

Skill Training in the Informal Sector: Perspectives from Ghana

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Abstract

Youth unemployment is a major concern in sub-Saharan Africa. It usually results from the lack of appropriate skills to enter the labour market in Ghana, hence, many enter the informal sector to train for a vocation. But, there are problems in the acquisition of skills in the informal sector because the training is usually informal and unstructured. This research adopts a qualitative approach to explore training in the informal sector. It seeks to explore the modes of training and their impact on employability in the informal sector. This study provides empirical evidence to anchor policies on education and institutional policy prescriptions towards effectively equipping the youth with both employable and entrepreneurship skills that promote economic growth in the country. The findings indicate that trainings designed for informal workers are not linked to the development agenda of the state and the institutions are challenged in the execution of their mandates. Some beneficiaries are unable to implement their learning for lack of start-up capital and divert to other entrepreneurial activities as survival strategies. The government needs to plan for the development of entrepreneurial skills for SMEs in the informal sector to support its growth and industrialisation agenda.

Keywords: Skill Training, Informal Sector, Informal Employment, sub-Saharan Africa

1. Introduction

Training is a learning experience towards a relatively permanent change in an individual's skills, knowledge, attitudes or social behaviour. Training provided could be formal or informal (De Cenzo and Robbins, 1996; Hellriegel, Jackson, Slocum, Staude, Klopper, Louw and Oosthuizen, 2001). Formal training has an identifiable start and end with determinable hours for workers and budget but informal training is elusive because workers learn from watching others within unstructured settings and for most workers the training never ends (Brown, 1989). In a study in Swiss on why some firms train apprentices but many others do not, it was observed that the attempt to introduce a training policy to enhance informal training would cause non-training firms to incur significantly higher cost during the apprenticeship period. In this same study, the apprenticeship system is a path taken by 60% of youngsters at secondary level. Upon the completion of their secondary schooling most of them choose the dual education system, where vocational education at school with training is combined with working for a company (Wolter, Mühlemann, and Schweri, 2006). But, this kind of industry support does not exist for secondary school leavers in Ghana. Training schemes in the informal sector are only truly effective when they are tailored to the social and economic situations they seek to improve or develop. The effectiveness of these schemes depend on how integrated they are with the process of implementation and expected outcomes (Walther and Filipiak, 2007). In a similar study on training interventions towards the development of entrepreneurial skills in the informal sector in South Africa, black micro entrepreneurs in the informal sector have very limited skills. These limited skills of entrepreneurs is attributed to a lack of formal education and training which contribute to the success of a micro entrepreneur's business. Skills competencies are acquired mostly after start-up initiatives take form and through experimental learning (learning by making mistakes) without technical skills which are a prerequisite for starting a micro business or any business. Due to this, management skills are often lacking in situations where the entrepreneurial skills were acquired through experimental learning (Smith and Perks, 2006).

Traditional school based programs rarely present students the opportunity to apply what they learn, and on-the-job learning also does not fully equip students with the conceptual knowledge about their field of activity. Zimmermann et al.

(2013) therefore promote dual models of vocational education and training tailored to the labour market. However, specific conditions found in a given national or local context should be taken into account. Apprenticeships should be articulated better with the schooling system and the formal sector in countries where traditional or informal apprenticeships are dominant yet mainly confined to traditional crafts. Such countries need to open up to new technologies and occupational change (Zimmermann et al., 2013). The key to South Africa's economic future was found in the training of young entrepreneurs who can create their own wealth and businesses and jobs for others because a greater percentage of South Africa's population was unskilled and yet the formal education system was unable to absorb the numbers (Erasmus and Van Dyk, 2003). The acquisition of skills is thus, facilitated by training but the formal means is not sufficient to achieve the goals of training for skills hence the need for training in the informal sector. Though many studies focused on the importance of training and the impact of training in developing people for skills, this study focuses on how trainings are implemented for effective skills development for employability of the youth in the informal sector.

This study examines skills development in the informal sector. The research further looks at the modes of training or apprenticeship and how they promote the employability of the youth in the informal sector. In addressing the above objectives, the following questions will direct the study.

1. What are the forms of training via apprenticeship in the informal sector?
2. Do these training programmes or apprenticeships promote employability?
3. What are the factors that promote or mitigate against skill acquisition in informal training programmes or apprenticeships in the informal sector?

