



# **Agricultural and Food Security Policies and Small Scale Farmers in the East African Community**

## **5 - Tanzania**

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*Contribution to ESAFF regional advocacy strategy*

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**Summary:**

The study *Agricultural and Food Security policies and small-scale farmers in the East African Community* was conducted by Gret as part of INVOLVE project conducted by ESAFF (*Eastern and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers' Forum* ) to review:

- the main policy commitments on agriculture and food security in East Africa, at national and regional levels, as well as the state of implementation and the main strengths, weaknesses and constraints for this implementation,
- the degree of involvement the civil society organisations, and specifically small scale farmers' organisations, in the policy process and their positions on these policies.

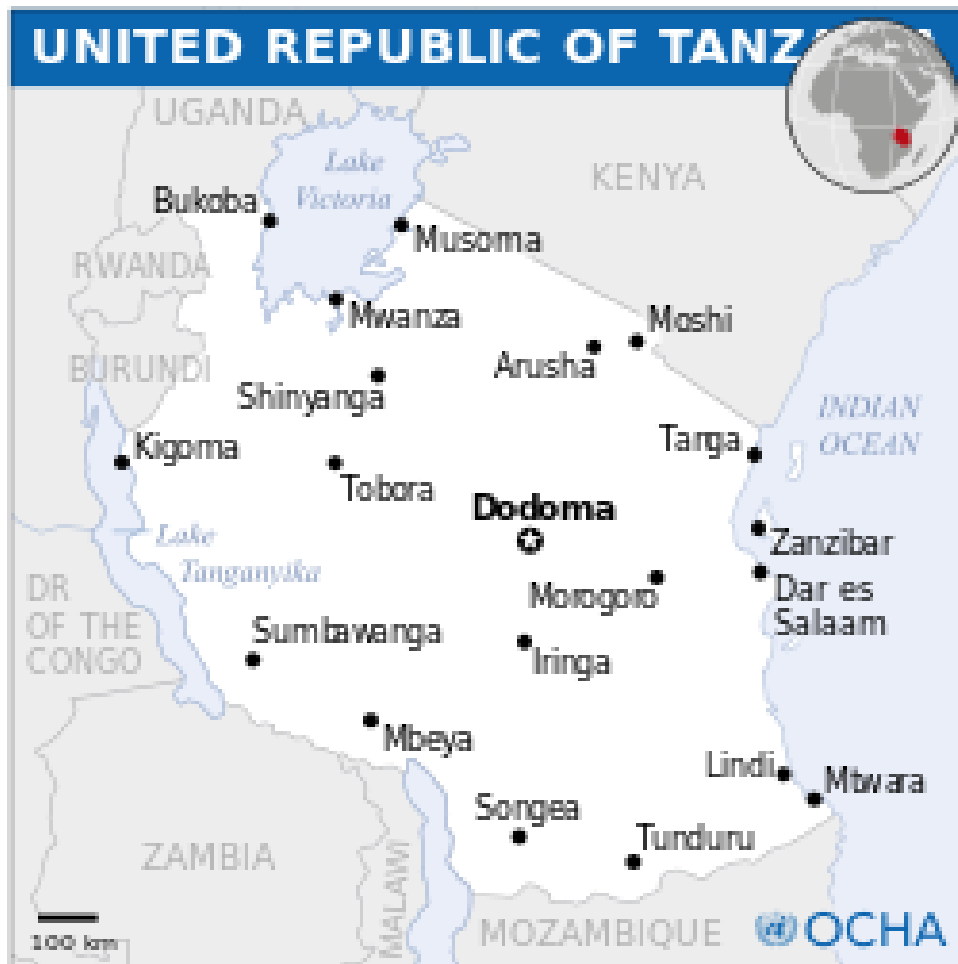
The present report is related to the study conducted in Tanzania.

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## ACRONYMS

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ACT	Agricultural Council of Tanzania
AGRA	Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa
AMSDP	Agricultural Marketing Systems Development Programme
ANSAF	Agricultural Non State Actors Forum
ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development Strategy
ASLM	Agriculture Sector Lead Ministry
ASP	Agricultural Sector Programme (Zanzibar)
AU	African Union
BRN	Big Results Now
CAADP	The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CET	Common External Tariff
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agriculture Research
COWABAMA	Community-collective Warehouse-Based Markets
DASIP	District Agriculture Sector Investment Project
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EAC	East African Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ESAFF	Eastern and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers' Forum
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FYDP	Five Year Development Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GHI	Global Hunger Index
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILD	Institute for Liberty and Democracy
KK	Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First)
LGA	Local Government Authority
LTPP	Long Term Perspective Plan
MAFSC	Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP)
MKURABITA	Property and Business Formalisation Programme (PBFP)
MKUZA	Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (ZSGRP)
MNC	Multi-National Company
MVIWATA	Mtandao wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania (National Network of Farmers' Groups in Tanzania)
NAFSN	New Alliance on Food Security and Nutrition
NALP	National Agriculture and Livestock Policy
NAP	National Agriculture Policy
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NFRA	National Food Reserve Agency
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NKRA	National Key Results Area
NNS	National Nutrition Strategy
NSA	Non State Actor
NSGRP	See MKUKUTA
PADEP	Participatory Agricultural Development Programme
PBFP	See MKURABITA
PMO	Prime Minister Office
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RFSP	Rural Financial Services Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
SUN	Scalling Up Nutrition
TAFSIP	Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan

TALA	Tanzanian Land Alliance
TFC	Tanzania Federation of Cooperatives
TNBC	Tanzania National Business Council
TSh	Tanzanian Shilling
TTEJF	Tanzanian Trade and Economic Justice Forum
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USD	US Dollar
ZSGRP	See MKUZA



## INTRODUCTION

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The present report was produced as part of INVOLVE project (*Involving small scale farmers in policy dialogue and monitoring for improved food security in the East African Region*) implemented by ESAFF (*Eastern and Southern Africa Small Scale Farmers' Forum*) in the five countries of the East African Community (EAC), namely Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, in partnership with the Tanzanian small-scale farmers organisation MVIWATA and the French NGO Gret, with the participation of the other ESAFF members in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda, and with the financial support of the European Union. INVOLVE project aims at strengthening the capacities of ESAFF and its members in the five countries of the East African Community (EAC):

- to contribute to the formulation and monitoring of the policies that have an impact on food security at local, national and regional levels;
- to foster agricultural commodities' trade within the region, building on MVIWATA-managed district-based bulk markets as pilot experience. MVIWATA has been supporting these bulk markets in various regions for more than ten years, in order to enhance market access for small scale farmers and improve trade conditions to their benefit.

### **Objectives and scope of the study**

The objective of the study *Agricultural and Food Security policies and small-scale farmers in the East African Community* is to enable each ESAFF organisation to influence the situation in the countries of the EAC, as well at regional level. Specifically, the study is aimed at helping ESAFF organisations to build their national advocacy strategy and a regional strategy at EAC level.

The study does not intend to bring ready-made solutions or advocacy positions to be taken directly by ESAFF members. It intends to create a common understanding of food and agricultural policies of the five countries among ESAFF members.

An essential step of this study will be to put in debate the observations and the findings. Such debates will hopefully bring new questions on the table, new perspectives from other countries' experiences and fresh ideas to advance small scale farmers' interests.

This debate should help each ESAFF member organisation to make its own choices in terms of policy they want and advocacy they need to conduct.

The geographical coverage of the study is the same as the East African Community. This is due to the coverage of INVOLVE project and it makes sense in terms of regional agricultural policies. However, linkages among ESAFF members could be done at a large scale, involving other neighbouring countries.

The study focused on the following questions:

- What are the main policy commitments on food security in East Africa, at national and regional levels?
- What are the positions of civil society organisations on these policies?
- How is the civil society involved in the policy process and how does it monitor such commitments?

## **Methodological approach**

As explained above, the purpose of the work is not to conduct an exhaustive research on agricultural and food security policies. It is more to mobilise knowledge of each country's situation to create exchange and debate among ESAFF members, in order to build the best possible advocacy strategies.

The methodological approach remained pragmatic and tried to use the best the limited resources available:

- Desk research on the context for food and nutrition security in the region and in the countries: situation, trends and key policies; and
- Interviews in country of key stakeholders: farmers' organisations, NGOs, civil society networks, ministries, academics, etc.

Study work was conducted by Laurent Levard and Louis Pautrizel, Gret experts in agricultural policies, with the participation of Cécile Laval for literature review activities, as part of a traineeship, in close relationship with ESAFF member organisations in the countries. Due to the constraints in time and resources, interviews and meetings had to be conducted in one week per country, leading to some gaps in the collection of data and interviews with stakeholders. However, as explained above, the study doesn't aim at being exhaustive in all policies and actors involved, but at creating debate and exchange among ESAFF members.

The findings were presented to and discussed with ESAFF members during a regional workshop, held in Dar es Salaam in September 2014.

The support provided by ESAFF members was extremely useful in identifying stakeholders, getting contacts, analysing primary raw information, etc. The result of the study is obviously influenced by what ESAFF members in the countries consider as key issues.

The authors thank all of the people they have interviewed for their cooperation in making this study possible.

## **The report on *Tanzania***

This report presents the findings of the specific study conducted on *agricultural and food security policies in Tanzania*, in complement of specific studies conducted *in the other countries* and at *regional level*. A *summary report* of all the specific studies is also available.

The study for Tanzania was conducted by Laurent Levard, Gret expert on agricultural policies. The report successively presents:

- a brief outlook on agriculture and food and nutrition security in Tanzania,
- the main commitments, achievements and gaps regarding agricultural and food security policies,,
- the main civil society actors and their participation in agricultural policy processes,
- conclusions and recommendations.

## I. BRIEF OUTLOOK ON AGRICULTURE, AND FOOD AND NUTRITION SECURITY IN TANZANIA

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### 1. Agriculture

Agriculture is the main economic sector of the Tanzanian economy employing, according to FAOStat, about 74% of the total labour force in 2013 (18,35 of a total of 24,68 million labour force). 55% of the labour force employed in agriculture are women<sup>1</sup>. A study on livelihood groups conducted in 2008-09 shows that 57.7 % of households were categorized into one of the agriculture-based livelihood groups, included 43.2% into the “crops production group” with more than 50% household income from crops alone; 6.1% into the “livestock production group” with more than 50% income from livestock alone; and 8.4% into the “agriculture-mixed” group with more than 50% income from combined agriculture wage, livestock and crop production<sup>2</sup>.

Annual growth of labour force in agriculture amount to 2.68% between 2008 and 2013 (3.36% for total labour force)<sup>3</sup>.

