Schooling and The Labour Market: Some Tanzania Trends.

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The Argument

The main purpose of this article is to emphasise, as has been argued by other writers, that education and indeed the curriculum play a very subordinate role in employment creation for school leavers. Unemployment amongst school leavers should not therefore be viewed as a problem resulting from the wrong curriculum. There is much historical evidence to show that from classical colonialism up to the Musoma Resolution[1] in 1974 the curriculum has been given an agricultural, commercial and technical bias. Nevertheless, this diversification of curriculum has not been able to solve the twin problems of under-employment and unemployment. The roots of this have to be sought both in the political economy and, in particular, in the employment trends. the latter never having been concentrated in agricultural or technical fields. Manifested in these trends are patterns of investment which divert national resources away from productive sectors into formal schooling and over-extended, unproductive establishments.

The Problem

Politically, Tanzanian primary schools are supposed to be complete and sufficient for the needs of young people, a view which has now attained orthodoxy among both politicians and school administrators. However, in real terms primary schooling is increasingly incapable of meeting this objective, not because of a faulty curriculum, but because of what goes on outside the school. Neither society at large, nor indeed the economy itself, are capable of meeting the demand that primary schooling be complete in itself.

Although, the mechanics of educational planning and the sectoral employment patterns appear to favour the generation, realisation and application of middle and high level manpower, evidence as given for example by the ILO (1980), shows that there is little planning of the use of manpower at the lower levels of education and skills.[2] The utilization of the entire output of primary schools, post-primary craft centres and trade schools, for example, does not seem to be regarded as the proper objective of manpower planning. This would tend to suggest therefore that, even with a diversified curriculum, without creating an absorptive capacity in the economy, the created pool of skilled labour remains unemployed and the impact of the changed curriculum is minimal.

Ideally, in planned economies, the resource utilisation criterion requires central control and planning in the creation of conditions and institutions in order to allow unskilled labour to be used in production. This may take different forms, but in the end employment creation, whether wage or self employment in both rural and urban economies, has to be one of the major objectives of manpower planning bodies if school leaver destablising effects are to be avoided.

For Tanzania, actual employment creation is one of the major implicit objectives of the Arusha Declaration which was proclaimed in 1967. This focussed attention on three factors·vital to the issue of how future development was to be planned. These were (1) removal of rural/urban income inequalities, (2) self-reliance, and (3) development of agriculture, which at a broad level implied rural-based development.[3]

The Arusha Declaration therefore suggested that agriculture was to be the backbone of the economy by providing the basis for future·develoment, as it presented significant opportunities for generating increases in national income and in creating employment. But even with this emphasis, the employment creation trends that have taken place in Tanzania do not appear to be concentrated in agriculture or manufacturing. This, as I have argued, would tend to suggest that the diversification of the curriculum and its rural bias is not reflected in the economy. The utilisation and employment of school leavers does not mean an end of the schooling cycle problem; it is rather a product of school and society production breakdown.

Some tentative trends and hypotheses
Trend and hypothesis 1

Tanzania's employment opportunities have been concentrated in the service sector of the economy. This pattern of concentration of employment in the service sector does not correlate with the heavy emphasis laid on agricultural and technical schooling. Rather, it is a consequence of the structural pattern of industrialisation which with its relatively low levels of employment creation, together with the displacement of labour from the land, has the effect of prematurely concentrating employment in the service sector of the economy.

Most of the data supporting this hypothesis has been found from the Statistical Abstracts of 1960, 1966, and 1973 and various economic surveys conducted by the Central Statistical Bureau in Dar es Salaam.[4] In analysing the data, I have used simple absolute value and cross tabulation analysis, applying correlation tests where necessary. It should be noted that statistics prior to 1960 are not strictly comparable with those of recent years owing to the use of a different method of enumeration.

