

Policy Linkage and the Youth Unemployment Question in Tanzania: A Micro-Analysis of an Entry Point Level

*Edwin Ernest Babeiya**

Abstract

This study examines policy linkage in addressing the challenge of youth unemployment in Tanzania. It was triggered by the frail contribution of key sectors in addressing the challenge of youth unemployment. While several studies on youth unemployment have applied macro-analyses, they have hardly paid attention to multi-sector policy linkage, which is a preliminary and crucial aspect in creating policy implementation paths. Consequently, little is known about the implications of the efficacy of this linkage on youth unemployment. The study employed documentary analysis to examine policy linkage and its implications for youth unemployment in Tanzania. The analysis involved a review of the policies of seven sectors that have the potential for generating employment opportunities for the youth. In addition, 42 annual sectoral budgets for the period 2018/2019 to 2023/2024 were reviewed with a view of determining their commitment to addressing youth unemployment. The study further examined the allocation and flow of funds to youth empowerment organisations during the same period, and reviewed supplementary secondary sources. The findings show that there is a limited policy linkage among sectors, which negatively affects initiatives aimed at addressing youth unemployment. Also, there are significant variations in both policy and budgetary commitments across sectors to create youth employment opportunities. Discrepancies among policies largely explain the failure of the examined sector policies to collectively and adequately address youth unemployment. The implication of the findings is that policy linkage is a key variable to consider in ongoing efforts aimed at addressing youth unemployment in Tanzania.

Keywords: *policy linkage, key sectors, youth unemployment, policy commitment, Tanzania*

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Introduction

Youth unemployment remains a global challenge; with the rate currently standing at 13.6% (Mercy Corps, 2020). In some regions, such as North Africa, the rate has been around 30% (ILO, 2022; Mercy Corps, 2020). According to the ILO (2022), more than one in five young people around the world are not in education, training, or employment. What is even more alarming is the World Bank's estimation that, while the majority of the youth will try to enter the job market, not more than half of them will secure jobs. Contributing factors to youth unemployment include the shortage of employment opportunities, limited work experience, and population

*Department of History, Political Science and Development Studies, Dar es Salaam University College of Education, University of Dar es Salaam: babeiya@udsm.ac.tz & babeiyae@yahoo.co.uk, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0859-905X>

growth. Given that the number of youth aged between 15 and 24 is estimated to be around 1.3bn, this rate of unemployment cannot be ignored. This is especially the case in Africa, whose majority of its population is composed of children and those aged below 30 years. Projections suggest that 29% of the global youth population will reside in Africa (Peter, 2013). In Tanzania, 68% of the country's population is composed of the youth with an age range of 15 to 35 years. These population growth prospects and composition will make the continent to continue experiencing high levels of unemployment, underemployment, and poverty (ibid.). Similarly, high rates of youth unemployment have negative effects on society, such as depressed income growth (Arulamplam et al., 2001).

The chronic nature of youth unemployment challenge has attracted scholarly contributions that either look at the factors contributing to the causes and persistence of the problem, or seek to suggest interventions for addressing the problem. In Tanzania, several studies on youth unemployment have been conducted. While most of these studies have focused on meta-analyses, they seem to take for granted the take-off stage of the measures that are aimed at addressing the problem. The underlying puzzle behind this study was the failure of key sectors such as tourism, agriculture, and minerals to create adequate employment opportunities for the youth. Thus, the paper takes a prescriptive approach to examine the efficacy of an entry-point level (inter-sector policy objectives, linkages, and budgetary commitments) in serving as a roadmap for addressing the problem of youth unemployment. Given that a cross-cutting challenge such as youth unemployment calls for a coherent multi-sectoral approach (OECD, 2005), this paper examines the commitment of key sectors to addressing it. In so doing, it attempts to answer the following main question: to what extent are sectoral policies collectively committed to addressing youth unemployment in Tanzania?

The paper is divided into seven sections, namely: the introduction, which sets the background context for undertaking the review; the status of youth unemployment in Tanzania, which highlights the general trend of youth employment in the country; the theoretical framework, which sets the premises upon which this analysis is based; and the methodology, which identifies the methods through which relevant data on policy linkage were generated. Other sections include the results, which present a general and specific picture of the state of policy linkage in the examined sectors; the discussion, which reflects on the observations made; and lastly, the conclusion.