It is expected that the results of this research will help the informal operatives to find out about best practices to improve their skill development. The findings will help the institutions working in the informal sector to adopt suitable forms of training according to the need of the trainee.

2. Background discussion

Apprenticeship in the informal sector has been going on for years but the youth do not seem to be adequately prepared for work or entrepreneurial opportunities.

The uniqueness of the sector shows that a different form of training is needed by providers, both institutions and individuals. In this sector, the workers need to be multiple skilled but they do not have the time to train or to upgrade. The informal sector is significant in the Sub-Saharan Africa in Nigeria, Kenya and Senegal. In 2000, it accounted for about 42% of GDP in 23 African countries (Schneider, 2002, Devey, Skinner & Valodia, 2006). How these workers are prepared for job activities is therefore critical for discussion. The operatives can become entrepreneurs if they acquire technical and vocational education or training. In the informal sector, the self-employed usually work for employers to acquire skills on the job informally or through apprenticeships. Then, they leave to begin their own business.

Skill training was vibrant in preparing workers for informal employment (Atchoarena & Delluc, 2001) in the 1960s until the implementation of the SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s when the governments' budgets shrunk and institutions could not upgrade skill training programmes to meet the growing changes in the informal sector (Filipak, 2007 in Adams, 2009; ILO, 2002b). Apart from these, training provided by the government seem tailored for the formal or literate sector and these are theoretical and difficult to implement in the informal setting (Liimatainen, 2002). The training is standardized and does not meet the diverse multi-skills needed in the informal sector (Zideman, 2003). The public vocational or technical schools require continuous full time study which does not meet the needs of those earning a living who need to upgrade their skill. A more suitable approach was adopted in the 1990s where NGOs and experienced craftsmen tailored skill training to the needs of the operatives and trained the workers during off-hours under the Kenya Jua kali programme (Adams, 2009).

Today, entrepreneurship education in secondary and tertiary institutions prepare people for entrepreneurial activities in the informal sector but to Farstad (2002) these trainings in Botswana, Uganda and Kenya have no immediate impact on starting a business. This is due to the fact that the traditional way to starting a business is through apprenticeship or employment to gain experience. Partnerships between training institutions and private enterprises in curriculum development and delivery improved the skill development process. Those who missed formal education and literacy programmes get the needed second-chance education (World Bank, 2007). To provide effective training in the informal

sector, the providers should understand the people in order to provide context relevant solutions in which they can cope and sustain their livelihoods. The skill training programmes need to consider education, poverty eradication and development to provide holistic interventions (Singh, 2000) of learning because learning is a personal activity that is influenced by social activity.

The informal sector in Ghana is made up of over 90% of the working population (GSS, 2015) mostly in diverse survival economic activities. The government has not included this sector in its development agenda but believes that these category of workers could pay tax. This year, the government announced its intention to formalise the sector and requires every person to register for a tax number. To achieve the revenue target for 2018, the government is implementing measures that will ensure tax compliance and revenue collection from the current taxpayer pool particularly from the informal sector to contribute towards the revenue mobilisation strategy.

Given the government's agenda to formalise the informal sector as announced in the 2018 budget it is relevant to assess the preparedness of the sector to accept this change. The workers need to move from survival strategies to acquiring requisite skills to grow businesses to be able to survive, operate profitably and pay relevant taxes. Everyone from 18 years in Ghana is expected to register for a tax identification number (TIN) with the IRS to pay tax and to access public services such as registration for the health insurance, national ID card, bank account etc. This paper assesses skill training in the informal sector which provides the needed capacity for the personnel in the informal sector to grow their businesses and be able to pay the expected tax the government looks forward to in widening its tax net.

2.1 The context of training in the informal sector

Training to the informal worker is learning to know and understand clusters of enterprises to help solve problems and to acquire competencies to implement solutions (Singh, 2000). The abilities then enable the informal worker to develop multiple skills that can aid in switching jobs when one is found to be unprofitable. The economic activities are survival strategies and any unproductive venture is abandoned and new ones identified and pursued. These workers take control of their lives and do not only train for skills but also to be empowered to earn a living

at any stage in their lives to secure their income and work (Rodgers, 2000). Given the mark diversity within the informal sector, skill training needs to consider the differences within the sector but skill building packages are developed on the assumption that these workers are almost totally illiterate.