Sectoral Distribution of Tanzania's Labour Force

For the period immediately after independence (1961) and before the Arusha Declaration (1967), I look at the sectoral distribution of employees by private enterprise and public services. Figures for the period 1964—1965 show that employment opportunities were concentrated in private enterprise with contributions of 0.70 and 0.72 of total wage employment for the years 1964 and 1965 respectively, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Employees by Sector 1964 — 1965

Sector	1964	1965
Private enterprise	246,456	245,810
	(0.70)	(0.72)
Public Services	103,801	94,686
TOTAL	(0.30)	(0.28)
	351,257	340,490

Source: Central Statistical Bureau, Tanzania

Contributions by the public services sector were 0.30 and 0.28 for the years 1964 — 1965 respectively. This would tend to suggest that the private enterprise sector was a major employer by then. However, a better absolute value analysis is portrayed in Table 2 which gives the distribution of employees by sector and main industrial divisions as of 1965.

From Table 2, it can be seen that the main industrial divisions maintained the same rank in accordance with their proportional contribution to total employment in both the private enterprise and public services sectors. Mining, manufacturing and construction taken together contributed 0.17 and 0.2 of total employment in the private sector for the two years respectively. This was a little lower than the combined contribution of commerce, services, public utilities and transport which was 0.22 for 1964 and 0.24 for 1965. In the public service sector the picture also favours the unproductive sectors of commerce, services, public utilities and transport which contributed 0.7 of total employment in both years, as compared to 0.22 and 0.12 which were the contributions of manufacturing, mining and construction in the two years.

Table 2

Employees by Sector and Main Industrial Divisions as at 30th January 1965 (as Proportions of Total Sector Employment)

Main Division	Private Enterprise				Public Service			
	1964		1965		1964		1965	
Agriculture, Forestry	0.62		0.56		0.10		0.11	
Mining and Quarrying	0.03		0.03		0.001		0.001	
Manufacturing	0.09	(0.17)	0.11	(0.20)	0.01	(0.22)	0.01	(0.12)
Construction	0.05		0.06		0.21		0.11	
Electricity and Water	0.007		0.01		0.02		0.02	
Commerce	0.07		0.08		N.A.		N.A.	
		(0.22)		(0.24)		(0.7)		(0.7)
Transport, Communication	0.04		0.05		0.16		0.15	
Services	0.10		0.10		0.49		0.51	

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1966, p. 156, conversions by the author.

The employment levels in agriculture showed a downward trend, while those in services expanded. Within the public sector there was a decline in employment in construction.

More recent trends in wage employment are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 indicates the following: First, the contribution of private enterprise agriculture to wage employment has fallen sharply for the period 1977—1979 compared to the period 1964—1965. Secondly, the contribution of wage employment in manufacturing, mining, quarrying and construction continued to be lower than that in the public utilities, commerce, finance and general services.

To obtain a broad picture of wage employment trends, I computed growth rates in percentages for the period 1964—1978 and the industrial employment annualised compound growth rates as shown in Tables 4 and 5.

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Table 3

Proportional contributions to Wage Employment by Major Industrial Divisions (1977—1979)

		1977	1978	1979
1.	Agriculture	0.23	0.28	0.27
2.	Manufacturing	0.16	0.16	0.16
	Mining and Quarrying	0.01	0.01	0.01
	Construction	0.13	0.09	0.09
		0.30	0.26	0.26
3.	Public utilities	0.03	0.03	0.03
	Commerce	0.07	0.08	0.08
	Finance	0.02	0.02	0.02
	Services	0.22	0.23	0.22
		0.34	0.36	0.35

Source: Tanzania Economic Surveys (calculations by the author).

