

EVALUATION DEPARTMENT

REPORT 5/2018 COUNTRY EVALUATION BRIEF



Tanzania

CONTENT

Main findings
Key Facts
Map
Key Events

1 Introduction

2 Methodology

3 Country
Context

4 Donor
engagement
in Tanzania

5 Evaluations
of aid

6 Lessons learnt

References
Abbreviations



The purpose of this **Country Evaluation Brief** is to present relevant knowledge about donors' development efforts in Tanzania. The brief systematises relevant findings from existing evaluations of development interventions in the country. The idea is to present the findings to the reader in a succinct and easily accessible format.

Readers who want to explore key issues in depth can access the underlying reports through the reference list. At our website, you can also find a set of short “Evaluation Portraits” summarising the key contents of those documents.

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Oslo, February 2018
Per Øyvind Bastøe, Evaluation Director

Women sewing clothes on the street in Iriqa. ISTOCKPHOTO/RCHPHOTO

Main findings

EVALUATIONS GENERALLY POINT TOWARDS

the country's strong macroeconomic performance and stability, and its progress in the effective management of assistance flows (including financial management, reporting, monitoring and evaluation, and auditing).

DONOR FOCUS ON BUDGET SUPPORT

in the course of the last decade enabled a rapid expansion of public service delivery in areas such as primary education, the transport infrastructure, and agricultural services, generating positive outcomes for the population in terms of access. However, qualitative outcomes, such as learning outcomes in education, have been less positive.

CONCERNS ABOUT CORRUPTION

and the poor structure, orientation and content of the policy dialogue between donors and the government of Tanzania led to the withdrawal of most development partners from budget support in 2014, and a renewed focus on project-based funding.

EVIDENCE REVIEWED IN THIS BRIEF

suggests that in areas such as energy, the impact of assistance has been positive, but limited by insufficient attention to the implementation conditions, possible institutional bottlenecks, and other enabling factors, such as investments in other utility sectors. The lack of local or national ownership remains a problem for the sustainability of outcomes of many projects, across sectors.



TANZANIA

Estimated population: 52 482 726 (CIA 2017; 2016 est.)

Population under the age of 15: 44.06% (CIA 2017; 2016 est.)

Urban population: 31.6% (CIA 2017; 2015 data)

Annual urbanisation rate (average rate of change of the size of the urban population): 5.36% (CIA 2017; 2010-15 est.)

Human Development Index (HDI): 151 (of 188) (UNDP 2017; 2015 data)

Gender Inequality Index (GII): 129 (of 159) (UNDP 2017; 2015 data)

Poverty Rate (below \$ 1.90 per day): 46.6% (World Bank 2017a; 2011 data)

Adult literacy rate: 80.3% (UNDP 2017; 2015 data)

Life expectancy at birth (male/female): 65 (64/67) (World Bank 2017a; 2015 data)

Child mortality rate (under 5, per 1000 live births): 48.7 (World Bank 2017a; 2015 data)

Net ODA received (% of GNI): 5.8% (World Bank 2017a; 2015 data)

Corruption Perception Index rank: 116 (of 176) (Transparency International 2017; 2016 data)

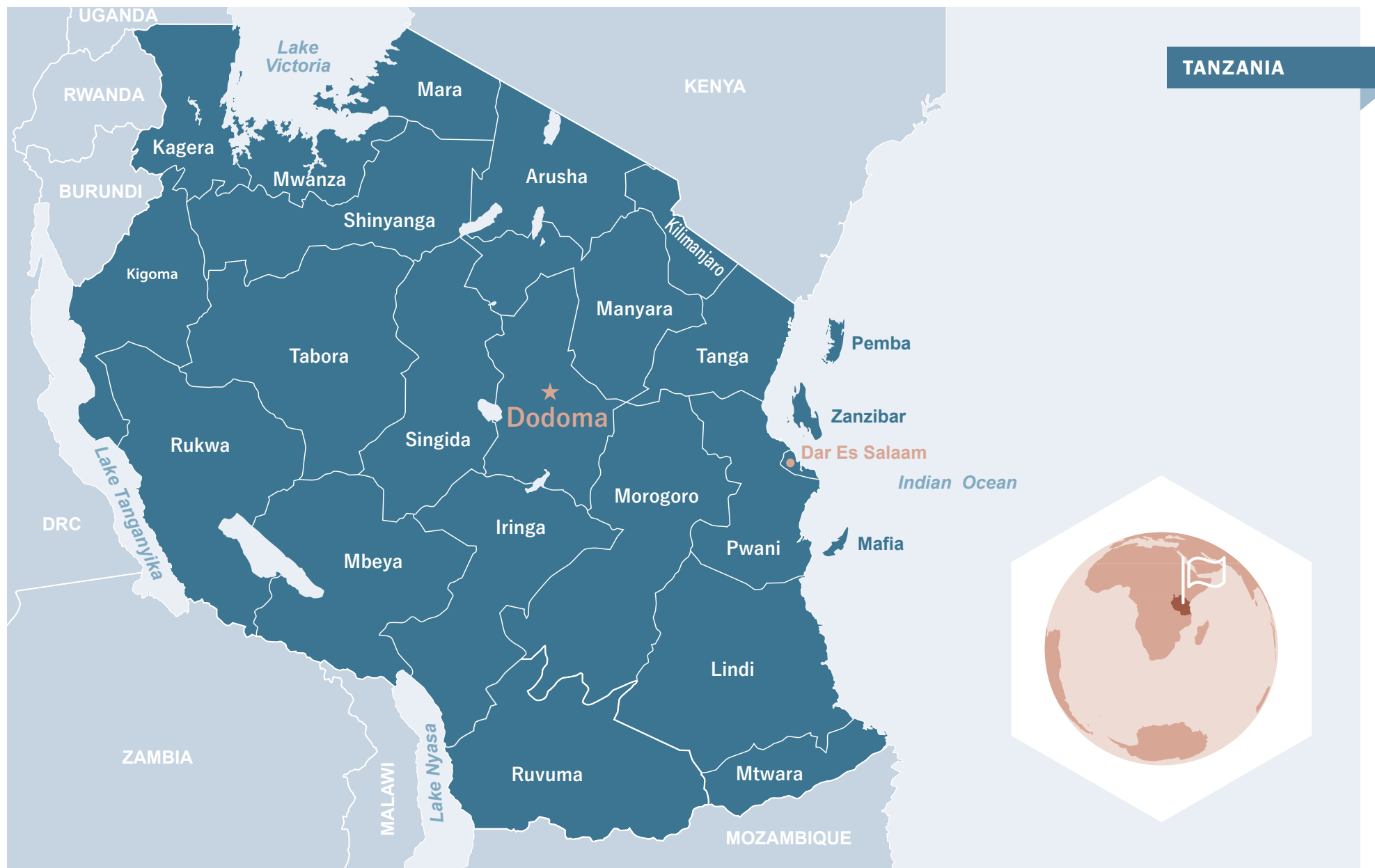
Internally Displaced Persons (new displacements in 2016 due to disasters): 36,000 (IDMC 2017; 2016 data)

