State of SKILLS

Tanzania
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Tanzania has sustained relatively high economic growth over the past decade, averaging 5 to 8 per cent per year, and leading to a decline in poverty rates. However, the country’s population is growing rapidly, and educational attainment is weak. Agriculture provides most employment. Economic growth and formal employment are concentrated in the main urban area, Dar es Salaam. Achieving structural transformation of the economy and poverty reduction, while preventing environmental degradation, will therefore require a massive effort in skilling the labour force. However, technical and vocational education and training (TVET) has long suffered from limited access, poor quality, lack of labour-market relevance, and stretched governance capacity. An ambitious National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) has been designed to address these challenges.

1 This note focuses on mainland Tanzania; the Zanzibar archipelago, also part of the United Republic of Tanzania, has a distinct system for skills development.
Tanzania’s population is growing rapidly, posing a challenge for the country’s education and training system.

Tanzania has the fourth largest population in sub-Saharan Africa, with 54.2 million inhabitants in 2018, projected to reach 77.5 million in 2030. The demographic transition started late and is incomplete. Total fertility declined from 5.4 in 2012 to 5.1 in 2018, and was projected to reach 4.4 children per woman in 2030. The median age is 18 years, and the population continues to grow rapidly, by 3.1 per cent annually. The country’s education and training system therefore faces the challenge of teaching and skilling nearly two-thirds of the population (NBS, 2018).

Economic growth has been steady, but structural transformation has been slow.

Real GDP has grown by 5 to 8 per cent a year over the past decade, driven by mining, construction, transport, information and communication, as well as finance and insurance. Yet agriculture still accounted for 30 per cent of GDP in 2017, compared with industry (26 per cent) and services (44 per cent). The economy remains largely rural and informal, while the most productive activities – service and manufacturing – are concentrated in the main urban area, Dar es Salaam. Foreign trade has expanded, but the export base is narrow: agricultural products and minerals accounted for two-thirds of exports in 2017 (MFP, 2018).
Poverty has declined, but large numbers of Tanzanians still face dire living conditions.

In 2012, 28 per cent of households lived under the national poverty line, down from 34 per cent in 2007 (NBS, 2014). Malnutrition is higher than in most other sub-Saharan African countries. One in three children under the age of five was stunted in 2015, a sign of chronic malnutrition. Basic amenities are lacking, especially in rural areas, and half the urban population live in slums. Only 17 per cent of the rural population had access to electricity in 2016, compared with 65 per cent in urban areas (NBS, 2016).

Environmental degradation threatens further economic growth and poverty reduction.

Tanzania emits small volumes of greenhouse gases (0.2 metric tons of carbon dioxide per capita in 2014, compared with 16.5 metric tons in the United States of America), but it is severely affected by climate change. Extreme climatic events such as droughts, storms, floods and heatwaves – 70 per cent of which are associated with climate change – cost about 1 per cent of GDP each year. Moreover, the unsustainable use of natural resources is depleting forests, fisheries and wildlife (NBS, 2017; World Bank, 2018, 2019).
Agriculture and the informal sector offer the bulk of employment opportunities.

In 2014, agriculture provided two-thirds of total employment. Industry employed 9 per cent of men and 3 per cent of women, and services 27 per cent of both men and women. Across all sectors, only 17 per cent of male and 14 per cent of female workers had attained secondary education; some 4 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively, had received vocational training, and another 4 and 2 per cent, respectively, had reached tertiary education. As a result, only 4 per cent of the workforce had jobs requiring a high level of skills, and 19 per cent had non-agricultural medium-skill occupations. Vulnerable employment was the norm: 52 per cent of all female workers were contributing family workers, and 39 per cent were own-account workers. Only 10 per cent were employees. Overall, 82 per cent of female and 72 per cent of male non-agricultural employment was informal (NBS, 2015). Furthermore, about 4.2 million children aged 5–17 were working. More than 9 in every 10 child labourers were unpaid family helpers in agriculture; only 4 per cent were in paid employment (NBS and ILO, 2016).

