



The University of Birmingham
The School of Public Policy
International Development Department

**The Compound Model of Vocational Education in
a Service Economy: A Case Study of Servol,
Trinidad and Tobago**

Matthew Gallagher
Student Number: 661472
MSc Poverty Reduction and Development Management 2004/5
Dissertation Supervisor: Dr. John Watson

Submitted October 7, 2005
Word Count: 11,967

Acknowledgements

The academic necessity of completing this dissertation has been at once a daily pedestrian chore and a continually exhilarating endeavour.

It is upon myself which I place blame for the doldrums of the former.

For the peaks of the latter, it is necessary to focus some spotlights.

To Jeff, Emma, Matiss and Bethany: Each one of you continues to be an inspiration to me. Your friendships and support brightened the grey days of Birmingham.

To Mom: Your understanding of, patience with, and support of my dreams know no bounds. I haven't the words to express my thanks.

To Dad: From an early age, you taught me to think historically and critically. I hope you see a little bit of your inspiration in the following pages.

To Naomi: I have a lifetime together with you to express my thanks. Let me start by saying you're pretty good with those maps and tables...

And to John Watson: It was an absolute pleasure to simply sit and listen to your methods of critique and process of thought. I am grateful for your quick comprehension of my ideas and your always superior suggestions. Thank you for being a wonderful mentor.

Executive Summary

This dissertation investigates the effectiveness of including a behavioural component in a Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programme to better address the needs of the developing service economy of Trinidad.

The policy of TVET provision has been a favoured strategy for engineering social and economic change. The high expectations were drawn from the success TVET provision enjoyed as a response to industrialisation in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Implementation of TVET programmes under the banner of modernisation theory subsequently endeavoured to create industrialised economies in the developing world. This entailed a fundamental switch in the policy of TVET provision: from one of economic response to one of economic creation. Poor performance of these projects caused disillusionment with TVET's ability to produce economic progress.

Successful provision of TVET historically lies in its being a policy of economic response, not economic creation. The rise of the service economy in the developing world provides TVET a fresh opportunity for appropriate economic response. It does so by training at-risk youth in the very skills required by a service economy. The organisation of Servol has developed within the growing service economy of Trinidad. They have preserved the traditional vocational skills training that characterises TVET programmes, but have paired it with an Adolescent Development Programme to address the issues plaguing at-risk youth and to meet the needs of the service sector.

This is Servol's compound model of vocational education. It consists of a mandatory 3 ½ month Adolescent Development Programme which focuses on the acquisition and strengthening of the behavioural and attitudinal skills needed to be successful in a changing workplace and a vocational skills programme which operates according to prevailing economic trends.

A survey of all the stakeholders in the programme was taken in order to achieve the broadest overall impression of the value of compounding behavioural and attitudinal skills with trade skills. The stakeholders include the Servol students, the Servol graduates and the employers of Servol graduates.

The majority of Servol students attending ADP realised personal growth by addressing and overcoming personal issues. Also apparent was their refined and

polished communication skills. Both of these gains condition the ability to access and secure work and will benefit the student in their search for successful and sustainable employment.

The graduates of Servol's compound model indicated their experience was a positive one and shared optimistic outlooks on their lives years after graduation. Both the male and female graduates attributed these feelings to various behavioural and attitudinal changes. The ADP training therefore successfully imparts the values it attempts to instil in its trainees.

Interviews with employers of Servol students revealed that positive work habits and behavioural skills are just as, if not more, important for potential employees to possess than vocational or technical skills. Employers in the service sector do not view vocational training as a requirement for employment in their companies, although it is beneficial, but rather they are ultimately seeking youth who are punctual, hard-working, and able to interact positively with fellow workers.

Based upon the positive response from Servol students, graduates and employers, the ADP portion of the compound model must be regarded as an essential ingredient for a TVET programme responding to a growing service sector.

Furthermore, the current technical skill modules offered by Servol are only those which are relevant to Trinidad's prevailing economic trends and have been customised based upon employer input. In doing so, Servol has set up a programme that maximises the probability of graduate success. Additionally, by including trial run training periods for its students, it allows employers to 'test drive' potential employees. These strategies amount to Servol providing a value-added service to employers. Essentially, Servol has become a service in itself and it has proven itself to be a shrewd and able player in the service sector.

The replication of Servol's programme in seven other countries is testament to its success. However, because of each country's own unique characteristics, there are no easy answers in the creation of programmes working with at-risk youth in particular, and towards the reduction of poverty in general. But there are fundamental approaches that can be taken to ensure TVET success in a growing service economy. An educational model that pairs behavioural and technical skills that respond to employer input and prevailing economic trends will best assist youth in attaining sustainable and successful employment.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Executive Summary.....	3
Abbreviations.....	6
Chapter 1. Introduction and Literature Review.....	7
1.1 A Brief Background History of Vocational Education.....	8
1.1.1 The Formalisation of TVET.....	9
1.2 Modernisation Theory and TVET.....	11
1.2.1 TVET’s Failed Role in Economic Creation.....	11
1.3 Globalisation and the Rise of the Service Economy.....	13
1.3.1 TVET and the Service Economy.....	13
1.4 Conclusion.....	14
Chapter 2. Methodology.....	16
2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Stakeholders.....	16
2.2.1 The Servol Administration.....	16
2.2.2 The Servol Students.....	17
2.2.3 The Servol Graduates.....	17
2.2.4 The Employers of Servol Graduates.....	18
2.3 Methods.....	18
2.4 Limitations.....	18
Chapter 3. The Context of Servol Amid the Backdrop of Trinidad.....	20
3.1 Servol’s Beginnings.....	20
3.2 The National Context.....	21
3.2.1 The Economic Context.....	21
3.2.2 The Social Context.....	23
3.3 Organisational Structure.....	24
3.4 Accreditation.....	26
3.5 Funding.....	26
3.6 Student Intake.....	27
Chapter 4. The Case Study of Servol.....	29
4.1 The Motivation of the Compound Model.....	29
4.2 The Development and Implementation of the Compound Model.....	30
4.2.1 The Adolescent Development Programme (ADP).....	30
4.2.2 The Skills Training Programme.....	32
4.3 The Stakeholders.....	35
4.3.1 The Servol Students.....	35
4.3.2 The Servol Graduates.....	38
4.3.3 The Employers of Servol Graduates.....	43
Chapter 5. Conclusions.....	46
5.1 Research Aims.....	46
5.2 The Effectiveness of the Compound Model in a Growing Service Economy...47	47
Bibliography.....	49
Appendix A: An Illustrative List of Services.....	55
Appendix B: List of Initial Requests for Information from Servol.....	56
Appendix C: Template of Questions for Servol Students.....	57
Appendix D: Questions for Employers of Servol Graduates.....	58
Appendix E: Questions to Graduates of Servol.....	59
Appendix F: Servol Statistical Information.....	60

Abbreviations

ADP	Adolescent Development Programme
AGM	Annual General Meeting
CEE	Common Entrance Exam
CIA	U.S. Central Intelligence Agency
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DFID	U.K. Department for International Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
STP	Skills Training Programme
TT	Trinidad and Tobago Dollars
TTCSI	Trinidad and Tobago Coalition of Service Industries
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Chapter 1. Introduction and Literature Review

There is now global agreement that poverty reduction is the overarching goal of development policy. The signing of the Millennium Development Goals by 149 countries at the Millennium Development Summit in New York in 2000 set the central objective of halving world poverty by 2015, thus ending an era where mere economic growth was embraced as the development community's main objective. In the current drive to successfully achieve the Millennium Development Goals, "all agree that the single most important key to development and to poverty alleviation is education" (World Bank 2004). With regards to the current relationship between formal education and the overall growth of underdeveloped countries, few controversies rage more vehemently than the debate upon the benefits of the provision of technical and vocational education and training (TVET) to the youth in the developing world (see Foster 1966 for an early debate on the topic, and Silberman 1986, Bennel and Segerstrom 1998, Psacharopoulous 1997 and Hyslop-Margison 2001 for current debate). In a social context, provision of vocational education is a favoured policy for engineering change. It is seen as "a policy instrument to keep youth out of city streets...as a means to raising their income...and has been offered as a viable option to those primary or secondary school students who are being judged unable to pursue academic studies" (Psacharopoulos 1997, p.386). Implicit in the social policy approach is that TVET is called upon to solve multiple objectives: from being a preventive policy guarding against social exclusion to clearing urban areas of street kids. In an economic context, these same disadvantaged youth are trained in a manual skill and then, upon graduation, released into a labour market where they are expected to quickly become competitive and productive members.

The policy of providing TVET to the disadvantaged youth of the developing world is clearly challenged by several diverse objectives and naïve expectations. The reality is that "*at best*, vocational courses are expected to provide students who are not college bound with minimal training for low-status jobs at entry level" (Silberman 1986, emphasis is mine). Yet, in order to continue to allow education to be the vanguard in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, this reality must not be a confirmation to abandon the policy of TVET provision wholesale. It must serve as the motivation to begin an investigation of why TVET was initially deemed an appropriate policy solution. It must be the impetus to embark upon a new debate on

the implemented model of TVET amid the context of current social and economic conditions. It must push us to understand what aspects have worked successfully in TVET and preserve them, and to also research past shortcomings and respond constructively in order to build a dynamic TVET model that is responsive to prevailing social and economic contexts.

Box 1. Definitions

Due to indiscriminate use of terms, UNESCO (1984, p.23-24) intended to establish a generally acceptable terminology in the field of technical education. These definitions follow, along with some concluding remarks about their use in this dissertation.

Vocational Education: Education designed to prepare skilled personnel at lower levels of qualification for one or a group of occupations, trades or jobs. It is usually provided at secondary level, includes general education, practical training for the development of skills required by the chosen occupation and related theory. The proportions of these may vary considerably but the emphasis is on practical training.

Technical and Vocational Education: A comprehensive term referring to the educational process when it involves, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related sciences and the acquisition of practical skills and knowledge relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life.

Technical and Vocational Training: More specialised in nature and more practically oriented than TVE. It is distinguished by its dedication to developing the particular skills and related knowledge required by a specific occupation or group of occupations.

In a sense, these are artificial constructions. Indiscriminate use still continues in current academia, and therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation, the encompassing term ‘Technical and Vocational Education and Training’ (TVET) will be adopted to foster broad inclusion of texts. TVET will be understood to include the comprehensive aspects of the practical skills and knowledge needed for general workplace success and the specialised skills and knowledge needed for trade proficiency.

1.1 A Brief Background History of Vocational Education

A look at the historical beginnings and subsequent policy implementation of TVET will provide background on the current objectives and expectations the policy faces. TVET’s formal history begins with the industry-led economic growth of a rapidly urbanising England during the 18th and 19th centuries of the Industrial Revolution. In

1520, England's urban population stood at around 5.5% of its total population. By 1700, this percentage had jumped to 17%; by 1801 it was 27.5%; and by 1840, fully 48% of England's population was urban-based (Wrigley 1985, p.700)¹. Factories and their need for manpower fuelled the urban explosion. Their unquenchable thirst for raw materials and, in turn, need for overseas markets, in addition to overt technology sharing, advantageous geography, et al., spurred Industrial Revolution aftershocks in most of the current 'Westernised' countries (Cantor 1989, Diamond 1997). Indeed, Pennsylvania coal transported by newly built canals fuelled America's Northeast mill and factory construction explosion of the 1840s and 1850s (Foner and Garraty, 1991). Desirous of a bi-coastal trade partner, Commodore Perry flexed America's naval might to instigate Japan's Meiji Restoration in 1868, subsequently inducing a controlled Industrial Revolution which saw Japan move from an isolated and undeveloped country to an advanced industrial nation, with eyes on imperialism, in the time span of one generation (Agov 2005).

1.1.1 The Formalisation of TVET

Prior to the Industrial Revolution, the apprenticeship system and the home had been the main sources of non-formal vocational education (Columbia Encyclopaedia 2005). With the comprehensive economic changes unleashed by industrialisation, alongside sweeping social changes brought on by large-scale urbanisation, newly industrialised societies were forced to develop more formalised systems of vocational education. Formalisation of vocational education became a prominent topic of discussion in these societies as schools struggled to meet the new labour force requirements consistent with the shift to an industrial economic base (Wirth 1972). The theory was to create workers who could enter the workforce in response to the burgeoning need for skilled human capital in response to this unprecedented economic change. Examples will now illustrate this phenomenon further.

¹ Wrigley admits that all of these numbers are subject to a 'substantial measure of uncertainty' (p.684). He explains that their sources are various and the percentages were arrived at by inflating and adjusting raw data which covered only a portion of the total population. This is due mostly to the fact that the first census was not taken until 1801, and these numbers were shaky at best since they were gleaned from tax figures and incomplete parish registers. Despite this, the data reflects undeniable urban growth which can be cross-referenced and triangulated through historical texts and primary accounts; a task outside of the realm of this dissertation.

