Maria G. Baier-D'Orazio
Vital Banywesize Mukuza

Guitars, bricks and sailors

The extraordinary success story of a vocational training centre in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Gitarren, Ziegelsteine und Matrosen – Die ungewöhnliche Erfolgsgeschichte eines Ausbildungszentrums im Kongo

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Message of greetings from His Excellency Jean Claude Kibala N'Kolde Vice-Governor of the province of South Kivu Democratic Republic of Congo

First of all I wish to welcome the publication of this book, which – 25 years after the creation of CAPA (Centre D'Apprentissage Professionnel et Artisanal) – informs about its experiences.

My interest in vocational and skills training, which I already expressed at the time to the German ambassador in Kinshasa, motivated CAPA's partners in compiling this publication to grant me the opportunity to write these lines.

The Democratic Republic of Congo in general and South Kivu in particular have large numbers of people of working age. Due to the specific regional context of recurring wars, an inappropriate educational system and a culture of easy achievement, they have no occupation or employment.

Paradoxically, there is a significant demand for goods, works, skilled craftsmen and other services. At the same time the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo – particularly its mineral resources – offer considerable material opportunities.

In view of the vast number of workers who are not qualified to become self-employed, I am convinced that increasing the degree of professionalism through practical occupations and activities, in accordance with the needs of the people, is a tangible contribution to development.

Wars and conflicts cause havoc in Congo and lure the young unemployed into becoming combatants.

Training youth so that they can produce goods and services for the benefit of the people thus constitutes a strategy for youth employment and a contribution to secure the lasting peace that we strive to achieve in our region.

As I engage in promoting technical and vocational education and training for the youth of South Kivu, I discover that the province already has an exemplary model: CAPA – a vocational school in Bukavu, a centre for vocational and skills training.

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If there is something I would like to mention about CAPA, it is the broad range of occupations that it provides training for, its openness to accept applicants without any discrimination and to adapt its training to their needs, as well as the fact that it is an undertaking supported by German partners. All this turns this centre into a model that needs to be sustained and multiplied across the whole province.
Jobseekers' demand for training at CAPA already surpasses its capacity in terms of the courses and opportunities on offer. This motivates us to create more such training centres in the near future and as quickly as possible, focusing first on the rural areas, which lack other alternatives.
I would not want to miss the opportunity to congratulate not just CAPA but also CBCA (Communauté des Eglises Baptistes au Centre de l'Afrique), the Baptist Church in Central Africa and thank them for this good social initiative, which helps the children in the province. Through the EED I also thank the German people for the development aid that is provided to CAPA – an institution that has become a focal point in the region when it comes to vocational and skills training.

In my position as the authority of South Kivu, I urge the German government to grant us financial and material support to create further centres similar to CAPA in the province.

Long live CAPA.

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Preface by Dr. Konrad von Bonin chairman of the body of executive directors of the Church Development Service (Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst – EED)

"CAPA and CBCA for courage"

The first time I travelled to East Congo was in August 2007: the Baptist Church in Central Africa (Communauté des Eglises Baptistes au Centre de l'Afrique – CBCA) had invited African partner organisations to its education congress entitled "Participatory pedagogy from kindergarten to tertiary education". The border town of Bukavu was fascinating, with its endless lines of people along steep slopes. So many girls and boys in their blue school uniforms; so many women bent under a load of wood, vegetables, bananas and toddlers, often heavier than the carriers themselves.

"What will all these young people do after they finish school?" I asked myself as I visited the crammed kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools. "Those who manage to move on to tertiary education will surely make good doctors and useful agronomists in this crisis-stricken society," I thought as I did a tour of the Protestant University and the hospital in the municipal district of Panzi. But what will become of the great majority of girls and boys who leave school after only a few years? Must women continue to carry heavy loads of basic food from the rural areas into town? Will the young men join one of the many militias or gangs, take up arms and prove themselves through robbery and violence?

On our journey through the Kivu region we were glad to meet with alternatives that offer hope for generations supposedly lost due to the war. CAPA, a centre for vocational and skills training, is certainly an outstanding example: committed men and women teach girls and boys, healthy and disabled, victims and former perpetrators. They learn a useful trade and develop the courage to live a respectable life. On my tour through the workshops, I was impressed by how production and training are connected. I was also impressed to meet self-employed carpenters and dress makers who have taken master

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artisan courses in different parts of South Kivu. With these skills, qualified workers can take the peaceful development of their country into their own hands.

On the island of Idjwi, in Lake Kivu, we were welcomed at an oasis of peace. Here, CBCA – together with local women, men and youth – runs a diverse youth and adult education programme, which includes agricultural training, health education and family counselling. In Goma we were introduced to the nursing school and the teachers' further training programme of the Church. In the high mountains of North Kivu, in Ndoluma, Kitsombiro, Butembo up to Beni and Oicha at the border with Uganda, the different parishes showed us the social facilities that they built during the war: small-scale hydropower systems, schools, hospitals, meeting places, drinking-water supply, brick production, animal husbandry, mills, electrical engineering, food processing.

Also in the war-ridden east Congo there is a high demand from almost all spheres of society for knowledge, skills and attitudes. CAPA and CBCA help the younger generation to attain the necessary vocational training and to develop their creative abilities. The participating women and men will be able to shape their own future in responsibility for their fellow humans and before God. We gladly support them in their effort.

Bonn, 5 December 2008

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Foreword

CAPA's beginning as a vocational and skills training centre was modest – and marked by more than one setback. Today it has become a visible hallmark of the social commitment of the Baptist Church in Central Africa. Thanks to the support by the Church Development Service (Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst – EED) CAPA has succeeded in overcoming several major challenges that it faced over the years, particularly during the recurring wars. Indeed the factors influencing CAPA's work and the deficiencies it had to overcome were by no means negligible: the lack of employment, that led youth into crime; young girls and women, who earned their living as sex workers; the army and the militias, that attracted young people with promises of money and glory. And when the young people were discharged from the army or left the militias they faced a life without a future. CAPA has given many of these young people prospects for a better future: vocational training in a highly diverse range of occupations enables them to find work or become self-employed. Whether they were trained as car mechanics, earn their living as a carpenter or boil soap to sell at the market – they could all improve their living conditions, which kept some of them from enlisting again with the armed groups. We as a Church believe that CAPA's work, whose foremost goal is social and economic development, contributes to building peace by reducing poverty. Today we all know that one of the causes for armed conflicts is poverty.

If we now take a particular pleasure in the successes of CAPA, it is because we all remember all too well the ups and downs it has gone through in its 25 years of existence. At times the way forward was slow and halting and sometimes it was held back by resistance to change. The reorientation of the training system, which was made possible by the EED initiative and was professionally supported by the FAKT associate consultant Maria Baier-D'Orazio, gave the necessary stimulus that brought about positive results. We hope that with this book we can share our experiences with a large number of people and organisations who work in the same sector. We sincerely thank all those who in many different ways contributed to making CAPA what it is today. Our special thanks go to EED for its subsidies

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and its commitment to poverty reduction; to FAKT for its technical support; to VEM for its financial support during the first years as well as to all staff of CAPA under the successive leadership of Walter Göller, Ndivito Makima and Vital Mukuza.

Reverend Dr. Kakule Molo
President of CBCA
Goma December 2008

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How this book came to be written

The Protestant Church has supported the vocational and skills training centre CAPA (Centre d'Apprentissage Professionnel et Artisanal) in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo for many years – 25 years to be precise. At the beginning it was through personnel cooperation carried out by development workers of VEM (United Evangelical Mission), who worked at CAPA for years, mainly as trainers. Later, CAPA was granted financial support by EZE (Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe, now: EED). From 1995 onwards, CAPA received continual conceptual support at intervals of one to three years from FAKT, a consultancy company with close links to the Church. Altogether, CAPA has received external support for a quarter of a century. That is a long period of time. This alone could well justify collecting and assessing the experiences made and presenting them to the public. There could be an interest, for instance, in documenting successes, demonstrating the usefulness of development cooperation and corroborating the proper use of funds. Or one might be seeking publicity in times of increasingly scarce funding resources. These are not the reasons for writing this book. The true reason for this publication is more modest. It is rooted in the astonishment, in the amazement that such a difficult undertaking as the reorientation of vocational education and training could succeed under such dire circumstances. In many countries with a stable political environment or even economic growth it is often not possible to make such progress. How can it be, we asked ourselves, that such a project is so successful in – of all places – a region that has been torn by crisis and war for two decades. What were the factors that led to this success? How were the many obstacles overcome? What can we learn from this experience for other projects? These are the questions that this book seeks to answer. We hope to provide valuable food for thought to many people, individuals and organisations, and above all encourage all those who encounter obstacles in their work with development projects. For CAPA's experience has shown very clearly: with determination, courage and honesty all obstacles can be overcome, no matter how insurmountable they may seem.

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The purpose and structure of this book address all those who are interested in vocational and skills training in developing countries. We have in mind particularly those responsible for vocational training centres in developing countries and their staff. This is why we are also publishing this book in French and English. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is not often possible to "reorient" a formal technical and vocational education and training system and to turn it into a flexible and adaptive model. Therefore, we are keen to provide all those who are about to embark on such an experiment – or are already in the midst of it – with not just a general account of our experiences but with solid analysis and the most important conclusions and lessons learned. Because of this, some sections of the book are somewhat technical. Despite the detailed descriptions related to vocational and skills training, we also want it to be interesting and compelling for other readers – for instance for all those who are interested in the controversial and much discussed topic of development cooperation in times of crisis and war. This is why we describe the context of crisis and war in some detail, particularly the experiences with training ex-combatants. A third group of readers may find the description of the strategies and approaches for training specific marginalised groups of interest. Here the focus lies on the psychological and pedagogical means that CAPA used to reach out to traumatised individuals, raped women or ethnic minorities and secure their vocational training. The structure of the book follows the rationale of an impact study. This makes a certain amount of repetition unavoidable. This occurs because activities and events are analyzed in different contexts. Additionally, being a technical book, it should also be comprehensible even when isolated chapters are read. This also requires making references to previously mentioned aspects. With regard to gender, we have chosen to use the masculine form, as this is in accordance with the current composition of the target group and the actors involved on behalf of CAPA and other institutions.

This book is the result of an intense dialogue with the staff of CAPA over a period of two years – marred by unpredicted interruptions and adversities. Casualties in the director's family due to a plane crash and a shipping accident, severe illness, an earthquake, the theft

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of the laptop with all the data already collected for this book, the declaration of war by the new rebels, the abduction of the deputy chair of the governing board of CAPA – all this happened during these two years. Thus, the circumstances while writing this book mirror the many obstacles that marred CAPA's development over the last 25 years. As this book not only aims to be an account of experiences but also a sound impact analysis, most data was collected by CAPA staff in numerous field visits and interviews. This arduous field work took place under trying conditions. Their painstaking attention to detail made it possible for the book to appear in this form and deserves our special thanks.

Maria G. Baier-D'Orazio
Vital Banywesize Mukuza

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1. Who is CAPA?

This book is, as we like to say in the North, the story of a "project". This is a way of looking at it with an intervention from outside in mind: a project is funded, a project receives technical assistance, a project has collaborators. This way of looking at things is correct – and wrong at the same time. For the partner in the South, what we call a "project" is the daily work of an organisation – often enough this is *their* institution. Therefore, CAPA is more than just a project number, funded by a faith based organisation using German public funds: it is the long story of an experience shaped by people and circumstances. This is why we put the people first in this book – *before* we go on to describe the political environment, *before* we analyze the process, well just *before anything else*.

Why we are at CAPA

To put it bluntly: many people in developing countries work in a certain organisation for the simple reason that they can earn money doing so. They have a family to feed; it is a matter of survival. Even though this is often the case in the North too, in poor countries this is much more obvious. This is nobody's fault. Yet there are always people who understand their work not just as a means of survival but who are committed to a cause and who work for a certain institution because they want to be part of *that very* institution. The alternative options someone forgoes when working for an institution are a valuable indicator of his commitment: if someone stays on despite having similar or even more lucrative options, he is demonstrating true commitment and dedication. As the refugees fleeing the genocide in Rwanda arrived in the neighbouring Kivu region in east Congo, many strong relief organisations came into the area. They needed local staff and tried to attract capable experts from local institutions. Many followed the call. By local standards, the salaries paid by these organisations were astronomical. CAPA lost staff this way, too. But others stayed on. Yet others joined CAPA after learning about the way it works – although they were already making a living

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somewhere else. What is it that makes people stay at CAPA? And what attracts new people to join CAPA?
Here are the voices of three members of staff who have worked at CAPA for a long time: Kavira Muteho, dress making trainer; Kahasha Kashombe, metal work trainer; Vital Banywesize Mukuza, who used to be an accountant and facilitator at CAPA and is now its director.

Ms Kavira Muteho is the one who has been with CAPA for the longest time, to be precise since 24 years: *"I am at CAPA because here we are like friends – with the other trainers as well as with the ones in charge. I feel very valuable for society. Whenever I meet our graduates, they express their gratitude. I am always very glad to see how our training changes young people's lives. Due to their training, many single mothers are now recognised by their families and society! Some of them have even been able to marry."*

Kahasha Kashombe has been at CAPA for 17 years: *"If am still at CAPA it is because those in charge at CAPA recognise my competence. I have never been excluded from a decision. Among staff we are like brothers and sisters. Every year I have the opportunity to take further training and learn new things, which improves my work for CAPA."*

Vital Banywesize Mukuza has been with CAPA for 15 years: "*When I came to CAPA in 1993 I instantly felt comfortable. The director at the time, Fidèle Ndivito Makima, trusted me and involved me in all matters. Thanks to CAPA I have gained social recognition and a material basis for my existence. It has strengthened my competencies and has made it possible for me to undergo academic further training. The activities at CAPA go well with my abilities and my professional profile. At CAPA I can work in peace, without pressure. The Church values my contribution and my colleagues consider me a responsible leader whom they like to follow. Since I became the director of CAPA I have space to try out my visions and the ideas of my staff. We all at CAPA increasingly develop more ownership for our organisation, share a common vision, goals and values, and work as a team. Although CAPA is part of a larger structure, I regard it as 'my place', as an institution, whose destiny rests on my shoulders and depends on my guidance. This also means that successes and failures concern me in a first instance.*

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Due to the realm of influence that CAPA has reached by now as well as my personal competencies other organisations ask for my services increasingly often."

Working at CAPA means: team spirit, esteem, seeing the point of the work we do. The voices of new members of staff confirm this.

"CAPA has made me what I am today", says Gédéon Kambale Bayikundahi. He was in charge of the bookkeeping for six years and now has moved on to other functions elsewhere.

Magadju Cibey, pedagogic director since five years, stresses another aspect: *"I like the target group of CAPA: young people in a difficult situation and a very diverse educational level."*

Pascal Munoka Mabira worked at CAPA for three years: *"I came to CAPA because this work contributes to building peace. Because CAPA trains young people who are unemployed and also those who have belonged to armed groups."* Pascal used to be responsible for the development projects of the Baptist Church, the institution supporting CAPA. He then worked for CAPA for three years and was in charge of graduates' support. He has now unfortunately been transferred by the Church to another institution.

Finally, Joseph Salumu looks at it from an outsider's point of view. He is a car mechanic and formally employed at a different faith based organisation. He has been working for CAPA as associate trainer for five years. He speaks in superlatives: *"CAPA is unique. There is no other vocational training centre that works like CAPA."*

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2. What matters to us

Usually, many contribute to the success of a project, a programme, or an organisation as such. Everyone involved has their own take on what makes this success important to them – and therefore of what they consider important to communicate. What follows are the points of view of the CAPA staff, the EED and the external consultant. For CAPA it is of central importance that training has improved the living conditions of many people. "Many now have a regular income, young people have a future, women in a particularly difficult situation now have found a place in society again," is the first thing CAPA staff say when asked. "CAPA's approach allows it to serve its environment in a very specific way: other organisations send young people who are in a difficult situation to us for their training: street children, orphans, former child-soldiers. CAPA has actively contributed to improving the living conditions in rural areas." The director of CAPA adds a further dimension that he considers particularly important: "CAPA is capable of responding to the particular needs of the community. We offer precisely what is needed and demanded. This makes sense and is good value for money. CAPA's flexible concept also allows it to be of particular use to the private sector: companies and businesses can send their staff for further training to CAPA. CAPA's work and its success have contributed to improving society's perception of the crafts sector. Finally, we have shown that a training institution can take an active part in the public reform process of the vocational training sector."

The regional director of the EED, Rudolf Heinrichs-Drinhaus, draws four lessons from the cooperation with the CAPA-Programme. "In prolonged crisis situations in particular, forward-looking development cooperation can bring lasting results – as long as it responds to the real needs of the population and helps them to actively build social change from turmoil. In the area of the African Great Lakes this holds particularly true for the fast growing cities, where millions of young people are looking for a meaningful occupation. Second, vocational training needs to be regarded as an integral part of the overall educational work of the Churches, along with pre-school

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education, schools, universities and lifelong learning. Third, it is important to promote and train the local private sector. This also means that local producers and service providers should be given preference when contracts for relief measures and other long term investments are awarded. Thus, it makes sense that the labour intensive projects funded by the German peace fund for the Democratic Republic of Congo (Friedensfonds für die DR Kongo) are combined with vocational training measures by CAPA or other expert institutions. Fourth, the success of any development effort depends on the commitment of the individuals involved, who with their trust in God and their expertise withstand all adversities and stick to their goals. In the case of CAPA in Bukavu, the two consecutive directors Fidèle Ndivito Makima and Vital Mukuza, all women and men belonging to its staff, as well as the long term consultant Ms Baier-D'Orazio, the chairwoman of the supervisory board Ms Bulabula, and Mr. Kodjo Badohun, consulting engineer from Togo deserve special mention."

The co-author of this book, the consultant who has supported CAPA for many years on behalf of FAKT, wishes to draw the attention of the reader to the institution and the people who work there. True commitment, openness and courage can be seen as the key factors for success: true commitment ensures perseverance in difficult times and openness makes change possible. The courage to see changes through, sometimes against the directives from the authorities, makes fundamental reform possible. But it takes time to find the right way. In the development context, it is not always the case that organisations are granted this time. Success is expected to come on a prompt and predictable basis. CAPA's success was neither of these, yet it became a social catalyst – an impact that few development projects achieve. Furthermore, CAPA shows that successful development work is possible despite crisis and war. Given that crisis spots tend to increase rather than decrease, this should be encouraging to us all.

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3. Development within an explosive sphere

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) is the third largest country in Africa. Situated in the heart of the continent, the country is almost the size of Western Europe. The Democratic Republic of the Congo belongs to the crisis-stricken area of the African Great Lakes – a country rich in natural resources, most of whose 63 million people live in poverty. Paradoxical is the only way to describe a country with so many natural resources as the Congo, one of the world's largest producers of industrial diamonds and dependent on development aid. This is probably mainly due to 30 years of dictatorship, marked by mismanagement and the ruthlessness of those in power. This regime was toppled in 1996 by a rebellion led by Laurent Désiré Kabila. After Laurent Kabila was killed in 2001, his son Joseph Kabila becomes his successor.

The Mobutu era

The Democratic Republic of the Congo was a Belgian colony. In 1886 King Leopold II of Belgium became king of the Congo Free State. About 20 years he ceded it to Belgium and the Congo Free State was renamed Belgian Congo. The country kept this name until its independence in 1960 when it took on the name of Republic of the Congo. To avoid confusion between the former Belgian colony and the neighbouring Republic of the Congo, a former French colony, it became common to call the two countries by their capitals: Congo-Kinshasa and Congo-Brazzaville. Independence, passionately fought for by the freedom fighter Patrice Lumumba, brought only a short-lived hope of liberation. The country was soon torn by struggles for power. Lumumba, who had become the country's prime minister, was killed in 1961. People were starting to talk about a certain Joseph Désiré Mobutu, then chief of the army. In 1965 he instigated a coup d'état and seized power. This was the onset of a dictatorship that lasted 30 years, during which opponents were persecuted and systematically

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eliminated. In the 1970s Mobutu conceived the idea of "Africanising" the country. He began by renaming himself Mobutu Sese Seko and the country to Zaire. The dictator with his leopard-skin cap was soon to become famous worldwide as a man who enjoyed infinite luxury, thanks to the riches of his country, which he ruthlessly exploited for himself and his cronies. The state increasingly withdrew from its responsibilities: schools were no longer funded; health clinics closed. The country fell apart. The economy plunged in a downward spiral, from which it would not recover. Zairian money became worthless. At the market notes were no longer counted – their value was established by their weight in kilogrammes instead. The money needed to buy larger purchases weighed more than the products it bought. Mobutu and his cronies cared little about this; after all money could be printed as needed. And as long as he could illegally sell diamonds to Europe with impunity, the dictator had no cause for concern.

The Kivu region

The Kivu region, in the east of the country and close to the border to Rwanda, was one of the nine provinces of Zaire. Mobutu particularly feared the spirit of resistance in certain provinces and in 1987 decided to split Kivu into three smaller provinces. According to this new policy of "decentralisation" the provinces of South Kivu, North Kivu and Maniema were established, ruled from their respective capitals Bukavu, Goma and Kindu. In his effort to control these distant provinces and crush and divide their rebellious spirit, Mobutu neglected all investment in infrastructure and communication. This was not enough to subdue the people of Kivu, who had started to organise themselves. When Mobutu visited the area in the 1990s to question its people about the multiparty system he did not receive a friendly welcome. In fact, the people of Kivu were more than ready for democracy. For many years, self-organised groups as well as faith based and other nongovernmental organisations had been looking after the people's various needs. A civil society had already developed. In 1991, during the national conference which was part of the country's democratisation process, the self-confidence of the delegation from Kivu was striking. Mobutu, who still had a firm grip on

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things, was not pleased; it was almost as if democracy had already arrived in the eastern provinces 2000 km away from the capital! He decided to keep an eye on the Kivu region by appointing some of his closest allies to key positions in South and North Kivu.
The year 1993 sparked key developments in the region: Burundi's President Ndadaye was assassinated and thousands of people fled from Burundi into the neighbouring Kivu region. Another assassination followed soon after. This time it was the Rwandan president Habyarimana, a Hutu, whose plane was shot at when landing in Kigali. This triggered genocide on an unprecedented scale. Rwanda was engulfed by flames of hatred and ethnically motivated destruction. Nearly a million people, mostly Tutsis and moderate Hutus, lost their lives. Endless streams of refugees poured into Bukavu and Goma and further into the country. Along with the refugees came the assassins, who reorganised themselves in the camps. The extremist Hutu militias, such as the feared *Interahamwe*, did not abandon their goal: all Tutsis were to be eliminated, including the *Banyamulenge* (Tutsis living in Zaire). This was the beginning of an era of violence, with militias spreading fear and terror among the people of Kivu.

War and nothing but war …

At that time a man lived in the woods of Kivu who had long dreamed of the revolution and especially of the power it would bring: Laurent Désiré Kabila. A man, with whom Che Guevara had already practiced revolution in 1965 and about whom he wrote in his book The African Dream: "So far, nothing seems to indicate that he is the right man for the current situation …" Thirty years later, Kabila was probably still not the right man, but this was not yet evident as he set off on his "liberation march" to Kinshasa in 1996, supported by Rwanda and Uganda and welcomed by all the people of Zaire. Indeed, his coalition, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (ADFL), very soon managed to topple the regime. So in 1997 Zaire got a new President and changed its name yet again – it was now called the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Immediately after Kabila took over, everything seemed set to improve: the economy stabilized, a new currency – the Franc Congolais – was introduced.

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But hope had little time to develop into anything more. Less than a year later another rebel movement struck back to oust Kabila. This counterrevolution partly recruited former allies of Kabila and was supported by Rwanda and Uganda. Goma became the stronghold of the rebels and their movement, the RCD (Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie). The second war, also called the "radio war" because the rebels announced Kabila's ousting on the radio, was to last less than seven days – or so the rebels said. These seven days turned into five years of war. This war was waged mainly in the villages and woods of Kivu – between rival militias, between militias and the army and above all by militias and the army against the civilian population. Children were turned into soldiers, as had already happened during the Kabila's liberation war; innocent people were killed, women raped and whole villages massacred.

On 16 January 2001 Laurent Désiré Kabila was killed in Kinshasa. His successor was his son, no less, Joseph Kabila, who at the time was 29 years old and probably one of the youngest presidents ever. A young man with apparent good intentions. But the legacy bequeathed to him would prove a heavy burden. A peace process began under UN supervision. For a short time it looked as if the country, particularly the Kivu region, could find a way out of all this violence. But appearances were deceptive. As the Nyiragongo volcano near Goma suddenly erupted in January 2002, burying half the city under its torrents of lava, political unrest kept flaring up in the Kivu region. In the countryside, villages were still attacked, women raped and the killings and murders continued.

In January 2008 a peace agreement signed by all rebel groups gave rise to hope. But at the time of writing this book, the agreement had already been broken: the rebel chief Laurent Nkunda had declared war on the government. "I appeal to all forces in the country, to all Congolese, to rise up against a government that has betrayed its people…", announced the general of the rebel CNDP (National Congress for the Defence of the People) on 2 October 2008. According to his official statement, he had to protect the Tutsis living in the Kivu region who were still under threat by the Hutu extremists. But nobody knows whether this is the true reason.

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4. A training institution in times of dictatorship, crisis and war

CAPA is a vocational training centre located in Bukavu (South Kivu) that offers vocational and skills training. It is a social institution of the Baptist Church in Central Africa (Communauté des Eglises Baptistes au Centre de l'Afrique – CBCA). CBCA grew from a Baptist mission and became independent 45 years ago. CBCA is a member of the Eglise du Christ au Congo (ECC) and of the World Council of Churches as well as of the United Evangelical Mission (VEM). With its 160,000 members and 384 parishes, the CBCA is one of the most important Protestant churches in the region. The Church governing body is based in Goma, in North Kivu. The CBCA runs a large number of schools, several hospitals and health clinics, a series of local youth and adult education institutions as well as several rural development programmes.

CAPA was founded by the Baptist Church in 1982 as a response to the problems faced by youth in the area. The Congo, at the time still called Zaire, was exploited by the state under the dictator Mobutu, who took no responsibility for the welfare of its people. Mismanagement, corruption and idle – because unpaid – teachers were eroding the education system. Lacking training and being unemployed, the young people drifted into indolence. Alcohol, drugs, theft, prostitution and other similarly negative manifestations started to spread. Many young men migrated to the gold mines to seek their fortune there. The Church was concerned for young people's spiritual welfare but also for their future on earth. It was realistic enough to realise that many young people were keen to take part in prayer groups but that they were not doing anything to improve their lives. Those who were neither in the goldmines nor the prayer groups were surely to be found at the numerous political events called "animation" that were organised by a Ministry created for the purpose, the MOPAP (Mobilisation, Propagande et Animation Politique). Each location had its own group, which might have more than 100 members. These activities were generously sponsored by

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those in power and for many young people were an easy alternative to work.

The school system in Zaire, if it worked at all, had only one form of education pathway which tended to encourage all children to study from elementary school up to university and if possible to achieve a PhD. This pathway was entirely disconnected to the reality of children's lives. Many young people left school and dropped out of this apparently perfect system. There were no options for these young people. During the colonial era there had been some vocational schools but the subsequent regimes had neglected this education branch. Under colonial rule there had also been an institution called *Service National de l'Emploi*, which planned employment, recruited unemployed people and organised vocational training. Nowadays this institution is no more than a name. Therefore the Church assumed part of the responsibility that should have been the state's and created CAPA, initially focusing on young girls since the number of single mothers was steadily rising. Many men, including powerful rulers, kept young girls as mistresses. Early pregnancies were the consequence. Because of this, girls were excluded from formal education and from all other prospects in life. To avoid being accused of sexual exploitation, those in power had even amended the family law. It was now possible to marry girls as young as 14 (instead of 18 as foreseen in the previous law). This did not lead to more marriages but to unrestrained sexual exploitation of minors. The CBCA wanted to offer these young mothers an option by training them as dress makers. Soon afterwards CAPA also introduced training courses for young males, such as car mechanics and carpentry. In the mid-1980s the Ministry for Political Propaganda forced all schools to establish a political youth cell and to integrate political animation into their courses. The CBCA accepted the establishment of a political cell at CAPA but refused to integrate political animation into its courses. Dangerous opposition – since a dictatorship defines itself by means of state imposed conformity, organised control and suppression of any kind of resistance. Hardly anyone can escape that. Mobutu had created a private militia to ensure ideological conformity. The CADR (Corps des Activistes pour la Défense de la Révolution), a special unit of the Gendarmerie, was everywhere, mixed undercover among the

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people, observed, eavesdropped. The control network was so tight that in the end one had the impression that the CADR agents could even read people's thoughts. Opponents used code words to refer to Mobutu and the political situation but they still felt permanently under threat. Those suspected of insurgence by the CADR were secretly deported at night; first they suffered monetary sanctions then whipping and if they were still undeterred, they were put in jail or disappeared forever. At the time, the CBCA's superintendent was summoned three times to be questioned by Mobutu's secret service. He was threatened with jail if he did not integrate political animation into CAPA's courses. In the end, the only way he saw to remain true to his resistance and still avoid being taken to prison was to hand in a generously filled "envelope", which assured him that in the future the secret service would turn a blind eye to the fact that CAPA did not offer political courses. Had they regarded him as a true, active, opponent, not even the envelope would have protected him.

The Baptist Church tried to keep outside the system whenever it could. The fact that CAPA was a private institution and the trainers were not paid by the state helped to some extent. It still did not mean that they could operate entirely outside the ideological pattern. The CADR had a so-called "work brigade", which used joint work on communal land as a means of political education. A certain section of this brigade also pursued the goal of using vocational training as an ideological vehicle. But as this was only based on propaganda and not on a genuine interest in craftsmanship, in the end all that the young people did was to take part in propaganda parades. A youth vocational training project that CAPA proposed at the time to the single party MPR received no response. The Youth Ministry limited its role to vigilance on behalf of the state; there was no genuine interest in the young people. Towards the end of the 1980s mismanagement increased in Zaire. Breakneck monetary devaluation, massive unemployment and a steadily growing number of street children were testimony of this. Young people, dissatisfied and more than ever without any prospects whatsoever, were looking for options and especially keen to receive training for employment. At the time there were only three functioning vocational schools in Bukavu: CAPA, the ITFM (Institut Technique Fundi Maendeleo) and Action

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Sociale CHECHE, a vocational centre run by the Catholic Church. But all these institutions, including CAPA, could do little to change the desperate situation the young people found themselves in: they could only take in a small number of students. Their training system was largely school based: their programmes lasted for too long, had barely any practical content and could only take up a limited number of students. This meant that only a small number of young people had the opportunity to receive training. Additionally, they had to fulfil a series of requirements: a certain level of previous education and – in the case of CAPA – close links to the Church. However, the prospects for the young people and also for the training centres were about to get even worse. Due to the events in the neighbouring countries at the beginning of the 1990s, hundred thousands of refugees crossed the border and the Kivu region almost collapsed under the sheer masses of people. After the Rwandan genocide the Kivu region was literally enclosed by a ring of large scale refugee camps. Nongovernmental organisations, the Church and private citizens took in refugees. CAPA vacated some class rooms to make space for refugees. Mounds of maize cobs were now piled up where machines should be standing. The relief organisations contributed unwittingly to a deterioration of the situation: prices exploded due to the influx of dollars that came with the relief organisations; capable staff were lured away to more lucrative jobs with the relief organisations. For instance, the relief organisations needed qualified drivers for their many vehicles, if possible trained car mechanics. CAPA as a vocational school had just this kind of qualified staff. There was nothing CAPA could do to retain three of its qualified staff who decided to quit. The temptation was just too strong: USD 400 per month instead of USD 100 – only a saint would turn such an offer down.