In 2012, agriculture contributed to about 24% of GDP (17.6% for crop production and 4.6% for livestock production)<sup>4</sup>. During the period 2001-2012, annual growth of the agricultural sector averaged 4.2 percent, while annual growth of the total economy averaged 6.6 percent<sup>5</sup>. Consequently the contribution of agriculture to total GDP has decreased from 32.5% in 2002 to 24% in 2012<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> FAOStat

<sup>2</sup> 2011-12 Tanzanian Panel Survey, quoted in World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>3</sup> FAOStat

<sup>4</sup> MAFSC, 2013

<sup>5</sup> FAO, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> Mbilinyi Apronius, 2011

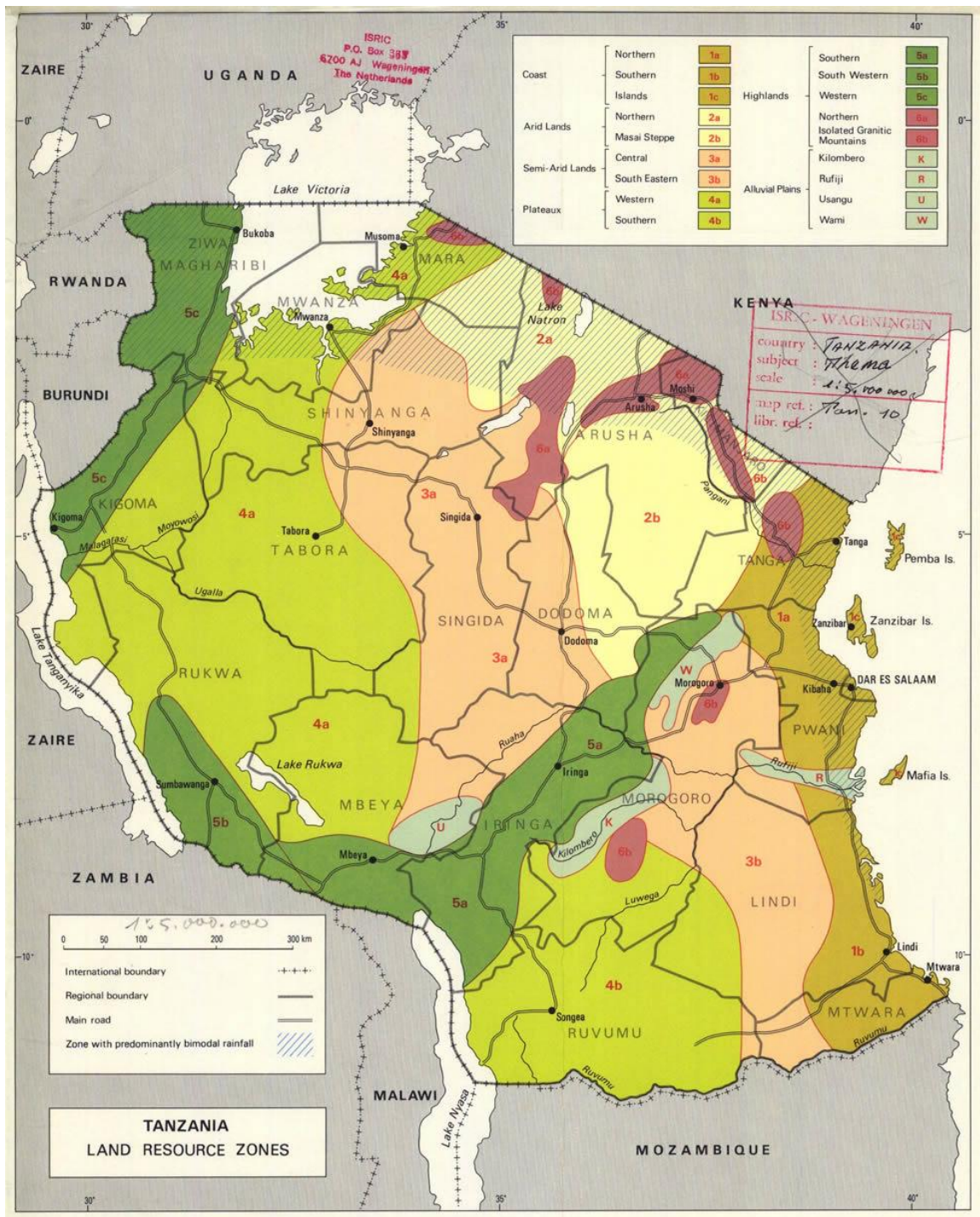
Tanzanian agriculture is dominated by smallholder farming. The average size of a cultivated farm plot is 2.6 hectares and around 85% of farmers own fewer than four hectares of land. Just one third of Tanzanian farmers sell some of their produced crops (34%)<sup>7</sup>.

Small-scale farmers used to cultivate a diversity of crops (53% of them cultivate four or more crops<sup>8</sup>), but a majority of them don't have livestock. Other one are pastoralists. However part of small-scale farmers have both crops and livestock activities. Apart from the small scale farming, there are large estates, particularly for export products.

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<sup>7</sup> World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>8</sup> World Food Programme, 2013.



Natural Resources Institute (NRI), Chatham. The scientific arm of the Overseas Development Administration.

10.8 million hectares are under crop production, while Tanzania is endowed with about 44 million hectares of arable land<sup>9</sup>.

The main agroecological zones are :

- The Humid to dry sub-humid zone (9%, mainly in the Southern and South Western highlands, as well as in Indian Ocean Islands)
- The dry sub-humid to semi-arid zone (30%, mainly in North Western and Western highlands and plateaux, in Southern plateaux and in the Coast)
- The semi-arid zone (30%, mainly in the South of the Western plateau, in central lands, and South Eastern lands),
- The arid zone (30%, Masai Steppe and Northern lands).

Here are some the main characteristics of technologies used by the Tanzanian farmers<sup>10</sup>:

- 95% of rural households are using hand hoes. Respectively 9% and 18% of the farmers own or rent an ox-drawn plough. Mechanized tractor plough is used by 3% of the farmers (respectively owned or rent by 0.2% and 2.8% of them) ;
- 32% of farmers are using fertilizers (21% use organic fertilizers and 16.5% inorganic);
- 17% of farmers use sowed improved variety;
- 4% of farmers use irrigation systems. This translates to only 1.8% of Tanzania's cultivated land being irrigated. Those farmers who do irrigate mostly use traditional methods: 70% use furrow irrigation (controlled fields flooding using hills) and 18% watering buckets;
- One third of farmers store part of their production with two third of them using sacks or open drums. Only 6% of farmers use modern storage structures and air-tight drums, capable of decreasing post-harvest losses.

In 2011, the availability of arable land and land under permanent crop amounted to 0.77 ha per person economically active in agriculture, with very few change over the last decade (0.73 ha in 2011)<sup>11</sup>.

The main crops are cassava (5.46 million tons in 2012), maize (5.10), sweet potatoes (3.02), sugar cane (2.90), bananas (2.52), cow milk (1.85), paddy rice (1.80), vegetables (1.76), potatoes (1.23) and beans (1.20)<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> MAFSC, 2013

<sup>10</sup> World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>11</sup> FAOStat.

<sup>12</sup> FAOStat.

In value, the main commodities are cattle meat (783 million TSh), bananas (711), beans (685), maize (668), milk (578), cassava (570), paddy (472), groundnuts (348), vegetables (331) and sunflower seeds (308)<sup>13</sup>.

Globally, food crops account for about 65 percent of agricultural GDP, while cash crops<sup>14</sup> account for about 10 percent and livestock production to 21 percent<sup>15</sup>.

The main crops for export are coffee, cashew nuts, tea, sesame, cotton and tea<sup>16</sup>.

The average yields are relatively low comparatively with other countries. The most recent centered five-year average yield available is 2010 (i.e. average of 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012), with 13.2 t/ha for maize and 19.7 t/ha for rice.

Production volumes of the main commodities have been increasing in the last decade at a significant but irregular pace. The annual growth of cereals production from 2001 to 2011 amounted to 5.6%, while the annual growth of meat production didn't exceed 1.1%<sup>17</sup>. At the same time, total population was increasing 2.9% per year. Production Growth is mainly due to an increase of cultivated land and not to an improvement of yields, which suggests serious limitations in terms of intensification of the production.

For example, as shown in the charts above, the increase in maize production in the last decade is due to an acreage expansion, while there is a stagnation of average yields. Regarding rice, the main driver of growth of agricultural output is also the increase of the cultivated area. However there is also an increase of average rice yields.

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<sup>13</sup> FAOStat.

<sup>14</sup> The term « Cash crops is used here to mean « cash crops, excluding food crops» (actually, for farmers, some food crops are also cash crops when the sell part of the production volumes).

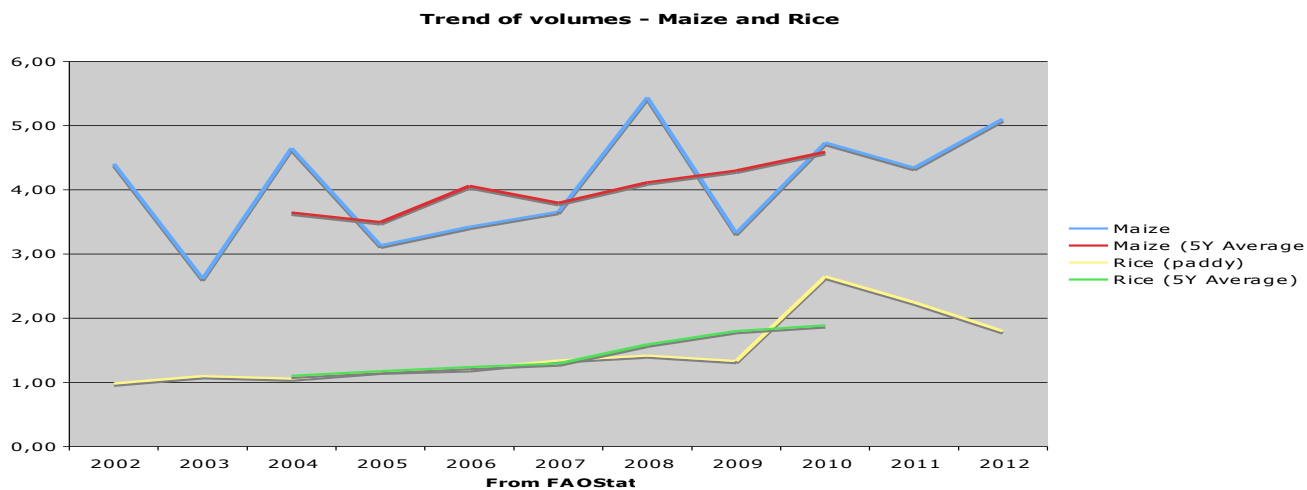
<sup>15</sup> MAFSC, October 2013

<sup>16</sup> FAOStat.

<sup>17</sup> FAOStat.



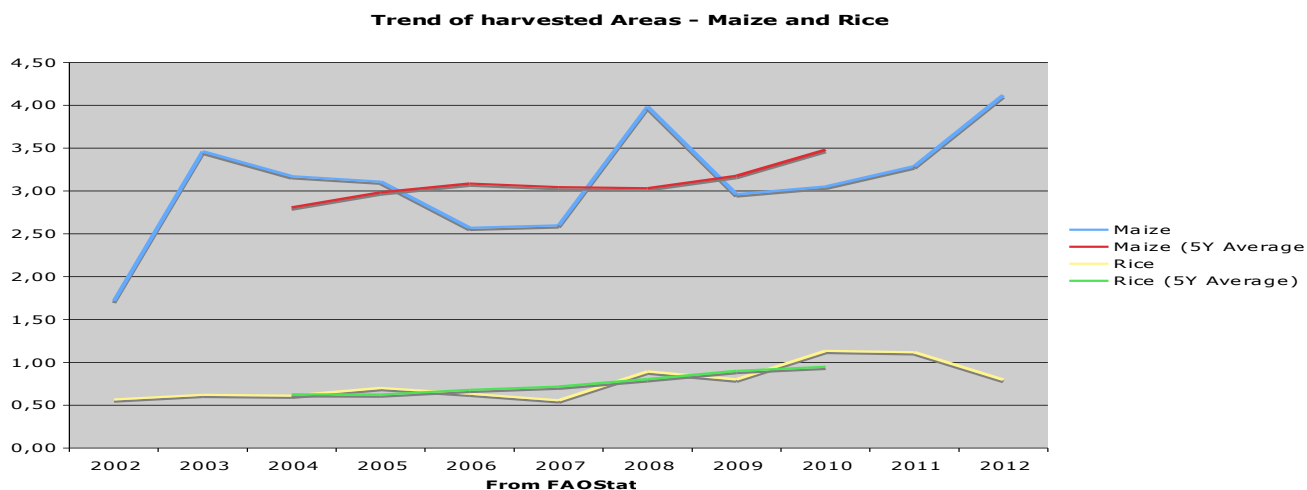
**Evolution of maize and rice production in Tanzania (2002-12) (million tonnes)**