Germany quickly followed up its rise to industrialisation in the late 1800s by creating its “elaborate system of trade and industrial schools, which were calibrated closely with the specialised needs of industry and commerce” (Kantor 1986, p.404).

In America, the idea had “sparked a flurry of changes designed to adapt the schools to the needs of the workplace” (ibid., p.401). In 1862, the Morrill Act was passed, and the U.S. government donated portions of public lands to each state as a permanent endowment for a university that would emphasise the study of agriculture and the ‘mechanical arts’² (Goble 2003). In 1917, The U.S. government signed the Smith-Hughes Act into law, which guaranteed federal funding for vocational education programs, but more importantly allowed for the opening of dialogue which aimed to create a “vocational training model that responded directly to the specific labor force needs identified by industry” (Drost 1967, as quoted in Hyslop-Margison 2001)³.

In England, it was the Industrial Revolution which finally impelled the state onto its slow road of providing a national education system, because “industry required much more than limited reading skills acquired through moral catechism” (Benn and Chitty 1996).

In the cases of the newly industrialised economies of the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and Japan, TVET curriculum was clearly informed by the desires of the industry sector and therefore consisted of simple skills training (see Cantor 1989 for a comparative study of these early curricula). The burden to provide appropriate TVET in response to economic change in all these cases understandably meant that input from the industries was accommodated. There needed to exist a prior understanding of what skills were essential to be taught in order to inform and create appropriate curriculum content. Foster (1966, p.150) remarks that this thought process meant that the “schools have been shrewdly used as the gateway into the emergent sector of the economy”. Also implicit in all of these approaches is that to maintain industrial economic growth, an area in which our example countries enjoyed immense

² These universities are now known as ‘Land Grant Colleges’.

³ Of particular interest are the contrasting views of Snedden and Dewey, with specific reference to their debates on class stratification and social predetermination. A notable account of these debates can be found in Tanner and Tanner (1980). These early debates did much to impact subsequent TVET laws passed by the American government leaving a legacy of the current vocational educational system in the States.

success, the policy of TVET provision must be one of economic response⁴. This is a crucial point which will now be discussed further.

1.2 Modernisation Theory and TVET

Modernisation theory arose with the successful rebuilding of the ravaged economies of post World War II Europe under the direction of the Marshall Plan. It worked so well that an opportunity was seen for the developed world to facilitate sustainable development in the underdeveloped world. The World Bank, with the majority of its funding and voting power in the hands of the developed world, spearheaded the effort. By the early 1980s, fully 25% of its almost \$500 million education budget was devoted to funding TVET projects (Bennel and Segerstrom 1998, p.271). By 1996, this percentage share had fallen to a mere 3% (ibid, p.271). Further disillusionment with TVET can be seen in the policy's complete absence in the Millennium Development Goals; a dominating preference being given to achieving universal primary education (World Bank 2005). A major evaluation of World Bank funded TVET programmes in Colombia and Tanzania in 1984 concluded that, both in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, purely academic secondary education achieved better outcomes in both countries (Psacharopoulos and Loxley 1985). Additional work by Psacharopoulos (1987, World Bank 1995a) did much to inform the Bank's preference for traditional forms of education, primarily due to higher social rates of return and, later on, the education policies and practices of the high performing Asian economies⁵.

1.2.1 TVET's Failed Role in Economic Creation

The World Bank's turn away from using the funding of its donor countries to finance TVET projects is not surprising. Bennel and Segerstrom (1998, p.272) concluded that

⁴ This statement should not be interpreted to presume that TVET was the sole driving force behind an industrialising economy. Factors such as the advent of Ford's assembly line, Whitney's concept of interchangeable parts, pre-existing infrastructure, etc. were all important, among which skills training has its rightful place. A fascinating account and more exhaustive list of factors favouring sustained industrialisation can be found in Diamond's 1997 book, Guns, Germs and Steel.

⁵ Social rates of return measurements have been an important tool for the World Bank in determining the effectiveness and efficiency of TVET programmes versus traditional education systems, and have wielded large influence over funding decisions that desire 'most bang for the buck' research input. For further explanation and method of measurements see Bennel's (1995) Rates of Return to Education in Asia: A Review of the Evidence, and (1996) Rates of Return to Education: Does the Conventional Pattern Prevail in Sub-Saharan Africa?.

“poor performance of a sizeable proportion of Bank-funded TVET projects, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, during the 1970s and 1980s was a key factor in shifting opinion in the Bank against TVET provision”. The work of Middleton and Demsky (1989, p.79-80) resolved to pinpoint the reasons for TVET’s poor performance in Sub-Saharan Africa and offered the following shortcomings: 1) Small modern sectors with stagnant employment markets 2) Inaccurate manpower forecasts 3) Few linkages with enterprises 4) Weak employment demand 5) Implemented TVET institutions that are inflexible in the face of changing economic circumstances. Middleton and Demsky (p.81) make the obvious conclusion that “The principal lesson to be drawn from the analysis is that economic circumstances have great impact on the success of VET investments”.

But a deeper conclusion can be drawn. The implementation of World Bank TVET projects in the hopes of creating sustainable development in the underdeveloped world completely switched TVET’s emphasis from one of economic *response* to one of economic *creation*. The flaw of this logic from an economic growth standpoint was summed up best by Foster’s influential 1966 article ‘The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning’:

“To put the issue more colloquially, in the initial stages technical and vocational instruction is the cart rather than the horse in economic growth, and its development depends upon real and perceived opportunities in the economy. The provision of vocational education must be directly related to those points at which some development is already apparent and where demand for skills is beginning to manifest itself” (p.153)⁶.

This conclusion undoubtedly stems from societal scepticism as well. From my own experience as a teacher, students are remarkably realistic and soon become doubtful of the value of education if they see it providing inappropriate skills and knowledge. It follows that the vocational and occupational aspirations of students are almost exclusively determined by external and non-school factors (see Bowman 2002). Quite simply, if vocational schools offer training in skills that show no relevance to potential students’ outside world, there is no reason to expect students to attend.

⁶ Foster’s conclusion evokes the debate of endogenous versus exogenous economic growth theory in trying to explain the income divergence between the developed and the developing worlds. See Schumpeter’s work on ‘creative destruction’ in Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy for the endogenous argument on behalf of local entrepreneurs. See the various works of Solow for the exogenous argument centring upon the concept of diminishing returns.

1.3 Globalisation and the Rise of the Service Economy

The developed world's ambition of implementing TVET schools in the developing world in hopes of creating a pool of human capital to create a sustainable industrialised economy was without prospect and, with regards to their own history of industrialisation, a non-critical and unreflective approach. The roots of TVET's success lie in responding to economic trends and not in their creation. It is in this context that the policy of TVET provision will now find renewed appeal and worth. By definition, services are "a diverse group of economic activities not directly associated with the manufacture of goods, mining or agriculture. They typically involve the provision of human value added in the form of labour, advice, managerial skill, entertainment, training, intermediation and the like" (OECD 2000, p.7, for an illustrative list of services, see Appendix A.).

The rise of globalisation has seen the service industry expand rapidly in the past two decades. Compared with about 55 percent in 1980, the service sector contributed almost two-thirds of global GDP in 1996, and one-fifth of the value of world exports (World Bank 1998). In the developing world, low and middle income countries with the strongest growth rates in the past two decades were generally characterised by a strong growth in the service sector and an expanding trade in services (World Bank 1998). Indeed, the developing countries' exports of services grew at an average annual rate of 12 percent in the 1990s, twice as fast as those from industrial regions (World Bank 1998). The rise of the service sector in the developing world shows us that the economic change is not only desired but is being embraced. The sector's growth in the developing world clearly offers a new opportunity for TVET programmes to respond to a blossoming economic trend.

1.3.1 TVET and the Service Economy

The definition provided for the service industry aims to clearly set it apart from the manufacture and extraction of goods. It therefore follows that a TVET curriculum appropriate for the growing sector will be markedly different than that of the simple skills training provided in response to industrialisation.

The focus of the service sector is on person-to-person interaction. Its existence within a global economy will additionally brand the sector as an extremely dynamic one, demanding continuous adaptation in response to changing global markets. The OECD (2000, p.36) concludes that, "a comprehensive education policy, emphasising

multidisciplinary and lifelong learning, is key to developing such capital”. Therefore, the enrichment of human capital needs to move beyond simple skill training and incorporate these demands.

Box 2. The Failure of Project Help

From September 1998 to July 1999, your author ran Project Help in Carriacou, Grenada, a 9-month programme for girls aged 15-19 that had failed out or had been kicked out of school and subsequently found themselves living on the street. Thirteen girls spent a few hours each day learning typing and tailoring skills, along with basic maths and literacy. Upon successful completion of the programme, *zero* girls transferred their new skills into a paid secretarial or tailoring position. Follow-up with employers that had interviewed the girls for paid positions revealed a wholly different reason for the school’s failure: While they undoubtedly had gained an employable skill, their attitudes toward authority and regimented work weeks, formed from early failures in academia and years of living on the street, had not changed. The girls remained unemployable. Simple skill training was not enough to ensure successful entrance into the service sector.

1.4 Conclusion

In spite of the vague curriculum needs of a service-oriented TVET programme, there is an absence of explicit data on the nature and composition of the curriculum. The skills attractive to the service industry need to be identified since “increasingly the skills and capabilities of workers are keys to economic success in an increasingly integrated and competitive global economy” (World Bank 1995b, p.36). TVET programmes need to reflect these needs.

This dissertation will explore how one vocational education programme, Servol, has addressed the needs of the service economy in order to respond to the opportunities the sector offers. It does so through a compound model of vocational education: 1) a mandatory 3 ½ month Adolescent Development Programme which focuses on the acquisition and strengthening of the behavioural skills needed to be successful in a changing workplace, and 2) a vocational skills programme which operates according to prevailing economic trends. According to Servol, the addition of a behavioural skills programme, based on conduct adjustment and attitudinal improvement, will address the larger issue of the changing economic climate, while also satisfying the multiple objectives of current TVET programmes. If all the stakeholders in the

employment process agree upon the concepts behind the approach, success has been achieved.

Behavioural skills may have always been important for success in the workplace, but due to the rising service economy, they are more important now. A TVET programme that organises an appropriate response to the demands of the service industry will positively influence its expansion in the developing world and aid in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. It is therefore essential to get this right. This is the motivation of the dissertation.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The primary research objective was to investigate the effectiveness of including a behavioural component in a TVET programme to better address the needs of the developing service economy of Trinidad. In order to achieve the broadest overall impression of the value of compounding life skills with trade skills, it was necessary to survey all the stakeholders in the Servol programme.

2.2 Stakeholders

A stakeholder is a person, group or institution that has an interest in a policy (DFID 1997). This includes intended beneficiaries and intermediaries, winners and losers, and those involved in or excluded from the decision-making process (ibid.). What follows is a breakdown of the Servol stakeholders, and the pertinent questions that needed to be discussed with each in order to arrive at some valid conclusions on the primary research objective.

2.2.1 The Servol Administration

Initial research aimed to determine what exactly the compound model of vocational education is. Relevant questions included:

- Why was a behaviour-based model even introduced?
- Upon what assumptions is it based?
- What is the curriculum and how was it chosen?
- Why does Servol believe their model is appropriate?

The answering of these questions and the addressing of these assumptions helped to build a model of Servol's compound approach to TVET.

Once the crucial point of the conceptual beginnings of the compound model was tackled, the situation of its implementation was addressed. Primarily, this centred upon what Servol actually does to create students that will be broadly marketable and specifically attractive to employers based in the service economy.

2.2.2 The Servol Students

Responses from the students on the value of the behavioural component of Servol were particularly important because this is the aspect of the course that adolescents would find it difficult to be positive about. Pertinent questions included:

- Do students see the behavioural component as a necessary part of the Servol model?
- If given the choice, would they have preferred to skip the Adolescent Development Programme and simply learn the technical skills?
- What do they see as the best benefit of the ADP? Are there areas in which they would like to see improvement?

Both the successful and unsuccessful students and their views must be addressed in order to construct a complete view of the Servol model in the students' eyes.

Similarly important was to make sure that the students are not merely telling me what I wanted to hear. Care was taken to disclose that their comments would only be divulged in an academic paper, and would not be shared with their teachers, parents or guardians. Their answers were then cross-referenced with other stakeholders to ensure the integrity of their answers. Overall, the students were quite open to discussion, and the content of the responses obtained indicate a high level of cooperation and honesty.

