Alain Widmaier and Sanoussi Diakité re-read and commented on the part of the study devoted to Senegal and provided the Technical and Financial Programme Delivery Paper that is currently being completed. The study was therefore able to report on the latest developments in the new pilot initiatives. The data on Benin and Togo were cross-checked against data validated by the national authorities during previous visits.

AFD expresses sincere thanks to those who contributed directly or indirectly to this research.

Summary

Analysis of the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship in the four countries surveyed shows that apprenticeship in West Africa is becoming a postprimary vocational training system providing skills training and qualifications for young people who have either not completed primary education, have done so but have not gone on to lower secondary school, or have started lower secondary education but later dropped out.

Benin, Mali and Togo all began restructuring traditional apprenticeship in the late 1980s, basing their reforms on the dual apprenticeship model. Dual apprenticeship necessitates a working partnership and division of tasks between a formal vocational training college responsible for providing theory training, and a craftsman's workshop that permits the acquisition of professional skills on the job. Despite the uniqueness of the model implemented each country has adopted its own specific methods regarding the relationship between theory training and practical training. They have developed their own training and certification routes, while drawing on the shared resources of skills-based training and dual training for the development of their training tools and methods.

Senegal is distinct in that its theory/practical training model has the workshop as the only place where training takes place. It defines the role of public and private training colleges as resource centres whose purpose is to provide additional technical

and standards-based input regarding the profession, depending on the requests made by the master craftsmen/trainers. It is also developing an experimental model that will produce an initial cohort of young professionals in 2008 and, in contrast to the other three countries, it distinguishes between groups of apprentices with different starting educational levels and consequently a variety of pre-requirements and lengths of training courses.

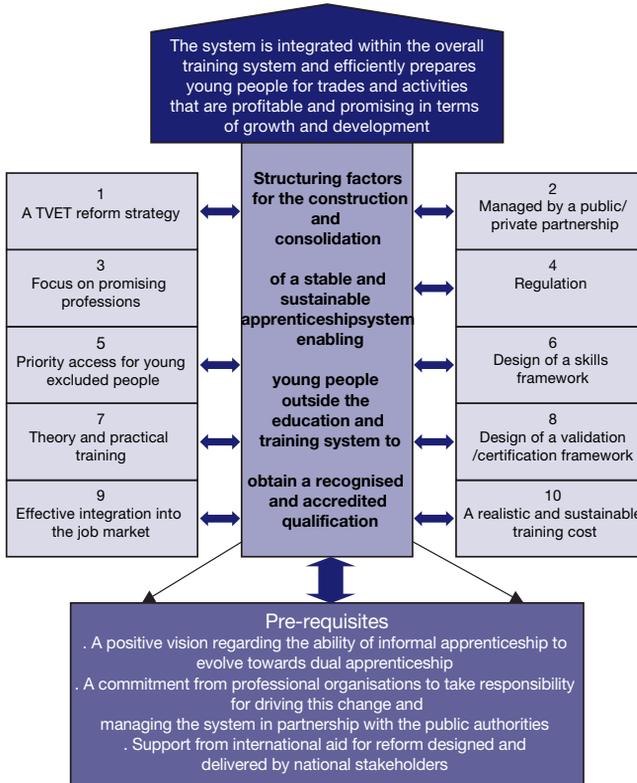
The different stages in the transformation of traditional apprenticeship into a viable and sustainable postprimary vocational training system

The four approaches aimed at moving traditional apprenticeship towards a structured and competitive postprimary vocational training system provide an insight into the way each country is incorporating this system within its existing overall technical and vocational education and training (TVET) system.

They also show that, in spite of the diversity of the experiences reported upon, the success of this system requires a strict approach to implementation, without which there is little hope of achieving the initial objectives. This approach, which is based on cross-analysis of the systems, entails a series of key stages of development in order to give the postprimary training process the utmost chance of becoming an established, recognised and sustainable system. These stages, or structuring factors, constitute a roadmap for all stakeholders involved in the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship in West Africa.

This roadmap, which is depicted in Figure 1, has been built on three levels: a close and comparative study of the real situation in the field, the gathering and interpretation of observations made by national stakeholders involved in the delivery of restructured apprenticeship, and an analysis of the initial results of evaluations or impact studies conducted. It must be interpreted differently for each country because the situations in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo cannot be compared in terms of policies, resources and progress.

Figure 1.
Stages for consolidating and sustaining restructured apprenticeship systems



Author: AFD.

Priority actions for consolidating restructured apprenticeship

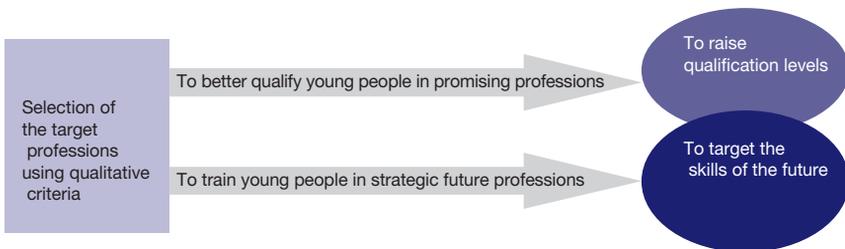
The countries' experiences, which have been identified and described in this study, all share some very strong common characteristics. These notably concern the inclusion of restructured apprenticeship in national TVET restructuring strategies, the leadership role of the professional organisations that in almost all cases define new professions and related skills profiles, the support role of the technical and financial partners that provide both expertise and financing, the partnership between craft workshops and

training colleges, the lack of any significant funding support from the public authorities and the lack of any analysis of the unit costs of training in comparison to the formal training system. They show that a certain number of priority actions need to be implemented to permit the restructured apprenticeship systems developed in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo to have the utmost chance of becoming a sustainable and effective part of the national vocational training system. These actions may be classified as follows:

Priority one: making restructured apprenticeship a top quality training option and fostering its development in promising professional areas that are equally accessible to women and men

Existing schemes concern at most 5% of the professions identified in the four countries surveyed. Although they have a very positive impact in terms of image, this is currently limited to a very restricted field of economic activity and section of the labour market. As available budget resources do not give any hope for an extension of dual apprenticeship into a critical mass of existing professions, the schemes will only be consolidated as a result of their ability to both raise young peoples' level of vocational qualification in existing professions and increasingly target the training of these young people for promising professions and sectors in terms of growth and jobs. More succinctly, the future of these schemes hinges on their capacity to become a top quality training option, notably by training young people for types and levels of skills and professional profiles that the countries will need in order to develop. It will be important

Figure 2.
The two paths of excellence under restructured apprenticeship



Author: AFD.

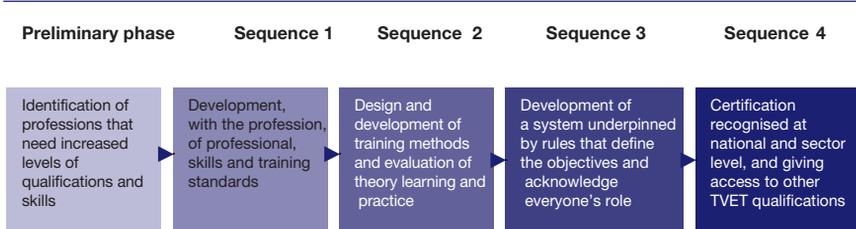
for the development of these training routes and options to take account of the low level of participation of young women in apprenticeship schemes, and a great effort should be made to ensure they have equal access alongside young men to training for strategic and promising professions.

Priority two: making restructured apprenticeship a recognised system of training and certification

Analysis of the various pilot schemes underway shows that all the necessary pre-conditions have been met to enable the countries to include dual apprenticeship within a coherent and complete training process through skills-based, dual training. However, it also shows that it is difficult for each scheme to implement this process entirely. The various existing training schemes will only be consolidated when they become part of the following sequence of steps (Figure 3).

Figure 3.

Sequences in the complete process for mainstreaming restructured apprenticeship



Author: AFD.

The consolidation process requires each country to evaluate the extent to which the current system succeeds in fulfilling all of these sequences, and then to establish an action plan and schedule to identify the steps that still need to be accomplished in order to complete the process of mainstreaming restructured apprenticeship.

It would also be good for each country to experiment with functional literacy and pre-vocational skills development schemes giving young school dropouts the possibility to fulfil entry requirements for the restructured apprenticeship schemes.

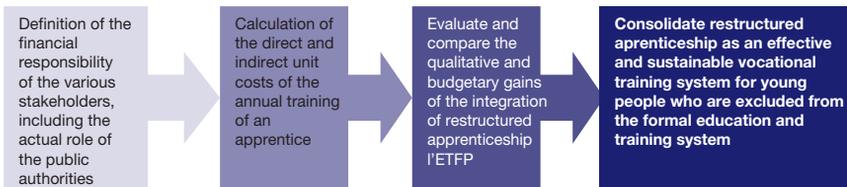
Priority three: demonstrating the financial sustainability of restructured apprenticeship

Although the costs of restructured apprenticeship are currently covered via the principle of multi-stakeholder co-financing (families, professional organisations, master craftsmen, training funds and technical and financial partners), there is no pre-agreed position on the public-private financing ratio for this sort of apprenticeship. Nor is there any system of calculation that takes all the direct and opportunity costs of college training and workshop training into account. Data provided both by the Mali Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Support Fund (FAFPA) and the Benin Continuing Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Development Fund (FODEFCA) give a direct annual cost of dual training that is about 30% less than an equivalent TVET course.

The consolidation of existing schemes, which comes under initial vocational training and thus the responsibility of the State, cannot be achieved unless there is effective budgetary involvement by public authorities in addition to the contributions made by the other partners already involved. It also requires that the various proponents of restructured apprenticeship introduce a system for estimating the annual unit costs of training for each specialisation and that they undertake a comparative analysis of these costs in relation to those incurred in formal education. Such analysis would ensure that the financial sustainability of apprenticeship with regard to available budgets and future budget programming serves as a further argument in favour of it, in addition to those concerning its quantitative performance.

Figure 4.

Towards the financial sustainability of restructured apprenticeship schemes



Author: AFD.

Lastly, it would be useful and indeed timely for these different actions aimed at making the consolidation of restructured apprenticeship a priority to give rise to exchanges of ideas and joint work between public and private bodies from the different countries. Beyond specific national concerns, this could then lead to a far-reaching restructuring of vocational training for young people in the whole of West Africa.

Introduction

This study follows on from research undertaken by the AFD on vocational training in the informal sector in Africa, when it conducted field surveys in seven African countries and analysed the experiences and dynamics of vocational training being developed in the sector, including those concerning traditional apprenticeship. The conclusions of this research have just been published.¹ They shed light on a certain number of realities, which constitute the theoretical and practical basis of this new research.

The first of these realities concerns the observation made during the seven field surveys² that a large number of young people either fail to complete primary school or leave it without being able to enter the first cycle of secondary education, and therefore end up on the street. Current vocational training systems do not give these youngsters the slightest chance of maintaining and consolidating their educational achievements or, above all, developing professional skills while waiting to reach the legal age (15 years old) to enter the labour market. So thousands of young people find themselves outside the educational system after the age of 12 and therefore have no possibility to enter any sort of established education or training system that would enhance their educational achievements while preparing them for the world of work. The creation of a postprimary vocational training system for these young people is therefore both a necessity and a strategic issue.

The second of these realities concerns the unique role the informal sector plays in developing the professional skills of young Africans. Indeed, traditional apprenticeship,

1 Walther, R., (2007), *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector*, Notes and Documents AFD No. 33. Paris.

2 Morocco (North Africa), Benin and Senegal (West Africa), Angola and Cameroon (Central Africa), South Africa (Southern Africa) and Ethiopia (East Africa).

which is organised in the sector's micro and small enterprises and particularly in the workshops of different categories of craftsmen, is the biggest provider of knowledge and skills for young people looking for work and jobs. Although there are no reliable statistics on the number of apprentices really taken on by the craft industry, it can be said—as far as the situation in Benin and Senegal is concerned—that the informal sector, which is essentially crafts-based, trains at least 20 young people when there is a single technical and vocational education and training (TVET) system.³ The situation is identical in Ethiopia, where over 99% of people working in the informal sector, who themselves account for over 70% of the economically active population, have been trained on the job or through self-training.⁴

The third of these realities concerns major ongoing changes in these countries regarding traditional apprenticeship for young people. These changes may be described as a tacit recognition by the public authorities of the public service role provided by professional organisations in the vocational training and qualification of young people. They may also be seen as an attempt to include the training activities of these organisations within the overall TVET system through the restructuring and even modernisation of apprenticeship. These changes are currently unsettling existing TVET systems by introducing two new concepts: that of training which would no longer just involve a very small minority of young people, but a large proportion of a given age cohort; and that of dual training, which is essentially based on vocational skills development in real apprenticeship situations, which would retain all the great benefits of traditional apprenticeship while taking into account current requirements in terms of technological developments, new standards and constraints in national and international markets.

1.1. Objectives of the study

The identification and analysis of these three realities raises the question that is at the heart of this new research: are current schemes aimed at restructuring traditional

³ According to World Bank data, TVET trained between 0.1 and 0.5% of the economically active population in the various countries of West Africa in 1999/2000. Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *Les conditions et les stratégies d'intervention pour une formation professionnelle dans le secteur informel de l'économie en Afrique : vers un modèle général de formation*. Munich.

⁴ Walther, R., (2006), *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector, Report on the Ethiopia Field Survey*, Working Paper No. 34, AFD. Paris.

apprenticeship in West Africa—particularly in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo—laying the foundations for postprimary vocational training systems for developing countries with a strong tradition of vocational skills development in the craft sector? Is what is emerging the beginning of a process of mainstreaming vocational skills- and qualification-based training options that would enable young people who are excluded from general secondary education to acquire in an alternative way, the knowledge and skills that prepare them to enter the labour market and, more generally, to acquire the personal and professional capabilities they need in order to succeed in life?

These different questions have given a common thread to the field surveys in the four countries selected. These surveys have provided an opportunity to meet the whole range of public and private, political, economic, professional and social, national and international partners involved in the changes observed—who are often decision-makers and stakeholders in these changes—and to ask some questions on the mainstreaming process in postprimary vocational training. This research reports on these meetings and the debates organised in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo. It includes them in a structured reflection on the ways and means of designing and delivering postprimary vocational training schemes that can give the 50% of young people in West Africa (and, more broadly, in developing countries) who do not enter general education, access to levels of training and education that will facilitate their economic, social and professional integration.

1.2. Methodology of the study

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A study on the transformation of traditional apprenticeship into structured apprenticeship that is integrated within the overall national vocational training system is part of an overall approach to the issue of postprimary vocational training systems.

1.2.1. A multi-dimensional look at postprimary vocational realities

The approach selected has been to observe the reality of postprimary vocational training from a wide array of perspectives and, more specifically, to analyse it on the basis of a three-pronged approach of data collection, analysis and validation:

- the first approach, upon which this document focuses, identifies as comprehensively as possible the beginnings of postprimary vocational training systems entailing the structured development of traditional apprenticeship towards dual training and describes as thoroughly as possible the most developed schemes and those that are closest to possible general roll-out;
- the second approach entails the collection of information from a network of young African leaders. This was organised in partnership with the spokesperson of African youth at the Bamako Summit,⁵ and asks these young people questions about their position on issues in the field of vocational training and entry into the African labour market as well as their proposals for action in this area. This information has been collected for two reasons: firstly to incorporate, within the design of postprimary schemes to be developed, the vision that young Africans have regarding the policies and actions to be developed in order to improve their training and job-finding options; and secondly to enable these young people to take on board what is really happening in the field of economic development and employment and thus to respond to their aspiration to become actors in their own personal and professional development;
- the third approach aims to identify and analyse pilot vocational skills development schemes for young people aside from those developed as part of traditional apprenticeship restructuring. This notably focuses on East African countries that, like Ethiopia, have committed themselves to initiatives that are rooted more deeply in a far-reaching restructuring of the TVET system. From this, it tries to identify some basic factors for a specific model regarding the mainstreaming of viable and sustainable postprimary vocational training.

Results of these three approaches have been subject to an evaluation by a group of experts on vocational training systems, as well as observations put forward both by officials from the countries studied and the network of young leaders surveyed.

⁵ The 23rd France-Africa Summit, which was held in Bamako in December 2005 on the theme of youth, led to the development of arenas for debate between representatives of young Africans at national, regional and continental levels. Implementation of the follow-up to the Bamako Summit was entrusted to Marie Tamoufo Nkom.

1.2.2. An open and flexible postprimary vocational training system

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and notably Goal 2 (Target 3) aim to “ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling” by 2015 in developing countries, notably in Africa. Even though some countries still have a very long way to go before they achieve this objective, there is an increasing amount of pressure to ensure that as many young people as possible go on from primary school to secondary education (and at least complete lower secondary education).

The concept of postprimary education and training (PPET) has appeared in this context. It has been emerging on the African continent for several years. It is different because the idea of young people just starting lower secondary school is not deemed to be sufficient. It aims to have a thorough debate on the ways and means of ensuring that these young people go as far as possible in their education.⁶ Consequently, regarding the link that needs to be established between universal primary education and secondary education, two African conferences on secondary education organised by the World Bank in Uganda in 2003 and Senegal and 2004 stressed the need to devise secondary education models that are adapted to the resources and needs of African contexts, and the attention that should be given to the relevance of apprenticeship, the diversification of forms of secondary education and cost policies that are compatible with mass roll-out schemes.

The World Bank's approach

The World Development Report⁷ defines the concept of postprimary education or training as learning opportunities given to all, even those who have not managed to

⁶ The issue of the postprimary education or training is not new. For example, it played an important role in France at the end of the 19th and first part of the 20th century, when it represented a means of extending education beyond the compulsory minimum age of 13, while giving the lower classes alternatives to education and training other than those offered by general upper secondary schools. For example, in France, at the end of the 1920s, there were 172,000 children in upper primary schools and 41,000 in technical schools compared with 291,000 in general secondary education. (Thivend, M., (2006), *Les écoles techniques et la promotion scolaire, sociale et professionnelle (fin 19ème- années 1930)* CNRS. Paris). It is interesting to mention this because the postprimary concept came to be a factor of equal opportunities for a category of the population that neither had the means nor the opportunity to continue traditional education. This is similar to what is happening in Africa today.

⁷ The World Bank (2006), *World Development Report 2007, Development and the Next Generation*. Washington DC.

acquire basic skills during their basic education, and considers that society cannot allow itself to neglect this group without condemning young poorly educated people and their families to poverty. It perceives postprimary training for this group as a second chance. However, the report more broadly favours a very wide definition of postprimary systems/schemes and promotes the diversity and flexibility of apprenticeship options in secondary and higher education. It notably emphasises that postprimary curricula would be even more appropriate if they were more focused on training of a practical nature, on behavioural and reflexive skills, and developed apprenticeship combining general education with vocational education at the level of general secondary education, thus strengthening the relationship between school and work and thereby facilitating entry into employment. The report also stresses the important role the private sector should have in organising this postprimary training.

ADEA's approach

Following the Uganda and Senegal conferences, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) decided to set up, in 2004, an *ad hoc* working group on postprimary education focused primarily on the issue of efforts to help people into work. This *ad hoc* group devised a conceptual approach that aimed to establish a working definition for PPET. This definition refers to education rather than postprimary vocational training. It establishes a very wide and open framework for such education, which may be summarised as follows:

postprimary education follows on from primary education or its non-formal or informal equivalent;

- in principle it has no limits, in other words it covers secondary education and the link between secondary education and higher education;
- it targets the 11/12-year-old age group or over and does not set an age limit;
- it uses all existing models, types and forms of apprenticeship, delivery and environments;
- it is of a very general and vocational nature, i.e., it covers both general education and TVET as well as the different forms of skills acquisition in the workplace;
- it opens the way to adult life, society, work and the fine-tuning of professional skills, even though entry into employment is considered as the vital objective;
- it uses a multitude of public and private providers and resources and all forms of partnership between stakeholders.

ADEA's biennial⁸ should help flesh out these principles by providing an opportunity to draw up an inventory of current postprimary education or training practices and develop postprimary models that are adapted to Africa's needs. It will also be a forum to support countries committed to reforming postprimary education.

AFD's approach

AFD's conceptual approach in the framework of this study is more selective and targeted. It starts with a contextual analysis of the situation in Africa, especially in West Africa. It has opted to focus both on a specific group—primary school leavers who are excluded from general secondary education—and the development of a continuum taking this group from universal primary education up to their entry into the labour market via a vocational training system, of which some elements already exist (notably that of apprenticeship), but for which the continuum between the completion of basic education and skilled entry into the world of work is far from being assured.

The target group profile: educated youngsters who are excluded from general secondary education

Statistical data on access and completion rates in African primary and secondary education shows the extent of the problem posed by the educational future of young Africans. Analysis of the data reveals shortfalls, both in achieving completion rates in line with the Millennium Goals and enabling young people who have completed the primary education cycle and who do not go into secondary education to reach the legal age for entering the labour market while having the possibility of maintaining their educational achievements and, if possible, enhancing them.

These statistics show the flows of children going through the formal education system. They in fact determine, to a greater or lesser extent, several categories of young Africans concerned by postprimary education or training:

⁸ See the ADEA website: http://www.adeanet.org/fr_index.html

Table 1.
Access and completion rates in primary and secondary education in Africa⁹

Level/type of system	Rate of access to the corresponding cycle (per age group)	Completion rates (per age group)
Primary	95% (average rate with wide disparities depending on the country)	60%
First cycle of secondary education	46%	39%
Second cycle of secondary education	22%	18%

Source: données UNESCO/BREDA 2006.

- without giving exact figures, the data reveal the existence of a group of school-age children have never attended school. In reality, on average 33.3 % of children in any given age group¹⁰ have not been to school;
- the gap between the rate of access to primary school and the completion rate illustrates the phenomenon of children dropping out of school, which affects at least 30% of children who have started primary school;
- the rate of access to the first cycle of secondary education indicates that half of all children that are old enough to be enrolled at this level are not. These young people do not however have any formal possibility to maintain or consolidate their educational achievements, when they exist, and even less to do a formal course to prepare for working life while waiting until they are of legal working age;
- the gap between secondary school entry and completion levels sheds light on a new category of the population that is leaving the education system without any vocational training – with the exception of a small minority that goes into the TVET system and acquires the qualifications that are issued within it.

All of these categories constitute potential target groups for postprimary vocational training. Among them, the AFD study finds that priority should be given to young people

⁹ The data come from the UNESCO/BREDA report (2005), *Education for All in Africa – Paving the Way for Action*, Regional Forum Dakar +5, and they refer to 2002/03.

¹⁰ Mingat, A. (2006), "Out-of-School Children in Sub-Saharan Africa: How Many are They? Who are they? And What to do for their Inclusion?", Roneo, IREDU (CNRS and Université de Bourgogne) and AFTHD-World Bank.

who are potentially able or willing to enter restructured traditional apprenticeship. The level generally required for these young people is that of primary school leaving certificate or that they have at least reached the penultimate year of primary school. However, the study also takes into account young people of a lower level, who would have the potential to strengthen their educational achievements if the different countries concerned established an education and training option for them that could fill the existing gap between the end of universal primary education and their entry into apprenticeship (as from the age of 15), thus enabling them to come up to entry requirement level.

An initial observation: attempts to create an established continuum of education and training for young people who are excluded from the existing system

The field surveys on vocational training in the informal sector in seven African countries¹¹ clearly demonstrated the crucial issue of vocational training and efforts to help young people into the labour market outside universal primary education and secondary education. They showed that the lack of any suitable training system for this category of young people forces a proportion of them directly into work before they have reached the legal age. For example, 25% of children between the ages of 10 and 14 work in Senegal¹² while 49% of school age children work in Benin (2002 population census). The surveys also demonstrated that a majority of these young people are left to their own devices, end up on the street and rapidly lose their educational achievements while waiting to be able to start apprenticeship or be of legal working age. They lastly showed that certain countries are aware of the situation and have begun or are planning to introduce literacy or pre-vocational skills development schemes for these youngsters in order to enable them to maintain, at least partially, their educational achievements and prepare them for working life in a beneficial manner.

- For example, Morocco decided to do something for the numerous “invisible” school-age children (about 2.5 million) who, although out of school, have a right to education. It has devised an education programme for working children and youngsters aged 12 to 15, giving them the possibility to receive functional

11 The surveys concerned the following countries: South Africa, Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Morocco and Senegal. They are all available in French and English (and in Portuguese for Angola) on the AFD’s website (go to Publications, then Working Papers).

12 The World Bank, (2005), *World Development Indicators*. Washington DC.

education that is appropriate for the profession they are doing and to be prepared to their future professional life. It has also developed, for the same target group, a vocational training access programme to raise participants' awareness about their choice of profession and to help them acquire the basic skills required for entry into formal apprenticeship.

- Benin is working on the development of a pre-apprenticeship or pre-vocational skills development scheme for the same category of young people, which would give a great many children and youngsters who have not completed primary education or are not going on to the first cycle of secondary education the opportunity to forge, maintain or develop their fundamental maths, reading and writing skills and to have an introduction to three or four professions in order to better prepare their future professional choices. These young people will be catered for within vocational centres and thus be prepared to enter the dual apprenticeship system that is currently being rolled out. Togo, which has the same experience as Benin in developing traditional apprenticeship into dual apprenticeship, has for its part introduced a year of functional literacy education for young school dropouts in order to help them enter the apprenticeship system.
- Senegal has some pre-apprenticeship schemes for under 15-year-olds in car maintenance, which are organised in co-operation with the Ministry of Education. They have helped to familiarise young people with working environments, upgrade the level of French of those who have been educated but who have lost part of their achievements and develop the functional literacy of those who have been only partially educated or not at all.
- Mali has developed a scheme combining functional literacy with pre-vocational skills development. Youngsters working in craft workshops before they are of legal working age are taught to read and write at the same time as they are gradually taught about a profession. Similarly, the public authorities have set up education development centres for 9 to 15-year-olds who have dropped out of school or never been. The aim, during four years of literacy training and two years of pre-vocational skills development carried out partly in a craft workshop, is to help learners reach a minimum educational level (ability to read, write, calculate and acquire capabilities and skills), enabling them to get on in life and/or enter a

continuous learning process. These centres are managed by local authorities and come under the consecutive pedagogical responsibility of the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training.

This small selection of examples shows how the concept of a postprimary vocational training system cannot ignore the situation of young people who are leaving universal primary education, do not continue with their studies and thus find themselves faced with the impossibility of doing a vocational scheme adapted to their real situation. The development of a continuum of education and/or training between the end of primary school and start of apprenticeship is therefore a vital element of the concept that needs to be put into practice. However, this is only the first level of a route that must lead young people who do not enter general secondary education from universal primary education to the first level of accredited vocational qualification in the framework of a recognised national system of qualifications and certification.

A targeted field of observation and analysis: the ongoing dynamics of change and mainstreaming of restructured apprenticeship

This study primarily aims to report on progress made by the four countries surveyed in the field of postprimary vocational training and, more precisely, regarding the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship. The four countries have committed themselves to restructuring TVET in order to gradually incorporate the overhaul of training schemes in the crafts sector within an overall national training and qualifications system. Nevertheless, each country has its own orientations, pace and individual way of planning the precise methods for doing so.

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For example, since the beginning of the 1990s, Benin and Togo have been transforming traditional apprenticeship into dual apprenticeship on the basis of joint guidelines determined in partnership with the German aid authorities. However, they have developed different methods for incorporating this restructuring within their TVET system and have introduced specific ways of managing and devising training and certification schemes.

Since 2007, Senegal has been testing a form of modernising traditional apprenticeship in three sectors (automotive repair, clothes-making and construction/civil

engineering) which will lead both to an overhaul of current training practices and an approach to certification based on the acquisition of blocks of skills defined by professional standards and drawn up jointly by the TVET Ministry (METFP), ministry-appointed consultants and professional organisations that are representative of the selected families of professions.

Since 1989, Mali has been undertaking its efforts to restructure apprenticeship in close co-operation with the private sector and the public authorities in order to transform it into dual training. This partnership fully involves professionals in the definition of professional profiles and the theoretical and practical components of the training, while the public authorities guarantee pedagogical quality and provide proof and certification of skills acquired. The State has decided to partly finance the development of restructured apprenticeship by channelling the vocational training levy (which recently increased from 0.5% to 2% of modern enterprises' total payroll) back to the Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Support Fund (FAFPA).

The study analyses the situation and development of apprenticeship in the four countries surveyed, and notably tries to identify how current pilot schemes are promoting the functional consolidation of apprenticeship and are thus suited to becoming mainstream, sustainable postprimary vocational training systems. To do this, it has defined a range of criteria to help identify the mainstreaming and sustainability processes underway.

Working assumptions: prior setting of criteria for modelling and ensuring the sustainability of a viable vocational training system

Analysis of the established vocational training systems showed that they all correspond to a certain number of parameters enabling them to be identified as such, function stably and attain visible and measurable results. The field surveys revealed the absence of any very structured approach to the validity and relevance of these parameters. But, in retrospect, they did help identify a coherent set of criteria regarding the ability of a given training process to surpass the stage of innovative action and enter into a possible roll-out phase and even full-scale introduction. Set side by side within a logical framework ranging from the design to the delivery of a scheme and its evaluation, the criteria constitute the initial framework for questions,

scrutiny and analysis of ongoing experiments. They may be explained in detail as follows:

- experimentation is part of a clear national strategy for restructuring or enlarging the existing TVET system;
- this strategy defines the goals to be achieved, the stakeholders and the minimum resources for implementing the experiment or pilot scheme;
- the pilot scheme is subject to co-ordinated management by the partners concerned;
- the mode of financing and allocation of resources have been negotiated by the different partners concerned, with the public authorities contributing to this financing;
- regulatory measures determine the main orientations of the scheme and, at the very least, propose a definition of the status of master craftsmen and apprentices;
- organisational arrangements have been made further to planning (such as the design of a set of competency standards or a skills profile pertaining to the profession to be acquired; design of training standards and/or a training curriculum and production of training material for trainers; design/production of monitoring material such as a log book, etc.);
- the places for practical and theory training are clearly identified and the division of tasks has been clearly defined;
- methods of evaluation of knowledge and skills acquired are clearly defined;
- a method for monitoring and evaluating the scheme (such as mid-term evaluation, impact evaluation, etc.) has been planned and, depending on the results, a policy for continuing and even extending the current pilot scheme.

Evaluation of the relevance of these different criteria will lead, at the end of the study, to the formulation of an analytical model on the viability of existing systems and the conditions most likely to make them sustainable.

The situation and role of traditional apprenticeship in West African societies

2

The field surveys shed light on some particularly important changes in the field of vocational training, which may be summarised as follows: the various stakeholders—both public and private—have engaged upon restructuring processes aiming to transform traditional apprenticeship from training that is exclusively practical and takes place in the workshop into dual training leading to a recognised qualification at national level.

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The four countries covered by the study are not alone in undertaking a far-reaching restructuring of their traditional apprenticeship—Ghana and Morocco have also undertaken a similar initiative—but they represent extremely important examples of the way in which the changes mentioned bring with them far-reaching reform of the training systems and restructure them around a new relationship between school and work. Accordingly they become a very interesting field of analysis for an extensive debate on the introduction of a postprimary vocational training system for young people who leave primary school and want to actively prepare their entry into working life without wanting to or being able to go through general education.

2.1. The economic and socio-cultural position of traditional apprenticeship

It is not easy to ascertain the situation of traditional apprenticeship because there are no quantitative or qualitative data for each country that would give the exact number of young apprentices trained, the detailed description of the length, methods of delivery and completion of the training course and finally, an overall insight into the apprenticeship process as a whole. Available research data and data gathered during the different field surveys illustrate both the existing types of traditional apprenticeship and the multifunctional role it plays in structuring and developing African societies and its specific position in some professional sectors studied during this survey. While these descriptions give a general insight into the situation of young people in the informal sector, they are still limited and fragmented, and would benefit from being completed by a wider statistical and thematic study on the real importance and actual performance of non-structured apprenticeship in West Africa.

2.1.1. Documentary analysis of traditional apprenticeship

Existing studies on traditional apprenticeship, and especially on the practice in West Africa, generally distinguish between two major types of apprenticeship: Sahelian apprenticeship and coastal apprenticeship.¹³

Sahelian apprenticeship

Sahelian apprenticeship (in Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, for example) is characterised by being underpinned by the substitution of family relationships by relations between employers and children [translator's note: the term employer is used for the French term "*patron*"]. Children are effectively taken to the workshop by their parents, who delegate

¹³ Collège coopérative Provence, Alpes, Méditerranée (1999), *Les apprentissages en milieu urbain, Formation professionnelle dans le secteur informel*, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris. The study refers to the work of Charmes, J., and Oudin, X., (1994), *Formation sur le tas dans le secteur informel*, Afrique Contemporaine, Numéro spécial.