*(2010' 5 Year average means the average of 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012)*

Source : FAO Stats

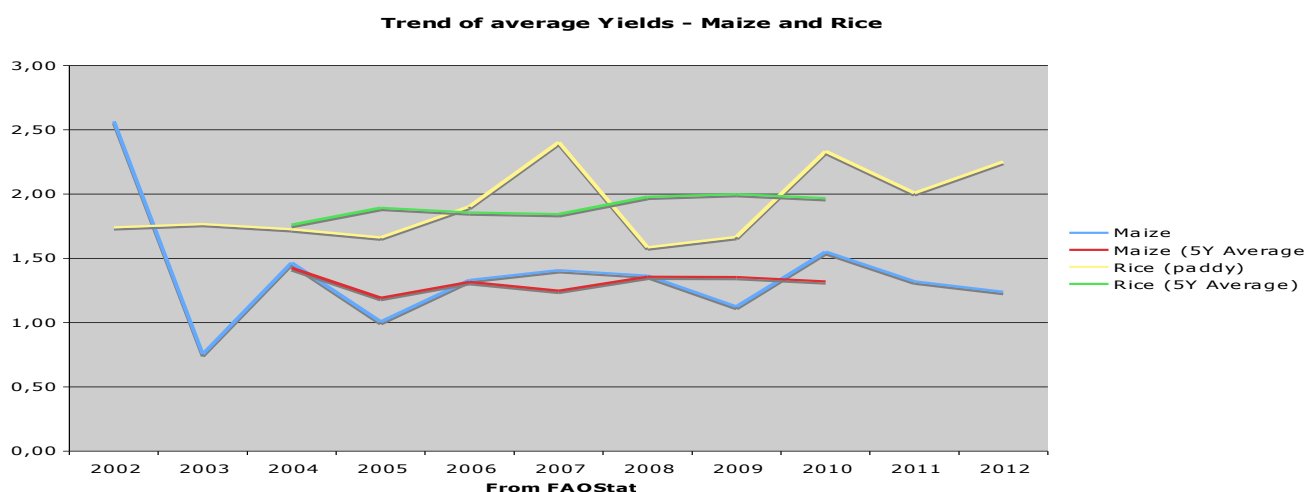
**Evolution of maize and rice harvested areas in Tanzania (2002-12) (million ha)**



*(2010' 5 Year average means the average of 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012)*

Source : FAO Stats

## Evolution of maize and rice yields in Tanzania (2002-12) (t/ha)



(2010' 5 Year average means the average of 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012)

Source : FAO Stats

Tanzania is mainly importing wheat (grain wheat and flour) palm oil, sugar. It also imports other products in smaller quantities, in particular barley, maize, rice, malt, beverages and soy-bean oil. Most of the products are imported from the global market, with some imports from South Africa and from the other countries of the EAC, mainly Kenya (in particular manufactured food products) and Uganda.

Apart from traditional and non-traditional exports to the global market (mainly coffee, cashew nuts, tobacco, cotton lint and tea), Tanzania exports some agricultural commodities to the other countries of the region (mainly EAC countries), in particular maize.

Intra-regional trade has been increasing over the last decade. Tanzania tends to export agricultural commodities and to import manufactured products. However it also imports some agricultural commodities. Depending on the season and on the year, Tanzania imports or exports the same kind of products with its neighbouring countries. Cross-border trade plays a significant role for agriculture and food security in the Western, North Western and South Western border regions that are far from Dar-es-Salaam, which is the main consumption and import center in the country. Regarding maize and rice, Tanzania is a net importer (depending on the years for maize). However it also exports part of its production to the other countries of the region (in particular to Kenya).

## 2. Food and nutrition security

### 2.1 Population

In 2013, Tanzanian population amounted to 49,2 million inhabitants, with a growth rate of 3.1% over the last five years<sup>18</sup>. This corresponds to a population density of 56 inhabitant/km<sup>2</sup>. 72,4% of the population is rural and 27,6% urban. Rural population tends to decrease, mainly in relative terms (76,6% in 2003) but in absolute terms too, although very slowly (- 0.6% per year).

The GDP per capita amounts to 1.654 \$ in 2012, which means an increase by 47% over the 2002-12 period and by 19% over the 2007-12 period (the GDP per capita was respectively 1.124 and 1.386 \$ in 2002 and 2007).

Depending on the data sources and the calculation methods, estimations of poverty differ strongly. According to the World Bank, poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line was 28.2% in 2012, being the ration higher in rural area than in urban area (respectively 33.3% and 15.5%)<sup>19</sup>.

### 2.2 Food Security

The Global Hunger Index is a comprehensive measure of food security, including hunger and malnutrition, calculated every year by IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) and based on three indicators: Proportion of people who are calorie deficient, Child malnutrition prevalence and Child mortality. Countries are ranked on a 100-point scale with 0 being the best score (no hunger) and 100 being the worst. In 2011, GHI value for Tanzania was 20.1, which is considered as an alarming situation. Improvement was very limited over the previous decade, (GHI value was 23.6 in 2001)<sup>20</sup>.

The figures for undernourishment (deficit in calories) even suggest a deterioration of the situation. The prevalence of undernourishment amounted to 39% in 2010-12 (18 million of people), with represents an increase in relation with the 2004-06 period (35%, 14 million of people)<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly, and according to the Tanzania Demographic and Heath Survey (DHS) 2000-2010, the share of the households that were highly food deficient<sup>22</sup> increased from 23.7% in 2008-09 to 29.2% in 2010-11. The proportion is higher in Zanzibar (40.5% in 2010-11) and in rural

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<sup>18</sup> FAOStat.

<sup>19</sup> World Bank Website (data)

<sup>20</sup> Mbilinyi Apronius, 2011

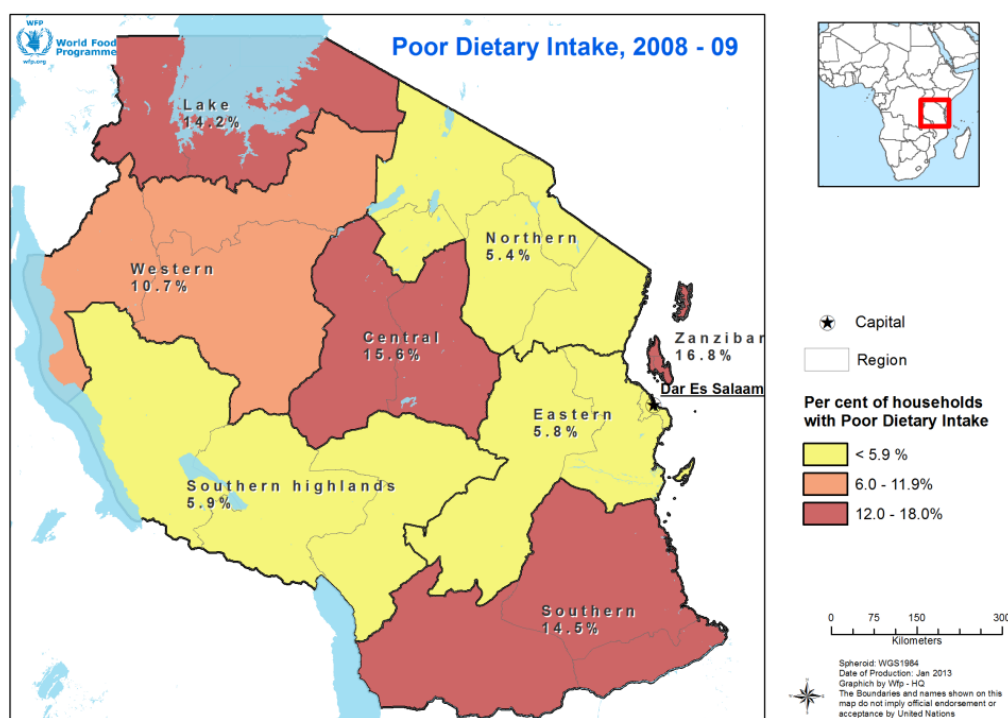
<sup>21</sup> <http://www.fao.org/hunger/hunger-home/en/>

<sup>22</sup> I.e. deficient by more than 300 calories daily per household member.

areas (33.1%) than in Dar es Salaam (14.0%) and in the rest of urban centers (22.2%)<sup>23</sup>. In rural areas, a too low agricultural productivity, which is sometimes exacerbated by droughts or excess of rainfalls, often prompts food shortages. Then, food accessibility is frequently a problem three to four months before harvest when people do not have enough monetary resources to access to sufficient quantities of food.

On the other side, in 2010-11, the diet diversity was low for 18% of the households (17.1% in Zanzibar, 21.6% in rural areas, 5.0% in Dar es Salaam and 9.8% in the rest of urban centers)<sup>24</sup>.

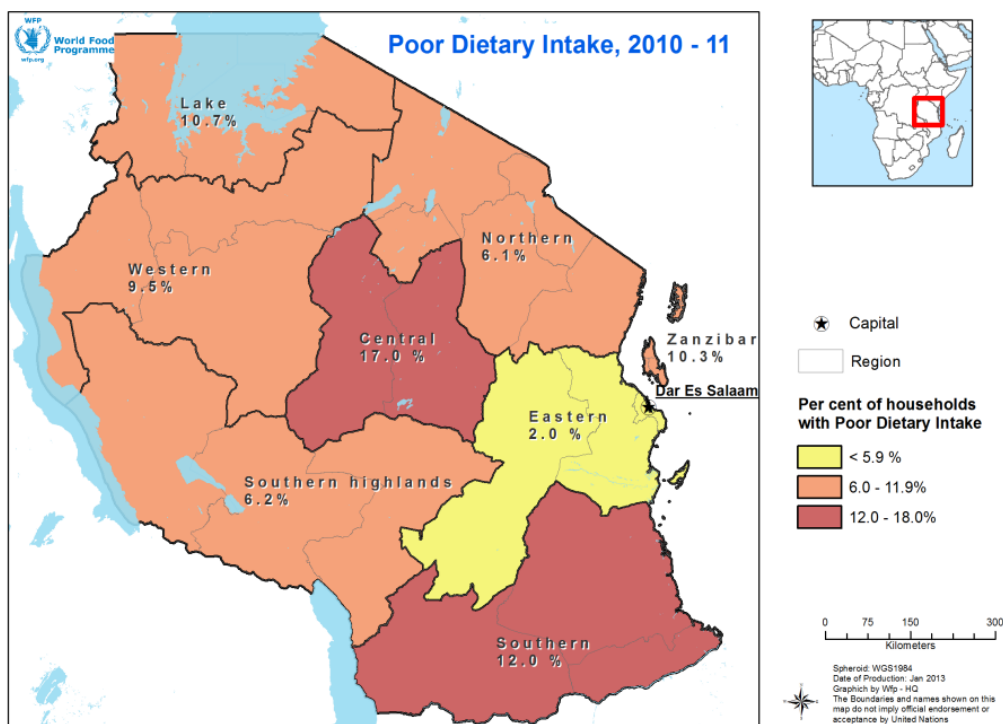
In 2010-11, 8.3% of the households were considered to have a poor dietary intake, i.e. classified as both being highly food energy deficient and having low diet diversity (10.3% in Zanzibar, 10.5% in rural areas, 1.4% in Dar es Salaam and 4.2% in the rest of urban centers). As the maps below show, Central, Lake and Southern Regions, as well as Zanzibar, tends to have to higher percentage, which suggests higher levels of food insecurity<sup>25</sup>.