The challenge this poses is the focus on manual work instead of the mental and the changing competencies needed to switch between jobs to stay successful. The difficulty also arises because the boundary is fading and these workers need mental skills to be effectively manual. Since the formal sector in developing countries keeps shrinking it is no longer the main source of employment for the working class and the re-emergence of the informal sector needs to be tabled on the development agenda. Policies in these countries need to consider training perspectives that support entire communities and self-employment, different modalities and different contexts (Singh, 1997) and work settings given the diversity within the sector.

The strategies ministries and government departments adopt in disseminating skills in the informal sector are inadequate for the interventions needed within the sector. The institutions are unable to cover the entire spectrum of skills and training needed for employment generation, the traditional apprenticeships do not fully provide the skills needed and the skill training do not address the changing nature of the informal sector (Mamgain & Awasthi, 2001). In developing countries like Ghana and Bangladesh the traditional informal apprenticeship system is the means of skill training in the informal sector for welding, carpentry, bicycle and auto repair, dressmaking etc. The skills transferred is usually limited to particular crafts without defined standards and usually there is no additional support in the learning process. It is what the master learned that can be imparted. The apprentice learns the skills by observing and assisting the master in all kinds of work extending to personal and home activities. The extension of the apprentice and master relationship becomes exploitative. The learning context is unstructured, flexible and adaptable to the needs of the master craftsman. It is targeted at providing skills for self-employment in the informal sector. After the completion of the programme the apprentice usually serves the master for a period of one or more years before leaving to begin his or her own business (Titumir, 2005).

3. Methodology

This is a qualitative research which follows the interpretive process of research. Grounded theory is used to study apprentices and their masters. The study population comprises informal workers and support training institutions in Ghana. Apprentices and “masters” (those providing informal training) are used in this study. The empirical focus are the trainees and their masters in the informal sector in the Greater Accra region because it is the hub for economic activity in the country. The research uses cross sectional survey data that is collected at a given point in time.

The sample is selected based on the purposive and convenience methods. For the purposive reason, the selected participants helped to provide the needed information in different economic sectors for the study (4 seamstresses, 5 welders, 10 aluminium and glass fabricators, 2 masters and 3 institutions training informal workers). More so, the providers of the training, the masters, explained the factors that influence the choice of mode for the training. Specifically, apprentices were selected using convenience sampling depending on availability.

In order to gather empirical evidence, the researchers used interviews to collect data from the participants. The views of the service providers, apprentices and masters are sought on the forms the training take, the duration of the training, problems faced during the period of training and the way forward. The transcribed text was coded (Walker & Myrick, 2006) and analysed to generate results. The variables are discussed to assess the effectiveness of the training programmes generally. The necessary ethical concerns regarding informing the respondents and organisations selected for the study are strictly be followed.

The data collected is thematically analysed (Creswell, 2012). Hence, the result is discussed to derive some conclusions for theoretical formulations and implications.

4. Discussion of empirical evidence

The data was analysed to find out how the apprenticeship or training in the informal sector is conducted in Ghana and whether the skill training provided promotes employability. The analysis further looks at factors that promote or mitigate against the attempt to train in the informal sector.

The government and some of its institutions train the informal workers using different modalities depending on the focus of the institution. While an institution focuses on the manufacturing and the services sector another provides technical and vocational training in general across the formal and informal sectors at the pre-tertiary level. This indicates the tendency for these institutions to duplicate their effort and cross train in the informal sector because the scope of one organisation crosses into the focus of the other. The development agenda for the informal sector needs to be clearly mapped out or planned for the limited efforts by government to be focused and a wider coverage of these workers be reached. A respondent in a government institution explained their focus,

'It is all about industrialization in Ghana so we train people in the manufacturing and service industry. We help the hawkers but they are not our primary beneficiaries. We don't do commerce but when there are special programs then we can train them, we do but our principal clientele bases are those into manufacturing and service industries; we talk of block manufacturers, welding, auto spraying, barbers, hair dressers, interior décor, and general printing. It is about industrializing the country; buying and selling high quality goods made in Ghana.'

The other institution is a regulatory body for those providing technical and vocational education and those who train at the pre-tertiary level in the formal and informal sectors. COTVET which trains the informal workers categorise those they train as,

'Those who are operating their own shops, having their own containers, at least having a minimum of two learners to be trained. Or even if you don't have any training at all but you are operating your own shop in the technical and vocational trade. These are the people who are operating in the informal sector. This includes those who are not operating in a well-structured system, for instance the absence of laid down rules for work. Their work is more of a 'one man business' whether registered or not.'