Table 4

Industrial Employment Growth Rates

	SEV.	AGR.	TRA.	COMM.	MAN.	MIG.	CONST.
1964	-1.49	-1.15	5.20	5.10	18.97	5.76	2.23
1965	-0.07	-29.28	-1.30	-2.91	-12.93	-13.37	-34.18
1966	18.02	9.09	8.94	24.13	30.02	-8.55	68.42
1970	4.43	-5.38	58.93	21.13	9.35	-3.31	1.49
1971	2.32	1.99	6.29	21.75	22.05	1.68	-5.89
1972	4.20	-4.61	0.56	19.06	4.88	-1.88	3.19
1973	5.55	-3.91	1.99	1.36	15.25	-10.29	98.63
1974	19.94	13.31	18.10	20.45	3.78	1.51	-30.44
1975	+16.94	-1.29	0.52	-5.93	9.82	-5.67	-20.41
1976	2.67	-1.35	6.46	29.29	0.07	3.53	-24.22
1977	10.28	-1.75	8.46	31.64	5.71	3.78	11.18
1978	-1.80	19.26	6.49	-8.99	2.23	4.44	-6.15

Source: Computed from Economic Surveys 1964 — 1978

Tables 4 and 5 show that wage employment expanded in the service, transport, commerce and trade sectors and to a lesser extent in the manufacturing sector. The figures for agriculture, mining and construction show negative trends for the periods 1958 — 1966, 1973—1979.

Table 5

Industrial Employment Annualised Compound Growth Rates

Period	SEV	AGR	TRA	COMM	MAN	MIG	CONST
1958 -1960	-8.88	-4.02	-24.27	-31.28	-12.47	-7.76	-6.67
1962 -1966	2.27	-11.30	3.24	5.45	6.32	-8.38	3.58
1969 -1978	12.97	+2.55	10.88	11.42	7.94	-0.80	-1.70

Source: Computed from Table 4

Since independence, the expansion of wage employment in the service, commerce, transport and manufacturing sectors has been positive. Empolyment in agriculture was negative between 1962 — 1966, and that in mining was declining for the whole periods 1958 — 1966, 1969 —. 1978.

Trend and hypothesis 2

There is a significant relationship between the level of wage employment and particular political periods or decisions which does not favour the agricultural and technical curriculum.

The above hypothesis argues further that the trend of employment opportunities after the Arusha Declaration was associated with the nationalisation of economic activities the end result of which was the rapid growth of a central state bureaucracy. Later, this trend was supported by employment growth at regional levels in the form of decentralisation, which had the effect of expanding government administration and therefore lead to an increase of jobs in such services as education, health, water supply, administration and party functions.

I have identified two periods, namely the period after independence (1961) and the period after the Arusha Declaration (1967). Within the post 1967 period we also have the decentralisation of government machinery and policy making in 1972.

Using time series data, I have fitted simple regressions taking the level of employment in each industrial division as a dependent variable and two dummy variables, independence (1961) and the Arusha Declaration (1967). More formally my simple model was, where a, b are constant coefficients and U_i is unobservable random term.

$$X_i = a + bZ_{li} + U_i$$

X_i = level of employment, i = 1, 2 ... 18 in division
X_{li}^i = (1 if i is after independence 1961; 0 otherwise)

or

(1 if i is after 1967, 0 otherwise)

The results are given in tables 6 and 7.

Table 6

Independence Dummy Regression Results

Division	Equation	T-Values	R^2	F
1. Services	$111216 - 15001Z_{li}$	12.46 -1.53	0.128	2.4
2. Agriculture	$211748 - 81414Z_{li}$	14.19 -4.98	0.584	24.0
3. Transport	$8536 + 27694Z_{li}$	1.91 4.91	0.493	17.5
4. Commerce	$17529 + 12129Z_{li}$	1.53 2.28	0.245	5.2
5. Mining	$11206 - 5044Z_{li}$	16.33 -6.71	0.738	45.0
6. Constr.	$10226 + 35660Z_{li}$	0.75 2.38	0.261	5.6

$$df = 16 \qquad p = 0.05$$

From the values of t's in table 6 it was found that the dichotomy before independence and after independence was statistically significant at 5 per cent level for the industrial divisions of agriculture, transport, commerce, manufacturing, mining and construction. This suggests that the two periods affected the level of employment differently in the significant divisions. In particular, the effect of the post independence period was to increase the level of employment in transport, commerce, manufacturing and construction, although during the period employment creation in agriculture and mining decreased.