<sup>23</sup> World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>24</sup> I.e. households that, over the course of the seven day reporting period, consumes foods from four or fewer of the seven food groups, namely 1) cereals, roots and tubers; 2) pulses and legumes; 3) dairy products; 4) oils and fats; 5) meat, fish, eggs; 6) fruits; and 7) vegetables. World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>25</sup> World Food Programme, 2013



Regarding nutrition security status, and according to the same survey

- 42% of children under age five were stunted in 2010-11<sup>26</sup>, with a higher prevalence among rural children: 45% compared with 32% of urban<sup>27</sup>. It should be a clear improvement between 1999 and 2010 as child stunting fell from 44 to 35%<sup>28</sup>;
- Wasting<sup>29</sup> occurred in 4.8% of Tanzanian children<sup>30</sup>, with a slight improvement between 1999 and 2010 (from 5% to 4%)<sup>31</sup>;
- Prevalence of underweight<sup>32</sup> was 16% (20% in Zanzibar, 17% in rural areas and 12% in urban areas)<sup>33</sup>. Here also, it should be noted a clear improvement between 1999 and 2010 (respectively 29% and 21%)<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Stunting (low height per age) reflects failure to receive adequate nutrition over a long period of time and is affected by recurrent and chronic illness; it represents long-term effects of malnutrition and is not sensitive to recent short term changes in dietary intake.

<sup>27</sup> Using new growth standards.

<sup>28</sup> This figure for 2010 (35%) differs from the figure mentioned above (42%). 42% figure is calculated on the basis of the new growth standards, while the 35% figure corresponds to the old growth standards and can be used to compare with 1999' situation – National Bureau of Statistics, 2011 - Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2011

<sup>29</sup> Wasting (or thinness, low weight per height) represents the failure to receive adequate nutrition in the period immediately preceding the survey and may be the result of inadequate food intake or a recent episode of illness causing loss of weight and the onset of malnutrition.

<sup>30</sup> Using new growth standards.

<sup>31</sup> Using old growth standards - National Bureau of Statistics, 2011

Despite the improvements above mentioned, Tanzanian Ministry of Health stress that “the prevalence of child underweight and stunting are still high according to criteria of the World Health Organization and millions of children and women in Tanzania continue to suffer from one or more forms of undernutrition, including low birth weight, stunting, underweight, wasting, vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency disorders and anaemia”<sup>35</sup>.

### 3. Main challenges

Although agricultural output has been increasing over the last decade, the global performance of the sector can hardly be considered as satisfactory, especially considering that:

- The growth in agricultural output is not significantly higher than the growth of the population, or, even worse, is lower for some products (meat);
- Tanzania is commonly considered to have a high potential for agriculture production and that this potential is underused;
- A stronger growth of production volumes would make it possible:
  - o to reduce some food exports, and thus contribute to improve the trade balance, in a context in which urban population will continue to grow and food consumption patterns will continue to change (increased demand of animal products);
  - o to increase availability and diversity (meat, daily products, vegetables) of food for the population, and thus to contribute the food and nutrition security,
  - o to increase farming families’ incomes and thus improve their own food security, livelihoods and their capacity to invest in the farming activities,
  - o to facilitate the development of food industries in the country and thus create value-added and offer new jobs,
  - o to reduce food shortages in the most affected regions,
  - o to increase availability of food for the neighbouring food-deficient countries, and
  - o to increase agricultural exports, and thus to improve the Tanzanian balance of trade and generate new resources for the development of the country.

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<sup>32</sup> Underweight (low weight per age) is a composite index of stunting and wasting. It takes into account both chronic and acute malnutrition. – New growth standards.

<sup>33</sup> World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>34</sup> Using old growth standards - National Bureau of Statistics, 2011

<sup>35</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2011

- The growth of agricultural production is mainly due to an increase of the cultivated area, while yields are growing only slightly or even are stagnating. This reveals the constraints faced by farmers –and especially by small-scale farmers- to access to and implement technologies for increasing their productivity, namely availability of appropriate technologies for the solution of their specific problems and challenges, access to financing for investments and annual expenses (only 2.2% of farmers receive credit for the purchase of agricultural inputs<sup>36</sup>), and technical support. It probably also reveals an increasing soil fertility crisis in many areas, that is exacerbated by climate change and that needs to be seriously addressed through appropriate technologies.
- While small-scale farming families represent the majority of the population -and an even larger majority of the poor and food-insecure population-, their agricultural outputs and incomes are not sufficient -and stable enough over time- to improve their livelihood, ensure their own food security and make them able to invest in their business and thus to increase their productivity and future incomes. Apart from the fact that yields are low, the availability of land per worker is very limited. This gives rise to the issues of access to land resources and of the means to increase the area cultivated by each worker. Another determinant of agricultural incomes is the access to markets and the prices the farmers are paid for their products. Sometimes, farmers have no physical access to markets. On the other hand, prices paid to farmers are very low as their bargaining power is very weak, specifically for perishable goods and when farmers have no capacity to storage the products and have to sell just after harvesting them<sup>37</sup>.

Consequently, increasing agricultural and food outputs, food industry capacity, small-scale farmers productivity and incomes, as well as making agriculture ecologically more sustainable, are main challenges for food security.

Other issues, more or less related with these challenges, should also be addressed:

- Food shortages and food price volatility, taking into account interests of both small-scale farmers and the other sectors of the population that are affected by food insecurity;
- More generally, the possible contradictions between the interest of urban poor consumers and those of farmers about food prices;
- Finally, nutrition issues, in particular malnutrition of young children which prevalence is still alarming and jeopardize their capacity to achieve a full physical and mental development.

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<sup>36</sup> World Food Programme, 2013

<sup>37</sup> Levard Laurent and Gabagambi Damian, 2012

## **II. AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD SECURITY POLICIES: COMMITMENTS, ACHIEVEMENTS AND GAPS**

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Despite progress made in adopting a more coordinated sectoral approach, agriculture and food security policies in Tanzania have continued to be implemented through many strategies, programmes and projects. We present below these different initiatives, before concluding with a short analysis of the global coherence, their strengths and weaknesses to address the main challenges of agriculture and food security challenges in Tanzania.

### **1. General policy framework**

#### **1.1 Tanzania Development Vision 2025 and Vision 2020 for Zanzibar**

All the initiatives are embedded under the National Vision 2025, formulated by the Government and adopted in 1999. “It outlines five main attributes that Tanzania is expected to have attained by the year 2025, namely (i) a high quality livelihood; (ii) peace stability and national unity; (iii) good governance; (iv) a well educated and learning society imbued with an ambition to develop; and (v) a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits. It envisages Tanzania’s graduation from a least developed into a middle income country, having eliminated abject poverty and maintaining a high economic growth of rate of at least 8 percent per annum”<sup>38</sup>. In addition, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has formulated the Zanzibar Vision 2020.

#### **1.2 MKUKUTA I and MKUKUTA II**

In February 2005 was approved the national Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), known under the Swahili acronym MKUKUTA in order to continue moving toward the achievement of the objectives of the National Vision 2025 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The strategy was set up in three clusters and cluster I cover issues related to growth and reduction of poverty. Phase I of MKUKUTA has been concluded in 2010, and Phase II (MKUKUTA II) has recently started<sup>39</sup>. Understanding the importance of increased food security and incomes for poverty reduction, the government set food security and income growth as key objectives in MKUKUTA II<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, “agriculture is given a prominent role in economic growth and poverty reduction since the rural sector contains the majority of the poor population”<sup>41</sup>. It also includes nutrition issues. In parallel, Zanzibar au-

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<sup>38</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>39</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>40</sup> Mbilinyi Apronius, 2011

<sup>41</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011



thorities have adopted the Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (ZSGRP), or MKUZA in Swahili.

### **1.3 Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP) 2011/12 – 2015/16**

In order to fast-track the realization of the Vision 2025 goals and objectives, the Government has formulated a Long Term Perspective Plan (LTTP) 2011/12 – 2025/26 which implementation is actually divided into three Five-Year development plans (FYDPs). It is underpinned into specific strategies for “unleashing Tanzania’s latent growth potential” including the creation of an enabling environment for the private sector to invest and participate in a wide range of opportunities<sup>42</sup>.

### **1.4 Big Results Now**

In February 2013, President Kikwete launched the “Big Results Now” initiative (BRN) aimed at translate high-level plans (particularly the FYDP I) and programmes into actual results, drawing on the experience of Malaysia. It consists in prioritizing key initiatives in “National Key Results Areas” (NKRA), developing and implementing detailed monitoring tools and ensuring accountability for performance. Under the Big Results Now initiative each Ministry will be expected to align its budget to the high-level initiatives of the government. For all the areas, the budget for three years (from 2013/14 to 2015/16) amounts to USD 10.3 BN, of which USD 4.86 BN for 2013/14. In October 2013 available budget for 2013/14 was USD 1.96 BN (Government and Donors partners funds), which means an USD 2.90 BN financial gap<sup>43</sup>.

## **2. Agriculture and food security specific initiatives**

### **2.1 Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS)**

“The Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) was formulated by the Government in 2001, to provide a framework for directing public and private resources into the sector, and for eventually contributing to the objective of growth and poverty reduction”<sup>44</sup>. ASDS primary objective is “to create an enabling and conducive environment for improving the productivity and profitability of the sector”<sup>45</sup>. The ASDS identifies five strategic issues: (i) strengthening the institutional framework; (ii) creating a favourable environment for commercial activities; (iii) clarifying public and private sector roles in improving support services; (iv)

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<sup>42</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>43</sup> Development Partners Group Tanzania, 2013

<sup>44</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>45</sup> United Republic of Tanzania and Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme( CAADP), 2010

strengthening marketing efficiency for inputs and outputs; and (v) mainstreaming planning for agricultural development in other sectors<sup>46</sup>.

## 2.2 Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP)

ASDS is implemented through the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP) in the mainland and the agricultural Sector Programme (ASP) in Zanzibar, sector-wide programmes which phase I (ADSP I and ASP I) was formulated with the donors, launched in 2006 and financed through a basket funding arrangement. These programmes aim at “increasing agricultural productivity and profitability, generating employment in rural areas and ensuring national and household food security. Implementation of the two programmes focuses on the following strategies: (i) to enable farmers to have better access to and use agricultural knowledge, technologies, marketing systems and infrastructure; and (ii) “to promote private investment based on an improved and regulatory environment”. They aim at the “transformation of the sector from subsistence to commercial agriculture” and they include as priority “the expansion of the area under irrigation and the promotion of water use efficiency”. The implementation of ASDP builds on existing institutional structures within a decentralisation process<sup>47</sup>.

ASDP and ASP are currently in a process of revision (ADSP II and ASP II). Doing so, they should fully take into account CAADP priorities<sup>48</sup>. Unlike ASDP I, ASDP II will include not only activities funded by the basket fund, but also those funded by the Government and by other stakeholders. Indeed, ASDP and ASP are to be the major governmental programmes for the implementation of CAADP (see below)<sup>49</sup>.

## 2.3 Kilimo Kwanza

President Kikwete launched Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First) initiative in August 2009, “as a central pillar in achieving the country’s Vision 2025 and a force to propel the realisation of the Nation’s socio-economic development goals. It is argued that Kilimo Kwanza is a catalyst for the implementation of ASDP and accelerates implementation and achievement of MDGs targets and objectives with a stronger emphasis for pro-poor growth”<sup>50</sup>. Actually it is considered that Kilimo Kwanza was conceptualised as a response to the fact that large-scale farmers were either not part of ASDP or were feebly implied.<sup>51</sup> Kilimo Kwanza was formulated by the Tanzania National Business Council (TNBC), which is a forum for public-private dialogue made up of 20 members from the public and the private sector respectively, and chaired by the

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<sup>46</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>47</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>48</sup> United Republic of Tanzania and Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), 2010

<sup>49</sup> United Republic of Tanzania and Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), 2010

<sup>50</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>51</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

President of Tanzania. As explained by Ana Rosengren, Kilimo Kwanza is thus “a public-private initiative [and not a centrally planned and funded initiative as ASDP] emphasising agricultural transformation through modernisation and commercialisation, large-scale projects and stronger Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) (.../....) Both in terms of management and vision, [Kilimo Kwanza is] a clear break away from the heavily public-centered ASDP, which have created a challenging situation with two competing national agricultural development strategies”<sup>52</sup>. Damian Gabagambi explains that “Kilimo Kwanza constitutes a dramatic reversal of previous agricultural policy, appealing to private, large-scale farmers and advocating the repeal of the Village Land Act to facilitate alienation of village land”<sup>53</sup>. As stressed by Brian Cooksey, Kilimo Kwanza reveals thus the emergence of Tanzanian commercial farmers as an active policy lobby<sup>54</sup>.