Mean years of schooling: 5.8 (UNDP 2017; 2015 data)

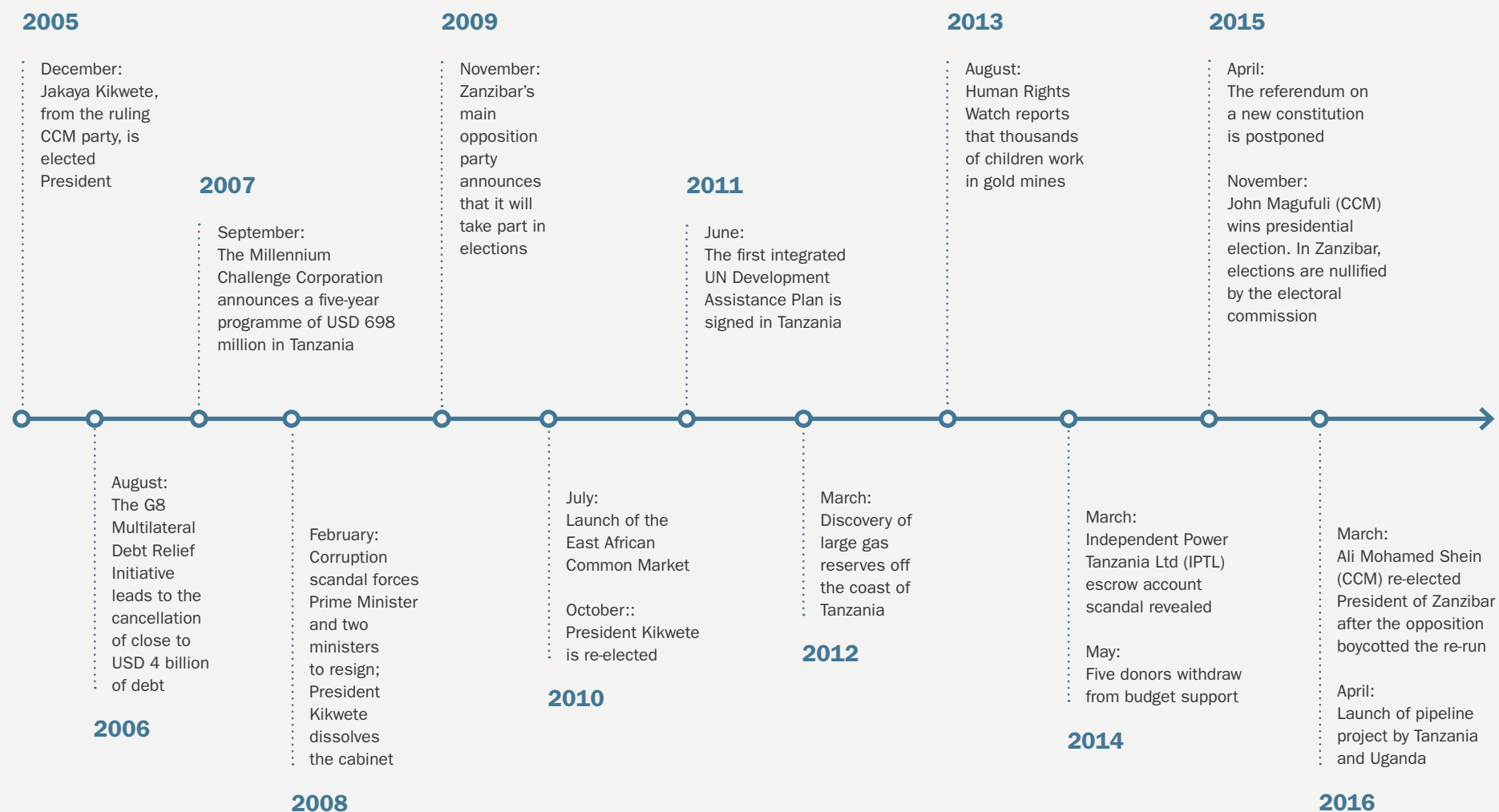
Gross National Income (GNI) per capita, PPP (current international \$): 2,610 (World Bank 2017a; 2015 data)



Dar es Salaam's new bus transit system (BRT) is lowering transportation costs and easing traffic throughout the city. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's commercial hub, is one of the fastest-growing urban centres in the region, 2017. PHOTO: HENDRI LOMBARD / WORLD BANK



KEY EVENTS 2005–2016



1. Introduction

The evaluations reviewed in this brief concern a wide range of aid programmes; they speak of complex relations between development partners and a variety of Tanzanian actors, the challenges of the dialogue with the government of Tanzania notwithstanding.



From an early childhood education workshop by Global Partnership for Education in Zanzibar, November 2014. FOTO: GPE/ROBIN BAPTISTA

This country brief analyses the context, evolution, achievements and challenges of development assistance in Tanzania in the last decade. It builds on the findings and reflections contained in evaluations of support programmes, donor portfolios and funding mechanisms across a range of sectors – in particular, governance and support to civil society; agriculture and private sector development; food security and disaster risk management; environment and climate; water and sanitation; energy and transport; health; education; and general budget support. The evaluations also provide a wealth of information on the complex and sometimes difficult relations between Tanzania and development partners with regard to the aid effectiveness agenda, and on cross-cutting issues such as gender equality and human rights.



Woman harvesting green beans on a commercial bean farm, 2011. FOTO: CHERYL-SAMANTHA OWEN/NATURE PICTURE LIBRARY/SCANPIX

2. Methodology

The assessment is based on 29 evaluations, which have been selected so as to reflect the presence of multiple development partners in a wide range of sectors, from governance and support to civil society; agriculture and private sector development; food security and disaster risk management; environment and climate; water and sanitation; energy and transport; health; education; and general budget support.