The Status of Youth Unemployment in Tanzania

Tanzania is one of the countries with the youngest population, whose median age is 17 years (British Council, 2016). If this age group is properly managed, it has a great potential for transforming the country. This prospect is nonetheless dented by the fact that economic growth in Tanzania has not adequately contributed to the expansion of employment opportunities for the youth. Hence, the absence of employment opportunities remains the biggest challenge facing Tanzanian youths (ibid.). Out of a youth population of 14.8m in the country, those that are economically active are 12.5m. Out of these, only 11m are employed or

underemployed. Unemployment is higher among young female Tanzanians (at 14.5%), compared to their male counterparts (at 8.9%) (Kibanda, 2018). It is worth noting that the majority of the youth who are said to be employed are largely underemployed in the agricultural sector, dealing with subsistence farming. Only a few are engaging in agribusiness. Generally, 75% of the youth are employed or underemployed in agriculture. The limited youth engagement in agribusiness is attributed to several factors, including the lack of adequate working capital, low knowledge of agribusiness, land access problems, and the absence of platforms for the youth to channel their views (Peter, 2013; Kibanda, 2018). As Table 1 shows, about 65% of Tanzanians (including the youth) are informally employed in the agricultural sector (URT, 2021). The number of those who are formally employed in the sector is nonetheless very low. The last formal sector and earnings survey by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) in 2016 indicated that agriculture only accounted for 4.4% of formal sector employees in Tanzania. On the other hand, the sector had 25.4% of casual employees (URT, 2016).

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons Aged 15+ by Industry

Industry	Employment Percentage
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	64.9
Mining and quarrying	0.9
Manufacturing	4.4
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0.1
Water supply, sewage, waste management and remediation	0.1
Construction	2.5
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles	12.2
Transportation and storage	3.1
Accommodation and food service activities	2.9
Information and communication	0.2
Financial and Insurance activities	0.3
Real estate activities	0.1
Professional, scientific and technical activities	0.3
Administrative and support service activities	1.7
Public administration and defence; compulsory social security	0.6
Education	1.7
Human health and social work activities	0.7
Other	3.2

Source: Integrated Labour Force Survey 2020/21

The concentration of the youth in the agricultural sector is attributed to two main factors. On one hand, the engagement of the youth in the sector is due to a single-choice dilemma. Agriculture is, for the majority of the youth—especially those in the rural areas—the major means of survival. Due to the lack of alternative employment opportunities, the youth are obliged to engage in subsistence farming as a hand-to-mouth strategy. A few who cannot make it through agriculture move to urban areas, where they mostly work as street hawkers

(George et al., 2022). On the other hand, the engagement of the youth in subsistence farming is partly historical; and is associated with the country's adoption and implementation of the *ujamaa* (socialism) ideology, which was adopted a few years after Tanzania attained independence in 1961. This ideology was operationalised through various measures, such as the adoption of the villagization policy, which obliged Tanzanians to form and live in communal villages. There was also operation *Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona* ('Agriculture as a Matter of Life and Death') and operation *Nguvu Kazi* ('Labour Power') that aimed at ensuring that the youth effectively participated in agricultural activities (George et al., 2022; Babeiya, 2014). The absence of an alternative sector to offer more informal employment opportunities has made the agricultural sector continue to serve as the main employer in the informal sector.

Therefore, the majority of the youth continue to engage in affordable informal agricultural activities. Due to various challenges—such as the lack of capital and relevant knowledge and skills—it has always been difficult for the youth in the informal sector to transform themselves into formal sector employees or employers. Likewise, the youth face a transitional challenge in opting for other forms of employment. Tanzania's labour history shows that the youth aged 20–35 who get into the labour market as self-employed or wage-employed are unlikely to change their employment modes (Haji, 2015). Of great concern is the fact that university and technical and vocational education graduates lack adequate skills and competencies to enable them secure wage employment, or become self-employed (ATE, 2022). Correspondingly, the youth face a long transitional route from the school age (16.7) to the working age (18.7), which results in their high unemployment rate compared to adults (Youth Map Tanzania, 2014). The transitional barrier also contributes to the high number of unskilled or low-skilled youth (Haji, 2015).

To address the issue of youth unemployment, the Tanzanian government has been setting aside some funds to support youth development activities. For instance, the enactment of the Finance Act of 2018 paved the way for tasking local government authorities to allocate 10% of their internal revenue for the development of the youth and other marginalised groups, such as women and persons with disabilities (Policy Forum, 2018). However, these funds have often not been properly managed, as cases of corruption and politicisation of such funds have been rampant across the country. It was due to concerns regarding the way such funds are managed that on April 13, 2023, the Prime Minister stopped the disbursement of such funds pending the introduction of a new allocation system (URT, 2023). It is worth noting that cases of embezzlement of funds intended for citizens' economic empowerment are not new in Tanzania. A recent experience can be drawn from the presidential funds, dubbed *Mabilioni ya JK*, that were allocated to small-scale traders from 2005 to 2010. Through this initiative, a total of TZS50bn was disbursed to various groups, whose number of

beneficiaries was about 74,701; and out of these funds, it was reported that TZS7bn were squandered (*Mwananchi*, 2021).