## 2.4 Southern Agricultural Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT)

SAGCOT is the first major project launched under the banner of Kilimo Kwanza<sup>55</sup>. It is “an international public-private partnership launched at the World Economic Forum on Africa in May 2010. Its mandate is to mobilise private sector investments and partnership to help achieve the goals of Tanzania’s Kilimo Kwanza Vision. The founding partners include large scale farmers/agri-business, the Government of Tanzania and companies from across the private sector from in and out the country. It is claimed that SAGCOT’s objective is to foster inclusive, commercially successful agribusinesses that will benefit the region’s small-scale farmers, and in so doing, improve the food security, reduce rural poverty and ensure environmental sustainability”<sup>56</sup>. The primary aim is thus to bring in large volumes of national and international private investment that can bring opportunities for smallholder farmers via “incentivising stronger linkages between smallholders and commercial agribusiness, including “hub and outgrower” schemes that allow smallholders in the vicinity of large-scale farms to access inputs, extension services, value-adding facilities and markets”<sup>57</sup>. “The corridor concept developed by SAGCOT aims to link the central infrastructure “spine” of road and rail (running from the port of Dar es Salaam through Morogoro, Iringa and Mbeya to Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi and Zambia) to targeted areas of high potential (the Clusters)”<sup>58</sup>. SAGCOT is expected to operate in six clusters namely Kilombero, Mbarali, Ihemi, Rudewa, Sumbawanga, and Rufiji.

The concept of “Agricultural growth corridors” is criticized by civil society. Helena Paul and Ricarda Steinbrecher note that “while claiming to increase agricultural productivity, these projects are likely to facilitate the appropriation of land and the displacement of small-scale farmers, while imposing high-scale industrial agriculture using hybrid and GM seed. The vision of the Corridors is to replace local small-scale agriculture for domestic markets and using

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<sup>52</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>53</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>54</sup> Cooksey Brian, 2013

<sup>55</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>56</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>57</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>58</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

local seed resources with an export-led focus. That focus is likely to put Africa's land, water and seeds under the control of international traders and investors"<sup>59</sup>.

## 2.5 CAADP and TAFSIP

"The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) is the agricultural programme of the New partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a programme of the African Union (AU), supported in particular by FAO. Established by the African Union Assembly in 2003, CAADP's goal is to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty through agriculture. To do this, African governments have agreed to increase public investment in agriculture by a minimum of 10 percent of their national budgets and raise agricultural productivity by at least six percent per annum. CAADP identifies four key pillars for food security improvement and agricultural investments. The CAADP is centred around the definition of national and regional plans ("Compacts"), an agreement between all stakeholders (public, private as well as donors) serving as a framework for partnerships, alliances, and dialogue to design and implement the required policy interventions and investment programs"<sup>60</sup>. The investments required for the implementation of the Compacts are included in an investment plan that also defines the roles of stakeholders, estimates the costs of executing certain actions and identifies sources of funding<sup>61</sup>.

In Tanzania, the national CAADP compact was signed in 2010. In coherence with the CAADP global framework, CAADP's pillars are: (1) Extending the area under sustainable land and water resource management; (2) Improving rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for improved market access; (3) Increasing food supply, reducing hunger and improving responses to food emergency crises; and (4) Improving agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption<sup>62</sup>.

CAADP Compact is supported by a 10-year investment plan, the Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP) 2011-12 / 2020-21, which officially "maps the investments needed to achieve the CAADP target of six per cent annual growth in agricultural sector GDP"<sup>63</sup>. TAFSIP framework includes seven thematic program areas, with an estimates of the costs for each one:

- Irrigation development, sustainable water resources and land use management (14% of the total cost),
- Production and rural commercialisation (71%),
- Rural infrastructure, market access and trade (4%),
- Private sector development (<1%),
- Food and nutrition security (2%),
- Disaster management, climate change adaptation and mitigation (1%),

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<sup>59</sup> McKeon Nora, 2014

<sup>60</sup> Rosengren Anna, July 2013.

<sup>61</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>62</sup> United Republic of Tanzania and Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme( CAADP), 2010

<sup>63</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

- Policy reform and institutional support (8%)<sup>64</sup>.

TAFSIP is presented as “the first comprehensive and fully harmonised approach to sectoral development which addresses a single set of objectives and agreed target for sectorial GDP growth” and as “distinctly different from ASFP/ASP which is a broadly-based development programme, but does not embrace all development initiatives in the sector, i.e. nutritional issues”. It is built on the already pre-existing ASDP/ASP framework that was expanded to accommodate more members and initiatives<sup>65</sup>.

TAFSIP is supposed to “forge a new relationship between Government and the development partners in which the partners will be requested to support the Government’s own programmes and projects using a flexible range of financing modalities”<sup>66</sup>.

TAFSIP implementation takes place through the ASDP/ASP sector-wide program comprising of programmes, projects and various initiatives operating at all levels in the administrative hierarchy. At the central level, the program is coordinated by the MAFSC and implemented by the five Agriculture Sector Lead Ministries (ASLMs) and other institutions and Ministries<sup>67</sup>.

According to Brian Cooksey, TAFSIP can be understood as a political move to replace ASDP as the main agricultural framework, while basically ignoring the Kilimo Kwanza by passing it as a mere “slogan”<sup>68</sup>.

According to the five-year budget, the total costs amount to TSh 8.75 billion (USD 5,304 million), including 10% from the Government. In 2011, only TSh 4.01 bn were available, which means a financial gap of TSh 4.75 bn<sup>69</sup>. Some stakeholders consider that the costs were over-estimated and without clear priorities. The Government has been seeking the support of the international community and the private sector in order to bridge the fund gap. Compared with ASDP 1 basket fund, TAFSIP benefits from the contribution of other donors (in particular USAID, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Clinton Foundation). Currently the financial gap has not been fulfilled and not all the planned activities have been implemented. Some traditional donors align part of their activities via SAGCOT and not via CAADP-TAFSIP, while “almost all emerging countries avoid aligning their assistance to any national strategy and rely on government demands without explicitly joining a cooperation framework”<sup>70</sup>. Anna Rosengren notes that “one of the key features of the CAADP approach is that should provide a single platform for partners to identify, align and coordinate their activities within a clear agricul-

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<sup>64</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>65</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>66</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>67</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

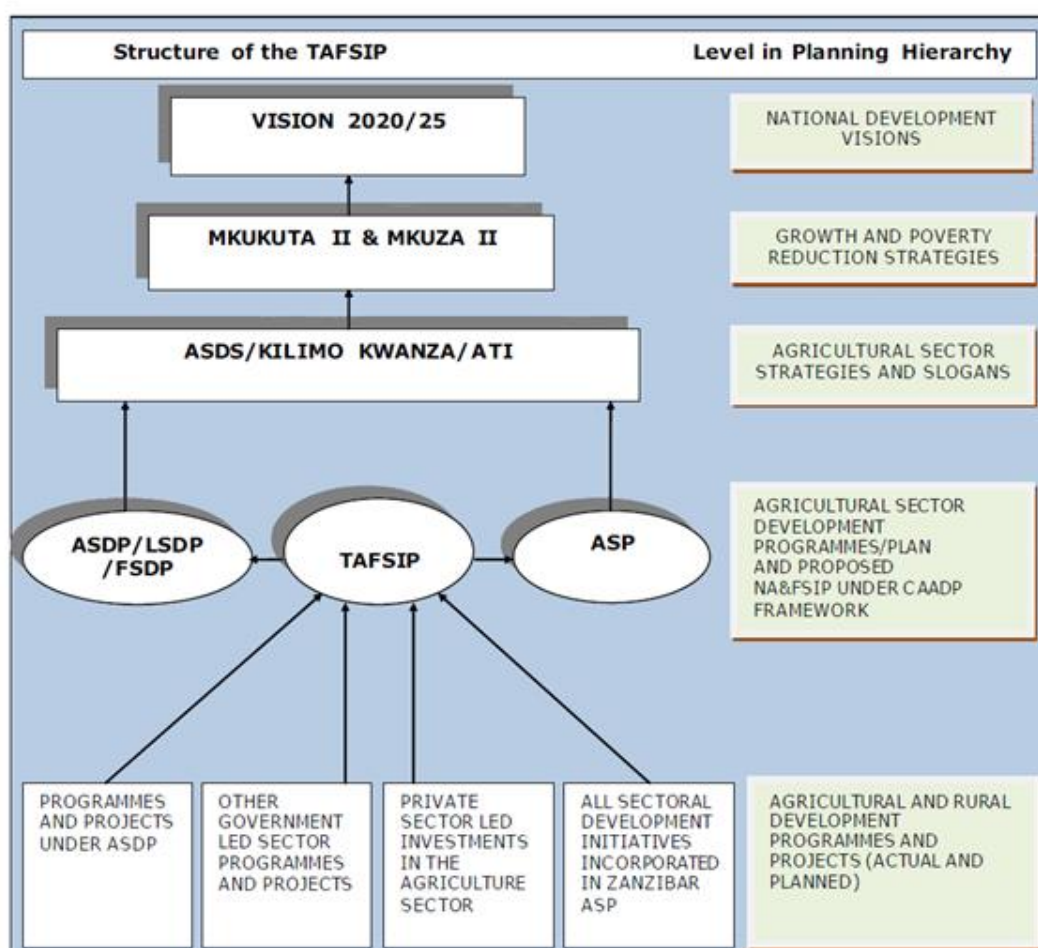
<sup>68</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>69</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>70</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

tural policy framework with strong national ownership. However, in the case of Tanzania, CAADP is rather arranged as one platform among others”<sup>71</sup>. On the other hand, the aim to raise private sector funds seems to be hard to meet. The Government plans to publish a report on TAFSIP funding gap by July 2015.

### Position of the TAFSIP in the National Planning Hierarchy<sup>72</sup>



### 2.6 Feed the Future and the New Alliance on Food Security and Nutrition (NAFSN)

Feed the Future is “the U.S. Government’s Global Hunger and Food Security initiative”<sup>73</sup>. It implements actions in Tanzania in the agricultural sector (Green revolution techniques, irriga-

<sup>71</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>72</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

<sup>73</sup> Feed the Future Website

tion) and in the field on nutrition. Through Feed the Future, the U.S. Government contributes to the New Alliance on Food Security and Nutrition (“New Alliance”, NAFSN).

The New Alliance was launched in the Camp David Summit in 2012. It is a cooperation framework in which “G8 countries, private firms and national governments have committed to lift 50 million people out of poverty over the next 10 years via sustainable and inclusive agricultural growth”. Its activities are implemented in several African countries, including Tanzania. Currently in the Tanzanian framework, 9 domestic companies and 11 international have signed “Letters of Intent” that outlines their intended investments in support of the New Alliance’s goals<sup>74</sup>. This initiative has been heavily criticized by civil society for promoting the interests of the corporations (land grabbing strategies, business interests related to Green revolution promotion) rather than those of African small-scale food producers and citizens<sup>75</sup>.