Similarly, Bhukuth. A .et alii, *L'apprentissage : une alternative au travail des enfants ?* Paper for the Fifth International Conference on the Capability Approach "*Knowledge in Public Action: Education, Responsibility, Collective Agency, Equity*" 11-14 September 2005, UNESCO, Paris, France, refer to the same typology of apprenticeship using desk research of studies appearing on this subject during the 1990s (Charmes, J., et Oudin, X., (1994), *Formation sur le tas dans le secteur informel*, Afrique contemporaine, N° 172) on the overall situation in Africa, and also the specific cases of Niger and Togo.

part of their parental authority to the master craftsmen. The master craftsmen are responsible for transmitting their know-how to the young people, and for giving them an education and social values related to the profession they will enter. Although there is an overall agreement between the parents and the employer, it does not determine the length of the apprenticeship. This depends on the type or profession being acquired, the techniques used, apprentices' acquisition rate and the employers' willingness to validate the young persons' know-how. No qualification is awarded at the end of the apprenticeship, and employers grant a right to leave depending on their assessment of apprentices' know-how and assimilation of the profession's techniques.

This type of apprenticeship is also characterised by the fact that it does not entail any starting or leaving ceremony, it gives apprentices a minimum pay once they have assimilated the actions of the profession and participate actively in production, but allows the employers to keep on the young persons who have been entrusted to them for as long as they deem they have not recouped the equivalent of the investment they have made while training them. Sometimes the employers help their apprentices set up in business. In reality, they consider them less as competitors than as a family member to whom they continue to have a form of moral obligation.

Coastal apprenticeship

This sort of apprenticeship differs from the former in that it is paid for and is thus based on a commercial relationship between employers, apprentices and their families. For example, data collected in Benin during the field survey showed that parents pay between 50,000 and 150,000 CFA francs (€75 to €225) for entry into apprenticeship, depending on the profession chosen. The payment can be made as a lump sum at the beginning of the training or in two instalments at the beginning and end of the apprenticeship. Rates may vary from one workshop or profession to another. Craft sector organisations and sometimes the public authorities intervene (for example in Togo)¹⁴ in order to regulate apprenticeship starting and leaving fees.

According to the studies identified, employers in coastal countries commit themselves via a written contract on the apprenticeship arrangements, the method of

¹⁴ Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *op. cit.*

remuneration and the length of the contract. The field surveys in Benin as well as in Togo and Senegal were unable to completely validate this assertion. Informants spoke more of oral contracts or contracts based on a moral commitment, along the lines of Sahelian apprenticeship. However, it is true that apprenticeship in coastal countries seems to be more organised. For example, there is a code regulating certain lengths of apprenticeship (two years for cane furniture, five years for carpentry, six years for jewellery making)¹⁵ and agreement on a certain average length of apprenticeship close to four years (as is the case in Togo). On the other hand, despite the contractual relationship between the parents that bear the cost of apprenticeship and employers who are paid for services rendered, the family-type relationship between the young persons and employers exists just as much in coastal areas as in the Sahel. Thus the analysis of traditional apprenticeship in the clothing professions in Senegal¹⁶ led the authors of the study to say: "certain privileges regarding the education, socialisation and vocational training of young people are largely transferred to the master craftsmen who actually adopt the functions and attributes of father (or mother), guide, educator and so on, as far as apprentices and journeymen are concerned."

The end of apprenticeship is marked by a release ceremony ("*cérémonie libératoire*"). This ceremony publicly demonstrates that apprentices have become confirmed professionals and that they are capable of opening the workshop and training other apprentices. It can be accompanied by the award of an apprenticeship completion certificate (CFA). For example, young Togolese people receive the CFA at the end of their apprenticeship.

The master craftsmen met in the coastal countries often spoke of the competition that can develop between themselves and the apprentices they have trained. However, when they say this they are above all referring to the fact that many of them are illiterate while the apprentices are increasingly educated and thus have a certain advantage over them both in terms of understanding and using new technologies that are increasingly present in production and service activities.

¹⁵ Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *op. cit.*

¹⁶ METFP/Compétences 2000 (2007), *Etude d'opportunité sur le dispositif de formation par apprentissage dans le secteur des métiers de l'habillement : option couture/confection*. Dakar.

Transversal characteristics of existing systems

The typologies that describe two major forms of traditional apprenticeship in West Africa make distinctions that are not always as clear at practical level and that, above all, do not sufficiently take into account the common characteristics of different systems. Within these systems, four main phases regulate the rate at which the apprentices learn their trade:¹⁷

- an introductory phase, during which the apprentice watches the actions and conduct of the master craftsman and assimilates them into his or her behaviour;
- a phase devoted to instruction in the names of instruments and their use, with an opportunity to undertake simple and repetitive tasks;
- a phase entailing participation in more complex tasks and the production of finished objects. The apprentice also starts to supervise new arrivals and learns to negotiate with customers during this phase.
- the completion or release phase. However organised, it always entails the master craftsman's acknowledgement of the apprentice's ability to exercise the trade in which he or she has been trained.

The opportunity study on automotive professions in Senegal¹⁸ has a slightly different analysis of these different phases of acquisition, which are explained in detail below: they distinguish between a familiarisation phase, an initiation phase, a participation phase, a phase in which the apprentice becomes autonomous, and a phase in which he or she learns to cope with responsibilities.

The passage from one phase to the next is left at the discretion of the master craftsman and can lead to periods of training lasting much longer than four years. These phases are identified by some authors in the form of a differentiated mode of apprenticeship that relies on family observation, imitation and transmission.

¹⁷ Walther, R. (2007), *op.cit.*

¹⁸ METFP/ATAVA/PROMECABILE/Afric Gestion (2007), *Intégration de l'apprentissage traditionnel dans les métiers de l'automobile au sein du dispositif global de la formation professionnelle technique*. Dakar.

2.1.2. A case study: the situation of traditional apprenticeship in Senegal

In the framework of the current reform in Senegal, the ministry in charge of vocational training commissioned, at the request of professional organisations, three opportunity studies in the following professional sectors: clothing (clothes-making option), construction and civil engineering and automotive trades. In their own way, each of these studies described the situation and organisation of traditional apprenticeship in the sector of activity analysed.

Traditional apprenticeship in the clothes-making sector¹⁹

The clothing sector constitutes the largest segment of the Senegalese handicrafts industry, as it represents, alone, 30% of its production units. Clothes-making and design activity is dominant within the sector, with 23,106 production units (18.8%). In 2000, it had 32,700 workers divided into employers (92% of them being production unit owners), journeymen and apprentices. There are no exact figures on the number of apprentices.

Apprenticeship is organised by craftsmen who mostly have “a relatively low level of studies and training that is generally acquired on the job, with apprenticeship of long duration that is non-codified and based on copying.” The development of the clothing sector has however brought about a regrouping of craftsmen in various professional associations—the Senegal Clothes-makers Association (ACS), the Senegal National Federation of Clothing Professionals (FENAPH), the Style Association, the Senegal Fashion Designers’ Association, etc.)—which aim to better defend the interests of their members and better meet the need to raise the industry’s qualification and training levels.

The traditional apprenticeship contract

In spite of the 29 December 1953 Law No. 8127ITLSSM which establishes the obligation for a written apprenticeship contract and determines the conditions governing

¹⁹ METFP/Compétences 2000 (2007), *op.cit.* All of the data on the presentation of apprenticeship in the clothes-making sector are taken from the study.

its drafting and termination, craftsmen in the clothing industry prefer to establish a moral contract with the apprentices' tutors and sometimes with the apprentices themselves. This type of contract reflects the relationships between people in traditional communities, where the moral commitment of contracting parties is applied with as much force as written agreements. Certain prerogatives concerning education, socialisation and vocational training of young people are thus transferred largely to the master craftsman, who takes over the family's educational responsibilities. The master craftsman "somehow represents their role model and even, when they are adults, for a great many of them symbolises the role of marriage guidance counsellor who prepares and guides their first steps in married life."²⁰ We are therefore far from the technical apprenticeship of a trade and much closer to the preparatory training which introduces the learner into the profession, a corporation and a socio-anthropological culture in which professional and personal aspects are closely entwined.

The training process in the workshops

The opportunity study describes the different characteristics which may be summarised as follows.

While the authors of the study acknowledge the limits of traditional apprenticeship, they also emphasise the organisational efforts made by both the national authorities and technical and financial partners in order to gradually structure the sector and to increase quality in production and services. This effort is especially important and necessary as the clothing sector has been recognised, in a study conducted on the behalf of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)²¹ and in the framework of the Accelerated Growth Strategy (AGS), as a dynamic and profitable sector that plays a major role in the country's industrial development, especially among the most vulnerable strata of the population and women. It is in this context that the restructuring of apprenticeship and its integration within the overall training system takes on its full meaning.

²⁰ METFP/Compétences 2000 (2007), *op.cit.*

²¹ UNIDO/ONUDI (2006), *Mise en œuvre de la stratégie nationale d'appui au secteur textile et confection au Sénégal*. Dakar.

Table 2.
The specific characteristics of traditional apprenticeship in the clothes-making sector in Senegal

Target group	Training content	Training methods	Expected benefits	Certification of the achievements of apprenticeship
Apprentices are of varying ages and educational ability; they are often illiterate and the majority come from poor families.	The craftsmen are often the only qualified people in the workshop. They thus transmit all their professional qualities and failings to the apprentices, without any curriculum having been defined. Business orders dictate the rate of apprentices' progress.	Observation and imitation of professional conduct is the pedagogical cornerstone of apprenticeship. Questioning, motivation and repetition promote the skills acquisition.	<p><i>For the apprentice:</i></p> <p>Acquisition of a trade without any cost and integration into the labour market.</p> <p><i>For the craftsman:</i></p> <p>Unwaged and undemanding labour.</p>	<p>This takes place at an official ceremony.</p> <p>The apprentice receives a declaration or a certificate signed by the master craftsman as well as a set of tools.</p> <p>The certificate is currently countersigned by the chamber of trades.</p>

Source: synthèse AFD.

Traditional apprenticeship in the construction and civil engineering sector²²

The Senegalese construction sector is smaller than the clothing industry in quantitative terms, because building accounts for 4.7% of production units identified in the whole country (5,285 out of a total 122,902 units)²³ and carpentry, furniture-making and construction carpentry account for 9.7% of units (11,842 in total).

In contrast to the clothing trades, apprenticeship is not organised in workshops but on building sites. Consequently the acquisition of professional skills is even less structured and less systematic than for other professions. The diversity of building sites in practice determines the diversity of training contents and routes as well as specific

22 METFP/AAMEGR/ONG Concept (2007), *Etude d'opportunité d'un dispositif d'apprentissage dans les métiers du bâtiment*. Dakar. The data quoted on apprenticeship in the construction sector are drawn from this study.

23 This figure is the result of the census of crafts production units (*Recensement des unités de production artisanales*, RNUAS) carried out in 2004.

organisational characteristics marked, *inter alia*, by a lack of continuity regarding places and times of occupation and by a cost incurred as a result of this lack of continuity (transport, food and possibly lodging). All of these elements make the building trades a particular case and constitute constraints and even obstacles when it comes to dealing with apprentices.

The apprenticeship contract

The apprenticeship contract is no more formal in the construction civil engineering sector than in the clothing trades. According to overall data, only 2.6% of master craftsmen signed an apprenticeship contract with their apprentices. The use of a contract that is essentially of a moral nature comes up against some specific difficulties in the construction sector:

- the dilapidated and even dangerous nature of premises and above all material (lack of protective materials, the dangerousness of certain machines and certain tools, lack of hygiene);
- the uncertain nature of orders and markets and the unavailability of materials for apprenticeship;
- the difficult conditions due to the length of journeys from home to the workshop and very long periods of presence on building sites, which makes it difficult to respect children's rights.

The opportunity study points out that these difficulties are somehow made less burdensome by certain parents' acceptance to bear the costs of enrolment, transport and training material.

The training process on building sites

The availability of apprenticeship in different trades—masonry, plumbing, electricity, tiling, painting, wood carpentry and metal joinery—is based on a training process that may be summarised as follows.

According to the authors of the opportunity study, apprenticeship in construction and civil engineering suffers from poor trainer training and the fact that trainers

Table 3.
The specific characteristics of traditional apprenticeship in the construction and civil engineering sector in Senegal

Target group	Training content	Training methods	Expected benefits	Certification of the achievements of apprenticeship
<p>Young people may join as an apprentice or as a labourer.</p> <p>The two paths lead to different positions, although they can lead to the same level of qualification.</p>	<p>The training route is characterised by a degree of continuity and/or discontinuity depending on whether the learner stays in the same trade or not, on the same building site, or with the same craftsman. Aside from technical apprenticeship of the trade, it includes a management aspect (site management, preparing estimates, customer relations, etc).</p>	<p>The length of training varies according to the trade, age of the learner, level of studies, and frequency and nature of the building project. Training may last from two to ten years.</p> <p>The development of technical mastery in a given field translates, on a building site, into new responsibility and new division of tasks.</p>	<p>For the apprentice:</p> <p>Recognition of the fact of acquired competences leading to promotion and remuneration.</p> <p>For the craftsman:</p> <p>The duration of apprenticeship gradually provides him/her with efficient and cheap labour.</p>	<p>This takes place at an official ceremony.</p> <p>The apprentice receives a declaration or a certificate signed by the master craftsman as well as a set of tools.</p> <p>The certificate is currently countersigned by the chamber of trades.</p> <p>The quality of the completion ceremony is considered as a measure of the success of the professional career of the learner.</p>

Source: synthèse AFD.

increasingly lag behind technological advances. It also suffers from the lack of synchronisation between the training rationale and production rationale. Skills acquisition thus occurs in a very empirical manner and brings about an increase in the length of training. The authors feel that this apprenticeship nevertheless constitutes a job training system with inevitable significance, for several reasons:

- it does not require costly infrastructure and the direct cost for families and local authorities is very low;
- it comes to the aid of the formal system, which is selective and poorly adapted to labour market needs;

- it is changing, diversified and develops the ability to improvise and be inventive;
- it develops general, technical, social and moral skills and aims to help the less educated categories of the population into self-employment.

To shift this apprenticeship towards improved interaction between training and production while mainstreaming it into the overall vocational training system is thus more than a short-term policy decision. With regard to the role played by this apprenticeship in relation to overall training provision in the sector, it is the only way to help people working in it progress towards increased quality and qualification.

Apprenticeship in the automotive trades²⁴

The importance of traditional apprenticeship in the Senegalese automotive sector is both related to the poor quality of the TVET system and widespread poverty, which means that certain categories of the population have no option other than to send their children into traditional apprenticeship. These two factors mean that traditional apprenticeship in the sector in question has, according to the opportunity study, about 384,000 apprentices (as well as 48,000 journeymen) whereas the whole TVET system only trains 7,000 youngsters.

This traditional apprenticeship is progressing under the combined effect of the sector's growth (more than 21% increase in new car sales in 2005, not including the second-hand car market), the predominance of micro-and small garages (90% of enterprises in the sector are small and very small enterprises) and the low educational level of job seekers (53% are illiterate and 74% have gone no further than the end of primary school, 86% have not reached the end of lower secondary school and only 2% have a university degree). Its development into a training system that takes more account of the sector's changing needs is therefore a considerably important issue, especially because the International Labour Organisation (ILO) considers the automotive, metalwork and general mechanical engineering branch to be one of the non-structured economy's most promising growth sectors.

²⁴ METFP/ATAVA/PROMECA/BILE/Afric Gestion (2007), *op.cit.* The data quoted on apprenticeship in the automotive trades are drawn from this study.

The apprenticeship contract

This contract is of the same nature as those in the two other sectors (moral and unwritten commitment). According to the study, “access to the apprenticeship system is underpinned by family or neighbourhood relations which, in the name of the cultural values of solidarity, exclude any formal contract process governing the apprenticeship between apprentices and their parents on the one hand, and the employer on the other. The words exchanged between parents and employers are enough of a moral guarantee to start the process at the end of which apprentices should legitimately be able to occupy the place of the master. This family-style relationship between employers and apprentices means they are the main educators of these youngsters, who will stay under their almost exclusive authority for many years. The employer will consequently bear meal and health costs for apprentices and journeymen.” Parents have no financial or material obligations when it comes to supporting their children’s training.

The verbal nature of the contractual relationship can more easily be explained by the fact that the vast majority of employers in the automotive trades are illiterate in French (75% have been to Koranic School). Only 4% of them have been educated (of which 10% reached the end of primary school) and over 85% say they need training.

According to the data in the opportunity study, 44% of employers have between 6 and 120 apprentices and 44% have over 10 apprentices. The age of these apprentices varies between 10 and 44, with 86.1% of them being between 16 and 29. There is therefore a very wide age range. The field survey found that a proportion of the apprentices who were not old enough to work were considered as pre-apprentices and went to functional literacy classes.²⁵

The opportunity study reveals that garages are poorly equipped: only 8.3% of them have equipment in working order and in sufficient quantity. It also shows that workshops are badly organised. When apprentices are taken on in very high numbers, the low level of supervision often leads to a low return in terms of production and therefore training. This makes the period of apprenticeship longer than is really necessary for the acquisition of vocational skills.

²⁵ Walther, R. (2006), *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector – Report on the Senegal Field Survey*, Working Paper No. 21, AFD, Paris.

The training process in garages

According to the employers and journeymen, the stages of apprenticeship range from familiarisation with the trade and its environment to a phase for taking on responsibility for minor problem-solving and maintenance tasks. The opportunity study distinguishes between five phases or types of knowledge and skills acquisition:

- the familiarisation phase: this is an introductory phase regarding the trade and for socialisation in the workshop, which entails the accomplishment of minor related tasks;
- the initiation phase: it helps identify the tools as well as the functions and roles of the parts and components of the vehicle;
- the participation phase: this involves apprentices in the preparation of vehicles and equipment in order to facilitate tasks in which they participate;
- the phase for becoming autonomous: apprentices undertake minor assembly/disassembly, repair and finishing tasks;
- the phase for coping with responsibilities: apprentices take full responsibility for the diagnostics, repairs and finishing tasks with which they are entrusted.

More specifically, the training process may be described as follows.

The authors of the opportunity study have drawn up a list of the strengths and weaknesses of the current system. An advantage of this training is that apprentices benefit from a good social introduction into the working environment, creative potential and mobility in the trade and, above all, major opportunities for finding work. The drawbacks include the lack of any social structure (no coverage of risks) the lack of any structured training route (too much supervision, no structured content, no standardised pedagogical approach) and a range of situations varying from under-equipment to the lack of continuing training or any approved or institutional organisation of the sector.

2.1.3. Some conclusions on the situation of traditional apprenticeship

While traditional apprenticeship is by far the biggest provider of vocational training for young people in Africa, it is also the least known training system and the least-well

Table 4.
The specific characteristics of traditional apprenticeship in the automotive trade in Senegal

Target group	Training content	Training methods	Expected benefits	Certification of achievements
<p>Target group</p> <p>Apprentices account for 71% of people working in the sector.</p> <p>95.4% are from a poor social background.</p> <p>About 50% have reached the end of primary school.</p> <p>Journeymen mix with apprentices and play an important apprenticeship support role.</p>	<p>Apprentices are trained in different trades:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mechanical engineering - electricity - sheet metal work - electronics, etc. <p>Stated training needs show that there are technical shortfalls that need to be made up for (in decreasing order of importance)</p> <p>electronics, electricity, sheet metal work and mechanical engineering.</p> <p>Training also concerns sales negotiations.</p>	<p>Training last five years on average.</p> <p>While the employer oversees the transmission of knowledge and know-how to apprentices, journeymen supervise the apprenticeship process on a daily basis.</p> <p>The pedagogical principal is repetitive imitation that is corrected until the act is carried out successfully and the apprentice becomes autonomous.</p>	<p>For apprentices: Participation in production gives them no right to any income, although they may receive bonuses from employers or customers.</p> <p>For the craftsman: They have labour which, in view of the length of the apprenticeship, is highly beneficial.</p> <p>The benefits could be greater if the apprenticeship were better organised.</p>	<p>Master craftsmen conduct evaluations themselves, without any contribution from their colleagues.</p> <p>It is the result of a range of expressions of approval made by the master further to successful production activities.</p> <p>It concludes with a ceremony to mark the end of apprenticeship.</p>

Source: synthèse AFD.

researched in all the countries of the region. This situation is due to the fact that, in the countries concerned, there are no quantitative or qualitative data on this system providing an accurate insight and thus shrewd analysis of its remit and effectiveness. The opportunity studies carried out in Senegal described the main methods of organisation and identified some major characteristics common to each trade. Similarly, the field surveys carried out for this study as well as that on vocational training in the informal sector have led to a certain number of observations that seem applicable to all traditional apprenticeship in West Africa.

The reality seems more complex than the existing typology

The desk research on information gathered during the field surveys and the meetings organised during the study do not confirm the differences between Sahelian and coastal apprenticeship as clearly as those identified in existing studies. In reality, traditional apprenticeship in the two types of country has been presented by its proponents and protagonists as a training model giving the master craftsman an education and training mission that follows on from and often substitutes the family unit. Possible financial contributions from parents do not seem to call this into question. Similarly, no real written contract exists in the two types of country. The contractual relationship is rooted in a moral commitment between the master craftsman and the parents, which is based on the cultural fact that spoken words are as binding as written ones. Although an old law on apprenticeship exists in Senegal, stipulating that there must be a written contract between master craftsmen and apprentices, the real situation in workshops shows that this law is not applied. Similarly, in all the countries surveyed, there is no structured training content that would in principle make it possible to set a standard length of apprenticeship.

Analysis of traditional apprenticeship restructuring shows that both the late 1980s and the early 1990s were marked by the dynamics of change and organisation of this apprenticeship, which forged a progressively more institutionalised image of the relationship between master craftsmen, parents and apprentices. But these dynamics, which have been described in detail in the framework of this study, have been introduced by professional organisations with help from bilateral and multilateral technical and financial partners and have begun in both coastal countries (Benin and Togo as from 1988) and Sahelian countries (Mali as from 1989).

The training processes have some major similarities

Although, in light of available information, it is difficult to have a totally exact approach regarding the different systems at work in each country, the data collected makes it possible to point out some areas of convergence.

These firstly concern the type of beneficiary. In the four countries surveyed, it is evident that the biggest group entering apprenticeship with master craftsmen are

young people with the lowest level of education in their age group as well as those who have dropped out of school or never been. These countries even have schemes helping young people who have never been to school to achieve functional literacy through apprenticeship and thus access a minimum level of educational resources.

There are also great similarities in the sequence of skills development phases for these young people. Although the three-pronged “observation/imitation/participation” approach may be topped up by phases devoted to gaining autonomy and taking responsibility, the skills acquisition scenario always leads up to the identification of tools and tasks and then the gradual entry into professional practice until the time this practice leads to the master craftsman confirming and recognising this know-how.

In all of the countries, master craftsmen underpin the system. They are economic producers of goods and services as well as training providers who perpetuate the tradition of their profession while trying to adapt to market conditions. Despite the help they receive from journeymen in training apprentices, they are also the sole evaluator and guarantor of their professionalism. The overall conclusion, verified during meetings and discussions in the different countries, is that many master craftsmen are currently aware of the limitations of their equipment and qualifications and would like to upgrade their skills as much as the young people, in order to avoid producing the future unemployed, as they say themselves. About fifty Togolese craftsmen met thus voiced a genuine cry of alarm concerning their inability to train themselves—and to train the young people they are responsible for—in the latest technological changes affecting their profession. Contrary to the reigning view that traditional apprenticeship deliberately perpetuates old customs to the detriment of modernity, these craftsmen expressed their firm wish to adapt to current changes, provided they have the skills and tools they need in order to access and master them.

Despite its limitations, traditional apprenticeship plays a unique role in promoting economic dynamism

As the Senegalese opportunity study on automotive trades noted, traditional apprenticeship is developing owing to demographic, sociological and cultural pressure resulting from the need to integrate and train the growing number of young people coming into the labour market every year, due to the combined effect of demographic

growth, the lack of places in the TVET system, the inability of the great majority of given age groups to enter the formal system because they lack the educational level required and, lastly, the migration of young people from rural areas to towns, which must be dealt with urgently.

In face of formal public and private training provision that is unable to manage all of these determining factors, traditional apprenticeship is really the only way to give a maximum number of young people the chance to gain professional skills and grasp opportunities for economic and social progress that arise. Despite insufficient adaptation to technological change and changes in compliance and quality standards it creates wealth and, under pressure from professional organisations, a link of progressive investment in both initial training and continuing training.

This appraisal of the actual situation of vocational training in the countries shows that it is by far the most important system of training for both young people and adults in West African countries. This observation reflects the issues represented by the current experiments aimed at restructuring apprenticeship. This applies to the access of the immense majority of young people, who are excluded from the educational system, to levels of skills development that will lead them into the most skilled job possible while stimulating, via a knock-on effect, the whole of the economy in which they participate.

2.2. The issues underlying a major restructuring of traditional apprenticeship

Analysis of the situation of traditional apprenticeship in the different professional sectors in Senegal and more widely in West Africa shows that it occupies a central position in the renewal and transmission of vocational skills. It is by far the biggest system of vocational training for young people, especially urban young people, and for most of them offers the best route to a trade and thereby to a paid form of employment or activity. For all uneducated children, children who have dropped out of basic education and those that have completed the universal primary education cycle without going on to the first cycle of lower education, it also offers the only way of entering a training system leading to socially recognised skills without needing to have previously reached

a given educational level. Lastly, with regard to the rampant poverty across the whole region, it offers the poorest sections of the population their only means of achieving social and economic mobility for their children.

In this sense traditional apprenticeship is an integral part of both the permanence and the evolution of West African societies. The issue of its restructuring is thus wider than just the training mission that it fulfils in practice. As several people we met stated, it reflects the ability of a society to renew and modernise itself while transmitting to the upcoming generation the core of its cultural, social and family values.

2.2.1. The weaknesses of the current situation

It would be wrong to focus on the difficulties of traditional apprenticeship without mentioning the limits of the existing formal systems. What the opportunity study on the automotive repair sector said regarding the situation in Senegal²⁶ applies to all of the education and training systems of the different countries surveyed: all are characterised by a very low level of internal and external efficiency, which is notably marked by a high degree of educational wastage in the general education, technical education and higher education cycles. This wastage is also linked to the graduation of students whose training does not match the jobs on offer. In these conditions, “the system produces jobseekers who are not ‘employable’ and who expand the population of apprentices through educational wastage.”

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If in such a context the weaknesses of traditional apprenticeship are to be analysed, it seems equally necessary to do so with regard to TVET, especially because school dropouts very often knock on the doors of master trainers.

At economic and technological level

The desk research and several meetings with master craftsmen during the different field surveys made it possible to identify the most obvious difficulties:

1. most professionals involved in apprenticeship currently suffer from a technological backwardness that is detrimental both to the profitability of the

²⁶ METFP/ATAVA/PROMECABILE/Afric Gestion (2007), *op. cit.*

workshop/enterprise's activities and the correct training of apprentices. This backwardness exists notably in the most changing sectors, such as car mechanics, refrigeration and air conditioning techniques and even electronics. However, it is also present in more traditional activities, such as clothes-making or construction, which are confronted either with extensive changes regarding design and fashion (for the former), or installation and quality regulations that are increasingly in line with international standards (for the latter). Professional organisations bringing together a majority of employers and master trainers play a positive role in increasing awareness about the resources that need to be deployed in order to make up for this backwardness. However, available economic and financial resources are not enough to help adapt to the rate of current changes and thus modernise. Those that are the most aware of this say that, in the current conditions, they are "training apprentices that run a great risk of being unemployed."

2. this technological backwardness is linked to the lack of necessary equipment for carrying out repairs or production adapted to techniques or standards in force. However, it is also due to the absence of any genuine continuing training policy for professionals. While experiences such as the creation of enterprise support training units (the UFAE in Mali) have helped create places and means for intervening in this area, it is clear that none of the countries have the necessary resources in expertise and equipment to organise the minimal updating of these professionals to changes underway. For example, Togo has such a lack of resources that it does not even have an initial or continuing trainer training centre any more.
3. one of the big difficulties pointed out by the various employers, craftsmen and micro entrepreneurs is their market access, i.e., the obstacles they encounter to ensure sufficient production and thus activity in order to train the young apprentices well. This market access is one of the major requirements formulated by the managers of all informal production units (IPUs) in the framework of the AFRISTAT²⁷ survey carried out in the seven capitals of West Africa. The field surveys showed that these people had a strong desire to keep up with the development of products and services at national and above all international level and, in order to do this, to access major orders made notably by the public

27 STATECO (2005), *Méthodes statistiques et économiques pour le développement et la transition*, n° 99, INSEE, AFRISTAT et DIAL, Paris.

authorities. The Senegal chamber of trade has thus introduced specific procedures enabling IPUs to group together and make joint bids for public and private tenders;

4. a last area of difficulties concerns the precarious conditions in which most employers and craftsmen work. For example, in the seven capitals of West Africa, less than 22% of IPUs possess specific premises for their activity, 98% have no access to water, 93% have no telephone and 78% have no electricity. The different opportunity studies in Senegal reveal the same situation. For example, only 25% of Senegalese garages are located on own premises; 95% are not connected to the water mains and have no toilets, 83% have no preventive safety system (concerning fire or illness, example). Thus apprentices work in minimal hygiene conditions, which can only reflect upon the quality of their training. Aside from these conditions, there is no social protection and any illnesses or work accidents have to be paid for either by the employer or by the family.

This data demonstrates the paradox facing traditional apprenticeship in the countries surveyed and, more widely, in West Africa. While it represents a major means of promoting the skills development of young people and, as such, should attract resources corresponding to the importance of the issues at stake, it is exercised in conditions that reflect the economic and technical situations of micro and small production and service enterprises, and that underline the enormous progress required to ensure they have both the means to survive and to train the young people they need in order to develop.

At training system level

The typology of additional apprenticeship outlined above and the specification of the major phases for developing skills acquisition among apprentices show that there is a sort of common training model that is fashioned both by the economic context and the patterns of vocational skills development that, in practice, replicate the cognitive approach of any human activity: one observes, to better understand in order to be capable of imitating and, little by little, replicating autonomously. A certain number of weaknesses underlie this overall model. These are currently subject to debate and are essentially at the origin of the current phase of apprenticeship restructuring.

1. The system's over-informality. This above all concerns the contractual nature of the relationship between the master trainer and the apprentice. Even though all the people met stressed the vital importance of the master as guarantor of the transmission of family and social traditions, and emphasised the contractual value of the verbal commitment which is given in the same way as a written one, the entry of the apprentice into training nevertheless should be more organised. It notably lacks a more specific approach concerning the mutual rights and duties of master and apprentice. The end of informality also assumes there should be a minimal and maximal indication of length of training, the prior definition of a form of pedagogical progress (in the absence of the existence of a predefined training content) and, lastly, a clearer rule for validating and recognising the trade learned at the end of the day. This minimum degree of formalisation would certainly help bring traditional apprenticeship out of its current vague situation and make it a subject of study and research both at quantitative and qualitative level;
2. In its current form, apprenticeship is too dependent on the pattern and nature of customer demand, given that the only material that can be used for training is that used during real production. So apprentices may find themselves unoccupied as a result of an interruption in the rate of production in the workshop. Similarly, some of them may end up having to always carry out the same type of order without having the opportunity of going through all the phases of the trade they are learning. Lastly, sometimes insufficient supervision and too much pressure to produce makes apprentices specialised in executing orders, which does not give them an opportunity to go through the phases of becoming autonomous and taking responsibility in terms of conduct and management;
3. Lastly, the lack of any minimum training theory ties both employers and apprentices into pursuing a pedagogical approach based on replication and permanence of achievements, instead of opting for one based on innovation which alone can help assimilate new technological advances and new market requirements and standards. This observation is especially true given that many employers are illiterate or early school dropouts. More generally, the average length of employees' education in the informal sector is 3.5 years for the seven capitals of West Africa, as opposed to 8.2 years for the formal private sector and 11.3 years for the public sector.²⁸ There therefore exists an underinvestment in

28 STATECO (2005), *op. cit.*

the educational side of traditional apprenticeship, which is especially harmful because the improvement of educational levels is statistically acknowledged as a means of promoting change and adjustment to current developments.

Master craftsmen and professional organisations are becoming aware about the shortfalls of the traditional training system. Many have expressed the need to improve the overall apprenticeship process, incorporate it within the framework of a more structured vision of the progress of each apprentice and adapt it permanently to the requirements of constantly changing professionalism.

2.2.2. The strengths of the existing systems

Identification of the limits of traditional apprenticeship does not prevent it from playing an essential role regarding both the skills development of young people coming out of the formal education and training system and their integration into the labour market. Without exaggerating, it can be said that this apprenticeship fulfils an extremely important social function as it helps West African countries cope with demographic, sociological and cultural realities that the TVET system, as it is currently organised, is incapable of taking into account. The Senegalese opportunity study in the automotive repair field lists some of these realities: the growth of the economically active population that the educational system is incapable of training, the large numbers of first time jobseekers coming into the labour market who mainly head towards on-the-job training, and jobseekers' low level of education and qualification, which prevents them from accessing any formal vocational training.

More broadly, the desk research and field interviews identified several elements reflecting the strengths of the existing systems.

How professional organisations integrate issues regarding training for craftsmen and apprentices

In all the countries surveyed, professional federations have seriously taken up the issue of traditional apprenticeship and, more broadly, vocational training in all sectors of activity. For example, the Benin National Federation of Craftsmen (FENAB) has set up training committees at national, regional and local level and is notably looking into

how to promote greater involvement of craftsmen as both practical and theory trainers of their apprentices.