In addition, the government has made several policy interventions. One of such interventions was the formulation of inter-sectoral policies such as the National Employment Policy (2007), the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (2005), and the Development Vision 2025. Besides other targets, these interventions also aimed to create employment for vulnerable groups, such as the youth. Other inter-sectoral policies include the National Youth Development Policy, 2007, which, among other objectives, seeks to ensure that the youth acquire skills and employment competencies. A related cross-cutting initiative is the National Education Policy, 2014, which seeks, inter alia, to have educated Tanzanians with knowledge and skills that can immensely contribute to national development. Besides these general policies, there are several sectoral policies that are expected to contribute to addressing the problem of youth unemployment, particularly in key sectors such as land, agriculture, tourism, trade, transportation, mining, livestock, and fisheries. These sectors have the potential to generate employment opportunities for the youth. For instance, 44% of Tanzania's land is classified as agricultural, thus the potential for offering employment in agricultural activities (Land Link, n.d.).

Similarly, the country is a tourism hotspot due to its famous national parks such as Serengeti and Ngorongoro, its highest mountain in Africa (Mount Kilimanjaro), as well as famous tourist destinations such as Zanzibar. Despite the potential of this sector for employment-creation, it has done very little to offer employment opportunities to unemployed youth (Lesseri, 2021). Regarding business and trade, the country possesses strategic ports, as well as road and railway networks, that connect with neighbouring landlocked countries such as Rwanda, Malawi, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Uganda. Regarding the fisheries and livestock sectors, Tanzania has been one of the African countries with the highest number of livestock populations. As for the mining sector, the country is rich in precious minerals such as uranium, diamonds, and gold. All these sectors stand as a potential solution to the problem of youth unemployment if properly utilised. The next section provides a review of policies in these sectors and their commitment to addressing the problem of youth unemployment in the country.

Analytical Framework

This article uses structural functionalism as its analytical framework. One of the main assumptions of this theory is that all political systems have political structures that are multi-functional. Structural functionalism believes that every political system consists of structures—such as political parties, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary—that might also be referred to as institutions (Nitisha, n.d.). A structure in this theory is construed as any pattern of behaviour that has become the standard feature of a given system. On the other hand, function

generally entails a pattern of interdependence or relationship between two or more structures, as well as the consequences of a structure on other structures, or on the whole system (Ramesh, 2021).

Structural functionalism believes in the role of the functionality of structures in leading to the attainment of a collective goal. This theory treats society as a set whose completeness depends on the functioning of its constituent elements. This interdependence among the main structure and its sub-structures is analogised to a human body whose proper functioning depends on the functioning of other organs. The theory believes that for a political system to be relevant, it has to perform some functions, such as interest aggregation, in which demands are translated into policies for action; and political communication, in which the components of a political system transmit and receive information regarding the functions of the political system.¹ This approach insists that a function may be performed by one or more structures. Despite some criticisms—such as its being based on western democracies; its inability to suggest how all the functions performed by a structure can be identified (Ramesh, 2021), and the fact that some structures may be generally dysfunctional or only functional in some aspects—the theory is still very relevant for analysing the patterns of responses of governmental structures towards addressing a common phenomenon such as youth unemployment. Within the context of this study, each sector is treated as a substructure that is expected to contribute to addressing the investigated phenomenon. Through this approach, the roles of sub-structures (sectors) towards addressing the investigated phenomenon are identified and compared.

Methodology

Documentary analysis was used to examine policy linkage and its contribution to addressing the problem of youth unemployment in Tanzania. The analysis of entry point level mainly focused on the commitment of policy and budgetary interventions in steering the efforts to address the challenge of youth unemployment. The documents covered included national policies for the key sectors that have the potential for providing employment opportunities to the youth. The sectors whose policies were reviewed included land, agriculture, transportation, tourism, livestock and fisheries, and mining; as well as industries and trade. The focus of the review was on policy objectives and statements. The content analysis of these policies was guided by four criteria: a recognition of varying contexts; an acknowledgement of other policies and actors; gap identification and calls for interventions; and specificity to youth employment.

The review of policy objectives and statements aimed to establish the extent to which each sector was determined to increase its generation of employment opportunities for the youth. Given that the level of policy commitment has a bearing on budgetary allocations, the study also reviewed 42 annual sector budgets

¹ “Structure functional approach, Almond and Powell”. Retrieved from <https://www.lscollge.ac.in/sites/default/files/e-content/Almond%20%24%20Powell.pdf>

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for the 2018/2019–2023/2024 period. The review sought to ascertain whether these budgets paid attention to youth unemployment. The study further examined the allocation and disbursement of funds to youth economic empowerment bodies, namely the Youth Development Fund and the National Economic Empowerment Council. The review of such disbursement trends sought to establish whether such financial resources could cover possible allocation and disbursement gaps in sector budgets. Supplementary secondary sources were also reviewed.