The values of R^2 for commerce and construction are very low. This may indicate that though the level of wage employment in these divisions varied with the dichotomy it did not vary with it continously (i.e. step function).

The results of the Arusha Declaration dummy indicate that the divisions with significant t-values are services, agriculture, transport, commerce, manufacturing, mining and construction. The effects of post-Arusha Declaration and pre-Arusha Declaration can be inferred from the equations and the signs of coefficients of Z_{li}. The period 1958—1966 had the effect of maintaining almost the same level of employment in all divisions. For the period 1967—1978 the effect was to raise the level of employment in the divisions, services, transport, commerce, manufacturing and construction. The post-Arusha period also had the effect of lowering employment in agriculture and mining divisions.

Table 7

Arusha Declaration Regression Results

Division	Equation	T-Values	R^2	F
1. Services	$91042 + 13811Z_{li}$	17.32 1.96	0.193	3.8
2. Agriculture	$176252 - 58229Z_{li}$	18.07 -4.45	0.553	19.8
3. Transport	$19115 + 22501Z_{li}$	5.75 5;04	0.590	25.4
4. Commerce	$17633 + 18007Z_{li}$	5.27 4.01	0.470	16.1
5. Manufacturing	$23368 + 52840Z_{li}$	5.09 8.58	0.821	73.6
6. Mining	$9926 - 3286Z_{li}$	16.15 -4.48	0.557	20.1
7. Construc.	$16373 + 42428Z_{li}$	2.86 5.53	0.635	30.6

Trend and Hypothesis 3

The employment function is not positively connected with the marketed surplus of wage-goods.

This hypothesis is based on the fact that the higher the marginal product of labour in agriculture, the greater the force of the neo-classical argument that it is the growth of the agricultural surplus that determines the growth of non-farm employment. The argument is that the marginal productivity of labour in agriculture is not rising and yet there is growth of non-farm employment.

In my analysis I shall use only the supply of wage-goods as the more important constraint. There are two reasons for this. First, it is statistically difficult to accomodate two alternative restraints in a regression analysis. Secondly, the capital-labour ratio can be changed by variation in techniques but not the wage goods requirement at subsistence level.

I have also adopted the method used by Agarwala in India.[5] For his case, the agricultural sector is used as a near approximation to the wage-goods sector. For Tanzania, the output of the agricultural sector is also made up of commercial crops which are not relevant to the supply of wage-goods. So I take the food grains output as equivalent to wage-goods output. Thus, in orthodox analysis, the marketed surplus of food grains (rice and maize) has a determining influence on employment.

Therefore, non-agricultural employment becomes a function of the total output of food grains:

$$L_i = + BF_a \dots\dots\dots(11)$$

Apart from domestic production, I have also to consider the import and export of food grains and also introduce a stockastic variable to take into account the effect of omitted variables. Thus equation (11) becomes:

$$L_i = {}_{1i} + {}_{2i} F_a + {}_{3i} \quad (M - X)_a + U_i \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots(12)$$

In the analysis, I have used real quantities of rice and maize marketed in metric tons over the period 1962 — 1978. The results obtained by regression analysis, taking employment level as a dependent variable and F_a - marketed surplus of rice and maize and $(M - X)_a$ import-export equilibrium of rice and maize, were as follows:

$$\dot{L} = 385.637 + 0.5599 \times 10^{-5} X_1 + 0.36481 \times 10^{-3} X_2 \quad \dots\dots\dots\dots(13)$$

$$So = 17.470 \quad S_1 = 0.6454 \times 10^{-4} \quad S_2 = 0.15267 \times 10^{-3}$$

$$R^2 = 0.262$$

$$t_o = 22.07 \quad t_1 = 0.09 \quad t_2 = 2.39$$

$$F = 3.8$$

The degree of fit is not very good. The independent variables explain 26 per cent of the variation in employment levels and, in addition, the t-values are not significant at a reasonable level. These results would tend to indicate, therefore, that employment in non-agricultural sectors has no significant positive linear relationship with the supply of wage goods. Thus, modern-sector wage employment expansion is not supported by rural development. These findings would therefore tend to contradict the government's education, income, price and investment policies, which on paper appear to favour the rural sector.