The National Federation of Malian Craftsmen (FNAM) is moving in the same direction: it is organising a literacy scheme in the national language and French, is setting up technical training centres in suitable places, and identifying, renovating and obtaining formal approval for crafts training centres. It is also pursuing and extending training through apprenticeship, notably by attempting to strengthen the capabilities of master craftsmen.

The clear desire of the three Senegalese professional sectors studied to move towards substantial improvement of the situation regarding apprenticeship in each sector shows the extent to which the vocational training trend is gradually being taken on board by the different stakeholders as a key means of boosting their economic and professional situations.

This action by professional organisations goes hand in hand with a major training need expressed by professionals themselves. Meetings in Benin and Togo revealed how keen craftsmen—especially illiterate and uneducated ones—had a strong desire to update their technical and management knowledge in order to improve the economic performance of their businesses and train as best as possible the apprentices under their charge.

The ability of the stakeholders themselves to improve training design and development

In spite of appearances, which seem to impose the image of a type of apprenticeship that has not changed for many years or even decades, the field surveys showed that there are restructuring dynamics underway in the professionals' workshops and particularly shed light on the initiatives taken by master trainers themselves in order to improve their training actions.

In Central Africa, Cameroon is in the same position as countries in West Africa and, as such, provides a very good illustration of the way this apprenticeship can forge a training approach that takes account of a more customised view on the progression of each apprentice. The Cameroon Interprofessional Association of Craftsmen (GIPA)

has thus defined an approach to harmonising the action of each master trainer along the following lines:²⁹

- introduction of ways of positioning young people according to their level of entry and achievement of specific objectives;
- variation of the length of training depending on the levels of entry and the regular evaluation of their professional ability;
- adding management training on top of technical training, which is conducted by master trainers themselves;
- introduction of a way to monitor apprentices leading to successive evaluations of their ability to progress;
- organisation of a common exam at completion and issue of a common certificate;
- decision to organise the final exam in a single place, using common production methods for an object that is then evaluated by a panel;
- production of a common certificate at the end of training in partnership with the Ministry responsible;
- passage from individual assessment to overall assessment of improvements to be made regularly to the training.

All of these elements are subject to an agreement among all GIPA members. They herald the potential development of traditional apprenticeship towards training design and development that is both individually-tailored, modular and focused on the acquisition and certification of skills linked to the trade to be acquired.

The Senegalese Organisation of Automotive General Mechanical Engineering and Metal Work Professionals (PROMECABILE) has demonstrated the same innovative capacity by introducing, at its own initiative, a learning scheme based on a structured four-year training course that includes the following elements: a three-month phase of familiarisation with the working environment, three months of instruction in health and safety issues, and six months of integration into the organisation of the workshop and identification of tools, with all these phases leading up to a three-year training course

²⁹ Walther, R. (2006a), *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector – Report on the Cameroon Field Survey*, Working Paper No. 17, AFD, Paris.

organised alternately between the workshop and training centre. The training entails periodical assessments allowing identification and correction of the apprentices' shortcomings. At the end of the final overall assessment, the apprentices receive a certificate that is recognised by all of the stakeholders. In parallel, apprentices who meet the requirements in terms of educational levels may be put forward to receive the official diplomas such as the CAP vocational skills diploma, the BEP vocational education diploma and the BT technician diploma.

These examples are not unique, but they are enough to demonstrate the changes underway in traditional apprenticeship, which at first glance might appear to be at a standstill rather than inducing social and professional mobility.

The system's ability to help apprentices into the world of work

The labour market in all West African countries is characterised by the predominance of informal activities. Thus in the four countries surveyed, about 90% of young people find work exclusively in the non-structured economy. In such a context, traditional apprenticeship is more than just a training or qualification option. In the great majority of cases, it is the only means of entering the labour market.

This close relationship between apprenticeship and entry into the job market stems from the fact that many young people find work in the workshop where they have been trained, create their own activity or are recruited through existing family and social networks. It is also linked to the polyvalent nature of the skills acquired by the young people trained in real production situations. For example, the Senegalese opportunity study on automotive trades pointed out some of the strengths of the apprentices trained in the garages:

- socialisation through work;
- rooting in the cultural and moral values of the environment;
- greater creativity of the apprentice;
- a diversity of the skills offered: polyvalence and greater professional mobility potential;
- those leaving the apprenticeship system have a greater chance of professional integration.

This list does not mean that the outcome of training is optimal. It should be examined in comparison with the knowledge acquired from the formal TVET system, which gives young people the advantage of having a more structured theoretical approach but does not give them any real professional practice (know-how) or, most importantly, behavioural skills (knowing how to act), such as socialisation, adaptation, creativity and integration.

Bearing in mind the lack of statistical data on traditional apprenticeship systems, it is difficult to estimate their exact potential for helping people into work. But bearing in mind that in West Africa, two-thirds of the jobs are sought via family-based solidarity networks,³⁰ it seems evident that these systems—which mainly base themselves on this type of solidarity—have a great chance of leading, if not to employment, then at least to an income-generating activity. Furthermore, apprentices acquire skills that are tailored to immediate economic and professional demand and therefore do not encounter the problem of TVET graduates who, having been trained for hypothetical formal jobs that are disappearing in all countries, inevitably go through fairly long periods of unemployment.³¹

Covering the cost of training without State contributions

The financing of traditional apprenticeship includes several types of costs or expenditure: material (purchases, maintenance, renewal depending on changes in markets and techniques), covering apprentices' costs (travel, food, health costs, stipend), training costs (time spent by the master trainer and journeyman training the apprentice) and, in certain cases, certification costs (when this is recognised by the profession and therefore requires the intervention of peers). In the great majority of cases, these different costs are covered by employers or master trainers themselves. As already mentioned, the parents often contribute to this financing in the coastal countries, up to an amount that varies in accordance with the type of trade being learnt. Apprentices participate themselves in covering their own costs and through their direct

30 STATECO (2005), *op. cit.*

31 The statistical surveys on informal sector employment (Cameroon, Ethiopia and Morocco) highlight that the level of unemployment increases with the level of the diploma. This situation can be explained by the low skills level of jobs on offer in basically informal economies. It can also be explained by the fact that the least educated workers are less demanding regarding the jobs they agree to do than workers with a high level of studies.

contribution to the completion of orders in their enterprise or workshop. However, no study gives an estimate of the value.³²

It is notable that this coverage of the costs of traditional apprenticeship through *de facto* co-financing by master trainers, families and the apprentices themselves entails absolutely no financial contribution from the public authorities. So the training systems that do by far the most to develop the professional skills of young people in West Africa are entirely financed by private sources, chargeable to both the providers and the beneficiaries of training, and they thus genuinely come under the responsibility of the economic and socio-professional stakeholders that promote them. It is this type of financing that guarantees sustainability and means that the planned move to dual or alternate training is ultimately the expression of a desire, or indeed a feeling of obligation, of the actors involved in order to adapt training provision to economic, technological and professional changes.

This overview of the strengths and weaknesses of traditional apprenticeship highlights the issue that its development towards improved vocational qualification will represent. This apprenticeship will in effect constitute the only training provision capable of reaching a significant number of young people within any given age cohort. Restructuring it can only have a quantitative and qualitative impact on the skills capital that a country will have at its disposal in order to meet the challenges of growth and competitiveness facing it.

The overview also identifies the changes or improvements that the restructuring should take into account in order to meet the demand for skills and qualifications that African economies are increasingly facing in the context of the globalisation of techniques and quality standards.

Lastly, it emphasises the parameters of this restructuring. In order to achieve a result that is both efficient and effective, it must strengthen the bases that constitute the backbone of the existing systems: a steering of the restructuring that respects the

³² For information, it is interesting to note that production by German apprentices accounts for over half of the overall contribution of the enterprises that recruit and train them (€9 billion out of an overall contribution of about €15 billion). See Walther, R. (2005), *Financing Vocational Training: a Europe-Africa Comparison*, Notes and Documents No. 13, AFD, Paris.

leadership of professional organisations, training development and design that integrates theory content within acquisition of skills in real working situations, a skills development process designed to promote effective integration into the labour market and, lastly, financing mechanisms that draw on the contribution of the stakeholders and beneficiaries concerned. However, it should not be forgotten that the inclusion of restructured apprenticeship within the overall TVET system cannot succeed without the effective, strategic, operational and financial involvement of the public authorities.

Current dynamics in restructuring traditional apprenticeship

3

The analysis does not report on all changes underway in West Africa. It focuses on the four countries that have decided either to invest in the development of a dual training system (Benin, Mali, Togo) or to change, from the inside, the apprenticeship methods adopted by a certain number of economically strategic sectors (Senegal). This selective choice was made for the study due to time and budget constraints. It in no way means that the experiences conducted in Burkina Faso, Ghana³³ or other countries in the region are not worthy of interest.

The description of the restructuring dynamics underway places the schemes developed within each country's economic and socio-political context, gives further detail regarding the original assumptions, describes the different aspects of each practice and evaluates either the initial results or the feasibility. The work as a whole aims to draw out some structuring factors from each experience and to use these to draw out a certain number of strategic and operational parameters that should help establish a model for the mainstreaming of a postprimary vocational training system based on the basic values and improvement capabilities of traditional apprenticeship.

33 The situation in Ghana is fairly similar to that of the countries studied, in that traditional apprenticeship develops the occupational skills of between 80% and 90% of young people, whereas the TVET system trains between 5% and 10% – with NGOs taking in the remainder. On this issue see Palmer, R. (2007), *Policies and strategies to improve the institutional framework for informal apprenticeship training: The case of Ghana*, text prepared for an ILO workshop on "Apprenticeship in the Informal Economy: the West Africa Region", Centre for African Studies and Economic and Social Research Council, ILO, Geneva, 3-4 May 2007.

3.1. Pilot dual training schemes in Togo and Benin

Togo and Benin have pursued a common path in terms of restructuring vocational training in that the experiments of a dual vocational training scheme were introduced jointly, in 1991 for Togo and 1993 for Benin, with support from a German aid agency (Hanns Seidel Foundation). These experiments were subject to an initial evaluation in 2001.³⁴ This study reports on this while updating the analysis in accordance with data gathered during the field visits.

3.1.1. The initial contexts

The two countries are in a fairly identical general situation, which is notably marked by the strong representation of the informal sector at the economic level, the decline of formal employment in the labour market and the marginal role played by TVET in training young people.

Highly informal economies

Togo and Benin are among the West African countries with the highest number of informal production and service units. But the two countries are also still going through a period of decline in the number of formal jobs, which means it is not yet possible to envisage any reversal of the trend towards the informalisation of their economy.

Togo

Little data exists on the employment situation in Togo. According to information gathered from economic stakeholders, the formal sector accounts for 25% of the economically active population as opposed to 75% for the informal sector. However, no statistics have been given to confirm the accuracy of these figures and the proportionate share between the two sectors.

³⁴ Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *op. cit.*

According to an estimate of the active population carried out in 1995,³⁵ 1.6 million people (out of a total 2.3 million) had exercised a professional activity that year, which translates into a rate of unemployment or exclusion from any activity of as much as 32%. According to the same estimate, 72% of jobs concerned the agricultural sector, “which only provides traditional jobs that are by nature precarious and poorly paid.” Relatively stable paid jobs accounted for 6% of the total: 4% for the private sector and 2% for the public sector. All other jobs (i.e. 22%) were provided by the informal sector.

Data from the Directorate-General for the Civil Service³⁶ shows a decrease in formal public sector jobs since this date, because the number of people in the civil service fell from 103,401 to 96,279 between 1995 and 1999, i.e. 7% of the total number of civil servants.

Comparative analysis of this data in relation to the situation in other Sub-Saharan African countries (Benin, Cameroon and Senegal), where the number of informal jobs is as high as 90% of available employment, shows that the employment situation in Togo is not so different from that of its neighbours. If one adds the total number of workers in precarious jobs in the agricultural sector to that of people working effectively in the non-formal urban sector, the level of informal or precarious activity comes to at least 90% of the employed population.

Benin

According to the Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the Educational Sector,³⁷ employment trends are mixed. The overall rate of employment of Benin's population decreased between 1992 and 2002, from 67.7% to 63.8%, whereas a large increase in the proportion of self-employed workers was observed during the same period, from 60.5% to 70.2%. This phenomenon, combined with a relatively low rate of employment (0.7% in 2002), is decreasing among first-time jobseekers (from 1% in 1992

35 Ministère de l'économie, des finances et des privatisations (2004), *Document intérimaire de stratégie de réduction de la pauvreté (DIRSP)*. Lomé.

36 Data published on the website of the ILO's Sub-regional Office for the Sahel Region.

37 Ministères en charge de l'éducation (2005), *Plan décennal de développement du secteur éducatif, 2006-2015*. Cotonou.

to 0.4% in 2002) and bears witness to the Benin economy's increasing shift towards the informal sector.

According to the same Plan, 97.3% of women and 92.7% of men are employed in the informal sector. The size of the informal sector is therefore far from decreasing, as it occupied 86% of the economically active population in 1979 and 92.9% in 1982. The report on national continuing vocational training policy³⁸ stipulates that for this period, 36,000 jobs were created every year in the informal sector, which is equivalent to an annual average growth rate of 9.8%.

The significant growth of this sector may at least partially be explained by structural reform policies implemented in the 1990s, with the resulting privatisations and civil service cuts having left very many Beninese people no option other than to become involved in the informal economy. The ensuing decline in waged employment (about 5%) reflects the modern sector's difficulty in taking over from the State in the field of job creation.

A peripheral TVET system

In the two countries, the TVET system trains a minority of young people in professions that are mainly oriented towards the formal sector. However, there is a desire to implement reform, in order to put the existing system at the service of the real economy.

TVET in Togo: a system lacking in resources

TVET in Togo has expanded considerably in recent years. The number of learners has increased from 8,198 in 1990-1991 to 11,000 in 1998, 12,363 in 1999-2000 and almost 20,000 in 2004 (an average annual growth of 11%), particularly due to the considerable increase in private provision. However, private provision is mainly available in service sectors whereas State provision is of a predominantly industrial nature.

This progress should however be considered in relative terms, bearing in mind the overall development of secondary education: between 1990 and 2004, the proportion of people in TVET decreased from 6.5% to 5.5% of the overall numbers in secondary education.

³⁸ Ministère de la Fonction publique, du Travail et de la Réforme administrative (1998), *Politique nationale de formation professionnelle continue*. Cotonou.

A type of craft-oriented or traditional apprenticeship exists (“initial vocational training”), although the numbers of workshops and young people trained have not been counted. It is thus impossible to make a quantitative comparison of the two types of training.

Available data³⁹ shows that education in commercial options is particularly poor: a 10.53% success rate in 2006 for the CAP diploma (19 candidates) and 8.81% for commercial BEP diplomas (1,825 candidates) in the same year. Similarly, the “economic series” of the Baccalaureat had a 30.3% success rate among young people at the end of their course (out of 11,816 candidates) whereas 41.27% of those sitting the “industrial series” exam (out of 1,330 candidates) gained their qualification. Only industrial CAP diplomas (77.64% of the 1,153 candidates sitting the exam passed) and the artistic and crafts CAP diplomas (78% of the 18 candidates sitting the exam obtained the qualification) have satisfactory success rates.

According to research published as part of the strategy for achieving the MDGs, the very poor quality of TVET is due to several factors:

- the disastrous nature of teaching staff management, with three inspectors for 1,492 teachers;⁴⁰
- the lack of textbooks, which meet only 20% of private establishments’ needs;
- the insufficient number of work stations and the total lack of working materials for the practical work necessary for learning professional conduct;
- the over-academic nature of most courses.

The development of dual training entailing theory training in TVET colleges aims to rectify some of the weaknesses identified.

39 République du Togo/PNUD (2006), *Stratégie pour l’atteinte des OMD, Secteur de l’éducation et de la formation*. Lomé.

Pôle de Dakar (2006), Lomé. *Éléments d’analyse du secteur éducatif au Togo*. Dakar.

METFP, Direction des examens, des concours et des certifications (2006), *Évolution des taux de réussite aux examens scolaires de 2002 à 2006*. Lomé.

40 The field visit discovered that the situation continues to deteriorate, as the inspectorate is on the verge of disappearing.

TVET in Benin: a system awaiting restructuring⁴¹

The technical education system includes 15 State colleges that educated 10,984 students in 2003/2004, and 112 private colleges that educated 17,400 students in the same year. The latter are mainly present in the services sector, whereas State colleges offer courses in areas of science and industrial, administrative, agricultural, biological and social techniques. The first cycle—which caters for Fifth Form leavers (12 to 13-year-olds) mainly prepares students to take the CAP diploma. The second cycle—which caters for holders of the BEPC certificate—prepares for different technical diplomas as well as for Baccalaureat G (law/economic/management) in certain cases.

Two factors explain the orientations of the restructuring to be introduced: firstly the mismatch between training provision and the realities of the labour market, notably in terms of new professions for which there is no training; and secondly the absence of any practical training that is supposed to top up theory training. This restructuring is set out in both the 2001 policy paper and the action plan designed to provide details on its implementation.⁴² It plans to professionalise initial training courses and introduce new options with employment potential. It also provides for the enlargement of TVET colleges' field of competences.

Traditional apprenticeship is still the most developed form of training in Benin as it is estimated that 200,000 young people were trained this way in 2005, in other words ten times more than the number of students in technical and vocational education. The reforms introduced from 2001 set out to transform the current apprenticeship system into a dual one, in which enterprises and the State (through training colleges) shared the responsibility for training. They also planned that this restructured apprenticeship would be mainstreamed into the TVET system. Analysis of the progress and current methods of development of this new form of apprenticeship will be extremely useful for the ongoing debate on the introduction of a permanent postprimary vocational training system.

41 The data are taken from Walther, R., (2006), *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector, Report on the Benin Field Survey*, Working Paper, No. 19, AFD, Paris.

42 METFP (2001), *Plan d'action pour la mise en œuvre de l'ETFP*, Stratégie 11 : accroissement des capacités d'accueil dans l'ETFP. Cotonou.

3.1.2. Working assumptions

Traditional apprenticeship restructuring schemes in the two countries have been launched on the basis of working assumptions that notably take into account the urgent need to establish training systems that are adapted to the needs of a predominantly informal economy and the conditions of particularly disadvantaged young people. The research undertaken by the initial advocates of this restructuring⁴³ explains the initial problem as follows.

Existing vocational training systems must meet local needs

The period for setting up the dual apprenticeship scheme coincides with a new, general awareness that formal vocational training is unable to meet the real needs of the countries' economies. The authors of the research say that several World Bank studies referred to this inability. For example, in a publication in 1992,⁴⁴ the World Bank notes the very poor quantitative impact of TVET systems in West Africa: they effectively only train 0.1 to 0.5% of the region's economically active population, which represents a tiny and even insignificant proportion of any age group. Aside from this quantitative observation, it also gives a severe judgement on teaching quality: "most training financed or delivered by the State is pre-vocational training. Programmes are even less efficient and adaptable because planning and management are inflexible, links with employers too weak, objectives inadequate and financing insufficient." Students leaving TVET consequently encounter two difficulties: on the one hand enterprises reject them because of their lack of efficiency and experience in real working situations, and on the other hand they are ill-equipped to work in an economic sector that increasingly comprises micro-enterprises or family businesses.

The Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking Countries (CONFEMEN) draws the same conclusions, noting in a paper on the integration of young

43 Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *op. cit.*

44 World Bank (1991), *Vocational and Technical Education and Training*, A World Bank Policy Paper prepared by John Middleton, Adrian Ziderman and Arvil Van Adams, under the direction of Adrian Verspoor, World Bank, Washington, DC.

people into working life published in the mid-1990s⁴⁵ that TVET, aside from training for often non-existent jobs, excludes from training the mass of young people who are heading to sectors of the informal economy. Such an observation constitutes a *de facto* recognition of the value of traditional apprenticeship.

Benin did not wait for the analysis of international organisations before developing strategic and operational guidelines enabling the TVET system to meet the real needs of the local economy. The National Education Conference in October 1990 and the Round Table on Economic and Social Development held in Geneva in April 1992 are at the origin of current vocational training policy. The Round Table notably underlined the need to strengthen the institutional framework for measures to be implemented, to develop technical and vocational training, to develop and rationalise non-formal education and to develop literacy. The informal sector was therefore one of the priorities selected. To apply this overall strategy, the country started to introduce a demand-based continuing training system as early as 1995. In December 1998 it launched a national vocational training policy aimed at preparing young people for working life and, more particularly, to improve and develop the traditional apprenticeship system in order to integrate it into an overall vocational and job training system.

In Togo, the TVET system, which has been run by the Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational training (METFP) since September 1984, was, similarly to Benin, confronted in the late 1980s with the challenge to meet the needs of the countries' economy. Thus the 1988 Law N° 1988-20 calls for the adaptation and restructuring of apprenticeship to respond to changes in the trades it prepares for. The National Education Conference of 1992 identified, as one of the major orientations to be implemented, the need to adapt the education system to the socio-economic environment and vocational training courses to the real possibilities of the national economy. The National Conference on Technical Education and Vocational Training which followed, as well as the Declaration on Sectoral Education and Training Policy of 1993 led to the creation of the Higher Council and Regional Councils for TVET and the introduction of dual training in public establishments and, notably, in Regional Centres for Technical and Vocational Education (CRETFP). The 13 April 2002 Law N° 2002-016 on the orientation of TVET extends and strengthens the request made ten years earlier "to adapt knowledge and know-how to

45 CONFEMEN (1996), *Insertion des jeunes dans la vie active par l'enseignement technique et la formation professionnelle*, Document de référence pour la 47e session de la CONFEMEN, Dakar.

technological changes and employment patterns". It furthermore details the different types of training to be developed, including dual initial vocational training—which targets dual apprenticeship—and continuing training.

The informal sector, a credible way to forge economic and social development

Increased awareness about the unsuitability of TVET with regard to labour market needs and the emergence of dual training in the late 1980s and early 1990s may be interpreted as the two countries' response to current economic downturn. Whereas structural reform was supposed to develop the modern economy, analysis of these countries' situations in fact shows that the "modern sector of the economy [...] declined at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, owing to economic difficulties and inappropriate macro-economic management."⁴⁶ Combined with strong demographic growth, this decline has profoundly changed employment prospects and created a labour market that does not correspond to the TVET system's training and employment objectives. It has notably brought about the decline of manufacturing, the persistence of a major traditional agricultural sector and the growing development of an informal urban economy. Thus, as a comparison, employment in the non-structured sector grew 6.7% per year from 1980 to 1985⁴⁷ in Sub-Saharan Africa and represented three-quarters of all jobs outside the agricultural sector in 1990, as opposed to two-thirds 10 years earlier.⁴⁸

This strengthening of the informal economy to the detriment of the modern economy has led some researchers to start working on the ability of the informal sector to create the foundations of a new type of economic and social development and the need to develop vocational training that is adapted to the situation and the skills needs of the new productive jobs.⁴⁹ The view of traditional apprenticeship is thus beginning to change. It has until now been criticised by some for its conservatism in terms of know-how transfer, but it is gradually becoming a training system that should be improved

46 Hanns Seidel Foundation, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (2001), *op. cit.*

47 ILO (2004), *Méthodes et instruments d'appui au secteur informel en Afrique francophone*, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

48 ILO (2002), *Le secteur informel en Afrique subsaharienne francophone. Vers un travail décent*, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

49 Fluitman, F. (1989), *Training for work in the informal sector*, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

and strengthened. In this context the German aid authorities are introducing pilot dual apprenticeship schemes in Togo and Benin. CONFEMEN has been stressing the importance of such schemes since 1996, by asserting that the best performance is obtained by informal sector craftsmen when they know how to combine technical school training and traditional apprenticeship.⁵⁰

Analysis of the cyclical outlook concerning the launch of dual apprenticeship in Togo and Benin shows that all of the conditions were met. The two countries' TVET systems were in great need of restructuring, bearing in mind their lack of quantitative and qualitative efficiency and almost total inability to prepare young people for the types of activities and jobs that were actually available. At the same time, the increasing importance of the informal sector in face of the decline of the modern economy emphasised the informal sector's ability to forge a mode of development that is more centred on the production and service capacities of micro-and small enterprises. Traditional apprenticeship was therefore considered in terms of its social and professional value, just as people were realising the need to improve and strengthen it in order to overcome its conservative tendency and make it capable of preparing young people for rapidly changing professions and jobs.

3.2. The major characteristics of the pilot schemes developed

It is not easy to describe the different phases for launching and introducing dual apprenticeship in Togo and Benin. The meetings organised during the field surveys did not help reconstitute the thread of developments. Two pieces of research⁵¹ nevertheless help identify the main strands of development of this apprenticeship.

3.2.1. The launch process

According to analysis by the promoters themselves, this process was part of the international partnership that the Federal Republic of Germany established with the

⁵⁰ CONFEMEN (1996), *op. cit.*

⁵¹ This concerns research undertaken by the promoter, the Hanns Seidel Foundation, which has already been extensively mentioned, and the audit carried out on behalf of the Togo TVET Ministry and the French aid authorities by experts from the French organisation AFPA (unpublished document).

Republics of Togo and Benin at the end of the 1980s. Representing the German Government, the Hanns Seidel Foundation signed technical co-operation agreements with the two governments and pledged to promote vocational training in order to improve the quality of production in traditional and modern crafts sectors. The agreement notably focused on the introduction of a vocational training system involving the TVET sector and informal crafts sector, developing apprenticeship based on the principles of dual training.

The creation of the system may broadly be summarised as follows:

- the system was underpinned by the partnership between TVET system stakeholders and craft sector organisations;
- it presupposed there are two places of training: one type of training in real working circumstances in the craft workshop and theory training conducted in a formal vocational training college;
- it was launched on a pilot basis in one college set up in each country: one in Lomé, Togo in 1991 and one in Abomey, Benin in 1993.

A look at the minutes of the meetings held to launch the pilot scheme would appear to show that the educational sector played a principal role in the restructuring process and that several visits to professional organisations and master trainers were necessary in order to convince them of the interest and importance of the scheme. At the outset it was thus more of a formal TVET sector project in opposition to the informal sector than a mutually and jointly instigated one.

Once the minimum basis for an agreement between the partners was obtained, the responsibilities were divided between the training colleges and craft workshops.

3.2.2. The initial respective roles of training colleges and workshops

The research initiated by the Hanns Seidel Foundation in collaboration with the University of Quebec gives a very detailed description of the division of responsibilities and tasks between the two places of training.

The role of the colleges

Although primarily based on skills acquisition in real working situations, the pilot scheme gave a predominant role to training colleges for existing TVET systems during the development phase for the overall training process. These colleges took on the following responsibilities:

- to prepare theory and practical training programmes on the basis of an analysis of activities and tasks carried out in master trainers' workshops and to evaluate their relevance;
- to organise awareness-raising activities in order to popularise the new training model among master craftsmen, apprentices and their parents;
- to organise the apprentices following the theory and technology training, using information provided by the master craftsmen and selection criteria defined jointly by the college and the workshop;
- to determine, on the basis of regulatory documents, lengths of practical and theory training courses, and to establish, using a log book, reciprocal information on the training sessions organised in college and in the workshop;
- to organise end-of-apprenticeship assessments by involving master trainers as much as possible;
- to organise workshop visits in order to monitor the delivery of education given to apprentices;
- to identify the master trainers' training needs and organise retraining sessions for them;
- to raise parents' awareness about the enrolment of young women in the apprenticeship system.

The role of craft workshops

The master trainers are firstly responsible to the parents for the training of apprentices. In partnership with the training colleges, they also have the following tasks and obligations:

- helping the colleges to prepare training programmes;

- providing practical training for the duration of the apprenticeship (three or four years), for three weeks per month;⁵²
- facilitating the relationship between parents and the college and ensuring regular attendance by apprentices by signing the log book;
- participating in discussion meetings between trainers and master trainers and welcoming the trainers into the workshops;
- participating in the end-of-apprenticeship theory and practical tests.

While listing these different tasks and responsibilities, the authors of the research show that the two countries did not necessarily use the same operational model, at least during the ten years of trials covered by their work. They thus point out that, in Benin, activities aimed at raising master trainers' awareness were permanently entrusted to a co-ordinator, whereas this was an occasional activity for trainers in Togo. In Benin, the selection of apprentices was made further to consultation with professional associations, which encouraged master craftsmen to propose apprentices to the college and participate directly in recruitment. In Togo, the master trainers pre-selected apprentices for their partner colleges, but did not participate in recruitment *per se*. Trainers in Benin were very concerned about the college teaching being put into practice in real working situations, whereas the Togolese trainers were above all concerned about apprentices' behaviour. The two countries converged regarding the organisation of retraining courses for master craftsmen, although Benin was the only one to offer them trainer training classes leading to the award of a training certificate.

3.2.3. The results of the first evaluations

The two dual apprenticeship systems have been subject to a double evaluation of the first ten years of development. The first was carried out by Togo's TVET Ministry in the framework of an audit, carried out from 11 to 24 October 1998 by French experts from the French Adult Training Association (AFPA). The second is the result of German-Canadian research, which took place between November 1997 and December 2000 and analysed the first developments of the dual training model tested in the two countries.

⁵² The research conducted by the Hanns Seidel Foundation indicates a comparable period of training each month in Benin and Togo: equal to three weeks' training in a workshop and one week of training at college. In reality, and to date, Togo follows this rule, whereas Benin has training for five days per week and the sixth day at the training college.

Conclusions of the AFPA audit in 1998

The data only concern Togo, but have the advantage of reviewing the scheme that was launched first, in 1991, two years before the one in Benin. They are the result of three auditors' total immersion in the activities of three training centres (Atakpamé, Kara and Pya).

- in all of the colleges, the dual system was completely applied for the apprentices attending, as planned, one week in three;
- the implementation of the system has had an effect, at least in Atakpamé, of interacting with the whole of the college and introducing dual training into the preparation of the CAP diploma (this dual training was still in place in 2007);
- existing training programmes have not been designed using an analysis of the country's real employment situation;
- none of the colleges have set up a system for monitoring the former apprentices' job market access;
- college budgets are not transparent and there is a separation between the person in charge of expenditure (the director) and the payer (the colleges' external administration) – this is harmful to the colleges' good management;
- trainers with professional experience (work or a placement) account for only 60% of the teams of vocational trainers, which poses a problem regarding the ability of the 40% with no experience of real working situations to train young people usefully and efficiently. Furthermore, about half of the vocational trainers have not received any pedagogical training;
- general education is developed in parallel with practical training and does not help strengthen the learning of a manual trade;
- master craftsmen/trainers need machines and tools that are tailored to their tasks as trainers as well as continuing training so they are better acknowledged by their apprentices and clients.

These observations lead the audit report to conclude that the dual training methodology should be rolled out to all of the training courses offered by the colleges, that they should exclusively recruit trainers with professional experience and then train them in pedagogical design and development and that, lastly, the colleges should be led by teams that are sound, stable and trained in management techniques.

The conclusions of the first evaluations made by the German-Canadian research

The conclusions were drawn up on the basis of four analytical criteria: the partnership, the actors, the training curricula and the training management. In view of the wide scope of the research, it is impossible to give details of all the analysis and observations made on how the Benin and Togo schemes really work. This section only covers observations and remarks that give an insight into how the current schemes could be mainstreamed.

The partnership

There is a *de facto* understanding between the training colleges and craft workshops, but there is no co-ordination structure for monitoring and evaluating everyone's responsibilities. Furthermore while meetings take place between trainers and master trainers, the visits of trainers to the workshops are too infrequent to generate any real programme of co-operation between the two parties. Similarly, the log book used as a tool for co-ordinated monitoring of apprentices' activities is not used by the two parties in the best possible manner. However, decisions and guidelines concerning the criteria for recruiting apprentices and the progress of training are gradually taken in a concerted fashion by the college and master craftsmen, which leads the authors of the research to say that the initial partnership established in the two countries, which was of an associative nature, is increasingly becoming a reciprocal one.

The stakeholders

The evaluation distinguishes between the director stakeholders (apprentices, trainers and master trainers) and indirect stakeholders (parents, employers, professional organisations, and TVET officials).

The apprentices

Most of the apprentices recruited are 18 years old. Not all of them have the minimum level required (last year of primary school). Here lies a fundamental difference between Benin and Togo, as 100% of Togolese apprentices have reached secondary level, as opposed to 35.71% in Benin. A quarter of Beninese apprentices have not got beyond

elementary grade (8 to 9-year-olds). Of the 712 apprentices in training during the 1998-99 year, the majority were between 18 and 24 years old (453 learners divided between 180 Beninese and 273 Togolese) and 61% came from rural and crafts backgrounds, which demonstrates the system's ability to integrate those who do not usually access TVET. The evaluation also underlines that while the apprentices acquire technical skills, they also gain a command of negotiation, management and customer service skills, which means they are well-perceived at professional level. It shows that, while the two training courses in college and in workshops are complementary, all of the partners find that the apprentices mostly meet labour market requirements. Lastly it notes that the colleges do not do any further monitoring of graduates and that there is no help for getting people into work within the overall scheme. However, most apprentices generally find jobs relatively quickly at the end of their course, notably thanks to their social networks.