## 2.7 National Agricultural Policy

In 2013, a new National Agriculture Policy (NAP 2013) was formulated. It only refers to crop production. Formulation was based on the review of the previous National Agriculture and Livestock Policy (NALP 1997) and of all the reforms and initiatives of the recent period, although the articulation with all these initiatives is not clear. It addresses many areas and focuses on the green revolution and irrigation, but also mentions organic production. It criticizes current “over reliance on peasant agriculture and low private sector investment”. However, reflecting the ambiguousness of agricultural policies with regards to small-scale farming, it also includes interesting issues for small-scale farmers, namely the integration of indigenous knowledge into scientific research, bio-safety measures, adaptation of mechanical technologies to local conditions, land tenure security, role of agriculture in terms of nutrition, food storage, price stabilization funds, etc.<sup>76</sup>

## 2.8 Big Result Now and Agriculture

Agriculture is one of the six BRN prioritized areas, with the following “Big Results” by 2015: a) 25 commercial farming deals for paddy and sugarcane; b) 78 collective rice irrigation and marketing schemes; c) 275 small community-collective warehouse-based markets (COWABAMA)<sup>77</sup>, that are supposed to allow farmers storing their products, reducing post-harvest losses, and selling at a better price. COWABAMA would also facilitate collective selling, and thus allowing better prices. Medium term, the warehouses are expected to become “commodity exchanges warehouses”. The interventions are focused on the rehabilitation of existing warehouses and on the construction of new ones when necessary.

It should be noted that BRN only includes some elements of ASDP, namely interventions related with commercial farming deals; rice, sugarcane and maize production, irrigation, and

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<sup>74</sup> Rosengren Anna, July 2013.

<sup>75</sup> McKeon Nora, 2014

<sup>76</sup> Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives, 2013

<sup>77</sup> Development Partners Group Tanzania, 2013

warehouse-based marketing schemes. The activities are supported by AGRA (Alliance for Green Revolution in Africa), include investments in large-scale farms and are focused in the SAGCOT region.

At the moment, the implementation of the activities is delayed. No new COWABAMA has been built yet.

## **2.9 Other initiatives**

The government, together with donors, has been implementing other programmes out of ASDP, including the Participatory Agricultural Development Programme (PADEP), District Agriculture Sector Investment Project (DASIP), Agricultural Marketing Systems Development Programme (AMSDP), Rural Financial Services Programme (RFSP)<sup>78</sup>.

Property and Business Formalization Program (PBFP), or MKURABITA in Swahili, is an initiative launched by Tanzania's Government in 2004, in partnership with Hernando de Soto's Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD). It "aimed at economically empowering the poor majority in the country, by increasing their access to property and business opportunities, towards development of a strong expanded market economy, which is governed by the law. It seeks to facilitate transformation of property and business entities in the informal sector, into legally held and formally operated entities in the formal sector of the economy"<sup>79</sup>. It directly depends on the Presidency.

## **3. Food reserves – the National Food Reserve Agency (NFRA)**

NFRA mission is to guarantee national food security by procuring and reserving strategic food stocks in an efficient and cost effective manner. It aims to procure and store emergency food stock to the tune of 150.000 mt that should suffice addressing a food disaster for 3 months. Also, a stock would stabilize food prices in the market.

"The NFRA has seven zone offices, and associated storage facilities, to implement its mandate. Three of them are in surplus areas (Iringa, Songea and Sumbawanga) and four in deficit areas (Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma and Shinyanga). Around the zone offices, NFRA operates around 90 to 120 buying centers where maize is directly purchased from farmers or warehouses. These buying centers are located mainly in the surplus areas of the Southern Highlands and should create incentives for farmers to increase production due to guaranteed purchases based on fixed floor prices"<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>78</sup> Gabagambi Damian, , 2013

<sup>79</sup> MKURABITA Website

<sup>80</sup> MAFAP, 2012



## 4. Agricultural budget

Through CAADP agreement, Tanzania's Government committed itself to allocate 10% of national budget to agricultural sector. The Government also made it clear that 75% of sector allocations in agriculture would be allocated towards rural based interventions.

According to ANSAF (Agricultural Non State Actors Forum), the agricultural budget in Tanzania has been increasing gradually in absolute in relative terms since 2004/05. In relative terms, budget allocation to agriculture increased from 4.6% in 2004/05 to 7.8% in 2010/11 with a drop to 6.8% in 2011/12<sup>81</sup>. According to MAFSC, the amount would be about 5% in 2013/14 and about 7% in 2014/15.

However, FAO's calculations give slightly different results. They also include and differentiate expenditure for rural development. According to FAO, "public expenditure to support agriculture and rural development has been declining. While total approved budget for the agriculture and rural development sector grew by 53 percent in nominal terms from 2007 to 2011, in relative terms, it declined from almost 13 percent of total government spending in 2007 [including 4% for agriculture] to about 9 percent in 2011 [including 6% for agriculture]. Actual spending grew at a slower pace and, in relative terms, decreased significantly during this period. Although public spending was above the Maputo Declaration target from 2007 to 2009, it has since remained below the target"<sup>82</sup>.

"The composition of public spending has shifted from rural development expenditure to expenditure in support of agriculture. In the first half of the [2007-2011 period], rural development accounted for 72 percent of total expenditure. During the second half of the period, it declined to 45 percent"<sup>83</sup>.

Regarding expenditure in support of the agriculture sector, it "has shifted from general sector support to payments to farmers and other agents. General sector support (training, extension and research and development) accounted for over 60 percent of expenditure in the first half of the [2007-2011 period]. However, from 2009 onwards, there was an increased focus on payments to producers via input subsidies. General sector support declined to less than 50 percent. This increased use of direct transfers to producers has resulted in fewer extension services and less support for storage facilities, marketing and infrastructure"<sup>84</sup>. Regarding expenditure on rural development, "most of this was spent on rural infrastructure, including rural roads, water

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<sup>81</sup> ANSAF, 2012

<sup>82</sup> FAO, 2013

<sup>83</sup> FAO, 2013

<sup>84</sup> FAO, 2013

infrastructure, sanitation and energy. Considerably less was spent on rural health and education”<sup>85</sup>.

On the other hand, “the capacity to utilise the funds at Local Government Authorities (LGA) level is still low and the disbursement of funds is characterized by delays and carryovers”<sup>86</sup>. Actual spending for agriculture in budget percentage terms is generally below than initial budget allocation<sup>87</sup>. “At LGA level agriculture contributes significantly to the LGA’s local revenues, but receives little or no allocations from own sources, that means that reinvestment in the sector is low or non-existent. It should be also noted that, “although it is relatively easy to receive information at the national level, it is extremely difficult to access the information on budget approvals and spending trends by the general public at the local level”<sup>88</sup>.

## **5. Agricultural subsidies**

Inputs, and particularly fertilizers, are heavily subsidised (40 - 50% for fertilizers). Equipment are also subsidised. However, according to stakeholders, such subsidies very often don’t benefit to small-scale farmers as they are not able to make their own financial contribution. Regarding equipment, they are sometimes not appropriated to small-scale farming specificities.

## **6. Trade policies**

Government decisions on trade are numerous and sometimes contradict other policy objectives. While markets have been liberalized to a great extent, indicative prices persist for several commodities. The Government intervenes directly through the NFRA (see above). Commodity boards play a significant role for specific commodities (mainly export products, but also sugar). The agriculture sector is still subject to export taxes and high levels of local taxation. Ad hoc interventions such as tariff waivers and export bans are frequent<sup>89</sup>.

Regarding temporal export bans on cereals (maize and rice), they are principally implemented as a food security policy. Food exports are regulated by the Strategic Grain Reserve, within a context of state intervention in the cereal markets aimed at stabilizing prices and food supply.

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<sup>85</sup> FAO, 2013

<sup>86</sup> ANSAF, 2012

<sup>87</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>88</sup> ANSAF, 2012

<sup>89</sup> Angelucci Federica, et al., 2013

“Tanzania has had exports bans for maize in place during most of the first decade of the XXI century. The export ban normally follows a bad harvest or price peaks. The main objective of this ban is to avoid production being diverted to Kenya where prices for maize are significantly higher than in Tanzania, and thus to supply the domestic market and avoid price rising. Tanzania is the only country in East Africa which formally restricts trade and this becomes a major policy debate issue in the country. This policy measure is in place since the 1980’s and formally lifted in 1999. However it has gained prominence again during the food price peak events on the later 2000’. Since 2006, exports bans for maize were successively lifted and reintroduced three times.

Regularly, the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives estimates a ratio between grains supply and demand for each one of the twenty-one region of the country and for Tanzania as a whole. When the ratio for Tanzania is less than 120%, bans are decided. The Ministry only considers that there is a surplus beyond 120% due to the expected waste and losses. Between 100% and 120%, it is estimated that the country is self-sufficient. Below 100% the country is considered as in deficit.

Actually there is debate on the opportunity of export bans: “A missed opportunity for exports” or “a gain for Food Security”? Many stakeholders criticize these measures. Indeed, they deeply affect producers as export bans result in lower prices and seem to be very beneficial for the traders and customs officials. In some regions relatively isolated (for example in West and South-West Tanzania), production can hardly be transported within Tanzania and thus meet the demand of Tanzanian urban centers and deficit areas, while it can be easily exported. Thus, surpluses can hardly be marketed in the domestic market, prices remain low, cereal stocks rot in warehouses, and farmers’ income are very low. Actually, part of them continues to be exported, in an illegal way (smuggling, for example with bicycles or motorcycles or rolling in charcoal bags, or by paying briberies to the officials). But, the existence of bans tends to improve the balance of power for the benefit of traders at the expenses of farmers.

Bans also generate uncertainty on economic agents. Sometimes it is not clear whether the ban is in place or not. This has reduced the number of buyers from outside Tanzania, especially Kenya. As a result the prices of maize are sometimes not high enough as expected by local stakeholders.

In Tanzania, Regional Commissioners are in charge of delivering certificates of clearance for exportation, including when exports are authorized. In case the region is not considered as “food secure”, the delivery can be refused. The lack of transparency and the complex administrative procedures can be used by big companies and influential persons to obtain their exportation licence. Small traders often cannot access to the information nor follow all the procedures.

It should be also noted the existence of district by-laws against food sales out of the district in times of food shortage. The last export bans were set up between July and December 2011. In 2011, the Government announced that export bans would be removed once

NFRA had built up sufficient stocks. In 2012, the President of Tanzania committed not to use bans anymore<sup>90</sup>. Actually, it seems that there has not been any since then. Similarly, according to several stakeholders, there are no more trade bans between districts, although some of such limitations would remain according to other ones.

Regarding temporal CET exemptions for rice and sugar –which are decided by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives-, many stakeholders consider that they have negative impacts on farm-gate prices and thus disincentive national production.

## **7. Nutrition policies**

Nutrition policy is coordinated by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. A National Nutrition Strategy (NNS) 2011-12 / 2015-16 was recently adopted<sup>91</sup>. It doesn't really include issues related to the agricultural sector, excepted issues related to food storage and post-harvest losses. The Government of Tanzania is member of the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) initiative. By doing so, it has committed itself to improve nutrition in the country. To enhance fulfilment of this commitment, the Government has established a High Level National Steering Committee for Nutrition which includes representatives from the Government, Development partners, private sector and civil society. It serves as the inter-ministerial monitoring body of NNS and nutrition-related issues of TAFSIP. The issue of nutrition has been coming up in the national agenda with an increasing awareness of the important role that agriculture sector should play.

### **III. CIVIL SOCIETY ACTORS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN AGRICULTURAL POLICY PROCESSES**

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#### **1. The main civil society actors for agriculture**

Key actors of the civil society are briefly presented.