2.2.3 The Servol Graduates

The need for the behaviour component necessarily required comment from those that have passed through the Servol model and now have the wisdom gained through employment experience and time to pass judgment upon its relevance. Important questions included:

- Do Servol graduates attribute their current employment and success to the compound model?
- How much of their achievement do they attribute to the behavioural component and how much is due to the technical skills they garnered?
- Do they still use the skills imparted to them during ADP?
- Would they recommend the compound model to Trinidadian youth that have failed out or have been kicked out of the school system? Why or why not?

2.2.4 The Employers of Servol Graduates

The most telling evidence of the necessity of the behavioural component in a TVET programme would be the testimony of the people who elect to hire the Servol graduates. Marketing each student for quick and successful employment is Servol's raison d'être. Quite simply, if employers in the service sector saw the need for a behavioural component in a TVET programme, it is undeniably needed.

To make a sound judgment on this point, core questions included:

- Do employers make hiring decisions based on the fact that a Servol student has completed the ADP in addition to acquiring a technical skill?
- What value do employers place on the fact that the graduates have completed an attitude and behaviour based development programme in addition to a skills development programme?
- Do employers of Servol graduates see the ADP as necessary for an employee's success?

A survey based upon a cross-section of employment genres entered by Servol graduates, endeavoured to capture as wide a range of occupations as possible.

2.3 Methods

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the key stakeholders. A strictly ordered questionnaire was deemed too rigid and would present literacy problems for many of the students. Instead, the questions stated above were formed into a broad checklist to guide the interviewer and to permit the interview to be directed by the responses given by the interviewee. Fluidity and spontaneity characterised the approach. The series of questions endured constant revision as I became aware of additional issues and where the phrasing was deemed to be difficult to comprehend. Further comments on the methods of research gathering will be explained under each stakeholder heading in Chapter 4.

2.4 Limitations

The field research took place between July 6th and 23rd. Upon my arrival, I was soon informed that the Servol programme shuts down entirely for 6 weeks of summer vacation, commencing on July 16th. This understandably important fact was withheld from me during my pre-trip correspondence with Servol. I quickly changed my research plans to make the most of the initial 10 days by concentrating this time on

interviewing the soon departing Servol staff and students. The final 13 days were spent tracking down Servol graduates and employers. This latter task was made immeasurably difficult not because of the lack of Servol assistance, but by the complete absence of archived tracking material kept by Servol regarding its graduates and their ensuing employment. The reasons and implications of this crucial deficiency will be discussed during the case study of Chapter 4.

Furthermore, a bomb exploded in downtown Port of Spain on July 11th, injuring 16 people. Hurricane Emily brushed the northern portion of Trinidad on July 13th, causing major flooding problems in the coastal capital. Each event shut down the city for two days, effectively erasing four days of potential research.

Nevertheless, it was possible to complete a significant investigation, and particular thanks must be expressed towards Allison Wilson, the Public Affairs Officer of Servol, and Jean Griffith, author of a tracer study of Servol graduates entitled 'To Handle Life's Challenges', for their continued assistance and advice upon the summer closure of the Servol programme.

Chapter 3. The Context of Servol Amid the Backdrop of Trinidad

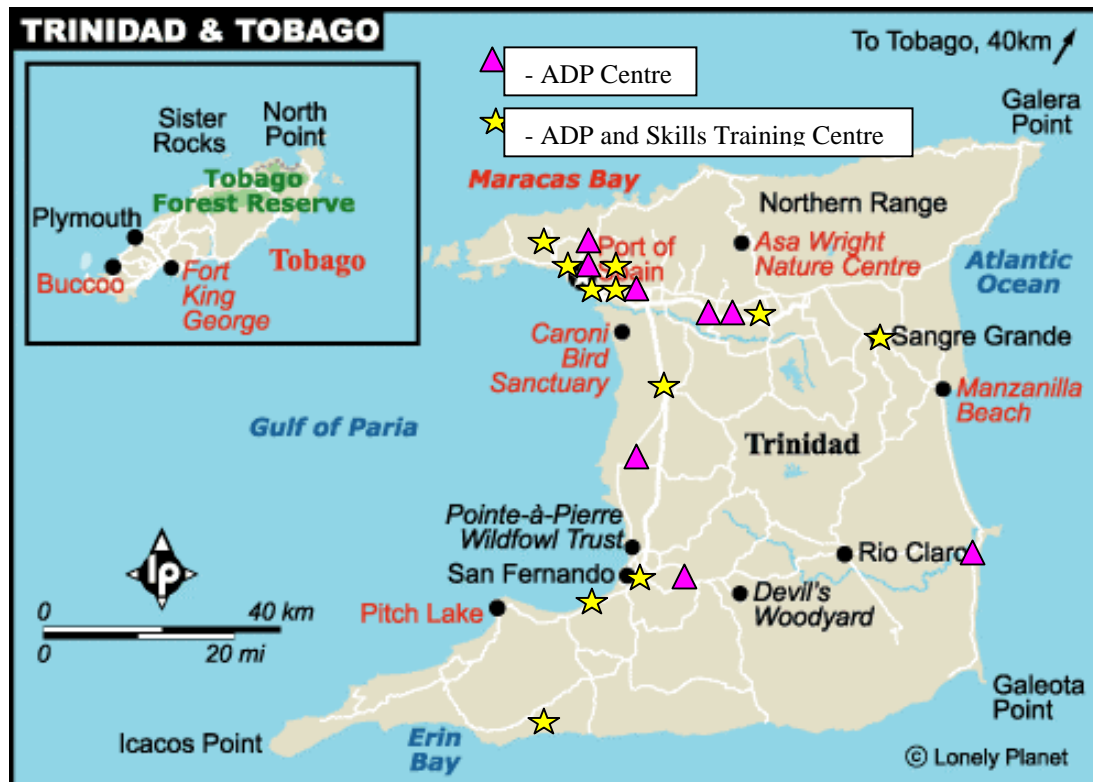
3.1 Servol's Beginnings

Service Volunteered for All (Servol) was born in the aftermath of Trinidad's social revolution of 1970. High unemployment, increasing levels of poverty and generally deplorable social conditions spurred spontaneous marches of protest to "give voice to the grievances of the people" (Pantin 1979, p.4). Gerard Pantin, a Catholic priest, and Wes Hall, a West Indian fast bowler, teamed up to begin a dialogue with residents of Laventille, the slum area of Port of Spain which had served as the main stage of the protests. Nobel poet Derek Walcott lyrically illustrated Laventille to be "like Rio's favelas, with snaking, perilous streets... This is the height of poverty for the desperate and black" (Walcott 1965). Venturing into the slum, the team began a series of informal chats that always began with the question, 'How can we help you?', which Pantin cheerfully acknowledged meant that they knew nothing about the problems of the people or how to solve them (Servol 2000). The approach can be described as participatory; they listened to the answers of the poor before they decided to act. Servol proudly boasts of their 'philosophy of ignorance' so that "engagement with the poor is on their terms, in response to their expressed problems and needs" (Guttman 1994, p.6). The tactic yielded a common theme: the plight of the idle youth. The most common response Pantin and Hall received were pleas to "help our 15-19 year old children who have either not succeeded in getting into a secondary school or have dropped out of secondary school or who have finished their schooling but are unable to find employment" (Servol 2000). These responses given during the fallout of the social revolution of 1970 laid the groundwork for the Servol that operates today. The initial outcome was an adolescent development and skills training centre for 15 to 19 year-old at-risk youth centred in the Laventille slum. The success of this compound approach to creating employable youth has resulted in nationwide replication. Servol currently operates 11 centres that run the Adolescent Development Programme (ADP) and Skills Training Programme in conjunction, and 8 centres that run the Adolescent Development Programme alone⁷⁸. The nationwide coverage is testament to the

⁷ The cost of machinery and equipment has limited the expansion of the Skills Training Centres. Students attending a school which only runs the 3 ½ month ADP module must then transfer to a school with a Skills Training Centre upon completion. Servol assists the students in finding jobs to offset the increased travel costs.

effectiveness and desirability of the compound model, especially since one of the main shortcomings of programmes targeting at-risk youth have been “relatively low coverage rates; that is, they reach a small portion of the target population” (Barker and Fontes 1996, p.8).

Map 1: Servol ADP and Skills Training Centre Locations



3.2 The National Context

In order to properly understand the environment in which Servol operates, the current context of Trinidad must be understood.

3.2.1 The Economic Context

Oil and natural gas dominate Trinidad’s economy. The 1973 oil crisis spurred the country to rapid industrialisation and more recent offshore finds has increased production. The country also refines and exports Middle Eastern oil and is the leading supplier of liquefied natural gas to the United States (CIA 2005).

⁸ Servol’s success has expanded into additional areas as well. As of this writing, a Servol staff of approximately 500 professionals also run 165 Early Childhood and Parent Outreach Centres, 9 Junior Life Centres and 4 Hi-Tech Centres.

This ability to rely on the oil and gas sector to create economic growth means that tourism, while also a growing sector, is not proportionately as important as in the other Caribbean islands (ibid.). Tables 1 and 2 give a breakdown of Trinidad’s economic makeup.

Table 1: GDP Composition by Sector

Agriculture	2.7%
Industry	47%
Services	50.3%

(CIA 2005; 2004 estimate)

Table 2: Labour Force by Occupation

Agriculture	9.5%
Manufacturing, Mining and Quarrying	14%
Construction and Utilities	12.4%
Services	64.1%

(CIA 2005; 1997 estimate)

These numbers show that while a large majority of Trinidad’s Gross Domestic Product is acquired in the industry sector, only a small share of the population benefit from employment within the sector. Furthermore, the high wages paid by the sector means that its current expansion and growth will continue to attract graduates of higher education, further marginalising the poorer population that can not afford to compete (World Bank 1995c). In essence, the poor of Trinidad have placed themselves outside the possibility of employment in the industrial sector. Instead, the expanding service sector’s heavy reliance upon human capital offers hope for the poor (see Annex A for an illustrative list of jobs in the service sector). Along with the oil and gas industry, the service sector “is being seen as an engine of economic growth and sustainable development” (Government of Trinidad, Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI), 2004). Associations and lobbying organisations in the service sector have recently formed themselves into the Trinidad & Tobago Coalition of Service Industries (TTCSI). The new coalition’s goal is to work towards “the further development of a vibrant services sector in Trinidad and Tobago” (MTI 2004). By disseminating vital economic information to stakeholders and pursuing partnerships, TTCSI will provide support for the expansion and growth of the following sub-sectors of the Trinidadian economy: construction; transport and communication; infrastructural activity such as water and electricity supply; distribution of goods; financial and insurance services; real estate; tourism and travel related services; government, business and professional services (Trinidad Guardian, 6th April, 2005).

Table 3: Trinidad Service Sector Economic Growth, by year

2000	+5.6%
2001	+1.9%
2002	+3.1%
2003	+4.2%
2004	+2.9%

(Central Bank of Trinidad, 2005)

Trinidad's service sector growth parallels the rest of the Caribbean economies. The island governments' promotion of the service economy aim to "re-create the comparative advantages lost in the manufacturing sector in the 1980s under structural adjustment reforms and in the 1990s under the North American Free Trade Agreement" (Webb 1997). Table 4 shows that the service sector's share of the overall Caribbean economy is indeed growing.

Table 4: GDP Composition in the Caribbean, by sector

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Agriculture	11.4	10.4	6.9	11.9	10.6	9.9
Industry*	30.1	34.1	28.4	22	29.2	21.3
Manufacturing	15.9	11.9	9.6	14	11.7	11.8
Services	42.3	43.6	55.1	52.1	48.5	57
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*-Includes Mineral Extraction and Chemical Production

(Mullings 2004, p.277)

Again, however, it must be stressed that despite the prospects the service sector holds for the less educated, appropriate skills are still necessary for hiring and success within the sector. The attainment of these skills is the key for the continued growth of the sector and the motivation behind Servol's compound model. The nature of these skills will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.2 The Social Context

Trinidad's population is currently 1.2 million people. Three quarters of the population is urban-based. Setting itself apart from other Caribbean countries, which are dominated by populations of African descent, is the makeup of Trinidad's people: 40% are of African descent, 40% of East Indian descent, and the remaining of mixed descent (CSO 2003b). The Afro-Trinidadian population has traditionally lived in

urban areas and are employed in the public sector, while Indo-Trinidadians have been located in the sugar producing areas of rural southern and central Trinidad and are largely employed in business and agriculture (World Bank 1995c). Political parties run alongside ethnic lines but, while trying to promote a front of national unity, prejudice based upon unresolved race issues continue to separate.⁹ The incidence of poverty is highest in households headed by persons of mixed race (27.4%), followed by households headed by Afro-Trinidadians (24.8%), and Indo-Trinidadians (17.4%) (ibid., p.7-8). Unemployment rates across ethnic groups also follow a similar pattern (ibid.). Half of the unemployed of Trinidad are between the ages of 15 and 19 (UNDP 2001).