The master trainers

Three quarters of the master trainers are over 35 years old and come from the same social background as the apprentices. They also have the same differences in educational levels as the young people for whom they are responsible, but they all have a long experience of the trade and show a great interest in new technologies. Through the introduction of the dual training scheme, many have received retraining and updating in technology, manufacturing processes and training techniques. For example, a trainer training course involving 82 master trainers helped improve training practices in the workshops. Lastly, master trainers find the diploma awarded by the college at the end of the training to be an important factor for social recognition and motivation.

The trainers

The two centres had a staff of 77 trainers for the 1998-99 year. As already observed in the audit carried out by the AFPA, the trainers had a good experience of education, but some lacked any professional experience. Three quarters of them are between 26 and 54 years old and 97.7% are men. Half of them have been through higher education and the other half have a BEPC, CAP or CFA-level diploma. About 30% work in automotive repair and 21.5% in carpentry.

The training programmes

By definition, dual training takes place in two distinct places: a workshop and a training college. The evaluation conducted by the German-Canadian partnership worked on the assumption that it is first necessary to have a clear description of training practices in workshops before defining the training project in college.

The training programmes in the workshops

The training programmes do not have a formal structure, but master trainers have a programme schedule in mind based on what they themselves have learnt and further developed during their experience and training. They also organise training activities according to orders and their own observations, thus determining apprentices' progress. The evaluation shows that the master trainers have not really tried to deliver new programmes that have nevertheless been jointly defined with the college.

It is difficult to talk about the total amount of time spent on theory or practical training in the workshop. It is more appropriate to talk about the overall length of apprenticeship. Initially, this length was three years for most specialisations. However, owing to the need to make up for time spent in training colleges, the master trainers tend to extend this length to four years.

Assessment takes place on a continuous basis in the workshops and is conducted at the end of each task and, more broadly, at the end of each year. It is organised on the basis of practical work carried out and focuses on fundamental professional, workshop management and behavioural skills.

The training programmes at the Abomey and Lomé colleges

The programmes were defined and then drawn up further to consultation with all of the stakeholders concerned by the training. Everyone's expectations were converted into trainee profiles and training specialisations. Eight specialisations were thus opened in Togo (general mechanical engineering, automotive engineering, automotive electricity, bodywork, welding, motorcycle engineering, civil engineering and carpentry) and four in Benin (automotive mechanical engineering, motorcycle engineering, civil engineering

and carpentry). Each specialisation was developed as a specific programme with technological and professional subjects as well as general subjects.

The programmes were run in three stages: constitution of a discussion group to select the different themes to be included in the new training programmes; consultation of employers and master trainers in order to identify training/updating needs; and creation of mixed groups involving trainers and master trainers in order to develop the training programmes using a model curriculum development plan. Togo favoured the goal-oriented approach whereas Benin has focused its work more on the definition of training content. The training programmes developed in 1996 at the Lomé CRETFP training college and in 1999 at the Abomey CFP vocational training college are unusual in that they do not explicitly define the specialisations' target profiles.

The training objectives defined for the two centres are to both impart technical and practical skills and develop self-employment skills (management, organisation). Training content is however defined differently in Benin and Togo. In Benin, training content does not always take account of the skills objectives to be achieved, and the common core of general subjects often seems far-removed from apprentices' interests. Similarly, with regard to the differences in the apprentices' levels in the two countries (secondary level in Togo, and mainly primary level in Benin), it can be said that certain theory classes in Benin are ill-adapted to poorly- or uneducated apprentices as far as their ability to understand and assimilate is concerned.

Analysis of the apprenticeship activities shows that colleges too often use a pedagogical approach that is based on replication to the detriment of one based on creativity. In reality the trainers lack didactic authority, which makes their style more autocratic and prevents them from managing the educational relationship between trainer and apprentice in a non-conflictual manner.

Generally speaking, implementation of training programmes in the colleges comes up against the following difficulties:

- the programmes were not introduced in a rigorous fashion. In Togo, the training standards have been distributed since 1996, but the majority of trainers say they do not have them. It was not possible to set up the pedagogical group as

planned. The log books and class journals were introduced, but they did not contain the elements specified by the programmes;

- the trainers did not sufficiently master the concepts used by the programmes. Similarly, the contents were not sufficiently updated in line with technological changes;
- there was no convergence between the programmes taught at college and workshop practices. There was a lack of effective co-ordination between the two parties. Despite this, the apprentices did transfer skills from the college to the workshops. In return, the trainers went into the workshops in order to acquire more professional practices. The division of time between college and the workshops was organised differently in Togo (70/30) and Benin (80/20).

Management of the training

Analysis of this management determines the conditions for ensuring the feasibility and consolidation of current pilot schemes. Evaluation of the methods for implementing the training in Benin and Togo colleges reveals some important points:

- the distance between colleges and informal sector workshops: if the college does not provide transport for the apprentices, some are unable to enrol on the training courses;
- the status of staff: teachers or trainers on contract would like to have a more secure status. They need to be trained, updated and brought into line with a management approach that is adapted to the type of work done;
- the absence of any co-ordination structure between the college and the workshops: this prevents good management of curriculum delivery and harmonised evaluation of the results of apprenticeship;
- the financing of dual training: being mainly in the hands of donors, the financial management is not sufficiently appropriated by colleges and other national officials. There is furthermore a lack of any real comparative analysis of the costs of dual apprenticeship in comparison with other types of training. This expenditure is currently covered by the training colleges' budgets with professional organisations and master craftsmen covering opportunity costs incurred as a result of the regular absence of apprentices, which represent a loss that has to be compensated for.

Some conclusions

All of these insights are interesting in that they describe the main threads of a process for introducing one of the first schemes aiming to transform traditional apprenticeship into training that closely combines theory and practice. Some major observations deserve to be emphasised, in order to identify some of the key, practicable elements of such a process:

The experience seems to have been positive for all the stakeholders, despite the difficulties encountered and shortfalls observed: direct and indirect stakeholders (whether public or private) co-operate in ensuring the scheme's success in an interesting and motivated manner;

- a maximum effort was made to introduce training objectives and content prepared jointly, but the synergy and complementarity of action between the two locations can only be achieved over time, through a closer and more co-ordinated relationship between trainers and master craftsmen. While master craftsmen need to take more account of college training content in their own pedagogical schedule, the great majority of trainers need to make up for their lack of professional experience.
- the success of pilot schemes requires more co-ordinated management by the partners and greater consideration of the material and financial conditions of the operation. On this latter point, it seems that certain partners, notably the training colleges, do not have all the resources they need in order to go all the way to address the material, human and financial implications of the training introduced.

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3.2.4. The phases for structuring the dual apprenticeship system in Benin

The field surveys made it possible to monitor how the training schemes had evolved since the evaluations conducted in the late 1990s. In the absence of any systematic qualitative or quantitative exploitation of the data, it is hard to report on the current situation in detail. The following analyses are a transcription of information gathered from among the different stakeholders concerned.⁵³

⁵³ Some information published in this paragraph is taken from Walther, R., *Vocational Training in the Informal Sector, Report on the Benin Field Survey*, Working Paper No. 19, AFD, Paris.

The 2001 restructuring process, or the inclusion of dual apprenticeship in the TVET system

The 2001 TVET restructuring policy paper, which was approved by the Council of Ministers and focused on the creation of the Ministry of Technical and Vocational Education (METP) and the development of an action plan (that is still being drawn up), represents a turning point in the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship. It effectively acknowledges the fundamental role of continuing training and apprenticeship and thereby opens new prospects for the current pilot scheme, by incorporating it within future national policy.

The action plan with its strategic orientation “introduction of a dual apprenticeship system within the TVET system” aims to achieve the following results:

- all State secondary schools (lower or upper) must regularly organise dual apprenticeship activities;
- an increased number of apprentices from the craft sector participate each year in dual apprenticeship activities and obtain a certificate recognised by the State and the private sector;
- dual apprenticeship is organised on the basis of regulatory texts adopted in consultation with the ministries in charge of promoting work and employment and the economic activities of SMEs and the crafts sector.

The action plan defines the appropriate means for achieving these results: to draw on past experiences in order to identify directions and actions for the future and decide on the areas of dual apprenticeship to promote; to establish, in a concerted manner with other public and private partners, regulatory texts on how dual apprenticeship should be organised; to develop training programmes with professionals from the craft sector (four updated ones and four new ones); and, lastly, to calculate the human and material resources required in order to have a permanent hosting capacity to organise the planned apprenticeship activities.

The structuring role of donor agencies in supporting the restructuring

The launch of the action plan coincides with the departure of the Hanns Seidel Foundation and the arrival of new technical and financial partners to work with the public authorities and professional organisations.

In 2003, the Hans Seidel Foundation withdrew from the pilot scheme of which it had been the principal instigator. For some, this departure meant that it had not succeeded in rolling out the scheme owing to a lack of methodological and institutional support. More simply, it seems that the German development agency—which had invested a great deal between 1992 and 2002 in the dual training launch phase—decided to put an end to its investment in Benin and pass the torch on to other development partners.

Swisscontact, which is supporting an identical scheme in Benin, began its activities in 2002 with a two-phase initiative scheduled to run until 2008 with an annual budget of CHF 500,000 (just over €315,000). Its aim is to work together with craft sector organisations in developing a mainstream system of vocational training through apprenticeship and technical skills development for craftsmen. Swisscontact and the FENAB thus became responsible for introducing the CQP, the national vocational certificate based on traditional apprenticeship that has been structured to include practical and theory training.

An agreement was signed in 2002 with the French aid authorities on a Technical and Vocational Training Support Project (PAFTP), scheduled to run 36 months with a budget of €1.2 million, not including technical assistance. The aim is to introduce, in co-operation with Swisscontact, training courses leading to the CQP certificate in the areas of construction and electricity. The project also provides support to the institutions responsible for co-ordinating continuing training and apprenticeship, i.e. the FODEFCA, the Employment and Vocational Training Observatory, and other ministerial departments.

The Danish development agency, DANIDA, has focused its efforts primarily on educational projects (€12 million over three years). Following the adoption of the CQP certificate, however, it decided to invest in the building, equipping and management of a Vocational Development Centre and to allocate a total of €4.1 million to the development of the CQP. DANIDA also decided to take over and carry on the PAFTP project, which is nearing completion.

These technical and financial partners, which include the Belgian development agency (the CTB), the ILO, the UNDP and the NGO BORNEfonden, all work in close collaboration with the various ministries concerned and with the FODEFCA. All share the same vision of the training priorities and schemes to be developed for the informal

sector, and all emphasise the vital role of partnership with professional organisations, in particular the FENAB, in stimulating the informal sector's development.

The major characteristics of the shift from experimentation to mainstreaming of apprenticeship

Whereas the scheme had been run on a pilot basis at the Abomey college, the restructuring begun in 2001 was given the resources to set up a real training system designed and managed on a partnership basis, regulated in accordance with national standards and guidelines, leading to a certification level developed and validated by all of the partners, and placed in a training continuum aimed at both young people in pre-apprenticeship as well as craftsmen seeking further skills development and recognised qualifications. This systemic vision does not mean that the Benin scheme has achieved a sufficient degree of development to become an established system. It merely emphasises that all means were deployed in order to give it its utmost chance of success.

A partnership-based approach

The development of the pilot scheme at Abomey College, which was achieved with help from the professional organisations, firstly consisted in forging a partnership between the training college and the nearby craft workshops. The introduction of a scheme that was part of the overall TVET system in turn involved the major stakeholders concerned at national level.

A first vital step was an interministerial consultation, without which nothing would have been possible. According to an official source, this consultation reduced the legislative and regulatory process to nine months. This would normally have taken at least five years in Africa.

A second step consisted in involving all the national stakeholders in the decision-making process. It would be unthinkable to introduce any new system without obtaining the agreement of the FENAB or employer and trade union representatives. This was especially the case because the statutes of the FODEFCA, which had mainly been established to finance restructured apprenticeship, make tripartism a prerequisite for the selection and funding of requests for training from formal and informal enterprises.

The third and final step concerns the vital role played by the local craftsmens' collectives. Without their agreement, from the start, and their active participation in the implementation of the scheme, there is little chance that things would have gone further than the pilot stage, thus preventing further roll-out. According to the principals of the establishments responsible for introducing the theory training in the CQP programmes, the motivation of craftsmen at local level was instrumental in the implementation of the measures set out in the legislation and decrees.

The whole of this co-ordinated management process thus led to the effective involvement of all those concerned by the implementation of the restructuring. As a result, the CQP training initiative has been formally embedded at the heart of the future vocational training system and was first implemented successfully in 2006. Whether this measure really becomes irreversible will be decisive for the future of the reform.

Implementation of legislative and regulatory instruments

From the beginning, the mainstreaming process included within the action plan provided for the creation of regulatory instruments determining the objectives, modes of delivery and standards applicable to the whole dual training system:

- Decree 2005-117 on the certification of vocational skills through apprenticeship;
- Decree 2005-118 setting out guidelines for the introduction of a system of dual apprenticeship in TVET;
- Order 2005/363 of the Ministry for Culture, Crafts and Tourism on the organisation of apprenticeship in the craft sector;
- Order 2006-0012 of the Ministry for Technical and Vocational Education and Training setting out evaluation methods for awarding the CQP;
- the model contract for dual apprenticeship, issued by the Ministry for Technical and Vocational Education and Training, the Ministry for Culture, Crafts and Tourism, and the FENAB.

Although this whole legal framework may appear complex and demanding, the general opinion was that it was the only way to ensure that the reforms concerned would be sustainable.

Formalisation of the CQP certificate

Evaluation of the pilot scheme launched by the Hanns Seidel Foundation showed that the stakeholders involved in the training development and design process had difficulty defining a target profile for apprentices at the end of training. At the same time, while the Togo scheme provided for an end-of-apprenticeship certificate, the one in Benin had devised a Skilled Craftsman Certificate (CAQ) which had no national recognition.

The redesign of Benin's system is distinguished by the fact that it focuses everything on a final professional profile for which certification at national level gives access to the CQP. The CQP has been designed and developed within an overall framework by the Schools Inspectorate and Technological Innovation Directorate (DIPIT) of the Ministry for Vocational Training, working in close conjunction with international development agencies, in particular Swisscontact. It also falls in line with the preparation of a directory of professions in the craft sector, proposed by the National Statistics Institute (with the support of the Beninese Craftsmens' Support Bureau [BAA]) and approved in 2003 by Decree 2003-569. It consists of a skills-based approach, and includes the drawing up of descriptions of jobs activities and skills. The assessment method, set out in the Ministerial Decree 0012 of 2006, establishes a balance both between theory and practical tests (30% and 70% respectively) and between continuous assessment and examinations (60% and 40%), and mobilisation of local trainers, in addition to the master craftsmen and college trainers. These local trainers intervene in working apprenticeship situations. They also help illiterate master craftsmen to fill out the apprentices' report books and help the apprentices to adapt into French what the master craftsman has conveyed to them, often in one of the many local languages spoken in Benin. The local trainers act as a relay between the craftsman and the training centre. Like the college teaching staff, they have been trained to use the CQP methods and materials and, for all classes, receive support and payment from Swisscontact.

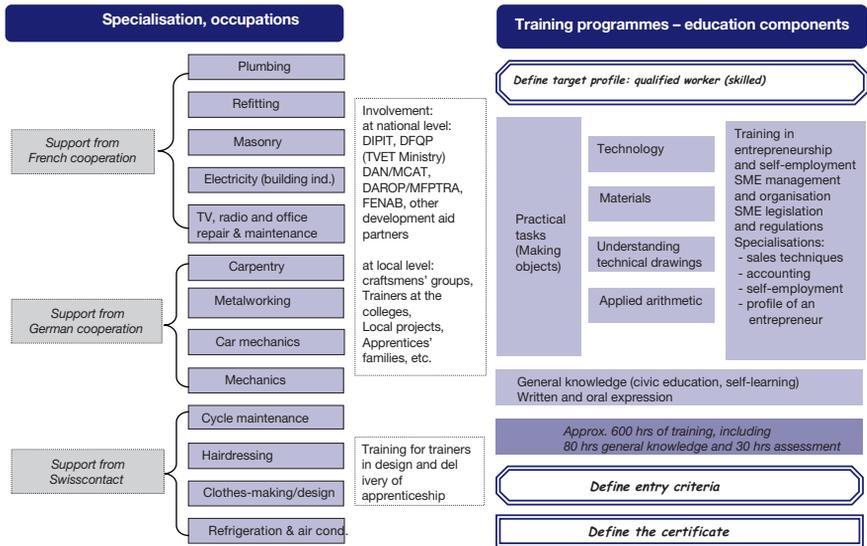
The CQP is acquired through a training format that has evolved in comparison to the Abomey trials. Whereas the Abomey scheme alternated a week of training at college with three weeks in the workshop, the new scheme has the apprentices attending the training centre once a week and spending the remaining five days working with their master trainer. The length of training also varies, because it lasts three years (as opposed to the four years often required by the craftsman to compensate for the

opportunity costs) and may even be reduced to two years. The training is jointly managed by the employer’s professional association and the college. At the end of the three years, the student takes the national CQP examination, which attests to a skills level equivalent to that of a skilled worker. Skills assessment takes place in two steps: continuous assessment at the training college and at the workplace, and the more traditional national examination consisting of both practical and theory tests.

At the time of the field survey in 2006, there were 1,500 apprentices on training over the three years. During that year, 700 new apprentices were expected to join the five approved CQP options (masonry, electricity for the building industry, plumbing, refitting, cycle maintenance) and in the four CQPs that were in the process of being approved (carpentry, refrigeration and air-conditioning, clothes-making and design, and hairdressing). The challenge was then to train up to 3,000 apprentices each year. The 2007 field survey demonstrated the increased importance of the scheme as, over the year, over 1,740 people started the nine existing options (i.e. twice as many as in 2006) as well as a tenth option, automotive mechanics, for which the training curriculum was being revised.

Figure 5.

Development of training courses through dual apprenticeship



Author: ministries and technical and financial partners.

In February 2006, 290 apprentices obtained the CQP (two of the 292 apprentices failed), which led to the production of an evaluation report on the scheme's strengths and weaknesses.⁵⁴ The main elements of this report will be mentioned in the analysis of the structuring factors of the Benin experience.

The planned CQM professional skills certificate, or the early stages of a standardised approach to traditional apprenticeship

The dual training system outlined in the 2001 reform was first confirmed by professional circles when they approved a document on dual apprenticeship policy and guidelines for its general introduction orientations (*Orientations de l'apprentissage dual et lignes directrices pour sa généralisation au Bénin*). It was then incorporated within national legislation through Decree 2005-117 of 17 March 2005, which in one single act created the CQP and the CQM professional skills certificate. This certificate is effectively a qualification awarded at the end of traditional apprenticeship. It is aimed at young people who are at least 16 years old and have not been able to access dual apprenticeship because they lack the educational level required. Its purpose is to approve practical skills acquired by apprentices at the end of their apprenticeship and ultimately to replace the release certificate issued by the employer. It also aims to give young people and craftsmen in business a sort of nationally-recognised vocational diploma, while approving a level of skills that in reality corresponds to a form of professional endorsement.

The introduction of the CQM professional skills certificate, which according to an official from the Directorate for Training and Vocational Qualifications (DQFP) was planned in the autumn of 2007, is supposed to go hand in hand with the launch of vocational development centres (*centres des métiers*), and should have a dual effect:

- to incorporate traditional apprenticeship within the overall training system by recognising its ability to develop a real level of professionalism;
- to bring about, through this recognition, an upgrading of craftsmen's and apprentices' skills levels, notably by inviting them to participate in functional

⁵⁴ Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Formation professionnelle (2006), *Rapport d'évaluation de l'examen du certificat de qualification professionnelle (CQP), session de février 2006*. Cotonou.

literacy classes or, for those who have reached a certain educational level, to strengthen their educational achievements.

Pre-vocational skills development: the missing link

The Ten-Year Plan for the Development of the Educational Sector⁵⁵ does not mention a specific strategy for children between the ages of 11 and 14, who leave primary school but are not old enough to go into apprenticeship, even though UNICEF has commissioned a study in this area looking at the concept of alternative primary education. However, the option it defends of limiting the percentage of children entering secondary education while the proportion of children completing primary education is rising, added to the low survival rate in elementary education (50%), can only mean that there will still be a large number of children out of school before they can go into apprenticeship. By 2015, at least 110,000 children will be affected by the restrictions on entering secondary school, in addition to those who have dropped out of school at an earlier age. Achieving the objective of universal education—taken to mean the completion of primary education—will only be possible if a solution can be found which justifies keeping children and youngsters in the school system. The creation of pre-apprenticeship schemes, in which children could forge, keep up or increase their basic schooling was a suggestion made by most of the people met during the field survey.

In both 2006 and 2007, the above informants stressed the urgent need to establish specific pre-vocational skills development or pre-apprenticeship systems. They notably argued that local authorities have the main responsibility for this. The fact that local authorities have been put in charge of the creation and management of vocational development centres underscores the hypothesis made in 2006 that these vocational development centres could in part be for pre-apprenticeship and pre-vocational skills development. They would offer young people a second chance to forge, keep up or develop their basic knowledge in arithmetic, reading and writing, and have an introduction to three or four trades in order to help them choose a future profession.

Benin's experience gives an insight into the parameters for ensuring mainstreaming and sustainability: piloting of the restructured apprenticeship system on a national and concerted basis; steering this system towards a formal recognised vocational level in

⁵⁵ *Ministères en charge de l'éducation (2005), op. cit.*

the framework of a national qualifications and certification system; enhancement and standardisation of the whole range of informal trades through formal recognition of the professional achievements of traditional apprenticeship; and, lastly, the creation of a continuum between leaving school and actually starting vocational training. All these parameters are currently shaping the development of a postprimary system in Benin. The analysis of their medium and long-term impact can only be beneficial for the design and modelling of such a system, in both theoretical and practical terms.

3.2.5. The phases for structuring the dual apprenticeship system in Togo

It is difficult to report on the development of dual apprenticeship in Togo, given the shortage of documentation on the subject, the TVET Ministry's lack of resources and, in contrast to Benin, the absence of any "rethink" of the scheme developed by the Hanns Seidel Foundation. The audit nevertheless gives a quantitative and qualitative overview of the situation.

Dual apprenticeship: a fully-fledged part of the TVET system

In 1991, the pilot scheme only concerned the Lomé Maritime Region TVET College (CRETFP RM). However, the Declaration on Education and Training Sector Policy of 1993 introduced dual training into State colleges, notably regional TVET colleges (CRETFPs). The result has been a twofold extension of what the TVET Ministry calls the "short dual apprenticeship cycle":

- extension to new professions: in the first stage, general mechanical engineering, automotive mechanical engineering, automotive electricity, bodywork, welding, motorcycle mechanics, construction mechanics and carpentry. The list of training courses offered during the 2001/2002 school year, which is still valid, includes several new professions that are accessible through apprenticeship: boiler-making, car painting, construction electricity, industrial electricity, masonry, plumbing, electronics, clothes-making and ceramics. Although ceramics is still listed as one of the available options, it has nevertheless stopped recruiting because the college that implements it (the Kpalimé College of Artistic and Crafts Education - CEAA) no longer has the resources to purchase the raw materials or, most importantly, to replace defective kiln components;

- extension to almost all State colleges so that it is an integral part of the courses offered by the regional TVET colleges (Lomé, Kpalimé, Atakpamé, Kara and Dapaong)—whose primary vocation is to respond to the skill needs of the local economy—and TVET secondary schools (LETPs in Sokodé), the Pya and Kandé Technical Education Colleges (GETs) and the Kpalimé CEAA.

In doing this, the Ministry is demonstrating its wish to make dual apprenticeship a fully-fledged mainstream part of the overall training system. Act 2002-016 of 30 April 2002 on TVET Policy Guidelines strengthens the 1993 Declaration on Education and Training Sector Policy, notably asserting that “dual training is the main option for vocational training in Togo” (Article 8) and that “this option is implemented via the dual system or any other system permitting the achievement of the goals and objectives targeted by the Act.”

Table 5.
Inclusion of dual apprenticeship within the overall TVET system

Target qualification	Length of training	Entry level	Certification body	Age limit
BAC	3 years	BEPC + entrance exam	TVET Ministry	<= 20 years old
BT	3 years	BEPC, CAP, CQP, BEP + competitive exam	TVET Ministry	None
BEP	3 years	BEPC + entrance exam	TVET Ministry	None
CAP	3 years	Level 5 + entrance exam	TVET Ministry	None
CQP	3 years	Last year of primary school + apprenticeship contract	TVET Ministry (pending for different establishments)	None
CFA	Between two and four depending on the specialisations.	Apprenticeship contract	TVET Ministry in the recognised specialisations.	14 years old plus one year of functional literacy education for school dropouts.
	May vary in accordance with the entry level.		Master craftsmen and corporations in other fields.	15 years old for those who have reached the end of primary education.

Author: TVET Ministry.

The ways and means of implementing apprenticeship

The initial training format used is still in place today. Apprentices spend three weeks in the workshop and one week at training college. College training is normally based on content designed and produced with the various partners, with each specialisation having a specific curriculum covering technological and professional subjects as well as general subjects.

However, the trainers and master trainers of the two main colleges involved in the organisation of the short apprenticeship cycle (CRETFP RM and CRETFP Atakpamé) did not confirm the existence of these training programmes. On the contrary, they stressed the lack of any pre-determined training content or learning plan that would enable the master craftsmen and trainers to progress at the same pace. For example, they noted that different terminology is used for tools at college and in the workshop. They also pointed out that neither of them use the apprenticeship notebook enough, if at all. Lastly, they emphasised the lack of joint, co-ordinated training sessions involving both trainers and master craftsmen.

Although there is no formal division of time between theory training and practical training, it seems that the proportion of theory classes is about 30% to 40% of the total time spent at college, with the rest of the time devoted to training in the workshop. The college visit revealed that practical training was hindered by an evident shortage of equipment and materials. The strong professional commitment of internal and external trainers fortunately makes up for this.

Each college normally prepares their “dualists” for the CQP certificate. However, the diploma’s planned introduction has been prevented owing to the TVET Ministry’s shortage of human and technical resources, and the poor quality of the educational staff, due to lack of resources. In reality, it is only awarded in one college, the Lomé Maritime Region TVET College.

The particular nature of the situation in Togo

The short dual apprenticeship cycle is in a paradoxical situation. All of the conditions required to make this cycle a normal system in State colleges have been met. It is an

integral part of these colleges' curricula. The colleges and workshops have developed relations for organising it. It is a legislative priority. But despite all this, the cycle has not been as mainstreamed as it should have been, and it gives the impression of existing without really working. The comparison between Benin and Togo makes it easier to understand this situation, which is only paradoxical on the surface.

Whereas Togo had one of the best education and training systems in West Africa in the 1980s, the deterioration of the macro-economic situation as from the mid-1980s and, above all, the political crises and sanctions that have been affecting the country for over ten years have had a negative effect on all aspects and levels of the overall system. In comparison to Benin, the roll-out of dual apprenticeship has not benefited from the methodological support of the European development agencies that have constantly taken over from one another in Cotonou. At the same time, the lack of financial support for full roll-out of the pilot scheme as well as the more general lack of international aid has not enabled the TVET system to achieve in practice the goals set out in the 1993 Declaration of General Policy and the TVET Guidelines set down in the 2002 Act.

This relative neglect of Togo by international donors is one of the causes of the glaring lack of human and pedagogical resources at the TVET Ministry in 2007. The most evident signs of this are the planned abolition of the Schools Inspectorate due to lack of resources, the non-existence of any formal centre for training trainers and the fact that 95% of current curricula need to be totally revised. The lack of external aid also explains why most public TVET colleges are on the verge of collapsing: insufficient and outdated equipment in terms of technology and use, and the lack of the minimum material and financial resources needed to ensure the correct functioning of dual training schemes.

Togo's situation highlights an essential aspect of the mainstreaming of any innovative training system: this cannot come about without the material and human resources necessary to ensure general roll-out within minimal conditions of quality and efficiency. It is not enough to introduce ways of designing and developing training and certification that are suitable for launching new training options. Neither is it enough to adopt appropriate legislative and regulatory measures to ensure the inclusion of this design and development in colleges' day-to-day operation. Making budgetary resources available to ensure that a pilot scheme is rolled out is a prerequisite for the feasibility of the whole operation. Analysis of Benin's situation shows that, for the moment, such

feasibility still requires the aid of the international community.

3.3. The prospects for sustainable dual training in Benin and Togo

The following developments aim to outline briefly for each country the problematics that arise concerning the development and structuring of the apprenticeship systems rolled out in the two countries and draw some initial potential model elements for such systems in the context of the design and delivery of sustainable and productive postprimary vocational training systems.

3.3.1. Towards an alternative vocational training system in Benin

Several events seem to have slowed down the institutional development of Benin's effort between 2006 and 2007. For example, in 2006 the TVET Ministry became the Ministry for Higher Education and Vocational Training (MESFP), which did not facilitate the political management of the overall system. In the early summer of 2007, the new Government reviewed the division of responsibilities between different ministries and re-established a Ministry for Secondary Education and Technical and Vocational Training (MESFTP) alongside a Ministry for Higher Education and Research (MESR). The MESFTP is more focused on the tasks to be accomplished. This period also saw the progressive withdrawal of the French aid authorities, who had played a major role in ensuring the consistency of the overall system, the increased importance of DANIDA as a support partner and financer of the system, and the continued involvement of Swisscontact, both regarding the design and development of skills and training and the funding of the system's selected partners. All of these aspects—as well as the possible return of the French aid authorities through an AFD-supported dual apprenticeship project—emphasise the importance of clearly identifying the structuring and problematic factors that shape the possible outline of a future mainstream dual apprenticeship system in Benin.

The structuring elements of the dual apprenticeship system

There is no need to dwell upon the above-mentioned description of the introduction and structured development of the system, but it is important to highlight the data that

seem the most significant regarding the future consolidation and sustainability of the system in the long term.

First element: the methodical and co-ordinated development of new training schemes

This is taking place through close co-operation between Swisscontact, the DGQP and the professional organisations represented by the FENAB. It is based on the DACUM method⁵⁶ and divided into several stages:

- organisation of an opportunity and feasibility study;
- analysis of skills and training needs at a workshop gathering 12 experts (all trained master craftsmen) with a view to establishing the skills profile;
- development, on the basis of this profile, of apprenticeship and skills development curricula;
- training for the scheme's trainers;
- the development of teaching aids for both trainers and the master trainers.

Second element: the concerted introduction of a recognised national certificate: the CQP

The introduction of the CQP has certainly given the new system precise objectives by establishing a clear target profile for apprentices. The evaluation conducted by the German-Canadian research team showed how difficult it was to identify such profiles at the outset and thus determine all the training to be delivered on the basis of specific objectives. Evaluation of the CQP examination in February 2006⁵⁷ revealed some other very positive points. According to the apprentices and craftsmen, it raised the learners' level. It also enhanced the profession's reputation by giving it a prestigious image. Lastly it encouraged the trainers to be more open, keen to upgrade their skills and accomplish their mission. The meeting with the social partners and notably the employers confirmed that apprentices with a CQP were more attractive on the labour market than traditional apprentices and even CAP graduates.

⁵⁶ DACUM (Developing a Curriculum) is an international method for classifying the skills necessary for specific and particular jobs.

⁵⁷ Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la formation professionnelle (Décembre 2006), *op.cit.*

Third element: the precise definition of modes of evaluation and certification

A clear distinction had been made between the value given to evaluation of the practical part (70% of the total, of which 40% is continuous assessment) and that given to evaluation of the theory part (30% of which 20% is continuous assessment). Similarly, there was a balanced division between continuous assessment and subjects included in the final exam, and the creation of a formal and operational framework to enable the organisations managing the training and the DQFP to monitor and control the training activities. Monitoring and evaluation tools were thus developed, including a log book for monitoring and marking apprentices, an overall assessment and grade proposal form, a form for assessing the work carried out and an overall final evaluation sheet. Similarly, evaluators had been trained to organise the final exams. All this preparation made it possible to successfully organise the first set of exams in February 2006. It also led to some criticism of the exam regarding the lack of involvement of professional organisations.

Fourth element: inclusion of the system within a holistic vision aiming to raise esteem for vocational training in the informal sector

One of the major strengths of the current restructuring of vocational training in Benin lies in its systemic vision. Firstly, it aims to put dual training and the skills-based approach into practice, and accordingly employs an organisational scenario that entails all of the stages of such an approach. It then incorporates this approach within the overall context of the micro and small business economy. To do this, it firstly provides for the recognition of practical skills acquired by apprentices and craftsmen through traditional apprenticeship. It then permits the improvement of these skills through additional training leading those involved towards gradual acquisition of the CQP via the vocational development centres. Lastly, the regulatory provisions provide for pathways between the CQP and the traditional system for accrediting initial training.

Fifth element: a preliminary financial analysis

While the modes of financing the restructured apprenticeship system may pose a problem (see below), it is worth noting that calculations of the real cost of this form of apprenticeship are gradually becoming accessible. For example, the FODEFCA, which

finances most of the apprentices in the system, has started calculating the unit costs of training for each year of training and each specialisation. It is however regrettable that the TVET Ministry is still not publishing data permitting the comparison of the annual cost of traditional training and that of training through apprenticeship.