Results

A review of policies as summarised in Table 2 and the subsequent detailed account of such observations presented below show variations in the attention of sectors to the four aspects related to youth unemployment that were examined by this study. The main observation is that none of the examined policies were found to address all of these aspects.

Table 2: Policy Commitment to Addressing Youth Unemployment in Tanzania

Policy	Contextual	Inter-sector Linkage	Gap Identification	Youth Employment
Land	✓	×	✓	✓
Agriculture	✓	×	✓	✓
Agricultural marketing	×	×	×	✓
Transport	×	✓	×	×
Tourism	×	×	×	×
Livestock	×	✓	✓	✓
Fisheries	×	×	✓	✓
Mineral	×	✓	×	✓
Trade	×	✓	×	✓
Sustainable industries development	×	×	×	✓
Small and medium enterprise development	×	✓	×	✓

Source: Author, 2024

As pointed out earlier, one of the aspects examined by this study was the recognition of the varying contexts by policy. Reviewing this aspect was driven by the fact that the nature of youth unemployment challenges varies in rural and urban contexts. The study believed that, owing to this fact, any appropriate policy intervention ought to be mindful of contextual variations so as to ensure that the proposed interventions match with contextual needs. Against this backdrop, this review examined the extent to which sector policies paid attention to this variation. A review of sector policies revealed that only a handful of policies took note of the varying contexts within which youth are operating. Of the reviewed policies, only the National Land Policy (1997) and the Agricultural Marketing Policy (2008) have objectives that at least recognise such contexts. While the land policy identifies increased urbanisation and investments as the factors behind increased demands for land, the agricultural marketing policy acknowledges the role of the youth in agricultural marketing in rural areas, and the potential of agricultural marketing in generating employment

opportunities for the youth. On the other hand, the national livestock policy of 2006, the national fisheries policy of 2015, the national trade policy of 2003, the national agriculture policy of 2013; the sustainable industries development policy of 1996, the small and medium enterprise development policy of 2003; the mineral policy of Tanzania in 2009; the national tourism policy of 1999; and the national transport policy of 2003: all these do not recognise such contexts.

In addition to the above aspect, the study also examined the extent to which policies underscored the need for inter-sectoral linkages in addressing the problem of youth unemployment. The review is based on the fact that, given the cross-cutting nature of the youth unemployment challenge, it is imperative that efforts to address it take a multi-sectoral approach that looks at how each sector can contribute to addressing unemployment. This linkage is expected to bring together the efforts that are geared towards attaining a common goal. It is on this basis that the study examined the policies' attentiveness to inter-sector linkage. The review results revealed that some policies acknowledge the existence of other policies that are, in some way, addressing the same phenomenon. The policies that recognise the presence of other policies include the national livestock policy of 2006, which insists that its preparation was mindful of a comprehensive list of other policies such as the national Development Vision 2025, national development strategies, millennium development goals, declarations, government circulars, as well as global and regional policy instruments. Another policy that acknowledges the existence of other policies is the 2013 National Agriculture Policy, which aims to bolster inter-sector linkage for the maximisation of envisaged goals. In addition, the Mineral Policy of Tanzania of 2009 similarly acknowledges the importance of the linkage with other policies and sectors for the maximisation of the sector's contribution to the economy.

Likewise, the National Trade Policy of 2003 emphasises inter-sector linkages for enhancing domestic production. Similarly, the National Transport Policy of 2003 recognises the role of inter-sector linkages as it advocates for partnerships between the private sector and the government. Such recognition was observed in the 2003 Small and Medium Enterprise Development Policy. On the other hand, the National Fisheries Policy of 2015, the National Land Policy (1997), the National Trade Policy of 2003, the Agricultural Marketing Policy of 2008, the National Tourism Policy of 1999, and the Sustainable Industries Development Policy of 1996: all do not acknowledge this linkage.

The study further examined the extent to which the reviewed policies were mindful of existing gaps in the studied sectors in addressing youth unemployment. The review of this aspect was based on the fact that effective policy interventions depend on, among other factors, the extent to which the problem that the policy aims to address is properly identified. It is through this identification that appropriate interventions for addressing the problem can be taken. This review thus sought to establish whether the examined policies were keen on identifying existing gaps within the sectors in

addressing the investigated phenomenon. The review results showed that the National Land Policy (1997) acknowledges some gaps in the sharing of land resources. It is on the basis of this concern that one of the objectives of this policy is to set ceilings on land ownership so as to curb practices such as land grabbing. The weakness of this policy is that it talks about ensuring that land is put to its most productive use without showing how the youth will participate or benefit from this.

