

Career Guidance, Career Policy and High-Level Manpower Efficiency in Tanzania

DELPHIN RWEGASIRA*

INTRODUCTION

Tanzania, like many other former colonial economies in Africa, achieved its independence in 1961 on an extremely inadequate high and middle-level manpower base. In a 1962 High-Level Manpower Survey,¹ it was found that out of the 9,331 high-level manpower jobs (requiring secondary education and above) existing in the country at the time (public and private sectors combined), only 4,368 or 47 per cent of the total were held by Africans. These were highly concentrated at the lower end of the professional scale: medical technicians, nurses, primary school-teachers, Government employees, skilled craftsmen, etc. The extent of this skew can be indicated by the fact that less than 10 per cent of the posts which normally require university education (2,100 at the time of the survey) were held by Africans.

This resource constraint stood as the most obvious for the purposes of planning and implementing socio-economic development. It has been rightly suggested in economic discussion that the binding constraint during the First Five Year Plan (FFYP)² and the early years of the Second Five Year Plan (SFYP)³ was manpower resources (capacity to prepare and implement development projects). The situation seems to have changed during the past three years with financial resources becoming the binding constraint. With this shift, there has been fast expansion of Government expenditure, so that the latter as a proportion of GDP has grown from 20 per cent at independence to about 42 per cent in 1970. The manpower development strategy which has made this change possible, was conceived firstly within the broad perspective of providing the requisite social and economic infrastructure as a base for greater economic activity, and secondly within the still broader framework of overall planning of economic development. This clear perception of the manpower problems as a subset of the infrastructure problems which are in turn a subset

*Delphin Rwegasira is Lecturer in the Department of Economics, University of Dar es Salaam. This paper was first presented to a seminar on "The Organization and Administration of National Career Policies and Structures" organized by CAFRAD and the Zambian Government in Lusaka, September 1973.

¹ "High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Tanganyika 1962-67," (Tobias Report), Dar es Salaam, 1963, quoted in A. Van de Laar, "Towards a Manpower Development Strategy in Tanzania," Economic Research Bureau (ERB) Paper 69.27, University of Dar es Salaam, 1969.

² *First Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-1969* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964).

³ *Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-74* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969).

of the general development problem, seems to explain, as we shall see, a large part of the success, at least with respect to the supply-demand relationships, which Tanzania has achieved towards its manpower self-sufficiency target for 1980. The FFYP stressed social and economic infrastructure as a starting point in the construction of a new national economy, and took the planning of social and economic development as the necessary instrument towards that end.⁴ Manpower planning was then conceived, as we have stated, as simply one aspect of this overall approach.

Starting from such a poor base, Tanzania decided to take a pragmatic and utilitarian approach to educational and manpower planning. The aim was to satisfy the economy's high-level manpower demand by 1980, in the meantime guarding against excess supply which is socially undesirable both with respect to employment considerations and the opportunity cost of the scarce resources available to satisfy the many other urgent demands. This manpower approach to educational planning or career guidance has been stressed since the First Plan, although it is not the only dimension of the manpower strategy. For besides satisfying the economy's demand, and delicately trying to match this demand with supply, career policy, and manpower policy generally, has to concern itself with the question of efficiency of the available human resources. In other words, one needs to make a conceptual shift from imagining labour or manpower as a *physical unit* (engineer, doctor, economist, etc.) to thinking about labour in *efficiency units*—a physical unit of labour becoming increasingly more efficient as a result of 'learning by doing', in-service training, etc.

Both the quantitative (supply and demand) and qualitative (increasing labour efficiency) aspects of manpower planning have been mentioned in various policy documents, although the former aspect has been stressed to the extent of overshadowing the latter. We would like in the following pages to examine in some detail the process of career guidance and the adopted career policies which Tanzania has taken in grappling with its manpower problems. First we shall examine the career guidance aspect of the economy's attempt to match manpower supply with demand. Secondly, we shall look at questions of efficiency and the career policies that have been pursued to make best use of the available human resources. The separation, however, should remain conceptual and temporary, for the two aspects outlined cannot be truly independent—the quantity of labour (in physical units) must be multiplied by the productivity or efficiency factor to give the *effective supply of labour* at any moment in time. We shall all along, as stated earlier, be concerned with high-level manpower. This aspect, we should note however, is only one of the manpower considerations which are important in a developing economy. There are three dimensions⁵ to the manpower question: (a) the problem of insufficient top and middle-level manpower as defined above; (b) the problem of transforming a nation of predominantly subsistence peasants into highly productive farmers capable of operating in a market economy; and (c) the

4 First Five Year Plan, op. cit., Vol. I, *General Analysis*.

5 See R. L. Thomas, "Tanzania's Effort to Develop Her Manpower Training Programme," in *Growth and Change*, University of Kentucky, January 1970.

problem of creating and expanding wage employment. In this analysis we shall therefore confine ourselves to the first dimension, (a), since the other two can only be meaningfully examined within the broader context of development strategy.