In 1996 Kabila's so-called liberation war turned South Kivu into the war's hotspot. Many people died. Large numbers of people fled from the towns of South Kivu, hoping to escape to their villages. The war also took its toll on CAPA: two of its trainers lost their lives, trainees and former graduates were forcefully enrolled in the armed forces or joined the army voluntarily. In the rural areas many workshops were ransacked or set on fire. CAPA was also attacked by looters but it was saved thanks to the courageous resistance of its staff, while other

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organisations lost everything: equipment, tools, materials, machines and vehicles.

The life of Fidèle Ndivito Makima, the director of CAPA at the time, was constantly under threat. He was persecuted because he belonged to an ethnic group with strong political ties to Kabila: Zairians of Rwandese descent, the Banyamulenge. He recalls how a cockerel saved his life:

"During the 1996 liberation war I was in Goma in North Kivu. I had fled there to hide in the house of the church president because I looked like the much persecuted ***Banyamulenge***. One morning, the war had raged for two weeks, we saw that the officials of Mobutu's army, who lived nearby, were fleeing helter-skelter. The president of our church decided to also leave the town with his family. I was to ride one car with him and his family was to follow in another car. Before departing, the parson told his children to quickly fetch a goat. While they untied the goat in hurry, I quickly got hold of a cockerel and brought it with me into the car. But as we were about to leave town we were stopped by the military. They were on the lookout for the enemy ***Banyamulenge***, but also for deserters of their own army. As one of them discovered me, he grabbed me and pulled me out of the car. He shouted: 'You there! Show us your identification!' While I handed him my identification, an officer looked at me and called to the soldier: 'Just shoot him straight away!' Having received his order, the soldier took up his gun to shoot me. The church president and the others in the car were shaking. Some people on the other side of the street shouted: 'Leave them alone, they are no ***Banyamulenge***! They are pastors of our church, you must not kill them!' For myself, I had already accepted my fate. I thought I was about to be killed so I started to pray and to ask God to forgive all my sins. The people in the other side of the road kept shouting at the soldiers not to kill us because we were no ***Banyamulenge***. The noise scared the cockerel. Suddenly it fluttered, jumped out of the car and ran away. The soldier, who had his finger on the trigger already, instantly forgot his order and started to chase the cockerel to capture it. The officer, taken by surprise by what was happening, suddenly changed his mind. He commanded us to get back into the car and drive on. I will never forget this. In my eyes God used this little cockerel to save our lives."

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The mysterious turn of events may also have a more mundane explanation. As opposed to Kabila's militias, whom he paid well to ensure their loyalty, Mobutu's soldiers were badly paid and often went for months without pay. In such a situation, immediate survival becomes a soldier's first priority. A cockerel is valuable booty that can make him even forget a military order. Kabila's clever moves in initially paying not only his soldiers but also public servants well, gave people hope. The people had most ardently wanted to oust of the dictator. Now freedom seemed in sight. There was less harassment by the police and the military and the banks functioned again. Order seemed to settle. Some Congolese living in exile started returning to their country. They brought hard currency and goods. Suddenly there were many more cars on the streets and the construction sector boomed.

But the counterrevolution of 1998 soon shattered all hope. This war was of a different nature because the rebels of Rwandan descent were keen to be regarded as "political rebels", whose aim was to take over Kinshasa. Therefore, CAPA's only loss during this war was a stolen vehicle. But this "silent war" turned out to be like an iron grip closing in tightly on the people. It lasted longer and had many insidious effects. One of them was the extreme degree of surveillance of the people and everything they did by a highly efficient secret service. From now on it became increasingly difficult to hold meetings, since these were regarded as subversive. Visitors from abroad were discreetly but closely watched. Communication between the eastern provinces controlled by the RCD and Kinshasa was deliberately cut off. The country was split in two; domestic trade collapsed. For many of the craftsmen trained by CAPA the market disappeared. The rebels used the Congo's mineral resources to fund their operations. They also invented all sorts of taxes, levies and fees, strangling local businesses; at that time a craftsman had to pay USD 200 a year, in addition to his income tax. A large number of militias emerged in the Kivu region. Some of them cooperated with those now in power, some fought against them. Once again young men were drafted to join the army or forced to fight with the militias. Militias and marauding soldiers caused havoc in the rural areas, robbed, killed, looted, raped. The women in the villages were defenceless.

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Due to enforced recruitment, CAPA again lost trainees and the craftsmens' workshops lost many apprentices. Some of the women's groups supported by CAPA fell apart. The civil population fled, this time from the countryside to the towns. There was no peace for the Kivu region.

The year 2000 brought new hope as the price for coltan (the industrial name for columbite-tantalite, a mineral used for the production of mobile phones) skyrocketed. The economy seemed to wake up, craftsmen made large profits in a short time as their services and products were in high demand by the "new rich". CAPA became the place to go for all who wished to acquire new skills in the shortest possible time to be able to meet this demand – ranging from upholstery, modern construction techniques to being able to repair new car models. The downside of this boom was that many of those trained and supported by CAPA gave up their workshops to mine the lucrative mineral. Many of those who lived in Goma could only enjoy this unexpected wealth for a short time: at the beginning of 2002 the volcano Nyiragongo erupted, devastating the town. Once again refugees fled, many to Bukavu, especially young people who went to CAPA to take up training. Others, particularly craftsmen, emigrated from Bukavu to Goma to make a living working in the town's reconstruction.

From 2003 onwards it seemed as if peace might slowly be settling in. Officially, this was a post-war period. Later we would learn that reality does not always conform to the desired definitions. This phase had a twofold influence on CAPA: it now had to train former militia fighters and to deal with the sad phenomenon of raped girls and women. Trauma healing appeared on the agenda. As a faith based organisation, CAPA wanted to respond and started thinking about ways to integrate these girls and women. New training courses were tailored to the need of this target group and also took into account the needs of those who suffered the double consequence of having been raped and infected with HIV.

Once again it seemed as if nature would not grant the people a lasting peace: in February 2008 an earthquake of 5 on the Richter scale

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hit the area. Its epicentre lay in Bukavu. Never before had there been an earthquake in this area. People were injured or lost their lives. Hundreds of houses collapsed. Of CAPA's seven buildings, four were damaged and three of them needed to be rebuilt from scratch. But also manmade disaster struck again in east Congo. As Laurent Nkunda, the leader of the CNDP advanced towards Goma on 29 October 2008, the director of CAPA happened to be in town. He had wanted a retreat from the busy everyday work of the training centre to write the final lines for this book in Goma. But danger lurked everywhere in the Kivu region. There seemed to be no way of avoiding it, just as CAPA was not spared over the last 15 years. But during all those years, while the Kivu region endured masses of refugees, fighting, attacks, robbery and looting, CAPA continued its work. When in 1996, as the first war broke out, many – including the head of the local consulting company who was a member of CAPA's governing board – fled from Bukavu, CAPA's staff stayed on. Even when there were disruptions and interruptions, even when it became extremely difficult to find materials or when it became dangerous to visit the craftsmen in the countryside, even when the roundabout routes of transfers from abroad meant salaries could not be paid for months – CAPA kept going.

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5. Twenty five years of vocational and skills training – an institution evolves

The vocational training centre CAPA has been in existence for 25 years. This is a long time. But CAPA is not the only long standing institution. A whole series of technical and vocational training institutions in the African continent have existed for a similar amount of time, for instance in Togo, Cameroon, Ghana, and the Congo itself. Even so there is a major difference: CAPA is an old institution but not static. Today's CAPA is totally different from the one of the 1980s. CAPA has changed, evolved and become dynamic. This may and should seem normal but unfortunately it is not. Far too often vocational or other development institutions continue to exist for decades, always following the same path, offering the same courses, perpetuating the same failures. The capability and willingness to change are main features of CAPA – although this was not so from the beginning. The path of change was long and stony – at times rugged and steep. But ultimately all obstacles were overcome. Looking back, CAPA underwent different stages. These were not planned in advance but evolved from a natural process, as stages in a development. During the first ten years, from its founding in 1982 until 1992, CAPA was a formal training centre, like hundreds of others at the time. The intention of training young people for an occupation was a noble one, although the results of these efforts remained rather modest. From 1992 onwards, after some external prodding to change its concept, CAPA began to look for new ways. This phase of reorientation, search and tentative experimentation lasted many years, going through different stages and blocked again and again by internal resistance to change. Not until around the year 2000 did the new concept begin to take shape, become implemented with increasing consistency and eventually further developed in a truly autonomous way.

Today CAPA is regarded by many as a model to follow. But who knows if it would have become a model at all if this had been the intention from the outset.

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CAPA during the 1980s: formal vocational training and little success

Like many other vocational education and training centres, CAPA began its history with three-year training programmes for car mechanics, carpentry and dress making. The purpose was to train young people for an occupation and the belief at the time was that the best way to achieve this was school-based training. Taking its cue from formal secondary schooling, this vocational education was very theoretical and included a large number of general education subjects such as French, mathematics, geography. This formal component meant that only young people with a certain level of prior school education could access the training. The courses used frontal teaching. There were no pre-defined learning goals and there was no scope for student participation in class. No other actors were involved in planning the training contents. As to the trainers employed at CAPA, they were not selected for their abilities and competencies but for their relationship to influential members of the church. "This was characteristic of the CBCA's church structure at the time", says Vital Mukuza, the current director of CAPA, "CAPA was then a sort of reception camp for unemployed church members. This is why, between 1980 and 1990, CAPA had a succession of six directors, none of them particularly qualified for the job or with any knowledge of technical and vocational education and training." The long duration of the training and its mainly theoretical content, as well as the fact that most trainers were neither qualified nor particularly motivated, led to a high drop-out rate among the students. Many of those who did finish their training continued to pursue further general secondary education. The others tried to get by in the trade they had trained for by any other means – with little success. The costs of this formal training by no means matched its outcomes. At that time CAPA could spend a budget of over DM 200,000 (approximately EUR 102,250) for a three-year-training course – in addition to the salaries of two overseas development workers – and this to train as few as 21 young students (an example taken from the academic year 1986/87). Of these 21, 16 later switched to higher secondary education. This meant that in the end there were five young people who might be genuinely considered as "graduates" of the vocational training programme. If

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you calculate the cost per trainee and count – on a generous basis – the 21 participants, this would amount to approximately DM 9,800 (approximately EUR 5,000) per trainee. If this is pursued more logically and you only count the five trainees who might be considered true graduates of the course, it would add up to DM 41,400 (approximately EUR 21,000) per trainee – an astronomic amount for a developing country. Today, CAPA explains ruefully: "At the time, training was an aim in itself; those in charge were not interested in the results. By training youth, CAPA was already fulfilling its mandate. Nobody cared what became of them afterwards."

The transition to a new concept: resistance to change

Things started to change at the beginning of the 1990s. A German development worker from Dienste in Übersee (DÜ, now part of EED), who directed CAPA between 1988 and 1993 began to question the impact of the training. A survey conducted by him showed that hardly any of CAPA's graduates actually worked in a crafts-related occupation. He insisted on making training shorter and more practice-oriented. Hence, the duration of the training programme was reduced to two years. On his initiative a five-day workshop was held in the following year to kick-start the discussion about the training situation. This workshop was financed by DÜ and moderated by FAKT, a German consultancy company with close ties to the Church, specialising among other things in technical and vocational education and training. For the first time the results and weaknesses of the past were systematically defined, scrutinised and questioned. The conclusions of the workshop were that learning goals needed to be introduced, training must be more practice-oriented and there must be a follow-up for the graduates of the programme. It was also decided that graduates should become multipliers in their own sphere, especially in the rural areas. For urban areas the idea was to offer training for self-employed craftsmen. So, overall, formal training was to be gradually transformed into a non-formal approach. In addition, CAPA was to be assigned a governing board, which would include competent external members. This workshop provided the

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basis for a reorientation – apparently accepted by all. But in fact the Church (as the institution behind CAPA) and some of CAPA's staff were very reluctant to adopt it. The call or the compulsory need to change was unexpected for most people involved. Following the old training routine was rather comfortable. Change can be scary. The trainers could not imagine exchanging general subjects for more technical and practical training, especially since this automatically meant for some of them that they were about to lose their jobs. The Church resisted the change, which was perceived as a threat. This led to the governing board being established, but its members were almost exclusively members of the Church. Those in charge said they feared a commotion among the staff, who might report CAPA and the institutions behind it to the authorities. Another concern voiced at the time was that the quality of the training might deteriorate, since the state was unlikely to recognise the certificate of a non-formal training programme. What the Church really feared was losing control and certain privileges. There was considerable resistance to this reorientation encouraged from outside. "Our CAPA must remain as it is", said a high ranking representative of the CBCA in Bukavu at the time. "Those with new ideas can test them on others, but not on us." Ndivito Makima, CAPA's director at the time, was threatened: "We selected you to run this school following a proven training system. If you do not comply with the rules that are followed in all other training centres in the country, you can resign and create your fictitious CAPA somewhere else." These were the comments the director had to endure behind the scenes. For these views were not aired in public since nobody wanted to risk losing financial support from abroad. The director was under enormous pressure from his staff and from the open threats by the representative of the Church establishment. He was under attack from both sides, since the partners from abroad expected change. But distant partners appeared less threatening and in the end the decision was – with view to the German partner – to pretend that a reorientation was taking place, which in fact was not the case.

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Experiments and halting progress: CAPA starts to feel its way forward

In the years following the external call for reorientation nothing much changed. Here and there, the director did venture to undertake minor individual changes whenever he sensed that they would not anger the representatives of the Church. These were mainly additional activities, but no fundamental change to CAPA's core activities. The focus shifted slightly towards the rural areas and some further training courses for craftsmen were introduced. When political turmoil broke out in 1993, the expatriate advisor left the country. All further reforms were suspended.

Back in Germany, the partner organisation EZE (now EED) followed CAPA's development closely, with reports tending to be positive, albeit less dynamic than expected. EZE decided to fund a three-year programme under the condition that an external consultant assisted in planning. And so it was that in 1995 CAPA started to receive technical advice from a FAKT consultant. But many years went by before a true reorientation of CAPA's approach to training took place.
Just as the realisation period for reorientation had been underestimated, so too was technical advice and monitoring originally not visualised in terms of years. But it eventually did last several years. The reason for this was that it soon became apparent that the external support was a crucial factor for several reasons. One of the reasons was that the presence of an external advisor strengthened the case of those individuals at CAPA who were willing to engage in the reform process. For instance, in 1997 CAPA had the courage to stop accepting applications for its carpentry course. The idea was to cease the course altogether in 1998, since the 1992 workshop and the results of the graduates' surveys made one thing clear: the training must be geared towards employment of its graduates. CAPA had to ask itself critically whether the trades it catered for and the capabilities and knowledge it conveyed really matched the demand of the labour market – and therefore whether the training actually created an opportunity for employment. In the case of carpentry it had become apparent that there were many carpenters in Bukavu – too many considering how bad the economic situation was and how this

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led to a low demand for carpentry services and products. Further training would only lead to reducing the profit margin of the existing carpenters without providing a prospect for a profitable occupation to the newcomers. In view of these findings, CAPA ceased the initial training programme in carpentry and started offering further training courses for carpenters instead.

If you are involved in training craftsmen, sooner or later you end up pursuing a practice-oriented approach. After all, craftsmen do not want to go "back to school" – and they do not have much time. This means they want further training that is results oriented – practical, useful and short. This calls for a modular approach to training. The fact that CAPA had started to reflect about this kind of demand oriented further training helped to push forward an altogether new approach to training: CAPA began to consider whether its long term training courses should also follow this results oriented approach and set about reforming them. The training content was checked and condensed to the relevant elements, allowing comparatively more time for practical instruction. Learning objectives were established.

However, the orientation towards further training courses for craftsmen also had an unexpected negative effect: it gradually became apparent that CAPA's trainers were not sufficiently qualified. In many cases the craftsmen had the same and often even a superior level of competence than that of CAPA's trainers. This gave rise to consideration of how to offer further training to CAPA's trainers.

The pertinence of other activities was assessed, too. For instance, CAPA had observed that it was contributing indirectly to rural-urban migration. During the first years, its strategy had been to train local trainers for the rural areas. These individuals were recommended by the local church. They should be of a certain minimum age and married, to ensure that they would go back to the countryside after the training. This seemed a good idea at first but it did not work: after two years of living in the city most of them did not go back. CAPA designed a new strategy: this time it tried to "bring the training to the rural areas". This is when CAPA started tracing former graduates who had gone back to the countryside and were working in a trade

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related to their training. CAPA wanted to coach them and enable them to become "local multipliers" so that they could eventually become trainers. During the years 1996–98 CAPA supported such workshops to expand and to acquire materials so that they could conduct training and further training in rural areas. Local craftsmen were also trained if they showed interest.

CAPA's stronger presence in rural areas turned out to be beneficial for another target group: women. CAPA began to offer training to women's groups so that they could take up income generating activities, such as dress making, crocheting, knitting, weaving, baking doughnuts or other minor gastronomic activities. There was a high demand for this kind of training among the women. This was their only chance to learn something. A new function recently introduced by CAPA proved beneficial for the women: the coaching of graduates if they wanted to set up their own small business. The activities tailored to the needs of the women were welcomed by the Church, since initially CAPA had been established for the very purpose of assisting girls and women. More ambitious concepts advanced by the external consultant were, however, largely ignored; for instance the suggestion to analyse the market to find out what might be profitable employment opportunities for women. The suggestion to shorten the two-year dress making training for women to one year was not taken up either. For many women engaging in a two-year training programme was just too long. They had families to look after and little time on hand. They were looking for an opportunity to earn money in a relatively short time and contribute to their families' living expenses. This reality clearly showed in the number of drop-outs. Too many girls and women gave up their training – only one third actually finished it! Still, CAPA decided to continue with the long training. The director was in an awkward position – he was willing to carry out the reform and the consultant insisted the training should be shorter. However, the trainer responsible for coordinating the textile section was convinced that dress making could just not be taught in one year and firmly opposed the idea of offering a shorter course. As CAPA wanted to keep the partner in the North happy and was afraid of losing its funding, it was decided to pretend that the dress making training had been reduced to 12 months. Despite

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some improvements, an undercurrent of resistance against crucial elements of the reorientation continued to exist. CAPA continued to pretend a certain development was underway that was not really taking place. "At the time there was no appreciation of the fact that the duration of the training is relevant," says the current director. "A longer training meant fewer applicants, lower motivation of trainees and a higher drop-out rate. At the time, shorter training was particularly interesting for the people and it was usually completed." Several years passed before he could push through the shorter course duration. Less anxious about ensuring harmony than his predecessor, he picked up the controversial topic again and proved that it was indeed possible to complete a good dress making training in one year.

Courageous decisions and drastic reforms: change begins to take shape

Just as a decade earlier when the development worker from DÜ arrived at the school, a major change took place in 1999 which eventually paved the way for reorientation: the director changed. The new director, Vital Mukuza, was still quite a young man at the time. For many years he had worked for CAPA in varying positions, most recently as a bookkeeper and the director's right-hand man. Thanks to the support received from the previous director, he had undergone a series of extra-occupational training in financial management. With a keen eye for cost-benefit-analysis, first of all he undertook to reduce the school's excessive fixed costs. But these were the costs for personnel.

Several years earlier already, the external consultant had indicated that some of the trainers at CAPA were overpaid, since in some cases they received a full salary although they only worked a few hours per week. The new director decided to act. His motto was: good training at the lowest cost possible. He undertook some drastic measures to improve the staff situation. Some of the trainers were not only overpaid – they were also insufficiently qualified and not particularly motivated. Two of them were even suspected of misappropriating funds. The new director cancelled all contracts. He only kept those formally employed staff members who were competent, loyal

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and willing to endorse the new approach. Other staff members were either taken on as part time staff or were laid off.

Such personnel decisions are never welcome. Thus the new director encountered strong resentment. For three years he endured tensions, intrigues, accusations and threats but eventually a climate of cooperation evolved. With his courageous decision he had laid the foundations for a positive development in several respects. Part of the reform was to contract out certain training units to highly qualified external trainers. The results of this policy spoke for themselves: the costs were reduced at the same time as the quality of training rapidly improved. Applications for training rose sharply. The staff reform proved itself to be substantiated, justified and efficient.

Efficiency and effectiveness become increasingly important. As a result, more training programmes were organised in a modular way, which fitted in perfectly with the use of external trainers. In such a flexible system they could easily take on specific parts of the training depending on their competences.

Being more results oriented than his predecessor, the new director also undertook to shorten the duration of the different training programmes. In 2000 the car mechanics training was reduced to 15 months, dress making to 12 months. The numbers of applicants and of successful completers escalated. While in 1998 there were 15 graduates at the end of the two-year car mechanics and dress making courses, in 2000–2002 the equivalent training courses were completed by 54 students.

The new and more flexible training approach came at a time when the demand for precisely such courses was very high: short courses, adapted to the needs of participants who need to find a quick way of earning money in a period defined by war, but also further training which can be used to acquire specific skills needed to enter certain market segments. These were the determinants of the training demand at the time. One day several women approached CAPA with the unusual wish to learn to make tables and chairs to make a living for their families. CAPA had just decided to stop providing

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training in this trade. It might have seemed appropriate to turn the women down. But was that really on the cards? The team at CAPA hesitated. Conceptual considerations had to be weighed up against a perhaps unique opportunity to promote gender equity. Gender opportunity won. CAPA just could not turn women down who had decided to learn a trade usually reserved to men. They would rather reintroduce the carpentry training programme, even if it was just for this one year. So CAPA decided to train these 22 women, of whom 12 eventually finished their training. Around the year 2000 the market was revived by the sudden demand for coltan. Many became rich overnight and this sudden availability of money showed in social status symbols. Impressive houses were built, luxury goods were in demand, cars were imported. According to statistics, 1,112 new houses were built and 700 new cars were registered in Bukavu between 1999 and 2001. Staggering figures in local terms. The sudden revival of the market posed a new problem for the craftsmen: skills were in demand which they did not have. The new approach helped CAPA respond immediately. Without much bureaucracy, it could quickly offer new courses for furniture makers who wanted to learn upholstery. Equally, CAPA responded to the significant increase in vehicles and doubled the number of young people admitted to the car mechanics courses between 2000 and 2002. CAPA also offered courses for bricklayers who realised that their services did not match the new requirements of the market. The success of the reorientation became visible. CAPA became increasingly widely known. After all the tensions of the first years under the new director, the staff had got used to the new leadership style. Change was no longer something to be feared.

The fruits of change: diversity, demand, success

The most recent and to date the last phase of CAPA's development was the period between 2002 and 2008. It is the time for reaping the fruits of success and CAPA could proudly say "We've made it!" For the time being at least. For development never really ends. This was the phase when fundamental reforms took place and succeeded:

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the training programmes on offer were diversified, the duration of the course adapted to the needs of the participants, the courses were consistently oriented towards demand and the market, and marginalised groups were specifically targeted.

It is only now that CAPA began to actively implement the new approach in a systematic way – exactly ten years after this had been postulated by its partners. In 2002, a community survey undertaken under the guidance of the external consultant made it possible to find out about the community's needs and to adapt existing courses or introduce new ones to meet this demand. This survey and the growing awareness of what it means to offer training that is oriented to market demand induced CAPA to increasingly diversify its range of courses. In addition to the training programmes in the three trades that had been on offer for more than 20 years (with stagnating demand) were added a whole range of other crafts such as bricklaying, leather work, soap making, gastronomy, sugar production, fabrication of guitars and computer application and maintenance.

What does the making of guitars have to do with vocational training in Africa?

The story of how it came about that CAPA started to train young people to become guitar makers is both interesting and unusual. It shows a good feel for the market and also how a flexible approach can benefit all parties. "I knew Mr Mugomoka since I was a child", says CAPA's director, Vital Mukuza. "His is a long and colourful story. He is a true inventor, for he was the one who built the first Congolese electric guitar – on his own, just based on his own talent, without any directions or assistance from outside. It is more than 20 years ago now that as a young man I used to play the guitar in our parish on a guitar that carried the name Mugomoka. He is an inventor and an artist but is not very gifted in commercialising his talents. He used to produce guitars but always had great difficulties in organising his business, his workshop, paying taxes, delivering on time. When I became CAPA's director in 1999 I took the opportunity and offered him work with us. I had already sensed that guitar making was an interesting training option. For at each parish – and we have many! – there are people who play the guitar. Many young Congolese also have a

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keen interest for music. So I offered Mr Mugomoka a fair deal: we would give him the support and security he needed and was looking for and in return he would train our young people. And this he would do just like a private enterprise would do it, as an informal apprenticeship. He considered this a fair deal and so we all benefited from it. Today, the guitar workshop has grown into a small, robust enterprise that employs five people. There is still demand for guitars. Since 2002 CAPA has sold 348 guitars, 296 of them were electric guitars and 52 normal guitars. By now, 21 of the 23 young men we have trained can make a living making guitars."

To seek new approaches and new forms of vocational training has now become an integrated way of thinking for CAPA. CAPA systematically observes the market, establishes contacts with the social environment, and asks itself what the community and the consumers want– crucial prerequisites for continued development. The flexible approach has also become part of the system: new training branches are designed promptly and without much bureaucracy, but also given up without much hesitation if it can be established that the needs have been met and the demand has been satisfied. CAPA's success lies in the way it is capable of responding to different needs and of combining different forms and systems of training. Thus, potential trainees have the opportunity to learn a certain trade in a more structured way by taking a longer training programme or to take on a short, informal apprenticeship at CAPA (by working as an apprentice for CAPA's workshops) or to learn a certain trade at one of the private enterprises that cooperate with CAPA. Informal apprenticeship at CAPA which entails work in one of CAPA's workshops as if it were a private enterprise is entirely practical. The duration of the apprenticeship depends on the possibilities and needs of the particular people involved. This offers opportunities to those who do not fulfil the prerequisites to enrol in one of the other training courses, for instance illiterate persons who might not be able to follow theoretical training or young ex-militia fighters who do not want to follow it. Within the cooperative model, where trainees work as apprentices in a private enterprise, they can take part in the theoretical classes at CAPA. This approach, which to a certain extent emulates the dual system, has proved very effective in terms of employment and vocational integration after training. CAPA now works with a pool of 46 trainers,

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21 of whom are formally employed while the other 25 can be contracted as the need arises. This pool is taken care of and enlarged. CAPA always welcomes informal recommendations and references of good qualified workers who can be taken on as trainers. Often it is the trainees themselves or their families who give such references to CAPA – this way of including the social environment certainly pays off. But CAPA's participatory approach in this respect goes even further: the trainees can assess their trainers, using a formal evaluation sheet expressly designed for this purpose. For African standards, this is a revolutionary thing to do. It breaks several rules at a time: young must not judge old, students do not judge their teachers and at any rate it seems unthinkable in the conventional African school system that trainees might be involved on an egalitarian basis in the strategic thinking at the management level.

The new concept which adapts the duration and content of the training to the actual needs, results in ever increasing demand for CAPA's training. The number of applicants has grown to such an extent that it surpasses CAPA's training capacity (although there are two training shifts, in the morning and in the afternoon) – and this is happening at the same time as other training centres are becoming increasingly empty or even have to be closed down. CAPA does not advertise and certainly does not try to lure students away from other schools (a rumour envious competitors like to spread): its good reputation speaks for itself. The reputation of a training course, particularly in a crisis-struck region, is not just about formally good training (as is certainly offered by several other schools), but is guided by what is feasible, what is needed and what is beneficial for the people. In 1988 CAPA trained 42 people, 59 in 1998 and in 2008 there were 661 trainees at CAPA. As a Christian institution CAPA has continued to target predominantly poor and marginalised people – despite all the difficulties and internal resistance to reform encountered over decades. Yet these are the very people who cannot afford to take up long and expensive training programmes at a formal technical and vocational education and training institution. Demand for and the success of courses today speak for themselves and opposition from the Church is no longer heard: the meaning and purpose of reorientation have been recognised and are now fully supported. CAPA has

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turned into an organisation that learns from mistakes and can adapt – internally and externally – to changing conditions. Therefore CAPA is now regarded by other schools and training centres in the region as a benchmark. When UNESCO came into the region in 2002 to promote a reform process of the vocational and skills training, those responsible were astonished to find a training centre that in some ways went beyond the reform goals endorsed by UNESCO. CAPA was then actively included by UNESCO into this regional reform process and contributed to the conception of training modules for non-formal vocational training. This encouraged CAPA in 2005 to organise a symposium of all vocational training centres in Kivu, which paved the way for the establishment of RECEF, a network of 21 centres, which are trying to follow the CAPA model. CAPA now also offers further training for the trainers of other institutions and offers advice on demand.

James Wamwangi, coordinator for vocational training at UNESCO PEER, describes his view of CAPA and its cooperation with his organisation

"The majority of youth in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and more particularly those in the Eastern Provinces of the country (The Kivus) have witnessed many hardships as a result of the war and displacement which has followed. The number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is overwhelming and many of the youth have been denied the opportunity to attend school to be able to read and write and even to acquire vocational skills to assist them engage in gainful employment. This has resulted in some of the youth being attracted to join the militia groups as the alternative. In order to help the youth lead a better life, Centre d'Apprentissage Professionnel et Artisanal (CAPA) in Bukavu, South Kivu is one of the leading institutions in the country which have been supporting the youth in acquiring vocational skills in various demand driven trade areas. Apart from training in skills areas of carpentry, garment making, auto mechanics, computer among others, the Centre has introduced skill training in such areas as guitar making and sculpture which are important in preserving the cultural heritage in music, dancing and art. CAPA is reputed for providing quality training and maintaining

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disciple among the trainees and the staff and this has enabled the graduates to excel in the world of work. UNESCO PEER through the provision of trade syllabi, textbooks and capacity building of instructors is glad to be associated with CAPA in its endeavour to enable the Congolese youth acquire vocational skills and have a better life. Given the excellent work CAPA is doing, the Centre needs more financial and material support to enable it to cater for more youth now and in the future."

State institutions have also become increasingly aware of CAPA. During the years of Mobutu's decline and in times of crisis and war, the state was never a major educational player. On the one hand, this was a disadvantage (children received no schooling because teachers stopped teaching as they received no salary), but on the other hand it was beneficial (the responsible government department did not interfere too much). However, when CAPA shifted from formal and officially recognised courses to non-formal training programmes, they did face trouble from the authorities: the state refused to recognise the certificates issued by CAPA to its graduates. The rationale was that no one could properly learn a trade in a year, much less so in six months, when at formal schools it was taught for three to four years. While other centres gave in and increased the level of their courses instead of confronting the department, CAPA remained courageous and proactive: it stuck to its reform course and aimed at proving to the state that CAPA's certificates did indeed stand for qualified training. CAPA organised a regional panel of trainers from the formal state system and submitted its graduates to an external examination. This examination confirmed the level and quality of CAPA's certified training. Today the state does not only recognise all CAPA's certificates without exception; it regards the school as a valuable partner for the further development of educational policy.

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6. CAPA in 2008 – an overview

CAPA's target groups. Categories of the people trained at CAPA during 2007–2008			
Target group	male	female	total
Early school drop-outs	166	122	288
Single mothers	–	19	19
Women abandoned by their husbands	–	12	12
Street children	12	–	12
Orphans	27	24	51
HIV-positive people	01	11	12
Deaf-mutes	07	08	15
Young ex-soldiers and fighters	53	–	53
Raped girls and women	–	21	21
Pygmies	11	04	15
Craftsmen receiving further training	123	44	167
	400	265	665

Prerequisites for undertaking training:

- No formal prerequisites; the flexible system makes it possible to tailor trainings to the needs of the different target groups.
- For the structured "core training" at CAPA (all training programmes that are not counted as informal apprenticeships or further training) the participants are selected according to two criteria:
  - The young person's motivation to learn a trade (and to later work in it)
  - The probability of the person's ability to later work in the desired area of occupation (intended use of the training, intention to become self-employed, support from parents)
- On principle, no training is free of charge. Depending on the applicant's possibilities he can pay in kind, by engaging in production or services at CAPA.