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2. Managers, professionals, technicians and associated professionals.
3. Clerical support workers, services and sales workers, craft and related workers, and plant and machine operators and assemblers.
4. The situation of male workers was marginally better, as 19 per cent were employees, 61 per cent own-account workers, and 21 per cent contributing family workers.
5. The minimum age for work is 18 years, although employment in light work is allowed from the age of 14, if it does not affect school attendance.
Tanzania has introduced free primary and secondary education, but concerns of access and quality remain.

Public expenditure on education has been constrained in recent years. In 2016/17, it stood at 4.5 per cent of GDP and 16.2 per cent of total government expenditure. While this is slightly above regional averages, the country’s limited resources have proved insufficient to sustain the enrolment of a rapidly growing child and youth population, and the quality of education has suffered. While the country managed to enrol 86 per cent of children of primary school age in 2015/16 (MoEST, 2017), surveys conducted between 2011 and 2015 on children aged 9–13 found low literacy and numeracy levels, with wide disparities according to place of residence, household income and parental education (Uwezo, 2017). Participation at further levels of education is low (see figure 1).

The resulting skills gaps and mismatches are identified by employers as a key constraint. According to the 2013 Labour Demand Enterprise Survey conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO), 59 per cent of young workers (aged 15–29) are undereducated, while 9 per cent are overeducated. Employers find that one-fifth to one-third of job applicants have ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’ skills, ranging from writing to technical skills, and communication or commitment (Shamchiyeva et al., 2014).
Figure 1. Enrolment at post-primary levels

Note: Figures are for 2017 (lower and upper secondary education), 2016 (post-secondary, non-tertiary education) and 2015 (tertiary education), respectively.

Development and employment policies

The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 provides the overarching development framework. Vision 2025 envisages Tanzania as a middle-income country with a high level of human development. Education is seen as ‘a strategic change agent’, with three specific targets: universal primary education, the eradication of illiteracy, and tertiary education and training (Planning Commission, 1999).
Vision 2025 has been implemented through a series of development plans. The second National Five-Year Development Plan (NFYDP II) 2016/17–2020/21 focuses on ‘nurturing industrialization for economic transformation and human development’ (MFP, 2016). The plan aims to achieve universal enrolment in pre-primary and primary education, and to raise gross enrolment ratios at further levels (to 48 per cent at lower secondary level, and 10 per cent at both upper secondary and tertiary levels by 2025). The plan sets ambitious targets for skills development (see figure 2).

**Figure 2.** Selected quantitative targets for skills development set by NFYDP II

![Graph showing selected quantitative targets for skills development](source: MFP, 2016.)
Education is governed by the 2014 Education and Training Policy and the Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP) 2016/17–2020/21. ESDP priorities for skills development are to align the supply of skills with labour market demand in priority activity sectors, and to equip the population with ‘key knowledge, skills and attitudes to promote a healthy, peaceful, equitable, safe and environmentally friendly society’ (MoEST, 2017, p. 50). Objectives for TVET include equitable access and labour market relevance, with a focus on entrepreneurial skills. The ESDP plans for a massive expansion of TVET, relying on investment in buildings, equipment and teachers, and on apprenticeships and distance learning. By 2025, the sub-sector should absorb 80 per cent of enrolment at upper secondary level, and 25 per cent at tertiary level. The ESDP also aims to reach out-of-school children and youth and illiterate adults, through non-formal education and training and pathways into the formal system.

The education policy complements the employment policy. The 2008 National Employment Policy (MoLEYD, 2008) aims to reduce poverty and respond to the challenges of globalization through ‘sustainable decent gainful employment’ for all. Among other objectives, the policy emphasizes skills for both the formal and informal sectors, and for rural development. The policy also aims to improve labour market data collection, analysis and dissemination.
“The Government shall make efforts to ensure that all persons are afforded equal and sufficient opportunity to pursue education and vocational training in all levels of schools and other institutions of learning.”
– The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania
Tanzania envisages a comprehensive restructuring of its skills development system through the NSDS 2016/17–2025/26. The strategy covers formal, non-formal and informal skills development, and responds to the needs of both the formal and informal economies. The focus is on six activity sectors identified as priorities in the NFYDP II, which offer high returns on skills and strong potential for job creation: agribusiness; tourism and hospitality; energy; transport and logistics; construction; and information and communication technologies (MoEST and PMO, 2016). The NSDS has two results areas:
I. A governance reform to strengthen institutional capacity. A National Skills Development Council will coordinate policies, programmes and initiatives within the government sector, and between the Government and the private sector. Sector Skills Councils will bring together firms, business associations, training providers, ministries and regulatory agencies. They will identify skills needs, develop sectorspecific strategies and plans, define and revise occupational standards, training programmes and curricula, and facilitate partnerships between the private sector and training providers. The capacity of regulatory agencies will be strengthened, and procedures for accreditation and certification will be harmonized and simplified. The national qualification framework (NQF) will be operationalized, with implementation of recognition of prior learning (RPL).