Meanwhile NBSSI (National Board for Small Scale Industries) defines the informal work as a small business or micro-enterprise as,

'As part of our mandate as NBSSI, we are to come up with the definition for small businesses. We define a micro enterprise or a small business in terms of the number of employees and the value of its fixed assets. The number of employees for a micro enterprise is from one to six, seven to twenty nine employees for a small enterprise, thirty to ninety nine for a medium scale enterprise and any number above that is a large enterprise. The classification excludes land and building.'

While informal work needs to have more than an apprentice to qualify into a training programme in one government institution it needs to have up to six employees to receive help from the other government institution. The government has not been able to define the category of workers in the informal sector it is dealing with. As a result, it has not been able to develop workable skill training interventions for its people.

Skill training or apprenticeship in the informal sector takes on several forms such as oral presentations, observations, trial and error, modelling, coaching, mentoring among others. At the shop, the master craftsman explains the work for those who are now beginning work or for work processes that the trainee has not done before. Then they observe the master to do it and the apprentices observe the processes. The master usually requests an apprentice to assist in the processes to learn some of the skills gradually until s/he can perform the activity unaided as described below,

'It's a practical one. In the workshop we give the theoretical lecture (explanation) then they do the hands on. Our training is mostly on the hands on. Say you can produce this fan, not just writing the procedure or the processes of producing it. Do it and let's see. That's is why we call it competence base, you become competent in doing it. Do it and let's see. So ours is practical, hands on, always done in the workshop.'

It is unhelpful to do anything academic in the form of a formal school because the workers get disinterested and turn away from the programme due to illiteracy. The inability to read and write by most of the informal population makes them shun formal education or training. An institution reports of how the workers do not show interest in attending their training programmes because the workers think they should be able to read and write. This institution finds it difficult bringing the

workers to participate because they do not want to be made uncomfortable. The inability of the workers to read and write make it impossible for the trainers to give out printed materials, it always has to be by the word of mouth. Sometimes it is difficult to communicate because of the language barrier. Even though the institutions find this difficult, an informal Madam, seamstress, who speaks, Twi, a different language from an apprentice (Ewe), who can also hardly speak her language, has been able to complete two years of training by her Madam comprehensively. The informal master craftsman is able to find a way out of the language barrier through demonstration and practice that is hindering the formal sector from providing effective skill training to the target.

4.1 Promoting employability through skill training

While the institutions mainly target informal workers already in employment to train, the masters train anyone who is ready to learn the trade, the youth, educated and the non-educated adults. The institutions focus on skill improvement but the master craftsmen people to start up the business. It is interesting to note that both the government institutions and the masters train minors below 18 years to prepare them for adult life.

'The people who come to us are beneath the approved eighteen years. Some come at the age of sixteen. We train them so that when they are of a legal age to register a business, then they can do that.'

At this age, these persons can hardly be employed in the formal sector but the reality is that they are either employees or self-employed in the informal sector. This notwithstanding, most of the people who train with the institutions have started their businesses, some attend the training to polish up their skills but along the line, some drop out. Some also diversify because trends are changing. The institutions do not usually follow up but when they do they find that some of the trainees are able to maintain the skills, some are looking to start new businesses and others are looking to start an enterprise but they lack the money for a start-up kit and sometimes some divert to do something else to raise capital to begin the activity they intend to have. Sometimes when the government institutions run entrepreneurship programs corporate bodies contact them to support with start up kits. A respondent from an institution claims,

'That's why we need so many friends.'

When these sponsors and donors do not support, some of the trainees learn the skills but they are not able to put it to use due to lack of start-up capital. They end up lurking around the master craftsmen to help out for stipends. This is a report from an apprentice who has completed her training.

'If I'm able to sew something then she gives me something from that. Like a commission. There is no place in my house. I don't know where I will stay and work from and I don't have space. I don't have a machine.'

Other trainers, especially the institutions, train hawkers from the streets to provide them with skill to be able to establish them in some form of business. For this category of trainees, the total cost of the training is borne by the sponsor or the donor. For example a respondent from COTVET (Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training) reported that,

'We recently ended one. We call it DSIP (Development of Self for Industry Project). And it was for the informal sector. The master craftsmen who are working include those in the cosmetologists, the garment and the electronics. So we pick the youth who are on the streets and are not doing anything, we assign them to these masters, they train them and their training fees are paid for.'