General conclusions and recommendations

Sectoral distribution of employment

Findings on Hypothesis 1 show that employment opportunities have been concentrated in the service sector of the economy. The contribution of the manufacturing division has been low but sometimes rising.

The government policy of creating job opportunities for young people appears to be concentrated in the unproductive sectors of the economy. The effect of this is: first, to increase wage incomes without a corresponding increase in production. In the longrun, this depresses surplus and investment which would otherwise have combined with more labour and therefore an increase in job creation. Secondly, the concentration of jobs in the service sector implies that the skills in greatest demand in the labour market are law, teaching, administration, sales, clerical and office work. In such a situation, the low credentials of primary school leavers means that they are left out. Thirdly, research evidence has often indicated that the creation of job opportunities in the modern sector

increases expectations of obtaining a job in town among school leavers. This therefore, tends to explain, to some extent, the increase in school-leaver rural-urban migration. This migrated labour usually ends up in the informal sector or urban unemployment, instead of combining with other opportunities in the rural areas.

As a result of public policy, it is possible for a person with primary or intermediate levels of schooling, either academic or vocational, formal or non-formal, to obtain a relatively secure and well remunerated job in the diversified agricultural and industrial occupation structure as well as in the growing service sector of the economy.[6]

This has some major policy implications. First, one requires a deliberate shift towards job creation in the other non-agricultural divisions of manufacturing, construction, mining and estate agriculture. There are several ways of doing this within the limits of the Tanzanian economy. In the first place, investment policies can place greater emphasis on labour intensive projects. Some industries appear to have special possibilities for providing more employment; for instance, metal processing and machinery workshops. The same can be said of industries which have some export potential, such as the processing of rural products, which could also perform a useful role in the decentralization of industry and thus absorb regional rural labour.

The second possibility is developing and helping the growth of small-scale and handicraft industries. The dual nature of manufacturing in Tanzania also involves a great deal of waste. For example, despite the rhetoric which small industries receive in ideological papers, there is still a great and growing difference between the opportunities for expansion and success enjoyed by the modern sector and the same opportunities and achievements by smaller plants. Large firms still have easier access to short term credit, to new chemical knowledge and technical assistance, and to long term capital. However, capital-labour ratios and capital-output ratios tend to be lower in small industries. Thus, large amounts of employment could be expected from relatively small investments in the expansion of these sectors. It is also easier for small firms to establish themselves and grow in small towns and villages.

Thirdly, the employment absorption potential of the construction division has not been utilised fully. This is a sector which usually uses a great deal of labour, especially unskilled labour, and few imports and is, at the same time important in terms of creating social infrastructure. For example, the use of burnt bricks instead of bitumen in road construction and cement in house building, in towns and rural areas has been overlooked. However, this depends on public attitudes and opinion. When the Capital Development Authority in Dodoma started a programme of using burnt bricks in road construction there were a lot of complaints from the public, despite the fact that countries like the Netherlands have used the same materials in their infrastructure and housing. Incidentally, the skills demanded for construction do not require high school diplomas and degrees.

Employment Creation, Political and Economic Policies.

I have shown in Hypothesis 2 that there is a positive correlation between particular policy periods and the level of wage employment. The major periods were identified as after independence, after the Arusha Declaration and after decentralization.