II. Initiatives to strengthen training provision. A Skills Development Fund will provide results-based, competitive grants for public and private training institutions, covering TVET, university education and informal training. A Training Voucher Scheme will subsidize tuition costs for low-income youth to access short-term, vocational programmes offered by formal and informal training providers, complementing student loans, which already exist at university level. Both funding mechanisms aim to improve the labour market relevance of training providers, by fostering competition among them and developing a market for training services.
Governance

Governance of skills development is shared between several ministries and regulatory agencies. The Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training (MoEST) defines TVET policies, oversees training providers and provides public TVET through its TVET division and two autonomous agencies (MoEST, 2019):

I. The Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA), established by a 1994 Act, is responsible for vocational education and training (VET) at postprimary and post-lower secondary levels. VETA is both a regulatory agency and a major training provider, through its vocational training centres (VTC).

II. The National Council for Technical Education (NACTE), established by a 1997 Act, is responsible for technical education and training (TET) at postsecondary, non-tertiary level, which comprises courses for technicians and professionals. NACTE registers and accredits public and private training centres, but is not a training provider.

Technical fields at tertiary level are managed by the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU), as part of the university system. Other ministries provide their own training programmes. In particular, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries are responsible for agricultural training (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2016).
The Prime Minister’s Office, Labour, Youth, Employment and Persons with Disability (PMO) is responsible for labour market policies, employment services and labour market analysis. Its priorities are to promote job creation and employment, especially for small businesses and entrepreneurs, and to facilitate employment especially for youth, women and people living with disabilities. The PMO implements its own workplace-based skills development programmes, in areas such as internships for graduates, formal apprenticeships, recognition of prior learning through informal apprenticeships, skills upgrades and other modular or short-term programmes (PMO, 2019).
Social dialogue

Tanzania has been strengthening institutional mechanisms for social dialogue between the Government, employers’ organizations and trade unions. Formal mechanisms for social dialogue include a TVET working group under MoEST as part of the Education Sector Development Plan coordination structure, the representation of employers’ and employee organizations on the VETA board, and the Labour, Economic and Social Council, a tripartite body which advises the PMO. Not all those mechanisms have been operational (MoEST, 2017), and employers’ organizations and trade unions appear to have played a limited part in TVET policy setting, governance and management (ATE and TUCTA, 2016). The creation of Sector Skills Councils envisaged by NSDS could remedy the situation.

Financing

Skills development has four sources of financing in Tanzania: The budget of MoEST and other ministries that provide training; a Skills Development Levy (SDL) paid by employers; income generated by training providers; and development partners. In 2016/17, total government expenditure on education amounted to 4.768 trillion Tanzanian shillings (TZS), of which 63 per cent went to primary education and 20 per cent to TVET and higher
In that context, the Skills Development Levy (SDL) is the main source of funding for VET. The levy is collected by the Tanzania Revenue Authority, at a rate of 4.5 per cent of the payroll of formal firms with four or more employees. The SDL is meant to finance VETA for training provision, quality assurance and capacity building, and represents around 87 per cent of VETA’s income, and a large part of the budget of public vocational training centres. However, only one-third of the levy is channeled to VETA. The rest, being diverted to the Higher Education Student’s Loan Board, funds university students (including in technical fields), rather than VET trainees. The SDL does not fund training provided by employers (ATE and TUCTA, 2016).

Technical education and training depends on income generated by training providers, including tuition fees and funds raised from communities and private institutions, as well as activities such as consultancy, production, maintenance or international student exchange programmes (UNESCO–UNEVOC, 2016).

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6. Recently, SDL funds have been channeled to the PMO to fund its workplace-based skills development programmes.