Chemist examining a beaker at a crude oil processing lab in Arusha, 2016. FOTO: MITCHELL MAHER / INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The authors of this brief reviewed an initial selection of 74 evaluations published since 2010. These were identified through a systematic search of the evaluation databases of the major development actors in Tanzania, and a broader internet search. To select a sample for further review, the authors applied a number of criteria to each evaluation and to the sample as a whole. The criteria applied to the individual evaluations were:

1. Quality: Only evaluations that were considered to be based on sound methodologies – whether quantitative, qualitative or mixed – were included in the sample.

2. Thematic scope: Evaluations covering a donor's overall country portfolio were given priority over project-specific evaluations, as the former provide a broader perspective.

3. Project size and implementation period: between similar evaluations, larger and more recent programmes were given priority.

The criteria applied to the sample as a whole were:

1. The sample should have a thematic spread representing donor activities in Tanzania. To reflect the importance and diversity of



Children reading materials about malaria. FOTO: MORGANA WINGARD/USAID

assistance programmes in the country, it was therefore decided to cover a large number of sectors in this brief, including: governance and support to civil society; agriculture and private sector development; food security and disaster risk management; environment and climate; water and sanitation; energy and transport; health; education; and general budget support.

2. The sample should include a fair representation of Tanzania's development partners, including national and multilateral partners.

The final sample included 29 evaluations listed in the references.

Because of its strict adherence to the selection criteria, its sectoral breadth and the constraints on its size, the sample has a number of limitations. In particular, it does not cover certain sub-sectors that could nevertheless be significant in terms of the magnitude and impact of development co-operation. On health, for instance, the sample is focused on HIV/AIDS prevention and response interventions, while other areas – such as maternal and child mortality, and the fight against malaria – were equally important. In other sub-sectors, the evaluation reports included in the sample constituted a limited basis of evidence, which had to be complemented by additional references and data whenever possible.

3. Country context

Tanzania's remarkable economic growth since the beginning of the century has started to reduce monetary and non-monetary forms of poverty, although the needs of the population are still immense. Unfortunately, the economy has been less buoyant since 2016, and the political climate has also deteriorated.



Woman sitting on the beach sorting the seaweed she has gathered, Zanzibar 2017. FOTO: NATURE PICTURE LIBRARY/ ENRIQUE LOPEZ-TAPIA/SANPIX

Since the turn  of the century, Tanzania has achieved one of the strongest growth records in Africa.

Tanzania is the second largest economy of the East African Community (after Kenya) and the twelfth largest in Africa. Thanks to its social and political stability, the country has been considered favourably by international donors at the various stages of its development, from an agrarian economy based on the “Ujamaa” (extended family) communalist model to a liberalised economy.

Since the turn of the century, Tanzania has achieved one of the strongest growth records in Africa. In total, the GDP increased almost threefold between 2000 and 2016 (6.7 per cent annual average), in large part due to the development of the subsoil sector (gold, oil and gas), which has attracted large inflows of private capital. The share of the sector in the GDP has risen from 19.2 per cent in 2000 to 27.2 per cent in 2016, with three-quarters of the increase originating from mining, and only



Engineer Angela Genes with colleagues inspecting the construction of the new bus station in Kariakoo, 2015. FOTO: PHOTO: KEN OPPRANN

a quarter from manufacturing. Economic activity has appeared slightly less buoyant since the end of 2016, due in particular to the impact of drought and external financing shortfalls.

The macroeconomic situation of the country has remained relatively balanced, except for the sharp increase in the current account deficit that accompanied stronger growth. Since 2007,

the deficit has exceeded 6 per cent of GDP every year, approaching 13 per cent of GDP at its highest in 2011. The recent economic slowdown has, however, led to a relative improvement in the current account.

As a consequence of the economic and policy transitions, Tanzanian society is also undergoing major changes. The rapid growth of the last two

decades has been concentrated in a few sectors, and has deepened social and geographical cleavages. However, the national poverty rate, based on basic consumption needs, has declined from 34.4 per cent in 2007 to 28.2 per cent in 2011, and various non-income measures of poverty have shown improvements:

- › Tanzania's Human Development Index increased from 0.364 in 2000 to 0.466 in 2007, and 0.531 in 2015.
- › HIV prevalence in adults (aged 15-49) has almost been halved among males and females since the turn of the century, with a total prevalence rate of 4.7% in 2016, compared to 9.3% in 1998 (UNAIDS 2017).
- › The incidence of malaria, which has accounted for the largest burden of morbidity and mortality in Tanzania, especially among young children, has substantially improved with the introduction of insecticide-treated nets.
- › The rate of mortality under the age of five fell by more than half from 132 to 57 per 1,000 live births between 2000 and 2016 (UN IGME 2017).

Despite this progress, poverty remains prevalent. The poverty headcount at USD 1.90 a day (PPP) has dramatically receded since the turn of the century, but still concerned 47 per cent



Political rally for UKAWA, a coalition of four main opposition parties, during the election campaign in August 2015, Dar es Salaam. FOTO: AFP PHOTO / DANIEL HAYDUK/ SCANPIX

of the population in 2011 – mainly concentrated in the rural areas – and has not benefited substantially from the country's economic performance. The same observation applies to poverty in non-income dimensions relating to water, sanitation, shelter, education and information. Rates are both significantly higher, and have fallen less, in rural areas.

Tanzania is also faced with many pressing and wide-ranging environmental challenges, including: overuse of natural resources (e.g. deforestation); protection of wildlife (in particular, the fight against poaching); land degradation (due, among other things, to overgrazing); encroachment on water sources; pollution (e.g. due to the absence of waste treatment); and climate change adaptation. The adverse effects of environmental damage primarily affect fragile rural communities and



Tanzania's President-elect John Pombe Magufuli salutes members of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party (CCM), October 2015. FOTO: REUTERS/SADI SAID/FILE PHOTO/SCANPIX

could become a growing challenge for the country's poverty reduction strategies.

The progress towards democratisation has been uneven. While the principles of political plurality and competition and open elections have been reinforced, the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, "the Party of the Revolution") party has maintained a firm grip on power – particularly in Zanzibar, where the fairness of the electoral process was seriously questioned in 2010 and 2015. In recent years, political tensions, politically-motivated violence and the deterioration of respect for human rights and freedom of expression have become serious concerns, adding to the endemic problems of corruption and poor governance.

4. Donor engagement

The past decade has been marked by both success and crisis of the aid effectiveness agenda in Tanzania. In particular, several donors have severely curtailed their budget support to the government of Tanzania since 2014, following concerns over corruption.