CAREER GUIDANCE AND MANPOWER NEEDS

Tanzania's manpower policies and goals can be summarized briefly here.⁶ First is the achievement of self-sufficiency at all skill levels in the economy by 1980. Self-sufficiency in the Plan context simply means that Tanzania will have trained by 1980 the required number of Tanzanians with the necessary educational base to fill every middle/high-level post in the country. The fulfilment of this goal will take until 1980 because of the 'experience lag', the lag between output of the requisite manpower, and the acquisition of the necessary experience before such trained manpower is fully capable of handling the corresponding responsibilities. The second goal is to give every young child in the country a basic (primary) education as soon as Government financial resources permit, hopefully by 1989. Third, Government aims to provide additional education (secondary, technical, university) only to the extent justified by the manpower requirements of the economy for development; and further, to support students by bursaries only in post-secondary courses which will produce the specific skills needed for development (almost all post-primary students are financed by the Government bursaries). Thus, policy is not interpreted to imply disapproval of post-primary education as a consumer good; it is simply based on a lack of resources and the existence of a large number of essential, urgent and competing demands for the very limited funds which are available.

The Government therefore explicitly sets 1980 as the self-sufficiency target date, and opts for a 'manpower approach' to educational planning. Given the existing situation now and at the times of the First and Second Plan formulations, one can visualize four principal lines of action:⁷ (i) better utilization of the high-level manpower already on the job; (ii) upgrading (by in-service training schemes) of currently employed, lower skilled workers; (iii) expanding education and training in schools—this is the principal source of high-level manpower additions; and (iv) retaining existing expatriate experts and recruitment of others for the necessary occupations. Tanzania has pursued all these lines of action since the FFYP although with differing degrees of success.

As indicated earlier, manpower planning in the country was conceived at a fairly early stage, as part and parcel of the general planning of socio-economic development. A Manpower Planning Unit was established within the principal planning Ministry, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning. The major responsibilities of the Manpower Planning Unit were (a) estimating high and middle-level manpower requirements within the frame-

6 The Second Five Year Plan, op. cit., Vol. IV, *Survey of the High and Middle-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources*, p. 1.

7 First Five Year Plan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 83-85.

work of a development plan, and (b) to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to meet these requirements as fully as possible under the existing pattern of constraints (lead-times in building new institutions, financial shortages, etc).⁸ The first task in the manpower planning exercise was to collect the initial demand and supply information, and plan ahead in the light of the economy's needs and availability of manpower.

The initial information was collected through various surveys: the Tobias Report of 1962, the Thomas Report I of 1964, and the Thomas Report II of 1968. These surveys have served as bases for manpower planning in the two Plans, and for the Second Plan particularly, for the appraisal of the efforts and attainment, and for the few modifications that had to be made. To facilitate the planning of education and training institutions, demand and supply information on all of the occupations in the various surveys were grouped into three broad categories as indicated below:⁹

Category A—jobs normally requiring a university degree;

Category B—jobs which normally require from one to three years formal post-secondary education or training;

Category C—jobs which normally require a secondary school education for standard performance of the full array of tasks involved in the occupation. This category includes the skilled office workers and the skilled manual workers in the modern crafts.

A Category D was included to complete the picture of the skilled manual workers. These require a fairly high degree of manual skill, but do not require the more extensive educational base called for by the modern crafts. They have not therefore been shown as a charge against secondary school outputs.

As is expected in a developing economy, such surveys could be expected to be fairly reliable, for the skilled labour categories outlined are usually scarce and conspicuous to the employer. The manpower requirements of the economy can be classified into two broad types. First, there is replacement demand which is mainly the demand arising from localization needs (replacement of expatriates by nationals) with a small component arising from replacing citizen wastage originating from retirement and death. This latter component remains rather small for the occupations in this category, in the region of two per cent cumulative for the last five years of the First Plan. This can be contrasted with the estimated figure of 20 per cent for the labour market or total population as a whole. The contrast can be generally explained by the fact that most local professionals are in the relatively lower age groups so that they are expected to work for about twenty years before retirement, and that their standards of living are not very different from their counterparts in healthier, more developed environments of the industrialized countries.

8 R. L. Thomas (The Ford Foundation Manpower Adviser for East and Central Africa), "The Work of a Manpower Planning Unit in Africa," Orientation Course in Manpower Planning sponsored by E.C.A., the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, and USAID, Dakar, Senegal, October 1969.