##### **1.1 Muungano wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania - MVIWATA**

Mviwata “was formed to address challenges facing smallholder farmers such as lack of a strong organization of small scale farmers in the country, exclusion of small scale farmers from decision making process on matters that touch the welfare of small scale farmers and under-representation or complete lack of representation of small scale farmers in decision

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<sup>90</sup> Levard Laurent and Gabagambi Damian, 2012

<sup>91</sup> Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2011

making bodies, low prices of agricultural produce, unreliable markets and lack of access to financial services. To address these challenges, MVIWATA has been implementing various interventions focusing on lobbying and advocacy and economic empowerment of small-scale farmers. These interventions are based on the five years Strategic Plan of MVIWATA (2010 – 2014)”.<sup>92</sup>

### **1.2 Agricultural Council of Tanzania (ACT)**

“ACT is the umbrella organization of the agricultural private sector in the country. It aims to unite groups and associations of farmers, livestock keepers, suppliers, processors, transporters, and researchers in order to push for improved economical and organizational environment of the sector. ACT believes that a dialogue between stakeholders and strengthening the agricultural associations can assist the sector to become commercialized and highly productive, leading to poverty reduction and improved standard of living for agricultural community- the majority of Tanzanians”.<sup>93</sup> There are 97 memberships.

### **1.3 Tanzania Federation of Cooperatives (TFC)**

It is the national Cooperative Umbrella Organization that promotes the development and prosperity of all Cooperative societies in Tanzania. It was registered on 1994, founding Members of TFC consists of five National Cooperative apexes from tobacco, cotton, coffee, cashew and cereal and other produce industries<sup>94</sup>.

### **1.4 Tanzanian Land Alliance (TALA)**

TALA is a coalition of 7 civil society organizations: Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LARRRI/HAKIARDHI) which serves as secretariat, Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), Lawyers Environmental Action Team (LEAT), Pastoralists Indigenous NGOs Forum (PINGOs Forum), Women Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), Ujamaa Community Resource Team (U-CRT) and Muungano wa Vikundi vya Wakulima Tanzania (MVIWATA). It was founded in 2010 with a focus to undertake joint advocacy activities in a bid to spearhead the attainment of land rights for small producers in Tanzania.

### **1.5 Agricultural Non State Actors Forum (ANSAF)**

ANSAF was formed in 2006, during its initial stage it was known as Private Sector and Civil Society Agricultural Working Group (PSCS-AWG). “ANSAF is a member-led forum for non-state actors to discuss and work towards solutions to improve the agriculture sector in the interests of men and women currently living in poverty. ANSAF works with members to bring together a critical mass of actors and as such supports the coordination

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<sup>92</sup> Mviwata Website

<sup>93</sup> ACT Website

<sup>94</sup> TFC Website

of critical debates on local, national and global issues focusing on policies and practice. It represents its members' interests and needs in national and local forums of dialogue to influence change using evidence based on research and experience to stimulate growth of the agricultural sector focusing with more interest on smallholder farmers. ANSAF also actively promotes accountability, transparency and citizen engagement (inclusiveness) within the agricultural sector.

ANSAF organizes and conducts informative and regular forums for debate and discussion on pertinent sectorial issues with farmers, parliamentary committees, development partners, as well as private sector and civil society organizations. The focus of the dialogues is to generate learning and sharing best practice within the wider stakeholders, including ANSAF members' farmers, policy makers and other stakeholders".<sup>95</sup> MVIWATA is member of ANSAF.

## **1.6 Tanzanian Trade and Economic Justice Forum (TTEJF)**

TTEJF has been one of the main Coalitions focusing on trade advocacy since 2003. It was established to address the scattered and irregular engagement of the various CSOs/NGOs/FBOs in the Trade Policy processes and EPA negotiations. MVIWATA and ESAFF are TTEJF members.

## **2. Advocacy, influence and consultation of civil society**

Tanzanian Government officially recognizes the role of civil society organizations in agricultural issues, as mentioned in CADDP Compact and TAFSIP: "The Government recognizes the important work that is being undertaken by the civil society organizations including NGOs, CBOs and Farmers' organizations in the development of the agricultural sector"<sup>96</sup>. "Non-state actors and civil society organisations will play a key role in poverty reduction by building local capacity and empowering communities to take responsibility for their own affairs. CSOs will work closely with the ministries and local authorities to ensure that cross-cutting issues are addressed in the sectorial and district development plans"<sup>97</sup>.

However, in a recent report, ESAFF underlines that the Agricultural Council of Tanzania (ACT) was invited to represent farmers in the TAFSIP process, and that "although TAFSIP Main document indicates that the primary beneficiary group to benefit from it will be the smallholder farming, pastoral and fishing households, the process has provided little or no

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<sup>95</sup> ANSAF Website

<sup>96</sup> United Republic of Tanzania and Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), 2010

<sup>97</sup> United Republic of Tanzania, 2011

room for smallholder farmers to contribute their views”<sup>98</sup>. Laurent Kaburire and al. underlines that ‘instead of involving MVIWATA (the national small scale farmers’ forum in Tanzania), the Agricultural Council of Tanzania (ACT) was invited to represent farmers in the process and for endorsement of the investment plan (TAFSIP) for prior submission to EAC and SADC and NEPAD. The situation deprived the chance for smallholder farmers to contribute their views and inputs to the investment plan while the same recognizes and stresses that small scale farmers are the main target as they constitute the majority of people involved in the agricultural sector in the country’. Moreover, ‘it was difficult to access the information on the names of those stakeholders especially small scale farmers, who were involved in the [CAADP] awareness creation and priority setting process’<sup>99</sup>At an ESAFF Regional Training workshop on advocacy, it was underlined the need of advocacy for improving irrigation, land access, food availability for small scale farmers and that Kilimo Kwanza was “a threat to small scale farming since it cannot guarantee food security”<sup>100</sup>. The URT government “should be aggressive in scaling up success stories in value chain development for the whole country. Additionally, there is a need for the government to ensure that there is conducive environment for small scale farmers to **invest** in agriculture through necessary services required by them”.

On the other hand, ANSAF and Mviwata have been included in ASDP development process.

Regarding budget policy process, ANSAF underlines that “there is a weak engagement of the wider public and particularly Non State Actors (NSAs) (.../...) The process in controlled by civil servants and there is an information gap on what is and was ought to be on budget policy implementation particularly in LGAs”<sup>101</sup>.

## **IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

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### **1. Conclusion**

#### **1.1 Lack of coherence between a multitude of initiatives**

Small-scale farmers are facing great limitations and challenges in Tanzania. Do agricultural and food security policies contribute to actually address them? There has been a multitude of initiatives in the field of agricultural and food security policies, with not always clear linkages between them and that benefit from the support of different donors or international institutions

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<sup>98</sup> Kabourire L. et al., 2011

<sup>99</sup> Kaburire L. et al., 2011

<sup>100</sup> ESAFF, 2012

<sup>101</sup> ANSAF, 2012

or initiatives. Damian Gabagambi stresses that “clarifications on the linkages between these initiatives are usually given by politicians and technocrats. Nonetheless authentic and convincing linkage is hard to come by. It suffices to say that the initiatives are usually running parallel”<sup>102</sup>. The existence of this myriad of initiatives decreases the agricultural policy coherence.

## 1.2 The existence of different strategies

The existence of several initiatives partially reveals the existence of different approaches. Anna Rosengren stresses that “the agricultural policy field is divided into two main parts, the ASDP-TAFSIP-CAADP (“owned” by MAFSC) and the KK-SAGCOT (“owned” by the president, the Prime Minister Office - PMO) and the TNBC, both claiming to actively promote the private sector, though with different focus”<sup>103</sup>. The first vision is, as underlined by Brian Cooksey, “a state-led model of agriculture development, focusing on service provision in which the private sector play a residual and dependent role”<sup>104</sup>. In the second vision, large companies are supposed to play a key role, both in the agricultural production and in upstream and downstream businesses. Then, the main function of the Government is to enable a propitious environment for these companies. Damian Gabagambi emphasises that “Kilimo Kwanza virtually relegates the small farm household to out-growers and contract farmers” and that, paradoxically, “the ruling elite conceived the KK as a vote-winning initiative for the 2010 elections”. He notes that Tanzania’s ruling elite “embraces both state- and market-led agricultural policies” and that “depending on the context, members of the ruling elite can be seen to support contradictory public positions: collectively largely pro-state, individually pro-market, at least in theory”<sup>105</sup>.

However, the differences in approach between the two processes (i.e. ASDP/TAFSIP and Kilimo Kwanza/SAGCOT) may be not so significant. It should be noted that, before CAADP implementation started, a thorough analysis of the existing gaps within the already initiatives was undertaken and one of the weaknesses that were identified was that there had been too much focus on small scale production and weak involvement of large scale private farmers<sup>106</sup>. Brian Cooksey notes that since the G8 members of the New Alliance for Food security and Nutrition (NAFSN)<sup>107</sup> pledged TAFSIP process and that private companies announced ambitious investment intentions, the “enhanced ASDP” version of CAADP may well be replaced by an “enhanced Kilimo Kwanza” version favouring MNCs. He adds that “CAADP/TAFSIP is now the US/G8 vehicle for the promotion of large-scale agriculture in Tanzania even though the content of the US/G8 policy bears almost no resemblance to the original TAFSIP blueprint”<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>103</sup> Rosengren Anna, 2013.

<sup>104</sup> Cooksey Brian, 2013

<sup>105</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>106</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

<sup>107</sup> The New Alliance for Food security and Nutrition (NAFSN) was launched by US President Obama in May 2012. NAFSN opens new opportunities for multinational companies to invest in African countries, and specifically in Tanzania.

<sup>108</sup> Cooksey Brian, 2013



### 1.3 Do agricultural policies meet the needs of small-scale farmers?

Agricultural and food security policies in Tanzania generally recognize that increasing agricultural outputs and incomes is a key issue for reducing poverty and improving food security, taking into account that the main part of the food-secure population are members of farming families. However the way for increasing small-scale farming incomes depends on the strategy chosen.

Under Kilimo Kwanza/SAGCOT approach, investments of agribusiness and large companies are supposed to enhance technological development of small-scale farming, access to new markets and opportunities of better prices through out-growers schemes and contract-farming, and value-addition in food industries, as well as creation of new off-farm jobs opportunities. However the threats of such model for small-scale farming are ignored, in particular:

- land-grabbing at the expense of local communities, and
- high dependence of individual small-scale farmers with regard to the large companies with which they are linked, with a balance of forces favourable to the latter,

ASDP/CAADP approach is more ambiguous. Although the objective of increasing small-scale farming productivity is mentioned, there is also a focus on private investments (other than small-scale farming ones). It is not really clear which sector (small-scale farming or agribusiness) is actually prioritized by the public interventions and investments. Damian Gabagambi underlines that key agricultural advisers to CAADP are CGIAR (Consultative Group on International Agriculture Research) which is involved in cooperation with commercial public-private plant breeding programmes, as well as FARA (the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa) that advocates the usage and GMOs and strong Intellectual Property Rights regimes. Consequently, “state funds are used to finance research that benefits large foreign investors and large scale commercial farmers”, instead of research and infrastructure geared towards the needs of small-scale farmers, as improved seeds, soil fertility and water access, measures to adapt to climate change and access to local markets and credit<sup>109</sup>. On the other hand, the same threats for small-scale farming than those above mentioned under Kilimo Kwanza/SAGCOT approach cannot be ignored. Finally, ASDP/CAADP approach focuses on financial and technical issues, without really addressing key socio-economic issues, in particular the role of farmers’ organisations or the specific needs of women.