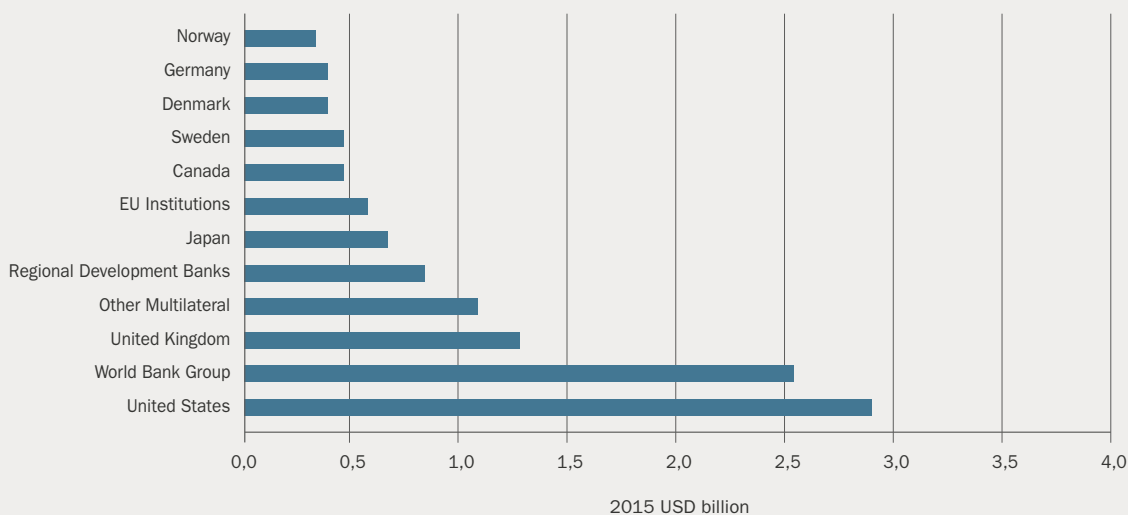
Teresia Olotai fetching water. Solar powered micro-grids are providing the Maasai bomas of the Moduli district with power for life-saving water purification, as well as a shared refrigerator, a computer and lights for the community and their cattle. FOTO: MORGANA WINGARD, USAID

The experience of development assistance in Tanzania in the last decade speaks of the achievements and challenges of international efforts to improve aid effectiveness since the Paris Declaration of 2005. These efforts have aimed at tackling the chronic problems of aid fragmentation, implementation costs, and lack of ownership in the recipient country by increasing co-operation and harmonisation among Development Partners, better alignment of assistance with national priorities and developments plans, developing results-based management, and increasing the use of the programmatic modalities of aid (i.e. general budget or sector budget support).

Tanzania has been a leading country in this process (Harrison/Mulley 2009). It adopted a National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty for the period 2005/06-2010/11 (MKUKUTA¹) that defined six priority sectors: agriculture, education, energy, health, roads, and water. MKUKUTA included coherent sector strategies, comprehensive outcome indicators related to the Millennium Development Goals, and an annual implementation plan. The strategy was revised in 2010 (MKUKUTA II, 2010/11-2015/16) and was linked to Tanzania's long-term development vision, which aims to make it a middle-income country by 2025.

1 Both MKUKUTA and its follow-up MKUKUTA II were associated with a specific development strategy for Zanzibar (MKUZA and MKUZA II).

FIGURE 1 // TOP 12 DONORS OF GROSS ODA, 2011-2015



SOURCE: OECD CRS AID ACTIVITY DATABASE DATA 2017

Starting in the mid-1990s, Tanzania developed a donor co-ordination framework that led to the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding for the Poverty Reduction Budget Support with nine Development Partners in 2001. Tanzania was a strong proponent of budget support, which already represented a significant share of its ODA receipts in 2004-2005, and which substantially increased in the period 2006-2009. The Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania, signed in 2006, established the principles for Development Partner harmonisation and alignment with national priorities. In 2007, Tanzania also volunteered, and was chosen, as one of

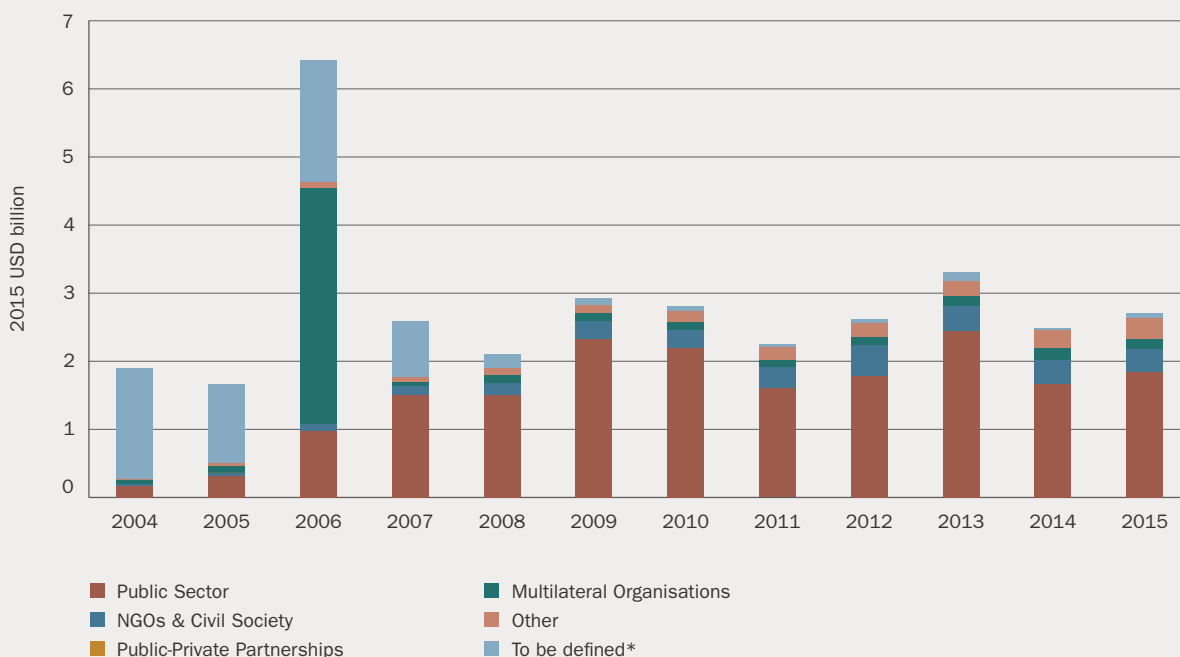
eight pilot countries for the United Nations' "Delivering as one" approach. In 2011, it became the first country in which all UN agencies integrated their activities into a unified results-based management framework aligned with the national goals and priorities – the UN Development Assistance Plan (UNDAP).