9 Second Five Year Plan, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 4.

The other category of manpower demand is what can be described as *expansion demand* or development demand arising from the growth requirements of the national economy. A distinction was made between demand by the Government sector on the one hand, and that by the enterprise sector (including both parastatal and private enterprise requirements) on the other. Demand estimates by the Government sector were individually involved in the planning process (more so for the Second Plan) and could identify their share (projects) of the Plan assignment and therefore the requisite manpower needed to accomplish the task. Again manpower planning is seen in this process as part and parcel of overall development planning.

Manpower requirements by both parastatals and private enterprises are, by the nature of this sector, much more difficult to assess and consequently less reliable. As rightly pointed out in the relevant section of the Second Plan, the enterprise sector tends to be much more sensitive to market forces and to some extent adjusts its input demands in response to changes in the input prices. As a result, manpower surveys in this sector were not based on demand information from enterprise managers, but different methodology was used. A further justification for the alternative methodology was simply that many enterprises were to come into existence in the future and information was therefore not available at that time. One should probably point out, however, that qualitative and quantitative information from managers, though insufficient could have contributed to the reliability of estimates. The manpower demand for this sector was estimated along a two-stage procedure.¹⁰ The first stage consisted of making an estimate of the increase in total employment (in the relevant period, e.g., during the Second Plan) in each of the broad sectors covered in the manpower surveys. These sectors were mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, utilities, commerce, transport/communications, and services. Employment prediction was based on obtaining a factor of current GDP per employed worker in each sector and applying this factor to the sectoral GDP target during the Plan period. The resulting demand figure was then deflated by an average productivity factor in each sector to give net or effective manpower demand. A summation of such sectoral requirements gave the final figure for the aggregate economy. An obvious statistical problem at this stage concerns the reliability of productivity data, but such data problems have to be lived with for almost any economic analysis in underdeveloped economies. Therefore, one can only take note of this drawback and indicate in this case that the creation of the National Institute for Productivity should lead to the availability of reliable information of this kind.

The second step towards estimating enterprise demand for manpower started by assuming a linearly homogeneous demand function. An occupational matrix (i.e., the occupational composition pattern) was then constructed based on the initial observations, and on that homogeneity assumption, employment demand was predicted for the planning period. The first step, therefore, gives the aggregate requirements, while the second step provides a breakdown or

10 Second Five Year Plan, Vol. IV, op. cit., p. 7.

composition of that demand. The major weakness with respect to using an occupational matrix is basically factual—whether the homogeneity assumption can be valid given the envisaged structural changes in the economy, the role of technical progress, skilled manpower and managerial saving economies. The Plan states, however (despite the absence of data) that this is primarily a problem in the manufacturing sector, and is not too serious in the case of construction, mining, commerce, transport or utilities. There is a case here for using cross section and/or time series evidence from other relevant countries that may throw some light on sectoral evolution during the development process.

Replacement and expansion requirements were the two main components of high-level manpower demand for running and developing the economy. As we indicated earlier, the principal source of high-level manpower addition was to be the formal educational pipeline. The immediate question then, is what were the basic manpower policies adopted for achieving the target? These are summarized in a concise paper by Robert Thomas¹¹ who, at the time of writing was Manpower Adviser for East and Central Africa, the Ford Foundation, centred in Dar es Salaam. We shall reproduce his exhaustive summary to be precise in this discussion. The policies were as follows:

1. In order to set a target date and thereby define the pace and magnitude of the total Government effort required, 1980 was set as the date to essentially achieve full self-sufficiency in all skill levels throughout the economy.
2. Because of the scarcity of funds and the urgency of top and middle-level manpower requirements, top priority was given by the Government for the use of Central Government educational funds to build and operate secondary schools and higher institutions.
3. At the same time, as a matter of Government policy, it was decided to limit investment outlays because secondary and higher education would be limited to the extent justified by the manpower requirements of the economy for economic development.
4. In order to channel students into the skill areas most needed, bursary funding was provided solely for faculties and courses which would yield these specific skills. Almost all Tanzanian students depend on bursary support.
5. To assure a working control of the skilled students emerging from universities, it was required that all bursary-supported graduates work for the Government, or as directed by the Government, for a prescribed number of years.
6. Control of foreign donor scholarships was brought into harmony with the manpower needs of Tanzania by requiring all such offers to be made directly to the Government. This put the Government in a position to accept only those that were in line with national priorities. Furthermore, the Government retained the right of final selection of individual