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Training courses and areas of activity:

- Metal works: car mechanics, panel beating and spray painting, welding, metal fabrication, joinery of roof trusses, car-electricians, motor winding, driving school
- Wood: Carpentry, furniture making, furniture upholstery, joinery, wood carving, woodturning
- Construction: masonry, brick making, roof tile fabrication, boarding, steel bending, floor tiling, plumbing, glazing, paintwork
- Textile: dress making, batik, crocheting, embroidery
- Leather: leather work, shoe making, tanning
- Music: guitar making, fabrication of amplifiers
- Gastronomy: cooking, baking, sugar processing
- Hairdressing
- Soap making
- Computer application and maintenance
- Video production
- Printing technology
- Shipping: navigation, loading of ships, engine maintenance

Orientation towards employment: training according to need and demand

- The market: observation of the market and sector surveys to identify market demand
- The community: surveys in rural and urban areas to identify local needs for products and services

Training programme categories:	**duration of training programmes:**
Training programmes at CAPA	1 – 24 months
Informal apprenticeship at CAPA or in private enterprises	1 – 12 months
Qualification of apprentices of CAPA former graduates	according to demand
Training of women groups in villages	according to demand

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Further training and qualification:	
Further training of urban and rural craftsmen	10 – 60 hours
Qualification of craftsmen (for formal purposes)	10 – 90 hours
Training modules for workers from enterprises / companies	according to demand

Methodology and type of teaching applied:

- Initial and further training are conducted in modular form.
- Training programme according to learning goals: It must be established from the beginning what the learners need to know at the end of their training.
- Participatory and interactive forms of learning are applied.
- Particular importance is given to practical training; this is complemented with theory where necessary.
- Training programmes are complemented by internships in enterprises.
- Further training of craftsmen: Modular further training according to specific needs, which are stated by the trainees themselves. They are involved in designing the modules and in the selection of trainers.

The trainers:

- 21 formally employed trainers
- Pool of 25 trainers who are contracted on demand
- Staff policy follows the principle of "closeness to the target group": usually trainers are employed and contracted who come from a similar sphere as the target group to be trained (master craftsmen, CAPA graduates, ex-combatants…)

Follow-up measures / getting ready for self-employment:

- Psychosocial trauma and rehabilitation work for traumatised participants and problematic target groups (young ex-combatants, raped girls and women, orphans, persons living with HIV)
- Qualification on entrepreneurial aspects of self-employment

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- Promotion of saving with view to integration into the world of work and self-employment: 10% of the works produced by the trainees are remunerated and credited to their saving accounts.

The certificates:
- Confirmation of course completion
- Certificate
- *Brevet d'aptitude professionnelle* (approximately equivalent to a certificate of apprenticeship)

Integration of the graduates into the world of work
- The integration of the graduates into the world of work is regarded as an integral process, encompassing the stages before, during and after the training.
- Before training: Selection of participants according to their motivation, contract of training or apprenticeship with view to employment (specific support from parents or tutors at the time of integrating into the world of work).
- During training: pedagogical approach that strengthens the personality, training towards autonomy, preparation for self-employment, saving for integration into the world of work.
- After training: counselling and coaching for self-employment, strengthening of small enterprises; under certain circumstances specific material support is granted.

Complementary activities:
- Awareness raising among participants about HIV/AIDS
- CAPA-SPORT: There are two football teams, one female and one male, and approximately six games per month.
- Further training and capacity building to strengthen the pedagogical and technical abilities of the trainers of CAPA and other centres – using training units and exchange of experiences
- Radio programmes about vocational training and craftsmanship as a contribution to public awareness raising
- Active environmental protection training for the brick makers: alternative sources of energy, energy saving production techniques, reforestation

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Systemic multiplier approach /
active technical and vocational training policy

- Organisation of conferences and colloquia in the sector of vocational and skills training,
- Initiation of exchange of experiences among different local and regional actors of vocational and skills training,
- Training units for the members of the network of technical and vocational training centres, RECEF

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7. What has CAPA achieved?

Talking about results usually means talking about figures – in the development world and elsewhere. This is understandable and to a certain extent right, especially given the enormous problems in developing countries which are always also problems related to quantity. Figures, therefore, mean something, although taken alone they do not always capture the actual impact of a certain intervention. Looking back on the Church's development cooperation, we can see that the figures related to vocational training have gained in meaning since it became apparent that the conventional vocational education and training system was not enough to solve the problem of large scale youth unemployment. For a long time vocational education in development countries took place almost exclusively in technical secondary schools; development assistance concentrated on providing expatriate technical and vocational teachers. This system of vocational education and training went on for decades. Its courses lasted a long period of time, access was regulated by educational prerequisites and the schools needed a certain level of material equipment. This was not only expensive and ill adapted to the needs of the labour market: It also did not produce enough graduates, often just a handful per year. Looking at CAPA's old statistics, one can easily recognise the problems of its early days. In CAPA's structured core training (without taking into account the informal apprenticeships and other informal training activities) a total of 235 youth were trained between 1982 and 2000 – over a period of 18 years. Once the new concept was implemented in a consistent way, the number of graduates rose significantly. Between 2000 and 2007 – in only 7 years – a total of 1,023 were trained (Annex: Table 3).

Using a simple calculation one can break down the total number of graduates with respect to the corresponding training phase. While during the first phase there were 13 graduates per year, the reformed phase yielded 146 graduates per year. The effect of CAPA's reorientation proves to be significant even in terms of figures. The figures mentioned refer to formal training only (which used to last three years and was later increasingly shortened) of young people by CAPA itself. As we have already described in the chapter on vocational and

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skills training, CAPA has targeted other learner groups, who have received different kinds of non-formal and informal initial training as well as further training. During the 25 years of its existence CAPA has trained a total of 5,537 people (initial training: 3,846; further training: 1,691) – a considerable number of people. The vast majority of this total (more than 90% of those who received initial training) was achieved during the new phase, more specifically over the last 10 years. But the increasing number of young people trained by CAPA is not the only result.

The diversity, or in other words the range of the occupations covered by the initial and further training has also multiplied. During the first decades CAPA only trained in three occupations: car mechanics, carpentry, dress making. Today, it covers a wide range of occupations and activities, as shown in chapter 6. CAPA has structured its training activities in 13 sectors, which are further differentiated into 49 subsectors, specialisations or fields of work. This not only benefits the young trainees, who can now have more choices to follow their personal inclinations. It is also beneficial for the community and the local economy because new products and better services enter the market.

How is success defined?

So CAPA has had a considerable impact. But what exactly is success? How can one recognise it? What is it that makes something successful? What is the difference between a successful project and a less successful one? At an international level, the criteria to determine what is successful in terms of measuring one's own development efforts – and in terms of communicating this success to others – have evolved over the last decades. At this point we wish to provide some additional background information to this general discussion. In the early years of development cooperation, projects were deemed successful if their activities had been completed according to plan and the agreed goods and services had been provided.

At the time, this "output" was already considered a success. In the case of vocational education and training this meant for instance that a school had been built and a certain number of students were

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being taught there. Over the years efficiency was added as a further criterion of success. The question now was whether the results were in appropriate proportion to the resources that had been invested to achieve them. In the case of vocational education and training the question raised was whether one could still speak of success when it took enormous financial efforts to run a school which was only yielding a handful of graduates. Gradually, the focus of attention turned to the effectiveness of development efforts. It was not enough to question whether the goods and services had been provided and whether the use of resources had been efficient – it was now important to assess whether the project had achieved the goals it had set itself. In the case of vocational training this meant questioning whether the trainees had received the kind of training that would enable them to integrate into the world of work. In the following years the aspect of relevance also comes into focus. This means dealing with fundamental questions such as: Do the project's efforts really contribute to solving one of the target group's core problems? In the case of vocational training this means questioning whether the training received does indeed lead to the employment of the young participants.

Finally, the term "results" has now become part of the discussion and assessment of any development intervention. The assessment of development aid has therefore become much more demanding. We now ask about the meaning that a certain intervention has in the overall context and whether what we do makes a difference, whether it changes something in the life of the target group. To complete the example on vocational training, assessing the results of a vocational and skills training project might raise questions such as: What effect does this training have on the massive unemployment of young people? What is the input of this training for the economy? Does it reach out to poor people? Do girls too have opportunities?

As we have explained in the previous chapter, CAPA can answer all these questions: Its work is oriented towards marginalised target groups and trains a significant number of people who do find work due to the training they receive and whose living conditions improve tangibly. CAPA's work is remarkable in terms of performance and relevance as well as in terms of quality and results. More than 5,000 people have received initial or further training: 90% of

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those trained now cover the totality or part of their living expenses by working in what they have learned at CAPA. The craftsmen who have undergone further training at CAPA have increased their level of income. Rural communities, poor and marginalised groups now have access to vocational and skills training. Training has improved the self-esteem and social status of women. Young ex-combatants have received support to find employment and thus re-integrate into society. CAPA takes pride in proving that training costs have been drastically reduced. In chapter 5 we have shown that in the 1980s each trainee cost the exorbitant sum of DM 9,800 (EUR 5,011), or even DM 41,400 (EUR 21,167) if only those are consistently counted who graduated from *vocational* training. Now CAPA can show very different figures. With a current budget of EUR 212,500 per year, CAPA trained 536 people in 2007, 665 in 2008, without taking into account the follow-up of its graduates. This amounts to EUR 396 per person in 2007 and EUR 319 per person in 2008. Apart from these outputs and results there are a series of overarching results or effects that go beyond the intended goals of vocational education and training. Some examples are how CAPA has contributed to the reform of the vocational training in the region, how its orientation towards the market has given new impulses to the crafts sector and how new products have entered the market, making it more diverse. One crucial socio-political result lies also in the fact that a large number of people in a crisis region have been given hope thanks to the training they have received and that the reintegration of demobilised soldiers and ex-combatants contributes to building peace in the region.

Different people have different needs

A group of eight bricklayers were looking for a place where they could undergo further training. They were no youngsters and each of them had a family to feed. They asked at several schools in Bukavu whether they could receive further training there. They wanted to be up-to-date within a couple of weeks, one or two months at the most. No school would take them. "Some schools did not offer bricklaying courses," explains Vital Mukuza, director of CAPA, "other schools had rigid training plans that did not allow courses other than the standard to be offered.

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The director of a school, which offers a four-year bricklaying course, could not take them in either and had the idea of sending them to us. We listened to what they wanted, what exactly they needed. We told them that we could organise a course for them but that eight participants were not enough because that would make the course too expensive. They looked for more colleagues and we eventually managed to organise a three-month course for 15 bricklayers. They were very happy about this. Later we found out why: they had discovered a lucrative new market. To enter it and be able to work as foremen they needed a certificate. But who would have given them such a certificate, given that they all had learned bricklaying through informal apprenticeships?" This example shows one of CAPA's main strengths: its flexibility to adapt its training to the needs of the people. Training at technical and vocational schools is usually standardised – because they are formal institutions or because that is the usual thing to do. The target group is usually young, between 16 and 25 years of age, and – due to the scope of trades offered for training – largely male. Training programmes often last two to three years and this makes them rather expensive. It is also common to regulate access via prerequisites, for instance a certain educational level (at least lower secondary school or general certificate of secondary education). As vocational centres are usually in towns, they mainly address urban youth. This means that many people do not have access (any more) to vocational training – because they are considered too old, or because they are female, or because they live in the countryside, or they do not fulfil the educational prerequisites, or because they are just too poor to pay for their training. With its flexible approach CAPA has succeeded in offering these people an opportunity to receive vocational and skills training.

Nothing should get in the way of someone who is truly motivated to learn. Whenever possible, CAPA finds a solution. CAPA has trained approximately 1,600 urban craftsmen, provided informal training to more than 600 apprentices in different crafts, and organised short term courses on income generating activities for more than 400 women (mostly from rural areas); apart from that another 1,500 apprentices have been trained in the workshops of CAPA's former graduates (all data can be verified in the tables in the annexes).

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But this is not all CAPA does in terms of addressing target groups with particular needs. People with an extremely difficult past have a chance to learn a trade at CAPA, too: street children, orphans, child soldiers, ex-militia fighters, single mothers, persons living with HIV, raped women. The number of trainees belonging to these difficult and fragile groups by now amounts to more than 500 people (Annex: Table 9).

Training in times of crisis and war

Looking at the results of any development intervention is – or should be – important. This is all the more relevant in a region struck by war and crisis. In this case achieving results is about survival and about immediate change, about hope and the future, about reconstruction and lasting peace. Vocational training aims at providing young people with the capabilities and competencies they need to earn their means of subsistence. Taken alone, this goal is ambitious enough. It means you have to look at several factors simultaneously: the content of the training, the market, the personality of the trainees, their social context, the support they may need after completing their training. In a crisis-stricken region, this goal is more challenging, more difficult and often also more risky: what is the right training in a political and economic setting where everything has collapsed? What kind of support should be given to people whose livelihood has been destroyed? What future do girls and women have who have been raped during the war? What hope is there for young men whose souls have been torn to pieces by the brutal abuse of power? What can you offer restless, demanding ex-combatants? CAPA has managed the extremely difficult task of catering for them all. In an environment that has been defined by crisis and war for more than 15 years, it offers training that fits the circumstances and caters for the needs of the people. And CAPA is capable of maintaining this successfully.

Knowing what it is like in a war region and the effort it takes to continue activities "normally" under such circumstances, it is difficult to avoid regarding it as a kind of miracle. But obviously miracles that can also be called motivation, purposefulness and the readiness to take risks are not miracles at all but logical outcomes.

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Success is never perfect

It would not be honest to tell a success story and not mention the difficulties, obstacles and failures. Even though many organisations try to convince us with their glossy leaflets and wonderful statistics: success is never perfect – after all, life is not perfect either.

Behind these selective success stories there is often the fear that if failures are reported, you may be thought incompetent or untrustworthy and donations may cease. But trying to achieve trustworthiness by aiming to be perfect is a paradox in itself because perfection cannot be achieved. Unfortunately many sponsors but also official donors cling to this illusion: The impossibility of perfect success is not critically reflected as often as it should be. But because hardly anybody has the courage to speak openly about failures with their sponsors and donors, this illusion is kept alive and forces everyone to keep pretending.

Every project, organisation or institution encounters difficulties in the course of their work: showing how these difficulties have been overcome is therefore just as important as showcasing success – sometimes even more important. This is why this book consciously chooses to tell the full story – not just present a glossy success story but also give an honest account of the true development with all its successes and failures. Otherwise it would not be really useful.

CAPA has succeeded in many ways. But this was not always the case and it's not perfect today either. As we have shown in the chapter about vocational education and skills training, it took a long time before CAPA set out on the course that can be regarded as successful in terms of relevance. Today it still has its weaknesses. Just to indicate a few: CAPA is still struggling to address the gender issue; its staff is outstandingly motivated but are not quite ready yet to take the new concept forward (so far the responsibility for this rests on the shoulders of one single person, the director); the Church as an institution has not yet quite grasped that it cannot move good staff around like pieces on a chess board.

The following chapters deal with these aspects and challenges. However, it is important to stress at this point that no one should be afraid of obstacles or failures. For obstacles can be overcome and failures are there to learn from.

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Where ordinary life is out of the ordinary

In this book the staff members of CAPA appear as development actors. But behind each actor there is a human being with a family, his own life experiences, his fears and his very personal strokes of fate. What is it like for each of these people to live where crisis and war determine everyday life? Can there be anything like everyday life in such a situation? The current director of CAPA, Vital Mukuza, now 39 years old, describes what has shaped and determined his life in the last 18 years. What he can tell us shows that in a place such as the Kivu region nothing is ordinary anymore – besides the omnipresent calamity that seems to follow the people everywhere they go.

"I come from a much respected family because my father is a traditional village chief. As the eldest of nine children, I lived a peaceful life during the first twenty years of my life, the more so as my family was rather wealthy, owned much cattle and large plantations. Until the year 1990 life for me was to dream about a great future. A suitable occupation, the highest degree of responsibility, material wealth – these were the kind of things that I thought about. What came afterwards were ugly surprises, a never ending stream of horrendous events, which at the time I did not want to look at as a whole. As we are now writing this book about our work I realise how beneficial it is to openly address these things – for the readers and for myself. It helps to overcome them.

The first shock that I suffered as a young person was when in 1990 unknown people burnt down our cinchona plantations. For us, this meant economic disaster – the first in a long series of blows yet to hit us. Only a year later our business was looted by Mobutu's army. The skyrocketing inflation at the time meant that my parent's savings lost their value. What they had saved was initially worth the equivalent of 67 heads of cattle. In the end it was only worth three heads of cattle. We had lost everything: our plantations, our business, our money. My family never recovered from this blow. For me this also meant that my ambitious plans of studying in Kinshasa were dead.

As if this were not enough, that year death swept over our family: in a boat accident six members of our family died, two uncles and four cousins. A plane crash between Kindu and Goma followed, killing another one of my uncles.

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When the flood of hundred thousands of Rwandan refugees streamed into Congo we became helpless spectators of truly dramatic events. Close to our village 40,000 people settled in camps. We had to watch how our woods were cut down, animals and crops disappeared from our fields and a degree of criminality began to spread that we have never known before. It was an unimaginable disaster. For the first time in life I saw death before my eyes, heaps of corpses, people who had died of cholera, typhoid fever or who had simply starved to death.

At the time Kabila's so-called war of liberation broke out, I was in Bukavu. Before my very eyes people were killed. I saw 29 people of my neighbourhood die, among them 22 young men who wanted to keep guard without knowing what awaited them. This event is like a macabre film that I cannot get out of my head.

This was also the time when my family's economic situation received the final blow. Hutu militias on the run from Kabila's troops killed all our cattle. In only two days they killed 79 cows and 146 sheep. Among them were my own 19 cows and 42 sheep, which I had relied on for my future. At the time I did not want to accept this; I set out with a relative to look for our cattle. Indeed we found five of our cows with the soldiers, about 100 kilometres away from Bukavu. The soldiers immediately captured us and threatened to kill us. We ran into the woods and had to walk for 45 kilometres to get back to our village.

On 17 February 1997 Mobuto ordered the bombardment of Bukavu – reportedly to fight the rebels supposed to be hiding there. The bombs fell only 200 metres from my house. I saw with my own eyes how our neighbour's six children who were alone in their house died.

We had started to hope that at least we might be free of the curse of dictatorship when on 2 August 1998 the second war followed. This war lasted five years and brought its own curse for us. Some of the wounds have yet to heal. For example when the refugees left their camps swept through our village on their way from Bukavu to Goma: they just looted everything they could find, they even took our furniture to use as firewood.

In the same year CAPA's car was stolen by the Mai-Mai rebels. When I tried to get it back I was captured and had to witness how women were raped and men were killed. These sad events are also difficult to erase from my memory.

Suddenly, among all these horrendous events, it seemed as if my luck had turned, at least in economic terms. I found coltan on my land. I made

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a considerable amount of money with it and was able to build a multiple-storey house in less than a year. This stroke of luck was the only ray of hope in those dark years, a ray that years later was to disappear in darkness.

In 2001, as the world was mourning the victims of 9/11, our family was mourning the death of two cousins who had died in a boat accident in the harbour of Goma.

But 15 years of endless disaster were not enough. On 13 June 2005 I nearly lost my life. An armed assault at my house, four rifles aimed at my head, blows and kicks that left everlasting scars. On that day I lost everything valuable, even money that did not belong to me – a debt I have not been able to repay yet. That day I learned that what it means to face death. And it strengthened my faith in God as our protector.

As if all these upsetting events and true blows of fate were not enough, success turned against me. My personal wealth, expressed in the house I had been able to build and CAPA's success produced envy in my social surroundings. Three attempts were made to kill me. A mysterious illness, which came over me several times in 2007 and which no doctor, not even the best in Kinshasa, could explain, was one of these wicked attempts.

Until now in 2008 it seems as if fate is doing its best to deliver yet more upsetting events to this endless list. This time the elements seem to have joined forces against my family: air, water, earth. The latter began the series in February with an unexpected earthquake. None of us had ever experienced an earthquake and we were scared to death. A part of my house collapsed and CAPA lost all its old buildings. The damage at CAPA totalled EUR 70,000; I never calculated my own. A few months later a Hewa Bora plane crashed in Goma and I was left to mourn the death of a brother in law who had had an important position in our family. Shortly afterwards another boat accident. Yet again! It took the life of a whole football team and their fans, a total of 39 people, among them two half brothers of mine. Finally, a cousin lost his life in a car accident on the road to Uvira.

Well, what can I say, it seems paradox: Even this book was the victim of calamity. When we were in the last stages of gathering all the material for this book, my computer was stolen from the car at the border to Rwanda during a trip – with all the data, including the USB-sticks. The whole work was gone in an instant. The only back-up copies I had saved were in the USB-Sticks. I felt as if my head had been blown away. With a few bank

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notes I managed to convince the police to spend the whole night looking for my computer. We eventually found it but by then all data had been erased. When I look back at all the things I have been through over the years I think that my work helped me to survive. CAPA is a real challenge, which takes up all my time and hardly leaves me a minute's rest. Maybe this was just as well because it did not leave me any time to think about all these calamities."

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8. The right vocational training makes a difference

Vocational training that is oriented towards the market and people's needs is relevant and makes a difference well beyond certificates or diplomas – changing the lives of those involved. Chang does not need to be convinced of this anymore. "I was born in a poor family," he says. "Our survival depended on the work on the fields. Sometimes we could sell a bit of cassava. After learning how to make bricks I could build a house and buy a van, which I use to transport crops from Kalehe to Bukavu. This improved my social standing in the village. Now people respect me because I can send my children to school and take my family to the clinic when they are ill. I have also been able to plant some eucalyptus trees, which I hope will be of some use in the future." The training and what he managed to make of it have changed Chang's life. Since brick making responds to a specific demand in the market, it is possible to earn a sound income from it. CAPA's mobile training, held at the village, made it possible for Chang to participate.

From subsistence to a sound income

Nearly 4,000 people have been trained or qualified directly or indirectly by CAPA as skilled craftsmen (not counting further training measures). CAPA's thorough research has shown that 90 percent of these are able to use the knowledge and skills gained to earn their livelihood wholly or in part. (Annex: Table 10).

Life – for people in rich countries this means work that brings satisfaction, a harmonious family life, self-fulfilment, having fun, being able to afford beautiful things.

For poor people in developing countries life means being able to satisfy basic needs: it is about food, housing, medical care, basic education. Therefore, in the life of CAPA's graduates the effect of training

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CAPA –
Vocational training for real craftsmanship

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Vocational training should be practical and real –

CAPA's Metal workshop

Panel beating trainees

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at CAPA this reality becomes visible

Wood carving trainees

Further training in furniture upholstery: for many craftsmen in Bukavu this new capability turned into a gold mine

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The art of combining the past and old and traditional trades as

Training at the computer

The trainer Kagufa Matabishi with women learning to cook

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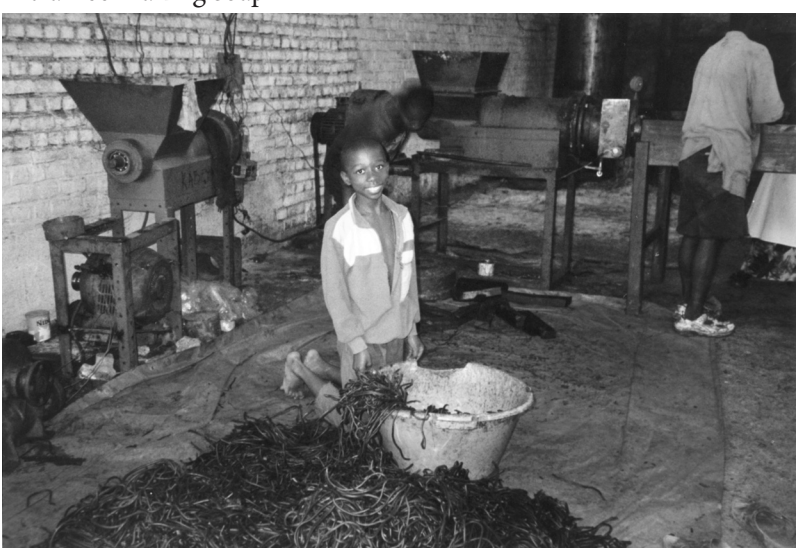
the present. At CAPA you can learn well as new and modern ones.

Abdou transformer winding

A trainee making soap



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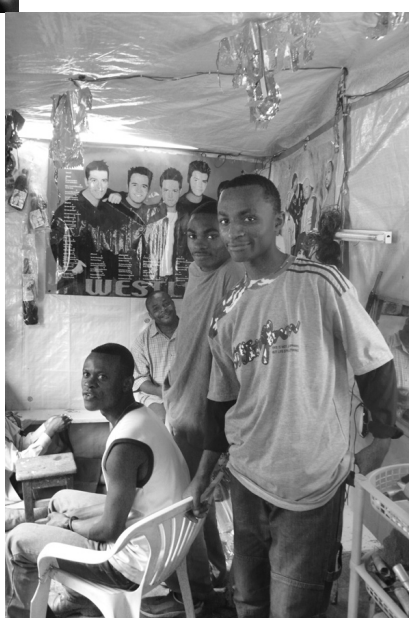
Choosing an occupation – something taken
Only a few schools offer such a wide range of

Car mechanics – the favourite option for many young men



Some young men find hair-dressing more interesting than mechanics

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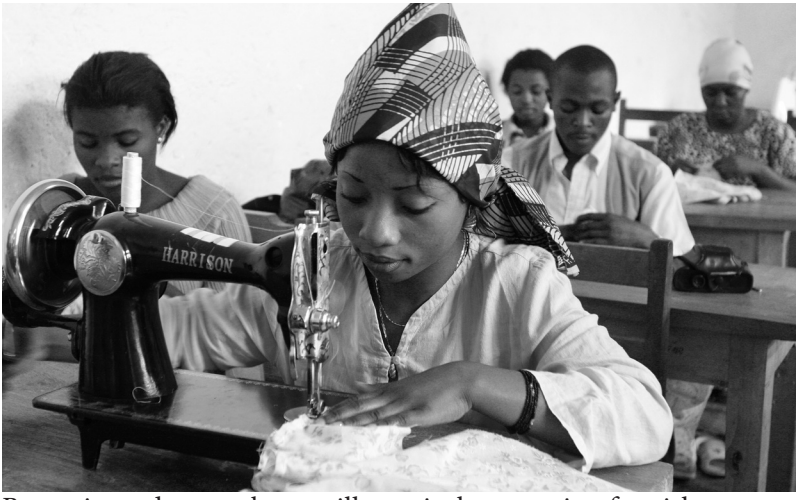
for granted in the North, a luxury in Africa. occupations and fields of activities as CAPA



Becoming a dress maker – still a typical occupation for girls.

She has made a different choice. Thanks to CAPA this was possible.

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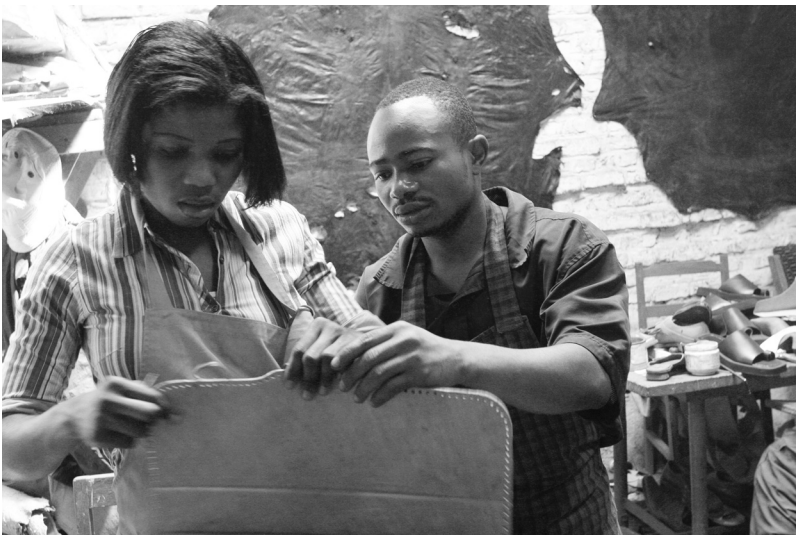
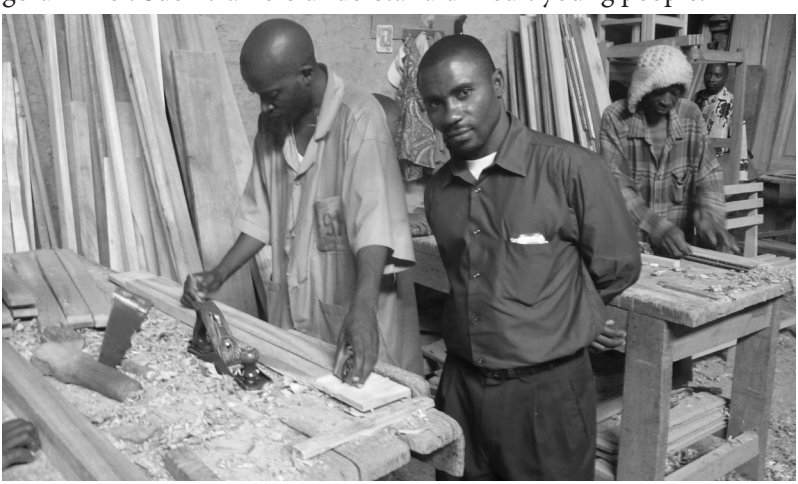
**Being a good trainer is not just about having a solid
it also means being practically oriented, flexible and**



Girls who take up a trade considered to be typical for men are often discouraged by their surroundings. Unprejudiced trainers are important.

Désiré Zozo, a trainer who as a young man worked hard as a gold miner. Such trainers understand difficult young people.



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technical background and the ability to teach: understanding the interests of young people

Kavira Muteho, dress making trainer, with some of her former graduates. CAPA takes the follow-up of its former graduates seriously.

Ex-combatants have high expectations and demands – CAPA's director, Vital Mukuza, talking to some of them

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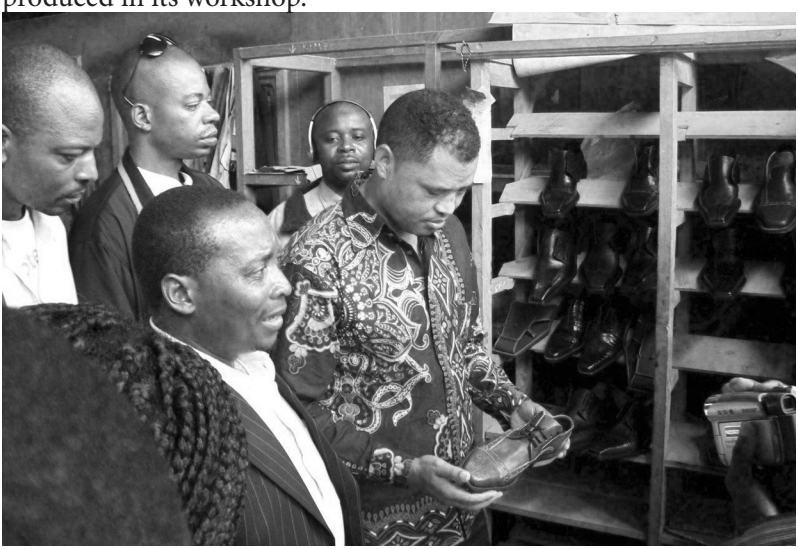
A vocational training centre that knows about opportunities can offer relevant

Guitar making at CAPA – products for which there is market demand can be easily sold.

During his visit to CAPA, the Vice Governor of South Kivu, Jean Claude Kibala, admires the quality of the shoes produced in its workshop.