From 2011 to 2015, Tanzania benefited from official development assistance inflows of USD 2.9 billion a year on average, coming primarily from the US, the World Bank, the UK, various multilateral organisations and development banks, and Japan (see Figure 1).

In 2014, 
several donors withdrew
budgetary support to
Tanzania in reaction
to the IPTL escrow
account scandal"

Unfortunately, as the following section will explore in detail, the framework for aid co-ordination and management between Tanzania and its external partners gradually deteriorated. In 2014, several donor countries – including the UK, Norway, Switzerland and the Netherlands – withdrew budgetary support to Tanzania in reaction to the IPTL escrow account scandal. The disruption essentially affected the support to the public sector, while projects with other actors continued to benefit from the same level of support (see Figure 2).

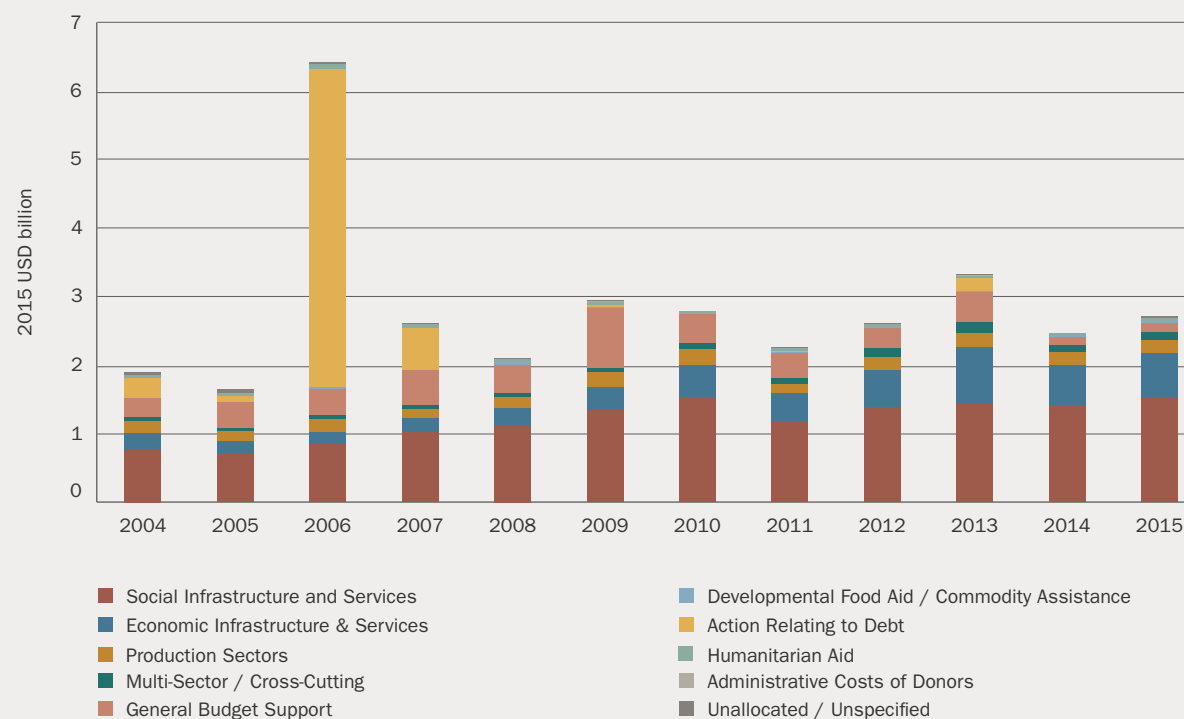
FIGURE 2 // TOTAL ODA BY CHANNEL, 2004-2015



SOURCE: OECD CRS AID ACTIVITY DATABASE DATA 2017. NOTE: THE SPIKE IN ODA INFLOWS IN 2006 IS DUE TO THE CANCELLATION OF NEARLY USD 4 BILLION IN DEBT UNDER THE G8 MULTILATERAL DEBT RELIEF INITIATIVE. *THE CATEGORY "TO BE DEFINED" IS RELATED TO THE FACT THAT THE OECD'S MAPPING EXERCISE TO APPLY CRS CATEGORIES RETROSPECTIVELY IS STILL ONGOING. AID FLOWS THAT HAVE NOT BEEN MAPPED YET ARE MARKED AS "TO BE DEFINED". IN CONTRAST, THE CATEGORY "OTHER" APPLIES TO AID FLOWS THAT HAVE ALREADY BEEN MAPPED, BUT WHICH COULD NOT BE PLACED IN ANOTHER CHANNEL CATEGORY.

The main sectors targeted by development assistance since 2010 are agriculture, infrastructure (electricity; water and sanitation), governance (the fight against corruption; decentralisation; and local governance), resilience to climate change and natural disasters, health, education, and general budget support. Since 2014, however, the country has received significantly lower levels of direct budget support (see Figure 3), from a narrower group of donors (including China, the African Development Bank, Canada, Japan and the World Bank). The arrival of new actors (such as China) with new modalities has changed the development assistance scene in Tanzania.

FIGURE 3 // TOTAL ODA BY SECTOR, 2004-2015



SOURCE: OECD CRS AID ACTIVITY DATABASE DATA 2017. NOTE: THE SPIKE IN ODA INFLOWS IN 2006 IS DUE TO THE CANCELLATION OF NEARLY USD 4 BILLION IN DEBT UNDER THE G8 MULTILATERAL DEBT RELIEF INITIATIVE.

5. Evaluations of aid

The evaluations reviewed in this brief highlight important successes of development cooperation in areas such as primary education (notably thanks to budget support), agricultural productivity, roads, water and sanitation, and support to civil society. But they also show that the lack of attention to implementation and inadequate ownership affect the effectiveness of many programmes and projects.



Four townswomen attending a local farmers' meeting in Kilosa, 2016. FOTO: MITCHELL MAHER/ INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE

This section reviews the evaluations of official development assistance provided to Tanzania under seven headings: the aid effectiveness agenda, which covers particular budget support; governance and support to civil society; agriculture, environment and climate change; water, energy and transport; health; education; and cross-cutting issues.