These three periods affected employment creation opportunities in all the major industrial divisions in different ways. In particular, the post-independence period had the effect of increasing employment opportunities in all the major industrial divisions. This was in contrast to the post-Arusha Declaration period which had the effect of increasing employment opportunities in services, commerce, finance and trade, but of bringing about a decrease in industrial agriculture and mining. The effect of the post-decentralization period was to make the rise in employment in the public services sector steeper between 1973 and 1974 (17%). Increases due to decentralization were seen in central Government while the major decline was in local government when the district councils ceased to operate.

The employment creation that has appeared as a consequence of political policies has been concentrated in the social services, distribution, marketing and administrative divisions. This is due to the nature of emphasis of both the Arusha Declaration and the decentralization programme, whereby both labour absorption and labour productivity were improved.

Now that the political base has been built through the Party, there is a need to reorientate Party and overall government policies towards strategies with clear objectives. This requires two related movements in terms of policy. First, it entails a move from the ideological, theoretical and descriptive level to both macro and micro planning. Secondly, it entails the use of planning as an instrument of socio economic policy in the process of increasing efficiency. This will have to be done with the ultimate purpose of stimulating savings, investment, production and thus employment opportunities. Employment creation should not only be a major policy, but also a consequence of well thought out economic strategies designed to increase employment. This is so because once a functional personal incomes policy is articulated, employment patterns and opportunities can be determined.

Employment and agriculture

Else where in this analysis I have shown that the employment level in the non-agricultural sector has no positive linear relationship with the supply of wage-goods (food). Food production is taken as a proxy to agriculture sector performance. This indicates that the government policy of non-agricultural employment creation and its inducement for agricultural food production has not been altogether successful.

Thus, the neo-classical path of development as visualised by Lewis,[7] in terms of transfer of surplus from rural areas to urban areas does not appear to explain what has been happening in Tanzania. As already argued, the rural-urban migration of unskilled labour (most of it primary school leavers) is not a consequence of increased productivity in agriculture or labour saving technological development. On the other hand, this migratory labour is not absorbed into modern sector employment because of its limited capacity and the little labour that is absorbed is concentrated in the unproductive sectors of the economy.

There is a crisis point here. First, the stagnation of agriculture poses serious difficulties to the economy. Besides food shortages, which are already a major problem in Tanzania, the already generated surplus labour from schools is not realised in terms of application and investment in agriculture. Secondly, there appears to be a contradiction in strategies. How can the government emphasize

a strategy which would quicken the growth of the urban sector in terms of job creation and yet allow agriculture to perform sluggishly? A policy of inner directed strategies assumes growing internal demand. But, if the rural sector which produces food stagnates, this means also stagnation of demand for mass produced consumer goods. In this case also, there will be an import–export disequilibrium which would cut growth and employment.

If agriculture is to grow and offer employment opportunities, there is a need to have a sustained commitment to both policy and institutional reforms. There is thus a need to provide for improvements in particular areas, namely: producer-incentives accompanied by adequate opportunities for farmers to save, invest or consume their earnings; an increase in extension services; infrastructural improvements and credit availability among the rural population.

Specific implications and conclusions

Since the introduction of education for self reliance policy (ESR), many primary schools have been built, traditional colonial curriculums transformed and indeed impressive gains made in advancing literacy, political awareness and equality of opportunities. However, the demand by ESR that primary school leavers should work in the rural areas seems to be remote. The thinking among pupils is that wage employment in the "unproductive" sectors of the economy in towns is the solution to unemployment after schooling. Moreover, parents correctly argue that, if the whole purpose of ESR is to make their children come back to the village after schooling, then there is no point in going to school for after seven years their schooled children cannot, after all, cultivate properly.[8]

Impressive political and social statistics aside, the attitudinal behaviour of parents and pupils is rational. This is so, since the employment creation trends and patterns in terms of a broad institutional framework do not appear to favour the rural areas, as the present level of agricultural development does not seem to attract school leavers. The problem then becomes economic and administrative and in this way its solution needs a strategy which is socially, politically as well as economically integrated in terms of objectives.