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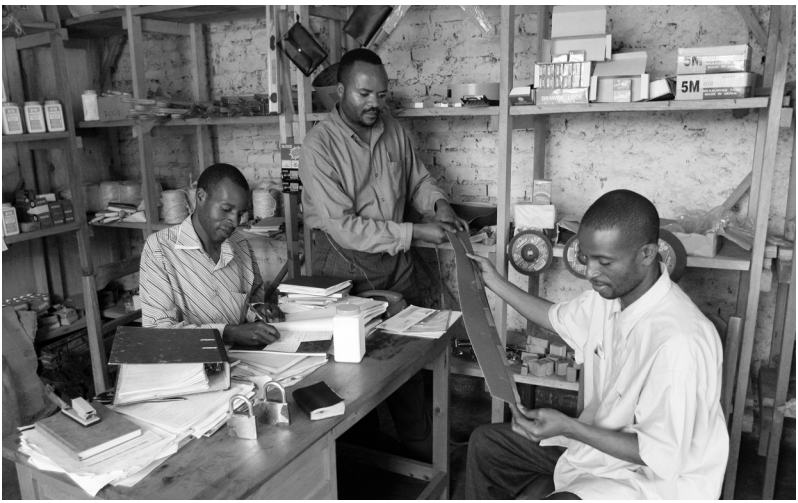
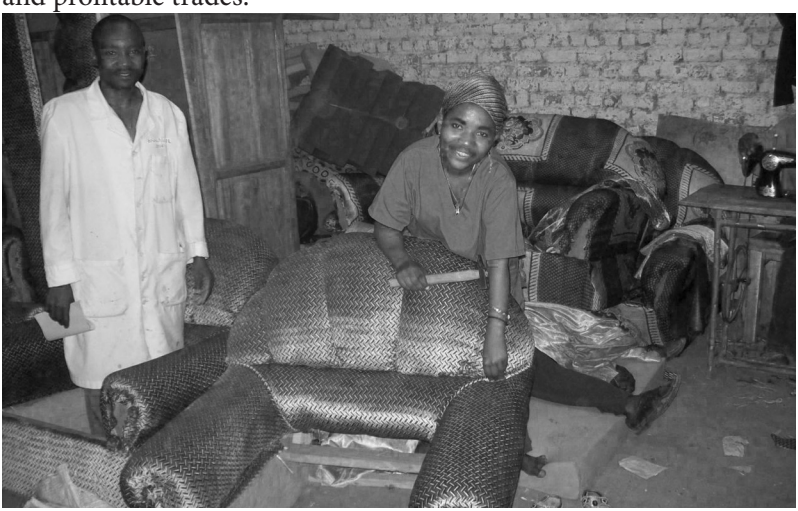
the community's needs and the market and therefore successful training



The shop at CAPA offers craftsmen and graduates a discount so they can produce at lower prices.

A craftswoman learns upholstery. Thanks to CAPA's open system, women can also take advantage of market opportunities and profitable trades.



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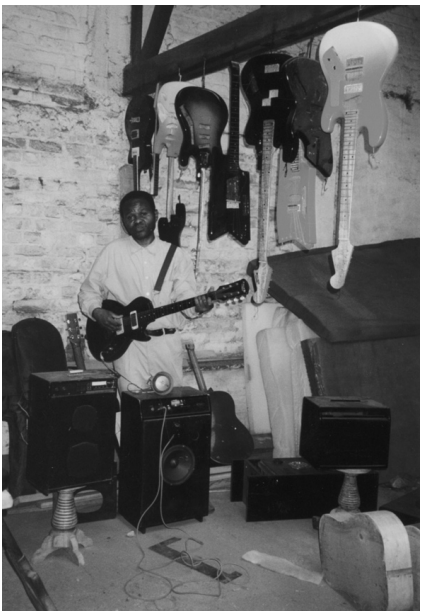
Original and open – CAPA is an unusual school. or training sailors? What other school would



Byamungu Mugomoka, artist and "inventor" of the Congolese electric guitar, is probably one of CAPA's most unusual trainers.

Many in the Kivu region have lost their lives because of hopelessly overloaded boats and ships. The training for sailors and captains was an original and sound idea of CAPA's director.

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Who else would think of making guitars admit 50- or 60-year olds as trainees?

No matter how unusual each case may be, CAPA always finds an answer: when Josephine was abandoned by her husband, the 46-year old mother of six decided to train as a car mechanic.

Age does not matter at CAPA – the carpenter Romain still has an opportunity to receive further training.

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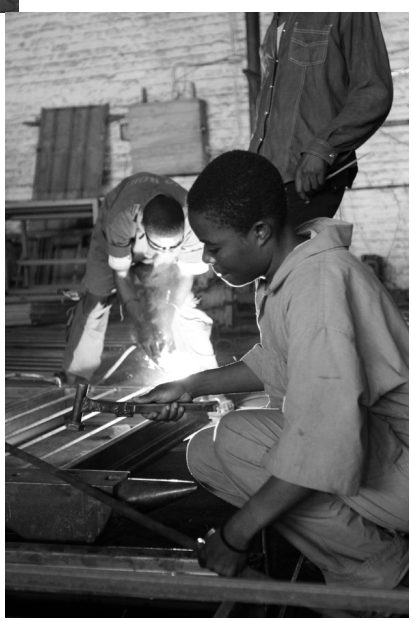
Women can do much more! become carpenters,

Faraja is an excellent welder and CAPA was really keen to keep her as a trainer. But so did the NGO Malteser International and now she works for them.



If you are looking for something unusual, you will find it at CAPA: Nsimire, a nun from a convent in Bujumbura, learned to weld here. Later, her religious order sent here again to take driving lessons.

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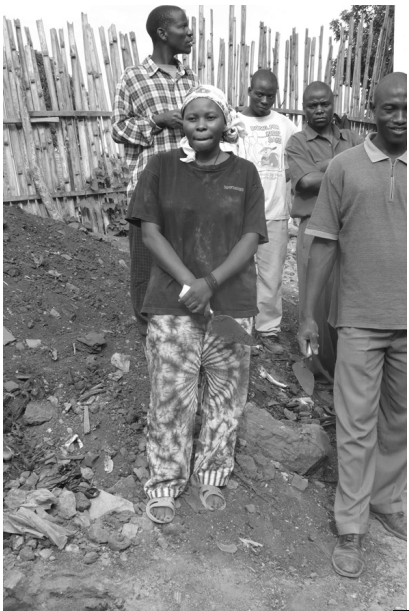
Who says that women cannot metalworkers or mechanics?



Tough guy – or rather tough girl: Munguakonkwa is training to become a mason

Rosette working as a carpenter. Why should women have large biceps to become carpenters? Not all male carpenters are big strong guys either.

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CAPA – a training centre that committed to originality, diversity of occupations and employability

CAPA – What matters is not how it looks from the outside but what is going on inside.

CAPA's staff (here some of the trainers and management staff): a competent, diverse and practical team.

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and having an occupation shows most clearly in their children's schooling, followed by better nutrition and an improved access to medical care (Annex: Table 2).

Often enough life in poor countries also just means: *survival*. Orphans, landless people, sick people, women who have been abandoned by their husbands – they all soon find themselves below the subsistence line. Just like it once was for Justine, now 26.
"I was still at school when my family started to have problems," she says. "My father started hanging out with other women and eventually divorced my mother. Now we had to figure out how to survive. Only two years later my mother died. My younger sister and I moved to my uncle's. Now everything was really difficult: food, clothes, just everything. I had to stop going to school because I always had a headache. What could I do? I remembered that already as a young child I had enjoyed doing people's hair. When I was ten, I already braided my classmates' hair, later I also did it for adults. But my parents did not want me to pursue this as a job; they wanted me to go to school. But now that I could not go to school anymore, I started doing people's hair again. I heard that you could take training at CAPA and so I could learn the trade on a professional level. Now I work at a hairdresser's and I can earn my living and also cover my sister's expenses."

Often a family lives just above the subsistence line and somehow manages to survive, even if things are difficult: it may be that they eat two instead of three meals a day, they only go to the doctor in case of a very serious illness or only three of five children can go to school. That is more or less what Augustin's life was like.

"I did not get the chance to go to school much," he says. "I made a living by selling gasoline. Like many others I would stand at the side of the road and sell it to car drivers who passed by. I did that for ten years, but I did not prosper – what I earned just was not enough. That is when I decided to join the police. I worked as a policeman for two years, but even then I hardly earned enough to feed my family. At the time I had a friend who made leather bags. He always tried to convince me to learn the trade but I hesitated for a long time,

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because I didn't think that what he did was very interesting: he spent all that he earned for drink and other adventures. I thought this may happen to me, too if I went into the same trade. But I was growing older and everything was becoming increasingly difficult, so I decided to learn to make leather bags at CAPA. Now I have my own workshop, where I also train others. Now I can see that one can make a good living as a leather craftsman and I would really like one of my children to learn the trade, too."

Augustin's example shows: A trade makes it possible to live above the subsistence line. In Congo this is also true in comparison to the salaries paid by the state. For instance, a civil servant there earns between USD 30 and USD 60 per month. A carpenter can easily earn as much as USD 150 per month. A craftsman who has received a solid training with a clear market orientation can even earn more than that. Given that CAPA pays special attention to the personal follow-up of its graduates supporting them and to helping them getting started in the world of work, they are well prepared for self-employment. Thus their earnings may well be above than the local average (Annex: Table 11). A survey conducted by CAPA among 100 of its former graduates showed that the average income for men was USD 102 (lowest level USD 55 and highest USD 141) and for women it was USD 77 (lowest level USD 46 and highest USD 100).

Synergy between vocational training and the crafts sector – a blessing for all

He was a *débosseleur* and was 62 years old. In other places his occupation would be called a body maker, but his capabilities were not quite enough for that. Buromu had only learned how to fix cars. When CAPA's cars needed a repair after an accident, Buromu was called in. There were always young people who joined him then and wanted to learn from him. Since he was very reliable and did his job well, CAPA employed him as a "trainer without certificate". But Buromu took pride in his craftsmanship. Now that he was officially a trainer, he also wanted to have his certificate. First, he took driving lessons at CAPA, because it had always been his dream to be able

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to drive a car. After that he took a technical further training course and finally had his coveted certificate. This is how Buromu became CAPA's eldest trainee.

The example of Buromu is more than just a nice little story. It shows how an open approach, combined with accepting and appreciating people of all social spheres can help people evolve, even if others may have considered them incapable, "hard to teach" or just too old.
Indeed the further training of craftsmen is a difficult issue and it is not always successful. Everyone who has worked in the promotion of craftsmanship in Africa knows how reluctant craftsmen can be to take initial or further training. This is due to many factors. In the case of the craftspeople it may be a lack of insight, but also personal pride or their own professional experience that gets in the way. In the case of the supporting institution it may be that they do not always approach the craftsmen in the right way and the training on offer does not really suit their needs.

CAPA has trained more than 1,600 urban craftsmen (Annex: Table 6) who could increase their income after the training. CAPA's "magic formula" is probably something like a paradox negation: Unlike other projects that aim at promoting craftsmanship, CAPA does *not* approach training from that perspective. Its intention is not to "promote craftsmanship" but to *react* to a *specific* personal request put forward by the craftsmen themselves. They need or want something, ask for it and receive it. The price they have to pay for it makes sense to them as self-employed business people it increases the value of the training itself.

Under these circumstances the success of the training is guaranteed since the craftsman who has asked for training will certainly apply the new knowledge and capabilities. When an African craftsman even invests money in the training, this means that he expects to improve his level of income significantly by applying his new knowledge and capabilities.

This is what the examples of Pierot and Emmanuel show us. Pierot, a talented and smart young man, worked as an unskilled worker in

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construction. As he was very talented, he often worked just as well as the bricklayers. But he only earned a pittance for his work. So one day he decided to take on further training at CAPA. Thanks to his resolute nature he soon became a foreman. Now he earns USD 150 per month and has been able to buy a piece of land and marry at last. Emmanuel's was a similar case. He also was just an unskilled worker. He was dissatisfied that with this kind of work he could not prosper in life. So he also decided to get some further training at CAPA. Being just as resolute as Pierot, he managed to increase his monthly income from USD 50 to USD 200. He began to put money aside until he managed to buy a second hand car. Now he sends all his younger brothers to CAPA for training.

CAPA's ability to react in a flexible and targeted manner to the needs of the craftsmen allows them to take advantage of market opportunities in a short period of time. When at the end of the 1990s many people became wealthy overnight by mining coltan, a real building frenzy set in, combined with the sudden demand for luxury products. At the time, these luxury products included three piece suites. But only a few carpenters in Bukavu also knew about upholstery. After all, there had never been much demand for it. When the carpenters came to CAPA asking for further training for this skill, the school was quick to react. A man from Burundi who lived in Bukavu was contracted as trainer and soon afterwards the training began. The carpenters made a small fortune at the time with this new skill. They would have missed this short term market opportunity if no one had responded as flexibly to their needs as CAPA did.

The fact that informal forms of skills development such as apprenticeships and short courses have been integrated into the training system and that CAPA also offers further training for craftsmen has an additional effect: heightened appreciation of the crafts sector itself. Some people may well wonder what is so unusual about a vocational school improving the image of the trade. This could indeed be the case – provided vocational schools in Africa were so designed. But unfortunately most of them are not. It is much more often the case that although a school does train for a certain "craft or trade", the training as such is viewed both by the school and the trainees as

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education. What should actually be a practical vocational training turns instead into a substitute for a general education that is either non-existent or ineffective. Because local craftsmanship is often regarded by modern African society as something of low value, no one really takes pride in learning a trade. Therefore many do not engage in training with view to learning a trade but because they want the school diploma that they receive on completing the training. The trainers at such school often have studied at a polytechnic or even a university.
CAPA, however, does mean the *crafts trade* when is speaks of crafts trade. At CAPA, trainees and craftsmen come and go and there is no apparent difference between the two. At CAPA trainees are not called "students" but "apprentices" – something unthinkable at other schools. CAPA also employs craftsmen as trainers. All this has created an impressive and authentic milieu at CAPA.

What's more, craftsmen and trainees alike can buy material at CAPA's shop at a discount price. In cooperation with local organisations who are active in the promotion of the crafts trade, CAPA supports craftsmen in asserting their interests as for instance to protect themselves against arbitrary levies. CAPA also hosts radio programmes where the craftsmen can air their problems.

Self esteem and dignity – how training changes women's lives

It has to be honestly said: *empowerment* of women and gender equity are not among the major successes that come to mind when speaking about CAPA. Compared to its other successes and benchmarked against other organisations that address these issues systematically and with great dedication, CAPA's successes in this area are rather modest and inconspicuous. There are many reasons for this, within CAPA itself and also in its environment. We will take a closer look at these reasons in a later chapter but we would already like to point out at this stage that – compared to other African countries – in Congo it seems more difficult for women and men to be regarded and accepted as equals in society and in partnerships. Some of the

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results described in the following paragraphs may seem trivial when looked at from outside, but the persons affected see it very differently. It depends on where a woman is, what her social and personal standing is. With regard to women, CAPA's impact may seem rather elementary, sometimes it is just about a small income or "only" about a little more respect for women.

"When a woman learns a trade or even just one new skill, such as baking doughnuts, for instance, she is already more respected in her surroundings", explains Pascal Munoka, who used to facilitate the integration of CAPA graduates into the world of work after many years of community work for CBCA. The fact that the new activity generates an income gives the woman a higher standing, closer to that of men. This is the general effect, also in towns. This is paradoxical because in many cases men do not live up to their status and responsibilities but that's the way it is. A woman who contributes to the family income is more respected, by her immediate surroundings and society at large, as well as her own husband. If she is single, her economic activity helps her to find a husband much sooner. Here, again, the fundamental aspect is the income: the man knows that his future wife will contribute to the family's income. And that makes her interesting.

Measuring a woman's "value" in terms of her capacity to earn an income – not everyone may find this a positive criterion. It raises an unpleasant feeling about assigning a monetary value to a human being. But there is no point pretending one can jump several development stages at a time. Looking at it from a different perspective, this change represents a major step: the women's *abilities* become visible. If you compare it with the fact that (too) many men in Congo underrate women's abilities, then this is quite an achievement.

Madame Pélagie highlights a similarly paradoxical effect: "My husband respects me for my work. He knows he did not build our house on his own. He would be ashamed of himself if he chased me away from the house. He knows how much I have contributed to it!" By Western standards it may not really seem an achievement that a woman cannot be chased away by her husband for economic

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reasons. But this instance does mirror a reality which is of great importance to the women in Congo: The effects of training and an occupation strengthen women's position in their marital life and protect them.

By having an occupation and an income women are more respected, acquire higher social value, are better protected and improve their self-esteem – although it is not always clear what is cause and effect. In the case of some women the mere opportunity to take vocational training will raise their self-esteem, regardless of what their surroundings or their husbands say about it. In other cases, women feel that their surroundings and their husbands respect them more because of the training, and that improves their self-esteem. Higher self-esteem also helps women open up and they are more confident to speak up or act differently in public. In some cases this may even mean that they can enjoy the luxury of actually *choosing* their own husband instead of having to accept the only one who may take pity on them or the one who just takes advantage of them. Young Lucienne recalls: "I was just as pretty as the other girls but I could never find a man with serious intentions. They all just wanted to have fun. This is how I became a single mother. After I started my training to become a dressmaker, a totally different kind of men began to take interest in me; they treated me with more respect and even proposed to me for a religious wedding. A year ago I finally chose a man for myself. I am convinced that it is my occupation that brought him to me. When they came into my workshop they thought that I must be quite wealthy. Much has changed in my family, too. I never used to get invited to family gatherings. I was regarded as a burden and considered useless. Now that I contribute economically to the different family events, I get invited regularly, and sometimes gatherings are postponed to make sure I can attend them."
Some women manage to improve their economic situation or even advance to new social spheres. In recent years CAPA has increasingly undertaken to train women in trades that had previously been restricted to men. A total of 43 women have been trained as carpenters, mechanics, brick layers, shoe makers, etc. Most of them now work in the trade they trained for. Others have given up because they have married and they do not want to work in that occupation

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any more or because their husbands do not allow them to. About 80 percent still work in their occupation; this is a good result despite everything. As a matter of fact, many of these women seem to need a "protected" area to survive such an adventurous step. More than half of the women who work in a "male occupation" are either employed at CAPA (five), work in the workshops of artisans' associations (six), have found employment with the church (two) or are working for NGOs (five).

What kind of women are these who have the courage to face such a challenge? Looking at their life stories and listening to what they have to say, the picture that emerges is one of outsiders and of women with a special character.

Faida was one of these outsiders. After she was abandoned by two husbands because she could not bear a child, her third husband, a soldier, took her with him to the front. After he also abandoned her, she became a fighter herself to survive. She managed to hold on for six months and then escaped. Back to Bukavu she decided to train as a car mechanic at CAPA. Now that she is happily married, and has even given birth to two children, she is 'restored' to normal society and her outsider status jobwise has been modified too: the only car she usually gets to drive now is her husband's. Only when the family goes through a rough patch does she become an outsider again and morphs into a taxi driver.

Nelly, by contrast, is a woman with an unusually strong character. She had two children and her husband had left her when she met one of CAPA's female trainers who wanted to convince her to take up a training course in dress making. However, Nelly wanted something special: she applied for the course in car mechanics. After an internship at the local brewery she found a job there, first as a hostess at the reception. She endured this for some time but then demanded to be employed according to her skills. As a result, she now works as a mechanic at the brewery.

The women who have dared to tread this new path have – consciously or unconsciously – become role models. Some of them now train female trainees. The fact that girls and women tend to prefer to learn from women trainers increases the chances of these role

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models having an effect. Even if they are only a few: their importance as a role model will always outweigh their numerical quantity.

Vocational training as a catalyst for rural development

The list of CAPA's impressive achievements must not omit one outstanding item: vocational training in rural areas.
Crafts trade and vocational training are not easy topics in rural areas, no matter where. The markets are extremely limited, the demand quite specific and not very flexible, the price structure for products and services quite narrow. Many rural craftsmen only work in their trade as an additional source of income. Rural youth hardly has the opportunity to receive training or start an apprenticeship. As a result they look for training opportunities in towns – and stay there.
After many years CAPA eventually became aware of this, too. It then started to reverse the system and take the training into the rural areas by offering further training to CAPA graduates who had set up their own workshops in rural areas. CAPA "invented" the mobile training unit before it began to be discussed as a promising model by other organisations. This approach allowed consolidation and further development of the crafts trade in rural areas by means of further training for craftsmen. These craftsmen in turn trained young people in their workshops. This way the poor rural population gained access to training and – as a result – the opportunity to earn an income.
Anyone involved in vocational training and craftsmanship knows how difficult it is to promote employment in rural areas. In this case this is exacerbated by the fact that the entire region where CAPA works has been in a state of crisis for more than 15 years and in between also struck by acute episodes of war. This very specific situation, marked by fighting among different militias, turned rural areas into dangerous terrain. But even then CAPA continued to work in rural areas. The success of its work is a reward in itself: The results that have been achieved in the countryside are considerable.
What is the nature of these results, this impact in rural areas?? Are they so different from the impact on employment and income described in the previous chapter? The answer to this question is "yes" to the extent that the results seem to be more far reaching.

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Promoting vocational training in rural areas apparently works like a catalyst. The results do not just affect the living conditions of individuals and their families but also the traditions and ways of life; the crafts sector; products and services; the market as such. Numerous self-evaluations undertaken by CAPA and other research show the impact on the families of its graduates in rural areas. It is not just about improved nutrition, better medical care, an improved habitat or their children's education. Vocational training and the income generated as a result of it seem to trigger a chain reaction with a wide range of secondary effects that are interrelated. Improved nutrition and better health increase personal performance. This in turn has a positive effect on income. People produce more, buy a means of transport or invest more in animal husbandry. The means of transport then contributes to higher income, the livestock functions as capital that can be used to marry (the bride price is currently two cows, twelve goats or USD 1,000). As a result of improved living conditions, a higher income, more property or marriage the social status in the village changes automatically: It increases the community's respect for those who have achieved this.

For poor people receiving respect and being "seen" by the community is often just as important as having an income. For women it is even more important as they are often less appreciated than men. Women in rural areas especially have few opportunities to show their skills and abilities – prove their "worth" – outside the scope assigned to them. Tradition and ways of thinking tend to be more fixed in rural areas. Vocational training, however limited, helps women to gain greater autonomy. At first sight, baking doughnuts may not seem particularly likely to make a woman economically independent. But this first impression can be misleading. In Congo, *beignets* are known as the "poor man's bread"; the crisis actually increased the demand for this substitute product. Therefore a woman can indeed earn some money baking *beignets*. Dress making is a similar issue. It is usually not considered profitable in rural areas. The market is too small because the village population does not order many clothes. However, the situation in the Kivu region is quite different. "In rural areas there is still a high demand for a traditional type of clothes," explains Kavira Muteho, the dress making trainer, "and there is

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a cultural peculiarity: people always want to be well dressed, even when if they do not have enough to eat. In the Kivu region people take great pride in their appearance. The material is cheaper in the rural areas, too. In the villages you can find women who have many pieces of *pagne* (traditional wax print cloth) in their chests. This is why a dress maker can indeed earn some money in a village. I know a dress maker who made so much money making clothes that she was able to pay workers to cultivate her fields. That gave her a great reputation in the village. Another one, her name is Noela, made blouses and was able to send her husband to university."

CAPA's activities in rural areas reach 30 villages in six of South Kivu's eight rural districts and across a distance of 150 kilometres to the north, 120 kilometres to the west and 200 kilometres to the south. Wherever CAPA worked and carried out training activities there are now workshops that offer products and services not available before such as window and door grilles, bricks, upholstered furniture. In the past people had to buy these products elsewhere, in town or in distant marketplaces. Necessary repairs used to be a major problem for car drivers – now they can find such services nearby.

Successful vocational training approaches therefore stimulate the market in a way that is particularly tangible in rural areas. Another secondary effect of CAPA's work is that its graduates have set up workshops where they now train other people. CAPA supports these training activities by paying special attention to the quality of the apprenticeships. Approximately 1,500 "second generation" apprentices have been trained already (Annex: Table 5). Four of these workshops of CAPA graduates regard themselves as a kind of "mini CAPA".

Responsive vocational training: market and consumers benefit

Taking into account the needs of the market has only received general attention in the discussions on technical and vocational education and training during the last decade. The focus mostly lies on two factors: the demand for skilled workers (by the economy) and for employment (by the trainees). Little is said, however, about the

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other potential benefits of vocational training that is responsive and market-oriented. It can be assumed that not many wish to venture into this terrain because there are not many experiences to draw from. What we mean here is the creation of new employment opportunities, the introduction of *new* products and *new* services to the market.

To be able to do this, vocational training or rather the institution behind it must observe the market closely and know how to react to changing needs or emerging opportunities. In a nutshell: The vocational training institution itself must be adaptive and innovative and therefore also basically entrepreneurial. This is asking a lot of vocational schools, which are usually run by pedagogues. New impulses for reform are often received from expatriate development workers. But the degree of sustainability of such efforts is not always encouraging.

At CAPA it also took a long time before this process set in. Now, however, the institution can take pride in saying that it belongs to the pioneers of innovation. For instance, who would have thought that guitar making as such and in a crisis region too could make sense? But the product sells well, as we have described in chapter 5. There was a demand, even when no one had previously seen it. But this is not all. The production of shoes and other leather items was new at CAPA, as was the motor winding, the gastronomy training, the sugar production or the training of sailors. The director's unique talent, combined with his entrepreneurial profile, is certainly one of the causes for innovation at CAPA. We will take a closer look at the causes for success in chapter 11 but it is still important to point out this fact here. Not everybody has such a spirit of innovation and an extraordinary sense of the market as well as the talent to turn opportunities into specific training. And unfortunately it cannot be imitated indefinitely.
Sugar production training is a good example of how CAPA's director embarks on very personal "journeys of discovery" and how determined he can be when it comes to putting innovation into practice. "I come from a village myself, where we produce sugar cane in large quantities and all we do with it is chew it," he says. "As a result of this

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very limited use the price for sugar cane is ridiculously low. This is so although many farmers do not drink tea or coffee because they cannot afford to buy sugar because it is so expensive. At the same time they are the ones producing the raw material! On a visit to Tanzania I once saw how the farmers there stored the sugar cane and then made sugar with it, which they called 'panela'. They used this panela to sweeten their coffee and to make all sorts of sweets. I was very impressed by that and decided to introduce this at home. I was told that once a Congolese engineer from Goma had been there before to learn about this method of sugar production. As soon as I got back I started to look for him. He showed me the equipment that he had replicated. I managed to convince him to train 35 farmers from the villages we work in. At CAPA we are currently replicating five of these machines to sell them to the farmers who have received training. They still cannot believe that they now can make sugar and others delicious sweets."

Vocational training that saves lives

The market opportunities and niches discovered by the director of CAPA create employment, improve the quality of services and contribute to using local resources for economic development. However, having a good feel for current demands for vocational training can even save lives. Vital Mukuza tells us how he got the idea of offering training for sailors.

"It was just daily observation that gave me this idea. I live not far away from Lake Kivu and so every day I see ships mooring. There are many boats and ships on the lake: 18 larger ships, 21 barges, 86 motor pirogues and 8 speed boats. I caught myself thinking that people work on all these ships and boats: sailors, captains and other staff. And I asked myself where these people received their training, whether they had learned this profession and if yes who had taught them and how and whether they ever receive further training. There are many shipping accidents on Lake Kivu, just like on other lakes in the region. I have lost several members of my family in boating accidents. After two such disasters occurred again, I went to see the person in charge of waterways at the Ministry and right afterwards I went to see the operators of the boats and ships. There I learned that they have an association and that some of its members

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have been trained abroad, some of them still at the time of the Belgian colonisation. Most of these men are already very old and there are no younger ones to follow in their footsteps. I agreed with this association that we would support them to address this problem. As the training need we established that the sailors were to be trained in how to load the ships in a professional manner, taking security aspects into account. We further agreed to organise the exchange of experiences between the different operators and that the boat motors had to be maintained. At CAPA we conducted a targeted survey to collect all necessary data. We designed a training programme, which consists of 11 modules. Two of these modules have taken place already: we have trained 22 sailors and given further training to 14 captains and two officers. The theoretical training and the sharing of experiences take place at CAPA; the practical part of the training takes place on the boats and ships of the members of the association. The skilled workers of the association have experience and technical skills. They are captains who received their training at the naval college in Lumumbashi or Kinshasa. We add pedagogical know-how to their knowledge. The public is very interested in this initiative because they know that here a boat trip means risking your life – just because it is such a neglected sector. But also the shipping companies are very interested because they lose a lot of many with each accident due to claims for compensation or even risk being jailed."

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9. Training marginalised groups – a difficult task

From the very beginning, so to speak as a basic Christian idea of the Baptist Church, it was CAPA's intention to offer training to groups that might be considered marginalised. For more than 15 years CAPA's definition of these was mainly school drop-outs and single mothers. Later, as CAPA's training system became increasingly flexible, other marginalised groups were gradually identified. It began in 1998 with a group of women who had been left to cope on their own either due to the war or because their husbands had left to try their luck in the mines. These women were trained at CAPA. During the same year, some relief organisations started sending street children for training at CAPA. After CAPA became known for its very open training system an increasing number of organisations began approaching CAPA to secure training for the groups they were supporting (you can find an overview of this in the annex: Tables 8 and 9). As a result of this development, war orphans came to CAPA in 2001, AIDS orphans and persons living with HIV in 2002. CAPA came in contact with another socially marginalised group via a completely different path: the Pygmies.

The Pygmies – a socially marginalised group on its way to integration

The path that the Pygmies followed to CAPA was certainly not a direct one. They took a long detour. However, since difficult undertakings often take a detour, it seems important to describe it.
"The Pygmies are the actual indigenous people of the Congo," explains CAPA's director. "Originally they lived form hunting and gathering. But deforestation has forced the Pygmies to settle and adopt agriculture and other trades as a means of securing their livelihoods. The contact to the Pygmies came through me. In 1991, as part of my studies, I had conducted some surveys among the Pygmies. I am a convinced ecologist and I knew that the Pygmies were among

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the most ferocious poachers in our national park hunting the mountain gorillas, which are in danger of extinction. At the time, the German GTZ, who had a large programme in the region and wanted to protect the gorillas, called upon all other development actors to provide the Pygmies with other means of survival so that they might stop hunting gorillas. After becoming the director of CAPA in 1998, the Pygmies remembered me since I had stayed their friend since then. They asked if CAPA could help them, if there was some kind of training for them. This is how our extraordinary experience in the training of the Pygmies came about."

In retrospective, this training of the Pygmies proved to be a truly difficult undertaking. Their traditional way of living is obviously deeply engrained and conventional training methods fail. For instance, CAPA wanted to train pygmy women in dress making but only three out of ten women completed their training. Similar experiences were made with the carpentry training for the men: only half of 30 who enrolled in the training remained. And even these could only be convinced to stay on by encouraging them to produce items that CAPA immediately bought from them. Some of the women took an interest in crocheting and knitting, because it allowed them to finish their pieces of work rather quickly and immediately sell them.

"It was a very difficult issue", recalls Vital Mukuza. "They are extremely impatient, want to have everything immediately. I think that this is related to their traditional way of life. Hunting and gathering make people used to a relatively simple existence, which is marked by seeking that, which one needs, just as one needs it. After that you wait until you need something again. That is also the way they behaved here: When they received money for their products, they did not attend the training until they had used up their money." The only successful approach was quite a different kind of support: CAPA provided them with a small fund and encouraged them to improve and diversify their traditional handicrafts in order to improve the demand for them in the market. These items are mainly baskets. This kind of support was actually not part of CAPA's system but it turned out to be the kind of support that really addressed the uniqueness of this target group and was therefore successful. Many Pygmies engaged in this activity.