11 R. L. Thomas, "Tanzania's Effort to Develop her Manpower Training Programme," in *Growth and Change*, op. cit.

- recipients who were then similarly obliged for a number of years to the Tanzanian Government.
7. Because of the acute scarcity of university graduates, and because students often have a tendency to make a career of university life, Tanzania's explicit policy, with relatively few exceptions, was that all first degree graduates work for at least one year after graduation. Post-graduate work would be sponsored by the Government only when proposed by a Ministry or a parastatal organization. The Ministry was required to justify each grant in terms of its contribution to specific skill needs.
 8. To facilitate the establishment and growth of local institutions of higher learning and to fend off a 'brain drain', the Government required that any individual qualified for entry to the then University of East Africa, and needing financial aid from the Government, be it Tanzanian or foreign donor, must enter the University of East Africa unless specifically sent abroad for special skills not available at the University.
 9. Because the most severe and persistent skill-level shortages were in those occupations requiring either training in science or mathematics, the Government adopted a policy intended to expand instruction in these fields. In 1964, the issuance of the Certificate of Arts outnumbered Certificates of Science and Mathematics by 2 to 1. This ratio was reversed by 1968. Unfortunately, due to a high failure rate on university entrance examinations for science and mathematics, student mix remained unchanged.
 10. To increase the supply of skilled persons by the fastest means available, every effort was to be made to ensure that the highest skills of all individuals currently employed were utilized. Thus, an extensive manpower utilization programme was initiated within the Government, which employs over 50 per cent of all non-agricultural wage-earners. This programme was accompanied by the establishment of a Civil Service Training Centre that provides pre-employment training, refresher training, and training in a number of middle-level skills to already employed persons with a potential to move up the skill ladder. In recent years other institutions have been established. The Institute of Development Management is already working on concrete programmes: public administration, enterprise management, professional accountancy, local government, etc. The Institute of Finance Management has been established and specializes in the training of personnel to cope with the increased responsibilities of national financial institutions: banking, insurance, business, etc. A large secretarial college has also opened to cater for increasing demands in this area: stenography, general secretarial practice, etc.
 11. As a stopgap measure only, the Government adopted an open policy of aggressive recruitment for top-level manpower in all overseas labour markets.

These are the policies which Government has taken, on the one hand to guide career choice by young nationals in the education pipeline, and on the other, to ensure full utilization of the available manpower at any moment in

time. With respect to the necessary balance between supply and demand, one can say that subject to a few problems we shall mention, manpower policies have been successful. The utilization of a manpower approach to educational planning is easily justified on the basis of resource constraints in a poor country. This is probably non-controversial, and in the opinion of the writer, provides sufficient reason for the approach. As far as efficiency in allocation and utilization of the available manpower is concerned, we feel there are a number of questions to be raised, and we shall take up these issues later.

Demand for scientists (of many categories) and technicians seems to have outstripped supply by numbers above those envisaged by the Plans. Yet it is precisely in these areas that the country's manpower dependency is still most conspicuous. At the school level, science and maths passes have not been sufficiently high to qualify adequate numbers for university entrance. If the recent trend does not change, the cumulative shortfall in these occupations by 1980 will be between 800 and 1,000, and this will be approximately twenty per cent short of the total requirements.¹² The situation seems to have improved lately, but it should be clear that some serious attention on a systematic basis, will have to be given to this very important area. At the job level or at the level of training for specific specialization, there is a disincentive arising from salary bias in favour of administrative jobs. Again there is a need for changing this unjustifiable situation not only for attracting the required numbers of scientists and technicians, but also for tapping their incentives to work. The shortage of scientists and technicians seems to be a general problem for developing countries. For this reason expatriate recruitment in these occupations has not been particularly successful because of international demand and competition. Thus, although the situation has improved somewhat in the past, a rough estimate in 1970 indicated that at no time had the requirement been more than 50 per cent satisfied.

For the arts-based professions the situation seems to have been fairly satisfactory. Both arts and science secondary schoolteachers will be produced in accordance with the planned targets. This is probably not surprising given the fact that output of secondary schoolteachers was given primary emphasis right from the start. One complication which became apparent towards the end of the First Plan, and much more so during the Second Plan, was the fact that training of arts graduates along broad-based yet traditional lines, was an unsatisfactory feature given the economy's demands for such professions. The initial approach to training arts and social science graduates was based on the principle that such training should be broad-based in the sense that an individual's curriculum should include an in-depth study of two traditional disciplines rather than concentrating on one. This thinking served the manpower aim to some extent but was increasingly seen to be of limited usefulness. It has not sufficiently come to grips with the underlying principle of educational planning—the manpower approach to education. It should probably be pointed

out that this point is an interesting illustration of learning by doing; for neither the planners nor the university authorities saw the limitations of the above approach with any precision initially.