Servol's framework undertakes the staggering chore of putting a dent in these numbers. The problems confronting Servol in 2005 compared with 1970 "are different in degree rather than in kind" (Guttman 1994, p.7). Father Pantin laments that in Trinidad,

"The deterioration in family life has worsened, joblessness and crime have increased, community spirit has been eroded by individualism and selfishness, and drugs have graduated from marijuana to cocaine" (ibid.)

Despite the bleak picture being painted, the traditional Caribbean characteristics of laid-back cheerfulness still ring true in Trinidad. Archbishop Desmond Tutu described Trinidad as a 'rainbow country' due to its ethnic make-up and its peaceful and harmonious nature (Trinidad Guardian, 30th April 2004). It is an optimistic view which its inhabitants will need to call upon for continued social and economic progress.

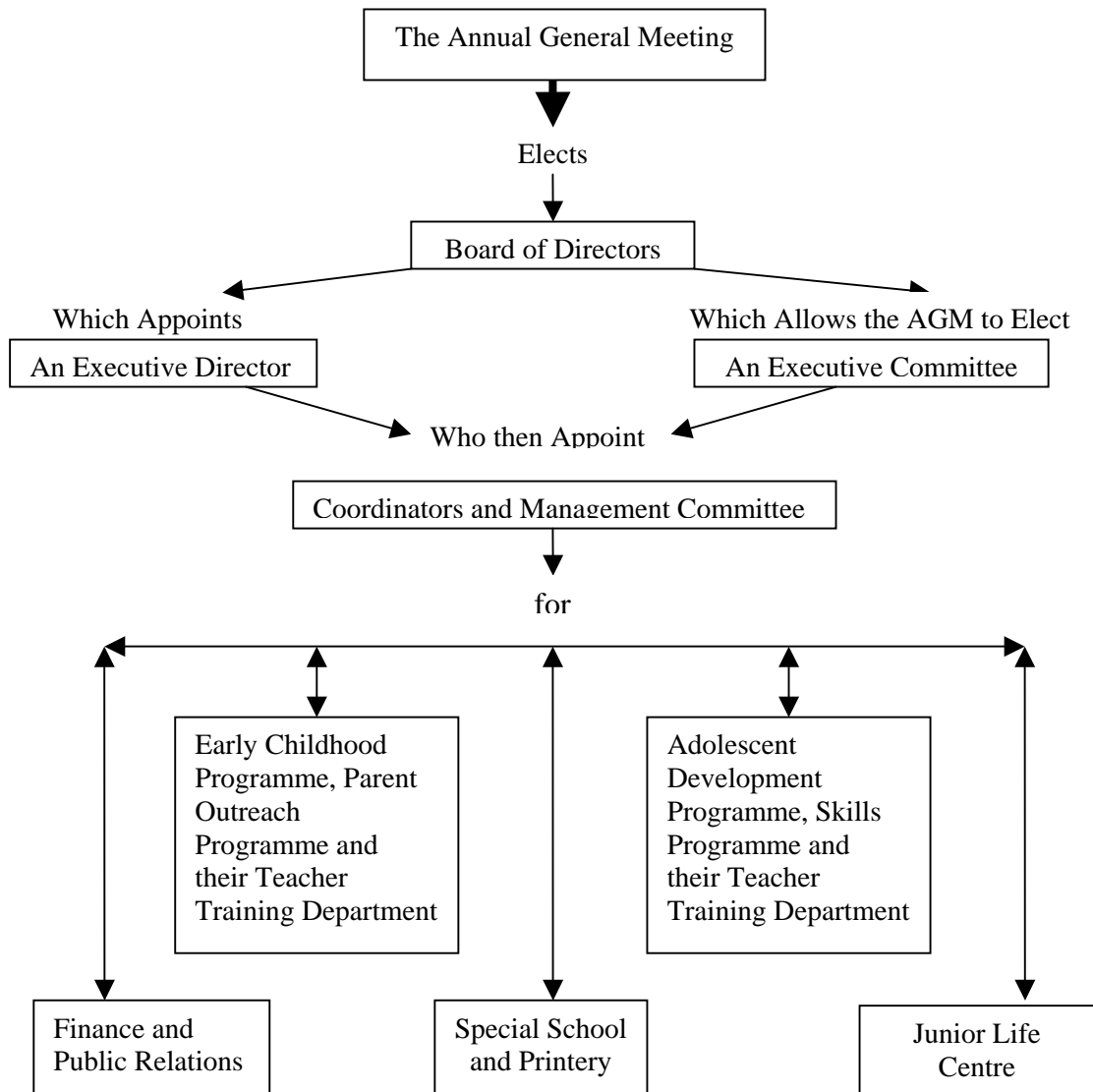
3.3 Organisational Structure

The 19 centres which Servol runs have achieved nationwide coverage. The Programme Managers, Skills Instructors and ADP Teachers are all trained centrally at the Servol Regional Training and Resource Centre and then continue their training as 'student-teachers' at the Beetham Life Centre, both in Port of Spain. Upon completion

⁹ Race relations in Trinidad are complicated but public discussion is open. Black Trinidadians are descendants of African slaves, and when the slave trade ended in 1833, East Indians were brought in to work the sugar plantations as indentured servants. With the ending of the colonial plantation economy, blacks were the majority in the urban areas, and the Indian population dominated rural areas. For a colourful debate on the current state of race relations in Trinidad, see Linda Edwards' article 'A Friendly Guide to Identify a Trini' in Trinidad and Tobago News, 7th September 2005, and Leslie's 'Blind Patriotism is Dangerous' in Trinidad and Tobago News, 8th September 2005.

of their training, they move to their individual schools. A decentralised structure has developed, and each centre is run locally, with little direct input from Servol Headquarters. There are Directors for the North, Central and South regions of Trinidad to coordinate area efforts and disseminate information from Servol Headquarters. Sr. Ruth Montrichard, current Executive Director of Servol, revealed to me that she visits each of the 19 centres only about once a year. She conducts each visit unannounced. The reason behind the laissez-faire approach is confidence in Servol's training and the understanding that the flexibility allows each centre to respond to local economic trends instead of following a rigid template.

Diagram 1: The Servol Organisation



(Taken from Servol 2001, p.27)

3.4 Accreditation

In 1986, the Ministry of Education approached Servol with a request of partnership that would replicate their successful ADP model throughout Trinidad (Montrichard 2004). The approach was spawned mostly through the embarrassing publication that TVET programmes run by the Ministry carried a 40% dropout rate, a full 35% more than Servol's model (Guttman 1994). Essentially, the Ministry opted to outsource its responsibilities to save face, but still maintained the ability to provide input because of its provision of fully half of Servol's budget (see section 3.5). Servol once again pursued the expansion through a participatory approach, running a countrywide campaign to invite interested communities to apply for approval. The invitation resulted in the government-funded construction of Adolescent Development Centres across Trinidad. Partnership with the Ministry is important because it meant that graduation certificates issued by Servol became officially recognised, easing the transition into the business world and even seeing approximately 10% of graduating students annually allowed return to secondary school despite earlier failures or dropouts (Guttman 1994).

3.5 Funding

In order for Servol to continue to enjoy sustainable success and afford to continue its efforts, it has decided to tackle the problem of its dependence upon external funding. Currently, its budget stands at around TT\$10 million (approximately US\$1.6 million). The partnership created with the Ministry of Education garners half of this sum, which is used to pay teacher salaries.

Servol has capitalised on its foundation as a skills-based programme. One-quarter of their budget comes from productive activity; jobs are done on contract for individual customers and businesses. For example, each centre has a nursery since many of Servol's young women are already mothers. But each nursery is also run by those enrolled in the Child Care Skills Training Programme as a child care centre, which allows mothers not attending Servol to drop off their children each day, giving them the freedom to work.

The students are required to pay nominal fees of the equivalent US\$9 each month to contribute to operating costs, but also to engender them with budgeting skills. SERVOL assists the poorer students in finding weekend jobs to cover the fee. In 1991, Servol decided to set up an endowment fund which as of 2002 boasts US\$2.5 million (Inter-American Development Bank 2002). The fund has been built up principally by the contributions of Trinidad's private and public sectors¹⁰. The overall intention was to make Servol independent of foreign assistance by the turn of the century (Servol 2000). Upon questioning, this laudable goal has not yet been reached, but continues to be the overall aim.

3.6 Student Intake

The school system of Trinidad is based upon the precedence of its former British colonial masters. The “colonial elite acted as a reference group for aspirations...and demand for education was understandably oriented to the acquisition of that kind of education that was perceived to be the key to European-type occupational roles” (Foster 1966, p.146). This conservative approach replicates the historical assumption that control of society is best carried out by a group of well-educated elites. Dyer (2002, p.421) notes that, “wide discrepancies between the knowledge children gain from school, and its relevance or usefulness in their daily lives, are part of this pattern of schooling”. Schools in the poorer areas of Trinidad suffer the most from the conservative set-up: “the teaching methods are often ineffective, there is a lack of adequate or appropriate instructional materials, and school conditions are unsatisfactory” (World Bank 1995c, p.44). Furthermore, poor students have a hard time affording textbooks, transport to attend classes daily and the tutoring needed to secure high marks on the Common Entrance Exam (CEE) which secures placement into secondary school. The reality is that, although school attendance for the 5-12 age group is mandatory in Trinidad, only 28% of poorer students will remain in school by the time they reach the age of 16 (ibid., p.46). If we view adolescence as a time when a young person develops the personal and vocational traits and skills to function in a modern society, then this preparation time is seriously compromised for out of school youth.

¹⁰ Companies supporting Servol's endowment fund include: National Petroleum Co., the Natural Gas Co., Neal and Massy Insurance Company, Angostura Ltd. Principal overseas contributors include the Bernard van Leer Foundation of the Netherlands and Save the Children (Guttman 1994, Servol 2001).

It is from this pool of at-risk youth that the majority of Servol students come. A child must be at least 15 years of age for admittance to the programme, but there are no prior educational requirements. Allison Wilson, Public Relations Director for Servol summed up a typical Servol class as “doorstep arrivals, Ministry referrals, siblings of Servol students, secondary school behavioural expulsions and Junior Life Centre graduates¹¹ ...and we give every one of them a chance”.

Every student is first interviewed with a parent or guardian, and then interviewed one-on-one in order to understand their personal motivation for attendance. Commitment to Servol’s compound model ensures entrance. Few are turned away, although some may have to wait a few months for admission due to high demand.

¹¹ The Junior Life Centre was instituted by Servol in 1992 to serve the 13-15 year olds who had not received entrance into secondary school. It is estimated that 10,000 more students than there are secondary school places take the CEE each year (Guttman 1994, p.8). About half of these will repeat the school year, while the rest are put into school leaving classes or simply drop out. The decision to initiate the programme was based on awareness that spending these critical formative years on the street would impair future employment options. It also allows Servol to “invest earlier in youth and invest for longer periods of time” which increases the chances of future success (Barker and Fontes 1996, p.9).

Chapter 4. The Case Study of Servol

An historical overview of TVET has been presented along with a contextual social and economic discussion of Trinidad. This chapter will now present the primary research findings on the effectiveness of including a behavioural component in a TVET programme to better respond to the needs of the developing service economy of Trinidad.

4.1 The Motivation of the Compound Model

Servol's current success was not stumbled upon and required commitment and experimentation to reach a proven level of achievement. "Servol has not been very successful in discovering the correct procedure for introducing groups of disadvantaged people into the complex world of free enterprise" (Servol 1974, p.20). It was from this early self-evaluation that Servol realised there must be a systematic approach to grooming at-risk youth for success in the outside economy but that the approach also must be practical and flexible enough to deal with its complexities. The evaluation continued: "Any attempt to introduce inexperienced, disadvantaged young people into the world of business must take into account the sociological and interpersonal relationships of the people concerned" (ibid.). For Trinidad street youth whose formal education had ended at age 11 and whose income was heavily dependant upon social networking, Servol realised that "whereas the average middle class businessman can separate his business relationships from his personal relationships, the two are inextricably linked in the case of disadvantaged people" (ibid.) Servol would need to teach these youth how to relate to people in a formal business setting. This situation was further complicated by the recognition that the idle years between formal and vocational education "play havoc with attitudes to work, punctuality and regularity and result in many [of the youths] being not merely unemployed but difficult to employ" (Pantin 1979, p.47).