7. The rate was 6 per cent from 2004/05 to 2012/13, 5 per cent in 2013/14, and 4.5 in 2016/17 (ATE and TUCTA, 2016).
The knowledge basis for skills anticipation has been strengthened in recent years, but one-off or infrequent data collection is not sufficient. The Vocational Education and Training Authority and the National Council for Technical Education are responsible for analysing labour market information (including tracer studies or skills needs surveys), and designing TVET curricula according to emerging skills needs. VETA is supported by the Skills for Employment Tanzania to build its capacity and improve the relevance, quality and timeliness of the information it produces (VETA, 2019). The Prime Minister’s Office, Labour, Youth, Employment and Persons with Disability collects and analyses labour market data through the National Bureau of Statistics. An Integrated Labour Force Survey was conducted in 2000/01, 2006 and 2014 (NBS, 2015). A study of skills development was carried out in 2014 as part of the preparation of the National Skills Development Strategy, which assessed skills needs for Tanzania to become a middle-income country by 2025. The study showed that the number of high-skilled workers needed to be multiplied by 10, and the number of middle-skilled workers by 2.6 within 10 years (Planning Commission, 2014). This was complemented by sectoral studies of skills needs, covering construction (Lema et al., 2015) and transport (Rwebangira, 2016).
Skills development

Tanzania’s skills development system faces the challenge of training 800,000 young people who enter the labour market each year. The total capacity of the formal TVET system is about 400,000 to 500,000 trainees (World Bank, 2018). Non-formal and informal training therefore represent the only option available to most young people, especially those living in rural areas, or school drop-outs.
Formal programmes include VET, TET and technical tertiary education (MoEST, 2017):

I. At secondary level, VET prepares students for ‘skilled occupations’ in agriculture, industry or trade, through competence-based training delivered by vocational training centres. VETA operates 26 public VTCs, offering courses in more than 90 trades. Public VET centres are run by other ministries, local governments and parastatal organizations. Private VET centres largely outnumber public ones; they may be run by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or faith-based organizations, or as for-profit businesses. Private providers tend to be smaller, and offer a narrow range of trades and qualifications. Overall, there were 164 public and 586 private VET centres in 2015. Enrolment in VET increased rapidly in the early 2010s (see figure 3).
At post-secondary, non-tertiary level, TET trains students who completed secondary education for occupations above ‘skilled occupations’, but below scientific or engineering professions. There were 567 public and private technical colleges in 2015. Public technical colleges represented about 70 per cent of the total. They are operated by MoEST and other ministries (including the National Institute of Transport and the National Social Welfare Training Institute), or parastatal organizations. TET enrolled 116,000 trainees in 2014.

At tertiary level, 52 public and private higher education institutions enrolled about 166,000 students in technical fields in 2015.
Improving delivery and assessment of training

Non-formal training is provided by a network of 56 Folk Development Colleges (FDC) located mostly in rural or semi-rural areas, and open to school drop-outs who could not enter formal TVET. The Integrated Post-Primary Education scheme, open to primary school graduates who could not enter secondary education, includes a pre-vocational stream to acquire skills for self-employment or employment, intended to provide a pathway to VET (MoEST, 2017).

Informal training includes informal apprenticeships in specific crafts and trades, and on-the-job training, for instance the transmission of skills in informal family activities, such as traditional agriculture or fisheries. According to the Integrated Labour Force Survey, 12 per cent of workers had received some training in 2014. More than one-quarter of those had gone through informal apprenticeships, with an average duration of 10 months; the proportion rose to nearly 40 per cent among informal sector workers. Some 10 per cent had received on-the-job training (NBS, 2015).