The manpower approach to higher education implied the structuring of the arts and social science curriculum in such a way that the resulting student output would be sufficiently equipped to serve the specific or specialized needs of the economy rather than merely satisfying general demands. This was the thinking which guided the 'faculty reforms' of the largest faculty—Arts and Social Sciences, at the University of Dar es Salaam. The issue was then simply to train graduates in humanities and social sciences with specific manpower needs in mind: language, theatre and art specialists; managers (of various sorts) and accountants for the rapidly expanding Government and parastatal sectors; economists (planners, industrial economists, agricultural and rural specialists, etc.) with macro or sectoral biases; development and social administration specialists, and so on. Training of this sort essentially requires an inter-disciplinary approach to studying social sciences, and entails the grasping of a package of the relevant subjects drawn from these various disciplines. It is this vision of manpower training in the social sciences that is currently guiding the Faculty, and its importance in terms of career guidance to balance supply with demand, and to provide most effective training for future occupations cannot be underestimated. One of the minor aims for balancing high-level manpower supply with demand, as stated in the Plan documents, is the avoidance of frustration and social unrest which could result from highly educated but unemployed persons. It should be observed that such problems tend to start with arts graduates who have either been misguided by the generality of the discipline and/or pursued such education for its aesthetic value; the resulting unemployment has been observed both within developed and developing countries.

Another interesting observation with respect to high-level manpower demand, particularly for the social science-arts based occupations, is the rapid expansion of the public sector and the movement of the socio-economic system towards socialist development. This clearly implies the production of an increasingly large proportion of goods and services in GDP by Government, and correspondingly high skilled labour inputs. This expansion is partially reflected by the proportion of Government spending to GDP which we noted had risen from 20 per cent at independence to about 42 per cent in 1970. This figure does not adequately bring out the role of the parastatal organizations as part of the public sector. And to the effect of fast public sector expansion on manpower demand, has been added that of the recent decentralization move, the decentralization of planning and decision-making from the centre Ministries in Dar es Salaam to the people in the Regions. The basic idea behind this move was simply to democratize planning and decision-making within the resource constraints, so as to effectively involve people in the conceptualization and implementation of socio-economic development, and therefore to "strike poverty at the roots". The decentralization move was taken not simply as a pragmatic step to increase planning efficiency, but also as part

¹² Second Five Year Plan, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, and Thomas, "Tanzania's Effort to Develop her Manpower Training Programme," *op. cit.*

and parcel of socialist planning which by definition cannot be hierarchical or paternalistic starting from the top downwards.

Our concern at the moment is with manpower implications, and the relevance of the preceding paragraph in this context is simply that manpower absorption particularly of social scientists seems to be rather rapid. One cannot avoid the impression that this will still be the case for a number of years to come. As explained earlier, this is mainly due to the faster-than-planned expansion rate of the public sector which, together with the fact that high-level manpower supply is strictly planned, eliminates the possibility of excess supply in the foreseeable future. Indeed, the relatively dynamic public sector, together with the recent decentralization moves impose quite a high charge on available supply, so that manpower bottlenecks in the medium term cannot be ruled out. Not only that; the high quality or efficiency of such skilled labour may be adversely affected by the required mobility to execute the implied development and administrative functions. To this point we shall return. It would have been interesting to compare the Tanzanian manpower demand (absorption) situation with those obtaining in similar labour markets of other African countries where some excess supply pressure is already emerging. The poor high-level manpower base on which Tanzania started may immediately come to mind as a plausible explanation for the difference in the absorption capacity of the labour markets. But there are other features we have mentioned which are in a way unique to Tanzania, and which may turn out to be relevant when considering manpower problems in African economies. The planned character of manpower supply within the overall framework of planning social and economic development seems to be one explanatory factor in maintaining the desired balance between demand and supply. The role of the public sector (which is obviously an issue transcending the restricted questions of manpower supply and demand) cannot, in this respect, be underestimated either. The expanded public sector which usually goes hand in hand with the social and economic transformation of the economy, more conspicuously at the infrastructural level, will tend to absorb some of the high-level manpower, although to a limited extent. If public sector activities are extended to direct production, then employment creation effects become stronger. The rapid expansion of the public sector in Tanzania seems to explain part of this supply-demand balance. Heavy reliance on the private sector for high-level manpower absorption on the other hand, may turn out to be disappointing because of the likely short-run profit maximization objectives of that sector, and because of different career policies which may diverge from those of Government, particularly where there are strong external interests.

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY AND MANPOWER NEEDS FOR DEVELOPMENT

The question of career guidance which we have been concerned with up to now has been primarily centred on the issue of shaping a training system (both schools and other institutions) that is capable of producing high-level manpower at a pace that will lead to satisfying the economy's demand by 1980.