Another policy that recognises current policy gaps in addressing youth unemployment is the National Livestock Policy (2006), which underscores the need for the policy to address cross-cutting issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS, land, and environment. The policy, however, does not specifically or directly address youth unemployment. Similarly, the National Fisheries Policy of 2015 recognises the failure of current policy interventions to ensure that the fisheries sector adequately contributes to improving the wellbeing of relevant stakeholders. It is on the basis of this recognition that this policy seeks to reinvigorate the sector so that it can effectively contribute to attaining envisaged goals such as food security. On the other hand, the National Trade Policy 2003, the National Agriculture Policy of 2013, the Agricultural Marketing Policy of 2008, the Sustainable Industries Development Policy SIDP (1996–2020) of 1996, the Small and Medium Enterprise Development Policy of 2003, the Mineral Policy of 2009, the National Tourism Policy of 1999, and the National Transport Policy of 2003: all these do not identify current gaps.

In addition, given the potential of each sector to generate employment opportunities for the youth, the study examined whether the reviewed policies had specific policy commitments aimed at creating employment opportunities for the youth. Reviewing this aspect was guided by the fact that the extent to which policy actions are geared towards a problem highly depends on how such a problem is prioritised by the respective policy. This is mainly because a matter of concern that is ignored or not paid adequate attention to by the policy is unlikely to receive the required push from policymakers and implementers. Thus, this review sought to establish whether the examined policies had specific objectives aimed at creating youth employment. The findings revealed three main observations: that some policies had provisions specific to the youth, others had indirect or generalised statements that covered the youth, and some policies did not even mention the word ‘youth’ in their statements or objectives. One of the policies with such provisions is the National Fisheries Policy of 2015, which insists on more engagement of the youth in the sector through the promotion of entrepreneurship culture.

A related policy that contains specific provisions for the youth is the National Agriculture Policy, 2013, which insists that the youth need equitable access to productive resources. The policy thus calls for the creation of an enabling environment that allows more youth to effectively engage in agricultural activities. A commitment to the welfare of the youth is further observed in the Agricultural Marketing Policy of 2008, with among its various objectives including to mainstream gender and youth involvement in all agricultural marketing through empowerment programmes, supporting youth’s participation in cooperative societies as well as

establishing and implementing agricultural marketing programmes. In addition, the small and medium enterprise development policy of 2003 aims to address youth unemployment through the creation of supportive SMEs.

Policies with generalised statements include the Mineral Policy of Tanzania of 2009, which, despite not being specific to the youth, at least seeks to support small-scale miners. A related policy is the National Land Policy of 1997, which, despite having no single mention of the word ‘youth’, aims at ensuring equitable access to land for all citizens. The policy also seeks to recognise and protect the customary rights of small holders. A related policy with an indirect statement related to youth unemployment is the National Livestock Policy, 2006, which aims at improving the wellbeing of citizens dealing with animal keeping, as well as human development. The same observation applies to the National Trade Policy of 2003, which seeks to enhance people’s income generation. Likewise, the Sustainable Industries Development Policy of 1996 aims at contributing to human development and the creation of employment opportunities. The same observation applies to the Economic Empowerment Policy of 2004, which aims at ensuring that more Tanzanians effectively participate in economic activities across sectors. On the other hand, the National Transport Policy of 2003, and the National Tourism Policy of 1999 do not mention the youth at all.

As pointed out earlier, besides examining policy commitments, the study also reviewed ministerial budget speeches with a view to establishing whether they underscored youth employment as a priority issue. Table 3 presents the results from this review. Generally, the results reveal varying attention of ministries to youth employment. The main observation is that it is mainly the budget speeches for the Ministry of Agriculture that have consistently addressed the question of youth employment. A related main observation is that some budget speeches completely ignored youth employment as an important agenda item, as they do not even mention the youth. Other budget speeches only slightly mention a few minor issues related to youth employment. The review further noted that youth unemployment is recurring in some budget speeches not because they are derived from policies, but rather due to the incremental approach that has been a predominant mode of budget-making in Tanzania.