Similarly, the National Agriculture Policy reveals some ambiguousness. It criticises the “over reliance on peasant agriculture and low private activities” (and, incidentally, it seems to reduce the “private sector” to large-scale farmers and companies, when actually the major private investors are probably the small-scale farmers themselves!). However, as written above, it also includes interesting issues for small-scale farmers. It is “ultimately aimed at creating conducive environment for farmers to transform the sector from subsistence to modern commercial agriculture while maintaining their ability to ensure that they are not only food secure

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<sup>109</sup> Gabagambi Damian, 2013

but also make a surplus for their development. It also aims to empower the farmers to articulate their needs<sup>110</sup>. However, it doesn't detail how this transition should be implemented: should the huge majority of farms shift from subsistence to modern commercial agriculture? Or should do so only some of them, by swallowing the other smallest farms?

In any event, investment incentives package in agricultural sector is very favourable to large-scale business. In addition with land-access facilities, it includes:

- "Zero-rated duty on capital goods, all farm inputs including fertilizer, pesticides and herbicides;
- Favourable investment allowances and deductions on agricultural machinery and implements,
- Deferment of VAT payment on project capital goods,
- Imports duty drawback on raw materials for exports,
- Zero-rated VAT on agricultural exports and for domestically produced agricultural inputs,
- Indefinite carry-over of business losses against future profit for income tax,
- Reasonable corporate and withholding tax rates on dividends<sup>111</sup>.

Under both approaches (KK/SAGCOT and ASDP/CAADP), Green-Revolution technologies are promoted, that entails intensive use of external inputs such as hybrid and genetically modified seeds, and the associated agro-chemicals (fertilisers and pesticides). The limitations negative effects of Green Revolution are ignored. As a general rule, in many countries, implementation of Green-Revolution techniques has often been a success and has enabled a strong increase in per-hectare yields in places where agro-climatic conditions are brought under control well and are stable over time, and where the environment enjoys enough initial fertility (especially the organic fertility of the soil, which conditions its capacity to retain mineral elements and water and to resist erosion). However Green-Revolution techniques have often been a failure when agro-climatic conditions are not sufficiently under control, when the environment is fragile, and when satisfactory solutions have not been beforehand provided to the sustainable management of soil fertility. Then, these techniques have turned out to be specially risky and dangerous for farmers. This is because such techniques tend to simplify and specialise the farming systems, thereby destroying the aspects of biodiversity, practices, systems for protection of soil, and sustainable management of fertility that could have lasted. At the same time, these techniques lead to an increase in production costs. In such kinds of situations, traditional systems ecological crisis and Green-Revolution perverse effects join together to weaken family-farming economies. Implementing such techniques has often led family farmers to even deeper crisis or even bankruptcy. This is why they frequently tend to reject such techniques<sup>112</sup>.

In such situations, agroecology has demonstrated to be a potential solution for improving soil fertility and the productivity and resilience of farming systems, as well allowing a more diversified food and increasing food and nutrition security. At the same time agroecological techniques allow limiting the use of non-renewable resources, avoid contaminating the environment and people, and contribute to fight against global warning. This is because agroecology

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<sup>110</sup> Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives, 2013

<sup>111</sup> Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives, (no date)

<sup>112</sup> Levard Laurent and Apollin Frédéric, 2013

enhances the potential of ecosystems to capture external natural resources (solar energy, atmospheric carbon and nitrogen, water) and uses the synergies and flows inherent in these ecosystems (crop diversity, complementary nature among vegetable/animal/tree production, biological control, etc.)<sup>113</sup>.

Generally speaking, agricultural policies in Tanzania overlook agroecological techniques which, in many regions, allow responding to the ecological crisis that contributes to the economic and social crisis of small-scale farmers' families. For example, the various forms of integration between agricultural crops and breeding activities are not focused although they are frequently a promising pathway for intensifying agricultural production and increasing yields and productivity. Similarly, we have not been able to find evidence of any reflexion on forms of agricultural mechanization suited for small-scale farmers that means allowing addressing their effective bottlenecks without destroying jobs.

On the other hand, although the role of agricultural policies in the fight against malnutrition is mentioned in general terms, there is no clear strategy on what changes should be promoted for increasing its actual role in fighting malnutrition. For example, the policies mainly focus on rice, maize and sugar production and attach a lesser importance to food diversification, in particular through developing livestock activities by small-scale farming.

#### **1.4 From planning to actual implementation of the activities**

Many initiatives have been developed for agricultural development and food security. In a large extent, they are a tool for aligning donors and private sector funding with the national priorities. That also means that there is a gap between the total needs for implementing the activities (for example for CAADP investment plan) and the public funds actually available for it.

For example, according to TAFSIP main document, the funding gap is estimated to be USD 2.876 billion over five years (2011/12 to 2015/16), which is the difference between the USD 5.296 billion investment planned over five years and USD 2.42 billion agricultural sector development budgets available. It is assumed that the Government, Development partners and private sector would finance the required additional amount.<sup>114</sup> We couldn't access to updated information on the gap but Governmental authorities confirmed us that the gap couldn't be fulfilled.

#### **1.5 Food reserves and market regulation**

The elimination of export bans is necessary to ease intra-regional trade and promote the development of the production. However, the reasons that justify the policy of restricting exports must be fully taken into account. In fact, in the absence of emergency and buffer stocks, as well as of capacities to transfer agricultural products from surplus areas to deficit areas (roads, market information, and value-chain organization), food security of the population can be po-

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<sup>113</sup> Levard Laurent and Apollin Frédéric, 2013

<sup>114</sup> Kaburire Laurent N. and Ruvuga Stephen A., 2011

tentially threatened in some areas. The easier solution for substituting export bans can be, as the Tanzanian Government usually do, increasing cheap imports from outside the region through CET exemptions whenever there is a food crises or price rising somewhere in the region. However, such measures tend to discourage the development of regional production and its long-term capacity to deal with such deficits. With the support of international cooperation, the region should implement food security policies that include, in addition to a substantial improvement in local small-scale farmers storage capacities, local, national and regional emergency stocks; market monitoring and information systems (that should involve the stakeholders currently taking initiatives in this area) and appropriate measures to enable the effective supply deficit areas with stock areas surplus<sup>115</sup>. Regional buffer stocks, which can be used for market regulation while reducing dependency on volatile global markets, should not be excluded notwithstanding the opposition of the many organisations that promote a full liberalisation of agricultural markets.

## **2. Recommendations**

### **2.1 Strengthening arguments for advocacy for small-scale farming**

Dominant pro-large-scale farming and pro-agribusiness vision is largely due to the influence of private interests and powerful lobbies. However it is also based on the idea that:

- on one hand, addressing successfully food insecurity primarily means to increase agricultural output,
- on the other hand, large-scale farming is more able to do it than small-scale farming. Similarly, large-scale farming is supposed to be more able to contribute to GDP growth through increased outputs for national, regional and global markets.

In response to these arguments, small-scale farmers' organisations should continue to develop evidence-based arguments that demonstrate why small-scale farming should be prioritized. It is well-known that most of food insecure population in Tanzania are small-scale farmers' family members, which means that fighting food insecurity primarily requires improving small-scale farming outputs and incomes and thus strengthening their own economic activities. However, this evidence needs to be reminded, particularly in a context in which some trade policies (ban exports, and temporary waivers of custom duties for rice) are supposed to meet food security objectives.

Still for the purpose of developing evidence-based arguments for small-scale farming, two main issues need to be addressed:

- Assessing the comparative economic, social and environmental performances of small-scale and large-scale farming in Tanzania -and specifically when both benefit from a favourable economic environment- is essential. Which farming systems pro-

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<sup>115</sup> Levard Laurent, and Gabagambi Damian, 2012

duce not only higher yields per hectare but also higher value-added per hectare and higher social productivity of labour (i.e. calculation of labour productivity that takes into account all the population regardless of whether people are employed or not)? In many countries, surveys have clearly revealed that, when small-scale farmers benefit from a favourable economic environment (access to productive resources, credit, appropriated technologies and market) –which is unfortunately usually not the case-, the value-added per hectare produced by their farming systems is much higher than those produced by large-scale estates. This is due to the fact that small-scale farmer families seek to increase production per hectare by building on the resources of the ecosystem, the potential interrelationships and flows (organic matter, minerals...) within the latter and through labour-intensive farming systems, i.e. by investing high quantities of family labour force (which is not a cost of production from their point of view, since the social need of the family labour force do not depend on the fact that they are working or not). They tend to use technologies and inputs that increase the value-added per hectare<sup>116</sup>.

- Similarly, assessing the effective impact of large-scale farming and agri-business investments on local communities is essential. Which are the impacts of land grabbing on communities' livelihood? Do private large-scale investments actually create well-paid jobs opportunities, or better access to markets for small-scale farming? Finally what are the impacts in terms of social development, food security, as well as environment?

## **2.2 Defining and defending priorities for advocacy and monitoring agricultural and food security policies.**

A major coherence between all the initiatives is required and farmers and civil society organizations shall advocate for such coherence.

TAFSIP is a very broad investments plan that doesn't clearly indicates, among all the activities, which are the priorities. Guiding public investments and policies, as well as international cooperation towards activities that actually strengthen sustainable and small-scale farming and food and nutrition security is essential. It also means that, at all levels, small-scale farmers' organization shall identify which are the main limitations for their development and which actions should be undertaken to address these limitations.

Access to credit and land issues are undoubtedly among the main issues for advocacy.

Regarding technological development and investments, farmers' and civil society organizations, supported by researchers and specialists, shall be able to identify which are the most

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<sup>116</sup> They only use technologies that substitute labour per capital when, by doing this, they can increase the global labour productivity without generating unemployment within the family. By using relatively few labour-saving technologies, the costs of production per hectare (inputs, amortization of equipment) tend to be lower which contributes to a higher value-added per hectare.

suitable techniques, equipment and investments for small-scale farmers (small-scale irrigation, tillage, storage, agro-processing technologies, etc.) and advocate for relevant promotion policies. In response to the frequently dominant pro-large-scale investments vision, farmers and civil society organisations should be able to advocate for technologies and investments more appropriated to small-scale farmers, local communities and the society at large and for targeting public and donors funds towards these investments. Similarly, farmers and civil society organisations shall be able to advocate for warehouses mechanisms that are suited to small-scale farmers and small-scale farmers associations in order no give them chance to benefit from all the system (storage facilities and access to credit).

Advocating for fulfilment by Tanzanian Government of its commitment on 10% budget allocation for agriculture is essential. But, equally important is how is the budget, as well as donors contributions, spent, for which activities, and for the benefit of which sector.

On the other hand we have mentioned the frequent gap between policies that exist on paper and their actual implementation. Effective monitoring on agricultural and food security policies, as well as relevant process for regularly sharing and discussing the results of such monitoring with all stakeholders is essential.

Regarding trade policies, small-scale farmers' organisations should be attentive to the possible impacts of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) that the East African Community is currently negotiating with the European Union and that could undermine the potential for developing agro-processing activities<sup>117</sup>. On the other hand, the current regional CET is highly protective for many key agricultural products which is beneficiary for farmers. Maintaining such protection is thus an important issue for them and for supporting the development of agricultural protection. However it should be noted that, due to the multiple intermediaries and high costs for transport, such protection is not enough for ensuring farmers are receiving good prices. For example, milk price paid to the producer in Tanzania is three to six times highest than the price of domestic pasteurised milk paid by the consumer, while, in Europe or in West Africa, the price paid by the consumer is only two or three times higher than the production price<sup>118</sup>. That means that advocacy and initiatives for improving value-chains functioning are equally important than advocating for maintaining protective tariffs.

Consequently, effective inclusion of small-scale farmers and civil society organizations in policy development process is essential in order to allow them to defending their priorities, at both national and local level. Despite progress made in this field, advocacy for improving these mechanisms of participation is crucial.

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<sup>117</sup> Levard Laurent, and Bigot Amélie, 2014

<sup>118</sup> Levard Laurent, and Benkahla Amel, 2013

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