To be sure, such an approach is based on social criteria rather than strictly on individual preference but obviously the two do not necessarily conflict. Any possible conflict that may exist between social choice and individual preference, can be easily understood given the resource constraints of a poor economy, although such conflicts must be minimized in the interest of efficiency and high productivity. The experience of Tanzania would seem to show that such career conflicts are not as serious as one might imagine, and that career choice tends to be highly influenced, after a time, by the very manpower needs of the economy.

An interesting question to ask after one has analysed the process of manpower training in quantitative terms, is whether such manpower is efficiently allocated to priority needs, and if so, whether it is fully utilized for maximum contribution. A related issue is the role and success of the in-service training programmes, and the relationship between such programmes and the individual's need for skills appropriate for efficient execution of the relevant assignments. A further point is whether conflicts exist between efficiency and productivity on the one hand, and short-run manpower needs of the economy on the other. Does the present incentive system and salary structure in particular, produce adequate professional commitment for maximum contribution by such high-level manpower?

Let us explore these issues step by step starting with the question of high-level manpower allocation. The process of allocating manpower to serve priority needs in the economy is part and parcel of career policy and career guidance. This allocation function is carried out in Tanzania by a High-Level Manpower Allocation Committee with its secretariat in the Central Establishment Division of the President's Office. The principal function of this committee is to share out the additional high-level manpower which becomes available year after year from schools and other training institutions. The demands on any annual increase have always been greater than supply so that compromises have had to be made between competing demands from Government Ministries and other institutions. The committee proceeds by examining the quantity and composition (specialization) of annual supply and on this basis attempts to satisfy the competing demands from the public sector on the basis of current policy priority. In the past three years, for example, the greatest share has gone to Regional administration within the framework of decentralization as outlined earlier. The work of this High-Level Manpower Allocation Committee seems to be on the whole strongly based on a quantitative approach to manpower allocation.

The preponderantly quantitative approach raises a number of questions related to economic efficiency. First of all, are demands from the public sector adequately specified as to numbers required and to specific job descriptions? The answer seems to be—not really. The usual approach from public sector institutions seems to be the presentation of various requests, e.g., three economists for a particular planning or research department; five graduates with business training for sales and/or personnel departments of a State enterprise; or four lawyers for a legal division. These requests are either

satisfied or denied on the basis of such criteria as economic importance of the institution or policy priority on the activities of particular institutions. But these criteria do not necessarily imply that there exist genuine needs for additional manpower in these institutions. Such needs can only be objectively assessed if an adequate description of the job the institution intends to undertake is clearly outlined and, on this basis, quantity and quality of high-level manpower are determined. Mere numbers requested without justifying their optimal utilization, can only lead to resource misallocation. The result has in a number of cases revealed itself in widespread complaints by Tanzanian graduates in various fields of being under-utilized, spending too much of their time on routine clerical or statistical work, and in meetings.¹³

A related problem to this quantitative approach to manpower allocation is the failure to scrutinize the performance and recommendations of individual graduates from the various institutions. Such outputs are treated as homogeneous entities, and the problem is interpreted simply as one of satisfying the competing demands. There is an obvious efficiency gap that could be filled here by closely associating job descriptions and requests with differing commitments and capacities to perform duty—both these individual attributes can only be gauged from carefully examining a person's performance and recommendations obtained during years of training. This aspect has been neglected to such an extent that one wonders whether Government as an employer is sufficiently concerned about the returns it gets from its employees! This very aspect we should add, ties up closely with the general question of incentives which could have a very important influence on economic efficiency. If the importance of this point on performance and recommendations is conceded, the unavoidable policy conclusion would seem to be that the High-Level Manpower Allocation Committee should do more 'homework' on this aspect and incorporate it into decision-making considerations. Of relevance here is the composition of this committee. If it is adequately to take into account some of the issues we have raised in this discussion, its composition ought to be more comprehensive and to include representatives of university teachers/officials, manpower planners, the main employers (representing their respective institutions), job analysts and the concerned administration (Central Establishment) itself. This would ensure the more critical approach we have been advocating.

Allocation, as we mentioned, was only one aspect of the efficiency question; the other was manpower utilization. Efficient utilization of available skilled manpower was stated in the Plans as one of the principal lines of action towards solving manpower problems in the economy. This was to be achieved through increased training in various institutions and, where possible, through training under guidance and supervision on-the-job. New institutions have been opened as we indicated earlier, to cater for specific skill requirements, and this endeavour seems to have been a fairly successful one. Dissatisfaction with the way certain skills have been employed after training has been voiced in certain

13 J. Loxley, "Technical Assistance, High-Level Manpower Training and Ideology in Tanzania," paper to the Conference on Comparative Administration in East Africa, Arusha, Tanzania, September 1971.

circles, and if this complaint is legitimate there is a need to close that loophole. This would require that proper assessment of training be made before vacancies are sought in such institutions so that training opportunity is given in strict accordance to manpower needs.