Table 6.
Unit cost of training of apprentices in the dual system in Benin (in CFA francs)

Professions	First year	Second year	Third year	Certification
Motorcycle mechanics	123,25	143,756	151,08	
Hair-dressing	149,475	164,979	172,891	
Clothes-making/fashion design	159	162,651	184,042	
Refrigeration and air-conditioning	151,55	155,555	198,647	
Masonry	152,2	146,5	-	
Electricity	162,2	157,75	-	
Plumbing	152,2	147,75	-	
Carpentry	Being drawn up			
Metal construction	Being drawn up			
Automotive mechanics	Being drawn up			

Source: FODEFCA.

At the same time, the DQCP report on the CQP examination gives a precise estimation of its unit cost (181,149 CFA francs), although it states that this includes specific start-up expenditure.

The problematic aspects of the system being rolled out

The purpose here is not to identify all of the system's current operational weaknesses, but to identify the main areas for improvement, or at least for clarification and discussion.

The lack of decisions on pre-apprenticeship or pre-vocational skills development

While there is widespread awareness about the importance of pathways taking primary school leavers up to entry into dual apprenticeship, nothing has yet been decided on this subject, although the creation of Vocational Development Centres at territorial level might offer a unique opportunity to develop this missing link in the chain. The very wide differences in apprentices' levels and the fundamental risk of eliminating the most educationally vulnerable in examinations calls for the rapid introduction of pre-apprenticeship or pre-vocational skills development courses. Benin would do well to look at what is happening elsewhere (Mali, Morocco), even though these experiences are limited and can be criticised.

A complex and unpredictable financing system

Three types of financing underpin the current system, which effectively create three types of apprentice:

- “Swisscontact” apprentices: for whom 90% of training costs are paid for by the FODEFCA, with half of the remainder covered by the Swisscontact and the other half by the FENAB;
- apprentices that receive French aid (in the framework of the PAFTP project) for certain specialisations and in certain colleges, and who are thus paid for entirely;
- apprentices in metal joinery who have not benefited from aid from partners and thus make a contribution of 7,500 CFA francs.

This variety of financial treatment stems from the fact that the financing of apprenticeship by the FODEFCA is largely covered by a DANIDA grant. The system is therefore largely uncertain, which does not bode well for its future growth: who will take responsibility for it? Only the introduction of a sufficient budget in the Finance Act can ensure its future growth and sustainability.

A more quantitative than strategic approach to training needs analysis

The current process seems to be more based on gathering information on the needs expressed by the best-represented or best-organised professions than from a genuine

analysis of economic demand. The current system therefore mainly targets the most common existing professions and does not yet anticipate the training needed for professions which create wealth and employment in the short and medium term. If restructured apprenticeship is to have a more mainstream and effective future, it will be useful to consider it the other way round and include it within a more dynamic vision of development, without however neglecting its role in strengthening what already exists.

Insufficient appropriation of the system by professional organisations

Alongside Senegal, Benin is the West African country where the bilateral/multilateral technical and financial partners are most active. This has the advantage of stimulating pilot schemes and giving them the necessary resources for general roll-out. However, sooner or later, it may present the disadvantage and even handicap of partly sheltering local stakeholders from the challenges they must sooner or later grasp using as much of their own resources as possible. These remarks apply to the process of introducing new specialisations, which is still very much supported by international organisations. They also apply to financing mechanisms, which are still too heavily supported by external resources. They lastly apply to the very notion of dual training, which corresponds to forms of combining work experience and college training imported from European countries, which perhaps do not sufficiently respond to the modes of training generated by local dynamics. During the last field survey, the FENAB thus said it was very keen to develop the current model of partnership between craft workshops and formal training colleges to ensure that the professionals themselves give greater consideration to theory and practical training. They believe such a development would present the double advantage of having the professionals take more responsibility on the one hand, and developing dual apprenticeship in territories and areas where there are no State training colleges on the other hand.

All of these structuring and problematic elements of Benin's current dual apprenticeship set-up effectively demonstrate how easy or hard it will be to become part of the overall TVET system and a genuine postprimary training system for young people currently excluded from the formal education and vocational training system. In this sense, apprenticeship in Benin can be seen as a sort of textbook case: its development in coming months and years will demonstrate how experimentation with

a mainstream system imported from elsewhere can, depending on various factors, change the operational goals and methods and thus create a training model that is at once fairer, more open to the economy and ultimately more effective.

3.3.2. Towards an integrated vocational training system in Togo

Togo's experience is unique in having succeeded in introducing dual apprenticeship that seems to work in all colleges. It thus represents a sort of level of achievement for what may be considered a successful transformation of traditional apprenticeship within an integrated TVET system. However, the situation is not as ideal as the ministry's organisational charts would have us think. The field survey showed that the different central government directorates were totally aware of the progress that needs to be made in order to ensure that the short cycle of apprenticeship becomes really operational in TVET colleges.

The structuring elements of the dual apprenticeship system

The most successful element is the effective introduction of dual training by training colleges and crafts workshops. The monthly schedule of "three weeks with the craftsman/one week at college" is now in place and is part of colleges' training achievements. The field surveys revealed two others: the success of the partnership between colleges and the world of business, and the labour market's recognition of the efficiency of the restructured apprenticeship.

The strong partnership between the TVET colleges and the craft sector

This partnership was clearly apparent during the field survey. Three colleges visited (the CRETFP in Atakpamé, the CEAA in Kpalimé and the CRETFP RM) organised debates between trainers and master craftsmen on the situation and future of training systems and on existing co-operation in this field between the world of training and that of micro and small businesses.

The meeting at the CRETFP in Atakpamé fully illustrated the potential of this partnership, which enables the college to introduce dual training into its different training schemes: the apprenticeship leads to the CFA apprenticeship completion certificate

(soon to be the CQP) but also to a CAP course, with a week of work experience with the craftsman.

The joint meeting of craftsmen and trainers at the CEAA in Kpalimé in turn highlighted some very positive experiences:

- co-ordinated training of apprentices and master craftsmen in fields such as home economics, technical control or social legislation;
- organisation of the college as a place of work and enhancing the potential of regional craftsmen's artistic products;
- a joint debate between trainers and craftsmen on how to develop a craft sector that is adapted to Togolese daily life, but also capable of enhancing the country's cultural output.

A debate organised by the CRETFP RM focused on how to improve the relationship between the training college and economic partners. Craftsmen and trainers notably agreed on the need for more co-ordinated monitoring of the youngsters (effective use of the log book), the importance of organising regular meetings between trainers and master craftsmen in order to jointly improve the quality of apprenticeships, and the importance of training sessions to help master craftsmen keep up with technological change and young peoples' increased skills.

Young people trained in dual apprenticeship are better adapted to the skills required in professional environments

Everyone met made this observation. They said that young people who have an apprenticeship contract with a craftsman or micro-enterprise and go to training college for one week a month achieve thoroughly satisfactory results. In the workshop they acquire good professional practice and knowledge of working situations, which makes them attractive to potential employers. At college they acquire academic knowledge which helps them understand what they have learnt and they will therefore have a better mastery of the techniques they will need to use. In comparison with CAP and BEP students who come to the workshop, they also have the advantage of not wanting to surpass employers in their academic knowledge and thus compete with them. To the contrary, they take the best of employers' knowledge in order to transform it into real professional achievements.

In spite of this positive assessment of the “dualists”, all the people we met said that the training leading to the CFA apprenticeship completion certificate and above all to CQP could be improved. Some craftsmen wished for an improvement in the co-ordination between the workshop and training college. Others wanted the training college to introduce workshop mentoring in order to verify that the “young dualists” take on board what they have learnt in college. Some others proposed joint training sessions involving master craftsmen and trainers in order to raise the level of quality of all training.

The problematic aspects of the scheme being rolled out

Faced with a crucial lack of resources, Togo’s TVET Ministry is unable to fully implement all of the strategic recommendations adopted in order to mainstream the apprenticeship cycle in State colleges. This situation indirectly highlights the extent to which insufficient equipment and staff shortages can prevent the full roll-out of the training scheme, despite the certification and training format being well designed and appropriated by the stakeholders. It also shows that it is not enough to introduce an innovative training scheme if the future financial resources allocated prevent it from being updated to keep up with changes in economic and social demand.

The ministry’s inability to ensure the continuation of a system for which it is responsible

The ministry is in principle equipped to cope with future challenges in the field of apprenticeship. The existing directorates, including the Directorate of Technical Education and Vocational Training (DETFP), the Directorate of Studies, Research and Forward Planning (DERP) and the Directorate of Examinations, Competitions and Certification (DECC), all have the necessary powers to continue rolling out the system. Furthermore, an Upper Council on TVET bringing together the economic and social partners, acts as a sort of partnership forum for managing the whole relationship between the TVET system and the economy. Lastly, the National Apprenticeship, Training and Vocational Skills Development Fund (FNAFPP) is charged with helping to finance the development of apprenticeship. Despite this whole institutional set-up, the mainstream apprenticeship cycle is not working at full capacity: it still lacks some key functions or, where they exist, they are done badly (training inspection and curriculum development, trainer training and creation of a reliable information system to monitor the overall and local TVET

situation). This shows that the introduction of innovative approaches to training and qualifications is ineffective if no guaranteed minimum level of quality is required from the authorities in charge of implementing them.

The colleges' inability to ensure the successful delivery of training courses

The trainers and master craftsmen emphasised how hard it was to obtain the necessary materials to ensure the smooth organisation of training courses: i.e., wood, without which it is impossible to sculpt, the different basic products necessary for learning ceramics trades, and the teaching documentation or material to learn the basic terminology of a trade, keep up with technological changes or market trends and better understand certain professional conduct.

Other factors of a more external nature may interfere with the successful delivery of training: the inability of certain master craftsmen to ensure good apprenticeship for young people owing to the lack of work or shortage of resources, or the fact that some apprentices have no funds to pay for travel to the workshop or from their home to college.

The visit to the colleges also revealed that they all face serious maintenance problems. They have no means of finding spare parts to repair defective equipment. Above all they lack the money to buy them when they are expensive. Generally speaking, they have much difficulty in ensuring the proper maintenance of existing equipment.

All these structuring elements and issues concerning the inclusion of dual training within Togo's TVET system demonstrate that it is impossible for projects on the design and experimentation of a postprimary vocational training system to reach the full roll-out stage if no prior feasibility study on all the budgetary and operational dimensions of this roll-out has been done. Togo is a prime example of this, because—unlike most other countries—it has not been able to rely on technical and financial partners to make up for the lack of resources at national level. This shows that a system can only really be viable if it can realistically be included in the national budget or, as is the case for Senegal (see below), if it can count on mainly being financed by industry and associations. The financial sustainability criteria of training courses to be developed is a vital factor when it comes to their potential sustainability.

3.3.3. In conclusion: parameters for mainstreaming the Benin and Togo systems

Putting these analyses into perspective gives an initial comparative insight into the parameters that determine the degree of fragility or consolidation of the innovations introduced. These parameters do not apply identically in the two countries, but require a single rationale concerning the overall operation of a process which requires various steps and pointers in order to achieve its natural completion.

At this stage, these parameters are only a fragile synthesis of 15 years of development of the pilot schemes towards integration into State TVET systems in the two countries analysed. The situations in Senegal and Mali in this area will gradually make it possible to refine, correct or even sometimes contradict this synthesis.

Figure 6.
Mainstreaming parameters for Benin and Togo, according to their degree of structured development or fragility

<p>Fundamental structuring parameters</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of the system by a public/private partnership • Negotiated introduction of professional standards and training design/development • Certification of skills acquired by both apprentices and craftsmen • Consolidated logistic and financial support 		<p>Fundamental fragilisation parameters</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Absence of pre-apprenticeship courses for school dropouts • Lack of strategic analysis of the professions that should be promoted • Non-inclusion of the resources necessary for organising the system in the budget
<p>Additional structuring parameters</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from technical and financial partners • Common training for trainers and master trainers • Clarification of assessment and certification procedures • Partnership between training colleges and workshops 		<p>Additional fragilisation parameters</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dominant role of the technical and financial partners • A lack of appropriation of the scheme by professional organisations • Lack of monitoring of apprentices' progress, both in colleges and workshops

Author: AFD.

3.4. Senegal's specific approach

In contrast to Benin and Togo, Senegal only very recently decided to undertake a significant restructuring of traditional apprenticeship and incorporate the resulting structure into the overall TVET system. This decision was the consequence of a political and strategic debate begun in the early 1990s which led to the launch of restructured apprenticeship courses in 2007 in three sectors that are particularly important for the country's economy (automotive repair, construction and clothes-making/design). The purpose here is also to review all the projects launched by the different technical and financial partners and create a unified and even single dual training model that can respond to the skill and job-finding needs of the many young people who are currently doing traditional apprenticeship.

Senegal's more recent decision is also based on working hypotheses that are set fairly clearly apart from the training models and types of courses launched by the German development agency in Benin and Togo. Senegal not only says nothing about dual apprenticeship, but neither does it plan any training partnership between colleges and workshops. The authorities are relying on the wish of professional organisations to retain entire responsibility for the restructured training and to see traditions evolve with the master trainers taking responsibility for the theory aspect. This is a gamble, and this study can only describe the ins and outs. No evaluation of the initial results will be possible, because the new training option was only due to be opened at the end of 2007.

3.4.1. The initial context

Since the UNESCO conference on vocational training in Seoul in 1998, Senegal has been committed to a comprehensive reform of its education and vocational training system. This commitment has been put into practice through the implementation of the Ten-Year Education and Training Programme (PDEF).⁵⁸ This defines, for the 2000-2010 period, the framework of the reforms to be implemented, which it divides into three strands: widening of access to education and training, improvement of the quality of

⁵⁸ Ministère de l'Éducation (2003), *Programme de développement de l'éducation et de la formation* (PDEF/EPT). Dakar.

training provision, and improvement of management of the system. In doing this, the Ten-Year Plan complies with the constitutional provisions asserting the fundamental right to education and training for all Senegalese people.

Concerning TVET, the desire for reform is founded on the conclusions of the first National Conference on TVET, which was held in April 2001. This led in 2002 to the definition of a sectoral policy on TVET which defined the six strands of the current restructuring:

- implementation of a new concept: technical vocational training;
- development of initial training, continuing training and job-seeking support initiatives;
- enlargement of the field of action of apprenticeship;
- introduction of a new management and steering method;
- design and delivery of new pedagogical methods;
- design and implementation of a new way of organising the technical vocational training system.⁵⁹

Aside from these major orientations, political officials emphasise that the informal sector is a strategic issue for the Senegalese economy: “The informal sector, a seedbed for the craft industry, generates over 60% of GNP and employs the vast majority of the working population. In many countries, the informal and craft sector has often been behind the development of a powerful modern industrial and service sector, sometimes producing goods and services exclusively for the external market... Senegal has a craft industry with a huge amount of creativity and dynamism which is universally recognised; very few other countries in the sub-region are as fortunate.” However, while stressing the sector’s economic potential, officials observe that training resources are ill-adapted. They notably say that “the low school enrolment ratio and high attrition in primary education put a significant number of children onto the labour market every year who cannot be taken into the vocational training system. Learning on the job in informal sector businesses is often the only way left for this mass of children to gradually learn the basics

⁵⁹ The data reproduced here have partly been taken from METFP, *Projet PAO/sfp (2007), Intégration de l'apprentissage traditionnel dans les métiers de l'automobile au sein du dispositif global de la formation professionnelle technique*, Rapport final de l'étude d'opportunité. Dakar.

of a trade. However, they lack the know-how backed up by theory which would allow them to achieve better results and afford them a better chance of joining the labour force. This in turn could promote small technological and organisational improvements in the small businesses that recruit them.”⁶⁰

All these analyses and proposals led to the Government’s decision, in January 2005, to bring a skilled workforce into the market, notably in five or six priority sectors, and set up a systematic partnership-based management system for vocational and technical training, as well as “extending the field of vocational training to apprenticeship as a type of non-formal vocational training, with the aim of setting up a standards-based and appropriate skills acquisition process.”⁶¹ In institutional terms, this decision led, within the TVET Ministry—which was created in July 2005 as a fully fledged ministry—to the creation of a Unit and then a Directorate-General for Apprenticeship (DGA). As far as working orientations are concerned, it led to an initiative to overhaul traditional apprenticeship, based on various ongoing innovations and notably the proposals for reform, and even transformation, made by three professional sectors (automotive repair, clothes-making, and construction and civil engineering) within the framework of a Senegal/France partnership for apprenticeship and the opening-up of the vocational training system.

3.4.2. The working assumptions of the TVET Ministry

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Meetings with the various advocates of the new version of apprenticeship have helped clarify the working hypotheses, which are those of both ministry officials and officials from the three professional organisations met. These hypotheses are markedly different from those underlying the systems in Benin, Togo and, as we will see below, Mali. There are two major directions: firstly to make the most of current schemes for restructuring apprentice training without wanting to impose any single model, and, secondly, to make current master trainers the cornerstone of the future system, while strengthening them in their role as trainers.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ République du Sénégal (2005), *Lettre de politique générale pour le secteur de l'éducation et de la formation*. Dakar.

Towards an open and diversified restructuring of traditional apprenticeship⁶²

Apprenticeship reform is part of a wider project for the restructuring of the vocational training system. Carried out in the framework of a working partnership between Senegal and France, the project has several components, including helping economic partners to get involved in the different stages of the reform, helping the Technical and Vocational Education and Training Development Fund (FONDEF) to operate and ensure its sustainability, adjusting the initial and continuing training provided in technical education colleges to the needs of the economy and, finally, integrating apprenticeship, especially informal sector apprenticeship, into the overall training system.

The aim of this final component is to set up a non-formal education pilot scheme to develop traditional apprenticeship and conduct experiments in three sectors of activity which are traditionally known for training apprentices: car mechanics, construction and clothing. This scheme, entitled the Partnership for Apprenticeship and Opening Up the Vocational Training System (PAO/sfp), is financed under the French government's aid programme (€2.75 million) and aims to forge models for apprenticeship which can be replicated across other professions and sectors. It led, in the first half of 2007, to the production of three opportunity studies, which have already largely been discussed.

At the same time, the TVET Ministry set up the DGA in order to run the pilot schemes and co-ordinate the different activities.⁶³ The DGA's work guidelines are as follows:

- the Ministry's work is based on the principle that apprenticeship must be organised in such a way that it respects the diverse nature of the pilot schemes to be implemented;

⁶² Some of the information published here has been taken from the results of the field survey on vocational training in the informal sector. See Walther, R. (2006c), *op. cit.*

⁶³ The Directorate-General for Apprenticeship (DGA) comprises representatives from the METFP, the Craft Industry Directorate, the Vocational Training Directorate, the Directorate for Educational Planning and Reform (DPRE), the National Union of Craftsmen, Traders and Industrial Workers of Senegal (UNACCOIS), the National Union of Chambers of Trades (UNCM), the Project to Support Vocational Training for the Newly Literate (PAFPNA) and the National Organisation for Workers in the Metal, General and Car Mechanics Industries (PROMECABILE). The French development authorities provide technical assistance and those of Canada support it through the PAFNA project. The German technical development agency GTZ may also join soon.

- it states as prerequisites that the current length of apprenticeship (which can be up to ten years) must be reduced to a maximum of three years and that such apprenticeship should be developed without craftsmens' associations having their own training colleges (which would be too costly and would not meet the target focus of in-house business training), that there must be a skills-based approach and that the certification process should lead to a CAP-level qualification;
- *the Ministry states that it does not have a particular pre-established model, but that it hopes to design one by drawing on the standards established by the current pilot schemes.*

According to the DGA, the Ministry has set a two-year schedule for achieving an initial standardisation of current schemes. This will be based on the PAO/sfp and the projects it is launching in the three selected sectors, while integrating those already implemented in other sectors or by other partners, supported by the Canadian, German, Belgian and French development agencies.

The TVET Ministry's work to promote apprenticeship is also supported by the Programme to Promote Skilled Human Resources through Vocational Training, implemented by AFD as part of the wider Programme to Support Increased Competitiveness of the Senegalese Economy (PARCES) to support increased competitiveness in the Senegalese economy. This programme provides for, among other things, setting up three sectoral vocational training colleges, each based on a productive sector (agribusiness, construction and civil engineering, and port activities). These colleges should link vocational training curricula very closely to the labour market by adopting new teaching methods, including dual training and training through apprenticeship.

Towards an apprenticeship system underpinned by the mobilisation of professional circles

The consultations clearly showed that the country has its own specific approach. This can be broken down into several distinct parameters:

- Senegal is not planning to develop the existing system into a dual training one, but clearly to keep future training in the workshop and even, if necessary, to

transform State training colleges and any other competent training providers—usually partners of the professionals' workshops—into occasional resources centres;

- the TVET Ministry and the three professional organisations are working on the assumption that the way of organising traditional apprenticeship should be maintained while giving particular attention to the customisation of apprentices' training. They indeed plan to make the duration of apprenticeship dependent on apprentices' level of entry, their speed of progress and the system's ability to organise their continuous assessment and certification;
- master trainers are the cornerstone of the system. They must train apprentices at a practical level while being capable of identifying additional theory needs. This dual responsibility presupposes the need for an increase in training at both technical level (so as to be up-to-date in terms of the latest technical and professional developments) and pedagogical level (in order to organise progress and identify needs) and thus strengthen of their capabilities as professionals and trainers;
- contrary to approaches adopted by Benin and Togo, the apprenticeship structure to be integrated into the overall system will not lead to the creation of a specific level of certification or diploma. Apprentices trained in the three pilot courses will obtain an identical CAP diploma to the one awarded by formal colleges.

These hypotheses concerning the system's integration are very surprising bearing in mind that they put much store on the ability of professional organisations and their members to meet the dual challenge of theory and practical training of a renewed apprenticeship course that is adapted to the standards and requirements of formal certification. They are also very bold in wanting to introduce flexible apprenticeship routes and continuous evaluation of skills acquired. Lastly, they introduce a mode of co-operation between formal training colleges and professional workshops that is different from the dual model and favours a voluntary relationship based on the complementarity between different sorts of expertise. All of these hypotheses will be verified in the framework of the pilot training courses being launched in the automotive repair and construction and civil engineering sectors. The resulting data will be instructive with regards to the realism and the innovative capacity of the hypotheses thus made.

3.4.3. The diverse ongoing schemes aimed at restructuring traditional apprenticeship

The governmental decisions of 2005 were largely prepared further to a range of schemes aimed at transforming or restructuring traditional apprenticeship. The aim here is not to describe these in detail: most of them were explained in detail in the study on training in the informal sector on Senegal.⁶⁴ The aim is simply to review how these pilot schemes have transformed customary workplace training practices and introduced specific elements that have developed the existing model.

The PAFPNA experience

The Project to Support Vocational Training for the Newly Literate (PAFPNA) was run by the Paul Guérin Lajoie Foundation, a Canadian NGO that has actively supported educational and literacy projects in Senegal for the last 15 years. It was launched in March 2004 and was due to end in June 2007.

A broad outline of the project

The project is designed to provide skills training for work in growth sectors for young people left on the margins of the formal education system.⁶⁵ It organises and develops the status of traditional apprenticeship by exploiting the possibilities offered by functional literacy in national and workplace languages, and by giving girls and women access to trades traditionally reserved for men. It is managing the whole scheme in a participatory manner, by involving the regional chambers of commerce and trade, craft trade associations, certain master craftsmen, and all the other key stakeholders in the education community at local and regional level. Lastly, it is integrating an educational and awareness-raising dimension into apprenticeship schemes in order to better meet the challenge of two major survival and development issues: the AIDS pandemic, and the sustainable management of the environment, which is threatened by inappropriate work practices.

64 Walther, R. (2006c), *op. cit.*

65 The description of this project is based on notes from the survey meeting report and a document produced by the Paul Guérin Lajoie Foundation for ADEA.

The PAFPNA project selects the best workshops and the best craftsmen, and gives every encouragement to the latter to develop quality training schemes. Parents are thus much more motivated to take an active interest in the training their children receive. The training proposed is essentially practical, and is provided by master craftsmen in their workshops, with the occasional support of supervising technicians. 50% of these technicians, who are selected by the different partners involved in the project, are trainers from training colleges in the formal sector; the other 50% are craftsmen selected in consultation with the chambers of trades and the craft trade associations. The project thus combines the contributions of the formal and informal sectors: theory training from the former, and practical skills training from the latter. The training process is monitored by supervisors who have been trained by Canadian experts. They have responsibility for supervising the master craftsmen to help them improve their methods for training young people in the neighbourhood workshops and garages.

The approach to training is based on training plans that include precise scales of progression. The training is further enriched with complementary modules on financial management, entrepreneurship, marketing and environmental issues, AIDS prevention and gender equality. The training curriculum provides for 40 hours of training per week over a total of 14 months. Training is largely practical and, in terms of content, corresponds to courses given in technical schools. The proportion of theory training relative to technical training is low, and is dispensed in a very functional manner.

The project is built on the skills-based approach with a view to improving the contents of traditional apprenticeship offered in master craftsmen's workshops. The training curricula were structured around the skills-based approach on the basis of work situation analysis. Development work was carried out in a participatory manner, involving supervising trainers, master craftsmen and the resources of TVET colleges. The curricula were then validated at regional meetings with master craftsmen. Teaching tools were also developed to support the training scheme. These include training guides for learners, master craftsmen and supervising trainers, and various teaching materials.

The monitoring and evaluation system introduced enables apprentices to regularly assess their own progress using an apprenticeship guide. It gives master craftsmen the task of approving apprentices' proficiency and supervising trainers that of confirming

the whole validation system. The certification methods of the whole monitoring and evaluation process were under discussion when the survey took place and should notably establish pathways with TVET diplomas.

The project trained 150 apprentices in 2005, and over 200 in 2006. It was planned to train as many as 600 apprentices in 2007, at least 50% of them women. Twelve supervisors have been recruited and trained in the PAFPNA approach, including 4 women. 84 master craftsmen have also been recruited and trained in the PAFPNA approach, including 38 women, and 56 craft workshops have been involved.

The difficulties and prospects of sustainability

In spite of these positive results, the project's sustainability is unsure. This is related to several factors:

- the Canadian development agency's decision to continue with its investment, which seems to be around or more than 1 billion CFA francs (€1.52 million). The families participate indirectly by covering the opportunity costs. Neither of the two funding organisations, the National Office for Vocational Training (ONFP) and the FONDEF, wishes to pursue the project. Two technical assistants have been seconded to the project from the TVET Ministry to monitor the pilot phase.
- the capacity of the project to maintain local management committee involvement and, on a rather more concrete level, to maintain enthusiasm among master craftsmen and the supervising trainers;
- the transferability of the scheme to other sectors, stakeholders and apprentices: several interviewees mentioned the short duration of the training schemes (14 months as opposed to three years for other projects under experimentation) and the difficulty of replicating these without the level of financial support the PAFPNA had benefited from;
- its inclusion in both the national apprenticeship development scheme and in an officially recognised qualifications and certification system.

The financial cost of the PAFPNA project (about 1.5 million CFA francs for each apprentice trained for the whole duration of the project) is very high. While it no doubt covers the non-recurring expenditure resulting from the scheme's introduction, it

nevertheless remains beyond the countries' current budgetary capacities. Furthermore, the project will only have a future if it has a co-ordination centre that it is capable of maintaining and boosting the motivation of the different people concerned. But this will require appropriate staffing as well as extra funding support for the direct training costs. The project's solvency criterion is thus an unavoidable factor for its consolidation and continuation.

The PROMECABILE project

The professional association PROMECABILE has branches in six regions (Dakar, Thiès, Saint-Louis, Kaolack, Fatick and Louga), and gathers 17,042 entrepreneurs who employ and train 78,600 journeymen and apprentices. The Dakar region alone accounts for 72% of members, and is divided into 32 sectors which correspond to areas with a high concentration of garages. The organisation is furthermore one of the two proponents of the opportunity study on the automotive sector. The current system introduced by PROMECABILE as from 2001 with help from the different financial partners, including the German and French aid authorities, derives from the experience of the improved apprenticeship workshops (*ateliers d'apprentissage amélioré - 3A*) developed by the NGO Concept in Senegal with ILO support.

A broad outline of the system

The system is built on the principle of linking production workshops with formal training colleges and uses training curricula developed and implemented jointly by key persons in PROMECABILE and the training colleges. The workshops entrusted with the responsibility for providing training were selected according to criteria applied to both the working conditions (workshop environment, standard of equipment, volume of production) and the master craftsman trainer (character, technical level, pedagogical and relational skills).

In accordance with regulations and the law, an apprenticeship contract is drawn up between the craftsmen, the apprentices and their parents or guardian. The minimum legal age for becoming an apprentice is 15, and training normally lasts four years. However, the actual duration of the training depends on an apprentice's level of education: apprentices may be put at level 1 (apprentices who have never been to school

or who are at beginners or pre-elementary level), level 2 (apprentices having attained elementary levels 1 and 2), or level 3 (apprentices having attained intermediate levels 1 and 2), and attend functional literacy or remedial classes, according to their specific needs. Apprentices under the age of 15 can be recruited for pre-apprenticeship, provided they do not work in production. Training for this group focuses on knowledge of the work environment and French language skills. The same training is provided for those who are illiterate but these apprentices also do literacy courses.

Apprentices spend two thirds of their time doing practical work in a workshop under the supervision of an accredited master trainer, and the remaining third following theory classes in a TVET college. Practical work experience in businesses is an integral part of the scheme and is covered by agreements signed between the State and employers' organisations. PROMECABILE also includes training in hygiene/safety, and management (including the GERME approach),⁶⁶ with a particular emphasis on time and activity management.

Training is assessed at regular intervals to detect and rectify any knowledge and skills gaps. After a final overall assessment, apprentices receive a certificate recognised by all the actors involved. Apprentices who have completed their training and satisfy the academic requirements can go on to sit for nationally recognised diplomas: the CAP, the BEP or the BT.

Finally, to ensure that the apprenticeship schemes are carried out in optimal conditions, PROMECABILE has signed an agreement with the Social Security Office to give the apprentices health insurance coverage.

The conditions for ensuring the scheme's sustainability

Funding for the scheme comes principally from membership fees and from payment for services. There is some financial support from international organisations, but this is in no way comparable to the funds made available to the PAFPNA. The ONFP has made a modest contribution towards the training of craftsmen; the parents of apprentices have joined together to form an association and contribute to the scheme through

⁶⁶ The GERME management training programme is the French-speaking component of the international SIYB (Start and Improve Your Business) Programme disseminated by the ILO in over 80 countries.

enrolment fees. Favourable financial conditions thus exist to consolidate the project, insofar as it depends primarily on the organisation's own funds and the principle of co-financing by the different stakeholders and beneficiaries.

In 2006, PROMECABILE was keen to create an employment support fund into which membership fees would be paid; the fund would serve to finance a model centre and set up improved apprenticeship workshops. The organisation's directors thereby sought to obtain quality assurance for their apprenticeship model in order to ensure easier access to the job market for the young people they train. However, given that PROMECABILE is a member of the DGA's Steering Committee and is also involved in the pilot scheme for incorporating traditional apprenticeship within the overall system, it is much more probable that its experience will help to perpetuate a type of apprenticeship that will be integrated within the existing training system and give skills recognition to young people in the informal sector.

Dual apprenticeship schemes

Like Benin and Togo, Senegal has launched dual vocational training schemes supported by different development partners. The National Union of Chambers of Trades (UNCM) says that this was instigated by the chambers of trade. As the State had transferred responsibilities to them in the field of apprenticeship without transferring the resources, the chambers have moved closer to the financing structures in order to support these restructuring schemes.

The dual scheme in Sodida and Thiès

One scheme has been launched by the German technical development agency, GTZ, as part of a partnership involving the cities of Dakar and Koblenz, and their respective chambers of trades. Two training colleges for apprentices have been set up: one in Dakar, in the Sodida district, and the other in Thiès. Although the GTZ stopped supporting the scheme at the end of 2006 and its continuation—which is supported by the UNCM, the Dakar Chamber of Trades, the Directorate for the Craft Industry and the Agency for the Promotion and Development of Crafts (APDA)—is not guaranteed, it has developed a structured training scheme that has been taken into account by the DGA.

The project aims to provide training in the carpentry and wood-working sector for young people, frequently school dropouts, from the outlying areas of both cities. It also organises trainer training programmes for craftsmen wishing to take on apprentices. The training college is open to young people who have reached the end of primary school. Training is based on the German dual system, and lasts two years. The curriculum alternates one week of classroom-based training, including classes in French, mathematics, computer studies, technology and civic studies, followed by two weeks' practical training with a master craftsman. The apprentice's practical work is regularly monitored and assessed using a log book; grades are given at the end of each term. At the end of their training, apprentices can take the first level of the CAP diploma. No apprentice who has reached this level and continued his or her training for a further four or five months has yet failed to obtain the full CAP diploma. To date, the college has trained four intakes of apprentices.

Other dual training initiatives

An Apprenticeship Unit Project (UAP) has been set up by the TVET Ministry in partnership with the Belgian aid authorities and a Belgian training agency, APEFE. Apprenticeship units provide technical training for apprentices and capacity-building programmes for craftsmen. The training courses offered last on average ten days, and participants receive a certificate on completion of a session.