4.2 The Development and Implementation of the Compound Model

The compound model of behavioural development and skills training was introduced in 1971 and was enriched and modified over a four year period. Early evaluation on behalf of Servol itself revealed a 35% dropout rate from the initial model and “even more discouraging quite a number of those who finished the course were not particularly successful in looking for or finding employment” (Pantin 1973). The study attributed the failures to “negative self-image and low self esteem, traits they had acquired from their lack of success in the overly academic life of secondary education” (SERVOL 2000).

Servol’s current model compounds behavioural component of the Adolescent Development Programme (ADP) and the technical skill component of the Skills Training Programme (STP). It has an annual dropout rate of around 5% (Montrichard 2004). Of the 1,700 students that complete Servol’s compound programme each year, about 75% will usually find immediate work. These changes are sweeping and indicative of a successful model and its formation must therefore be understood.

4.2.1 The Adolescent Development Programme (ADP)

At its inception in 1971, a one month ADP was introduced. This was deemed too short, as improvement in behaviour and attitude was seen, but it was believed that more could be achieved. Informal evaluations were conducted at the end of the initial programme and feedback from students indicated a desire for a lengthier programme. Different lengths were then experimented with for a period of four years and informally assessed. Accumulated criticisms, opinions and comments concluded that anything past 3 ½ months created student boredom and a produced a sense of disconnection with the technical skills portion of the compound model.

The ADP is now a three and a half month personal development and literacy programme designed “to help teenagers become more self-aware, understand their emotions and develop positive attitudes” (Guttman 1994). It is based on the SPICES curriculum developed by Servol. The acronym stands for the **s**piritual, **p**hysical, **i**ntellectual, **c**ultural, **e**motional and **s**ocial awareness knowledge that is addressed in the curriculum.

At the beginning of each term, students choose from this core curriculum which topics they would like to cover. Servol teachers provide ‘professional influence’ to steer students to important subjects. The curriculum therefore includes annually: maths,

skills-based literacy, social studies (with an emphasis on current events), nutrition, sex education and drug abuse prevention. There is also a heavy concentration on behaviour and attitude training, with activities and discussion on self awareness, dealing with stress, job-interview techniques, life situation enactment and healthy response role-play.

A Servol ‘bank’, ‘supermarket’ and ‘shop’ have even been built on the premises of the Beetham Life Centre as a key ingredient in the curriculum and, upon my visit there, practical scenarios were being acted out and discussed. When questioned how these different situations are composed, Instructor Janette Chacon-Stewart replied, “We don’t need to dream these situations up. We just ask the students to think about their own daily interactions. Rude customers, drunk customers, customers who refuse to pay...these students see these things happen every day in their own villages”. The value of being able to break these situations down and discuss the best ways to react to and deal with them undoubtedly provide important practical experience for students heading out into a service economy.

In addition to the classroom topics, all of the students, both male and female, must spend time working with the elderly, the disabled and infants. This promotes the formation of healthy and respectful relationships, an understanding of personal responsibility, and in the case of child care, Servol encourages the postponement of child-bearing.¹²

Each student is also provided individual attention with an instructor. One-on-one sessions conducted with absolute confidentiality focus on personal issues, progress in ADP or anything else the student wants to talk about. The students learn to express themselves. Instructor Chacon-Stewart is one of these counsellors and remarked, “Many of the students I meet with want to talk about their issues but they may never have had anyone in their lives that they feel they could trust or that would understand. I try my best to give them that”.

¹² Much has been written on the correlation between postponing childbearing and poverty reduction. For a current account, see Sachs (2005), specifically pages 263-264. Pantin (1995) asserts that Servol students are way below the national average age of childbearing and this contributes to their problems. However, more recent research by Griffith (2002) shows that the average childbearing age of a Servol student is similar to that of youth that did not attend Servol. Due to a lack of data, it is unclear if Pantin’s claim is unfounded or if Servol’s encouragement to postpone childbearing has begun to show an impact.

Additionally, every day at Servol begins at 7:30am. This is done to promote punctuality, since normal business hours begin at 8am. The early start acclimates the student to the world of work.

Self awareness, dealing with stress, forming healthy and respectful relationships, responsibility, punctuality, expressing feelings and appropriately dealing with uncomfortable situations: Beyond the essential literacy and numeracy skills, are these the keys to successful and sustainable employment? When asked this question, Sr. Ruth Montrichard smiled knowingly as if the query had been posed to her before. She replied, “We don’t claim to have found the ‘correct formula’. All we know is that for 95% of the students that enter the Servol programme, they come out happier and more employable”. This meshes with OECD recommendations for developing human capital in a service economy: “Policies should focus on developing the abilities of individuals to communicate, adapt to change, solve problems, network and interface effectively with clients and colleagues” (OECD 2000, p.36). Montrichard’s claim of happier students will be addressed by the student accounts in section 4.3.1. The claim of increased employability in the service sector through tactical human capital development will be addressed by the graduate and employer accounts in sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, respectively.

4.2.2 The Skills Training Programme

Graduation from ADP into one’s chosen technical skill is determinant upon an end of term interview where progress is discussed between student and instructors. If all agree that satisfactory personal development was achieved, the student may advance to the Skills Training Programme.

The instructors in the Skills Training Programme are para-professionals. The situation stems from necessity rather than choice. Mr. Mackie, an Auto Mechanics instructor at the Beetham Life Centre, revealed to me that he earns about US\$400 a month¹³. He remarked, “I have great pride and satisfaction that I work for Servol. But these salaries are too low. If I didn’t work a second job, I couldn’t stay here”. The question must therefore be raised, but can not be addressed here due to constraints, if the inability to offer high wages turns away more talented instructors, thus keeping Servol and its students from reaching their highest potential. However, the advantageous

¹³ This amounts to US\$4,800 per year. The average Trinidadian in 2004 earned approximately US\$9,000 (statistics vary) (US Department of State 2005).

situation of having instructors that have practical working knowledge of their field is readily beneficial to students committed to entering that field.

Table 5: Modules Offered in Skills Training Programme

Air Conditioning / Refrigeration
Audio and Sound Engineering
Auto Mechanics
Beauty Culture
Child Care
Dental Aide
Electrical Installation
Food Preparation / Catering
Garment Construction
Home Health Aide
Hospitality
Masonry
Plumbing
Straightening and Painting
Welding
Woodwork / Carpentry

Each student will spend one year learning a chosen technical skill. During this period they also spend four months doing on-the-job training with an established business which specialises in their chosen skill as a practical preparation for the world of work. This approach aims to overcome the “chronic concern” facing TVET of transferring learning from school to work settings (Kerka 1997). Finally, they return to the centre along with an evaluation from their temporary employer. At this point, Servol staff work with them to correct weaknesses identified in their attitude, behaviour and performance.

In addition to the primary skill, all students must spend one month training in an associated secondary skill. This tactic overcomes the volatility of the service sector by expanding a student’s knowledge base and therefore increasing employment options. It is a method implemented from the sought out advice of employers within the service industry. Allison Wilson explained:

“We keep a constant eye on the market and have learned to ask for feedback from employers on what their needs are. We have ended programmes due to lack of interest and economic change. For example, with globalisation, clothes are now more cheaply bought here as imports, so we have ended the tailoring programme. On the positive side, we have received equipment from Microsoft to begin a sound and video design module that is due to begin next year. There is a growing market for this in Trinidad, and no one has yet stepped in to fill that need...We don't sit still here at Servol. We change when change is called for.”

This is a prime example of a TVET programme proactively engaging in economic response.

Furthermore, by structuring its Skills Training Programme around the input provided by prospective employers, Servol has itself become part of the landscape of the economy's service sector. By providing a tailored 'product' to meet a business' needs, Servol has created a production method akin to the “new service economy of mass customisation” first described by Pine in the early 1990s (see Pine 1993). Mass customisation is commonly used to describe readily modifiable hardware and software products, not students in a TVET programme, but the concept itself is admittedly relative (McCarthy and Brabazon 2003, p.31) The central idea of mass customisation is “to offer some degree of customisation potential and do it on a ‘mass’ scale, striving to achieve the standards of efficiency, productivity, costs, quality, responsiveness and delivery commonly associated with mass production” (McCarthy and Brabazon 2003, p.30). The approach combines the main appeal of mass production, which is decreased product prices based upon economies of scale, with the ability to cater to individual desires. The emphasis on customisation therefore changes the focus from price to benefits. This is a concept that is applicable to employers since hiring decisions are based upon the very premise of greatest mutual benefit.

The basic goal of Servol is to create the ideal situation that whenever an employer is looking to hire, there will be an available Servol graduate trained according to their very own specified input.

Box 3: The Story of Mr. Nieves

The following is the story of Mr. Nieves, the Service Manager of Light Equipment for FT Farfan & Sons. We had a long conversation about how Servol students fit his needs. Note that this is not one continuous quote. The ellipses represent breaks in the conversation:

“I was approached by Servol a few years ago to see if I was interested in hiring any of their Auto Mechanics students. Well, the majority of equipment that I sell and rent is gardening equipment like chainsaws, lawnmowers, leaf blowers, power washers...equipment like that...with the two-stroke engine. People don't bring their car engines to me; they go to garages for that. Its easy enough for me to train anybody how to fix the two-stroke, so I agreed to take some students on for their training. But if I'm going to hire someone, they have to know the two-stroke...I pointed it out to Servol and now they have their Auto Mechanic students learning the two-stroke as well...I now have 2 Servol graduates working for me.”

By incorporating input from employers into its compound model, Servol thus provides to them a value added service. Mr. Nieves no longer needs to spend time and money training Servol graduates the mechanics of the two stroke engine. Servol's response to his input has resulted in the hiring of two graduates that are able to become productive workers quicker. The willingness to customise the Skills Training Programme has made Servol into a valuable service for employers and students alike.

4.3 The Stakeholders

The development and implementation process of the current compound model has been discussed. The value of the Servol skills programme strategically customising its skills curriculum upon economic trends and tailoring its skills curriculum to employer needs is clear and effective. But Servol's TVET programme is unique in that compounds technical skill training with behavioural skill training. The mandatory ADP training is included in the compound model because, according to Allison Wilson, “it makes our students more marketable and more employable”.

The primary research on the effectiveness of including a behavioural component in a TVET programme to better address the needs of the developing service economy of Trinidad will now be presented from the viewpoints of all stakeholders.

4.3.1 The Servol Students

Student responses on the beneficial value of the behavioural component are particularly important because this is the aspect of the course that adolescents would find it difficult to be positive about. Initial research was conducted with students currently enrolled in the ADP. Graduation ceremonies were three days away so this was an ideal time to have them reflect on the effectiveness and necessity of the behavioural component. A classroom discussion session was first held with the 35 ADP students to get an overall impression of their views, and then one-on-one

interviews were held to receive more personalised accounts. Care was taken to achieve gender balance.

By a general show of hands, 33 of 35 students agreed that they enjoyed their time in ADP and found it helpful. (Note was taken of the 2 dissenters for later conversation, and their views are presented later in this section.) However, in follow-up conversations with students, many admitted that although they did enjoy the programme, at first they had no desire to take part in it; they enrolled in Servol to learn a trade in order to get a paying job. It also must be pointed out that most Servol students had endured difficulties in the classroom setting and were probably reluctant to re-enter the environment. The benefits of ADP were only realised once the module was underway. Nestor Nedd, a 20 year old male who planned to train in Auto Mechanics, offered a typical view:

“Before I started at Servol, I didn’t want to take part in the ADP. But after I did, I’m very happy that I did because there’s no way I could have succeeded in my skill without it. I didn’t realise how much I doubted myself before it. And going through ADP I thought, ‘Why wouldn’t I doubt myself? Its all I knew.’”

As the interviews continued, it was clear that there was no one topic that endeared the ADP curriculum to all. The students singled out as most beneficial a wide range of issues.

Dealing with stress: “Learning to deal with stress, not letting it pile up, realising that ‘This too shall pass’ was very important for me. In fact, I teach my friends some of these things that I learned in ADP”. - April Cole, 18 years old, Child Care

The individual attention: “The teachers here are more than just teachers. They listen to us, they respect us, and I can tell them anything, and I know they won’t tell anyone else. That’s one of the main problems in schools here in Trinidad”. – Elma Clyde, 18 years old, Hospitality Arts

Learning to express and deal with feelings: “I didn’t realise how much anger I had inside me. My teachers didn’t just tell me ‘Get positive!’, they allowed me to express why I was so angry, they told me I needed to get it out. I never thought that was an option! But once I shared my issues, I learned how to deal with them, and now I can even help others out with theirs.” - Tonika Cyrus, 18 years old, Auto Mechanics

It is clear that once cynical students have found portions of the ADP to be positive about. But what was also quite clear during the interviews was the refined professional manner in which these comments were conveyed. The polish of the remarks provided here is readily apparent. Indeed, when asked if the ADP was a necessary part of Servol, Cleddie Alexander, a 20 year old planning to train in Garment Construction, remarked, “To be healthy emotionally, spiritually and physically is the most important thing in life. ADP addressed each one of those things for me. I learned how to be positive about things, and how just by doing that, I take control of my life.” It is readily observable that the ADP has done its part in helping its students achieve proficiency in speaking with eloquence and maturity. This, of course, is an essential skill for a student intent on entering the service sector by way of interviews with employers.