On-the-job training seems to carry a less satisfactory record. For although policy has been explicit with respect to providing the required numbers, it has not been so explicit as to the methods necessary for equipping workers in the high-level manpower category with the required experience that takes a number of years to acquire in developed economies. This is quite an important aspect for the attainment of self-sufficiency targets; for if manpower self-sufficiency is to be achieved in the precise future, one has to avoid too long a period of what we have termed 'experience lag'. There cannot be many short-cuts towards solving this problem; experience has simply to be acquired otherwise over-ambition or complacency can only lead to declines in efficiency. What this implies is that deliberate efforts must be exerted to create those skills and experiences that cannot be provided from any formal training. As we hinted, this is done in developed countries by delaying the sufficiently available, skilled manpower in the work process before it is entrusted with any sizeable responsibility. But following this procedure in Tanzania would simply be defeating the manpower self-sufficiency goal.

While this point has been recognized in discussion, the writer is not aware of any concrete policy steps that have been designed to come to grips with the problem. Manpower allocation, movements and transfers, do not indicate adequate implementation. Neither does the pattern of manpower under-utilization mentioned earlier reveal recognition of the essential relationship that exists between the intensity and challenge of a particular job and the resulting learning process that is the foundation of increased efficiency and productivity growth. High-level manpower, has to be given 'job responsibility' for the purpose of fully developing job proficiency. This means that such training ought to use concrete professional problems so that a trainee can after some time and guidance trace his way from the definition to the solution of the problem. In this way the profession becomes intellectually challenging and experience-creating basically because of the totality of the approach. Such a background would help shorten the 'experience lag' by emphasizing the need for acquisition of problem-solving capacities which is precisely what is required of high-level manpower. In the economic sector, for example, manpower under-utilization and the consequent delay in the acquisition of the requisite experience originate from failure to expose economic problems (as complete individual problems) to trainee economists, and instead, require them either to collect the relevant data or write paragraphs or chapters in economic reports. This not only under-utilizes the intellectual capacity of such individuals, but also condemns them to becoming second-rate professionals.

This point is reminiscent of the replacement demand problem mentioned earlier, and more specifically of the expatriate problem. Most of the jobs likely to require the kind of training we are advocating, were and are still held by expatriate personnel, and this is more so for the maths/science based

professions. The use of expatriates to train local counterparts on-the-job has been unsatisfactory.¹⁴ Expatriates often serve only short contracts and local replacements are not easily made when they leave. In a number of cases, local replacements are made not so much because they have been adequately trained, but because of various pressures arising from public opinion. In such cases efficiency implications should be obvious. There tends to be a gap between the work performed by the expatriate and that by his local subordinates. The result is that most of the important problems are being tackled and important recommendations made by the expatriate so that he commands a monopoly of access to information and experience that the local subordinate may not have. This is a problem to be given serious attention in the expatriate-dominated professions if replacement is to be successfully made by 1980. The policy implication of this strategy would be that expatriates should increasingly assume advisory duties not so much to policy-makers but to the young local professionals; they should help the latter to formulate problems significantly, analyse them and seek scientific solutions. Also Government and public institutions will have to be committed to this approach and instruct their expatriate employees to perform these functions.

The present employment policies regarding public sector employees are not satisfactory either. There are considerable costs involved in the present system that seem to result from three related aspects: excessive mobility; inadequacy in the provision of specialized training particularly on-the-job; and an impaired commitment to a post.¹⁵ The rapid expansion of the public sector has implied increased demand for high-level manpower especially in the areas of social and development administration, to an extent slightly beyond that envisaged. At the same time, the decentralization of planning and administration has required not only sufficiently trained personnel but also experienced planners and administrators for the top positions in the Regions to make this exercise meaningful. The fast public sector expansion together with the decentralization measures have inevitably led to increased mobility of such labour from one line of employment concentration to another. This is perfectly understandable but it must be recognized that the move cannot be without cost in terms of efficiency. Besides, the policy move has come at a time when the efficiency cost of excessive mobility of professional labour does not seem to be sufficiently recognized. For this reason it is worth while pointing out the efficiency implications, and calling for a more thorough examination of how such labour movements can be effected with minimum cost to the economy. The importance of high-level manpower efficiency in a Tanzania-type economy cannot be overemphasized, and this is an area that would seem to require serious attention.