The Luxembourg development agency supports women's regional technical training colleges (CRETFS), which target young women with little schooling and whose knowledge and skills base has remained virtually undeveloped. The agency is particularly active in the Saint Louis CRETTF where, in collaboration with the regional Women's Union of Fruit and Vegetable Processors, it assists the college in developing dual vocational training aimed at giving young women relevant skills for working in the food processing sector. The project also includes a post-training follow-up system designed to help leavers better find their way into the labour market. The agency is also present in Thiès where, in 2003, it laid the foundation stone of a TVET college (€10.5 million invested in the project), which was completed and inaugurated in 2006. The total €12.8 million investment covered construction work, a review of the training curricula to adapt them to the skills-based approach, and the training of trainers to enable them to adopt apprenticeship techniques.

Swisscontact has also contributed in partnership with the chambers of trade and their training colleges in several specialisations, including the electricity, wood and metal trades.

These various experiences of restructuring launched with the support of several technical and financial partners have largely prepared the ground for the implementation of a policy for incorporating traditional apprenticeship within the overall TVET system. They have notably emphasised the pivotal role of master craftsmen in developing the innovative practices adopted, which is commonly seen in current pilot schemes in the three professional sectors selected for this purpose.

3.4.4. The strategy for integrating restructured apprenticeship in Senegal

The PAO/sfp project has proposed the launch, by the three professional sectors selected, of three opportunity studies on the integration of traditional apprenticeship into the overall vocational training system. These studies⁶⁷ were the subject of a Memorandum of Understanding between the different sectors and the consultants selected for their expertise. They thus represent the profession's position regarding the guidelines and methods for such integration.

Following an analysis of the situation, the three studies proposed a pilot apprenticeship training scheme leading to a CAP-level qualification, in accordance with the working hypotheses advocated by the TVET Ministry. Although the objectives are the same, the training processes differ. The rationale for the three proposals in three studies was based on a preliminary survey organised among professional stakeholders on critical skills needs in the sector analysed.

Proposals on the automotive trades sector

This sector represents a major challenge: it accounts for 5% of Senegal's economically active population, and over twenty times more youngsters are trained through traditional apprenticeship than in private and public vocational training colleges.

⁶⁷ The opportunity study on the apprenticeship training scheme in clothing trades was conducted by Compétences 2000, the one on automotive trades by the Afric Gestion Group and the one on construction by the NGO Concept.

The proposal for a new form of pilot scheme therefore has a big chance of having a significant impact on the overall TVET system.

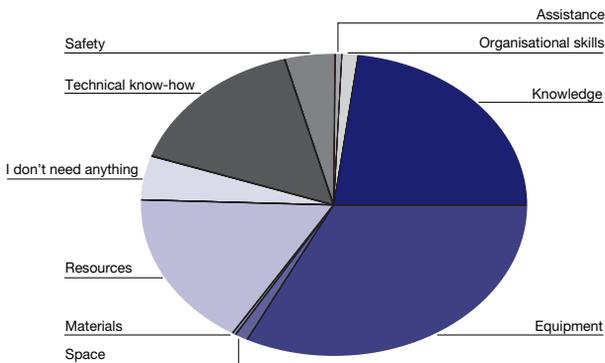
The proposals are based on the identification of changing and emerging training needs

The survey data helped to identify the apprentices' training needs: "they relate to technical and interpersonal know-how, knowledge and individual skills and attitudes."

According to the authors of the study, the increasing sophistication of automotive technology is changing existing professions and leading to the emergence of new ones, including mechatronics. Trainees therefore need additional know-how: 31.8% want extra training in electricity and 18% in electronics. At the same time, 26.1% of journeymen want training in electricity, and 30.4% want a better command of electronics. So there is a real demand for raising the technical level of training. Employers confirm this opinion on apprentices' needs, both in the area of technical knowledge and academic knowledge.

This requirement to adapt apprenticeship to technological developments means that apprentices have a greater need for knowledge. Thus 70% of them say they would like

Figure 7.
Apprentices' own priority skills



Source: Afric Gestion.

to go back to school, which is a very positive indication of their motivation to raise their level of knowledge and intellectual development in order to become good professionals. At the same time, this expression of the need for knowledge demonstrates that they are very aware that professions are changing and that they will have to adapt. So there is scope, and even strong demand for apprenticeship with a much stronger theory training component.

The proposals are leading to a training system with multiple points of entry

The opportunity study is therefore proposing a pilot scheme to improve existing practices and test a new training route leading to a qualification recognised at professional and institutional level. In terms of resources, it is planning to develop a system with different training options/routes.

A first option will depend on apprentices' age. It will still be possible for under 15-year-olds to enter workshops, provided their training is focused on the acquisition of generic skills and avoids premature specialisation in a profession, in accordance with the UNESCO and ILO recommendations. The scheme launched by PROMECABILE in conjunction with the Ministry of Education includes such a provision for this age category. On the other hand, those aged 15 and over enter fully into the apprenticeship scheme.

A second option is linked to the future apprentices' level of education. Those who have obtained the BEPC certificate or reached the end of the Third Year will be able to access the academic CAP diploma at the end of their training. Those who are unable to meet these conditions—in other words the great majority if we go by the current profile of apprentices in the sector—will have their training recognised through the accreditation of prior experience, which will necessitate the establishment of *ad hoc* procedures.

A third option concerns the customisation of training routes. The scheme provides for customised handling of youngsters' entry levels through a specific evaluation of individual "previous achievements". It envisages a form of continuous assessment, which will determine the pace of training and work experience in relation to the skills acquired. Finally, it makes a distinction between end-of-sequence teaching assessments

and end-of-training assessment and accreditation, which may, as appropriate, lead to acquisition of CAP or BEP diplomas. One might add, although the study does not mention this but the TVET Ministry presents it as one of the future system's features, a diversification of training options and routes depending on the acquisition of blocks of skills or vocational skills certificates corresponding in reality to the grasp of major standard functions or activities of the trade.

Such a system visibly aims to fundamentally alter the current apprenticeship cycle by enabling each apprentice to obtain professional knowledge and skills that are assessed and certified during their skills development process. But it is equally clear that such a system, which is based on differentiated entry requirements, rates of progress and evaluation levels, will require a complex design and management process, which the study does not explain in detail.

The proposals put a new approach to dual training into practice

The opportunity study underpins the restructuring of dual training with various challenges, tools and technical aids.

Several challenges persist: to provide theory and practical training at the same time in the workshop, to significantly shorten training time (a requirement set by the profession and the Ministry), and to shift the pedagogical focus from technical know-how to overall personal development. These three challenges are typical of Senegal's approach to the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship.

The tools to be designed and developed are more suggested than really described. The aim is to use the skills-based approach to develop skills/training standards for each profession. Contrary to what is happening in Benin and Togo, the study does not give sufficient details regarding methodology or, in particular, the involvement of the profession, which would help it to develop these tools.

The study's authors are aware of the need to underpin the whole process with resources that are commensurate with the complexity of the suggested approach, and they propose a technical support system designed to give the pilot scheme every chance of success. They say the system should include the following elements:

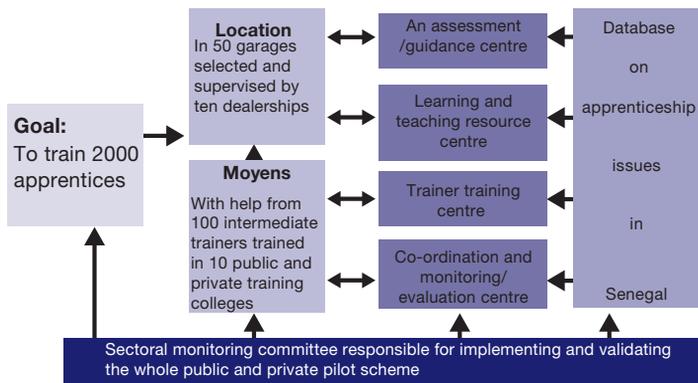
- an assessment/guidance unit controlling both the evaluation of initial training data and assessments of intermediate and final achievements;
- a learning and teaching resource centre whose primary task would be to equip master trainers in order to support them in their training work in the garages;
- a training centre for trainers who are supposed to intervene in workshops and give apprentices educational supervision;
- an interface between garages and the national steering authority in order to synchronise the various stages of experimentation with all the stakeholders concerned.

All of these proposals illustrate how much the pilot scheme will be in need of a steering, monitoring and evaluation process if it is to achieve the ambitious targets set.

The proposals set an ambitious operational target

The Afric Management study proposes that the scheme should be fully included within a database that will collect reliable information on apprenticeship issues and thus become an object for evaluation and research. Once this framework has been clarified, the organisation proposes various quantitative elements.

Figure 8.
Operational architecture for the implementation of a pilot apprenticeship scheme in Senegal's automotive trades



Author: AFD.

This flow chart shows that the pilot scheme will involve a very large sample group of apprentices, which is as high as, if not higher than, the number of apprentices trained each year in Benin. It also outlines the overall scheme's institutional set-up, which will provide the necessary monitoring and support conditions to secure success, or if not, will at least permit an evaluation of its strengths and weaknesses.

The implementation is not fully explained. The master craftsman's exact role as the apprentice's practical and theory trainer, and exactly what the contact trainers will do in this context, have not been clarified. It also lacks a detailed description of the type of partnership that will create a link between the pilot garages and resource centres, and how the exchange of expertise and human and material resources between them will be managed. However, the whole scheme is adequately structured as a pilot activity, and the results should be sufficiently important to assess the conditions and methods for integrating restructured apprenticeship into the overall training system.

The proposals of the clothes-making/fashion sector

The opportunity study conducted by the Compétence 2000 Office⁶⁸ on clothing trades starts by describing the economic importance of the sector, which accounts for 30% of Senegalese craft production units. It stresses the potential impact on the vocational training system of an apprenticeship structure that could change the outlook of a profession that is currently focused on the domestic market, but which lacks the skills needed in order to expand into international markets, notably American ones, which offer easy access for non-US products (markets covered by the African Growth and Opportunity Act [AGOA]). However, unlike the study on automotive trades, which is based on an analysis of changes in skills in order to determine a broad outline for scheme to be developed, it has used the motivation of the stakeholders to transform their traditional training and give shape to the system to restructure apprenticeship.

68 METFP, PAO/sfp project (2007), *op. cit.*

The proposals are underpinned by a profession that is keen to get involved in the pilot scheme

The 212 survey questionnaires processed on Dakar (60%) and the provinces (40%) firstly show that the profession is highly organised, with 24 craft associations. 62.5% of these have more than 100 members, 20.2% have between 100 and 200 members and 8.3% have more than 1,000 members. This organisation is undoubtedly beneficial when it comes to piloting a new form of apprenticeship, as it offers a potential space for raising awareness and having debates on the changes that need to be introduced into the profession. For example, during the five years preceding the survey, 75% of the craft associations had organised seminars and meetings on issues concerning the sector. So it is not surprising that 85% of them said they were available to commit contractually to a pilot apprenticeship restructuring scheme in co-operation with the Ministry and training colleges, and that 91.7% said they were willing to contribute to the new scheme in one way or another. The response is also due to the problems encountered by the profession, 62.6% of which entail concern finance, equipment and training. It may be concluded that all the stakeholders in the sector are prepared to commit to a significant overhaul of the existing apprenticeship system.

The proposals implement a structured skills-based training approach

The opportunity study describes the general principles and the different stages of the future scheme to be developed. As with the automotive trades, the general principles include the main characteristics of the training to be organised: a skills-based approach, theory and practical training in the workshop, interim and final assessment of apprentices' progress, accreditation of prior experience for those who do not have the required educational level, support from training colleges as resources centres, etc. However, as mentioned above, the relationship between practical training and theory training is unclear and the use of the term "dual training" leads to confusion. Nevertheless, the study clearly includes the preparation of apprenticeship standards and guides in the basic principles.

The steps necessary for introducing the scheme are directly in line with the skills-based training approach:

- step 1 – preparation of professional standards: the study stipulates that this is done in collaboration with sector bodies. It simultaneously publishes the French professional standards for tailors/clothes designers, taken from the French Operational Directory of Professions and Jobs (ROME),⁶⁹ stating that the profession was unanimous in proposing this as the working document;
- step 2 – design of a set of skills standards: for this the profession did not draw on French sources but transposed the curriculum of the CAP diploma from the formal system, adapting it to apprenticeship, specifying that the document will be completed and validated by competent committees;
- step 3 – explanation of the methods of certification and training assessment: although the qualification awarded at this stage is more descriptive than prescriptive, the study proposes a set of certification standards by structuring the “skills standards” into macro-skills (or final integration objectives), skills and elements of skills;
- step 4 – production of a skills portfolio: this will be validated for each apprentice by the validation and certification committee.

The proposals aim to develop a selective and documented action plan

The opportunity study identifies the new system’s four key partners, namely the pilot craft workshop, the master trainer, the supervising mentor/trainer and the apprentice/beneficiary. For each one it defines the selection criteria guaranteeing the scheme’s viability. For example, both apprentices and master craftsmen must be able to read and write in French, Arabic or the national language. It is imperative for master craftsmen to undertake to sign an apprenticeship contract and participate in all the scheme’s meetings. The pilot workshop can only be selected if it meets minimal health, safety and equipment conditions. Supervising trainers must be able to justify that they have both practical professional experience in the trade and relevant teaching practice as a trainer.

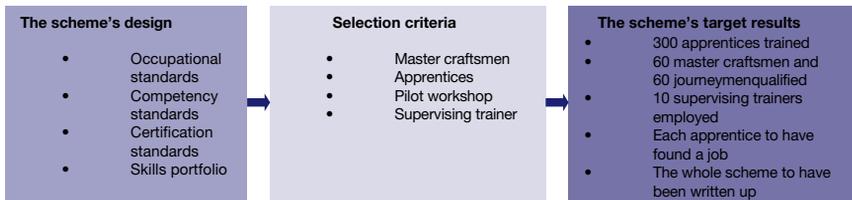
These conditions being met, the pilot scheme will aim to achieve the following results:

⁶⁹ *Répertoire opérationnel des métiers et des emplois (ROME)*, used by the French National Employment Agency (ANPE).

- specific writing up of a skills-based apprenticeship curriculum;
- the training of 300 young people via skills-based apprenticeship in 18 months, who will then apply for the clothes-making/design CAP diploma via the apprenticeship option;
- the training of 60 master craftsmen to train young people using the skills-based approach;
- the training of 60 journeymen using the same methods as for the master craftsmen;
- identification and introduction of ten trainers to supervise the master craftsmen in skills-based apprenticeship;
- preparation of a project to help the young people trained find employment;
- transmission of a sufficiently documented skills-based apprenticeship model to the DGA.

Figure 9.

Pilot apprenticeship scheme for the clothes-making/design trades in Senegal



Author: AFD.

The proposals of the construction trades

The opportunity study was conducted by the NGO Concept.⁷⁰ It starts by noting the sector's strategic importance, with an estimated average growth of 9.75% over the 2006-2010 period. This is due to the persistent dynamism of the construction and civil engineering sector (over 14%) which has been benefiting from the major public civil engineering projects launched since 2004. In this context, it is logical that the sector has set improving the training, apprenticeship and skills development system as one of its priority objectives.

70 METFP, Projet PAO/sfp (2007), *op. cit.*

The study then sets its proposals within the context of the orientations defined by the new TVET policy, and notably the 2005 TVET week, which based the new training strategies on the following activities: the extensive overhaul of formal and non-formal training provision, the introduction of a new range of training options, the development of skills-based training curricula, the promotion of a dynamic partnership with the private sector, the reorganisation of apprenticeship through consensus, founded on the social values of solidarity, and the introduction of an appropriate legal framework.

Lastly, the study identifies the sector's main professions, grouped together under "building structure work". While this still has a key role in the profession, an increasing number of professions complement masonry work (joinery, painting, plumbing, electricity, etc.) or are related to it (hydraulics, spatial planning, refrigeration and air conditioning, etc).

The renewal of the traditional apprenticeship system, which has been very sheltered from economic development policies and the profession's technological progress, is now becoming a major strategic issue.

The study analyses new training requirements

To gain a good understanding of craftsmen's training needs and thus identify any apprenticeship shortages, the Concept team conducted surveys in a sample group of 150 building sites.

The systematic gathering of responses helped identify priority training requirements (graded in decreasing order per sub-theme):

- *further academic study*: arithmetic/geometry, understanding estimates/plans and literacy;
- *continuing training*: short courses for updating skills and introduction to new/related technologies;
- *training in professional techniques*: use of modern materials and training in how to use reinforced concrete (formwork, reinforcement);
- *entrepreneurship training*: accounting/management, site management and marketing/negotiation;

- *training related to the profession*: health and safety, training techniques and regulations/standardisation;
- *personal development training*: organisation management, communication, planning and leadership.

The craftsmen clearly wanted to improve the professional skills they had acquired through traditional apprenticeship. They were also very keen to start applying management and quality controls to building projects.

The study proposes a system model based on a specific approach to skills development

The construction and civil engineering sector differs considerably from the other sectors in that training mostly happens at mobile sites. The system must therefore take this situation into account and make quite considerable adjustments to its approach to skills acquisition. Three relevant proposals are made:

- to focus the new apprenticeship on the identification of trades using a skills standards structure that distinguishes between basic skills, generic technical skills, general technical skills and professional technical skills;
- to stress the fact that skills should be acquired via segmentation rather than through the current practice of stacking them up on top of one another. The idea is to develop an apprenticeship process that ranges from the more simple level to the more complex level (which on building sites also signifies from the less dangerous to the more hazardous) and to go from one block of skills to another once the first one has been acquired;
- to base the whole assessment and certification process on the vocational competence certificates (CCPs) methodology, which organises professional standards into major functions or types of activity, and certifies them as and when the apprentices master them.

The method thus proposed is not specific to the construction and civil engineering sector as it is part of the DGA's working hypotheses. However, it was not been taken up by the other opportunity studies *per se*.

The study proposes structure that is adapted to the circumstances of the profession

The same fundamental elements can be seen for the construction, automotive and clothes making/design trades: the focusing of the new training on the analysis of professional changes, the consequent redefinition of job and skills profiles, the introduction of training standards tailored to these profiles, the training of master trainers in the new training content, the use of supervising trainers to support and if necessary replace the professionals, etc. The NGO Concept uses all these elements and adapts them to the specific context of the construction and civil engineering sector:

- after having observed the dearth of construction projects and the major periods of inactivity in the sector, it invited craft enterprises to group together by area and sector in order to establish what they call “apprenticeship units”. Each unit is supposed to bring together between two and five craft enterprises in order to jointly organise training for a group of 14 to 20 apprentices;
- it also takes into account the relatively low level of training of the sector’s master craftsmen, journeymen, workers and helpers. The system must therefore adapt to the entry of young school dropouts and propose target profiles that reflect the diversity of existing jobs and offer different learner statuses, on the basis of a systematic validation/certification. The objective is still the attainment of the CAP diploma, but this presumes training courses of variable paces and duration;
- lastly, it does not talk about supervising trainers or resource trainers intervening in addition to the master craftsmen, but refers to “master trainers”. In doing so, it authorises master trainers outside the workshop or apprenticeship unit to confirm the validation of skills that the apprentices are, according to the master craftsmen, supposed to have. It thus makes the external players formal guarantors of the validity of the whole evaluation and certification system.

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The study proposes an action plan that is limited in terms of meeting needs and the number of beneficiaries

The action plan proposed firstly emphasises the need to design and implement precise and comprehensive technical tools to permit effective implementation of the principles and stages of training by all the stakeholders. It then stresses the importance of the management process that should be introduced, in which the craft sector

Table 7.
The comparative structure of the two apprenticeship models in Senegal

Characteristics of the current model	Characteristics of the new model
1. Stacking of skills and lack of standards concerning progression	1. Segmentation of skills and a standardised process for acquiring them
2. Rare certification and limited recognition	2. A systematic and recognised certification
3. Un-planned cycle	3. A planned cycle with input from training material and additional training sessions
4. Recognised end-of-apprenticeship qualification	4. Introduction of a skills certification system and achievement of the CAP diploma
5. Legislation ignored	5. Legislation is known and applied
6. In isolation from management opportunities	6. Introduction of a management system
7. In isolation from the public authorities	7. Open to the formal system
8. In isolation from technical partners	8. Development of partnership and co-operation with other systems
9. In isolation from the formal training system	9. Introduction of a piloting and capacity-building system in co-ordination with the formal system
10. Non-structured training	10. Creation of a framework for exchanges
11. Very long and non-defined training cycle	11. Training in teaching methods
12. Working conditions that fail to meet health and safety standards	12. Training in health and safety and improvement of apprenticeship conditions
13. Several children and adults of varying educational levels, the majority of whom are illiterate	13. Functional literacy in partnership with specialised organisations
14. Strong and non-formalised relationship between masters and learners	14. Contractualisation at several levels (apprentices/master craftsmen, craft sector organisations/project, project/assessors)
15. Transmission of know-how and skills	15. The skills accreditation system
16. The master trainer's role as an educator, trainer and mentor	16. More dispersed contributions in the framework of multi-stakeholder system (craft sector organisations, master craftsmen, master trainers, formal training colleges, technical partners)

Source: the NGO Concept.

organisations must be able to take responsibility for the operational management of training activities. Lastly, it proposes to give priority to training and courses that are as

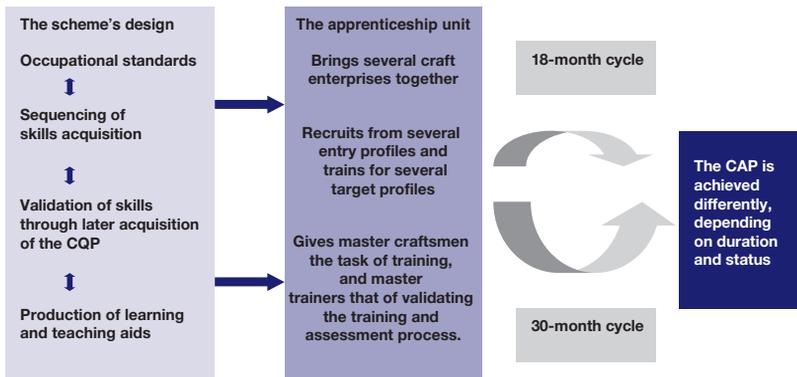
flexible and adapted as much as possible to the sector's socio-professional context as well as its economic and financial environment.

The planned pilot scheme focuses on training through apprenticeship in five trades (plumbing, masonry, tiling, painting and carpentry), for which the skills standards, curricula and training aids will be determined. Two types of apprentice will be recruited for each trade:

- young people with experience of training prior to their entry into apprenticeship, who are supposed to reach CAP level after 18 months;
- young people with no prior professional achievements who will follow a 30-month cycle in order to achieve the equivalent level of certification.

Figure 10.

The pilot apprenticeship scheme for the clothes-making/design trades in Senegal



Author: AFD.

3.4.5. In conclusion: the conflict between tradition and modernity in Senegal's experiment

The presentation of the three pilot schemes, aside from demonstrating the specific nature of Senegal's experience in comparison to Benin and Togo, emphasises the assumptions and values that make it possible to speak of a uniform model for integrating apprenticeship within the overall TVET system. This model is presently just provisional. It still has to be made operational and incorporated within the methodological and

chronological framework announced. Organisational tools and learning/teaching aids also have to be produced to enable it to achieve the objectives set.

A broad outline of the system

A cross-comparison of the opportunity studies and the results of the meetings organised during the field survey reveal the broad outline of the apprenticeship system which will really take shape in the coming 18 months:

the system does its utmost to maintain the social values of traditional apprenticeship, by preserving the integrative role of the master craftsman within a social network of proximity and solidarity and within a trade that is as much a sign of belonging to a professional family as it is a guarantee of economic and social success;

- in face of the development of dual apprenticeship in Benin and Togo, the Senegalese model proposes a three-pronged pedagogical approach (theory training/practical training/external expertise input) while giving priority to the craftsman's workshop as a unique place for skills development and training. In such an arrangement the master craftsmen need to be more able to carry out all aspects of apprentices' training, which means they need to be able to act more effectively prior to being accepted as accredited master trainers;
- some of the schemes that were supposed to have started in late 2007 aim to finalise an 18-month cycle for young people with significant and previously-validated educational and professional achievements on the one hand, and a 30-month cycle for young school dropouts or those with a low educational level on the other hand. So, in spite of the lack of observations on this subject in the opportunity studies, there are in fact two different types of experimental cycle which will need different learning/training aids and will surely not lead to a common target profile;
- the training courses should all lead to the formal CAP TVET diploma. This means that, to attain this qualification, candidates for the 18-month cycle will need to have their prior experience accredited. It also means that all the others will have to use a certification method based on the concept of blocks of skills or the CCP vocational skills certificate. These should be validated as and when the original intermediate (and then final) objectives are met. This method, which is based on the customisation of training cycles, has to be developed from scratch;

- all of the partners met stressed the unique nature of the CAP diploma aimed for, whichever route is taken in order to attain it. However, the choice made by the Ministry and the professional organisations in favour of a fundamentally workshop-based training course foreshadows the possible dual purpose of the CAP diploma attained by young people with a good educational level and that by barely educated youngsters. However, it will only be possible to achieve this unique effect if a form of legislation is passed ensuring the total equivalence between diplomas acquired through traditional educational and those acquired entirely, if not mainly, through the validation of professional experience;
- the underlying pedagogical model is that of the inclusion of customisation in the traditional apprenticeship format based on the values of collective solidarity. This will only be achievable if, as some people propose, external technical support is made available to evaluate and validate progress.

The training and financing options and methods currently up for decision

The pilot schemes will come up against a major obstacle: their financing. The three opportunity studies contain financial forecasts that put the unit cost of apprentices' training at levels that will be difficult for international, national or private funding providers to cover. For example, the investment and operational budget of the automotive repair sector puts funding for each apprentice at more than 2,500,000 CFA francs. This cost, which includes a significant amount for installation and set-up expenditure, sets an extremely high cost ceiling in comparison to the Benin scheme, for which the total direct cost over three years (initial CQP certification included) is around 530,000 CFA francs. For their part, the clothing/textiles and construction and civil engineering sectors estimate the unit costs (including the cost of launching the pilot schemes) at 1,259,500 CFA francs and 955,080 CFA francs respectively.

Faced with such amounts, the Ministry has asked that the Project Monitoring and Co-ordination Unit (USCP) to draw up a Technical and Financial Programme Delivery Paper (DPETF) bringing together all of the proposals. This paper, which is currently being approved, thus proposes to train 750 apprentices in a first stage:

- 100 apprentices per sector of activity (300 in total) for a first group comprising apprentices whose profile and achievements are sufficient to validate entire

- blocks of skills and to permit them, with regard to the training cycle developed, to attain the CAP diploma at the end of the PAO/sfp project (December 2008);
- 150 apprentices per sector of activity (450 in total) for a second group comprising apprentices identified in the crafts workshops whose profiles are such that it will be necessary to organise all of the training courses related to the blocks of skills.

The provisional budget established for the entire operation gives details of material investment,⁷¹ intangible investment⁷² and operating costs.⁷³ This gives a unit launch cost of 998,000 CFA francs per apprentice, which is equal to an annual cost of 333,000 CFA francs if, as in the other countries, three years is felt to be the normal time necessary for apprentices to work up to a recognised qualification level in the national TVET system. These amounts may be reduced to a unit cost of 548,000 CFA francs (annual equivalent of 182,000 CFA francs) if one subtracts the costs of producing training tools and expertise for setting up and implementing the pilot scheme, which are specifically linked to the launch phase. This therefore comes nearer to the annual unit costs of about 160,000 CFA francs reached in Benin or Mali.

While it is possible to envisage massive support from the technical and financial partners for the experimental development of an integrated apprenticeship system, the budget items proposed give a basic idea of the later organisational model that the public budget will have to support, at least partially, contrary to the principles and modalities of financial support announced during the survey mission. This is particularly true given that in Senegal—in contrast to Benin, Mali and Togo—there are no financing mechanisms for transferring contributions or formal vocational training levies paid by the modern sector towards apprenticeship organised in the craft sector. The FONDEF has decided to focus almost exclusively on training courses in the formal sector, and the resources made available by the National Office for Vocational Training (ONFP) are too limited to be able to contribute significantly to the scheme's wider roll-out.

71 Upgrading equipment in the selected workshops, reproduction of training tools and support for sector bodies.

72 Strengthening the master craftsmen's capacities, raising awareness among the various contributors and partners concerning the pilot scheme's implementation, production of learning/training tools, identification and selection of staff, development of certification procedures and exchange of good practice.

73 Building materials, office equipment, training activities, monitoring activities and travel, information/communication, mobilisation of experts for the pilot scheme's implementation, support to the different stakeholders and certification costs.

3.5. Mali's approach

Along with Benin and Togo, Mali was first to restructure traditional apprenticeship. Dual apprenticeship in Mali began in 1989 at the Automotive Mechanics Skills Development College (CPMA) in Bamako with 25 apprentices and support from Swisscontact. It then developed in different colleges and trades across the country. According to an impact study commissioned by Swisscontact,⁷⁴ the scheme trained about 2,400 apprentices between 1989 and 2002. The latest figures provided by the Swiss NGO show a rapid rise in the amount of training taking place between 2002 and 2006, with the number of apprentices approaching 10,000.

To understand Mali's experience of dual apprenticeship well, it has to be placed within the overall context of TVET, of which it is a stakeholder. Current development and change dynamics then need to be analysed in comparison to the situation in the other countries selected in this study.

3.5.1. The specific context in which dual apprenticeship has been introduced

Dual apprenticeship emerged in conjunction with several factors. It was launched by a craft training college which had understood the importance of raising young people's skills levels to keep up with technological changes in the automotive sector. It was also driven by a certain number of socio-economic realities, including the realisation, by various stakeholders, of the importance of the informal sector in terms of jobs and development.

Apprenticeship gained a foothold in Mali in the socio-economic context of the late 1980s/early 1990s

Dual training was launched as part of the process of development of Mali's craft sector that began at the end of the 1980s. As from 1987, different groups of craftsmen supported by the ILO's support project for the non-structured sector instigated measures to reduce taxes and promote access to public markets.⁷⁵ A dozen of them then created

74 Ndiaye A., Thiéba D. (2004), *Etude d'impact de la formation professionnelle de type dual du PAA*. Bamako.

75 The information on this period are taken from the FNAM paper (2004), *Présentation de la Fédération nationale du Mali*. Bamako.

the Bamako District Crafts Federation. In 1989/1990, 19 associations came together at national level and created the Federation of Malian Craftsmen, which became the FNAM in 1992. Debates in craft circles at the time centred on the drawing up of a code for the craft industry, the creation of chambers of trades and the training of apprentices. So the emergence of dual apprenticeship was an integral part of the craft industry's wider reflection on its own future.

During the same period, structural adjustment policies were starting to have an impact on the country's economy. Those leaving technical and vocational education who would previously have gone into public administration or State enterprises found themselves without any prospect of finding work in the formal economy, whilst the number of jobs was increasing in the informal sector, from 80% of the labour market in 1988, to 90% six years later. At the time, the modern sector had little more than 1,600 enterprises, and those with over 100 employees were in the minority.⁷⁶ From that time, traditional apprenticeship came to be the biggest option for a majority of youngsters, offering them the best chance of access to a profession.

Against this economic and social backdrop, a number of changes took place in the area of TVET. The emergence of dual apprenticeship coincided with the introduction of the CAP and BT diplomas in 1989, awarded at the end of vocational education cycles (Decree 89-295 P RM of 30 September 1989). However, because these qualifications were only accessible to Grade 10 students and Mali had a particularly low enrolment rate at the time (less than 30% of any given age group), the transformation of traditional apprenticeship into dual training became the only way to help young people not going through the formal training system.

Apprenticeship was part of the TVET development process in the 1990s and 2000s

The new direction of the Mali economy following the political and economic crisis of 1991 to 1994, the introduction of private sector reforms following the structural adjustment programmes and the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994 all led to a

⁷⁶ Gauron A., Ponthieux R., (2004), *Evaluation des actions de la coopération française dans le secteur de la formation professionnelle initiale et continue au Mali*. Ministère des Affaires étrangères. Paris.

radical rethink of vocational training.⁷⁷ Various institutions and programmes were therefore created in the 1990s to support the consolidation of the dual apprenticeship system:

- the decree creating the chambers of trades in 1995 gave them the task of organising vocational training for different trades and made it compulsory for each of them to have a vocational training and apprenticeship department.⁷⁸ This legislation also created the Permanent Assembly of Chambers of Trade—of which one of the responsibilities is to give an opinion on vocational training and apprenticeship—and the regional conferences responsible for organising and co-ordinating apprenticeship at territorial level in collaboration with the chambers of trade;⁷⁹
- a Vocational Training Consolidation Project (PCFP) was signed in 1996 between the Mali Government and the World Bank. This project was preceded by a Letter on Training and Employment Policy from the Mali Government to the President of the World Bank, notably emphasising the importance of stimulating training through apprenticeship. To achieve this, the project provided for the creation of a Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Financing Fund (which became the FAFPA) and the creation of the Employment and Training Observatory. (OEF). The same year, the French aid authorities decided to finance a Vocational Training and Employment Support Project (FAFPE), which was complementary to the PCFP and aimed to support the development of initial and continuing training as well as training through apprenticeship;
- the FAFPA was created by the Act of 14 April 1997. Among other responsibilities, the Act gave it the task of “providing technical and financial assistance to economic operators in the formal and non-structured sectors, and to private and parapublic organisations registered under Mali law, in the framework of the preparation and production of their skills- or apprenticeship-based continuing training plans or projects.” It was mainly financed by part of the vocational training

⁷⁷ Gauron A., Ponthieux R., *op.cit.*

⁷⁸ *Décret n° 95-283/P-RM fixant l'organisation et les modalités de fonctionnement des chambres des métiers* (Decree 95-283/P-RM Establishing the Organisation and Operational Arrangements for the Chambers of Trades), Bamako, 28 juillet 1995.