For such workers it is obvious that they are engaged in survival strategies and as such training them and not providing for their start-up capital will not make the skill acquisition process meaningful. But, if the institutions do not have funding at the time they complete the skill training process, to the extent to which they can afford, they leave the trained workers to their fate.

On the other hand, while it takes an average of three years to fully complete an apprenticeship training in the informal sector, the institutions provide support for the training in less than one year. This means that the trainees do not acquire the full or complete training to be able to set up and manage the business in the area they have been partially trained. As a result, this institution looks out for those who have already established their trade to help them improve. If the project does not come with funding to supply the apprentices with the upgraded equipment they were trained to use or in the technology, then the institution will teach the

trainees and leave them to find their own tools. If the apprentices do not put them to use, then they will have to go back to their old ways to improvise for cheap technology.

In addition to the above, one of the institutions recruits its trainees from the informal worker associations through their national headquarters but majority of the hawkers and the self-employed or own-account workers do not belong these groupings. This government institution has one office in Accra and it is expected to provide skill training and upgrade to the 90% of the Ghanaian working population in the informal sector (GSS, 2015).

‘That is a disadvantage. When you want to be in the informal sector, it means that you should be in an organized body for you to enjoy these benefits. There are a lot of associations. But because, those who are not in associations are more than those who are, it limits the coverage. For instance if I learnt how to sew from helping an aunt and I’m not practising, the dressmakers association will not accept me.’

Therefore, many of the informal workers do not benefit from the services provided because of a possible choice of not belonging or an inability to belong to these associations. The inability to use these learned skills add up to factors that mitigate against skill training in the informal sector as discussed below.

Factors promoting or mitigating against skill training in the informal sector

Skill training in the informal sector has helped some informal businesses to grow and register. As a result of the acquired skill, the exposure and the support enjoyed an informal worker has been observed to expand her trade. A training institution narrated a success story,

‘When you go to Kumasi we have one person there who was an informal sector worker in cosmetology. After giving her training in doing nails, make up etc., she has transformed her training into a formal one and is now running an institution. Admitting learners, operating like a formal institution, teaching and then it is accredited.’

Apart from the reported success, the skill training efforts have also been riddled with challenges. The main challenge has been the lack of funds to complete the training processes and to support the trainees to purchase equipment or start-up capital to begin business ventures of their own. Some other trainees learn about the improved technology in their area of trade but they do not put the learned skill to practice because of the lack of money to purchase the modern version of the tools. To add to this, the institutions do not have adequate personnel to use as resource persons. Out of necessity, the institutions charge the informal trainees or SMEs for some of the programs and then add the government support and donations from other partners. One of the institutions also writes proposals to seek partnership for support.

Another difficulty faced in skill training in the informal is the inability to manage the dispersed nature of the sector.

'They are too scattered. Mobilizing them, bringing them together and even creating the awareness. For instance making them know that COTVET is there to assist them and whatever we do, we should let the country be aware of it so that if there is any support, not only financially, but say technical, we will make it available to them. That awareness is not there. Some people are working at home but people wouldn't even know that someone is sewing in the house.'

Some of these apprentices do not have the spaces in their homes to begin the business and even when they are able to enrol as apprentices, they go through the training without the needed tools to effectively learn the trade. Some Masters allow these poor persons to enrol without paying fees 'tsir nsa'. The masters sometimes give the trainees stipend to purchase food to sustain them through the day when they help in completing some contract. These craftsmen are able to train illiterates to take measurement and cut materials to specification to work. Sometimes, the masters are unwilling to pass on knowledge and skills to the learners when they see them to be disrespectful. A secondary school leaver thinks the pace of teaching is slow and that he believes he can do much more. When he discusses his concerns the master feels challenged and then holds back from training him. The masters do not tailor the apprenticeship programmes to categories of workers or levels of learning. Everyone who shows up begins the

same way and goes through the same process to the end. At the end, the trainee serves the master for a minimum of six months before leaving.

The next session discusses the implications of these findings on the trainings provided.