In the face of the success that these students had achieved in ADP, they were also questioned on the improbability of the module. Interestingly, many commented on the leniency of the programme’s discipline. They expressed a desire for the Servol instructors to be less forgiving of problematic students. Nestor Nedd remarked, “Some students are just putting up a front. They don’t really want to be here.” Melissa John, 19, Child Care, added that “they get in the way. I would’ve tossed them out first thing”. Instructor Janette Chacon-Stewart admits, “We give students every chance to right themselves. We try to help them change. We do this because if we release them, we release them back into the streets”. Sr. Ruth Montrichard agreed with this assessment and stated that once a problem child is identified, meetings are held with the parents or guardians to create a larger support network for them. She noted that, predictably, the majority of the 5% of dropouts are students with prior problems at home.

More insight into this subject was gained during interviews with the two students who did not raise their hand during the general classroom discussion mentioned earlier. Not surprisingly, these two young men had recently been told that they had not shown enough progress during ADP and were therefore not moving on to skills training. When offered an opportunity to share their displeasure with Servol’s decision, they were more than willing. Ellis, 19, exclaimed,

“When I started here, I was told I had to get through 3 months of ADP before I start my skill. Well, I need skills now. And now they’re telling me I have to do it all again next term! I sat in that classroom for 3 months just to get a chance to learn my skill. And now they say I gotta do it again?! No way I’m coming back”.

What is clear in Ellis’ observation that he ‘needs skills now’ is that he sees the advantage to be gained in learning a technical skill. He does not see the advantage in learning behavioural skills. Unfortunately for him, Servol’s compound model demands progress in both areas. If Servol graduate and employer accounts agree with the necessity of the ADP module, merely learning a technical skill would not have ensured success for Ellis. It therefore can not be assumed that all students are aware of the reasons behind a mandatory behavioural component. The extent of student ‘buy-in’ to the rationale of ADP could be directly correlated to student progress, but unfortunately the research was not able to determine the relationship.

The story of Kimone, 18, is not as encouraging. He commented that,

“Every day I spend in here is money lost. Out in the street, I can hustle up money every day, and when I go sleep each night, I’ve got some money in my pocket. That money is out there, and I’m stuck in here.”

In this case, Kimone does not see an advantage in learning behavioural *or* technical skills. However, Kimone is making a rational decision based upon his circumstances. The tangible benefits of involvement in the Servol programme are only realised upon being hired into the service sector. Based upon graduation, this requires at least one full year commitment. The time horizon is simply too long for many poor youth. It must be accepted that some youth will not be an appropriate fit for the Servol model. If initial student cynicism towards ADP is not soon replaced with confidence, the student will quickly become blind to its benefits. Servol maintains credibility with employers by not pushing these students through its system.

However, the students that allow the ADP a chance to impress are rewarded with personal growth benefits. Dealing with personal issues was the most welcome and readily apparent benefit to the students interviewed. Polished communication skills were an additional gain which will serve each student well in their quest for successful and sustainable employment in the service sector.

4.3.2 The Servol Graduates

The necessity and effectiveness of a behavioural component required comment from those that have passed through the Servol model and now have the wisdom gained

through employment experience and time to pass judgment upon its relevance. Specifically, graduates were asked to reflect upon the usefulness of the behavioural skills learned in ADP in securing a job and in their current employment.

4.3.2.1 Initial Limitations

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the task of locating and interviewing Servol graduates and current employers was made immeasurably difficult by the complete absence of archived tracking material kept by Servol regarding these two groups. Descriptive information is readily offered and available, but impact evaluations have only been carried out on an informal basis. Barker et al. (1994, as quoted in Barker and Fontes 1996, p.8) conclude that, “these projects believe that what they are doing is important, but they do not know how to justify why. They generally see evaluation as something imposed by donor agencies without having direct relevance for their work”.

In Servol’s case, this mistrust and scepticism of outside researchers was established early. In the earliest written account of Servol, Fr. Pantin (1973, p.113) remarks, “We feel it is too early for formal investigation or documentation. We are content to record our impressions, to share them, and to file them away. As time goes on we will decide what orientation to give to the research or what structure it should assume”. The reluctance to have outsider investigation and the preference for insider evaluation continues. Sr. Ruth Montrichard echoed the earlier words of Pantin in my first conversation with her: “The only people qualified to evaluate a project are those involved enough to really know it”. Faced with being withheld information, impressions and ideas during 3 weeks of research, I quickly shared with Sr. Ruth that I had taught for two years at the New Life Organisation in Grenada, which is essentially a cloned Servol programme. This served to open the conversation and ensured cooperation.

The reluctance for formal evaluation is not only ideological but financial. Allison Wilson stated, “Our job is to get these students their first job and equip them with the skills to continue to be marketable and employable after that. We just don’t have the funds to track the almost 3,000 students that pass in and out our doors every year”.

While Servol does not use its own finances to track its graduates and their employers, the Bernard van Leer Foundation, the group that provided Servol its earliest funding, commissioned a study in 2002 to track down and interview Servol graduates to determine if the changes realised during ADP were lasting ones.

This information was important for the dissertation. Due to Servol’s ideological and financial incapability of providing graduate and employer information, the author, Jean Griffith, was tracked down in Port of Spain to discuss the findings. This provided the needed primary research and served as a starting point for pursuing graduates and employers. Griffith’s quantified research is presented to give a foundation to the conversations I had with Servol graduates.

4.3.3.2 The Research

Griffith’s tracer study identified 40 Servol graduates 10 years after participation. For a comparison group, 30 graduates of traditional TVET programmes which trained only for a technical skill were interviewed as well. The analysis first assessed the nature of TVET’s influence (see Table 6). For Servol graduates, this included the impact of both the ADP and Skills Training Programme. For the comparison group, this only included the completed technical skill programme.

Table 6: Impact of Training on Graduates’ Life

TRAINING HAD POSITIVE IMPACT	FORMER TRAINEES		COMPARISON GROUP		ALL RESPONDENTS	
<i>BOTH SEXES</i>	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Yes	40	100	25	83	65	93
No	–	–	4	13	4	6
No response	–	–	1	3	1	1
All respondents	40	100	30	100	70	100
MALE						
Yes	21	100	13	93	34	97
No	–	–	1	7	1	3
No response	–	–	–	–	–	–
All male respondents	21	100	14	100	35	100
FEMALE						
Yes	19	100	12	75	31	88
No	–	–	3	19	3	9
No response	–	–	1	6	1	3
All female respondents	19	100	16	100	35	100

(from Griffith 2002, p.27)

Both sexes of the comparison group had a high rate of positive impact. However, the Servol graduates believed their experience at Servol had a positive impact on their lives *without dissent*. Since the only variable in the study was the mandatory completion of the ADP, it must be concluded that, in the eyes of Servol graduates, the module is an essential ingredient for continued positive influence in their lives.

This benefit extends beyond the scope of the graduates as well. Youth make judgements based upon what has been referred to as “‘success motivation’; witnessing the relative success or failure of older siblings and peers” (Bowden 2002, p.408). Two current students I interviewed revealed that they had older siblings who had graduated from Servol. One of these students, April Cole, quoted earlier, admitted that it was her older sister that pushed her to enrol: “When she decided to join Servol, I couldn’t believe it because I thought it was for ghetto youth. But she loved it here. She told me every day how she loved it here. That’s why I came”. Graduates pleased with their experience become Servol’s best ambassadors. Their referrals are a strong indicator of the compound model’s effectiveness.

The positive feelings attached to a Servol experience can stem from many things. The analysis found in Table 7 asked those graduates that indicated a positive impact to pinpoint the reasons for their declaration.

Table 7: Reasons for Positive Impact

INFLUENCE OF TRAINING	FORMER TRAINEES	COMPARISON GROUP	ALL RESPONDENTS
<i>MALE</i>			
Learned to react positively	7	–	7
Learned skill/enhanced learning	–	1	1
Learned to deal with people	5	–	5
Changed outlook on life	6	3	9
Learned self-esteem/confidence	3	4	7
Provided employment	–	5	5
All male respondents	21	13	34
<i>FEMALE</i>			
Greater independence	–	1	1
Awareness of children’s development	–	1	1
Enhanced learning/learned skill	–	1	1
Reduced shyness	2	–	2
Taught to deal with people	3	3	6
Changed outlook on life	5	2	7
Developed interested in work	–	1	1
Learned self-esteem/confidence	9	3	12
All female respondents	19	12	31

(from Griffith 2002, p.28)

What is very interesting in these findings is that not one of the Servol graduates credits their feelings of success to achieving employment. Both the male and female graduates instead attribute these feelings to various behavioural and attitudinal

changes. The ADP training therefore successfully imparts the values it attempts to instil in its trainees (Griffith 2002, p.27). Particularly important is the growth of self-esteem and confidence on the behalf of the female students. The nature of curricula content and limited success in attracting and retaining girls in conservative colonial school systems makes Servol's success in female empowerment all the more impressive and refreshing (Dyer 2002, p.421).

Donna, a 2003 Servol graduate in Hospitality Arts, related to me the following empowering example of these behavioural skills being applied in the service sector:

Box 4: Donna's Story

Donna, 22, employee at Kapok Hotel in Port of Spain:

“One of the ADP sessions was a trainer playing the role of an angry customer and she just kept on pushing me as far as I could go, yelling, pointing her finger in my face, vexing me, just trying to get me to crack. In that session, we had the opportunity to stop and talk about the situation, and decide the best ways to act and also talk about the bad things that might happen if we yelled back. Just the other day in the restaurant a customer was yelling at me because she hadn't received her food. And as I tried to handle the situation in the best way I thought possible, I realised my mind was right back in that training session.

The behavioural skills taught in the ADP are included precisely for the work situation articulated by Donna.

The entirety of the compound model argues that partnering these skills with technical training better satisfies the needs of Trinidad's current economic environment. Table 8 presents the research on the extent of the positive impact of Servol's compound model in securing employment for its graduates.

Table 8: Did the Graduate Encounter Problems Obtaining a Job?

PROBLEMS	FORMER TRAINEES		COMPARISON GROUP		ALL RESPONDENTS	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
BOTH SEXES						
Yes	11	28	12	40	23	33
No	26	65	15	50	41	59
No response	3	7	3	10	6	8
All respondents	40	100	30	100	70	100
MALE						
Yes	7	33	7	50	14	40
No	14	67	6	43	20	57
No response	–	–	1	7	1	3
All male respondents	21	100	14	100	35	100
FEMALE						
Yes	4	21	5	31	9	26
No	12	63	9	56	21	60
No response	3	16	2	13	5	14
All female respondents	19	100	16	100	35	100

(from Griffith 2002, p.28)

The Servol graduates, especially the males, encountered fewer problems in obtaining a job than the comparison group. Again, the only variable was the completion of ADP. What is troubling here, however, is the ambiguity of the question. The nature of the ‘problems’ being analysed here is not specified. Perhaps three months of unemployment is a problem for one, but not another. Ms.Griffith agreed that the question was up for interpretation, but that this was precisely the point. She wanted the graduates to reflect upon their employment search and determine if they felt properly equipped by their training. Still, the question is one of degrees, and since there is no control to work from, the findings are suspect.

This does not take away from the quantitative and qualitative findings of ADP’s continued positive impact upon its graduates. The shared optimistic outlooks of current Servol students persist long after graduation. The extent to which the compounded behavioural, attitudinal and technical skills translate into employment in Trinidad’s growing service economy for the Servol graduate will now be discussed.

4.3.3 The Employers of Servol Graduates

Marketing each student for quick and successful employment is Servol’s *raison d’etre*. The most telling evidence of the necessity of the behavioural component in a TVET programme will therefore be the testimony of the people who elect to hire the Servol graduates. The benefit of addressing this last stop in the employment circle is that if

employers see the behaviour-based component of the compound model as a necessary ingredient in employee success, the Servol model has to be called a success.