⁷⁹ According to the IIEP, it was the French aid authorities that pushed for the creation of the chambers of trades. See Murin B., (2001), *Étude sur l'apprentissage en Afrique de l'Ouest*, UNESCO, IIEP, Paris.

levy paid by formal enterprises and transferred by the tax authorities, and has become the main contributor to the financing of training through dual apprenticeship;

- the 1998 Bamako conference of French-speaking countries on vocational and technical training recognised that vocational and technical training is an integral part of the education system, that the informal sector is economically important, and that the two must be co-ordinated with one another;
- in the same year, the Swiss aid authorities commissioned Swisscontact to launch a Programme to Support Vocational Training in the Craft Trades (PAA) in three phases (1998-1999, 2000-2001 and 2003-2005). While the first phase included support to help the FAFPA introduce a system for monitoring and evaluating training measures, the two others aimed to improve the matching of training supply to market demand, support co-operation with professional organisations and give the craft sector access to an effective national vocational training fund (apprenticeship and skills development) adapted to the socio-economic circumstances of Mali craftsmen and recognised at national level;⁸⁰
- the December 1999 Constitutional Bylaw on Education and the resulting Ten-Year Education Development Programme (PRODEC) set the main orientations of future education policy – including the adaptation of vocational training to the needs of the economy. PRODEC notably aimed to give children leaving primary and secondary education without qualifications access to vocational training, with the specific help of professional associations;⁸¹
- the Investment Programme for the Education Sector (PISE I) implemented in 2000 constitutes the first phase of development of PRODEC. It aims to boost TVET, notably with the construction of six new colleges across the country. No particular priority is given to dual apprenticeship, although it is one of the quantitative and qualitative objectives of PISE II (2006-2008), which aims to boost the training capacities of the dual apprenticeship system in order to take in up to 5,500 school dropouts at the end of that period. The Letter on Education Policy of April 2006, which sets both the priorities and the expected results of PISE II, adds that the internal quality and efficiency of the apprenticeship centres will be improved through the recruitment of more qualified trainers and the improvement of training practices.

⁸⁰ Fischer, R. and J. Milevaz (2005), *External Evaluation of the PAA/Swisscontact, Mali, Phase III*. Bamako.

⁸¹ Ballo, D. (2005), *Étude relative à l'état des lieux de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle*, ministère de l'Éducation nationale et ministère de l'Emploi et de la Formation professionnelle. Bamako.

Dual apprenticeship currently comes under the responsibility of the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training (MEFP). The TVET Ministry (METFP), being in charge of certification, maintains responsibility for validating the skills-based approach adopted by professional organisations in the different trades selected. Dual apprenticeship is also subject to close co-operation between the chambers of trades and the FNAM, through the Operational Unit for Vocational Training in the Craft Sector (COFPA). This brings together the two bodies within a common and harmonised framework, making it possible to translate the skills and qualification needs expressed by Mali craftsmen into an effective system of apprenticeship and vocational training.

3.5.2. Pre-vocational skills development and apprenticeship: a link worth analysing and strengthening

Mali is the only one of the four countries surveyed to have introduced a genuine structured policy on functional literacy and pre-vocational skills development for young uneducated people and school dropouts. This policy has mainly been introduced as part of the development of non-formal education and, more precisely, the creation of the Development Education Centres (CEDs). It also stems from professional organisations and certain initiatives taken by technical and financial partners focused primarily on the agricultural and rural sector. This constitutes a unique opportunity to establish a continuum of education and training for young people excluded from the traditional educational system. However, the continuum does not for the moment seem to be truly operational.

Pre-vocational skills development targeted by non-formal education

One of the PRODEC's main options when it started in 1997 was to open schools and/or CEDs in villages, districts or areas that did not have any. The CED concept originated from the national education authorities' concern to develop a better approach to the issue of how to deal with children out of school and their desire to build a major partnership policy involving local communities, the State and development aid partners. It was then piloted in the Koulikoro region before being validated at a national forum for evaluating the CED strategy in January 1999.

To implement the "one village, one school and/or CED" strategy advocated by the PRODEC in order to make up for the lack of school or CEDs in 7,650 villages/nomadic

communities and municipalities, the Mali Government and its partners opened 981 CEDs across Mali's eight regions and in the district of Bamako between 2002 and 2005. Accordingly, 22,925 learners (including 10,726 girls) were taught how to read and write. These learners arrived during the last phase of the CED training cycle, namely that of 'vocational initiation'.

According to those in charge, the CEDs offer an education, training and support framework for individual and collective self-promotion. The purpose is to enable communities to manage their educational needs in a decentralised fashion and develop essential skills through the acquisition of basic learning tools. The priority option is to give learners a minimum educational level allowing them to succeed in life and/or embark upon a continuous learning process. The CEDs mainly target 9 to 15-year-olds who have not been to school or have dropped out. They have a six-year cycle: four years are spent on theory lessons and two years on initiation into a trade. After the college course, the youngsters must be capable of exercising economic activities related to their local environment and, if possible, continuing to train themselves in the trade in which they were initiated.

Evaluations of the first students to leave this scheme, carried out by local actors or the promoters themselves, reveal a number of problems:

- the whole cycle is too long and above all fails to establish any linkages between the literacy part and the pre-vocational skills development part;
- the vocational training part is not sufficiently prepared in co-ordination with craft sector organisations;
- according to a recent evaluation made by the Ministry of National Education,⁸² the scheme is unsatisfactory: insufficient training of master trainers, lack of equipment, absence of suitable training programmes, absence of course materials in national languages, lack of apprenticeship guides in the workshops, disparity of content delivered by different trainers and unequal duration of training courses in different subject areas;

⁸² Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, Centre national des ressources de l'éducation non formelle (CNR/ENF) (2007), *Rapport général, Séminaire national de bilan – Programmation sur l'éducation non formelle 2005-2006*. Bamako.

- whereas the creation of CEDs should be decided at a decentralised level and their management organised at village level by a local management committee, the whole of the operation seems to be primarily in the hands of the Ministry of National Education.

While these criticisms seem justified and suggest substantial improvements to the whole system are needed, it should still be said that CEDs give young school dropouts with no chance of entering formal TVET a possibility to do a vocational (and even accredited) skills training course. But this means that extensive work needs to be done regarding the level of qualification effectively attained at the end of the CED cycle and, above all, the pathways to be created between the end of the cycle at the CED and entry into apprenticeship leading to recognised vocational qualification.

Other forms of pre-vocational skills development or pre-apprenticeship

Craft sector organisations affiliated to the FNAM offer a two-year pre-apprenticeship scheme which includes a social introduction to the trade as well as a literacy course, which is essential, bearing in mind the very poor quality of education in Mali (many children can neither read nor write when they leave primary school). This pre-apprenticeship is financed by craft sector organisations without any State support. The current challenge is to integrate it into the existing system. The FNAM is running a pilot scheme to do this in four areas. The master craftsmen have accepted to take young people on pre-apprenticeship so they can join the dual apprenticeship system. All the costs are currently covered by the craftsmen themselves.

An action research scheme run by the Swiss aid authorities on pre-vocational skills development for children, especially girls, in rural areas led, in 2000, to the opening of a centre in Makandiana, 70 km from Bamako. The centre was to provide literacy education in the national language each year for 30 12 to 15 year-old girls who had dropped out of school early and another 30 who had not been to school at all. The purpose was also to provide them with life skills education and vocational training. An evaluation carried out in late 2006 showed that the centre, which comes under the authority of a village council and is run by two women trainers from the village under the supervision of an external co-ordinator, has trained four cohorts of 30 girls as planned. It also showed that, with help from the Luxembourg aid authorities, the

scheme led to the creation of a co-operative enabling girls from the centre to be trained in agribusiness processing and soap-making techniques and, above all, to access income-generating activities.

NGO-run schemes co-exist with initiatives launched by the FNAME or technical and financial partners. For example, the Mali Youth Action Association (AJA) supports the education of impoverished 9 to 14-year-olds living in outlying districts. It is teaching these street children and/or school dropouts to read, write and calculate, giving them some elements of general and working culture, and contributing to their integration and/or rehabilitation. It also offers 15 to 18-year-olds literacy, general culture and updating courses so they can be admitted into dual apprenticeship.

All of these options, projects and schemes demonstrate Mali's great ability to introduce alternatives to the educational system. The main characteristics of these alternatives are the combination of literacy training with professional development, the involvement of professional and local stakeholders, and the availability of vocational courses and training for young people who have not had the chance or possibility to take the traditional education or TVET options.

3.5.3. Mali's dual apprenticeship model

In comparison to the other countries covered by the study, Mali's experience of dual apprenticeship has the advantage of being at the end of its experimental phase and, as an evaluation report on the process of mainstreaming vocational training in the craft sector states,⁸³ it has achieved a certain degree of success: "one may consider the scheme as having been completed. It has involved all the necessary stakeholders: professional associations, (mostly private) training colleges, and public or semi-public institutions for the training design, financing and accreditation. It is unanimously considered a success, due to having been organised so systematically and the fact that those trained have a better chance of finding work in the local economy." This success concerns both the way the scheme was designed and the involvement and role of the different stakeholders. However certain questions remain concerning future roll-out

83 Ballo, D. et B. Gabioud (2004), *Rapport de mission d'analyse et de mise en perspective du dispositif institutionnel de la formation professionnelle dans le secteur de l'artisanat*. Bamako. This study was commissioned by Swisscontact.

arrangements and the positioning of this apprenticeship in relation to other more flexible forms of dual training that are being currently developed.

Piloting the scheme

The scheme is managed at government level by the National Vocational Training Directorate (DNFP), which comes under the authority of the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training. This piloting also involves other public bodies:

- the FAFPA, whose task is to help both the modern and informal sectors develop and finance training plans and projects;
- the National Employment Agency (ANPE), which is responsible for implementing national employment policy and, in this specific case, organising the selection and certification of apprentices;
- the Youth Employment Agency (APEJ), whose work programme includes a component on the employability of young people and, more precisely, the development of apprenticeship;
- the Enterprise Support Training Unit (UFAE), whose main task is to design and deliver training sessions for both professionals and college trainers.

The DNFP also works with the Ministry of Crafts (which has responsibility for the chambers of trades), the TVET Ministry (which validates the skills-based approach and is currently looking at how to create pathways between apprenticeship and the establishments that come under its authority), the Ministry of National Education (some of whose colleges participate in the implementation of dual training) and the Ministry of Youth (which is developing youth camps to train participants in useful trades that are also covered by apprenticeship).

As far as private partners are concerned, the FNAM, as an overarching body, and the professional organisations are part of the piloting structure: through their training committee, they define requirements and help to structure these into professional standards and skills profiles.

Table 8.
The 14 stages of organisation of dual vocational training in Mali

Stage 1	Training needs are expressed by a professional organisation which has set up an internal training committee.
Stage 2	The expression of needs is validated by the FNAM and the UNCM within COFPA, which is effectively responsible for drawing up an overview of the training needs expressed by different organisations.
Stage 3	A seminar is organised involving the different partners in the system—including the DNFP, the ANPE and the UFAE—and the professionals of the trade. It carries out an analysis of the trade using the DACUM method, establishes the skills profile and draws up a training curriculum for apprentices. This is based on the concrete tasks necessary for carrying out the profession.
Stage 4	For each trade selected, the following are defined: the length of training, the theory and practical content, the teaching material, and the equipment required to effectively organise the training and the pedagogical progression of the apprenticeship.
Stage 5	The professional organisation's training committee raises awareness among parents and employers. The latter enrol apprentices on the literacy test.
Stage 6	The professional organisation's training committee draws up the definitive list of apprentices admitted to the training and collects their enrolment fees.
Stage 7	Depending on the different categories established by the FAFPA, the professional organisation chooses the training college that best corresponds to the level of performance expected in the trade chosen.
Stage 8	The professional organisation's training committee drafts training requests made to the FAFPA.
Stage 9	The FAFPA finances up to 75% or 90% of the cost of the training (according to the ranking of the trades by different levels). It signs a delivery agreement with the association promoting the training and a service contract with the chosen training college.
Stage 10	The DNFP copies the documents and makes the training aids available to trainers, apprentices and employers.
Stage 11	The technical, general knowledge and literacy training is provided in the colleges.
Stage 12	The professional organisation's training committee and FAFPA co-ordinators ensure that the training is monitored and well-organised.
Stage 13	The DNFP organises, in collaboration with the professional organisations, the issue of certificates for those doing training and the awarding of end-of-apprenticeship certificates for those who have passed the final exam.
Stage 14	The training curricula are evaluated at the end by the professional organisations and the training colleges if necessary, the DNFP reviews them using the same process as the one established for their preparation at the beginning of the cycle.

Author: Swisscontact, adaptation AFD.

The stages of organisation of dual vocational training

These stages are defined according to a structured scenario,⁸⁴ which goes from needs analysis to the final curricula review. In many ways this scenario is very similar to the one used for Benin, but Malian professional organisations seem to have acquired more autonomy in the management of the whole process than their Beninese counterparts.

The current training and certification design model⁸⁵

Dual apprenticeship is aimed at young people who have not got further than the ninth year of school.

Entering apprenticeship

Professional organisations determine the number of young people to be trained in particular trades. Once identified, they sit the entrance exam. This is organised by the ANPE, which took over from Swisscontact in 2006. The educational prerequisites for sitting the exam differ for each trade (four years of education for woodworking trades, five years for hairdressing, six years for electrical professions, etc.). The exam mainly focuses on the candidates' level of literacy. If they fail, they may do the pre-apprenticeship cycle introduced by the craft sector organisations and Swisscontact and sit the test again. If they are admitted with an insufficient level of literacy, they take literacy lessons in parallel to technical lessons.

Training design and development

Once they start their training, the apprentices share their time between the master craftsman's workshop (80%) and training college (20%). The plan currently being approved for the metal construction sector gives a precise example of the breakdown of time spent at the different places of training.

84 The stages defined in the study are, with a few variations, taken from a Swisscontact paper.

85 The presentation of the whole dual scheme has largely been made possible thanks to the oral and documentary information provided by Swisscontact.

Figure 11.

Planned dual apprenticeship scheme in the metal construction sector in Mali**Share for by the different places of training**

Training to acquire practical work experience in the enterprise or workshop goes on for the whole duration of the apprenticeship, for at least four days per week.

The education provided at the vocational training college includes at least 648 hours of lessons, which are divided up as follows:

- professional knowledge: at least 544 hours;
- general knowledge: at least 104 hours.

Requirements concerning the training in the enterprise or workshop

Master trainers (mentors) trained for this purpose are authorised to train at least four apprentices. The master trainers (mentors) are responsible for passing professional skills (practice of the trade) on to the apprentices and for the follow-up of their training in accordance with this apprenticeship regulation. Qualified professionals may be considered as being a master trainer if they can prove they have at least five years experience of the trade and have successfully completed the master trainer (mentoring) training.

The minimum requirements set for college trainers, depending on the skills requested by the body in charge of the vocational training, are as follows:

- civil engineering and construction diploma, a BT diploma with at least five years professional experience in the metal construction sector and having successfully completed a trainer training course;
- a professional who has passed the end-of-apprenticeship exam in the field of activity defined in Article 1, with at least five years professional experience and having successfully completed a trainer training course;
- a local trainer from the profession concerned.

Author: AFD.

Assessment and certification methods

The college training is formally approved. The apprentices sit a test at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of each level of training. There therefore exists a form of continuous assessment of knowledge acquired during the theory training.

The lack of apprenticeship guides has hindered the structured progression of training in the workshop. This explains why the craftsmen cannot currently assess the apprentices. The work begun two years ago to produce these guides should help resolve this problem. These guides are being produced by a training design group set up by Swisscontact and seconded to the DNFP.

An exam is organised at the end of training and the apprentices who pass it receive a certificate from the college. Those who achieve the average may sit the national end-of-apprenticeship exam (CFA). Those who fail it must repeat the previous year if they want to sit the exam again. Success in the CFA is important because it ensures the level of qualification is recognised by collective agreements. However this recognition has still not been achieved.

The financing mechanisms

When the dual training was launched in 1989, Swisscontact financed the whole cost of the college training. It then asked the beneficiaries of the training to make a contribution of about 10%. As from the 1997, the FAFPA took over from the Swiss co-operation agency, taking on between 75% and 90% of the costs, with Swisscontact and professional organisations dividing up the rest. The FAFPA currently pays a standard amount of 90% of the costs. The ANPE covers costs of organising selection tests and certification exams, in line with its mission.

The financing of apprenticeship encounters two major difficulties:

- The FAFPA's capacity to meet the demand for financing the scheme. Although the State decided to give it 2% of the funds raised by the vocational training levy budget since 2007, it is not certain that the FAFPA has the necessary resources to fund the scheme's expansion and guarantee its long-term future. This would require the inclusion of a special budget allocated to the development of dual training in finance legislation, which is not the case at present;
- the burdensome nature of the procedures established at the outset by the World Bank. Even though the FAFPA is no longer subject to a burdensome and often ineffectual competitive bidding process and has introduced more flexible rules for allocating funds and setting up contracts between user craft sector organisations and training college service providers, the time lags between bids and decisions to grant funds are still too long, thus preventing the optimal development of dual apprenticeship.

According to the 2005 external evaluation, "the unit costs of training are still relatively high and comparable to those of technical and vocational education. This situation greatly hinders efforts to achieve the goal of progressively rolling out this sort of training. The issue should be made a greater priority so as to demonstrate the comparative financial advantages of this sort of training."⁸⁶ This view contradicts the opinion given in the 2001 study by the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), which evaluated the

86 PAA / Swisscontact Mali, Phase III (2005), *External evaluation*. Bamako.

costs in each subject area and place of training and concluded that “the training was inexpensive compared to the traditional CAP option.”⁸⁷

3.5.4. The strengths and weaknesses of the existing scheme

Several evaluation/impact studies give a critical insight into the extent to which the existing training scheme achieves its objectives. An IIEP report of 2001⁸⁸ gives a detailed description of the scheme introduced and evaluates the success factors and impediments. An impact study commissioned by Swisscontact in 2004 reviews all of the effects that the scheme has had on both stakeholders and beneficiaries, and assesses the progress that needs to be made. All of these studies demonstrate the interest aroused by the scheme and the promoters’ concern to use all possible means to incorporate it effectively into the institutional landscape. Lastly, a research project on the institutional aspects of the scheme conducted in 2005 carried out for the TVET Ministry and the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training⁸⁹ describes the strengths and weaknesses and gives an appreciation of its possible wider roll-out.

The views of the IIEP study

Among the success factors, the IIEP stresses that the project is very strongly anchored within the social reality of traditional apprenticeship, which means there are two immediate effects:

- it enhances the social role of the employers, whose role is to transmit their knowledge as best they can. Not only are they then considered to be a “good” employer, but they even derive an economic benefit: the best trained apprentices enable them to delegate and build customer loyalty with regular customers who are used to dealing with the employer only. Furthermore, the knowledge acquired

87 In 2001, the IIEP estimated the annual cost of an apprentice in automotive engineering to be 46,000 CFA francs in Bamako and 40,000 CFA francs in Ségou, Sikasso and Koutiala. It also noted that cost of training for a carpentry apprentice came to 132,000 CFA francs, owing to the high cost of working materials. However, the study did not give the comparative cost of the equivalent CAP training, which makes it difficult to estimate the potential comparative advantage of dual training in comparison to traditional college-based training.

88 Murtin, B. (2001), *op.cit.*.

89 Ballo, D. (2005), *op. cit.*

by the apprentices obliges the employers to keep themselves up to date by requesting and doing continuing training;

- it gives the professional organisations responsibility for determining the content and monitoring of training and thus for consolidating their structure and organisation and, notably, the role of their training committees. The professional organisations therefore become a credible partner for the State and other institutions.

The study also emphasises that the scheme's strength is based on the division of responsibilities and tasks between the different partners involved. It thus highlights the synergy of action between professional organisations (which define the skills standards and training content and initiate funding requests to the FAIPA), the training fund (which analyses and selects the professional organisations and monitors the scheme) and Swisscontact (which acts as adviser and provides support and additional funding for all of the project stakeholders and beneficiaries).

Observations made by the impact study commissioned by Swisscontact

A study commissioned by Swisscontact in 2004 adopts a quantitative and qualitative approach regarding the development of the dual apprenticeship scheme. Conducted on the basis of a survey of apprentices and craft workshop employers, the research identifies various points illustrating the results actually attained:

- the scheme took time to become operational. It was launched in 1989 but was only really expanded as from 1997 (830 apprentices enrolled on the scheme between 1989 and 1997, as opposed to 5,774 between 1989 and 2002). While it took time to build the scheme up, this was not enough to change the profile of apprenticeship in Mali, which continues to use the traditional approach;
- generally speaking, the training has had a positive impact on apprentices. Those who replied to the survey almost unanimously said that their responsibilities and professional awareness increased at the end of training. Similarly, almost all said they would advise others in their circle to do this training. However, this positive impact did not prevent demand from generally being lower than supply;
- the employers joining the scheme as master trainers also stressed the positive effects, notably improvements in the final quality of work (91.2%), meeting deadlines (80.7%), customer service (89.3%) and company organisation (73.7%). There

was thus a direct impact on workshop production and productivity, which was confirmed in terms of turnover (61% of employers said they had had a large or average increase in turnover as opposed to 39% who had had a slight increase);

- while the dual apprenticeship scheme is not at the origin of institutional reform, it has at least stimulated and accompanied it. The evaluation mission thus showed that increased awareness of the importance and role of apprentices and master craftsmen has gradually come to be reflected in the content of policy documents. Similarly, the Government has demonstrated its interest in developing the craft sector by creating, at the end of the 1990s, the Ministry for Crafts and Tourism and the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training, which has been entrusted with the responsibility for developing dual apprenticeship. Lastly, the FAFPA provides financing for initial and continuing vocational training activities, including those for apprentices and master trainers;
- however, the institutional impact has been limited in two main ways. The first concerns the lack of official recognition for the end-of-apprenticeship certificate: unlike Benin's CQP, it is not a national diploma and does not therefore constitute a possible pathway to the CAP diploma. The second is more general: by taking on less than 5% of apprentices effectively trained in the craft sector in 2002, the scheme is far from having a significant impact in terms of the sector's potential transformation.

The study emphasises the factors that give hope for the long-term sustainability of the scheme: the professional organisations grouped together into the FNAM have gradually come to take responsibility for selecting the professions and training content, and there is consistency in the intervention of the different stakeholders as well as the training design and development methods. However, these factors will only really augur well for the future if national institutions and professional organisations manage to take full responsibility and the craftsmen themselves become convinced of the benefits they can draw from their involvement in the dual system.

Overview of the 2005 report on TVET

The Ministries of National Education and Vocational Training commissioned a report on TVET in 2005 which summarises the different stakeholders' views on the strengths and weaknesses of the current system.

One of the weaknesses of dual apprenticeship is the fact that it has not been extended: the system only covers 10 of the 171 professions listed, is exclusively reserved for the craft sector and thus involves a group of apprentices representing less than 5% of potential beneficiaries. The system also suffers from a lack of financial resources, which prevents expansion. The study points out that professional organisations have difficulty paying their 25% share for levels of training other than the first (for which the FAFPA contributes 90%). It also refers to a FAFPA study that says the amount of the vocational training levy paid over by the tax authorities should increase from 0.5% to 2% in order to meet the system's funding needs. It also notes that the overall financing of dual apprenticeship is still too dependent on Swisscontact. Lastly, the report underlines the absence of established national bodies specialised in the design, development, monitoring and evaluation of the system.

These weaknesses are offset by some stability factors: identification of the sector's training needs by professional organisations, involvement of master craftsmen in the preparation of the skills profile and training content of the trades selected, and, lastly, co-operation between the public authorities, professional organisations, chambers of trade and commerce and the Swiss aid authorities to consolidate and develop dual training.

Data from the field survey

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The field survey helped to verify and update the conclusions of the different evaluations carried out between 2000 and 2005. It observed that certain recurring problems had not been resolved. Swisscontact, the FAFPA and the Mali Permanent Assembly of Chambers of Trades (APCMM) identified a list of possible improvements:

- to encourage employers to take account of apprentices' opinions and incentives in order to enrol them on the training, which would help reduce drop-out rates that are too high (the FAFPA), as pointed out by Swisscontact;
- to have the State cover the cost of training the most vulnerable young people, to avoid craftsmen having to forgo the training due to not being able to make the 25% contribution to the cost (the FAFPA and the APCMM);

- to disseminate the apprenticeship guides to workshops (the FAFPA and the APCMM); Swisscontact says these are currently being produced;
- to develop the legislative framework to regulate the system and define arrangements for dual training (the FAFPA and the APCMM);
- to create pathways between the CFA apprenticeship completion certificate and the qualifications of the formal system, and to have the CFA recognised by collective agreements (the APCMM and Swisscontact). This situation is notably due to the workshop training not being formally approved by the public authorities;
- to train administrative officials in charge of the system (the FAFPA);
- to set up training colleges in the regions, to permit the extension of the system across the country (the FAFPA) ;
- to reduce the length of apprenticeship, which is too long, similarly to what is happening elsewhere (the APCMM).

These potential improvements go hand in hand with the positive changes noted since 2005. For example, the proportion of the vocational training levy has been increased to 2%. It must simply be hoped that this increase does not lead to a decrease in the budget allocation, and that the levy will be collected more effectively than at present. Similarly, the training is being extended to the construction and food processing trades. The development of dual apprenticeship has been included in PISE II, which aims to ensure that the education system trains 2,000 apprentices each year (between 1,400 and 1,700 at present) by 2008, as well as 300 craftsmen, in other words more than double the number currently being trained. It is also planned to update apprenticeship workshops, which successive evaluations have noted for the poor quality of equipment, and to provide young people with help to set up in business when they finish their apprenticeship. Lastly, the APCMM and the FNAM have stressed the need to start accrediting prior experience, which should make it possible to recognise craftsmen's level of vocational qualification; however, the Government Decree establishing the arrangements for this validation has still not been published.

All of these factors show that the Mali authorities are fully aware of the limits and potential of the development of dual training. Everyone wants the apprenticeship system to improve the way it takes account of sectoral and local needs, and better integration of the vocational qualification acquired into the national certification and classification system.

However, mainstreaming the apprenticeship system in this way does not mean this is the only possible response to the qualification and training needs arising as a result of the economic situation and Mali's labour market. The field survey showed that, in parallel to dual training, national and international stakeholders are developing more flexible forms and modules of vocational training.

3.5.5. Towards more flexible and locally-adapted forms of training

The transformation of traditional apprenticeship into a dual system is one of the responses put forward by the partnership between professional organisations and the Swiss aid authorities to meet the need to stimulate small production and service units in the craft sector. Other schemes have been launched or are currently being instigated by the technical and financial international partners in co-ordination with the public authorities and, notably, the National Directorate for Employment and Vocational Training. They are designed to promote forms of training that are more flexible and closely aligned with the reality of local development needs.

Other dual training schemes

Two schemes—one supported by the French aid authorities and the other supported by the Luxembourg aid authorities—have proposed shorter apprenticeship periods and training methodologies that are more focused on the mentorship role of master craftsmen.

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For example, with help from the French aid authorities and the MEPF, the Guamina Association has developed a work-based skills development approach based on mentorship and delivered in both college and workshops. Craftsmen are given prior training in how to take apprentices on, and in the training techniques they will need in order to support them effectively in the workplace. The training lasts between six months and a year, depending on the apprentice's entry level. The dual approach will either entail periods of one or two weeks of college training per month, with the rest of the time devoted to work experience in the workshop, or a block of 45 days of college training during a total period of six months of apprenticeship. The actions run by Guamina have produced the following results:

- 1,510 craftsmen have been trained at professional and technical level in 13 professional areas;
- 92 mentors have supervised over 300 young apprentices;
- 870 young men and women have been trained in enterprise creation, management and organisation as well as in profitable and sustainable economic activities.

Aside from the systematic training of mentors finalised with help from the Bamako Maintenance and Construction Unit (UFAE/MP), Guamina has developed a method for the quarterly monitoring and assessment of apprentices enabling both trainers and mentors to validate their theory and practical progress and ensure the attainment of the target professional skills.

The concerted action of the Luxembourg aid authorities and the UFAE/MB has made it possible to develop, with the involvement of the professionals concerned, training contents and programmes in 13 professions (automotive repair, construction and civil engineering, electronics, clothes-making/design and food processing). It is proposing to train young people for professions identified according to where they live. The project gives priority to workshops where the craftsmen have been trained in mentorship and offers young people a training course lasting about one year (six months in the workshop, a month at college and then a further six months in the workshop). More broadly, it strengthens the craftsmen's skills in the technical, pedagogical and management areas. The project is financed by the Luxembourg aid authorities, with the FAFPA paying for the craftsmen's training.

The APEJ is developing short training courses in enterprises (a year of training with the enterprises covering training costs at the end of six months in exchange for a tax deduction). It is also introducing incentives in the field of apprenticeship. For example, it is giving inducements to master trainers who accept to take on young people and covers the apprentices' transport costs. It is also financing trainer training in order to train craftsmen in how to give apprentices pedagogical support.

Lastly, it is also worth mentioning the rapid skills development initiatives for young people launched by the Ministry of Youth with support from the FAFPA and the APEJ. They spend three months on campus and are trained to acquire various useful trades.

At the end of the three months, the trainees are given equipment to create their own business. The scheme is interesting because it evidently helps to compensate for the lack of professional skills among thousands of youngsters excluded from existing professional development schemes. However, according to people met locally, these young people are left too often to their own devices after the training, which reduces their chances of successfully entering the labour market.

Towards new forms of training focused on local development

The field survey showed that the decentralisation of vocational training schemes was one of the new policies promoted by both the public authorities in Mali and the bilateral technical partners. This policy—which is included in the 1998 Act stipulating the areas of competence of local authorities in the field of universal education—led to the Programme of Support to Decentralised Authorities for Participatory Development (ACODEP). In the framework of the CEDs, it has set up training centres for young rural people in 16 professional areas considered as being related to local development.

This vision of a decentralised scheme close to the ground has given inspiration for a new dual training project by the GTZ, which is in the process of being launched. It is introducing an apprenticeship scheme in rural areas which is based on the need for local people to develop professional skills in both the agricultural and craft areas. The aim is to develop modular training courses for craftsmen/farmers (100 days at most) and to introduce apprenticeship lasting at most two years, alternating between college training and workplace training (two weeks at college for two months at work). The project also plans to organise the scheme around the schedule of work in the fields. As far as financing is concerned, the German Ministry of the Economy will provide €1.1 million and the European Development Fund (EDF) will provide €0.4 million.

The Swiss aid authorities, who instigated the launch and development of the dual apprenticeship system, are also advocating projects focused on more modular, shorter and skills-based training. Their officials say a much more pragmatic approach should be adopted for the 900,000 youngsters in need of training and the regional assemblies should be given responsibility for managing this type of training. In this spirit the Swiss Directorate of Development and Co-operation (DDC) is working in the regions of Ségou and Sikasso. It is helping the regional assembly that is organising the process of

matching training demand and supply, and supporting the projects approved by the assembly further to an analysis of farmers’ and craftsmen’s needs. Discussions are underway regarding the possibility of establishing several types of activity: preparation for mine working, help for organising the mango processing industry and training for the construction trades.

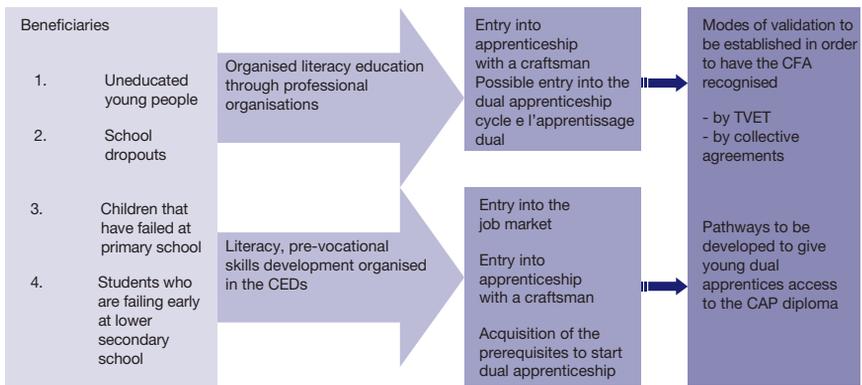
These various schemes are not of equal value because they have been developed at different levels: as part of national public policies, at the incentive of technical and financial partners or even at the incentive of local stakeholders. However, their wider roll-out reflects the growing will of these stakeholders to develop more flexible training schemes that are more targeted at specific beneficiaries or contexts and more adapted to the availabilities and financial possibilities of the promoters and beneficiaries. It also shows that dual apprenticeship cannot respond to all existing training needs. It is just one long-term way of meeting often urgent and highly varied skill needs.