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Overall one cannot say that the vocational training as such was particularly successful for the Pygmies. However, it may have been a success from a different point of view.
"The local Bantu population has deep-rooted prejudices against the Pygmies," explains the director of CAPA. "They are looked down upon, considered uncivilised, dull and inferior. The Pygmies themselves adopt this disregard for themselves by showing how honoured they feel when a Bantu wants to deal with them at all. This we could observe at a football game we organised: the Pygmies left laughing and singing although they had lost against the Bantu. They said that even the fact that they were allowed to play against the Bantu made them happy. In a different case, a Pygmy who had married a Bantu woman went around telling everybody that now he was worth something. The social gap between the Bantu and the Pygmies is very wide and very deep. Thus the immediate neighbours of the Pygmies warned us not to get involved with them. They said it was a waste of time because the Pygmies were not capable at all of learning anything. To tell the truth, a similar gap prevailed at CAPA, too. Some of our trainers were not enthusiastic at all about training Pygmies. But finally they discovered their dexterity and practical intelligence and retracted their prejudices. It was the same with the Pygmies' neighbours who were astonished to see what beautiful handicrafts they were able to produce."

AIDS orphans and persons living with HIV – marginalised as a consequence of war

The consequences of the war also catapulted others to the fringes of society. War and displacement brought AIDS – a phenomenon previously unknown in the Kivu region. "There used to be hardly any AIDS here," says Vital Mukuza. "The soldiers of the neighbouring countries, especially from Uganda, brought it. It is the war that brought us, among many other things the problem of AIDS."

As a result, CAPA now trains AIDS orphans and persons living with HIV. One of these orphans is 23-year old Kabesha. Kabesha married at a very young age and soon became mother of two. Her husband

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treated her very badly and she decided to get divorced. Normally she could have returned to live with her parents but they had died of AIDS. In her desperation she thought of making a living as a sex worker. When she heard about the training at CAPA she plucked all her courage and came to CAPA to apply for dressmaking training – although she knew that she had neither the means to pay for her training nor could she provide any family references. Given her extraordinarily difficult situation, CAPA decided to waive the training fees. Because she showed earnestness and determination, CAPA supported her after her training with a sewing machine and a few accessories so that she could set up her own business. After only two years, Kabesha now does not only earn her own living and send her children to school; she has also built her grandmother a house and now trains other girls in dressmaking herself.

While the training of young AIDS orphans follows relatively normal paths and does not entail major extraordinary tasks for CAPA, the case of the persons living with HIV is quite different. This is a difficult target group for whom specific training and support measures had to be planned and undertaken. The following description makes it clear why others do not take up this particular challenge.

Training for persons living with HIV: the courage to go on living

CAPA's pedagogical director, Magadju Cibey, describes what training this target group entails. "Persons living with HIV have, in addition to their illness, serious existential worries," he says. "We are the only training centre that admits these people and trains them. In order to design training programmes that really suit these persons, we need to listen to them first. They want very short courses that enable them to quickly earn what they need for their everyday life. Besides, the activities must not be too physically strenuous. Therefore, we have designed short courses of very different duration: baking in seven days, batik in two weeks, knitting or cooking (in order to be able to work in a restaurant) in one month each, dress making in six months. The training really focuses on what is essential and is conceived as practical training. To avoid segregation, we integrate these people in the normal training flow without disclosing their

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delicate status. However, many of these people are encouraged by their supporting organisations to accept their situation and therefore they disclose it themselves and try to raise other people's awareness of the issue. Nevertheless, they do not want to be spoken about nor do they want to be seen or visited without previous notice. They can become quite aggressive. We invest a lot of time in raising the awareness of the other trainees to prevent them from discriminating this group of people.

The flow of the training is just as difficult. These persons are extremely fragile. They can work two to three or a maximum of four hours in a row. They are always hungry. Sometimes we feel so sorry for them that we give them food at the school's small restaurant. The illness itself makes them vulnerable. They often miss out on the training because they become ill or need to go to their regular check-ups. There is also the psychological aspect. The permanent fear of possibly dying soon sometimes makes them do or say peculiar things. For instance, they vehemently insist on completing the training quickly 'because our minutes are numbered'. Others go around CAPA and try to sell their clothes or other possessions saying that 'food is more important than getting dressed'. To help them overcome their fear of death we introduce them to two persons in Bukavu who have now lived with the virus for 14 and 10 years.

So far we have trained 38 persons living with AIDS, most of them women. How successful is what we are doing? We do not know. From a human perspective it is certainly positive and it helps these people to carry on living. With regard to actually carrying out their occupations, we cannot really say that we are successful. There certainly are a few positive examples. For instance, one woman has opened her own small restaurant; another woman bakes and makes quite a good living of it. A third woman makes a living by selling her crocheting work. On the other hand, only four of the 19 women we trained in dress making in 2005 actually work in this occupation. It really is a difficult issue."

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Despised, rejected, abandoned – Women as victims of the war

The pattern of the wars has changed over the last century – it has come closer to the people. The real menace is not the bombardment of large areas, but attacks by other people, by neighbours, siblings. Wars have become smaller, more regional and limited. Perhaps also more cruel. Today, wars are waged against civilians, against women and children. Sometimes consciously and deliberately.
Raping women is one of these deliberate atrocities.
In Africa, rape is hushed up out of shame, fear, desperation. As a result, this is not a phenomenon that was openly spoken about until the end of the 1990s. CAPA was also not aware of the fact that a new marginalised group was emerging. It was the external consultant who drew CAPA's attention to this acutely fragile group: women who have been abducted and raped by soldiers or militia fighters. While women in general, also in Europe, have great difficulties in speaking openly about sexual violence, this is the more so in a society such as the Congolese society. This is so because the repercussions are an equally damaging blow. In Congo a raped woman has no social standing, especially if she has been raped by a soldier. She is worth nothing to anybody –society at large, the village, even her own family. Not even for her husband, who will usually chase her away as if she was a mangy dog. No man wants such a "dishonoured" woman as his wife. Thus, raped women in Congo suffer multiple punishments on top of what they have suffered. Their lives are destroyed, their family lost. And if fate is particularly cruel, they also are infected with HIV as they are raped.

Since 2000 CAPA has started to deliberately admit women who have been raped and who are looking for an opportunity to get on with their lives. A total of 47 women have been trained so far. Some of them find their way to CAPA by themselves, others are sent by NGOs who focus on these women. However, this is a difficult group, too. "In class they sometimes cower on the bench or keep staring into the void," says Magadju Cibey, the pedagogical director of CAPA. "And when I try to speak to them in private they usually cry all the time."

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CAPA does what it can to help these women, as far as a training centre can possibly help – what these women really need is intensive psychological care. An occupation and an income can help stabilise such a woman's material life and give her hope, but they cannot heal her soul.

Rape and power – why a phenomenon never ends

Vital Mukuza describes his own very personal way of dealing with the phenomenon of rapes in the Kivu region. This is the story of a man, who at first could not believe it and who then tried to fight against it with great determination – and was defeated. A story that shows why this phenomenon never ends.

"After the wars I always heard that many women had been raped, but I could not really believe it. I am a Havu and one of the characteristics of my tribe is that we are proud to act as a role model for society. I simply could not imagine that a man might take a woman against her will. Not to mention the, for me unimaginable, case that two or more men together force a woman. In 2001, however, this phenomenon touched me in a more direct way. I was told that such rapes were also taking place in the region I come from. One day four girls from my village came to Bukavu to get medical treatment in hospital. They had been raped. I tried to talk to them but they couldn't say much. My wife managed to find out more details. I was shocked to learn that I personally knew three of the rapists. They are from the same place where my father is a traditional Chief. I therefore travelled to my village to meet these men. By now they had joined a local militia. When I tried to confront them, they just laughed at me. Instead of repenting, they even bragged about the horrible things they had done, about all the other women they had also raped, who had remained silent out of shame. I was appalled and set out to find the women and girls they had talked about to speak to them. I eventually spoke to 21 women and girls, 13 of whom told me what had happened to them, while the others were too ashamed to talk to me about it. I could hardly believe what I heard and even less when I learned that the rapists had the brazenness to threaten the families of their victims, saying they would kill them if they spoke to anyone about it.

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With my father who is a local Chief I went to see the commander of the military troop that was stationed there. We told him that these events were humanly unbearable and that they disintegrated the social fabric. This commander had been named as one of the rapists. He pretended to be shocked and showed us three soldiers who had been locked up. Later, however, we were told that he had released them the next day. Back in Bukavu, I filed charges of rape against four members of the military at the military authority in charge. But I did not dare to sign with my own name because I feared that there might be reprisals against my family. Two months later I learned that two of the members of the military I had filed charges against had been convicted for rape. But soon afterwards they reported escaped from prison which only means that they bribed the jail guard. Shortly after that my father wrote to me asking me to stop any interference with these war affairs, because he had been threatened by the military. My hands were therefore tied if I did not want to endanger my father's life. I was left with the bitterness of realising that human beings can turn into animals. My trust in human kind was shattered, because I saw that their hearts can turn into stone and their heads can turn into a beast's head."

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10. Reintegration of ex-combatants – a triple challenge

One of the most crucial questions in a post-war situation is how lasting peace can be ensured. If peace is very fragile, as it is in Congo, it may also entail preventing a relapse into war. Rebels and militias recruited uncountable numbers of children and youths, some of whom joined the armed groups voluntarily, but others were forced to do so. Many of these young people have fought in the army or with a militia for years. They have experienced violence and have exerted violence themselves. But they also were part of some sort of "community" that in a certain way took care of them and gave them a sense of belonging. Even if the degree of care was mostly a disaster and the belonging was more than questionable, it gave them some kind of security. The strict military hierarchy gave the young people something to hold on to and to some of them even recognition and power. Even if we find it difficult to describe military life – particularly that in the Congolese wars – using words that might sound positive, there is no point in closing our eyes to reality. And the reality is that many young men after demobilisation are looking for exactly what they perceived as positive during their time as soldiers or militiamen. If they do not find this, their energy turns into criminal activities or, in a state of fragile peace, they take up arms again.

Finding an occupation, achieving a stable income, being respected, becoming part of society – that is what demobilised young people are looking for and want. But it is this kind of integration that is not easy to achieve. CAPA has undergone strenuous efforts with this aim but it cannot claim to have been fully successful.

The bold experiment of engaging with young ex-combatants

Already during the late 1990s, CAPA had started to "secretly" admit young men who had fled from the fighting. The regular army and the militias were both equally repressive with defectors. An intense hunt was usually made for deserters. Therefore it had

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to be kept secret that CAPA had admitted such refugees. After the war was officially over (unofficially it is still unclear whether it can be regarded as being over or not) CAPA could legally be seen to train former child soldiers and young ex-militia fighters. Now other organisations such as UNICEF and CARITAS brought young ex-combatants for training. CAPA ventured increasingly deeper into this experiment. It was in the process of taking on a difficult target group. At first CAPA did not realise this. After all, the young ex-militia fighters whom CAPA had trained already before the end of the war had only been single individuals, who had integrated themselves quietly into the overall training operations. They were mostly young men who had been abducted and forced to fight. They were not real "fighters" but victims who had had the courage to try and change their lives. Now that the war was over and CAPA was available to train ex-militia fighters, the idea was that everything could continue as before. The external consultant warned that this new target group would cause trouble but this warning was not taken seriously. Two years later, however, the trainers were at their wit's end. The young men who were officially demobilised turned out to be extremely difficult. The trainers complained daily, they literally beat a path to the director's door: the ex-combatants permanently offended or insulted one trainer, threw stones at another when he was at the blackboard, refused to speak a word to the third trainer and turned up in the fourth trainer's class with their lighted cigarettes in their hands or switched on their radios during the lessons. CAPA did not know what to do and was close to giving up this target group. CAPA was being hit in the face by two things it had overlooked: one, it was not dealing with single individuals anymore but with the massive influence of a whole group. Two, there was a fundamental difference between the two types of ex-combatants: those admitted in the early days had left the militia voluntarily; they had even risked their lives to escape from it. The new group, however, was made up of ex-combatants who had fought for years, who had partly identified themselves with their existence as fighters and members of the militia, and who had stayed on until the very end. This group was harder, coarser and more problematic.

Therefore, CAPA had to start again from scratch and figure out how to deal with these young people. How to handle their aggressiveness

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that kept flaring up? How to respond to their arrogant demands? How to deal with the disruptions this target group was causing in the training operations? CAPA realised that it had to deal with at least three major complex issues: the training methodology, the handling of trauma and reintegration as the ultimate goal.

Can perpetrators be traumatised?

By admitting young ex-combatants into their training, CAPA got itself into a difficult situation: now perpetrators and victims were under one roof. At the time CAPA had already begun to train young women who had been raped by militia fighters and soldiers. To regard these groups as perpetrators on the one hand and victims on the other suggests itself, appears more than logical – at least as long as we look at it from an absolute point of view and stick to the perpetrator-victim-role. But there are other ways of looking at it. Many of these perpetrators had been abducted, unscrupulously taken advantage of, systematically drugged and forced to torture, kill and massacre when they were still youths or even children. In the end both groups are victims – the victims of one sort of madness called war. A war that is not about high noble ideas – if there ever were such a war – but a war about power or even lesser motives such as hatred, greed for money or simply criminal energy. For many of the militias that kept (or keep) on fighting after the official end of the war were led by nothing else.

The following narrative by a young ex-militia fighter is not an isolated case. It stands for what countless young men went through. "I have seen thousand of Rwandan soldiers being killed," he explains with a voice that can barely hide the horror he experienced. "I was there, too, also raped many women. We were under the effect of drugs and killing other people seemed trivial to us. When I left the militia I thought I could just carry on with my life as before. Fortunately, I met someone who trains carpenters and who told me that I could also learn the trade. So I thought everything would be normal. But the thoughts and images do not give me a moment's rest, they follow me and I cannot get rid of them. Sometimes when I am at home in my room they are suddenly there, all these horrible

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images. Then I try to escape, I quickly run to meet friends or turn on the radio very loud. But the images won't go away. In my despair I take the Bible, because the man who helped me also told me that God can forgive me. But I ask myself if God can really forgive what I have done."

This young man spent three years with the Mai-Mai militia – long enough to create his own inner hell. But when fighters are demobilised the authorities do not regard this inner hell as an issue. "When soldiers kill the enemy during a war they are only doing their duty," said a high ranking official of CONADER, the state commission for the reintegration of soldiers and fighters during a speech once. His speech did not mention that during the Congo wars the fighters did not only kill the enemy but also civilians. He also did not mention that soldiers "normally" shoot their enemies and not cut them to pieces, burn or rape them. Those who did it know perfectly well that they did not just kill the enemy. Even when they tell themselves that they had to do it, what they experienced will haunt them.

Maybe it is asking too much to hope that a high ranking official will show understanding for a soldier's trauma. But civilian organisations should be able to do so, especially if they are committed to the reintegration of child soldiers. But sometimes this is not the case either. One member of staff of a large international organisation once said: "To kill in a situation of war is normal. That is what war is all about. After all, we are all traumatised and that doesn't mean we are all getting treatment." This remark points in two directions. On the one hand it draws the attention, from a personal perspective, to an issue that is indeed true: many residents of the Kivu region have made traumatic experiences. On the other hand, from a professional perspective, it shows that a situation is being misjudged. The comparison is wrong on two counts: you cannot compare "normal" warfare with the barbaric fighting carried out by the militias during the Congo wars, let alone compare an adult regular soldier with children and youths who were recruited by force.

Taking into account what these young people have experienced, it can only be regarded as a miracle that they actually manage to live more or less "normal" lives. One of these miracles is the story of Murhula, who learned guitar making at CAPA.

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A child's soul wounded by the war – and healed by the guitar

"My story is complicated," 18-year old Murhula hesitantly begins to explain, "I don't know how to describe it. It was on a Friday. I was at school and we were in class when suddenly the military turned up. They gave the order to separate the boys from the girls. Then they chased us into the forest where we were to receive military training. I was nine years old at the time. The training lasted for one month and was very inhuman. We were given little food and they beat us up at any occasion. There were many other horrible things that I cannot talk about. After this training we were sent to the front. I fought with different groups: the RCD, the Mudundo 40, the Mai-Mai, and finally with the government's troops. In total, I spent nine years in the army. I was released thanks to UNICEF. At CAPA I got the opportunity to learn a trade. During the war, whenever I had the time, I would repair my colleague's radios. This is how I got interested in the guitar making training at CAPA and I was trained there for six months. CAPA also helped me by allowing me to stay and work at CAPA. This way I can pay my own food and clothes and sometimes I even have something left for my family. I have already bought two goats and five rabbits and now I am saving to buy some corrugated iron to build a house. Now I can buy my own work materials and do not need support anymore. My friends, who were at the army with me, are all envious and they also want to learn to make guitars. Instead of the army, it is now the guitar that feeds me."

CAPA gave this young man the opportunity to start working in his occupation at CAPA. This is part of the CAPA's strategy of creating role models, because ex-combatants feel solidarity with each other. Role models from their own ranks are respected and more convincing. This is why CAPA tries to keep young men who have successfully overcome their difficult past as trainers or just make them visible to others.

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Successful training of ex-combatants – patience and a demanding methodology

At the moment of undertaking the difficult task of training young ex-combatants, CAPA could not count on much support from its surroundings. Only the consultant insisted that the trainers were trained in how to treat traumatised persons. However, this did not seem easy to accomplish. On the one hand it was a problem of funding, as this activity had not been initially foreseen in CAPA's programme. On the other hand it was also an organisational problem: Where was such an expert to be found? Although the neighbouring country, due to its own sad past, by now had a series of trauma specialists, they were all busy covering the demand in their own country. There was no such specialist in the Kivu region. Eventually, with EED's support, it was possible to find at least an external pedagogy expert who assisted the staff at CAPA with conflict resolution and conveyed some basic principles of trauma healing. Many years later it was possible to find someone locally, who could train CAPA's staff in trauma healing.

The interview with trainer Kahasha Kashombe, who works particularly intensely with the ex-combatants, offers an overview of the set of problems and CAPA's methodological approaches to train ex-combatants.

CAPA's methodology for training ex-combatants – An interview with Kahasha Kashombe, trainer at CAPA

How did CAPA manage to train ex-combatants successfully?
Training ex-soldiers and ex-fighters is not easy. You have to know how to handle them and their behaviour.

What kind of behaviour do they have?
In class they are extremely restless, very noticeable and very aggressive. They behave very differently from those trainees who have never used a weapon, are very easily provoked, tend to attack others or beat them up. There is always this tendency to attack.

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Where does this behaviour come from?
It is rooted in their military past but also in the fact that they are traumatised by what they have experienced. We have finally understood that we are dealing with traumatised persons here. You have to know how to deal with such young persons, how to heal their trauma, before you can begin with the training.

What does it mean to "heal someone's trauma"?
A traumatised person has had a difficult life so far. An ex-combatant has fought a war, experienced horrible things, been abused by his superiors, killed other people. I have to try to erase these experiences from his head.

How do you do that?
Someone who has been with the military loves to see himself as being superior to others. This means that to a certain extent I have to subordinate myself and must not act as a superior at the beginning. This accommodates him and this will make him more open for what I have to say. For instance, when I begin my course by asking them to show me what they can do. This is a participatory and active approach. I also talk to them in their respective language. Officially we are not supposed to speak local languages in class but I do it because I know that I can approach them better this way. I use Mashi, Kirega, and Swahili.

What do you do when such an ex-combatant disrupts your class?
It depends on what is at stake, what kind of person it is and what kind of behaviour he is showing. Some disrupt through aggressive behaviour, others present the typical symptoms of traumatised persons and others again behave as if they were the boss. They all disturb the training flow in their own way.

So how do you deal with these different types of persons and behaviours?
Let's take the ones that disrupt the class by being aggressive. In this case I can use the method of creating an artificial conflict.

What does it mean to "create an artificial conflict" and what effect does it have?
This is one of the methods we have learned. It is about showing the young person that there are always conflicts in life and that conflicts are

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good. We show him that there are conflicts outside the army and that one can learn to handle these. When I create such an artificial conflict, I pull the young person out of the actual problem and later come back to it.

How do you deal with other cases of disruption?
Those who actively disrupt the training often act like leaders. They are mostly young men who were commanders in the army or in the militias. They behave as if they were the ones responsible for speaking on behalf of the whole group of 20 trainees in class, just like they did in the military. They just seize this role for themselves and the others actually respect them. Those who have not been to the military do not dare to contradict and those who were at the military accept it automatically.

How do you treat the trauma of these young people?
In this case we work with a group composed exclusively of ex-combatants. We begin with a debriefing, which is when they describe the events they experienced. I ask one or two of them to tell their story and that without any interruption. Everyone in the room knows that what the speaker reports is also their own story. It gets quite emotional. The one who talks usually starts crying. I also cry sometimes, although I know that it is not good if a counsellor lets himself get too involved. But what they tell us about is often so shattering.

How do the others react when the ones talking cry?
They become very quiet. Nobody says anything. After all, they have all experienced similar things. They carry on until the tears dry up. One can see very clearly that others in the room now are very sad, too. So I ask another one of them to tell his story and he also speaks and cries. Sometimes the second person cries more than the first. When we get to the third person one can feel that everyone in the room is already starting to feel a bit better.

This sounds as if one session were enough to heal trauma?
No, no. For some this is enough, for other it is not. Then you have to repeat the whole process. I admit there are failures, too. For instance, when I work with 20 people, it may happen that I do not get through to two of them.

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Even if it takes two or four sessions, this method seems to have a rather quick effect. One would have thought that healing trauma would need much more time?
As I said, it depends on the psyche of each individual and also on how you conduct this debriefing. I was traumatised from the Nkunda war myself. It took a long time before I was ok again. I know what I am talking about. In any case you always need patience. Some people may need a whole year.

Can these methods be applied by anyone?
I do not think that anyone can do this. You need a lot of patience. And you need to be able to make yourself small. You may get insulted and need to be able to ignore it at times. You need to know how to talk to someone who is easily provoked. You need to be able to respect everyone; for instance, girls who have served in the army are a completely different case from the boys. Even our director cannot act as a director in front of these ex-combatants. Instead, he had to try to approach them in a different way, act as a friend, show his respect for them. Indeed CAPA had to let go some of its trainers who just could not handle this target group.

The interview with Kahasha Kashombe may provide a small impression of the difficulties faced by an institution that trains ex-combatants. It is all the more astonishing that so many organisations seem to think that they can treat this target group like they would any other and expect to be successful. Patience, pedagogic skilfulness and a methodological procedure are absolutely necessary. What may be difficult for many trainers, particularly in Africa, is the need to subordinate to a certain extent to the trainees (of this target group) in a certain way, or even if you do not "subordinate" in a true sense of the word then at least to adapt to the extent that they may come to believe you have subordinated yourself to them. This issue of respect and authority seems to be of central importance to the ex-combatants. Something else seems to be important, too: "They absolutely expect you to keep your promises," explains the director of CAPA. "You really have to pay a hell of attention not to promise anything

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that you may not be able to keep! That would be fatal. It immediately causes rebellion. They will claim what you promised with meticulous precision."
Then the director of CAPA points out something else: "Once you have understood their expectations and requests and know how to respond to them, they are quite reliable and disciplined. If they have accepted to do something, they really do it and they do it well. This is the other side, the surprisingly positive flipside of it all. However, and it is important to take this into account, they function according to their *own* rules and laws. First we thought they did not accept any rules. Then we realised that they are indeed willing to accept rules, but they want to establish the rules themselves. It may seem crazy but it is the way it is: They will stick to this self-established order with a degree of discipline that you will find nowhere else in the school, meticulous, military, prompt and exact. We let them establish their own rules, with their own leader, whom they obey unconditionally, as in the army."

CAPA will ultimately need to see this military hierarchy through, in order to be able to handle the problems and the unexpected events brought about by this target group. Just as it happened the day some workers of the public electric company SNEL came to CAPA with the mission to turn the electricity off to relieve the power network. They had never imagined that they might be captured in the school compound. The demobilised ex-soldiers found that SNEL should not have dared to send their workers to CAPA with this purpose. Therefore, they locked them inside the transformer hut. The director was not in the school at the time. CAPA's staff tried to release the SNEL workers but they did not succeed because the demobilised fighters had organised a guard. The police was called but the director, who had been called by then, wanted to solve the problem without violence, so he tried to negotiate with the ex-combatants. He explained to them which consequences the incident was likely to have for the school, that it would have to pay a fine and that he himself could be brought to court. Nothing made any impression. They would not release the SNEL workers. In the end the director had a brilliant idea and went to fetch the group's speaker. He acted like in the army, so to speak as a commander. He gave a short order and the problem was solved.

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Reintegration of ex-combatants – a task nobody is (actually) responsible for

To successfully integrate young ex-combatants means: they get trained, find employment, perform well in it, earn an adequate means of living and forget forever that they know how to handle a gun. At least this is what reintegration should look like – and that is what it officially looks like, at least on paper. Large scale governmental programmes, comprehensive action by international organisations – many seem to be taking care of this issue. Training is delivered, start up support is granted and the statistics report some kind of multi-digit success. But what is the reality like?

"They just bring us the young people for training but they leave us to cope with all the problems on our own," say CAPA's staff members. "We are not even talking about the problems of dealing with this target group or that no one really is interested in the details – but there is not even a proper follow-up to ensure that these people get integrated. No matter what we tell the international organisations or the state authorities, we always get to hear the same thing: our planning includes training; it does not foresee business start-ups. Often their planning does include a tool box or something similar as initial equipment, but many of these organisations know so little about this target group that they hand out this starter kit before the young people start their training, which is a great mistake. If these young men are not really integrated, in a solid and sustainable way, they are a ticking bomb for society."

CAPA does not really know whether to count the ex-combatants who are referred to them by other organisations as part of their own statistics, because the success of the undertaking, the reintegration, would actually be the responsibility of these organisations that send the young people to CAPA. Nevertheless, CAPA lists this group in its records, too. The other organisations can only benefit from it, because despite all the difficulties the success rate is relatively high. Out of a total of 199 ex-combatants, 141 were successfully integrated into an occupation or at least earn their means of subsistence with this activity. This is around 70 percent, meaning that the rate is approximately 20 percent lower than for CAPA's other graduates. Taking into account the formidably difficult nature of this target

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group, and the overall circumstances, this seems quite a good success rate.
A young ex-combatant from Bukavu proudly tells how he has prospered: "Since I was trained in upholstery at CAPA I feel really good. This is a profitable trade. I have been able to build a house, have been able to marry and have even been able to buy two motorbikes, which others drive for me as taxis. My family used to think I was a good-for-nothing and a trouble maker – now they respect me. I have also pulled two of my cousins out of the army and have trained them myself." A model case that makes everyone's heart beat faster. A case of successful integration.

The case of Michel's integration from Uvira was similarly successful. After he had been released from the demobilisation centre in Uvira, he decided to learn from one of CAPA's graduates how to become a carpenter. He also trained in upholstery. "After this training his whole conduct suddenly changed," tells an old lady from the neighbourhood where Michel lives. "When he set up his workshop and people saw that he made his living honestly, they gradually dropped their prejudices against him. We could also see how he attracted other young men in the neighbourhood, who now want to learn a trade, too. Now all parents praise this young man and present him as an example to follow. If all ex-combatants were like Michel, peace would be guaranteed here."
Unfortunately this can and will not always be the case. There are at least two factors that threaten to stand in the way: low income and society's opinion. Not all trades are as profitable as furniture upholstery and not all citizens are so readily willing to overcome their prejudices.
"The ex-combatants have enormously high expectations," says Vital Mukuza. "During the time they spent with the army or the militias, they could always just take whatever they wanted. They just needed to loot a house or rob a merchant and they had a couple of hundred dollars in their pocket. As artisans they have to earn their money and it does not come quickly. Being used to getting everything they wanted fast and without much effort, especially if they had achieved a higher position in the army, a low level of income presents a particular risk for this target group. There is an interesting difference

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between male and female ex-combatants: female ex-combatants are more easily contented. They are satisfied to have an income and feel integrated because of their activity. It is also true that society accepts their reintegration faster than that of male ex-combatants, as female ex-combatants are not regarded as much of a danger to peace and security."

It is precisely this second factor which endangers reintegration: Society stigmatises former fighters. Every incident in the neighbourhood serves to point to them – who else could be responsible. "No matter what happens in town: the people always blame the ex-combatants," continues Vital Mukuza. Some of the ex-combatants who earnestly wanted to try to integrate into society just could not handle this anymore and went back to the army. We know about two young men who seemed quite well integrated after their training. They have returned to the weapons. 'We just could not stand it anymore that people were always blaming us,' they said. 'We were supposed to be behind any crime committed in the neighbourhood: each robbery, each rape. You can't live like that.'
This is an aspect that most people forget, even those who claim to be working for the reintegration of the ex-combatants: society is not ready yet to accept these young people again."

Bricks as building blocks of peace

When it comes to the reintegration of ex-combatants, CAPA has a particular success story to tell. It shows how a goal oriented commitment, an open concept and solid analysis can lead to success, even with difficult target groups. Vocational training need not always follow well-trodden paths. Peace, too, does not always result from conferences but sometimes from very simple things, bricks for instance. At least this is so for CAPA, who was able to make an important contribution to peace building by training countless ex-combatants in brick making.
This success story begins in 2002, on the occasion of a mission by EED's regional director for Central Africa. He was markedly impressed that CAPA wanted to include bricklaying into its training

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programme, particularly because this could contribute to improving the construction techniques in the rural areas. Improved building materials soon became the core of the issue. The regional director suggested that an engineer should provide technical advice to CAPA and proposed someone who was living in Togo, had studied in Germany, and had previously worked for an EZE-funded project. This motivated CAPA to deal with this matter intensely and to become a dynamic multiplier in this area of expertise.

Two years earlier CAPA had already begun to get interested in the making of bricks. The school was always on the lookout for possible occupations for rural youth. CAPA had also negotiated with some brick producers so they would take on young people as apprentices. During this process, CAPA had repeatedly come across ex-soldiers and ex-fighters who worked in brick production or assisted in it. In order to support their real and sustainable reintegration, CAPA offered to train them in brick production. The members of the twelve associations of brick makers with whom CAPA works helped to mobilise the young ex-combatants for this training.

"The ex-combatants were not easy," recalls Kahasha Kashombe, who was in charge of this task. "At the beginning they caused a lot of trouble, were distrustful and wouldn't listen to instructions. Gradually, however, as they got to know us and the way we work, and of course when they realised the potential benefit the training entailed for them, they started to engage in the training. To date we have trained 361 ex-combatants. One particular advantage is that we can send demobilised young soldiers and fighters to become their apprentices."

Making bricks is easy to learn, progresses quite quickly and can provide a profitable income in addition to agriculture – all in all just the right thing for the young, impatient ex-militia fighters in rural areas. They were particularly keen to quickly engage in this training because CAPA offered to assist them with procuring the material and marketing their products. For instance, they can rent CAPA's lorry at a discount rate to transport the wood or the ready burnt bricks. Collective work is particularly suited to making brick burning profitable – something the former soldiers and militia fighters appreciate, who have been used to belonging to a group since their time in the army. By now these young men have become real producers and earn

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quite a lot of money. A real success, since every single fighter who is steadily integrated into society is one more building block for peace. This way CAPA has not only created employment but has actually indirectly contributed to peace building. Beyond that, it has made a solid contribution to rural development, since brick making depends on the availability of clay. This is naturally the case in rural areas. Therefore, this is an occupation that particularly benefits people in rural areas, who use brick making as an additional source of income besides agriculture. CAPA has provided training or further training in brick making to a total of 1,415 people. There has been an additional effect that is neither related to the training nor to the ex-combatants but that we still want to mention at this point: the specialised technical advice in brick burning provided by EED has not only led to the production of bricks and roof tiles, but has also had an effect in environmental protection. In the past, 50 cubic metres of wood were used to burn 20,000 bricks – now only 15 cubic metres of wood are needed. Even so, CAPA is committed to compensating the environmental impact of brick burning through reforestation.