The limitations described in Section 4.3.2.1 also apply here. The task of locating employers of Servol graduates amounted to a local treasure hunt; Servol's skill modules were matched up against the Port of Spain Directory, then businesses typical of a growing service economy were tracked down and asked if Servol graduates had been hired in the past. Dead ends were the norm, but once a single Servol employer was unearthed, the task became exponentially easier as a referral and hiring network was uncovered. Managers that had brought on students for Servol's training component, or had hired Servol students outright, typically recommended the practice to similar businesses or had been advised of it through business networks. Indeed, in a conversation with Mrs. Siewsarrran, the Human Resources Manager at the Kapok Hotel, she revealed, "I started here five years ago. I attended a conference with other hotel managers, and they recommended that I make the connection with Servol". This sharing of best-practices among employers demonstrates the success of the compound model.

Many of the managers that were interviewed pointed to the behavioural and attitudinal training of the ADP as a key factor in their hiring decisions. Roger Fernandez, Service Manager of Heavy Equipment at Farfan noted, "The key element missing from similar skill programmes is the ADP. A simple skill programme doesn't teach how to deal with vexed customers or to show up to work on time, every day, no excuses. That's what I need in my workers".

His counterpart at Farfan, Mr. Nieves, Service Manager of Light Equipment, went a bit further in his analysis and commented, "Servol students get the edge for that decision [to hire]. The bottom line is, I can teach the skills they'll need to service a two-stroke engine. But what I can't teach is the right attitude. The right attitude keeps the customer coming back, and the right attitude makes me want to keep them here". This statement makes the argument that the skills taught in ADP are actually *more* important in hiring decisions than the applicable technical skill.

Mrs. Siewsarrran reinforced this point when she stated:

"There are Hotel and Catering Schools on Trinidad, but I'd rather hire the Servol graduates because their attitude is generally better. They're punctual and they're polite, which are probably the two most important attributes you need to succeed in the hotel industry.

Hotel school students come from better off backgrounds, and too often they arrive at my hotel thinking they know everything already; they won't take criticism."

The assessment supports Tewarie and Khan's (1998, p.7) review of the skills needed for success in Trinidad's growing service sector: "Service staff is essentially required to have personal qualities including willingness to 'learn', ability to adapt to any situation and aptitude for the service industry. In essence, social skills".

The pairing of behavioural skills with technical skills in the compound model is identified by employers as necessary for success in the service industry. Additionally, employers affirm that the training functions as an added-value service. Mr. Fernandez revealed that, "When I take on a Servol student for their training, I do so with a view to eventually hire them". Essentially, the training period acts as a dry-run for the student with no cost to the employer. In this regard, Servol effectively serves as an employment referral agency.

Another example of Servol's service to employers is told by Ms. Louanna Chai, Hotel Manager of Kapok Hotel. She shared, "I like the fact that if there are any problems with the trainees we take on during their skill training period that Servol is very responsive. Those students respect their teachers, and I see a marked difference when the student comes back to us". What we see in this case is Servol providing attitude and behavioural instruction so Kapok will not have to. It is a practice obviously appreciated by employers.

The compound model satisfies the needs of employers in the service sector. It combines the behavioural, attitudinal and technical skills seen by employers as requirements for employment success. The model also functions as a value-added service which provides mutual benefits for Servol students and the employers of Servol graduates. These comprehensive points are made clear by Mrs. Seecharan, the Food Executive at Chaconia Hotel: "I think the ADP brings a balance to the student. It also brings a balance to the strictly technical side of vocational education...When I have an opening in my hotel, I call Servol first".

Chapter 5. Conclusions

“I not only came out of this experience with a skill, but I feel I came out as a better person.”

-Melissa John, 19 years old, Child Care

5.1 Research Aims

The policy of TVET provision has been a favoured strategy for engineering social and economic change. In Chapter 1, it was shown that the high expectations were drawn from the success TVET provision enjoyed as a response to industrialisation in the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Implementation of TVET programmes under the banner of modernisation theory subsequently endeavoured to create industrialised economies in the developing world. The undertaking failed. Success in the provision of TVET lies in its being a policy of economic response, not economic creation.

The rise of the service economy in the developing world provides TVET a fresh opportunity for appropriate economic response. It will do so by training at-risk youth in the very skills required by a service economy.

The primary research objective of this dissertation was to investigate the effectiveness of including a behavioural component in a TVET programme to better address the needs of the developing service economy of Trinidad.

5.2 The Effectiveness of the Compound Model in a Growing Service Economy

While a majority of the important points and conclusions have been made throughout the dissertation, there are a few fundamental elements which need to be reiterated and some overall conclusions to be drawn.

THE ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The behavioural and attitudinal portion of the compound model was originally implemented to counteract the low self-esteem and negative self-image which at-risk youth suffered from due to a lack of success in academic life and the subsequent idle years on the street. According to student and graduate accounts provided, the ADP is highly effective in this regard.

However, the creation of ADP now serves a dual purpose. It assists youth in overcoming their personal issues, and it teaches the exact skills which employers desire for success in the service sector. Those specifically mentioned by employers include: punctuality, respect, politeness, ability to adapt and communication skills. These skills not only condition the ability to maintain successful employment, they condition the initial ability to access it. Employers make hiring decisions during interviews based upon the presence of all these characteristics.

Employer feedback further revealed that to secure a position in the service sector, positive work habits and behavioural skills are more important for potential employees to possess than vocational or technical skills. Evident in the employer accounts provided is that they do not view vocational training as a requirement for employment in their companies, although it is beneficial, but rather they are ultimately seeking youth who are punctual, hard-working, and able to interact positively with fellow workers.

Based upon the positive response from Servol students, graduates and employers, the ADP portion of the compound model must be regarded as an essential ingredient for a TVET programme responding to a growing service sector.

THE SKILLS TRAINING PROGRAMME

Allison Walker, the Public Relations Officer for Servol, mentioned that “we have learned to ask for feedback from employers on what their needs are”. This perhaps has been Servol’s greatest lesson. The current modules offered by Servol are only those which are relevant to Trinidad’s prevailing economic trends. By responding to the current economic trends and customising their courses to employer input, Servol has set up a programme that maximises the probability of graduate success. Additionally, by including trial run training periods for its students, it allows employers to ‘test drive’ potential employees. Essentially, Servol has become a service in itself and it has proven itself to be a shrewd and able player in the service sector.

REPLICATION AND TRANSFERABILITY

More research is needed on the extent of the successes of Servol graduates, and Servol itself would be well served to track student successes and failures in order to quantify achievements and fine-tune uncovered shortcomings.

However, the overall success of Servol’s model is undeniable. Servol’s tenure in Trinidad has witnessed almost 60,000 youth pass through its doors (Pacheco 2004). Its success has encouraged the Servol model to be duplicated abroad: replicas now exist in the Bahamas, Ireland, Grenada, Guyana, South Africa, St. Lucia and Dominica (Montrichard 2004).

Because Servol developed in response to grassroots demands, it was not simply cloned wholesale into these different countries. The characteristics of Trinidad’s contextual background have shaped its own uniquely distinct TVET programme. For example, the profitable oil industry’s ability to attract those able to afford higher education has forced Servol to concentrate upon grooming its students for the less demanding service sector. The racial diversity of Trinidad introduces topics for ADP discussion that do not exist in other Caribbean islands whose racial make-up is dominated by a single race. The conservative colonial school system that characterises Trinidad presents female self-esteem issues and affects aspirations on what positions in society constitute success.

A society’s TVET programme will be coloured by its own unique characteristics. Because of this, there are no easy answers in the creation of programmes working with at-risk youth in particular, and towards the reduction of poverty in general. But what we have learned from the research is that there are fundamental approaches that

can be taken to ensure TVET success in a growing service economy. An educational model that pairs behavioural and technical skills that respond to employer input and prevailing economic trends will best assist youth in attaining sustainable and successful employment.

Bibliography

Agov, A. (2005). 'Meiji Japan, 1868-1911: Government's Role in Economic Growth and the Rise of Mitsui Zaibatsu'. Media Times Review. February 2005 edition.

Al Heeti, A. and C. Brock (1997). 'Vocational Education and Development: Key Issues, with Special Reference to the Arab World'. International Journal of Educational Development. Vol.17, No.4, p.373-389

Barker, G. and M. Fontes (1996). 'Review and Analysis of International Experience with Programs Targeted on At-Risk Youth'. LASHC Paper Series No. 5. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Benn, C. and C. Chitty (1996). Thirty Years On - Is Comprehensive Education Alive and Well or Struggling to Survive? London: David Fulton Publishers.

Bennel, P. and J. Segerstrom (1998). 'Vocational Education and Training in Developing Countries: Has the World Bank Got it Right?'. International Journal of Educational Development. Vol.18, No.4, p.271-287.

Beywl, W. and S. Spear (2004). 'Developing Standards to Evaluate Vocational Education and Training Programmes'. In Descy, P. and M. Tessaring (eds.) The Foundations of Evaluation and Impact Research. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities. Cedefop Reference Series 3040.

Bowden, R. (2002). 'Young People, Education and Development'. In Desai, V. and R. Potter (eds.). The Companion to Development Studies. London: Arnold Press, p.405-409.

- Cantor, L. (1989). Vocational Education and Training in the Developed World: A Comparative Study. London: Routledge Books.
- Catri, D. (1998). 'Vocational Education's Image for the 21st Century'. ERIC Digest. ERIC Identifier: ED422495. Columbus: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Career and Vocational Education.
- Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Trinidad and Tobago (2003a). 'Export Capabilities of the Services Sector in Trinidad and Tobago'. Statistical Assessment issued by CSO. Available at: <http://www.chamber.org.tt/surveyresults.htm>.
- Central Statistical Office (CSO) of Trinidad and Tobago (2003b). Pocket Digest 2003. Port of Spain: CSO Printing Unit..
- Chambers, R. (1997). Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last. London: ITDG Publishing.
- CIA (2005). 'Trinidad and Tobago: Economy Overview'. Internet. Accessed September 2005. Available at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/td.html>.
- Clert, C. (1999). 'Evaluating the Concept of Social Exclusion in Development Discourse'. European Journal of Development Research Vol. 11, No. 2, p.176-199.
- Columbia Encyclopedia (2005). The Columbia Encyclopaedia, Sixth Edition. Internet. Accessed September 2005. Available at: <http://www.bartleby.com/65/vo/vocatled.html>.
- DFID (1995). Stakeholder Participation and Analysis. DFID Social Development Division, London.
- Diamond, J. (1997). Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies. New York: W.W. Norton Publishing.
- Doolittle, P. and W. Camp (1999). 'Constructivism: The Career and Technical Education Perspective'. Journal of Technical and Vocational Education. Vol.16, No. 1.
- Dyer, C. (2002). 'Management Perspectives in Achieving Education for All: South Asian Perspectives". In Desai, V. and R. Potter (eds.). The Companion to Development Studies. London: Arnold Press, p.419-424.
- Edwards, L. (2005). 'A Friendly Guide to Identify a Trini'. Trinidad and Tobago News. 7th September 2005. Available here: http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com/selfnews/viewnews.cgi?newsid1126140045_24808_.shtml.
- Foner, E. and J. Garraty (1991). The Reader's Companion to American History. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Foster, P. (1966). 'The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning'. In Anderson, C. and M. Bowman (eds.) Education and Economic Development. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd. p.142-166.

Goble, D. (2003). A History of Career and Technology Education in Oklahoma. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Griffith, J. (2002). 'To Handle Life's Challenges: A Tracer Study of Servol's Adolescent Development Programme in Trinidad'. Early Childhood and Development: Practice and Reflections. No.16. The Hague: Bernard van Leer Foundation.

Guttman, C. (1994). On the Right Track. Paris: UNESCO, Basic Education Division.

Hunting, G., M. Zymelman and M. Godfrey (1986). Evaluating Vocational Training Programs: A Practical Guide. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Hyslop-Margison, E. (2001). 'An Assessment of the Historical Arguments in Vocational Education Reform'. Journal of Career and Technical Education. Vol.17, No.1.

IADB (2002). 'A Higher Calling'. Internet. Accessed April 2005. Available at: www.iadb.org/sds/mic/micamericas/eng/2/p70-71.pdf.

Jahnukainen, M. (2001). 'Social Exclusion and Dropping Out of Education'. In Visser, T. et al. (eds.) Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties in Maintream Schools, International Perspectives on Inclusive Education. Vol. 1, p.1-12.

Kantor, H. (1986). 'Work, Education and Vocational Reform: The Ideological Origins of Vocational Education, 1890-1920'. American Journal of Education. Vol. 94, pp. 401-426.

Kerka, S. (1997). 'Constructivism, Workplace Learning, and Vocational Education'. In ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education, Digest No. 181.