3.5.6. In conclusion: towards an alternative form of continuing vocational skills development in Mali

In contrast to the other countries surveyed, Mali has a fairly comprehensive range of training options permitting uneducated youngsters and school dropouts to obtain a vocational qualification facilitating access to the labour market.

Figure 12.

Possible vocational skills development routes outside Mali’s TVET system



Author: AFD.

The existence of these options does not mean Mali has the beginnings of a postprimary vocational training system offering a credible alternative to routes that currently lead young people from primary school to lower secondary school and then to formal technical and vocational education. It simply means that there are some established structures or practices upon which it is possible to build a continuum of vocational skills training, even leading to qualifications, for the many young people excluded from the school system, either before the end of primary school, or at the junction between primary and secondary education.

However, it is not obvious how this continuum can be created. The evaluation of the effectiveness of CEDs shows that the relationship between functional literacy and pre-vocational skills development needs to be reviewed, as should the duration of all education and training cycles. Analysis of the literacy courses organised by professional organisations reveals a lack of resources: as the number of beneficiaries is limited, this option cannot become a credible alternative. Lastly, the lack of recognition and formal certification of qualifications acquired by the TVET system and the socio-economic partners reveals the extent of the task that still has to be accomplished.

Despite all of these drawbacks, Mali nevertheless has all the elements it needs in order to introduce a postprimary vocational training system for young people who are excluded from the traditional educational system.

3.5.7. Some concluding remarks on current restructuring

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The field survey opted to target its analysis on four West African countries that have fairly clearly demonstrated their desire to introduce an apprenticeship scheme and even a system that combines the continuation of apprenticeship in craft workshops with the development of dual training. This is the only way of helping young people take technological changes on board and adapt their products and services to the requirements of local markets that are increasingly open at regional, national and international level.

Other West African countries have begun the same process of transforming traditional apprenticeship. For example it would have been possible to analyse the situation in Ghana, where this sort of apprenticeship trains between 80% and 90% of

young people and has been a recognised part of vocational training policy since 2004. The TVET policy framework document adopted that year established a TVET Council that covers “informal apprenticeship” and plans to integrate the professional level reached at the end of training into the national qualification system.⁹⁰ It would also have been possible to look at the situation in Burkina Faso, where professional associations train apprentices (as the Electricians Professional Organisation does for installation standards in the construction industry). Similarly, the training fund (called FAFPA as in Mali) is supporting the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship.

Finally, it could have been possible to extend the field of analysis to Central Africa. Some references to the situation in Cameroon have illustrated the innovations introduced by the GIPA in order to adapt apprenticeship to youngsters’ initial educational level and introduce an approach to training and evaluation design that gives effective support to apprentices’ progress. A look at the situation in Congo shows two types of approach are emerging in the field of apprenticeship, through a project on socio-economic Reintegration through Community Apprenticeship (RAC): training at college and with a craftsman (offering support for the socio-professional integration of young people in urban areas and notably in Brazzaville) and dual training of young people for professions that enhance the economic and technological potential of local authorities located in rural areas and, above all, deep in the equatorial forest.⁹¹

This study does not therefore seek to exclude the other countries and regions of Africa. The survey and research work has simply opted to go into detail about the most advanced, best-tested and most committed schemes concerning the inclusion of this restructuring at the heart of the TVET system. The definition of structuring elements of these apprenticeship models could be used to help analyse and implement postprimary vocational training schemes for young people outside the formal system in all African countries and, more generally, in developing countries.

⁹⁰ Palmer, R. (2007), *Op.cit.*

⁹¹ A study on the RAC scheme will be made available in the framework of ADEA's 2008 biennial conference on postprimary vocational training.

From restructured apprenticeship to a mainstream postprimary vocational training system

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The description and analysis of the dual apprenticeship schemes in the four countries surveyed has made it possible to identify their main characteristics and evaluate the scope and the difficulties for consolidating and incorporating them within the overall existing vocational training system in the long term. It has shown that these ongoing traditional apprenticeship restructuring schemes in West Africa—notably in Benin, Mali, Togo and Senegal—are starting to create some postprimary vocational training systems that might in certain conditions be transferable to developing countries with a strong tradition of vocational skills development in craft sectors. They thus constitute an important field of analysis that can be used to help develop some credible responses to the questions at the core of this research:

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- in what conditions can this ongoing traditional apprenticeship restructuring help initiate vocational training systems to enable young people excluded from the education and training system to acquire knowledge and recognised skills and, more broadly, the personal and professional capabilities they need in order to enter the labour market successfully?

- what are the analytical parameters that should be applied to these systems in order to evaluate their long-term mainstream potential and, more precisely, their ability to constitute a credible training alternative for the young people for which they are responsible?

The answers outlined here are not supposed to be definitive. They simply seek to provide a framework for discussion and work for all stakeholders in developing countries who are seeking alternative skills development and qualification routes for young populations that have no access to the courses and resources of the formal education and training system.

4.1. The fundamental prerequisites for successful restructuring

The pilot schemes have all emerged in contexts and situations with some common characteristics: the development, by governing authorities, of political and strategic orientations that take a positive view of the informal sector's development capacity, increased awareness among craftsmens' professional organisations and micro-enterprises about their responsibility for members' vocational skills development, and the public authorities' conviction that vocational training for young people excluded from the formal training system is a priority and an essential area of investment.

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4.1.1. Restructuring is part of a positive vision of informal apprenticeship

The new forms of apprenticeship always emerge in contexts where the public authorities understand the importance of the informal economy and labour market and are aware of the need to find ways to develop and train both workers in informal production units and employees in modern enterprises.

The account of the emergence of the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship thus shows that it is inextricably linked to the radically new view its supporters advocate regarding the limits of formal vocational training as a way to prepare young people for the labour market and the unexploited potential of the informal sector as the main provider of jobs and vocational training for the same young people. There is no doubt

that the mainstream capacity of this new form of apprenticeship is primarily linked to its useful function, which is as economic as it is social and professional.

4.1.2. Restructuring requires leadership from professional organisations

It is difficult and even impossible to understand the emergence of dual training in the countries studied without emphasising the vital role that professional organisations play in introducing it. It is perhaps even fairer to say that there has been a mutual link between the attention these organisations have given to the training needs of their members and their involvement in the growth of dual apprenticeship.

Professional organisations must consequently be involved from the very beginning in the design and development of vocational training systems focused on work-based apprenticeship, under the overall responsibility of the State. Without this it is impossible to talk about the feasibility of such training, even less so its long-term future.

4.1.3. Restructuring requires national and international co-investment

Current pilot schemes in the four countries are the result of constant co-operation and partnership between professional organisations, national authorities and bilateral donors such as the Swiss, German, Danish and French agencies and organisations.

This intervention by international partners demonstrates a co-operation process that can be broken down into several phases:

- joint analysis of proven experiences of apprenticeship training in North countries in relation to the economic and social contexts of developing countries;
- national and international stakeholders jointly design the reforms that need to be made to traditional apprenticeship;
- the donors propose analysis and design methodologies that are largely drawn from tools used and validated at international level;
- the private and public stakeholders of the countries concerned appropriate the methodologies and tools imported for their own use;
- concerted definition by all of the national and international stakeholders of the schemes and methods of training to be developed;

- technical and financial support from donors for the piloting of the dual apprenticeship schemes thus defined;
- technical and financial support from the donors for the incorporation of the pilot schemes into existing education and training regulations and systems;
- the schemes become autonomous with the technical and financial support of international aid authorities.

These different phases have been modelled further to a retrospective cross-analysis of the introduction of the dual apprenticeship schemes. They firstly illustrate how the schemes initially came into existence: an examination of the performance of traditional apprenticeship based on what might be called benchmarking of its development potential in the light of international circumstances. They then show how national stakeholders progressively appropriate pilot schemes that are extensively supported by international partners and gradually translate this into regulations defining how to mainstream the pilot schemes. Lastly, they reflect a seemingly paradoxical situation: it is not because restructured apprenticeship is becoming an integrated element within the overall vocational training system that it no longer needs international development assistance.

Dual postprimary training schemes are at a stage of development and/or stabilisation that has not yet reached the point of no return in any of the countries concerned. Their long-term sustainability cannot be guaranteed by the countries on their own because they do not all have the financial or sometimes technical resources to ensure the process is fully completed. This can only really happen if more international development assistance is provided for the process engaged upon by national authorities to recognise these schemes as an integral part of the overall vocational training system.

4.2. The structuring factors of a viable and sustainable postprimary training process

The fields surveys clearly illustrated that restructured apprenticeship cannot really develop unless it is underpinned by the positive achievements of traditional apprenticeship and adapted to take account of technological changes and requirements of markets that are increasingly subject to international standards. They also showed

that the success of training is part of a scenario that, beyond borders between countries, requires a rigorous delivery process without which there is little chance of achieving the initial objectives. This scenario, which is the result of a cross-analysis of the schemes presented and analysed in this study, includes stages of organisation that are both essential and inherent to a postprimary vocational training process that would have as much chance as possible of becoming a mainstream, recognised and sustainable system.

Structuring factor No. 1

Restructured apprenticeship is part of an overall strategy for restructuring the TVET system

The analysis showed that the pilot schemes were all part of a national desire to adapt the TVET system to the realities of the economy and the labour market. Most of the time they stem from joint action taken by professional organisations and the technical and financial partners, bearing in mind that public authorities have mostly followed rather than led the process.

Current pilot schemes only really go beyond being just schemes when, as with project management, they are integrated into the quantitative and qualitative objectives of national policies. Without a minimum set of expected results and, above all, a clear definition of the human and financial resources required to achieve them, there is little chance that the initial innovation will acquire any sort of institutional legitimacy.

Structuring factor No. 2

Restructured apprenticeship requires concerted management by the partners

There is no doubt that the co-ordinated management of existing or future dual apprenticeship schemes is one of the stated values of the public and private stakeholders of the four countries concerned. The different stakeholders involved in this management are generally the same: national craft federations or the professional organisations representing the trade concerned, the technical and financial partners involved in the technical and financial design and development of the pilot scheme, the training fund that receives and selects training requests, the directorate of the ministry in charge of

apprenticeship and, if appropriate, the social partners involved in the training fund's management committee, etc.

The survey showed that while steering committees exist, much effort remains to be made to ensure they function regularly and actively. It also demonstrated that this partnership represented the only chance for restructured apprenticeship to meet the real needs of the economy while giving the public training system an opportunity to revise training content and methods that urgently need updating.

Structuring factor No. 3

Restructured apprenticeship prepares for strategic professions with good job growth potential

In all of the countries surveyed, the selection of professions to be covered by dual apprenticeship was decided after the professional organisations involved in the restructuring process had identified craftsmen's and micro entrepreneurs' training needs.

The field surveys showed that the professions selected were often those most exercised and requested by the most representative organisations, but not necessarily the most strategic in terms of local and sectoral development. However, they also emphasised the need to focus training courses more on types of activities and jobs with strong potential in terms of growth and market access. For example, while there are many dual training courses for common urban professions, few have been developed in the areas of food conservation and processing, refrigeration technologies, renewable energies or new information and communication technologies. However, in order to be useful in the medium term and become sustainable, these training courses must do their utmost to anticipate the qualifications needed to give young people real jobs in areas with good growth and development potential.

Structuring factor No. 4

Restructured apprenticeship entails the progressive regulation of its development

The situations in the four countries surveyed contrast greatly with one another on this point. Benin is the most regulated country, whereas Senegal, at the other end of

the scale, is only just starting its restructuring process and has not revised the legislative framework for apprenticeship that had been established before independence. The case of Mali reflects the difficulties encountered by a system that has not yet completely defined its operational rules.

However, this does not mean that legislative and regulatory measures have to precede the design and delivery of new forms and ways of training. This would be to ignore the role of such measures, which aim to give legal force to provisions or practices that have been deemed suitable, after experimentation, for roll-out to all potential beneficiaries. But it seems that a pilot process that is not progressively included within a certain number of rules applicable to all has little chance of being sustained in the long term.

Structuring factor No. 5

Restructured apprenticeship is accessible to youngsters who drop out of, or are failing at, school

Analysis of the categories of young people entering traditional apprenticeship clearly shows that it “rehabilitates” those that are illiterate, poorly-educated or deemed unable to succeed in the educational system. It also shows that most of them do not possess the minimum requirements to start dual apprenticeship (end-of-primary-school certificate or to have at least reached the penultimate year of primary school).

Faced with this situation, Mali and Senegal have introduced functional literacy and pre-vocational skills development curricula. Benin is setting up vocational development centres under the dual responsibility of the TVET Ministry and local authorities. Lastly, Togo is admitting young people into certain specialisations without requiring that they should have completed primary school.

These different examples reflect increased awareness in the four countries and, more widely, in developing countries, of the need to create real alternative education and pre-vocational skills development routes for several groups outside the school system, to enable them to acquire an initial recognised level of qualification. To develop dual apprenticeship means devoting the same amount of energy to the paths and resources that need to be developed so that those who are educationally and often economically most disadvantaged can access them.

Structuring factor No. 6

Restructured apprenticeship is part of a controlled training design and development process

One of the major contributions of traditional apprenticeship restructuring is to have enabled Benin and Mali to conduct a thorough analysis of working situations leading to the creation of a map of professional standards aimed for by the new dual training to be put in place. This analysis has helped the profession to take on the task of drawing up the skills standards that serve as the basis for preparing training standards and courses.

Bearing the various experiences in mind, it seems certain that having them do the task themselves is the best way to ensure consistency in the training courses developed and focus them on the professional skills at the heart of the trades to be acquired. This therefore constitutes a bonus factor, which will help to consolidate the restructured apprenticeship system.

Structuring factor No. 7

Restructured apprenticeship establishes an interactive relationship between theory and practical training

One of the major difficulties of the three dual apprenticeship systems that have been running for several years in Benin, Togo and Mali concerns the development of a relationship between general and technical college training and work experience in workshops. Although the initial training methodologies provide for a consistent approach to training in college and the workshop, this has been very difficult to develop.

The field surveys showed that the countries are having a far-reaching debate on the best relationship to develop between theory training and practical training. Underlying this debate is another regarding the effective role that the professionals can and must play in the renewal of traditional apprenticeship and, at a more institutional level, on the most appropriate way of training young people while simultaneously raising the level of professionalism of master craftsmen. In all cases, and whichever model the countries implement, it seems evident that nothing can be done in a sustained manner without having a stronger link than at present between the acquisition of professional skills in

the workplace and the strengthening of these skills by knowledge and know-how that is adapted to technological developments and international quality standards.

Structuring factor No. 8

Restructured apprenticeship leads to recognised qualifications that are based on a transparent skills assessment process

All of the ongoing pilot schemes share the fact that they aim to achieve, by the end of the apprenticeship cycle, a level of qualification that is recognised by the profession and, if possible, the national certification system. Benin and Togo award the CQP vocational qualification certificate at the end of dual training. Mali has introduced the national CFA apprenticeship completion certificate exam. Senegal wants the future restructuring to lead to the same CAP diploma as that awarded in the TVET system.

Whatever the differences between the countries regarding certification, the vital factor for ensuring the long-term sustainability of existing schemes will be their ability to validate, in the short and medium term, vocational skills as national qualifications that are recognised by all public and private stakeholders. Without this institutional legitimacy, the systems will always be fragile and above all incapable of imposing themselves as an integral part of the overall vocational training system.

Structuring factor No. 9

The effectiveness of restructured apprenticeship is evaluated in terms of its capacity to help people find jobs

Analysis of the different countries' restructuring in the field of traditional apprenticeship show that their main goal is to raise young people's skills levels in order to increase their chances of finding a job or some sort of work. It also shows that most existing pilot schemes are concerned about assessing their relevance with regard to the way they monitor and support apprentices at the end of training.

All past or planned monitoring and evaluation activities are a positive sign of the desire of restructured apprenticeship schemes to have an impact in terms of helping those trained to find jobs. In retrospect, this proves the relevance of their practices and basic

effectiveness. They are therefore essential to ensuring the constant improvement of results in terms of jobs found, and to justifying the legitimacy, as far as public and private stakeholders are concerned, of plans to roll out the schemes and embed them permanently within the overall vocational training system.

Structuring factor No. 10

Restructured apprenticeship must have realistic and sustainable financing

A close analysis of the financial mechanisms used shows that the schemes' financial sustainability in the short and medium term has practically never been thoroughly researched. While it is impossible to assess the consequences of this absence of realistic financial planning on these schemes' development, it can nevertheless be said that it constitutes one of the great obstacles to their growth and consolidation.

The support role played by the technical and financial partners in each of the countries (except Togo) currently makes up for the lack of budgetary and financial commitment from the public authorities. This is moreover often justified by the very fact that training funds use public funds made available for apprenticeship, due to the State's refinancing of part of the vocational training levy. In reality these funds are made up of contributions from the economic partners for training and retraining their employees. Neither the bilateral/multilateral donors nor the funds collected for apprenticeship or continuing training can, in the medium or long term, entirely replace the State's financial responsibilities in the field of young people's initial training.

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All of these examples highlight some of the great initial difficulties of the current pilot schemes: the lack of inclusion of their strategic and operational orientations in a realistic budgetary planning, the absence of any genuine calculation of the costs in comparison to other training options, and the lack of any real debate among all the partners on the modes of co-financing that could make the development of restructured apprenticeship viable, as everyone wants. They also reveal the paradox that exists between the desire of public authorities to mainstream apprenticeship into the overall initial vocational training system and their refusal to accept any subsequent financial responsibility. Until this paradox is resolved, it will be difficult to imagine mainstreaming this form of apprenticeship, even if the above-mentioned prerequisites are totally satisfied.

Taken together, these key factors constitute a roadmap for all stakeholders involved

in the restructuring of traditional apprenticeship in West Africa. This map, which is depicted in Figure 1, has been built on three levels: a close and comparative study of the real situation in the field, the gathering and interpretation of observations made by national stakeholders involved in the delivery of restructured apprenticeship, and an analysis of the initial results of evaluations or impact studies conducted. It must be interpreted differently for each country concerned because the situations in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo cannot be compared in terms of policies, resources and progress.

It might be useful to organise a debate between these four countries, as well as all those in West Africa that are committed to the same process, on how everyone is restructuring traditional apprenticeship and especially how they are planning to make it a stable and sustainable system of vocational skills development for young people seeking to enter the labour market.

Conclusion: giving priority to consolidating restructured apprenticeship

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The pilot schemes for restructured apprenticeship in Benin, Mali, Senegal and Togo constitute an initial attempt, in developing countries, to introduce postprimary vocational training systems for young people who do not meet the necessary requirements for entry into the formal TVET system. All are relying on the professional, cultural and social traditions of apprenticeship to transform it, without contesting it, into a form of training that adds the acquisition of theoretical and practical skills to the pedagogical approach of observation, initiation, participation and replication. These skills enable young people to keep up with technological changes and thus move on from the imitation stage to the adaptation and innovation stage.

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The experiences described all share some very strong common characteristics: the inclusion of restructured apprenticeship in national strategies on the restructuring of TVET systems, the leadership role of the professional organisations that in almost all cases define new professions and their related skills profiles, the support role of the technical and financial partners that provide both expertise and financing, the partnership between craft workshops and training colleges, the lack of significant funding support from the public authorities, and the lack of any analysis of the unit costs of training in comparison to the formal training system.

These experiences also present some specific characteristics, and even fairly strong differences in terms of their objectives and modes of delivery. For example, the schemes in Benin and Mali are being well-consolidated, whereas the process is at a standstill in Togo and barely underway in Senegal. Similarly, the degree of regulation varies strongly, from Benin, which has established a full legislative and regulatory framework, to Senegal, which is only at the innovation stage. The very concept of dual training has become deeply rooted in Benin and Togo, but is again coming up against alternance training projects in Mali, and is changing through the strengthening of the theory dimension in workshop-based skills development in Senegal. There are also differences in the way evaluation and certification of theory and practical training are dealt with: they are very integrated in Benin, very centred on college training in Mali, and almost exclusively focused on the validation of practical skills in Senegal. Similarly, the target levels of certification vary widely, from the CAP diploma in Senegal, to the CQP certificate in Benin and Togo and the CFA certificate in Mali.

This analysis of similarities and differences demonstrates the need for a number of priority initiatives to give these restructured apprenticeship schemes an optimal chance of being incorporated sustainably and effectively into the national vocational training systems.

Priority one: making restructured apprenticeship a top quality training option and fostering its development in promising professional areas that are equally accessible to women and men

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These schemes concern at most 5% of the professions identified in the four countries surveyed. Although they have a very positive impact in terms of image, this is currently limited to a very restricted field of economic activity and section of the labour market. As available budget resources do not give any hope for an extension of dual apprenticeship into a critical mass of existing professions, the schemes will only be consolidated as a result of their ability to raise young peoples' level of vocational qualification in existing professions on the one hand, and to increasingly target the training of these young people on promising professions and sectors in terms of growth and jobs on the other hand. More succinctly, the future of these schemes hinges on their capacity to become a top quality training option, notably by training young people for types and levels of skills and professional profiles that the countries will need in order

to develop. It will be important for the development of these training options and routes to take account of the low level of participation of young women in apprenticeship schemes, and a great effort should be made to ensure they have equal access alongside young men to training for strategic and promising professions.

Priority two: making restructured apprenticeship a recognised system of training and certification

The analysis shows that all the necessary pre-conditions have been met to permit the inclusion of dual apprenticeship within a coherent and complete training process through skills-based, dual training. However, it also highlights the difficulties encountered when completing this process. The various existing training schemes will only be consolidated when they become part of a clear sequence of steps to be achieved (see Figure 3).

The consolidation process requires each country to evaluate how effectively the current system succeeds in fulfilling all of these sequences. They must then establish an action plan and schedule to identify the steps that still need to be accomplished in order to complete the process of mainstreaming restructured apprenticeship.

It would also be good for each country to experiment with functional literacy and pre-vocational skills development schemes giving young school dropouts the possibility to fulfil entry requirements for the restructured apprenticeship schemes.

Priority three: demonstrating the financial sustainability of restructured apprenticeship

Although the costs of restructured apprenticeship are currently covered via the principle of multi-stakeholder co-financing, there is no pre-agreed position on the public-private funding ratio for this sort of apprenticeship. Nor is there any system of calculation that takes all the direct and opportunity costs of college training and workshop training into account.

The consolidation of existing schemes, which comes under initial vocational training and thus the responsibility of the State, cannot be achieved unless there is effective

budgetary involvement by public authorities in addition to the contributions made by the other partners already involved. It also requires that the various proponents of restructured apprenticeship introduce a system for estimating the annual unit costs of training for each specialisation and that they undertake a comparative analysis of these costs in relation to those incurred in formal education. Such analysis would ensure that the financial sustainability of apprenticeship with regard to available budgets and future budget programming serves as a further argument in favour of it, on top of those concerning its quantitative performance.

This demonstrates that it would be useful and indeed timely to encourage exchanges of ideas and joint work on these different priority actions involving public and private bodies from the different countries. Beyond specific national concerns, this could then lead to a far-reaching restructuring of vocational training for young people in the whole of West Africa.

Acronyms and abbreviations

ACODEP	Appui aux collectivités décentralisées pour un développement participatif (<i>Programme of Support to Decentralised Authorities for Participatory Development</i>)
ACS	Association des couturiers du Sénégal (<i>Senegal Clothes-makers Association</i>)
ADEA	<i>Association for the Development of Education in Africa</i>
AFD	Agence Française de Développement
AFPA	Association pour la formation des adultes (<i>French Adult Training Association</i>)
AGOA	<i>African Growth and Opportunity Act</i>
AGS	<i>Accelerated Growth Strategy (Senegal)</i>
AJA	Association jeunes action (<i>Youth Action Association</i>) (Mali)
ANPE	Agence nationale pour l'emploi (<i>National Employment Agency</i>)
APCMM	Assemblée permanente des chambres des métiers du Mali (<i>Mali Permanent Assembly of Chambers of Trades</i>)
APDA	Agence pour la promotion et le développement de l'artisanat (<i>Agency for the Promotion and Development of Crafts</i>) (Senegal)
APEFE	Association pour la promotion de l'éducation et de la formation à l'étranger (<i>Belgian training agency</i>) (Belgium)
APEJ	Agence pour l'emploi des jeunes (<i>Youth Employment Agency</i>) (Mali)
BAA	Bureau d'appui aux artisans (<i>Craftsmens' Support Bureau</i>) (Benin)
BEP	Brevet d'études professionnelles (<i>Vocational education diploma</i>)
BEPC	Brevet d'études du premier cycle (<i>Vocational education certificate</i>)

BT	Brevet de technicien (<i>Technician diploma</i>)	
CAP	Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle (<i>Vocational training qualification</i>)	
CAQ	Certificat d'artisan qualifié (<i>Skilled Craftsman Certificate</i>)	
CCP	Certificat de compétences professionnelles (<i>Vocational competence certificates</i>) (<i>Senegal</i>)	
CEAA	Collège d'enseignement artistique et artisanal (<i>College of Artistic and Crafts Education</i>) (<i>Togo</i>)	
CED	Centres d'éducation pour le développement (<i>Development Education Centres</i>) (<i>Mali</i>)	
CET	Collège d'enseignement technique (<i>Technical Education Colleges</i>) (<i>Togo</i>)	
CFA	Certificat de fin d'apprentissage (<i>End-of-apprenticeship exam</i>)	
CFP	Centre de formation professionnelle (<i>Vocational training college</i>)	
COFPA	Cellule opérationnelle de la formation professionnelle dans le secteur de l'artisanat (<i>Operational Unit for Vocational Training in the Craft Sector</i>) (<i>Mali</i>)	
CONFEMEN	Conférence des ministres de l'Éducation des pays ayant le français en partage (<i>Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking Countries</i>)	
CPMA	Centre professionnel mécanique auto (<i>Automotive Mechanics Skills Development College</i>) (<i>Mali</i>)	
174	CQM	Certificat de qualification au métier (<i>Professional skills certificate</i>) (<i>Benin</i>)
	CQP	Certificat de qualification professionnelle (<i>Apprenticeship completion certificate</i>)
	CRETF	Centre régional d'enseignement technique féminin (<i>Women's regional technical training college</i>) (<i>Senegal</i>)
	CRETFP	Centre régional d'enseignement technique et de formation professionnelle (<i>Regional Centre for Technical and Vocational Education</i>) (<i>Togo</i>)
	CTB	Coopération technique belge (<i>Belgian Technical Co-operation</i>)
	DANIDA	<i>Danish International Development Agency</i>
	DDC	Direction du développement et de la coopération (<i>Directorate of Development and Co-operation</i>) (<i>Switzerland</i>)

DECC	Direction des examens, des concours et des certifications <i>(Directorate of Examinations, Competitions and Certification)</i> <i>(Togo)</i>
DERP	Direction des études, de la recherche et de la prospective <i>(Directorate of Studies, Research and Forward Planning)</i> <i>(Togo)</i>
DETFP	Direction de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle <i>(Directorate of Technical Education and Vocational</i> <i>Training)</i> <i>(Togo)</i>
DGA	Direction générale de l'apprentissage <i>(Directorate-General for</i> <i>Apprenticeship)</i> <i>(Senegal)</i>
DIPIT	Direction de l'inspection pédagogique et de l'innovation technologique <i>(Schools Inspectorate and Technological</i> <i>Innovation Directorate)</i> <i>(Bénin)</i>
DNFP	Direction nationale de la formation professionnelle <i>(National</i> <i>Vocational Training Directorate)</i> <i>(Mali)</i>
DPETF	Dossier programme d'exécution technique et financière <i>(Technical</i> <i>and Financial Programme Delivery Paper)</i> <i>(Senegal)</i>
DPRE	Direction de la planification et de la réforme de l'éducation <i>(Directorate for Educational Planning and Reform)</i> <i>(Senegal)</i>
DQFP	Direction de la formation et de la qualification professionnelle <i>(Directorate for Training and Vocational Qualifications)</i> <i>(Benin)</i>
EDF	<i>European Development Fund</i>
FAFPA	Fonds d'appui à la formation professionnelle et à l'apprentissage <i>(Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Financing Fund)</i> <i>(Mali)</i>
FAFPE	Projet d'appui à la formation professionnelle et à l'emploi <i>(Vocational Training and Employment Support Project)</i> <i>(Mali)</i>
FENAB	Fédération nationale des artisans du Bénin <i>(Benin National</i> <i>Federation of Craftsmen)</i>
FENAPH	Fédération nationale des professionnels de l'habillement du Sénégal <i>(Senegal National Federation of Clothing Professionals)</i>
FNAFPP	Fonds national d'apprentissage, de formation et de perfectionnement professionnels <i>(National Apprenticeship,</i> <i>Training and Vocational Skills Development Fund)</i> <i>(Togo)</i>
FNAM	Fédération nationale des artisans du Mali <i>(National Federation of</i> <i>Malian Craftsmen)</i>

FODEFCA	Fonds de développement de la formation professionnelle continue et de l'apprentissage (<i>Continuing Vocational Training and Apprenticeship Development Fund</i>) (Benin)
FONDEF	Fonds de développement de l'enseignement technique et de la formation professionnelle (<i>Technical and Vocational Education and Training Development Fund</i>) (Senegal)
GIPA	Groupement interprofessionnel des artisans du Cameroun (<i>Cameroon Interprofessional Association of Craftsmen</i>)
GTZ	<i>Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit</i>
ILO	<i>International Labour Organization</i>
IPUs	<i>Informal production units</i>
LETPE	Lycée d'enseignement technique et professionnel (<i>Technical and Vocational Secondary School</i>) (Togo)
MDGs	<i>Millennium Development Goals</i>
MEFP	Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Formation professionnelle (<i>Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training</i>)
MESFP	Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Formation professionnelle (<i>Ministry for Higher Education and Vocational Training</i>)
MESFTP	Ministère des Enseignements secondaires et de la Formation technique et professionnelle (<i>Ministry for Secondary Education and Technical and Vocational Training</i>)
MESR	Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la Recherche (<i>Ministry for Higher Education and Research</i>)
METFP	Ministère de l'Enseignement technique et de la Formation professionnelle (<i>Ministry of Technical Education and Vocational training</i>)
METP	Ministère de l'Enseignement technique et professionnel (<i>Ministry of Technical and Vocational Education</i>)
OEF	Observatoire de l'emploi et de la formation (<i>Employment and Training Observatory</i>) (Mali)
ONFP	Office national de formation professionnelle (<i>National Office for Vocational Training</i>) (Senegal)

PAA	Programme d'appui à la formation professionnelle dans les métiers artisanaux (<i>Programme to Support Vocational Training in the Craft Trades</i>) (Mali)
PAFPNA	Projet d'appui à la formation professionnelle des néo-alphabétisés (<i>Project to Support Vocational Training for the Newly Literate</i>) (Senegal)
PAFTP	Projet d'appui aux formations techniques et professionnelles (<i>Technical and Vocational Training Support Project</i>) (Benin)
PAO/sfp	Partenariat pour l'apprentissage et l'ouverture du système de formation professionnelle (<i>Partnership for Apprenticeship and Opening Up the Vocational Training System</i>) (Senegal)
PARCES	Programme d'appui au renforcement de la compétitivité de l'économie sénégalaise (<i>Programme to Support Increased Competitiveness of the Senegalese Economy</i>)
PCFP	Projet de consolidation de la formation professionnelle (<i>Vocational Training Consolidation Project</i>) (Mali)
PDEF	Programme décennal de l'éducation et de la formation (<i>Ten-Year Education and Training Programme</i>) (Senegal)
PISE	Programme d'investissement pour le secteur de l'éducation (<i>Investment Programme for the Education Sector</i>) (Mali)
PPET	<i>Postprimary education and training</i>
PRODEC	Programme décennal de développement de l'éducation (<i>Ten-Year Education Development Programme</i>) (Mali)
PROMECABILE	Organisation des professionnels de l'automobile, de la mécanique générale et de la métallurgie (<i>Senegalese Organisation of Automotive General Mechanical Engineering and Metal Work Professionals</i>) (Senegal)
RAC	Réinsertion par l'apprentissage communautaire (<i>Reintegration through Community Apprenticeship</i>)
RNUAS	Recensement des unités de production artisanales (<i>census of crafts production units</i>) (Senegal)
ROME	Répertoire opérationnel des métiers et des emplois (<i>Operational Directory of Professions and Jobs</i>) (France)
TVET	<i>Technical and Vocational Education and Training</i>

UFAE	Unité de formation d'appui aux entreprises (<i>Enterprise Support Training Unit</i>) (Mali)
UNACOIS	Union nationale des artisans, des commerçants et des industriels du Sénégal (<i>National Union of Craftsmen, Traders and Industrial Workers of Senegal</i>)
UNCM	Union nationale des chambres des métiers (<i>National Union of Chambers of Trades</i>)
UNICEF	<i>United Nations Children's Fund</i>
UNDP	<i>United Nations Development Programme</i>
USCP	Unité de suivi et de coordination (<i>Project Monitoring and Co-ordination Unit</i>) (Senegal)

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