5.1 THE AID EFFECTIVENESS AGENDA

A joint evaluation undertaken in 2013 (European Commission 2013) found that general and sector budget support provided to Tanzania in previous years had had a number of important outcomes, in particular:

- › Securing adequate funding for the country's priority sectors – in the first place, education (introduction of capitation funds for secondary schools, increase in teacher/pupil ratios) and roads (financing of the Road Fund and road maintenance projects).
- › Enabling an increase in public investment that helped offset the impact of the 2008 global crisis without jeopardising the country's sound macroeconomic management.
- › Contributing to the Government's high-level commitment to Public Financial Management reform.
- › Helping to strengthen the role of accountability and anti-corruption institutions.



At Dogodogo multitasking centre in Banjo, poor youth are offered a two-year vocational training course preparing them for work life, and equipment to start their own business when finished. The centre is supported by the Norwegian Church Aid. FOTO: TERJE FJELDGAARD ANDERSEN/NORAD

The diagnosis might err on the side of generosity, as it assumes that none of these outcomes would have taken place, even in part, in the absence of budget support. On the other hand, it might underestimate the final impact of budget support, as studies based on more recent data have shown that, in addition, Tanzania's poverty rate decreased between 2007 and 2011 (World Bank 2017b).

These achievements notwithstanding, the budget support framework was affected by a number of design deficiencies.

The extent of harmonisation was lower than expected. This was due in particular to the gradual preference for basket funding (which pools and directs resources towards a specific sector, often with specific conditions) rather

Policy dialogue has virtually ceased outside of a limited number of technical areas.

than general budget support, and to what donors considered to be overly-complex monitoring and management frameworks (MFA Finland 2016). Within the UN system, the UN Development Assistance Plan did not generate the expected level of co-ordination and prioritisation (UNDP 2016a: 4).

The UN Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) is a case in point. It has had to combine interventions at the macro, meso and micro levels on issues ranging from capacity-building in policy formulation to value-chain development, environmental preservation, and energy. Some of these interventions have been very successful – for instance, the strengthening of the analytical capacity of the National Bureau of Statistics and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment have been considered instrumental in the elaboration of Tanzania's second Five-Year Development Plan.

However, the evaluators of UNIDO's country programme warn that "if UNIDO continues with

the rather isolated, small-scale project approach, its contribution to the industrial development of Tanzania may not be significant enough" (UNIDO 2016:72).

Technical assistance and capacity-building were virtually non-existent within the context of general budget support because of a lack of demand and interest from the Government. This allowed capacity issues in budgeting and public financial management to persist, weakening in particular the credibility of the budget and the financial reporting (European Commission 2013). The general budget support dialogue did not address these issues in a detailed and effective manner.

In fact, Development Partners increasingly used general budget support as a channel for sharing their concerns about corruption with the Government. Initially, this produced some results. On the occasion of a series of corruption scandals in 2007-2008, the Government actively communicated information to the Development Partners and convinced them that its anti-corruption efforts were adequate. Development Partners were also able to push for the integration of stronger monitoring tools within general budget support.

Gradually, however, disagreements about the dialogue escalated. The focus on anti-corruption

issues within the budget support framework was not based on evidence (European Commission 2013). This eroded the trust relationship between the Government and Development Partners, and the interest of both parties for enhancing ownership through general budget support waned. In this context, the IPTL escrow account scandal in 2014 accelerated a crisis that was well underway, and revealed the considerable weakening of the dialogue and co-operation over aid effectiveness.

While some of the realisations of the last decade, such as public finance management reform, have been preserved², the present situation constitutes a return to the status quo ante in many respects, and even a historic low point in policy dialogue, which has virtually ceased outside of a limited number of technical areas.

5.2 GOVERNANCE AND SUPPORT TO CIVIL SOCIETY

Outside of the anti-corruption-related actions mentioned above, donor strategies addressing governance issues have targeted accountability and anti-corruption institutions, local government, and civil society organisations (CSOs).

² The mid-term review of the fourth phase of the Public Finance Management Reform Programme estimated that the programme's implementation was in line with its ambitious objectives (Tanzania 2015). See also MFA Finland 2016.



Sunset panorama of Dar Es Salaam City Centre. FOTO: ISTOCKPHOTO/IGORSPB

Accountability institutions

Several donor programmes have sought to strengthen accountability institutions such as the National Audit Office and the Parliamentary Oversight Committees, or judiciary bodies such as the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and the Office of the Director for Public Prosecutions (DPP). These programmes generally have contributed to improvements in the capacity and reach of the benefiting institutions.

The PCCB received substantial support after its mandate was enhanced by the Tanzania Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act

of 2007, making it a very well-resourced anti-corruption agency by regional standards, with over 1,000 investigators (Anti-Corruption Authorities Portal 2014). In the following years, the PCCB enjoyed high visibility, notably thanks to a sharp increase in the number of prosecutions. However, these results were not sustained. To reach the next level in the fight against corruption, stronger investigation and prosecution services and a more effective judiciary were needed, particularly when it comes to the co-operation between the PCCB and the DPP. The PCCB was criticised for focusing on petty corruption, at the expense of more serious cases.

Capacity building and technical assistance were also hampered by the lack of communication on the Bureau's needs (Norad 2011). The assessment of DFID's Strengthening Tanzania's Anti-Corruption Action programme, launched in 2012, pinpoints the hurdles in the way of a more effective enforcement of anti-corruption laws: "Key bottlenecks remain for effective investigation, prosecution and sanctioning and these will require measures other than training to remove them. [...] the programme underestimated how difficult, complex and time-consuming it would be to change collaborative practices among law enforcement institutions" (DFID 2016: 19-20).

Donor support and capacity building, combined with legislative action by the Government, produced more visible results at the National Audit Office and the Parliamentary Committees. The relevance and quality of the National Audit Office's audit reports increased steadily, and the Parliament's Public Accounts Committees also started to exert stronger oversight (European Commission 2013). Following the election of John Magufuli as president in 2015, the government itself emphasised the fight against corruption. A special anti-corruption division was created at the High Court, a new phase of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy was launched, and a review of the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act was considered.

Recently, however, the government has introduced budgetary measures putting the National Audit Office's independence at risk (Tanzania 2015), while also restricting the freedom of the press and the activities of CSOs. The government's apparent mistrust of independent control bodies does not bode well for the success of its anti-corruption strategy.