Leslie (2005). 'Blind Patriotism is Dangerous'. Trinidad and Tobago News. 8th September 2005. Available here: <http://www.trinidadandtobagonews.com/leslie.html>.

Lochan, S. (2000). Education and Work: Case Studies of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados. Kingston: Office of UNESCO in the Caribbean.

McCarthy, B. (2003). 'An Emerging Sector'. Manufacturing Engineer. August/September 2003 issue, p.29.

McCarthy, B. and P. Brabazon (2003). 'In the Business of Mass Customisation'. Manufacturing Engineer. August/September 2003 issue, p.30.

Middleton, J.A. and T. Demsky (1989). Vocational Education and Training: A Review of World Bank Investment. Discussion Paper 51. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Middleton, J. A., A. Ziderman and A. van Adams (1993). Skills for Productivity: Vocational Education and Training in Developing Countries. New York: Oxford University Press.

Montrichard, R. (2004). 'The Story of Servol: Education for the Community by the Community'. UN Chronicle Online Addition. Issue 1, January 2004.

Montrichard, R. and G. Pantin (2000). Igniting the Fires of Hope: A Case Study of the Servol Integrated Educational Programme in Trinidad and Tobago. Port of Spain: Servol Press.

MTI (2004). 'Trade Ministry Helping Services Sector Stakeholders to Form a National Coalition'. Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Trade and Industry Press Release, 16 September 2004. Can be found at: http://www.tradeind.gov.tt/Press%20Releases/Sept_releases.htm.

Mullings, B. (2004). 'Globalization and the Territorialization of the New Caribbean Service Economy'. Journal of Economic Geography. Vol. 4, No. 3, p.275-298.

Naylor, M. (1988). 'Vocational Education and the Work Ethic in a Changing Workplace'. ERIC Digest. No.78. Columbus: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Career and Vocational Education.

OECD (2000). The Service Economy. Paris: OECD Publications.

Oxenham, J. et al. (2002). 'Skills and Literacy Training for Better Livelihoods: A Review of Approaches and Experiences'. Africa Region Human Development Working Paper Series. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Pacheco, M. (2004). 'Literacy and Livelihoods for Youth At Risk – The Servol Experience'. Speech given at a consultative meeting for Commonwealth of Learning, Vancouver, Canada, 15 November 2004.

Pantin, D. (1996). The Challenge of Youth Unemployment in the Caribbean: the Role of Youth Employment Training Programmes. Study prepared for the ILO Caribbean Office and Multidisciplinary Advisory Team. Port of Spain: International Labor Organization.

Pantin, G. (1973). A Mole Cricket Called Servol. Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.

Pantin, G. (1988). 'Children and Community: Progressing Through Partnership'. Speech given at the 10th International Seminar of the Bernard van Leer Foundation, November 1988.

- Pantin, G. (1995). 'Learning Life Skills'. Interview with Ira Mathur. Trinidad Guardian. 11th September 1995. Available here: http://iramathur.org/Articles/010_PR11.09.95.htm.
- Pine, B. J. (1993). Mass Customization - The New Frontier in Business Competition. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Powell, M. (2001). 'A Comparative Study of TVET Projects – Implementation Experiences from Jamaica and the Gambia'. International Journal of Educational Development. Vol.21, p.417-431.
- Psacharopoulos, G. (1987). 'To Vocationalize or not to Vocationalize? That is the Curriculum Question'. International Review of Education. Vol.33, No.2.
- Psacharopoulos, G. (1997). 'Vocational Education and Training Today: Challenges and Responses'. Journal of Vocational Education and Training. Vol.49, No.3, p.385-393.
- Psacharopoulos, G. and W. Loxley (1985). Curriculum Diversification in Colombia and Tanzania: An evaluation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Sachs, J. (2005). The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities of Our Time. New York: Penguin Press.
- Seng, L.S. (2004). 'Vocational Technical Education: An International Perspective'. Keynote Paper given at the International Symposium on Vocational Education, Suzhou, China, 12-13 August, 2004.
- Servol (1974). Servol – Four Years After: An Evaluation Report for 1970-1974. Port of Spain: Servol Press. (Unpublished).
- Servol (2000). 'SERVOL Online'. Internet Homepage. Available at: <http://community.wow.net/servol/>.
- Servol (2001). Servol Through the Years: 1970-2001. Port of Spain: Servol Press.
- Servol (2004). Servol News. Vol.21, No.68. Port of Spain: Servol Press.
- Servol (2005a). Servol News. Vol.22, No.69. Port of Spain: Servol Press.
- Servol (2005b). Statistical Details: September 2004 – August 2005. Port of Spain: Servol Press.
- Silberman, H. (1986). 'Improving the Status of High School Vocational Education'. Educational Horizons. Vol. 65, No. 1, p.5-9.
- Tanner, D. and L. Tanner, L. (1980). Curriculum development: Theory into Practice. New York: Macmillan.

- Tewarie, B. and A. Khan (1998). Critical Training Needs in Trinidad and Tobago: A Sectoral Perspective. University of the West Indies: UWI-Institute of Business.
- Trinidad Guardian (2004). 'The Message of Mandela'. 30th April 2004 Edition. Port of Spain: Trinidad Publishing and Broadcasting Co., Ltd.
- Trinidad Guardian (2005). 'One Body for Services Sector'. 6th April 2005 Edition. Port of Spain: Trinidad Publishing and Broadcasting Co., Ltd.
- UNDP (2001). 'Trinidad and Tobago Human Development Index'. Internet. Accessed April 2005. Available at: http://www.undp.org/hdr2001/indicator/cty_f_TTO.html.
- UNDP (1999). 'Teams to End Poverty: Education and Vocational Training'. Internet. Accessed August 2005. Available at: <http://www.undp.org/teams/english/educat.htm>.
- UNESCO (1984). Terminology of Technical and Vocational Education. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2001). 'Vocational Schools Offer Micro-Business Skills in Ecuador'. Internet. Accessed April 2005. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/know_sharing/grassroots_stories/ecuador.shtml.
- US State Department (2005). 'Background Notes: Trinidad and Tobago'. Internet. Accessed September 2005. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35638.htm>.
- Walcott, D. (1965). 'Laventille'. In Collected Poems, 1948-1984. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, published 1986.
- Webb, S. (1997). Prospects and Challenges for the Caribbean. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Williams, E. (2005). 'The State of the Trinidad and Tobago Economy'. Speech given at Petroleum Conference 2005, Port of Spain, 21 February 2005.
- Wirth, A. G. (1972). Education in the technological society: The vocational-liberal studies controversy in the early twentieth-century. Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers.
- World Bank (1995a). Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Sector Review. Education and Social Policy Department. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- World Bank (1995b). World Development Report 1995: Workers in an Integrating World. New York: Oxford University Press.
- World Bank (1995c). Trinidad and Tobago: Poverty and Unemployment in an Oil-Based Economy. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank (1998). World Development Indicators 1998. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (2004). Opening Doors: Education and the World Bank. Washington DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (2005). 'Millennium Development Goals: About the Goals'. Internet. Accessed August 2005. Available at:
<http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/ext/MDG/homePages.do>.

Wrigley, E.A. (1985). 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period'. Journal of Interdisciplinary History. Vol.1, No. 4, pp.683-728.

Appendix A: An Illustrative List of Services

Service	Activities related to the:
Wholesale and retail trade	Sale of goods
Transportation and warehousing	Distribution of goods
Information	Gathering and dissemination of written, audio or visual information, including films and records
Finance and insurance	Facilitation of financial transactions, including those related to risk management
Real estate, rental and leasing	Temporary transfer of property, and the temporary or definitive transfer of real estate
Professional, scientific and technical	Provision of specialised, generally "knowledge-based", expertise (e.g. legal, accountancy and engineering)
Management of companies and enterprises	Management of companies and enterprises, such as holding companies
Administrative and support, and waste management	Day-to-day support of other organisations (e.g. clerical assistance agencies, travel agencies and personnel firms)
Education	Provision of instruction and training (e.g. schools and specialised training centres)
Health care and social assistance	Provision of health care and social assistance (e.g. doctors, hospitals and clinics)
Arts, entertainment and recreation	Provision of entertainment in a broad sense (e.g. museums, opera, theatre, sports and gambling establishments)
Accommodation and food services	Provision of lodging, or the provision of meals, snacks or beverages
Public administration	Governing or administration of public entities and programmes
Other	Provision of personal services, repair and maintenance activities, professional societies, religious institutions, etc.

Source: Based on US Bureau of Census, 1999.

Appendix B: List of Initial Requests for Information from Servol

Statistics and Documents Needed:

- 1) Statistics on enrolment over the years
- 2) Statistics on dropouts over the years
- 3) Statistics on graduate dispersal upon graduation
- 4) Location map of ADP centres
- 5) The pamphlet entitled Servol Through the Years made note of a “University based group” which concluded that Servol graduates “retain and put into practice what they were exposed to years ago”. Need to get a copy of this study.

Questions to Servol:

- 1) What is the philosophy behind a model which combines behaviour and skills-based education?
- 2) Are the teachers of the ADP changing students’ attitudes, or simply trying to provide a forum for the students to do this themselves?
- 3) How are the students chosen for ADP? What percentage of students come directly from the Junior Life Centre?
- 4) How was the curriculum chosen? Why were the specific subjects chosen?
- 5) When the ADP was being fine-tuned in its early stages, what did NOT work?
- 6) How specifically is the ADP useful in getting students ready for vocational training?
- 7) Do ALL students move directly from the ADP into their chosen skill programme, or are some held back, asked to leave, etc.?
- 8) Do students who have graduated from Servol still attribute what they learned in ADP to their success?
- 9) Is there a foreseeable future where Servol graduates have saturated the job market and leave no opportunities for subsequent graduates?
- 10) How easy has it been to quickly employ Servol graduates?
- 11) What reasons do students give if they decide to dropout of ADP?
- 12) Is Servol now completely self-funded?

Appendix C: Template of Questions for Servol Students

1) What skill do you want to learn?

2) Would you have liked to have skipped the ADP and just learned this skill?
Why?

3) What do you think is the best benefit of the ADP?

4) How would you like to see the ADP improved?

Appendix D: Questions for Employers of Servol Graduates

1) What is the main reason that you hire a Servol graduate?

2) What value do you place on the fact that graduates from Servol must go through an attitude and behaviour based development programme in addition to a skills development programme?

3) Do you hire Servol graduates only because of the skills they learn?

5) Would you prefer to hire a recent Servol graduate or a graduate from secondary school with similar technical skills?

Appendix E: Questions to Graduates of Servol

1) Do you still use the skills that you learned in the ADP of Servol?

2) Can you say your current success is because of what you learned in the ADP of Servol?

3) Would you have preferred to just learn a skill in Servol, or are you also happy that you attended the ADP?

4) Would you recommend the ADP programme of Servol to students that have failed out or have been kicked out of Trinidad's school system?

Appendix F: Servol Statistical Information

YEAR	No. OF ADP	No. OF ADP	No. OF SKILL TRAINING	No. OF SKILL CENTRE
------	------------	------------	-----------------------	---------------------

	CENTRES	TRAINEES	CENTRES	TRAINEES	
1971/72			1	25	
1972/73			1	35	
1973/74			1	43	
1974/75			1	52	
1975/76			1	57	
1976/77			1	60	
1977/78			1	71	
1978/79			1	75	
1979/80			1	89	
1980/81			2	146	
1981/82	1	72	2	152	
1982/83	2	105	2	196	
1983/84	2	113	2	316	
1984/85	2	130	2	330	
1985/86	2	152	2	372	
1986/87	2	167	2	380	
1987/88	12	924	2	406	
1988/89	20	1,887	4	625	
1989/90	22	1,983	9	834	
1990/91	30	2,515	15	1,365	
1991/92	27	1,902	14	1,327	
1992/93	26	1,761	14	1,431	
1993/94	26	1,781	14	1,502	
1994/95	21	1,563	14	1,530	
1995/96	21	1,552	14	1,543	
1996/97	21	1,606	12	1,575	
1997/98	20	1,554	13	1,598	
1998/99	20	1,699	12	1,672	
1999/00	19	1,726	12	1,812	
2000/01	18	1,675	12	1,776	
2001/02	20	1,698	11	1,851	
2002/03	19	1,771	11	1,826	
2003/04	19	1,413	11	1,967	
2004/05	19	1,435	11	1,689	
TOTAL		31,184		28,728	59,912

(from Servol 2005b)

Notes:

- 1) The increase in the number of Centres seen in 1987/88 is due to the partnership forged with the Ministry of Education to expand the Servol programme nationwide.
- 2) The dip in number of centres starting in 1990/91 is due to the Ministry of Education cutting 20% of its funding to Servol.