Table 3: Ministerial Budgetary Commitments to Addressing Youth Unemployment

Sector	2018/ 2019	2019/ 2020	2020/ 2021	2021/ 2022	2022/ 2023	2023/ 2024
Lands	x	x	x	x	x	x
Agriculture	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tourism	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓
Trade	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Livestock/Fisheries	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓
Mining	x	x	x	✓	x	x
Transport	x	✓	✓	x	✓	x

Source: Author, 2024

In addition, a review of budgetary allocation and disbursement of funds for youth development-related activities shows that the flow of funds to such activities is limited. As Figure 1 shows, there has been a big mismatch between the allocation and disbursement of financial resources to youth and women’s development funds. For instance, a report by the Parliamentary Committee shows that while the government allocated TZS5bn as youth concessionary loans during the 2015/2016–2020/2021 period, only TZS1bn (20%) was disbursed. Similarly, the report shows that while the government allocated TZS1bn for concessionary loans to the youth in the 2022/2023 financial year, no funds had been disbursed up to February 2023 (Mwananchi, 2023).

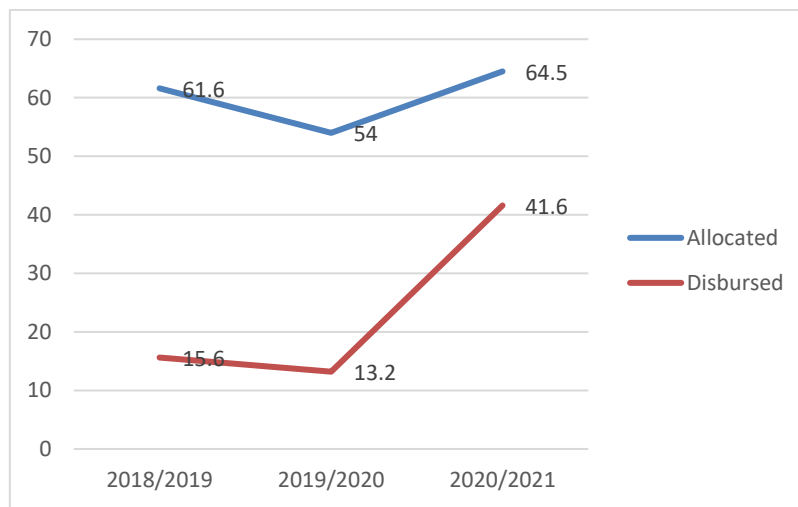


Figure 1: The Trend of Local Governments’ Funds Allocation and Disbursement to Marginalised Groups for the 2018/2021 period

Source: Author using Policy Forum’s 2021 data

The study further noted the allocation of meagre resources for supporting youth employment through empowerment bodies such as the Youth Development Fund, which was established during the 1993/1994 financial year. The main reason for establishing this fund was to push for youth economic empowerment through concessional loans. Notwithstanding this objective, budgetary allocation for this initiative has been very low. For instance, during the 2014/2015 financial year, the Fund only received TZS2bn (URT, 2023).² Likewise, during the 2022/2023 financial year, the budget allocated to that fund was TZS1.88bn (URT, 2023). Given the number of youths in the country, this allocated amount is very meagre; making it difficult to establish any meaningful impact on empowering youth economically. The review further noted that even the reports by the National Economic Empowerment

² Mfuko wa Maendeleo ya Vijana: <https://www.kazi.go.tz/uploads/documents/en-1599586620-sw1563553211-MFUKO%20WA%20MAENDELEO%20YA%20VIJANA.pdf>, accessed 21 December 2023.

Council (NEEC) do not clearly stipulate the amount of funding allocated to youth development-related activities. Some of such reports are the Economic Empowerment Implementation Report 2005/2015 and that of 2023.

Discussion

The results presented above lead to several observations. The first observation related to youth unemployment is the failure of some policies to recognise the varying contexts within which the youth are operating. As the review results have shown, only a handful of policies pay attention to the rural and urban contexts within which the youth are found. This weakness opens windows for a one-size-fits-all approach that cannot effectively contribute to addressing the problem of youth unemployment/underemployment. Given the differences between rural and urban areas, appropriate interventions for addressing the unemployment problem are expected to devise relevant strategies that can benefit the youth based on where they are located. The fact that this is not adequately addressed by many sectoral policies opens windows for the ineffectiveness of interventions aimed at creating employment opportunities for the youth. It is imperative to note that, due to significant variations between rural and urban areas, the government formulated the rural development strategy in 2001. Despite paying attention to five dimensions—namely, high-quality livelihood, creating a people’s empowering environment, self-reliance and sustenance, as well as trade and international competitiveness—in a way this strategy underscores the need to address unemployment and underemployment in rural areas. It is on this basis that the strategy aimed to facilitate the coordination of a multisector policy implementation in rural areas (URT, 2001). The fact that very little has been witnessed in terms of the envisaged coordination can be attributed to the failure of sector policies to pay adequate attention to contextual variations. In addition, the failure of many budget speeches to underscore the need to steer the creation of employment opportunities in rural and urban areas might be attributed to this weakness.