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11. What led to CAPA's success?

The title of this chapter may seem strange. Is it not known by now what it is that led to CAPA's success? Have the many preceding pages not described in detail how this success came about? It is true that we described the development and highlighted important events and behaviour which have led to success. Nevertheless it seems useful to deal with these factors in more detail in a separate chapter, to take a closer look at them, set them in a wider context or analyse them from a different perspective. It may, for instance, emerge that these factors do not always correspond to what are commonly held to be success criteria. Some criteria may turn out to be more important than previously thought. It is interesting to look at the overall picture too in order to gain a better understanding of the interaction between the different factors. This interaction is probably a success factor in itself. This overview will show one difference: while some factors have been something like a prerequisite for success, others merely acted as favourable circumstances. An important difference. Finally, with this chapter we also wish to explicitly honour the human strength, courage and commitment that have made CAPA what it is today.

Success is always personal success, too

The meaning of the saying "The person goes, the institution remains" is not always easy to grasp and occasionally may even seem wrong. Obviously the saying implies that it is more important to invest in institutions, because they are more "durable". This may hold true for institutions as a "juridical and organisational construction", but in terms of success this saying loses its meaning. It is *not* the institution as such that ensures success but it is the people who form this institution, carry it, shape it, turn its single parts into an integrated whole. No way leads around the human beings behind the institution. Even if we like to believe that organisational development advances the organisation as such, this is only partly true: it advances the people who at any given moment in time are working

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together in this organisation under certain circumstances to reach a certain goal. Sometimes it is enough to remove one single person and everything collapses. Admittedly these organisations could not have been much good anyway. Yet this is human reality and we cannot ignore it.

This reality showed very clearly in the case of CAPA, too. For many years the reform process of CAPA's vocational training was blocked by the institution behind CAPA – namely "the Church". However, the same Church still exists, although its attitude has changed completely. Not the Church has changed: the people have. This is partly due to the natural change in the different leading positions. Such a change also occurred at CAPA itself and was very conducive to its development, since the new and current director has exactly those abilities needed to take the progressive aspects of the concept forward. In the case of this change, the aspect of "right timing" stands out: both for the previous and the current leadership. While the current director represents CAPA's future-oriented dynamics, his predecessor's excellent personnel management skills created the foundation enabling a small highly motivated core group of staff to withstand all adversities and crises with strong drive and commitment. Each of them was the right person at the right place at their respective time – and would probably have been the wrong person at a different time.

What we can learn from this is, on the one hand, that it is the commitment of individuals that brings an organisation forward. On the other hand, it shows that leaders cannot always be all-round-geniuses: therefore, in the long run, the different stages in the programmatic orientation of an organisation may require different leadership skills. After all, the best concept and the most sensible development approach will be useless if the decision makers do not fully endorse it. The effect of this is often underestimated. If the decision makers do not endorse a new direction, success will remain meagre or not materialise at all. If there are several leaders with conflicting views, this can become quite strenuous. CAPA has gone through that as well.

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Commitment is sometimes more important than good planning

The title of this section may not strike the laypersons among our readers as particularly revolutionary; they may even fully endorse it. Development experts, however, particularly those working at a higher level, will probably have their doubts about it. Nowadays planning is considered to be of paramount importance – just as important as commitment was at the early years of development cooperation. It is right that commitment alone cannot always ensure good project work, especially if the project grows. Nevertheless, planning in development should not be placed on a pedestal either. In the case of CAPA, success probably lies more on the side of commitment, since its planning was always rather simple (at least on paper) and would probably not have fulfilled the requirements of many development organisations. When we say "on paper" it is meant to somewhat restrict this limiting statement – there are often quite successful organisations whose planning in their members' heads is much more perfect than that on paper. Many missionary congregations are like that.

Why is commitment sometimes more important than planning? Simply because you can easily "teach" an organisation's committed staff how to conduct good planning. The opposite hardly ever works. There are many organisations whose planning is satisfactory or even excellent but whose success does not reflect this considerable administrative effort. This should not be understood as a plea against planning; it is just intended to draw our attention to something that somehow seems to have lost value in the course of the professionalization of development cooperation. Experts nowadays seldom speak of commitment since the unprofessionalism it implies arouses mistrust – something increasingly reflected in the number of local organizations overseas now turning "professional". Urged by calls for increased professionalization from organisations from the North, they too increasingly avoid speaking about commitment. The individual and his personal attitude towards his work disappear behind a perfectly formulated project proposal.

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CAPA never lost the sight of the human beings behind its work. This led to a high degree of cohesion, guaranteed the stability of this organisation over more than 15 years of crisis and war, ensured that training continued to take place at a time when others ceases their activities and shut their doors. At a time when many fled from the Kivu region, including CAPA's local professional consultants, CAPA's staff continued to work. Even where it had now become very dangerous: in the rural areas. At the time there was a high risk of being assaulted, getting caught in an ambush, being abducted or getting killed. Nevertheless, CAPA continued its activities in the rural areas throughout this time. Not many are prepared to do that. Why take such risks just to train a few craftsmen and young people? And why risk your life to defend a vocational training centre or to try to get back a car stolen by the militia fighters?

The answer can only point towards commitment, the purpose that individuals see in their own work, the sense of belonging to the institution they work for. The following incidents may offer some insight into this.

When Kabila's liberation war reached the Kivu region, lootings took place on an unimaginable scale. Marauding soldiers of Mobutu's army, as well as militias and the population itself mixed into a single mob from which nothing was safe. The loss to local organisations was enormous: computers, telephones, office equipment, machines, vehicles… The armed forces helped themselves generously. The only organisation that could not be looted was CAPA. A member of CAPA's staff describes how they managed this: "Among the looters that were moving from one building to the next, there were two young men that we had once trained at CAPA. They started to feel guilty about looting the school where they had received their training. It was them who told us that the looting mob was on its way to CAPA. Quickly, three of our staff and six of our graduates got together to figure out a defence strategy. The idea was that three of the graduates were to infiltrate the looters and try to "divert" their course by saying that there was nothing to be found at CAPA. The others were to keep guard at CAPA 24 hours a day. Our "infiltrated" boys indeed managed to distract the looters away from CAPA. However, three days later suddenly another looting gang turned up in front of our gates. Luckily we had continued to keep guard. We had also

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thought up something else: our wives came to CAPA every day, carrying large baskets on their heads. These were half empty but it gave the impression that they were catering for a large number of people. We had also spread the rumour that we had armed men at CAPA. All this saved us. One of our graduates had had a great idea how we could defend ourselves. He had served in the army and knew some tricks. He showed us how we could pretend to have weapons. We laid some bamboo sticks over an empty barrel. We had previously drilled some holes into the sticks and now we filled these holes with gasoline. Then we lighted a fire inside the barrel. This produced small explosions that sounded like shots. This is how we managed to drive away two groups of looters because they thought we had soldiers with us. This way we managed to save CAPA. While other organisations lost everything, no one even managed to steal a single tool from CAPA. Other even benefited from our action. GTZ lost 30 of the 32 cars they used for its national park project. The only two cars that were left were the two that were in our workshop for repairs."

Two years later an incredible story occurred. This also shows the special commitment of those who feel strongly attached to CAPA. Of course in this particular case it also shows the extraordinary courage that only a few possess. Vital Mukuza, who is now the director of CAPA and was its book keeper at the time, risked his life trying to recover a car that rebels had stolen from CAPA.

One of CAPA's staff risks his life during the rebellion of 1998 to save the project's car

"While we were all still recovering from the first war of 1996, the next threat was underway: the counterrevolution by the rebels in August 1998. One day before this rebellion, staff of the NGO Malteser International came to ask whether they could rent our car for a relief action in Uvira. We agreed. But as soon as they arrived in Uvira, the car was taken by rebels. The driver nearly got killed in the incident. When we found this out at CAPA, we were shattered, we had just received this brand new car from EED and now we regretted having rented it out. I was very furious at the robbers; I just could and would not accept that our precious car had been taken

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away from us so insolently. I set out to find the car. My colleagues at CAPA said this was a crazy idea and wanted to dissuade me but I just would not listen. When I arrived in Uvira, I found out that the rebels had taken the car to Fizi, a town 128 kilometres inland from Uvira. So I followed them there. But I did not get far. Shortly after leaving Uvira I was ambushed by the Mai-Mai rebels. They captured me and brought me to their camp. They held me for three days. During this time my hope to come out of this alive gradually faded, because in their camp the life of the hostages was determined by whipping, raping and executions. I was lucky to have money with me. The USD 100 that I sent the commander saved me from going through this myself. But I witnessed barbaric acts of violence, which have stayed in my memory since. One day I managed to hide in a bush so that I would not have to witness the rape of three women. The women were given three barbaric "choices": lose one limb, meaning they would have a breast, hand or foot cut off; lose their life, by whatever means; or be raped by six commanders and then be assigned to one of the men. There were other horrible things like the day they supposedly discovered two spies and each of them had a hand cut off and sent to the enemy's headquarters. After the commander started to regard me as his friend, he tried to convince me to join them and become a secretary of the Mai-Mai movement. He even said I might become a minister once they were in power. On the third day the commander received notice that the camp was going to be attacked. This meant that all the civilian prisoners either had to be killed or brought to Fizi where the Mai-Mai headquarters was. The commander sent one of his body guards who was to bring me to Fixi, where he was supposed to show me the cars the Mai-Mai had hidden there. This was a long journey, 100 kilometres on foot. On the way, I promised the body guard heaven and earth if he only brought me to Fizi alive. The next day was a Sunday and as we passed a church, I asked my escort whether he would allow me to attend the mass service. It was a Methodist church, where the Christian Mai-Mai went to. I will never forget the paradox image: the choir of 17 Mai-Mai singers, singing beautifully, their weapons resting beside them. After the service I saw how these 17 choir singers, among them two young women, took their weapons and left. When we arrived in Fizi and went to the hidden depot, I could not find our car. But now I was in another difficult situation. The general, who had initially agreed to show me the depot, now thought I was a spy. It took me four hours of talking to convince him that I was not

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a spy, by showing him all the documents that could somehow show that I belonged to the church. He finally ordered me to leave town within an hour. So I set out, still on foot and still with the man guarding me. It was in the evening and I was scared to walk around at night, but the order had been clear: I had one hour to disappear from the general's sight. My escort was just as scared as I was so we both hid among the leaves of a cassava field. The Mai-Mai lit a fire and roasted some cassavas in it, which served as our supper. I was too afraid to sleep, also because there were all sorts of small animals creeping around us. The next day I was quite exhausted and one of my feet was swollen. I was lucky to find a biker who agreed to take me on his bicycle to another town nearby on the condition that I pay him USD 10 – nota bene on the top tube because it had no carrier at the back. This is how I parted from the body guard. In that town I found a car that would take me to Bukavu via Uvira. As I arrived in Uvira, I met a relative who had been sent to look for me. Once I finally got home – exhausted but happy to be there – I was scolded for having been so crazy to risk my life for a project car. Looking back at what I had to go through, I now also consider it – although I am someone who likes to take risks – an experience that I would not like to repeat."

To the rhythm of time: Development as a process

A couple of years ago GTZ and the German weekly newspaper Die Zeit hosted a symposium in Berlin. The topic was the importance of the factor "time" in development cooperation – a factor that is often underestimated and rarely given the attention it deserves.
Many development planners have only become aware of the fact that development is primarily a *process* during the last decade and a half. The fact that this process can be very slow and that it may be better to follow it instead of pushing it, has not really been realised yet by many. It must be said that faith based organisations seem to have a greater awareness of this than other actors. This is partly due to the fact that faith based organisations regard development from a different perspective, from a perspective that focuses on the people and their development. As they understand that personal development takes time, they are more patient with the project work related to it. The missions are probably the most eloquent example for this: they

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do not measure development in terms of years but of decades. The Churches are certainly under increasing pressure since many of their programmes are subsidised by the state and they are pushed towards showing short term results, which at the same time are expected to be sustainable. A legitimate concern – the evidence of results – is fatally connected with the parameter *time*: quick capacity to cause impact is expected. Emergency relief often wins the competition for resources: its goals and procedures are completely different from development work and can lead much more easily to quick results. Paradoxically, it is emergency relief that offers the least long term effects.

With regard to the factor "time" one could also put forward the following provocative thesis: The ongoing crisis in east Congo actually fostered CAPA's reform process. A bold hypothesis? Not necessarily. This notion seems likely in that, given the long lasting crisis, nobody from outside dared to call for quick results. Who can in all conscience push for the fast implementation of a concept when its implementation is constantly being interrupted by a series of wars? This circumstance gave CAPA the opportunity to "develop into" this reform, to grow with, instead of being pushed by it. To avoid intended or unintended misinterpretations at this point (unfortunately such misguided interpretations by development experts do exist and therefore force us to put it this bluntly): This is not an argument in support of war, it is an argument to corroborate the importance of "time".

A very clever African consultant once said: "The biggest mistake of development aid in Africa is that it does not take into account the intrinsic rhythm of a region's or a country's own long term development." Indeed, development programmes are often conceived at a desk, requirements are specified, both in terms of time and content, and it is expected that development set in motion should if possible lead to its objective without deviation. Experts who are employed in these kinds of programmes often adopt this formula either willingly or in response to coercion. Not only in the case of vocational training does this lead to these experts – a blue-print and a tight deadline in their heads – trying to push through the desired reforms. In the case of CAPA the external consultant from FAKT could also have soon introduced a concept more or less adapted to the German dual system of vocational and skills training or could have pushed for obviously necessary reforms to be carried out quickly. However,

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missing out development stages does not help much, least of all does it contribute to sustainable success. FAKT as a consultancy organisation with close ties to the Church is process-oriented, works in a participatory manner and has a low opinion of fast results. Even when the suggestions and concepts that are pushed in such a manner seem to have been "accepted", their implementation and sustainability remain questionable. The example of shortening the duration of the training courses for women shows this clearly. In this case it was the external consultant who pushed for this to happen, but to what avail? CAPA pretended to accept and implement this, but in reality nothing happened. The time was not ready for it yet. This was grasped much later.

When an institution or organisation is given the time to make its own experiences and the actors providing external support take the time to accompany them on their way – at irregular intervals but over a continued period of time – it will take longer for success to set in and there will be mistakes and detours. However, the success achieved will ultimately be more genuine. CAPA now fully endorses what it has developed. CAPA has developed its own current concept: It will not collapse as soon as the external support ceases.

Solidarity: Support through times of crisis

In the previous chapter we have described how the patience of partners in the North supported the process of reform and development. This entails a further notion: that of solidarity. Throughout the years of war and crisis CAPA repeatedly stated how important solidarity from outside had been to them in those times. This solidarity expressed itself in different ways: in terms of moral support, EED's continued funding, the local visits and the ongoing consultancy services.

To not feel abandoned in difficult times encourages the local partner to keep going. Unfortunately, many development organisations withdraw at times of crisis – emergency relief takes over. From the Northern perspective this makes sense. On the one hand, it is a question of safety, on the other hand it follows the widely spread conviction that funds invested during a crisis situation are wasted

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resources. This is often the case and confirms the conviction that development is not possible in a crisis region. Other times, however, this does not hold true. CAPA proves that it does not necessarily have to be that way.
In the case of Congo, there was an additional phenomenon at the time, which made the German aid organisations wary and ready to withdraw: the "mushroom projects". A frustrated member of a large faith based organisation coined this name for the proposals that landed on his desk in heaps every day: fictitious projects that some smart Congolese hoped would keep them afloat in times of crisis. The effect that this had on German donors was more than counter-productive. Many had one single wish: to get out of this "roguish region" and never have to hear anything about the Kivu region again. The consultant, who was also deceived by such schemes in the Kivu region, was increasingly reluctant to go there, especially since it is never a particular pleasure to travel to a region at war. Nevertheless she convinced EED not to imitate the other organisations and particularly not cease its support for CAPA. Finally EED was convinced that CAPA's committed staff should not pay the price for their fellow Congolese machinations against well meaning development organisations. EED continued to fund CAPA in acute times of crisis.

Clarity in a partnership

Solidarity on the one hand, but also clarity in the partnership on the other – both should be well balanced. Even if CAPA – as opposed to the bogus project schemes we have just described – did deserve trust and support, there were also moments during the development of CAPA when a clear, to a certain extent hard position was needed. The first acute incident, which had its consequences, was the clash between the interests of the representatives of the Church at the time with the reform process at CAPA. The German development worker, who led CAPA between 1988 and 1993, had trained his secretary and book keeper, Fidèle Ndivito Makima, comprehensively and had prepared him to take on the leadership at CAPA. He was thus to ensure that the ideas of reform remained in place and had the necessary competencies to implement the reform process. However, Ndivito

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Makima was not supported by the Church representatives because of ethnic reasons. "That kind of person" should not be a director. The development worker decided not to listen to this kind of reasoning and decided to launch an offensive: He threatened that German funding would cease if the Church nominated a director who did not have the necessary competencies. Even before he left he intervened at the highest level to ensure that Fidèle Ndivito Makima was appointed as CAPA's new director. Therefore, it was thanks to the perseverance of the external development worker that the process could take off at all, albeit slowly and haltingly.

After this development worker had returned to Germany, the resistance against the reform process hit back with renewed strength. The local church representatives pretended to support the reform but in reality boycotted the new director, whom they did not like, whenever they could. Without batting an eyelid, even binding project commitments agreed with the partner in the North were ignored. For instance, the Church had pledged to hand over the land where CAPA was located to the project, that is to CAPA; this was intended as the Church's contribution to the project's funding and had been agreed with EZE as the project's major donor. However, the Church still kept half of the land, had installed its offices there and continued to run other activities on the land. When the external consultancy began in 1995, this was the situation encountered by the consultant. Finally, after long and fruitless discussions with the local church authorities, who openly made use of their powerful position, the consultant opted for the same measure of last resort that had once been used by the previous development worker: she recommended that EZE cease its funding until the church had honoured its pledge. As a result, she was very unpopular, but this measure proved effective. In 1995 the Church largely withdrew from the compound and handed over the land to CAPA.

These two examples are not intended to imply that confrontation and threats are considered ideal solutions. However, in some cases there does not seem to be any other way but to clearly state one's position, including in a North-South partnership. When a partner organisation from the North engages in such a partnership institutionally and financially, it does so under the assumption and precondition that there is such a "partnership". How much should or must

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it tolerate when it turns out that the other part is not behaving like a partner at all?

It is worthwhile investing in a good concept

Even though we have stated earlier that the best concept and the most reasonable approach are of no use if the decision makers are not fully convinced of it, this does not mean that there can be success without a good concept. What is a good concept? In development cooperation a good concept should above all be one thing: useful. It should be of use to the people, improve living conditions, remove unfair situations, strengthen the marginalised, and reduce poverty. A good concept should stand out as being more relevant and producing a wider scope of results than other, weaker concepts. Therefore, a good concept can be recognised by its results – as long as the other relevant parameters, such as financing or the aforementioned commitment of the institutions behind it are in place. The case of CAPA has shown that a good concept may get blocked if these preconditions are lacking. While the first impulse for the new concept was already given in the early 1990s, it remained without effect for a relatively long time. It was not until 1998 that CAPA internally fully endorsed the process and not until 2000 – more than 10 years later – that the new concept began to take hold.

We have already described the concept for the re-orientation and its gradual development with regard to its different aspects and results in the previous chapters. At this point we wish to offer a short summary of the main elements, at the same time trying to avoid unnecessary repetitions.

The key element of CAPA's new training concept was and still remains its effect on employment. As a result of the training, the young people should actually find employment or become self-employed. Given the fact that employment depends on the market and employability depends on the characteristics of the trainees, the two main elements of a good vocational training concept are: analysis and flexibility. A situation analysis helps to identify the market demand, the training needs assessment shows what needs to be done so that the potential target groups gain access to vocational training and employment.

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Finally, flexibility ensures that the programme is indeed capable of adapting to real conditions. This flexibility permeates all aspects: the strategies, the planning of activities, the range of courses on offer, the methodology, and the staff.

Flexibility often seems of "lesser" value than planning because by nature its "paper trail is smaller". And yet, a flexible concept is actually more sophisticated and more difficult to implement than a formally planned one. There are few securities, the outlook is not linear and one has to "consider" unknown variables, which already seems a contradiction in terms. Consequently, the quality of the external consultancy service is an important success factor. Given that an organisation cannot rely on established patterns in order to implement new concepts and is therefore often insecure, it seems important to allow enough time for providing external advice throughout the process of reorienting a vocational training approach. This is confirmed by what the staff of CAPA said at the beginning of the process: "No one else in Congo does what we do. We feel left alone." The expert advice provided by FAKT accompanied CAPA for 12 years, at irregular intervals of two to three years but always as a reliable contact.

Being close to the target group boosts credibility

One factor that certainly contributed to CAPA's success is its closeness to target groups. As we have already described in the chapter on improving the value of craftsmanship, CAPA stands out for its lack of elitism, its openness to deal with people from all walks of life. Young or old, educated or illiterate, CAPA accepts them all, even those who are excluded from society because they do not follow its norms or are personally difficult to handle. Accepting does not just mean admitting them to a training course. It means approaching them as human beings and respecting them as individuals. It means empathising with them and approaching them in their own way, speaking their own language. In theory, this attitude should be the rule in development cooperation. However, this is unfortunately not always the case. Many organisations or their staff do not manage to truly live this human closeness and to "descend" to a level different

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from their own. The poor and marginalised soon sense whether they are being respected as human beings or not and if they do not feel respected, they react by stonewalling. A feeling of superiority prevents true communication with the target group. CAPA, as a faith based institution, is very keen to live this closeness and also applies this to their personnel policy. We have mentioned earlier how CAPA regards it as its strategy to retain some of its graduates who are particularly close to the trainees as a target group, for instance the ex-combatants. This is a sound strategy and convincing pedagogy. In the case of the ex-combatants, for instance, it appears that they accept "one of them" much more quickly and therefore they learn better and faster. Besides, such a trainer is also a good role model. Such a policy demands being prepared to trust these young people – despite their unusual and dubious past. Just like CAPA did with Désiré whose adventurous past at first sight did not say much in his favour, but who now is a good and reliable employee.

A former gold digger becomes trainer at CAPA

"I was born in 1970, at school I nearly made it to my A-levels," says Désiré Zozo. At the time, life had already become difficult and everyone tried to get by somehow. Those youth who had courage left their village to try their luck in gold digging. I also jumped into this adventure. Working at the mines was hard: digging, hoeing, turning heavy rocks, carrying heavy loads, even redirecting a river – we did everything just to get hold of these valuable grains. Life was almost more difficult than before because money didn't quite fall from the skies as we had expected. Above all, at the mines money went as soon as it came! Gambling, drugs, alcohol, prostitutes – there were many vices. I hold out there for ten years. The years passed as if they did not belong to my life. When I returned to my family in 1998, I was much older but as poor as before. And I was exhausted, finished. I had finished with everything, life disgusted me. One of my brothers recommended that I apply for training at CAPA. I enrolled in the carpentry course. The training lasted two years. Afterwards, I returned to my village and started to work and at the same time train some young people. CAPA supported and advised me during this time. Since 2005 I work as a trainer at CAPA. Now I officially train others to become carpenters and earn my income that way."

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A low profile state isn't always a bad thing

This chapter deals with a similarly paradoxical success factor as the one where we put forward the thesis that the crisis in Congo had fostered the reform process at CAPA. Here we deal with the minimum role played by government. When reforming an approach to technical and vocational education and training sooner or later the responsible government department enters the scene. State schools are directly under its control and private schools are usually obliged to stick to certain rules so that their certificates and diplomas can be officially recognised. In the past, experience has shown that Ministries often turn into obstacles for reforms. The reason for this is often that vocational schools are also under the control of the Ministry of Education, although this Ministry has little or no understanding of the peculiarities of technical and vocational education and training, such as for instance its orientation towards the labour market, the importance of practical training or the participation of the private sector.

In Congo the state, and with it the corresponding government departments, did not even assume its core responsibility let alone show any interest in dealing with what the different schools were doing. Therefore, CAPA enjoyed relative freedom to experiment. By the time CAPA caught the Ministry's attention and the Ministry started to intervene with regard to the recognition of its certificates, CAPA was so well established in its reform process that it could easily overcome this resistance (see Chapter 5). Who knows if CAPA's reorientation would have been possible or as far reaching if, as is the case in other countries, there had been an active but also rigid and inflexible state education system.

To avoid any misinterpretations in this instance, too: this is not about negating the importance of the state or about minimising its responsibility. It is about *real* resistance to the reform of technical and vocational education and training, which are easier to overcome in one case and more difficult to overcome in another. And it is about the power of sclerotic systems and the fact that reforms often cannot emerge or are suffocated under such systems. Therefore, we are *not* arguing that "no state", should be considered as a "precondition" for success. It just happened to be a paradox but favourable situation. In the case of CAPA the "young shoots of reform" could grow upwards,

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free and unrestricted, and evolve. As a result, CAPA with its reform concept now can become a valuable partner for the state in its efforts to reform its education policy.

Open mindedness and willingness to change – key elements for growth

Openness as an element in development cooperation? Why should something apparently so banal be singled out as a success factor? Is it not an accepted fact that actors and partners in development cooperation are open minded? After all, it is obvious that development can only take place if change takes place. Change is based on the willingness to see and look at things differently. This requires a lot of openness.

In fact it is true in this instance, too, that reality does not always meet our expectations. There is a lot of lip service. But reality is not always like that. A whole series of factors make it difficult to be open and prepared for change, for instance habit, lack of competence, fear, too little flexibility, vested interests.

These factors often lead, consciously or unconsciously, to a defensive attitude. People know or sense what change may entail in terms of challenge and are afraid of it (or oppose it straight away). Therefore everything is blocked that could mean being forced to accept change and anything new avoided. Conversely, this means that increasing competence, stronger self-esteem and overcoming fear are important precursors of openness. It is easy to see at this point that openness is not quite such a "trivial" element as it seemed.

The following example shows what openness can be like in practice. It is related to CAPA's current director himself. His background being book keeping (and later auditing), at the beginning he used to stress the importance of book keeping. All craftsmen supported by CAPA, young or old, in villages or in towns, with or without previous schooling, had to keep a set of records or at least a cash book. They were given special forms for that and the field staff expected these to be filled in when they came to visit. CAPA was absolutely convinced, just like many other organisations that work in this field, that keeping records was indispensable for a craftsman's success.

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But after many years working with craftsmen in Africa, the external consultant had made the experience that expecting them to keep records is expecting *too much*. Arduous work and a large family leave little time for writing things down regularly and accurately, both of which are essential for book keeping. Thus, book keeping often gets forgotten in the daily struggle for survival. After all, the little schooling many of them have received turns dealing with theory and figures into agony. She recommended more flexible and relevant forms of entrepreneurial training. Her advice not to overburden the craftsmen was not welcomed by the financial expert. During the many discussions to find the right approach, the consultant finally tried to convince him by arguing that those who ask craftsmen to keep records have often never kept records themselves, for instance of their own personal expenses – and that they would probably not even be able to do it, especially not have the perseverance to do it. This was a provoking statement. Without saying anything about it, Vital Mukuza decided to try it. Of course, his intention was to prove this argument wrong. But he had to give in. His wife, who was told to keep a book of the household's expenses, gave up after less than two months. He himself only managed to hang on for four months. He realised how difficult it was to keep a personal cash book regularly, despite being an expert himself. After that, CAPA decided to take a closer look at its approach and it turned out that 98 percent of the artisans always filled in their forms and cash books when they expected the field staff to come. CAPA recognised that classical book keeping was just not the right instrument for such small entrepreneurs and that they were spending precious energy and resources in an approach that was not successful. Now that they had honestly questioned their own approach they realised that the artisans actually did have their own, intelligent system for running their business. As a result, a flexible, relevant method was developed, which was based on living interaction and which included the craftsmen's informal indigenous knowledge. Instead of giving instructions for formal book keeping, the topics related to entrepreneurship – such as profit and loss, costing and pricing, savings or the separation of business and household – were discussed with the craftsmen in group meetings and explained using vivid examples.

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This story shows that being open does not mean to "immediately accept". What is important is to at least admit a different point of view. Even if this does not lead to an immediate change, it is still a valuable step.

Daring to accept challenges

If one ventures to open oneself to change, challenges will not be far. Whether it is about testing a new concept or engaging with a difficult target group, whether it is about creating a new structure or trying out a completely different training course – there will always be practical challenges. Processes run differently than planned, things fail, undertakings turn out not to be feasible.

Rigid aid organisations or people who believe in the all encompassing power of planning as if it were a dogma, are not likely to be happy about such events, as they seem to indicate that the project was badly planned or not properly thought through. But how straightforward is life? Are there not always things that evolve differently than we had anticipated, things that could not be foreseen, although we thought we had foreseen everything? It would be better to accept from the start that things may evolve differently from what we plan. This helps us to keep an open mind, which in turn is essential to be able to react quickly and find appropriate solutions.

An example of an undertaking that evolved in an entirely different way than CAPA had envisaged is the training of ex-combatants: a challenge that soon pushed CAPA to its limits. In the tug-of-war about whether to continue or give up, this activity was finally saved because CAPA ventured to take up the challenge. In this occasion the director once more proved equal to the challenge, thanks to his cleverness and capacity to improvise.

Gari was one of the first to put this capacity to improvise to the test. Released from the army as part of demobilisation measures, Gari came to CAPA to learn furniture upholstery. Gari had fought in the army for years and had had troops under his command. He was used to getting everything he wanted, and to getting it quickly. He wanted the result of the training immediately, if possible without even having to undergo the training. "Six months? Never! It can't take more than

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a week to learn a bit of upholstery! I can make it in two days!" he told everybody who cared to listen. There was no point in trying to disabuse him. This is why the director did not even try to convince him that this was not possible. He just played along. He gave the instruction to provide the young man with any materials he needed and said to him: "Okay, let's see if you can make it in one week!" Gari began to work eagerly on his project. Three days later, the director came to him and asked: "So what about the furniture? Is it nearly finished?" Gari started to sweat. "Hm, well, I think I may need two weeks", he muttered. The director did not say anything and left. After another week had passed, he came to meet Gari again. "What's up?" he asked. "The two weeks will be over soon." Gari was embarrassed. "I think I may actually need four weeks", he said, this time more subdued.
In the end, four months went by until he finished the furniture. The excellent tactic had allowed him to experience in a self-determined way that training takes its time. If the director had not taken up this challenge, Gari would probably have left. Who knows where, maybe back to the army? But now it is he who convinces other ex-combatants to learn a trade and above all: to be patient.

Sometimes courageous decisions are needed

Throughout CAPA's history there have been situations where the course had to be set for initiating the reform process, bringing it forward and eventually accelerating it. Each of these situations required the courage or perseverance of a person who championed a certain initiative with the dedication and conviction that it was the right thing to do. Most obstacles in these situations were of an institutional nature. This is a problem faced by many projects and undertakings – very often committed and intelligent project leaders, directors or other executives are blocked by their institutions! This book cannot and does not intend to provide ready-made recipes; it just wants to show that it is also possible to overcome institutional resistance.
As the example of CAPA's staff reform shows, particularly courageous people can even overcome many obstructions and obstacles at the same time.