The delivery and assessment of training face issues of quality, management and regulation. Training institutions have inadequate facilities, equipment and teaching/learning materials, and cannot offer trainers salaries that compete with those paid in industrial and services firms. VET trainers are trained at a single, dedicated institution run by VETA, the Morogoro Vocational Instructors Training College. TET has no similar institution, and TET or tertiary education
graduates are hired as trainers. In-service training is limited, with few opportunities for industry exposure. The management of public institutions is another issue. Standards are set centrally, so VET and TET centres lack autonomy in staff recruitment and programme design. Links between centres and the private sector or research centres are limited, preventing the adaptation of training to labour market needs and innovation. Finally, many private providers are not registered by either VETA or NACTE. Their quality is not controlled, and the certificates they issue are not recognized (UNESCO–UNEVOC, 2016; World Bank, 2015).
Tanzania adopted a TVET qualifications framework in 2005, based on a standardization of TVET qualifications (UNESCO–UNEVOC, 2016). The adoption of the framework has facilitated the harmonization of accreditation procedures between VETA and NACTE, and has led to the definition of occupational standards and procedures for skills testing and certification. However, Tanzania is still far from having a comprehensive national qualifications framework that provides pathways between informal, non-formal and formal training, and between general education and TVET. First, the progression of students from VET to TET is still being piloted. Second, the Tanzania Commission for Universities maintains a separate qualifications framework for university degrees. Third, the framework does not yet cover skills acquired through informal and non-formal training (World Bank, 2015).

8. A qualifications framework is a formal description of learning levels and associated qualifications, covering the whole range of general and technical and vocational education and training, and their learning outcomes. It forms a basis for the development, improvement and assessment of education and training delivery.

9. The framework has ten levels. Levels 1 to 3, corresponding to VET, are associated with National Vocational Awards. Levels 4 to 7, corresponding to TET, are associated with National Technical Awards, ranging from basic technician qualifications (Level 4) to higher diplomas (Level 7). Levels 8 to 10 correspond to tertiary education (UNESCO–UNEVOC, 2016).
Recognition of prior learning in selected trades has been successfully piloted by VETA, with technical support from the ILO. Competency-based occupational standards were developed covering occupations with a high incidence of informal apprenticeships. As of 2018, 5,282 informal apprentices had been assessed, 89 per cent of whom were men; 90 per cent passed the assessment and received a national vocational award. The pilot programme generated strong demand, as 17,000 other informal apprentices were identified for RPL assessment in the future. Expanding VETA’s capacity to conduct RPL is key to the recognition of informal apprenticeships (ILO, 2018).

Quality assurance is fragmented. VETA and NACTE are both responsible for the accreditation of training programmes. Their mandates overlap, and some training providers can or must apply for accreditation from both institutions. This makes it more difficult for VETA or NACTE to close a programme that does not comply with their regulations, as the programme can continue to operate under its other accreditation. Besides, the capacity of VETA and NACTE to conduct their regulatory roles is strained, and VETA has faced a potential conflict of interest, being both a regulator and a training provider (World Bank, 2015). The transfer of VETA’s regulatory functions to NACTE is being envisaged to clarify the situation.

\(^{10}\) Including motor mechanics, carpentry and joinery, masonry and bricklaying, food production, and food and beverage services in a first stage, and tailoring and sewing, plumbing and pipe fitting, auto body repair, welding and metal fabrication, and electric installations in a second stage.
Access to formal TVET is limited by the relatively small number of training providers and their geographical concentration in urban areas and more prosperous regions. Further barriers include entry requirements, which exclude youth who did not complete lower or upper secondary education, and costs – the cost of attending a 10-month VETA training is higher than the annual income of 40 per cent of Tanzanian households. Non-formal programmes such as Folk Development Colleges provide an alternative, especially since they are in rural areas, but their capacity is limited (World Bank, 2015).
Supporting transitions to the labour market

Tanzanian youth face a difficult transition to the labour market. Many drop out from the education system, with low learning outcomes and no qualifications. Due to the informal nature of the economy and the scarcity of wage employment, most youth enter the labour market through self-employment. Formal employment services are underdeveloped, so informal networks are key to securing a job. These issues have been recognized in policy documents, including the 2008 National Employment Policy. Reforms of primary education (with the ‘Big Results Now in Education’ programme started in 2013/14) and of TVET have been the key response. Other interventions by the Government, NGOs or development partners specifically address employment. For instance, the ministerial Small Industries Development Organization provides business development services to prospective and current entrepreneurs. An NGO, Buni, offers internships and mentoring to university students to assist them in setting up a business. The Youth Entrepreneurship Facility, a partnership involving the ILO, offers apprenticeships in business development services for young graduates through its Kazi Nje Nje programme. By 2015, the programme had led to the creation of 5,000 new businesses employing more than 11,000 young people, including the business owners (Haji, 2015). The ILO’s SKILL-UP project also supports apprenticeships as a bridge between training and employment (ILO, n.d.).
Continuous training has the potential for improved employability and earning in both formal and informal firms. The 2013 Tanzania Enterprise Survey found that 40 per cent of formal firms cited an inadequately educated workforce as a constraint, and 63 per cent of failed firms reported that a shortage of workers with the right skills had contributed to their collapse. At the same time, only 30 per cent of firms provided training to their employees in 2016, mostly in-house, with limited use of external providers, who were not always accredited (World Bank, 2016). Training programmes can have a positive impact on employed and self-employed workers in Tanzania. For instance, a business training programme targeting women with small businesses in urban areas, which combined in-class sessions on managerial and technical skills with individual visits from business coaches, facilitated the adoption of new practices and increased the revenue of the most experienced women (Bardasi et al., 2017).