Moreover, the review results have shown that the majority of sector policies do not acknowledge the existence of other policies and actors that have a stake in addressing issues that are of primary focus for each sector policy. As a result, in the absence of effective coordination during the implementation stage, chances are high that each sector policy, despite aspiring to overcome the problem of youth unemployment, will take its own way. Given several policy management challenges facing developing countries that range from financial deficits to knowledge and skill gaps, a collective approach that brings together all resources, expertise, and strategies towards addressing a given problem seems very relevant. The fact that this approach is missing explains a lot in terms of the achievements that have been accrued from the initiatives geared towards addressing youth unemployment. This weakness is alarming given the ineffectiveness of the country’s monitoring and evaluation framework. It is imperative to note that some issues that are treated as national agendas require central coordination so as to ensure that all implementation efforts are geared towards the same goal. It is on this basis that some central coordination bodies and organs are established. In Tanzania, several policy coordination organs

have been established. Some of these include the Presidential Delivery Bureau, the Planning Commission, and a department responsible for policies and coordination of government activities in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO).

The Planning Commission has several roles, including analysing existing policies and suggesting new ones. It is supposed to monitor inter-sector performance, as well as analyse socio-economic issues.³ On the other hand, a department within the PMO that is responsible for policies and coordination has several functions, including analysing and advising on public policy implementation, coordinating and monitoring the implementation of government decisions in ministries, and analysing and maintaining data on the performance of ministries.⁴

The extent to which the above-mentioned organs have performed their prescribed roles is a matter of discussion. Regarding the Planning Commission, its role in coordinating the implementation of sectoral policies is limited. This is mainly due to the fact that it does not have the power or mandate over ministries, and thus the relationship between it and government ministries is mainly based on mutual consent (Babeiya, 2014). Hence, the Planning Commission cannot address the individualistic nature of policies identified above. Regarding the Department within the Prime Minister's Office responsible for policies and coordination, its functioning does not differ with that of other bodies mentioned earlier. This organ has been mainly dealing with the coordination of government routine activities, such as national ceremonies, as well as responding to natural disasters, and not the coordination and review of public policies.

Regarding the Presidential Delivery Bureau, its functions and mandate were questionable. It was established during the fourth phase of government (2005–2015) and abandoned during the fifth phase of government (2015–2021). Despite the fact that it was established for the sake of pushing effective implementation of policies so as to achieve big results, it did not have the mandate and capacity to monitor the implementation of sector policies.

The third observation is the failure of the majority of policies to identify current gaps in addressing the problem of youth unemployment. As pointed out earlier, the underlying assumption under this observation was that for the policy to effectively address the problem of youth unemployment, it needs to acknowledge existing gaps that might be attributed to the problem under question. The expectation is that the extent to which the existing gap is identified matters a lot in suggesting measures for addressing it. The fact that some sector policies do not identify such gaps might have been a reason for not doing enough to create more employment opportunities for the youth. Having a small number of youth in the formal sector partly explains this scenario.

³ "President's Office Planning Commission (POPC)", retrieved from <https://www.unccd.int/resources/knowledge-sharing-system/presidents-office-planning-commission-popc>

⁴ "Policy and Government Business Coordination Department", retrieved from <https://www.pmo.go.tz/pages/policy-and-government-business-coordination-division>

As shown earlier, it is mainly the agricultural sector that has been the source of employment opportunities for the youth. The failure of other sectors to offer more employment opportunities partly starts with a poor take-off. If a policy does not acknowledge the existence of a gap that needs to be addressed so as to create more employment opportunities, chances are high that no adequate measures can be taken. An example can be drawn from the agricultural sector, whose identification of existing gaps paved the way for devising a programme that aims at creating more employment opportunities for the youth.

It is imperative to note that, for decades, policy interventions in the agricultural sector mainly focused on agricultural transformation in general without a specific attention to the wellbeing of the youth in the sector, including their employment. A recent such intervention was the *Kilimo Kwanza* policy push, which identified agriculture as the priority sector during the fourth-phase government (2005–2015). Despite some achievements that were registered through this initiative, such as an increase in the number of agricultural equipment, little was achieved in terms of youth employment through this initiative (Babeiya, 2015). A contrast is, however, made with the recent Building a Better Tomorrow Youth Initiative (2022–2030), which aims at improving livelihoods of the youth through agribusiness. The programme specifically seeks to create youth's positive attitude towards agriculture; build youth capacity through various interventions such as mentorship and training; make agribusiness a profitable and sustainable undertaking; support youth-led enterprises; and effectively coordinate the activities of NGOs that are supporting the youth. Based on these objectives, the initiative also sets out to establish 12,000 profitable enterprises in 12,000 villages, and train 200,000 youth. The initiative also aims to support 20,000 youth to take part in internship programmes, as well as use the incubation programme to mentor and coach 15,000 youth-led agribusinesses. The estimated budget for this initiative is TZS356.199bn (USD148,416,167), of which 24% will come from the government and the remaining 76% from development partners, NGOs, and the private sector (URT, 2022).