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In the case of this reform, the aim of which was to have competent staff for a reformed training concept as well as to reduce the degree of inefficiency, the young director Vital Mukuza had to confront the Church, the staff and the authorities responsible for labour inspection.
"It was a very difficult time", he now recalls. "The Church and other institutions often operate based on personal recommendations, everyone has their own protégés. Getting in their way means trouble. Those within the institution who were in favour of the reform were scared of the labour inspection and of the high redundancy payments that would have to be paid. Finally, one also has to counter the internal hostilities brought about by such a reform process. I was convinced of the meaningfulness and the significance of the new concept and I wanted to put it into practice. It was essential to count on staff who were open minded, competent and motivated. We had to put up with two years of a difficult working climate, poisoned by rage, hostilities and defamation, before we could ensure the breakthrough of the new concept. The external support from the consultant and the partners in the North helped me – but I still had to weather through on my own. However, if one has a dream of what a better life, a better project or a better future may look like, this vision helps one to overcome such difficult times. Now that the fruits of our efforts are within reach and the success is visible, the church has also recognised that it was the right way to go. However, the greatest reward are all the people who, through our actions, now face a better tomorrow."

Coping with envy

This chapter may seem odd to many readers. Indeed this topic is not usually found in technical publications. However, it reflects a reality suffered by many in Africa. This is not meant to imply that envy only exists in the African context, certainly not. However, it does seem to be the case that envy is expressed differently in an African context than in Europe. One reason for this may be that Western society is more individualistic and that "standing out" is part of that life model. Individual achievement and personal success are valued in Western societies; they are socially accepted and recognised. The

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African context is much less individualistic and certain social behaviour is more valued than individual achievement and personal success. Individuals who "stick out in a crowd" in the African context are often confronted by a kind of social envy that is more complex and which can go very far in its implications. One of its implications is that enviers may try to poison their adversaries. This is the reason why the artist who drew the illustration on the cover of this book and who had become quite famous in South Kivu could not enjoy his success: he was poisoned in February 2009. In his case, the cause of death was medically proved beyond any doubt. Magic and witchcraft are quite different issues, and many people in the West cannot quite believe in them. Regardless of whether others believe in it or not, it is striking how many successful people in Africa report such things. Some do not even get to report them because they become victims of these things (that allegedly do not exist…). The phenomenon of *Karuho*, which is the name of the poison used in the region, has turned into such a problem that Churches and NGOs have raised the issue and it appears in the agenda of official meetings and conferences. Due to their modest prosperity, some of CAPA's employees have had to suffer this kind of envy directed against an individual. The director of CAPA, Vital Mukuza, has been the target of three attempts to poison him, which he narrowly escaped.

Institutions can also be the target of such envy. CAPA has developed a strategy to avoid repeating the negative experiences of the past and to counter potential future threats: integration. CAPA has now become a very transparent institution that seeks an open dialogue at the social level, involves all actors and has developed an integrated form of existence both in religious and in ethnic respects. After several attempts in the past to damage this visibly successful model from within and from without, an atmosphere of cooperation has now replaced the former malevolent and envious attacks. One significant reason for this is that CAPA now supports other vocational centres in the Kivu region by providing advice and sharing experiences and successful practices with them. It began with a symposium organised by CAPA to present its model for the reorientation of vocational training to all other vocational centres in the region (who at the time regarded each other as rivals). Upon further initiative from CAPA, a network was created. The centres belonging to

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the network can participate in a radio programme called "Echoes from the training centres", organised and financed by CAPA; they also issue a joint factsheet on vocational training. Also, the trainers of these other centres can take part in all the further training that CAPA organises for its trainers. Six external organisations are members of CAPA's governing board, thus ensuring that CAPA is no longer a "purely church-based" affair. The staff at CAPA belongs to different religious denominations – something that would have been unconceivable in the past (and unfortunately continues to be the case for many church-based organisations in Africa). CAPA has even succeeded in removing the ethnic barriers: nearly all ethnic groups living in South Kivu are represented among CAPA's staff. Ethnically grounded nepotism would not function now. Thanks to CAPA's intensive field work, the follow up it offers its graduates, the sharing of experiences with local craftsmen and a series of market surveys that it has conducted, CAPA is now well known and appreciated among the wider community. Forces intending to harm CAPA would now find it much more difficult to put their plans into practice. Only occasionally do they try to disrupt this fair cooperation. Just like the big artisan's association in the immediate vicinity of CAPA that "stole" the female carpenters trained by CAPA (in more friendly terms one could say: lured them away) in order to prove to potential donors from the North how gender oriented the association was. This kind of rather harmless rivalry is no cause for anger at CAPA anymore, but is rather ungrudgingly ignored.

"What we have learned"

The same applies to CAPA's problems and lessons learned as was the case with the success factors: many of them have been already mentioned or described in previous chapters. At this point CAPA summarises the lessons learned, which are closely related to the conceptual design of technical and vocational education and training.

- Trainees are part of the local community and the local market. Knowing about the community's needs and the demands of the labour market ensures that graduates will not be unemployed.

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- A vocational training centre needs to differentiate between the social and the real demand. Trendy and popular occupations attract young people but they may not offer real prospects of employment.
- Involving the target group, the trainees and their families, helps them become more responsible. If the community in its widest sense is involved in the undertaking of vocational training, the community develops a sense of solidarity with the institution and protects it in case of need.
- Involving the family does not mean following their wishes blindly or to accept just any young person brought by his or her family to receive training. Many parents have unrealistic expectations regarding their children's future occupation; others just force their children into training. Young people who have been forced to take up a certain training later do not become good craftsmen.
- Vocational education in the classic, school-based model is a waste of time. Modular practical training pursuing specific learning objectives constitutes a better formula, in times of crisis the only sensible one. This goal oriented training is even more effective if the trainees take part in identifying qualified trainers.
- Young people who undertake an apprenticeship in an enterprise and just complement this with theoretical training at the centre have a faster comprehension of their trade and later integrate more easily into the labour market.
- An informal apprenticeship is an opportunity for illiterate people to learn a craft.
- A methodology based on active participation is the only appropriate one for adults; this means involving them in problem solving, giving them the opportunity to assume responsibility and developing a readiness for dialogue and freedom of expression. A centre that not only trains young people but also offers further training for artisans must take this into account.
- Despite cultural myths it is a fact that women can take up so-called male jobs, such as carpentry or car mechanics, just as well as men.
- Traumatised target groups such as young ex-combatants or women who have experienced sexual violence have great

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difficulties in focusing on training. They need additional psychosocial measures.

- Training rural youth in towns contributes to the rural-urban migration, since only a few of these young people return to their villages. This can be prevented by offering training in rural areas, offering further training to local craftsmen and only accepting young people for further training who are prepared to sign a commitment that they will return to their area of origin to become local multipliers.
- Training young people for an occupation without following up what becomes of them afterwards is a waste of time and resources. In order to ensure a successful integration into the labour market it is essential to provide advice on the issue of self-employment and also follow up.
- If the aim is that trainees will later become self-employed, appropriate strategies need to be deployed throughout the entire training. The first step is to select those trainees with a genuine interest in crafts and to secure an agreement with their parents, that they will provide tangible support to their child. During the training, the focus should be on practical training and it should include real practical experience, for instance by means of internships and through entrepreneurship training. In many cases discussion groups on the problems related to entrepreneurship are more valuable than standardised book keeping courses.
- If an institution provides loans, in cash or in kind, it must be consistent when administering them to ensure that the loans are returned and that the money or goods are not diverted from their intended use. Experience has shown that women are more reliable and trustworthy borrowers than men.

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12. Financial autonomy – an illusion or a realistic prospect?

Sometimes there are topics that we consider important without knowing where to place them. Financing is one of those topics. Financing is as much part of CAPA's problems as it is part of its achievements; it has been a success factor and is also one of its challenges for the future. Therefore it may be just as well to grant this ambivalent topic a chapter of its own.

CAPA's visible success increases the willingness of its partners in the North to provide growing financial support. However, this cannot continue forever. A day will come when external financing ceases. CAPA will then need enough financial resources to continue its activities based on its own resources. Alternatively, it may seek other donors. The director's ambition is clearly set on the first option: largest possible autonomy.

"Our biggest problem and our greatest challenge is financial autonomy," he says. "So far, we have received substantial support from EED and have achieved much with it. However, success that relies exclusively on external means and not on one's own strength cannot be sustainable. All actors that work for CAPA need to understand that this external support will eventually come to an end. However, the end of external financial support need not mean the end of CAPA's activities for the benefit of poor and marginalised target groups. In the past, self-financing was just a buzzword that was used without really attempting to fill it with life. Now we have to make an earnest and determined effort to achieving it."

Indeed, CAPA's self-financing was very weak for a long time. During the first decade in which CAPA was subsidised by VEM by means of German development workers, in return CAPA had to cover the local salaries and the energy costs. The sources of income were the two training workshops for carpentry and metal work, which operated primarily as production units, and the training fees paid by the trainees. At the time, self-financing barely amounted to 4 percent of CAPA's total financing. On the other hand, the training fees were continuously raised, so that poor people were increasingly excluded from training.

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In the mid-1990s the further training courses for craftsmen became a further source of income, as well as the income generated from selling the products that were produced by the craftsmen during the courses. The proportion of self-financing rose from 4 to 4.28 percent – which may be regarded as a minor increase. Some young people still had to abandon their training because they could not pay the training fees. However, from the year 2000 onwards there was at least some improvement to this problem. The poorer trainees could receive training on credit: they could pay their training fees in kind after their training was completed, either with artisan products or services.

For a long time financing was never an issue within CAPA or between CAPA and its partners. It was a time of crisis, war and upheaval. Who would demand the generation of income under such circumstances? Both EED and the external consultant were very low-key about it at the time. In the course of time, though, as the situation began to become more or less normal, the problem of CAPA's weak self-financing increasingly came to the fore. Incidentally, this is a problem shared by many vocational training centres. Generally, vocational training centres generate income through a production unit which is either attached to the training centre or even identical with it. If this production unit is used less as a practical training venue and more as a commercial source of income, in most cases it poses a problem. If the school pursues commercialised production in the same areas in which it provides training, the training centre becomes its own graduates' main competitor. If production and training are just the same, that is if the whole training is done within the scope of a commercial purpose it also means that sooner or later the training will become one-sided and therefore incomplete. The commercial competition between a training centre and its graduates is the worse as it is not a fair market relationship. After all, these schools operate as externally subsidised enterprises and not the way private enterprises do: the land is provided to the school free of charge, the construction of the buildings is financed with external resources, machinery is donated and the equipment is paid for with project funds. If the school undertakes commercial production on this basis, this leads to market distortion and unfair competition. This is the way CAPA operated in the 1980s and early 1990s: production and services,

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especially the production of furniture and the profitable car repairs workshop, were regarded as a source of income – to the detriment of a balanced and comprehensive training. When the consultant raised the issue, it was not very well received, since it questioned a small but secure source of income. CAPA and the Church even turned the tables: it was not CAPA who competed with its graduates; it was them who competed with CAPA! Incidentally, this line of argument is not only encountered in Congo but in many other countries and at many other schools. This somehow perverts the original purpose of the training centre, but not many see this and even less are prepared to recognise it. In the case of CAPA lengthy discussions were necessary before it was accepted that to be fair, the school needed to find a different source of income. This was the more important, since a vocational school aims to train craftsmen capable of becoming active and creative actors in the market. How about the school's own creative and market-oriented problem solving solutions? When following the explanations in this chapter it is important to clearly differentiate between the various aims of "production". We do not mean to imply that a vocational school should not pursue any (practical) production. On the contrary: practical training is of greatest importance and according to current pedagogical approaches it means not just producing exercise pieces but products fit for selling. However, this will not usually be called "production".

And this is precisely where the difference lies: the school should let the trainees produce pieces of work fit for sale and of course can also sell these products. However, a school should not become a commercial producer in the market that regularly undertakes production in order to finance itself.

In the case of CAPA, alternative solutions were found, which was possible mainly because the director, an expert in financial issues and an entrepreneur personality, was prepared to face the challenges. In many cases this does not work because schools are run by educators who often do not succeed in thinking and operating as entrepreneurs. Vital Mukuza, though, gave it careful consideration, analysed the market and then set other mechanisms in motion. In 2004 he initiated a reflection process among his staff: self-financing by means of smart activities that are compatible with the training became an explicit goal of the institution.

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First of all CAPA opened a shop selling materials and tools for artisans. A solution with a two-fold effect: CAPA does not only generate income with it, it also supports the craftsmen and former graduates who can shop at discount prices and who can also acquire small amounts of materials on credit. A situation of commercial competition has turned into one where support is provided.

Gradually, the range of income generating activities has increased. At regular intervals a budget is set aside for this purpose. The budget is managed by the director of a post that was created for this particular purpose. The post, which is called MORELO (Mobilising local resources) aims to plan, organise and coordinate CAPA's self-financing. This includes the (sometimes awkward) task of convincing members of the Church that CAPA cannot offer its services for free, even in the case of the Church itself.

This is how CAPA has created a series of income generating activities, which – beyond generating income – all have the additional effect of providing some kind of benefit for craftsmen and graduates. This is a masterly reversal of the previous situation, where the target group was subjected to unfair competition. CAPA now uses everything that the school has access to in an efficient and productive way: the use of machines is sold as a service at discount rates to craftsmen; CAPA's lorry is hired out, also at a discount rate, to the brick makers but also at a standard rate to private construction clients; the restaurant, which CAPA established on its grounds as part of its gastronomy training, also serves as a kind of canteen for the craftsmen and workers; the accommodation that CAPA built for craftsmen who came from far away for training are now also used to house private clients. Thus, CAPA continues to provide services and to produce goods that are sold. Otherwise it would be difficult to provide meaningful practical training. However, the difference between the current and the previous situation is considerable. First of all, these activities are not the main source of income; second, several mechanisms have been developed to allow the participation of the trainees as well as previous graduates and local craftsmen. For instance, trainees receive 10 percent of the profits generated from selling the products they have produced and CAPA brokers assignments to former graduates on commission. For example, the SLB (Local service for construction) was created, where approximately one hundred craftsmen

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from different construction trades are associated – bricklayers, tilers, plumbers, welders etc. CAPA acts as a broker for this "service package" to clients in the construction sector and charges a 10 percent commission.

Thus CAPA by now undertakes great efforts to achieve autonomy or at least a greater degree of independence in an exemplary manner. Taking current budgets into account, the percentage of self-financing is still rather low at 23 percent, although it has already increased by 400 percent. Comparing the amount of generated income with the budget that CAPA received at the time, CAPA would already be in a position to finance itself. Of course this is not a valid calculation since today the financial requirements are quite different. But it can at least help illustrate the inherent dynamic.

"In five years we want to achieve a rate of self-financing of 50 percent," says Vital Mukuza. "This is not an illusion, it is a shared vision. To a certain extent self-financing is certainly possible. On the other hand one also has to realistically consider that hundred percent self-financing is impossible, especially in the case of poor target groups. It is impossible to properly train a great number of poor people without any subsidies."

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13. What will it be like tomorrow?

When you have managed to complete a project successfully you are often tempted to just look at was has been achieved. You want to take a little break and it seems only fair to enjoy the fruits of your efforts. At such a moment you do not want to think about the fact that things could change in the future or that – despite all that has been successful – some areas may not have been quite so successful. But since the authors of this book set out to give an honest and realistic account of things, we will also include these considerations.

The challenges of success

What can pose a challenge to a successful project? First of all, success itself. Whoever thinks this is strange may be reminded of the historical patterns of rise and fall. Throughout the course of history success has often triggered mechanisms that seem directed towards self-destruction. The reasons for this are probably best known to philosophers and psychologists. Also modern economists are probably familiar with this pattern as the up and down of boom and recession In the realm of international development there are many distressing examples of how projects previously celebrated as great successes have fallen apart. Therefore, the danger that is inherent in success should not be underestimated.

Several hundred trainees, more than 40 trainers, more than a dozen training branches, an increasingly good reputation, public acclaim, visits by public figures – CAPA's superlatives seem hard to top. Now it is important to prevent decline.

What could lead to CAPA's decline? Pride, negligence, changes in the composition of its personnel, stagnation, wrong expectations – there are many factors. Some are already emerging here and there, as thistles and roses bearing thorns among the gorgeous bouquet of a good reputation. Pride seems the smallest of risks. In fact, during all these years, the staff of CAPA has shown little proneness to this weakness. They simply embarked on this undertaking and are seeing it through.

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Negligence seems a much more likely risk – the kind of negligence that may lead to stagnation. Stagnation, though, would be fatal for a conceptual design that succeeds because of its flexibility and its capacity to adapt and change.
"We are known for being different, for having introduced inventive approaches and for creating something new," says the director. "But we should not forget that we need to remain competitive and that something that seems inventive today may be old and obsolete tomorrow. We need to stay alert, keep re-orienting our way of operating, and be innovative." If CAPA becomes complacent and begins resting on its laurels, if the situation is not continuously observed and analysed, if old ways of operating are replicated and not questioned anymore, stagnation will occur. At present nothing seems to indicate that CAPA's staff is prone to becoming complacent or negligent. But there are external dangers, which might foster complacency might even lead CAPA off its track.

We are speaking of CAPA's numerous visitors: representatives of international organisations and embassies, members of parliament, directors of other vocational training centres, high level Church dignitaries, journalists, politicians. Generally, they only see the results and not the underlying dynamics that has led to these results. The visitors are pleased to see a vocational centre brimming with trainees. Quantity is always impressive. However, the concept – in its ideal form – actually seeks the opposite: there should only be few trainees *within* CAPA's walls. The fact that so many young people take up their vocational training at CAPA is partly due to the particular situation we are dealing with – a weak economy and few enterprises capable of offering apprenticeships. But what would it mean if this changed in the future? If there were a growing number of enterprises and CAPA increasingly "outsources" the training and the number of trainees at CAPA itself decreases? Will this still impress the visitors? And how will CAPA itself deal with it?
Besides this somewhat hidden or indirect danger, which is related to the visitors, there are other quite tangible consequences of this celebrity. The director of CAPA summarises it: "Although we are very pleased with our celebrity and the interest our visitors show in our work, they are also a problem for us. After all, every visitor needs

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to be appropriately welcomed and attended to. Currently we have an average of eight visitors per month. Apart from the resources required for entertainment and presents, which are not foreseen in our budget, it takes up a lot of our time. This is easy to calculate: a tour of our school with the necessary explanations takes an average of four to five hours. If you take into account other reception modalities it soon adds up to a whole working day. With eight visits per month, this means we lose eight working days per month. Some visitors stay for several days. We cannot really afford this. We do not really know how to deal with this problem, since we do like to welcome visitors and we do not wish to turn anybody away. But we do need to find a solution for this."

Who would have thought ten years ago that this would be one of CAPA's problems? This shows that success sometimes sets mechanisms in motion that could not be foreseen at an earlier stage. CAPA will now need to develop strategies to handle the consequences of its success.

The day the genius leaves

Organisations are made by people. So are successes. When these people leave, success will disappear. Unless provisions are made for this situation. The influence of the current director on CAPA's success cannot be rated too highly. Strong personalities bring projects forward and shape institutions. Once they leave, they are hard to replace. A director whose progress was based on his own competencies and not on connections, who is a strong financial manager and has a dynamic entrepreneur's profile, who is brave and incorruptible, too – this is unusual. This is a significant fact that needs to be stressed. When a project or an institution is led by an outstanding personality, it is particularly important to pay careful attention to the mechanisms for a replacement. This needs to be done early enough. The former director of CAPA, Ndivito Makima, did this in an exemplary way. Knowing or sensing that he might one day have to leave CAPA at short notice, from the start he prepared Vital Mukuza as his successor. This foresight proved of great value. His successor emulates him. He also invests in further training for his staff, tries to build a

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solid team as the basis for CAPA's work and to coach a competent individual to become his successor. However, the greater the genius the more difficult it is to bridge the gap that might appear upon his departure. In the present case it will be very difficult. Should the current director leave one day, CAPA will lose out on dynamism and innovation, merely because he is just too outstanding. Nevertheless, the institution can still consolidate on a solid foundation if a competent successor and a solid core of well qualified and committed staff are available – and stay.

The wording "and stay" at the end of the previous sentence does not imply that CAPA's staff intend to leave (although this may also occur). It refers to the Church's personnel policy. For unfortunately the Church does – in terms of personnel policy – contribute its share to put CAPA at risk. As soon as a competent individual emerges at CAPA, the Church committees begin playing with the idea of pulling the person out of CAPA and placing them within the Church administrative structure. This was already the case years ago when the Church wanted to transfer the young and capable bookkeeper away from CAPA, later the director himself. In the same way the Church tried to transfer the cashier away from CAPA as well as the person in charge of income generating activities. All this was initiated without ever thinking about what it would mean for CAPA, how these positions were then to be filled, or whether there would be a suitable successor at all. It did not work out in four cases because the director vehemently opposed it. Their fifth attempt, this time concerning the person in charge of the graduate's follow up, was successful: now he is in charge of CBCA's guest house. Nobody seems to care about who will replace him in following up CAPA's graduates. CBCA must bear this criticism. The lack of understanding and foresight that this reflects are alarming for an actor engaged in development cooperation.

Expansion – a dream and a nightmare at the same time

Almost any organisation that is successful will play with the idea of expansion. CAPA, taken on its own, has already "expanded" over the last ten years – from a small building to a complex compound,

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from a dozen employees to a whole pool of trainers, from a small budget to a huge financial volume. It is now considering expanding its actions externally. To expand one's action seems a reasonable option for a successful undertaking. What else could one wish for than to intensify and multiply good work? Unfortunately, in many cases experience reveals another aspect: expansion often brings along a loss of quality. The structure becomes cumbersome, the costs rise immeasurably, the organisation drifts away from its goals and visions. Why this rather negative dynamic sets in can certainly not be explained in two sentences and we shall not attempt to do so. However, the fact that it does pose a real danger can also be recognised in that partner organisations in the North somehow fear the tendency towards expansion. For those who have already had to undergo this negative experience it has turned into a menacing nightmare.

Having arrived at the zenith of its success, CAPA must now carefully consider what its future should be like, which function CAPA should fulfil in the future and which role. This requires an analytic reflection of the demand on a broader scope, of CAPA's specific strengths and its real possibilities. CAPA has become a leading organisation in the region. Its future orientation should be increasingly directed towards this leader role, rather than towards single actions. As we have already explained or indicated in other sections of this book, CAPA's activity has already produced a series of multiplier effects: other vocational training centres follow the example of CAPA, former CAPA graduates have set up workshops in urban and rural areas and now train their own apprentices. A number of these graduates have even followed in CAPA's footsteps and regard themselves as small training centres. CAPA looks after these graduates and should continue to do so in the future to contribute to the quality of their training. The order of magnitude we are speaking about may become clear by means of an impact assessment undertaken by CAPA under the guidance of the expert consultant. In order to comprehend the multiplier effect that derives from CAPA's former graduates, CAPA analysed how many craftsmen have eventually been trained, based on ten graduates and a period of ten years. The selected graduates were deliberately chosen from three different phases of CAPA: three were chosen from the early stages of reorientation (1992/93), three

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from the middle phase (1995/96) and four from the years of consistent reform (2003/2004). The survey showed that between them the ten graduates of CAPA had trained a total of 323 apprentices – during the period from 1997 to 2007. This "second generation trainees" have in turn trained 703 apprentices. Thus, the ten CAPA graduates have grown into a total of 1026 male and female craftsmen (Annex: Table 12).

No one in the region can match CAPA's wealth of experience. The best use of it is to provide advice and support to others so that they can offer good quality training. This is a comprehensive task that is clearly less "visible" but will be the more significant in its effects. For its graduates who train in rural areas CAPA has already held workshops and colloquia, organised meetings and sharing of experiences and has facilitated discussions to reflect on pedagogic methodology. Intensifying this role and systematically carrying out these broad activities would be a sensible kind of growth. CAPA should therefore grow, but this growth should apply to its specific role and its responsibility as a leading organisation rather than in material volume and single activities.

Concentration and specification – focussing on the essential

As the previous chapter has shown, at this stage of CAPA's development it is necessary to conduct an analytic reflection regarding CAPA's role in view of its comparative strengths. Speaking in very plain terms one could also just say: CAPA should do what others cannot do, that is what others – due to lack of competence or lack of commitment – are not capable of doing or not willing to do. This brings to mind three areas: innovation, further training and difficult target groups.

Of these three possible areas innovation seems to be the one that can be most quickly dealt with: there are just no other centres in the Kivu region that are as innovative as CAPA. In the case of CAPA, this is largely due to the personality and entrepreneurial profile of the current director. This means that CAPA's innovative capacity cannot easily be imitated and his part in this needs no explanation.

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With regard to further training, we need to differentiate between technical and pedagogical further training. In terms of technical further training, the focus lies on further training for craftsmen. In principle any centre could do this if it wanted to. However, since the vocational training centres in the Kivu region are only just beginning to grow into a new definition of vocational training, it seems unlikely that they will extensively deal with this area in the near future. CAPA has ample scope for action here. In this context it is important to remember that over the years CAPA has acquired specific competences in adult education.

In the case of the difficult target groups the demand is obvious. Although there are an increasing number of organisations that work with difficult target groups, few of them offer vocational or skills training. Even those organisations that do offer vocational education and training often lack the appropriate approach for training this kind of people. In dealing for years with the specific problems of socially marginal groups, traumatised people or ex-combatants, CAPA has acquired a wide range of competences to work with these groups. Apart from this specific competence, the demand as such is large and will surely require several years of dedication by all committed actors.

The postulate that CAPA should do what others cannot do, can also be transformed into the postulate that CAPA should leave to others what they can do just as well. Committed representatives of a reformed vocational education and training call this the principle of subsidiarity. What does it mean? It concerns the question whether a vocational training centre *itself* really needs to do everything that has to do with vocational training. Do we really need to get young people into a school to show them how to weld two pieces of metal together? Cannot any craftsman in town also teach them this? For a German context, where apprenticeships already take place in an enterprise, the school-based system is hard to comprehend. However, vocational education and training in developing countries excludes traditional apprenticeships: only what is taught in a school is regarded as valid technical education

In this context CAPA can have a pioneering function if it manages in the medium to long term to transfer initial technical training to enterprises, thus making it part of a normal apprenticeship. This

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would not only reduce the load of training at CAPA itself, in terms of costs and of administrative and organisational effort. It would free up more time and energy to deal with the specific challenges described above and in the previous chapter.

Dual vocational training as a model for the future?

The previous chapter leads us directly to a specific question: can and should CAPA strive for the dual model? CAPA is indeed interested in the model. Through the further training of craftsmen, the backstopping of self-employed graduates and the training of apprentices, CAPA has plenty of ties to private enterprises. With some of them CAPA tries to put into practice a kind of "cooperative model", whereby these crafts workshops (eight in total) send their apprentices to CAPA for theoretical training. Nevertheless the whole system is still quite far removed from a true dual model. In the dual model the private sector should be an equal partner in the vocational education and training, actually even more than that: it should take on the leading role. The question is whether this is a viable model for the future in Congo and more specifically in the Kivu region. A stronger involvement of private enterprises, their active participation and a greater degree of responsibility would certainly be desirable. But too many obstacles seem to be in the way at the moment. Apart from the fact that the dual system is very far away from African reality – in itself a considerable obstacle – the market needs to recover first in order to create economic stability. However, before the market can recover, the political situation must improve and reach a certain degree of order. However, Congo and, more specifically, the Kivu region, have first still some way to go.

Still, CAPA should continue along the path it has started to follow, expand the cooperative model, cooperate with more crafts workshops and enterprises, recommend more young people that they undergo an apprenticeship in a workshop. Particularly since this corroborates another lesson learned by CAPA: with a view to becoming self-employed, apprentices who have been trained at a workshop in town are more versed, self-confident, and integrate more quickly into business life. Considering that the number of trainees at CAPA

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has risen dramatically, it will become increasingly difficult to ensure a qualitatively satisfactory backstopping of its graduates. Several hundreds of graduates can hardly be followed-up. The faster and the more self-reliant they are as they start their own businesses, the easier will be the task for those supporting these start-ups.

A very special challenge: Gender and the role of women

An issue that CAPA has not dealt with quite so brilliantly is gender and the role of women. Herein lies a particular challenge for the future. Promotion of women was always one of CAPA's aims, under the previous and the current directors. However, promotion of women and gender are not the same. A lot of work still lies ahead of CAPA. In 25 years of activity (relative to the basic model of training) a total of 1,259 people have been trained at CAPA, 836 male and 423 female trainees. Nearly exactly half as many girls as boys. Or in absolute terms: only a third of the trainees are female. Half of these (212 girls / women) concentrate on one single occupation: dress making. Overall, this is not a positive figure.

When looking at the area of further training, things get even worse: here we have 1,482 trained male craftsmen and 209 trained women. This mismatch may also be related to the fact that there are generally more male than female craftspeople. Still, the gap seems too large.

In recent years, CAPA has certainly undertaken more efforts to also train girls in other areas, such as gastronomy, soap making or computer application. Another certainly significant improvement is that the drop-out rate among girls has declined sharply: while at the beginning it was 75 percent, it has now gone down to 20 percent. Lastly, no girl who is interested in a so-called "man's job" will ever be refused at CAPA, on the contrary. There still remains a lot of work to pave the way for a new role model for women: in Congolese society, in the church as an institution and at CAPA itself.

Too many stereotypes still dominate current thinking, in society and among girls and women themselves. Quite a few young women let themselves be dissuaded by their family from choosing the training they would like to undertake or abandon their training when they marry, as many still hold on to the mentality of "j'attends mon mari"

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(I wait for my husband). But even among those women who have been trained successfully and have become self-employed, gender equity still seems a distant goal. At the very least, remarks such as the following should no longer be heard: "My wife is of invaluable help," says the husband of Faida, who was trained at CAPA. "I could double the bride price, given the value of the services she provides me with. Look at my clothes and those of my children – she has made them all. I am out of work but our children can go to school thanks to my wife's work. And although she does all this for the family, she always remains subordinate, as it should be."

The qualified, dynamic, energetic, hard-working woman – always subordinate to her husband. This should not be the aim of vocational training. In the future CAPA not only needs to pay attention to a more balanced proportion of boys and girls but also to balancing out the social relationship of power between men and women. This requires the conviction that a change is needed, targeted commitment and explicit strategies. First of all, however, it would appear necessary to employ more women at CAPA – especially a woman in a leading position who ideally should be slightly ahead of her time.

It may seem rather surprising that CAPA – compared to all its other achievements – has not quite fulfilled expectations in this respect. One might also think that a female consultant might have been able to trigger more change with regard to gender. But nothing can be imposed and one should not forget that the stereotypes dominating a society are in the heads of all its members, thus including the staff of CAPA. When CAPA today states: "Despite the cultural myths, it is a fact that women can take up so-called male jobs, such as carpentry or car mechanics, just as well as men" or "In principle, women are more reliable and trustworthy borrowers than men", it is no coincidence that these statements appear as part of the "lessons learned". Even if it may seem incredible to some: in a certain way it was only through the intense and long-lasting cooperation with the external female consultant that the intellectual capabilities of a woman were perceived. One of CAPA's leading male employees once said: "I used to think that a woman cannot really be intellectual, that only men have analytic capabilities. The cooperation with our external consultant proved me wrong. Now I can see that women can also have great intellectual capabilities and I also have greater respect for my wife."

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The fact that the director of CAPA now stands up in church and publicly endorses the equality of men and women, does not mean it has always been so. The following incident would have been unthinkable ten years ago:

"It was on a Sunday in June and we had all gathered inside the church," he says. "When it came to praising the Lord, a man got up and said the following. 'I used to have five daughters and I was always worried who would be able to accept my inheritance. I needed a son as my heir but my wife only gave birth to girls. I used to reproach her a lot for this. Finally, God listened to our prayers and my wife gave birth to a son. I invite all those present to join me in praising the Lord for this.' There was a lot of head shaking and murmuring among the women present. Then I got up and asked the pastor for permission to talk. 'We cannot praise the Lord for what this man wants,' I said. 'He should rather go home and ask his wife to forgive him. For, on the one hand, from a biological perspective, he is also responsible for his child's sex and, on the other hand, our constitution grants equal rights to men and women. How can we then say that a daughter cannot inherit? Who says that a woman cannot achieve just as much as a man or even more? At CAPA we have girls who have become carpenters, car mechanics or brick layers. And if we look at the world we can see that Liberia has a woman president and that Germany's chancellor is a woman, like many other similar cases.' Already while I was talking like this, all women in church started to applaud. The man who had spoken apologised and corrected his words of praise."