In this regard the following recommendations are in order. First, the base of labour absorption should be rural not urban. As effort is already being made towards social-political development in rural areas through the party and villagisation, economic development is possible. However, this is only possible if there is bottom-to-top development that takes into account the resources and social-cultural realities of particular areas.[9] Examples of such efforts include co-operative ventures in economic activities which, in a wider sense, can include poultry, fishing, vegetable production and livestock keeping. In general, food-production agriculture appears to have a high potential to absorb labour. This is so, since it appears that overtime, the external terms of trade are moving against cash-crop production, while the internal terms of trade are moving in favour of food crop production. On the other hand, agriculture in general will have to be based on labour-intensive farming methods combined with indigeneous technology. A substantial part of this labour can be absorbed in small-scale industries (rural-based), rural public works, rural trade in the form of co-operative shops, mills, etc. if they are developed. It must be stressed, however, that these advances are only possible if there is also a strong credit and marketing system which favours the rural sector and other incentives as already pointed out.

Secondly, at both the macro and micro level, there is a need to merge the manpower coming out of school with existing economic possibilities. This is an administrative problem. Between the Ministry of Education the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the Party, there is still a vacuum in terms of planning which would provide a sound economic environment to enable school leavers to earn a living by taking advantage of the rural resource potential. In the last instance, the planning and administrative machinery of the Party and Government should now ensure that the objectives of ESR in terms the productive employment of school leavers are implemented at national and village levels.

This analysis, though inconclusive, does suggest that wage employment trends in Tanzania do not appear to favour the rural sector or the directly productive sectors of the economy. In this way, therefore, it would be unconvincing to argue that the reason why so many primary school leavers do not find employment is because they have received the wrong sort of education, and not because the economic system is at fault.

This brings us to the whole issue of educational planning. First, the development of education must be viewed in the larger context of economic and social development and that the planning of education should, therefore, be seen as an integral part of overall development planning. The products of the educational sector, just as the products of other sectors, are destined for "consumption" and must therefore correspond qualitatively and quantitatively to the requirements of the economy at large, especially in connection with the various skills needed for economic and social development.[10] Secondly, the solution to the problem goes beyond the communal-curriculum level but rather requires social-political economic integration of strategies in production, both during and after schooling. Thirdly, human resources development planning should aim at achieving full utilisation of all categories of labour and not only the so called highlevel or skilled labour. In reality and in practice, this means taking the available resources and skills as a datum and attempting to discover how best to use this manpower in order to fulfil the needs of society.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Musoma Resolution was passed by the National Executive Committee of the ruling party in 1974 at Musoma. According to the resolution, Tanzanian education had to be integrated with work and vice-versa.
2. ILO: *Towards Self-Reliance: Development and Employment Issues in Tanzania* (Addis-Ababa, 1978), Chapter 5.
3. The Arusha Declaration was passed by TANU in January 1967; it explained the meaning of socialism and self reliance and their relevance to Tanzania.
4. United Republic of Tanzania, *Statistical Abstracts*, (Government Printer, 1960-1973).
5. See R. Agarwala, *An Econometric Model of India: 1948-1961* (London, 1970)
6. See D.Court and K. King, *Education and Production Needs in the Rural Community* (I.I.E.P., 1978)
7. See A. Lewis, *"Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour*, (Manchester-School, 1954)
8. See research results as given by C. Mnyawonga in "The place of primary school leavers in the development of rural areas", M.A. thesis University of Dar es Salaam 1976).
9. See Timoth-Ome Fadaka, "Education and Indigenous Development in Africa", *Prospectus-Unesco*, Vol. XII, No. 2, (1982), pp. 261.
10. The views are also expressed by Richard Jolly in his book *Planning for African Development*. (EAPH, Nairobi 1969) Chapter 6.