While it is too early to make judgements on its achievements or its potential in achieving its envisaged goals (particularly due to the fact that it is 76% dependent on donors' support), this initiative can be lauded based on its recognition of the fact that more needs to be done to enable the agricultural sector create more employment opportunities for the youth. Had the same spirit been shared by all other sectors, the problem of youth unemployment could have been significantly addressed. In a way, the inadequate attention to youth unemployment by other sectors contravenes the National Multi Sector Local Content Guidelines (2019), which seek the participation of Tanzanians in employment and the provision of goods and services. Generally, the guidelines seek to ensure that there is a deliberate utilisation of Tanzania's human and material resources, goods, works, and services; including deliberate measures for ensuring that the capacity of Tanzanians is built. The guidelines identify local content priority sectors, namely:

the extractive sector, construction sector, manufacturing and trade sector, and the tourism sector. The guidelines also identify employment as one of the cross-cutting issues enabling Tanzanians to participate in investments.

Together with these priorities, the guidelines also provide for local content coordination structures, which include, among others, the Annual Economic Empowerment Forum and the National Advisory Committee for Economic Empowerment. These structures bring together the main stakeholders from all key sectors. With these structures, it was presumed that every sector will play a role in creating more employment opportunities. On the contrary, there has been a lot of variation in the way each sector is addressing the unemployment problem. Experience can be drawn from the mining and fishing sectors. The country's mining sector, with the exception of foreign investors, has been dominated by artisanal and small-scale miners whose operations are characterised by manual, labour-intensive, and rudimentary technology. These circumstances lead to low productivity. For instance, while Tanzania is estimated to produce 40 metric tonnes of gold per year, the contribution of artisanal and small-scale miners to that share is only about 10% (Peronius & Teemu, 2015: 5). Given that Tanzania is ranked 4th in Africa in terms of its mineral deposits, it stands a great chance of generating more employment opportunities in this sector. The current situation is mainly attributed to the poor organisation of small-scale miners (Merket, 2019:9). Likewise, the country's fishing industry is dominated by small-scale fishing, which accounts for 95% of the country's total catches (URT, 2023).

The last observation is related to the lack of specific policy objectives that target youth employment. Despite some policies that have objectives that aim at creating more employment opportunities for the youth, the fact that some sector policies are silent on youth employment marks a faulty beginning in addressing the unemployment question. As shown earlier, Tanzania has several sectors that, if used properly, would have significantly contributed to addressing youth unemployment. One of these sectors is land. Given that the agricultural sector is the leading sector in providing employment to the youth, attention should have been paid by the national land policy to ensuring youth's access to land. Any aspirations to elevate youth from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture ought to focus on land, which is the main means through which agricultural activities can be undertaken. With an increase in urbanisation, population, and the number of foreign and local investors, the demand for land has significantly increased. The fact that the national land policy does not make even a single mention of the word 'youth' is in contravention of the aspirations stipulated in the national agriculture policy, the agricultural marketing policy, and ministerial budgetary commitments to uplift the wellbeing of the youth in the agricultural sector. What is even more concerning is the neglect of youth agendas in many ministerial budget speeches, which is an indication that youth employment is not a priority in some of the sectors.

Conclusion

This study examined policy linkage among the sectors that are key for generating employment opportunities for the youth. The essence of this study was triggered by the fact that, despite having potential sectors for absorbing youth unemployment pressure, the majority of youth in Tanzania still suffer either from unemployment or underemployment. The review results from four examined aspects—namely, recognition of varying contexts, attentiveness to inter-sector linkages, gap identification and calls for intervention, and specificity to youth employment—revealed a disconnect among sector policies. Consequently, there are no adequate and coherent multisectoral policy actions for addressing youth unemployment. This was observed in both policy and budgetary commitments. Besides recognising the potential of multi-sector linkages, little has been done to ensure that each sector adequately contributes to addressing the youth unemployment challenge. This gap is amplified by the lack of effective coordination and oversight bodies that would have played a key role in ensuring that these sectors collectively contribute to addressing youth unemployment. Based on this observation, this paper insists that for the youth unemployment challenge to be effectively addressed, more attention needs to be paid to the entry point level so as to ensure that policies and other interventions develop a shared vision on how to address this challenge.

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