In this respect, too, CAPA has grown throughout the process itself. Its staff had to cope with the challenge themselves before they could tackle it in the outside world. This may also be the reason why the enormous efforts undertaken in the current development work on gender equality have not yet born the anticipated fruits: Maybe we take it too much for granted that men who do progressive development work automatically also have a progressive attitude towards the relationship between the two sexes. How often, though, does this assumption hold true?

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14. Providing consultancy services within an area of conflict

This book should not omit a glance at external consultancy. Ideally, external consultancy services should have a clearly defined remit and a healthy local structure that has asked for these services and is interested in putting the advice provided into practice. Yet how often in life do we encounter an ideal situation? Providing consultancy services to CAPA was certainly not one of them.

As we have amply described in this book, there were a number of institutional blockades caused by the local church institution behind the project, which at the beginning turned the consultancy into an exhausting exercise. Also CAPA itself was not always receptive to the external comments and advice. Not only the consultancy process as such and the opposition associated with it were challenging; the consultancy took place at a time and in an environment shaped by extremes: the neighbouring country Rwanda after the genocide, Zaire in upheaval, crisis, secret police, war, militias, eruption of a volcano in North Kivu. All in all, these were quite unusual conditions for a consultancy.

So what is it like to provide consultancy services in an area of crisis and conflict? The answer is: different, completely different from other cases. Particularly, when you have never really fancied working as an emergency aid worker, war correspondent or least of all a soldier. These people are used to work under extreme conditions, regard danger as part of their lives – and often pay for it with their lives. But I – and this chapter will provide a very personal account of consultancy from my perspective as a long term consultant for CAPA – am *only* a consultant. War is not part of my trade. I still got into it, without really wanting to. And once I was in it, withdrawing would have meant abandoning CAPA – of all the overseas institutions that I knew, the one that I considered to be one of the most committed and courageous. In such a situation it does not look good to show fear. Therefore, I too tried to be courageous. I made it. But I was scared anyway.

I did have experience living and working in situations of danger and crisis. After all, for many years as a development worker I had lived

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in countries or worked at places, where it was no less dangerous, such as the slums of a big city in South America and also in Togo, whose dictator Eyadema was a close buddy of Mobutu, a country, which at the beginning of the 1990s, like Zaire, had turned into a land of crisis in the midst of its transition to democracy. How often was I in danger then! Assaults and gang warfare in South America, burning roadblocks, trigger happy military and evacuations in Togo. But it makes a difference whether you live in a country or whether you are only a traveller there. If you live in such an environment, you can judge everything better, the people, the danger, the risks, even the routes of escape. In the slums I knew exactly where not to go, or if I had to go, I would have been able to speak with the young gang members in their own language. In Togo, again, I could judge the soldiers' way of thinking, knew how they reacted, which words to use and which better to avoid. But how to judge the people and dangers in an unfamiliar country, where danger is so diffuse that not even the local people can say whether the soldier stopping you at a certain moment belongs to a rebel militia or is only a criminal dressed up as a soldier? How to judge the danger of an uprising in a city enclosed with refugee camps, where many of the refugees are mass murderers? This was exactly the situation I got into during my first trip in 1995, when Bukavu was literally surrounded by the camps of those who had fled after the genocide in Rwanda – victims and perpetrators. At the time Congo was still called "Zaire". Its reputation did not call for illusions of any kind. But it was my first assignment as a consultant for FAKT and I knew: often it is the first reaction that will decide whether there will be further assignments or not. Therefore I decided to jump in at the deep end. To stick to the image: the water was not just a little bit deep, it was very deep indeed. During my first assignment in 1995 a few unpleasant surprises awaited me, and not just from the insurgent Hutu militias and the refugee camps.

One of these surprises was that I met with local consultants who not only regarded me as an unwelcome rival but who also tried to pull a fast one on me as a young woman and an "ignorant white person". Thus the local consultancy firm, whose executive director was a member of CAPA's governing board, insisted that a local consultant was to accompany me everywhere I went. This was supposed to ensure local *ownership*. As a result, the local consultant followed

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me like a shadow for the whole time. By then I had the feeling that something was not as it should be. One evening I took out the list of names that I had received from the head of division at EZE upon my request: the list of names of all those who had recently been put to trial because they had fraudulently sold a building that EZE had financed for training purposes. On the list I found the name of the consultant who had been following me like a shadow. But at heart I could not believe that someone had had the effrontery to choose this very man to accompany me everywhere. The director of CAPA at the time must have thought a cyclone was hitting his office when I arrived there the next morning. I only needed to say the name and I could already tell by his reaction that I had got it right. Not many words were wasted after that: from then on I did not have a shadow following me anymore.

This incident was not to be the only adventure during my first trip to the Kivu region. Although I had lived in developing countries for a long time, I had never been to a country where absolutely nothing worked: there was no telephone (apart from the GTZ's satellite telephone and those of another two or three organisations), no bank, no postal service – often not even roads. I was supposed to travel to Kamituga, a town in the south of Kivu, to visit a project there that had applied for funding from EZE for a school. However, the road there ended somewhere and one would have had to walk 40 kilometres. We tried to find a plane; at the time there were the missionaries that "serviced" some flights. But they had just cancelled all further flights. Another option was a state plane owned by the mining company, which flew south regularly. Surprisingly, there was no possibility to take that flight. As I found out many years later, this was not so surprising, but due to a one hundred dollar note, which the director of the "project" in Kamituga had paid the airline. This note was to prevent them from taking me on board, because there was no such project in Kamituga.

One year later, when the first war erupted due to the rebellion of Laurent Kabila, I was in Benin. I had intended to travel from there directly to Zaire. I will never forget the moment when I happened to look at a TV screen in a restaurant in Porto Novo and saw the

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flood of refugees who where leaving Bukavu. I postponed my trip to early 1997. During that trip I was less lucky: I was already sitting in the plane when I heard the alarming news. During my flight to Kigali – I was supposed to visit an EZE partner in the North of Rwanda – I was sitting next to a Spanish TV crew. It turned out that they were on their way to transport the corpses of the Spanish workers of Doctors Without Borders out of Rwanda. "Killed during an attack to the camp?" I asked. "Not at all," they answered. "This was a targeted execution." During my hectic preparations for this trip I had obviously missed one crucial news broadcast: The threat of an extremist movement in Rwanda, who had announced from Nairobi that they were going to systematically kill white people. It was not just a threat. When I got off the plane in Kigali, I already felt like a living target. But things were to get worse. On the same evening I heard on the radio that the Libyan head of state Gaddafi had made Mobutu a generous offer: he wanted to send him several war jets so that he could crack down the insurgence in the Kivu region, particularly in Bukavu. Being a white target for extremists and to travel into a city that was just about to be bombarded – that was a little too much for me. When I called Germany, the head of division at EZE agreed to cancel the trip to the north of Rwanda but he was upset that I was showing so little solidarity with the partner in Congo. In the end we agreed that I would travel to Bukavu but would cut down the mission to a few days. More than a few days would have been difficult to justify anyway, since it would have been a waste of resources: during those days I could not concentrate on activity planning or project strategies. I was staying at the diocese's guest house and was – apart from the staff of Malteser International – the only white person in Bukavu; everyone else had left town. However, I was also mostly on my own at the guest house, since my company consisted of a retired bishop with a hip condition, a hearing impaired priest and an administrator, who seemed more absent than present. Wondering about whom I would have to ask for help in case of an emergency maybe helps to explain my fear. The staff of CAPA, however, highly appreciated this visit: I had become a hero who does not let the partner down. I personally think that a hero shaking with fear is a somewhat strange hero. But the only thing that counted for CAPA was: I was "there".

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If I were to write about my experiences throughout my many consultancy trips to Congo, they would fill a whole book. Therefore, I restrict it to a few. I was probably unaware of many dangers, because the local partners just concealed them from me. They knew that under certain circumstances I might cancel a visit if the situation appeared too dangerous, most of the time they reassured me that it was all "quiet" and that there was "no problem". This "no problem" might turn out to mean that the rebels' administration confiscated my passport, that the secret service was behind me or that a new rebellion was about to start. But comparing these dangers with what the local population had to endure everyday (and unfortunately still has to endure), they do seem banal. And it is in this context that one has to put remarks such as the following. "Why are you afraid of a couple of extremists?" the Rwandan project partner asked me at the time, when I refused to visit his school in the northern part of the country. "Nearly a million people have lost their lives in our country!" Indeed, when the relation is 1:1,000,000 you do not have much chance of finding understanding, even if this one life is the only one you have.

This, though, is the abyss that there will always be as long as there is hunger, misery and war: We, as helpers, visitors or consultants from the North travel there and write about it. The people there have to live with it.

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15. "What this publication means to us"

Every process leaves its marks – and so does the writing of a book, too. In his concluding remarks Vital Mukuza outlines how the work on this book has had its effect on CAPA.

"Collecting and interpreting the data and the different related analysis showed us the path we have walked during more than 20 years. Indeed the work on this book disclosed many new aspects, and provided us all with moments of reflection and surprise, too. How often the colleagues returned from the data collection in the field and said: 'We did not know what our training had set in motion there!' Such a recollection can really bring new findings. At other times, our research showed us that we have not yet overcome all challenges. It is with mixed feelings that we have looked at things we can be proud of and at things that went differently from what we had wished and which we therefore have to consider disappointments. However, now the staff at CAPA do not regard these 'disappointments' as failures but as lessons learned. Looking back at our long journey, two feelings come out most clearly: on the one hand, the satisfaction that we have achieved so much, particularly in the difficult combination of the institutional barriers and the difficult socio-political environment; on the other hand the regret about the waste of resources that was caused by the institutional resistance against change. Finally we opted against routine and for the path of flexibility and change. This publication is a critical description of the journey that we have travelled, but it is far from being complete. There will surely be readers who spot a mistake here and there or an inadequate detail, for which we apologise at this point. Looking at the completed work, we are surprised to see how much one can learn about one's own work from such a recollection and deep analysis! We thought we knew our activities, but after this publication we can only encourage every institution to take a closer look: You can learn a lot and find out a lot about yourself."

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- all staff at CAPA, who have grown into a truly competent and good team.

Vital Mukuza
Director of CAPA

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1. People who have received initial or further training by CAPA (Overview)

Training		N° of trained persons		
		Men	Women	Total
1	Structured apprenticeship (theory and practice) at CAPA	821	438	1,259
2	Informal apprenticeship in an enterprise or at a construction site (private enterprise or at CAPA)	572	40	612
3	Training on income generating activities for women's groups	0	464	464
4	Qualification of "second generation" apprentices (apprentices of CAPA's graduates)	1,261	250	1,511
Subtotal		2,654	1,192	3,846
Further training of craftsmen		1,482	209	1,691
Total number of people who have received initial or further training		**4,136**	**1,401**	**5,537**

2. Impact of CAPA's training with regard to improving the living conditions of the graduates

Areas	Percentage of graduates who stated an improvement in the respective area
Basic education (of children)	98 %
Secondary education (of children)	85 %
Nutrition	75 %
Health care	70 %
Habitation	60 %
Communication	60 %
Investment: – land (fields) – animal husbandry – means of transport	 40 % 36 % 10 %
Higher education (of children)	40 %
Saving	9 %

CAPA: Survey of 100 male and female graduates

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3. Statistics on the number of people trained by CAPA (Structured apprenticeship (theory and practice) at CAPA)

N°	Training year	Sector / Area	Duration of training	N° of trained graduates		
				M	F	Total
1	1982–1984	Dress making	3 years	0	6	
		Car mechanics	3 years	17	0	
		Carpentry	3 years	8	0	**31**
2	1984–1986	Dress making	3 years	0	5	
		Car mechanics	3 years	10	0	
		Carpentry	3 years	9	0	**24**
3	1986–1988	Dress making	3 years	0	9	
		Car mechanics	3 years	12	0	
		Carpentry	3 years	8	0	**29**
4	1998–1991	Dress making	3 years	0	25	
		Car mechanics	3 years	11	0	
		Carpentry	3 years	6	0	**41**
5	1991–1993	Dress making	2 years	0	14	
		Car mechanics	2 years	11	0	
		Carpentry	2 years	13	0	**38**
6	1993–1995	Dress making	2 years	0	12	
		Car mechanics	2 years	6	0	
		Carpentry	2 years	9	0	**27**
7	1996–1998	Dress making	2 years	0	8	
		Car mechanics	2 years	7	0	
		Carpentry	2 years	7	0	**22**
8	1998–2000	Dress making	2 years	0	8	
		Car mechanics	2 years	15	0	
		Carpentry	2 years	0	0	**23**
9	2000–2002	Dress making	15 months	28	1	
		Car mechanics	12 months	6	12	
		Carpentry	12 months	0	25	**72**
10	2002–2004	Dress making	12 months	3	62	
		Car mechanics	24 months	54	4	
		Carpentry	12 months	30	0	
		Leather work	6 months	16	0	
		Guitar making	6 months	07	0	
		Batik	3 months	22	0	
		Welding / Metal work	6 months	17	1	
		Furniture upholstery	6 months	12	0	
		Soap making	3 months	6	15	
		Cooking	6 months	0	19	**268**

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N°	Training year	Sector / Area	Duration of training	N° of trained graduates		
				M	F	Total
11	2004–2006	Dress making	12 months	0	43	
		Carpentry	12 months	14	0	
		Masonry	16 months	24	2	
		Car mechanics	12 months	122	2	
		Leather work	6 months	5	0	
		Shoe making	6 months	3	0	
		Soap making	1 months	6	13	
		Guitar making	6 months	5	0	
		Computer application	3 months	42	57	**337**
12	2006 –2007	Dress making	12 months	0	45	
		Car mechanics	12 months	63	9	
		Car mechanics	18 months	47	0	
		Welding / Metal work	6 months	12	3	
		Carpentry	12 months	25	5	
		Masonry	16 months	32	0	
		Computer application	3 months	21	32	
		Furniture upholstery	6 months	12	0	
		Guitar making	6 months	3	0	
		Batik	3 months	0	16	
		Leather work	6 months	5	01	
		Shoe making	3 months	6	0	
		Soap making	6 months	4	6	**347**
Total				**836**	**423**	**1,259**

4. Apprentices trained in a crafts workshop or at a construction site (Informal apprenticeship in a private enterprise or at CAPA itself)

Area	N°	
	male	female
Making of furniture (informal apprenticeship)	51	0
Carpentry (informal apprenticeship)	47	0
Masonry (at a construction site)	112	2
Dress making (informal apprenticeship)	41	38
Welding / Metal work (informal apprenticeship)	54	0
Car mechanics (informal apprenticeship)	56	0
Brick making (informal apprenticeship)	115	0
Driving school (informal apprenticeship)	96	0
Total	**572**	**40**
		612

Data based on years 1998–2008;
482 of the 612 apprentices (79%) were trained in the years 2004–2008.

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5. Qualification of "second generation" apprentices (apprentices of CAPA's graduates)

Sector	Graduates workshops	Locality / City	N° of trained apprentices	
			M	F
Metal work	Fitter's workshop Brasserie	Bagira	17	
	Fitter's workshop PLAMEDI	Ibanda	38	
	Workshop Grands Lacs/Winga	Ibanda	22	
	Workshop ALC/Place de l'Indépendance	Ibanda	61	
	Workshop GFAP	Walungu	59	
	Fitter's workshop Miti	Miti	11	
	Workshop AMAC	Katana	48	
Wood	Workshop CMA	Ibanda	9	
	Workshop Dieu Merci	Panzi	13	
	Workshop ADEPAN	Nyantende	31	4
	Workshop Nyantende	Nyantende	18	
	Workshop ARSVA	Kibombo/ISP	37	9
	Furniture Upholstery Workshop Vamaro	Vamaro/Ibanda	13	
	Workshop guitar making	Q. Industriel	9	
	Carpentry workshop /Kavumu	Kavumu	28	
	Workshop ADABU	Bugobe/Kabare	17	
	Workshop AMI	Ihusi/Kalehe	18	
	Workshop Pygmies /Buziralo	Buziralo	21	
	Carpentry workshop Mushenyi	Walungu	11	
	Workshop CFPA	Uvira	33	
	Workshop Mon ami Planche	Uvira	8	
	Workshop MAP	Mboko/Fizi	11	
	Workshop Style OK	Iubarika / uvira	13	3
Textiles	Workshop FATU	Kadutu		4
	Workshop Noëlla	Nyakaliba		6
	Workshop Baraka	Buholo		5
	Workshop SIFA	Muhungu		9
	Workshop Muungane	Bagira		8
	Workshop de Karhale	Karhale		5
	Tailor's workshop /Route d'Uvira	Ibanda		6
	Workshop Chinyabuguma	Mulwa		18
	Tailor's workshop /Kavumu	Kavumu		16
	Tailor's workshop AMAC	Katana		11
	Tailor's workshop Mudaka	Mudaka		7
	Tailor's workshop Maendeleo/Muhongoza	Kalehe	11	8
	Tailor's workshop Nyangezi	Munya/Nyangezi		9
	Tailor's workshop Bideka	Bideka		6
	Tailor's workshop Muhyahya	Idjwi Sud		5
	Tailor's workshop Bushushu	Kalehe	9	
	Workshop Nagune	Ibanda		17
	Tailor's workshop AFB/Kaziba	Kaziba	6	45

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Sector	Graduates workshops	Locality / City	N° of trained apprentices	
			M	F
Con-struction / Housing	Mobile Construction Enterprise	Bukavu	56	6
	Brick production AJALOKPA	Chizenga/Kabare	65	2
	Brick production ABRIMA	Muhongoza/ Kalehe	86	1
	Brick production ACTK	Nyangezi	168	12
	Brick production CAPA	Walungu	66	2
	Brick production AFATUBRI	Luvungi/Uvira	98	4
	Brick production AFABRIC	Luvungi/Uvira	56	5
	Brick production Idjwi Sud	Idjwi Sud	8	
	Brick production Idjwi Nord	Idjwi Nord	9	
	Brick production AWARI	Kavimvira/Uvira	11	
Leather	Shoe and bag making workshop / Essence	Ibanda	7	
	Shoe making workshop Nyantende	Nyantende	12	
Soap making	Artisan soap making Panzi	Panzi	9	
	Soap making AFB	Kaziba	38	17
Total			**1,261**	**250**
				1,511

Data based on years 1998–2008

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6. Craftsmen and small business operators who have received further training by CAPA in Bukavu

Sector	Further training modules	N° of craftspeople	
		Men	Women
Wood	Machines and tools	76	4
	Furniture technology	88	2
	Business management for craftsmen	53	2
	Furniture upholstery	124	6
	Making of wooden toys and wooden tools	46	1
Metal	Metal construction	93	9
	Motorbike repairs	85	0
	Motor checking	129	4
	Car electricity	97	0
	Welding / Fitting	12	0
	Joinery of metal roof trusses	46	0
	Tool making	25	1
	Panel beating and spray painting	17	0
	Automatic gear shift	36	0
	Machines and tools	16	0
Construction	Brick making (Training of trainers)	186	21
	Roof tile fabrication (Trainers)	70	5
	Fabrication of brick presses and forms	13	0
	House painting	9	0
	Masonry (informal apprenticeship)	57	0
	Planking	11	0
	Steel bending	15	0
	Plumbing	16	0
Soap making	Artisan soap making	42	7
Gastronomy	Further training for restaurateurs	9	13
	Sugar processing 'PANELA'	28	5
Textiles	Tailoring for gents	11	56
	Dress making (informal apprenticeship)	43	11
	Batik	3	48
	Machine knitting	0	7
Beauty	Hairdressing ladies and gents	4	7
Inland water navigation	Training of sailors	12	0
	Training for captains	10	0
Total		**1,482**	**209**
			1,691

Data based on the years 1994–2008;
962 of the 1,691 artisans (57%) were trained in the years 2003–2008.

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7. Training of women's groups in income generating activities, follow-up of the groups by CAPA

Women's group (groupement féminin)	Location	Training modules	N° of trained women
Groupement féminin de BUGOBE	Kabare	Pastry baking	20
	Kabare	Dress making for women's clothes	17
Groupement féminin de KAMUNYERERE	Katana	Pastry baking	25
Groupement féminin de MUHONGOZA	Kalehe	Dress making for women's clothes	6
	Kalehe	Pastry baking	35
Groupement féminin de MULWA	Bagira	Dress making for women's clothes	22
	Bagira	Pastry baking	8
Groupement féminin de CIMPUNDA	Kadutu	Batik	26
Groupement féminin de PANZI	Ibanda	Pastry baking	15
	Ibanda	Dress making	20
	Ibanda	Crocheting	22
Groupement féminin de BUGABO	Kadutu	Cooking	25
Groupement féminin de BAGIRA	Bagira centre	Dress making	30
	Bagira centre	Pastry baking	30
Groupement féminin de KAZIBA	Walungu	Dress making for women's clothes	45
	Walungu	Soap making	36
	Walungu	Brick making	26
Groupement féminin de CIRUNGA	Kabare	Dress making for women's clothes	38
Groupement féminin d'IZIRANGABO	Walungu	Dress making for women's clothes	18
Total			464

Data based on years 1995–2008

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8. The different target groups of CAPA and date of admission to CAPA

N°	Target group	Start*	Origin / Organisation referring the trainees
1.	School drop-outs	1982	Family request (parents / tutors)
2.	Single mothers	1982	Family request (parents / tutors)
3.	Women abandoned by their husbands (or partners)	1998	Families in areas threatened by militias; Families of miners and gold diggers
4.	Street children	1998	Admitted by CAPA itself, referred by CRER
			Referred by Cord Aid Holland in Bukavu
5.	Orphans		
	Orphans (both parents dead)	2001	Referred by SOS
	AIDS-orphans	2002	Referred by the foundation Femme Plus Sud-Kivu
		2004	Referred by AMITIE – BDOM (catholic diocese office) CODILUSI Bukavu
6.	Raped girls and women	2003	Admitted by CAPA itself
			Referred by FOYER DE L'ESPERANCE Bukavu
7.	HIV-positive persons	2002	Referred by ELPIS ZOE and ESPERANCE A LA VIE
			Admitted by CAPA itself
8.	Demobilised soldiers and fighters		
	Young clandestine deserters	1998	Admitted directly by CAPA
	officially demobilised children and youth (child soldiers)	2004	Referred by UNICEF / Bukavu
			Referred by the foundation men's solidarity (FSH) / Bukavu. and CARITAS Bukavu
9.	Marginalised groups		
	Pygmies	1999	Admitted directly by CAPA
	Deaf-mutes	2005	Referred by ARSEVA / Bukavu
10.	Craftsmen receiving further training	1993	Craftsmen from Bukavu at their own request

* First year CAPA started working with this specific target group

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9. Overview of the number of trainees belonging to specific target groups or from a specific origin who were referred by organisations and enterprises

Year	Organisation/ Enterprise	Target group	Training received	N° of trainees	
				Male	Female
1986	ECC / South Kivu	Unemployed youth	Carpentry	17	0
1989	GTR / South Kivu	Street children	Car mechanics	21	0
1995	HCR South Kivu	Rwandan child refugees	Carpentry; Car mechanics	26	0
1998	CBCA	Unemployed youth	Car mechanics	3	0
2000	GARAGE DIESEL / Bukavu	Car mechanics craftsmen	Car mechanics	04	0
2003–2005	SOS, Bukavu	Orphans	Carpentry	9	0
	ELPIS ZOE Programme (PEZ / Bukavu)	HIV-positive people	Dress making	3	19
2005–2006	UNICEF / South Kivu	Child soldiers	Car mechanics	3	0
	Foundation Men's Solidarity (Solidarité des Hommes, FSH) / Bukavu	Child soldiers	Dress making, Carpentry, Car mechanics, Welding / Metal work, Leather work	18	5
	CORDAID, Bukavu	Street children	Metal work, Car mechanics	1	0
	Association de lutte contre le chômage (ALC / South Kivu)	Unemployed youth	Metal work / Welding, Car mechanics	11	0
2004–2005	Centre de Formation KIKYO / Butembo	Further training of trainers	Dress making, Car mechanics, Masonry Carpentry	6	1
2005–2006	APILAF / Kisangani	Further training of trainers	Sharing of experiences	6	2
2006–2007	CONADER South Kivu	Demobilised soldiers	Car mechanics, Dress making , Carpentry, Leather work	98	0
	Guichet d'Economie Locale (GEL / Bukavu)	Overseas consultant	Guitar making	01	0
	Protestant parishes	Unemployed youth	Guitar making, Dress making, Bricklaying, Car mechanics	37	15
2007–2008	CARITAS, Bukavu	Ex-combatants	Dress making, Car mechanics, Driving school, Carpentry, Leather work	84	3
	Women For Women, Bukavu	Women in difficult situations, HIV-positive women	Car mechanics	0	9
	Platte Forme DIOBASS, Bukavu	Demobilised soldiers	Car mechanics	22	0
	Fondation Femme Plus, Bukavu	AIDS orphans	Dress making, Carpentry, Car mechanics, Metal work / Welding, Furniture upholstery	8	4
	Foyer de L'Espérance, Bukavu.	Single mothers , raped women	Dress making	0	22
	CRS-CODILUSI, Bukavu (American CARITAS)	AIDS orphans	Dress making, Carpentry, Car mechanics, Metal work / Welding, Furniture upholstery	17	4
Total				395	84
					479

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10. Overview of employment and tracking of CAPA's graduates

N°	Sectors / Areas of training	Self-employment in the occupation for which training was received			Partly working in the occupation for which training was received, with an additional employment			Employed by company or organisation			Not working in the occupation for which training was received / Other occupation			Whereabouts unknown		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
01	Car mechanics	291	16	307	16	02	18	59	04	63	27	04	31	37	02	39
02	Welding / Metal work	202	02	204	10	01	11	67	02	69	09	01	10	10	01	11
03	Carpentry	258	06	264	11	03	14	09	03	12	29	06	35	31	02	33
04	Dress making	22	417	439	08	39	47	03	06	09	03	39	42	04	52	56
05	Masonry	109	03	112	06	01	07	04	–	04	08	–	08	03	–	03
06	Guitar making	23	–	23	02	–	02	01	–	01	01	–	01	01	–	01
07	Soap making	24	43	67	12	21	33	02	03	05	02	06	08	06	12	18
08	Shoe making and leather work	16	–	16	21	02	23	04	–	04	05	01	06	03	01	04
09	Batik	32	128	170	17	64	81	–	03	03	02	26	28	02	36	38
10	Cooking	02	03	05	02	06	08	03	06	09	03	04	07	01	03	04
11	Brick making	–	–	–	1357	58	1,415	–	–	18	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total				1,617			1,659			197			176			207
																3,846

M = male; f = female
Sources: CAPA – Exploratory talks and surveys, field visits, registers and archives, reports
Data based on the years 1982–2008;
more than half of the graduates in the column "whereabouts unknown" (115) correspond to the years 1982–1997;
most of those self-employed correspond to the years 2001–2008

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11. Monthly income of self-employed graduates of CAPA (compared by sex)

Sectors / Areas	N° of graduates covered by survey		Average monthly income of male graduates (in US$)	Average monthly income of female graduates (in US$)
	Men	Women		
Carpentry	13	1	75 $	65 $
Car mechanics	10	4	141 $	76 $
Masonry	10	1	92 $	70 $
Dress making	–	23	–	58 $
Welding / Metal work	16	2	102 $	74 $
Leather work	3	–	55 $	–
Soap making	3	–	83 $	–
Shoe making	2	–	61 $	–
Guitar making	1	–	85 $	–
Batik	–	6	–	46 $
Gastronomy	–	3	–	85 $
Computer	1	1	100 $	100 $
Total	**59**	**41**	**Average 102 $**	**Average 77 $**
	100			

CAPA – Survey of 100 graduates

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12. Example of the multiplier effect of CAPA's training over a period of 10 years, based on a sample of 10 graduates of different training years

N°	CAPA graduate (1st "generation")	Sex	Locality / City	Sector/ area	Year*	N° of 2nd and 3rd "generation" apprentices trained between 1997 and 2007					
						2nd "generation"			3rd "generation"		
						M	F	Total	M	F	Total
01	Mahugo Kabamba	M	Uvira cité	Carpentry	1992	59	4	63	97	8	105
02	Baguma Assani	M	Ihusi kalehe	Carpentry	1992	49	–	49	131	–	131
03	Camoka	M	Muhongoza	Dress making	1993	21	7	28	20	62	82
04	Nigane Lucienne	F	Bukavu	Dress making	1995	–	39	39	1	102	103
05	Bahati Bayoga	M	Cimpunda	Dress making	1996	8	36	44	25	51	76
06	Cito	M	Kadutu	Car mechanics / Metal work	1997	40	1	41	85	2	87
07	Kahukula Emmanuel	M	Nyabibwe	Masonry	2004	17	1	18	41	4	45
08	Kasazi Tchiyaze	M	Ibanda	Leather work	2004	9	1	10	17	2	19
09	Noella Barhakomerwa	F	Kadutu	Dress making	2004	2	16	18	3	31	34
10	Fatuma	F	Kadutu	Dress making	2003	1	12	13	3	18	21
Sum of trained apprentices in each case						**206**	**117**	**323**	**423**	**280**	**703**
Total of trained apprentices, as the multiplier effect of 10 graduates **											1,026

* Year of apprenticeship completion
M=male, F=female
2nd "generation" = apprentices trained by the CAPA graduates at their respective workshops
3rd "generation" = apprentices in turn trained by the apprentices of CAPA's graduates
** Within 10 years the multiplier effect has turned 10 CAPA graduates into slightly more than 1,000 craftsmen.
Source: CAPA – Surveys and field visits

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Glossary

AFDL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire – alliance of rebels to topple Mobutu, 1996/97)
CADR	Corps des Activistes pour la Défense de la République (Corps of Activists for the Defence of the Republic – Mobutu's private secret police)
CAPA	Centre d'Apprentissage Professionnel et Artisanal (Centre for technical and vocational training – a vocational school of the Baptist Church in Bukavu)
CBCA	Communauté Baptiste au Centre de l'Afrique (the Baptist Church in Central Africa)
CHECHE	Action Sociale CHECHE, a vocational centre run by the Catholic Church in Bukavu
CNDP	Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple (National Congress for the Defence of the People – rebel movement led by Laurent Nkunda to topple Joseph Kabila)
CONADER	Commission Nationale de Désarmement et Réinsertion (the state commission for the reintegration of soldiers and fighters)
DÜ	Dienst in Übersee (former service of the Protestant Church to place overseas staff, now part of EED)
ECC	Eglise du Christ au Congo (Christ Church in Congo)
EED	Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst (Church Development Service)
EZE	Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe (former name of: EED)
FAKT	Beratung für Management, Bildung und Technologien GmbH (Consulting)
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Cooperation)
Interahamwe	Youth extremist Hutu militias involved in Rwanda's genocide
ITFM	Institut Technique Fundi Maendeleo (Technical Institute – Vocational training centre in Bukavu)
MOPAP	Ministère de la Mobilisation, Propagande et Animation politique (Ministry for the Mobilisation, Propaganda and political Animation from the Mobutu era)
MORELO	Mobilisation de Ressources Locales (Mobilising local resources – A post created by CAPA for income generating activities)
MPR	Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (Revolutionary People's Movement– single party under Mobutu)

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RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (Congolese Association for Democracy – largest rebel movement against Laurent Kabila 1998–2003).
SLB	Service Local des Bâtisseurs (Local service for construction – a group of artisans of different areas of expertise within the construction sector created by CAPA)
SNEL	Société Nationale d'Electricité (public electric company)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VEM	Vereinte Evangelische Missionen (United Evangelical Mission)

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