Local government

Co-operation with local government agencies took place within the context of an ambitious decentralisation programme initiated by the Government's 1998 Policy Paper on Local Government Reform, with the aim of improving local governance and service delivery through greater autonomy.

The evaluation of the World Bank's contribution to the Local Government Reform Programme (1998-2008) through the Local Development Support Project (2006-2012) sheds some light on the achievements and limits of decentralisation (World Bank 2016a). The project combined two components aimed at facilitating fiscal decentralisation with one on infrastructure rehabilitation to improve access to services in unplanned areas of Dar es Salaam. The evaluation found that the latter component had been largely successful, while the former had been confronted with capacity-building and implementation

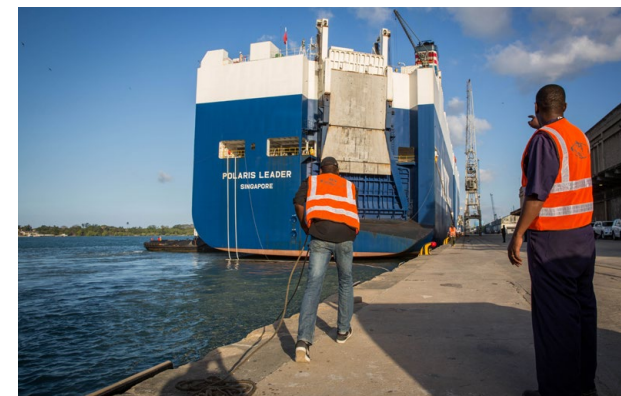
The government's
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issues, and a general lack of commitment to decentralisation among high officials following the change of administration in 2005.

Civil society organisations

The challenges to the anti-corruption dialogue and co-operation with the Government led several donors to turn to the "demand side" of governance and seek to strengthen the CSOs' and media's ability to hold officials accountable. A contextual factor facilitating this work was that Tanzania, in contrast to many of its neighbours, did not restrict Development Partner interactions with and support to CSOs.

For instance, the USAID-funded Strengthening Transparency, Accountability and Responsibility project provided training in budget monitoring



Dar es Salaam port. FOTO: ROB BEECHEY/WORLD BANK

and public expenditure tracking, advocacy, organisational strengthening, project and grants management and financial management to 21 CSOs. The programme's evaluation pinpoints the successes of tracking committees in "identifying misallocations or misappropriations of funds, bringing them to the attention of officials, and successfully achieving a reversal or restoration of funds". It notes, however, that because of the short duration of the project, "gains from training were often diminished or lost just one or two years later" (USAID 2014: 16).

In its Resources and Finance Programme (2011-2015), Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) also used training in budget monitoring and public expenditure tracking as an accountability tool. The evaluation of the project found that the trainings and public expenditure tracking commit-



Woman in Ilula carrying water back home from the public well, 2014. The Norwegian Church Aid in cooperation with local partners have worked to enhance the transparent and accountable use of public funds. In Ilula, the local population got the water back after revealing corruption in the water works agency.

FOTO: MARTE LID/NORAD

tees had improved people's understanding of their potential influence, but with clear limits: "Contrary to the right based approach cherished by NCA, there is a glaring lack of the sense of ownership towards public resources, which in turn reduces the degree of commitment to demand accountability from the duty bearers" (Norwegian Church Aid 2014: 27).

Donor support has possibly had more impact when it allowed the emergence or strengthening of CSOs as voices in the country's policy debates. The examples of Twaweza and the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) illustrate this positive trend.

Twaweza is as an East African initiative with a broad scope, covering transparency, accountability, citizen empowerment and improved public services. It received support from multiple donors on the basis of a long-term commitment, and its activities include: a national survey, combined with a series of policy briefs; a randomised control trial on learning outcomes; the largest national assessment of basic literacy and numeracy in Africa; and partnerships through which exercise books and solar lights were distributed to schools. An evaluation of the first five years of this support by Sida concludes that Twaweza's reach and influence have been "outstanding", and its success "almost unparalleled" (Sida 2015a: 88).

The TGNP, founded in 1993, focuses on gender issues, social justice and human rights. It has also received constant support from a group of donors in which Sida has played a lead role. An evaluation of its operations between 2008 and 2012 considers that the organisation has been influential at local and national levels, within government circles, and also in the NGO community (Sida 2014). In line with its strategy, it has been able to trigger changes in behaviour at local level, by informing women of their rights and enabling them to take action, or empowering villagers to hold local officials accountable for the provision of social services. In parallel, the TGNP has conducted lobbying activities and

engaged in discussions with the Government and Development Partners to increase the role of women in decision-making.

5.3 AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Agriculture and private sector development

Despite its dynamic exports and substantial surplus in grain production, Tanzania has an important untapped potential in agriculture, particularly in traditional crops, livestock and dairy. In 2015, less than 2 per cent of land with irrigation potential was equipped with improved irrigation.

The Government adopted the first phase of the Agriculture Sector Development Programme (ASDP) in 2005, and its second phase in 2016, with similar objectives: to improve farmers' access to knowledge, technologies, marketing systems and infrastructure; and to make the regulatory framework more favourable to private investment. The programme first received support from multiple donors under a basket fund for agricultural infrastructure and expansion. However, in line with the general trend away from budget support, Development Partners gradually re-emphasised project-based support.

An evaluation by IFAD sheds positive light on some of the achievements of ASDP (IFAD 2015). The programme generated remarkable progress in agricultural productivity, mainly through extension and irrigation schemes, with an increase in crop yields of about 80 per cent for maize and of 160 per cent for rice in the intervention areas³. However, progress has been very limited in rural finance, access to agricultural markets, and the development of value chains, which faced serious capacity and co-ordination gaps.

Against this background, the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), an investment framework for public-private partnerships, constitutes a key initiative for modernising Tanzania's agriculture. SAGCOT has garnered very significant support from donors and multi-national agro-food corporations, and has raised both hopes and concerns with regard to its social and environmental impacts (USAID 2012). Its development is spearheaded by the SAGCOT Centre, whose mandate is to identify project opportunities in the infrastructure and agriculture sectors, attract investments, build partnerships, and co-ordinate interventions. The SAGCOT Capacity Development project, launched with the support of the UNDP, sought to strengthen

³ Note, however, that these estimates are based on a single observation and do not account for possible selection bias or the influence of other factors.

the Centre's capacity to co-ordinate the implementation of the SAGCOT five-year work plan and help the Ministry of Agriculture and the Rufiji Basin Development Authority enhance small-holder farmers' engagement. The project made significant achievements on both accounts, thanks to its participatory approach and its alignment with national priorities (UNDP 2016b).