14 J. Loxley, *op. cit.* Loxley makes very incisive remarks on the relationships between high-level manpower and the role of expatriates, with special reference to the economics profession.

15 M. A. Bienefeld, "Manpower Planning and the University—the Position in Education, Arts and Social Science," ERB Paper 70.2 (University of Dar es Salaam, 1970).

Lastly, there is the question of incentives and job commitment. Admittedly this is a point we can only touch upon as connected with the whole issue of manpower planning. Policies which increase professional specialization and skills usually lead to job commitment if adequately accompanied by an appropriate incentive structure. Issues related to incentives have received inadequate attention in the Tanzanian economy, and there is some agreement in certain circles of public discussion, that this neglect may be occurring at the expense of efficiency and job commitment. This is not to overlook the idea that there is a real dilemma when considering questions of income distribution in a poor economy given the small size of the 'national pie'. One would concede this important point, but then raise other and probably more relevant discrepancies within the present incentive structure. Noteworthy, for example, is the bias in salary payments against professional occupations when compared with similar remunerations for administrative posts. Other unjustifiable salary differences exist, particularly after decentralization, with people doing similar or more demanding jobs while being paid less than administrators or planners in the Regions. More examples can be cited but the point should be clear that efficiency and job commitment trends in the country are not satisfactory, and from the incentive point of view something ought to be done.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We have been concerned in this paper with some important issues relating to high-level manpower development. The first issue concerned the process of career guidance and career policies as they have been institutionalized to provide the required supply of manpower for running and developing the national economy. It has been noted in this regard that this was done within the overall framework of planning social and economic development, thus ensuring the necessary balance between supply and demand which is desirable both from the resources constraint point of view, and from the point of view of balancing skill availability with employment opportunities. The fast expansion of the public sector and the recent decentralization moves were additional forces eliminating possibilities of excess supply pressures for a good number of years to come. Indeed, chances seem to be such that demand will remain unsatisfied in the medium term. We concluded that with a few exceptions, notably in the science-maths based professions, the quantitative aspect of manpower planning in Tanzania seems to be well on the way to success.

The other aspect we concerned ourselves with was mainly qualitative—the question of manpower efficiency. The establishment of specialized institutions to increase professional training was described as a very commendable step which seems to be promising notable success. With respect to allocation and utilization of manpower, a number of reservations were raised which should be taken up to ensure maximum social returns from such highly skilled labour. A further point was that skill creation and efficient allocation are not enough; an incentive structure must be objectively designed to produce a high degree of job commitment which is obviously a necessary dimension of efficiency.

A meaningful approach to manpower policy and planning in a developing economy must take into account the two crucial dimensions of the problem: quantity or number, and efficiency.

Review Article

The Use of African History
How Europe Underdeveloped Africa by Walter Rodney

GERALD L. CAPLAN*

Walter Rodney's recent paperback on African history¹ is too important to be allowed merely to stagnate in the review sections of tiny academic journals. Rodney's credentials as a serious historian² and as a political activist³ alone entitle him to serious attention; so does the intrinsic worth of this book. He is a Guyanese Marxist with a doctorate in African history, extensive university teaching in Tanzania, and an expulsion order from Jamaica. In the unique atmosphere of socialist Tanzania, what is unthinkable almost everywhere else in Africa is not only thought, it is occasionally practised. It is exciting to know that Rodney has been stimulated by that atmosphere. But he went to Tanzania as a radicalized West Indian, and, out of what he would no doubt call the dialectic interplay of those two influences, emerged the heightened consciousness which this provocative book demonstrates.

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa is a political action. Not for Rodney the spurious neutrality of the social scientist. He knows why modern Africa is in its present shabby state, and his title says it all. Nor does he engage in the bleeding-heart controversies which dissipate the energies of so many historians. The function of history is clear and simple: it is to enable us to understand the present in order that we may act knowledgeably upon the future. Finally, he eschews pretensions to be a mere purveyor of data. His considerable learning has led him to the bold conclusion that "African development is possible only on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of the underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries". (p. 7) The book is designed to justify this assertion—Rodney would disdain the word 'hypothesis'—and that attempt merits summarizing.

Rodney sees the unfolding of human history in basic and conventional Marxist terms. Europe's bourgeois class, through its technological supremacy, has been able to dominate and exploit Africa (and the rest of the third world), denuding it of its surplus wealth and thus precluding it from accumulating capital for its own development. This unequal relationship accounts for Africa's present level of underdevelopment, rather than more traditional explanations involving race or geography. Rodney neatly sums up this neo-colonial situation:

*Gerald Caplan is an Associate Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.

¹ *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, and Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), 316 pp., \$3.75.

² *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

³ *Groundings with my Brothers* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 1969).