Adult education courses are provided by the Institute of Adult Education, but these have limited capacity, and are not conducted in cooperation with employers.
Key challenges
The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania has made TVET reform a priority with the adoption of the ambitious National Skills Development Strategy. However, pending implementation of the strategy, the system still faces challenges typical of low-income countries:

1. **Fragmented governance.**

VETA, NACTE and TCU operate separately, and there is little coordination of provision and regulation across the three levels. The National Skills Development Strategy includes the creation of a unified agency.

2. **Limited social dialogue.**

Employers’ organizations and trade unions interact with training providers and the Government on an informal and ad hoc basis, but no formal mechanisms are in place to ensure that TVET responds to the needs of young people and their prospective employers.

3. **Insufficient financing.**

TVET receives a minor share of a constrained education budget, and the Skills Development Levy is largely diverted to general higher education, at a time when the sector needs to expand dramatically and improve its quality.
4 Weak information basis.

Tanzania lacks a fully functional labour market information system (LMIS) or TVET-management information system (TVET-MIS), or the capacity to conduct skills forecasting and value-chain analysis on a regular basis.

5 Insufficient capacity of TVET centres providing poor-quality training.

While 800,000 young people join the labour market each year, the capacity of TVET at secondary and tertiary levels does not exceed 400,000 to 500,000. Most training centres have inadequate physical, financial and human resources. Public centres lack managerial autonomy, while many private centres are unregistered and unaccredited. As a result, very large numbers of young people who did not complete secondary education and/or live in rural areas have no access to TVET. At the same time, even those who graduated from TVET are found to lack adequate skills by formal firms, and face a difficult transition to the labour market, due to lack of jobs.
Stretched capacity for skills recognition and quality assurance.

A TVET qualifications framework exists, but does not guarantee pathways within TVET, and between TVET and general education, nor the recognition of skills acquired informally. The capacity of VETA and NACTE to conduct quality assurance is stretched.
The way forward
Tanzania’s key challenge is not policy design, but implementation. Development partners have sought to support implementation of the National Skills Development Strategy, which provides a comprehensive framework for interventions aimed at systemic improvement. However, smaller-scale interventions such as training programmes targeting disadvantaged populations can also make a difference. The most promising solutions would include:

1. **Continued support to governance reforms.**

   Including the coordination of public institutions involved in training delivery and quality assurance, involvement of the private sector, and representation of the informal sector in social dialogue.

2. **Support to data collection and analysis.**

   Establishing a national labour market information system will require coordinated support from several development partners in the long term. A TVET-management information system could be set up more rapidly with VETA and NACTE.
Building a network of pilot/excellence centres addressing the needs of priority sectors identified by the NFYDP II, by upgrading selected existing training providers and/or creating new institutions.

Operationalizing the TVET qualifications framework and expanding RPL for informal-sector workers.

Raising the coverage and quality of basic, general education, which at present does not provide a firm foundation for TVET.

Providing training programmes for disadvantaged groups and for lifelong learning.

This could include work with the Institute of Adult Education, the Open University of Tanzania, VET centres or Folk Development Colleges, to develop flexible programmes and delivery modes using information and communication technologies.
Gradually introduce and strengthen work-based learning in selected sectors and skills sets.

This could include formal apprenticeships and guided internship programmes, to promote skills relevance and quicker labour market transitions for graduates.
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