5. Discussion of the findings

This section discusses the findings presented above to respond to the focus of this paper. The data presented indicates that both the institutions and the workers in the informal sector have a period in time they schedule to begin skill training but the trainees with the local craftsmen are unsure when this training ends. For the institutions, they train the beneficiaries based on the availability of funds. When the funds are exhausted the training ends irrespective of whether the trainee is able to utilise the skill or not. The institutions train within a period of six months to one year meanwhile an average period of time for a full apprenticeship training lasts for three years. As a result, for most of the trainees, the training period does not seem to end for them to have the complete skill to get established (refer to Brown, 1989).

These institutions also have independent programmes all geared towards the same category of workers in the informal sector, one focuses on manufacturing and services and another on the informal sector in general. The lack of demarcation is likely to duplicate the processes, the outcomes and even the beneficiaries of the programmes by the separate institutions. Meanwhile when the activities are concerted by the institutions they are likely to provide a more complete skill training than those who attend the shorter term trainings.

For other institutions, the beneficiaries are those who have already started their entrepreneurial activity or micro business so the focus of the training is to provide them with technical skills to strengthen or grow their trade. These workers therefore lack management skills and therefore, they do not know or are unable to follow management principles and legal provisions concerning their trade. The schooling system in Ghana which provides some basis of formal learning does not provide the leavers with entrepreneurial skills and are therefore not ready for

work. Following this, Zimmermann et al. (2013) proposes a dual system of education and training the youth with skill for work.

Skill training in the informal sector takes various forms. The institutions train in the forms of lectures, adult learning format of sharing by experienced craftsmen and practical studies. Sometimes, the institutions give recorded copies of their lectures on CDs for the participants. A programme targeted at the youth leaving school in pre-vocation is now being piloted for the organisation to attach interested persons to master crafters. While the institutions and even the workers train in an area of trade at a time, the operatives need multiple skills because when these workers do not find a particular trade viable they easily switch to other entrepreneurial activities and they mostly do not have time to be trained for another skill. Neither the institutions nor the craftsmen who train the apprentices have a solution in sight for this.

It is worthy of note that the nature of the informal sector in itself poses a problem to the skill development process for both the institutions and the workers. The institutions find it difficult to create awareness within the sector because of the scattered nature of the workers. They do not know how to reach them to invite them onto their programmes so they resort to the associations in the informal sector with limited members. The institutions make requests from the head office of the associations and then the associations nominate participants from their branches. This is a disadvantage to those who are not unionised either by choice or do not qualify to belong. This process therefore limits the coverage of the training programmes because those who are not in the associations outnumber those in it. There are nine informal associations with UNIWA, the federation of informal workers and a few scattered ones in the country.

From the above discussions, the conclusions of the study are presented in the next section.

6. Conclusion

Skill training in the informal sector is a necessity to empower the workers within the sector to begin and grow their entrepreneurial activities since the private sector is considered the engine of growth. The impact of the trainings provided by the institutions is very minimal because it has not covered a significant

proportion of the target sector. Unfortunately, training programmes geared at providing the needed support are not coordinated for maximum output. The institutions supporting skill training within the informal sector could cross train the same workers without knowing. As a result, efforts that should provide a wider coverage is narrowly spread and that duplicates the training efforts in the informal sector. The government needs to provide a development plan for the institutions to clearly focus on specified training activities or a specific training agenda in the informal sector.

This development agenda should consider the facilitation of learning, skill development and utilisation. Facilities (start-up capital or equipment) could be advanced to the trainees to acquire and pay according to their ability when the business begins. The equipment or start-up kit or capital can be granted as a loan. The beneficiary would then schedule to pay back after the business is established. For instance the apprentice who completed work but is unemployed could be supported to acquire a sewing machine and then pay back when she begins her own work. At the moment, she is idling by the shop to support the master when needed. At the moment, the skill training in the informal sector is not adequately targeted and the institutions are not resourced to ensure that the efforts lead a trainee into employment.

The institutions and the informal workers all have concepts and perceptions of the informal sector. All these views vary, consequently, the target for each service provider crosses over into the other's definition of the informal worker. The intersections or repetitions in defining the boundaries duplicate the effort within the sector. It is important for the state to clearly define informal work, its workers and the boundaries for the sector to help service providers to focus their efforts. Apart from these, the level of illiteracy within the country (9.1% of the population) (GSS, 2015) makes it difficult for the formally trained personnel to train or communicate in the local languages. The government needs to promote adult literacy to give those who missed school another chance to learn to read and write in order to facilitate the promotion of the application of technology in various trades. When learning cannot be effectively transferred because of the language barrier employability cannot be guaranteed.

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