Food security and disaster risk management

Tanzania has reached national food self-sufficiency, with an average ratio of food production to consumption close to 110 per cent (WFP 2015). The Government has placed particular emphasis on covering all aspects of food security within its policy framework: food availability and accessibility; nutrition; productive agriculture; efficient food systems; and an effective safety net. It adopted a Food and Nutrition Policy in 1992, last revised and expanded in 2014, and a National Nutrition Strategy in 2011, with a five-year implementation plan.

The country's reliance on assistance from the World Food Programme (WFP) has decreased. A review of the WFP country portfolio in 2011-2014 noted that in all emergency contexts involving no refugees, the Government had been able to provide independently all required assistance (WFP 2015).



Saasa Kimbulaga in Rufiji noting data on fish stocks to monitor and help preserve the local natural resources. FOTO: KEN OPPRANN

However, Tanzania still experiences food shortages locally, in particular in its semi-arid agro-ecological zones, and malnutrition is widespread. Eighty per cent of the population relies on subsistence farming, and 35 per cent of children under the age of five are stunted – a proportion that exceeds 50 per cent in some regions (Tanzania 2014a). Governmental policies have been criticised for the lack of co-ordination between sectors, inadequate financial resources and political commitment, and weak strategic partnerships (WFP 2015). Donor support has been strong, but most interventions have addressed the local level direct, resulting in fragmentation and weak national ownership. The WFP deplores the gradual decline in the policy dialogue with the Government on school

feeding, which has resulted in a decrease in the number of feeding days and the removal of the mid-morning meal in early 2013. Furthermore, the absence of funding sources and hand-over options threatens the sustainability of recent achievements (WFP 2015).

In disaster management, governmental systems were also deemed to lack co-ordination and, until recently, to be geared towards emergency response rather than disaster risk reduction and preparedness. Several donor-backed initiatives have aimed at implementing a more streamlined and preventive approach to correct this bias. For instance, five UN agencies jointly supported the Strengthening National Disaster Preparedness and Response Capacity Programmes, which helped to strengthen key governmental institutions, leading to better disaster risk assessment, planning and response. In some cases, the programmes had a positive effect on communities and institutions at lower levels. But the effective use of existing facilities and procedures, and the sustainability of project outcomes, remain in question (UN 2011).

Environmental conservation and climate change

Tanzania has received support from multiple bilateral programmes aimed at reducing vulnerability and building resilience both to climate



Aziza Ismail Waziri and her children tending their home garden in Kauzeni village, outside of Morogoro, 2014. The gardens give rural and vulnerable households a chance to tackle malnutrition through the cultivation of highly nutritious vegetables such as kale and orange-flesh sweet potato. FOTO: USAID/TANZANIA

change and environmental degradation – for example, through sustainable agriculture practices (such as drip irrigation and agroforestry) and crops resistant to flood and drought. Ecosystem monitoring and conservation and wildlife protection have also been important areas of activity.

Owing to the magnitude of forest degradation driven by growing energy needs (principally

charcoal) and the expansion of small-scale agriculture into previously non-farmed areas, one area of particular relevance has been the development of national capacity for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+).

In this area, the UN-REDD Tanzania National Programme (TNP) has focused on catalysing

policy discussion and implementing some of the fundamental components of REDD+ readiness. The TNP has developed capacities within the Government to design consistent programmes that account for the interdependence between different REDD+ activities, and generated “the level of confidence to engage in national and global discourse” on REDD+. However, capacity gaps remain within LGAs and other stakeholders (UNDP/FAO/UNEP 2013).

With support from Norway, the Tanzanian Government also launched a series of pilot projects to test practical approaches to REDD+ that help local economic development. The evaluation of these projects found that Tanzania’s legal and institutional framework for decentralised forest management provided opportunities for testing how to engage communities (UK Aid 2016). Among those tested, approaches in which carbon finance benefits are shared between the participants, on the basis of a pre-agreed scheme, appear to be the most promising in ensuring continued support for forest protection and improved management. Two other programmes funded by Norway – Enhancing Pro-poor Innovation in Natural Resources and Agricultural Value Chain (EPINAV), and Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation and Mitigation (CCIAM) – supported research and institutional collaboration and capacity

building in the areas of adaptation to climate change in agricultural production and REDD+ (Norway 2016: 7).

5.4 WATER, ENERGY AND TRANSPORT

Water and sanitation

The USAID-funded iWASH project was undertaken in 2010 to increase access to water supply, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services for poor rural and small-town dwellers, but also – as a means to this end – to develop the capacity of the private sector and local government to provide WASH services. Furthermore, the project aimed at increasing access to sustainable financing for communities and entrepreneurs engaged in WASH services, and at increasing sustainable management of watersheds and water resources. Overall, the programme was largely successful, particularly in improving water supply, promoting private initiatives and, to a lesser extent, in improving sanitation and hygiene (USAID 2013).

An evaluation of Swedish support to HESAWA, a long-running water and sanitation programme to increase the welfare of poor rural families, found that it had introduced new and innovative approaches, reached a large number of people and produced significant short-term results. However, it also found that the programme’s

achievements had low sustainability and that the contribution to poverty reduction was marginal. Various issues contributed to this outcome, including the vast geographical area covered, the lack of incentives for people to participate more fruitfully, weak cost recovery, the inability to find sustainable operation and maintenance solutions, and parallel management structures that limited ownership by the Government (Sweden 2016).

Electricity and transport infrastructure

In the electricity and road sectors, an evaluation of Norwegian support in Zanzibar showed that the interventions had produced many positive (and some unintended negative) outcomes, but their broader and longer-term impact was often disappointing. For instance, while village electrification rates were at the level of middle-income countries, household connection rates were hampered by the prohibitive costs of connection. In turn, these resulted from the unbalanced cost structure of the electricity utility, and the fact that parts of the public administration did not pay its electricity bills. The success of the projects was, therefore, limited by factors that were outside their scope, but could have been better anticipated – such as the creation of bottlenecks, and the pervasive effects of inadequate institutional arrangements (Norad 2016).

These findings are consistent with those of an investigation into Swedish development co-operation, which found that energy security remains low in Tanzania and its poverty-reducing benefits are limited, especially in rural areas, despite Sweden's long-standing efforts in this area. According to the report, the support "has in all probability not reduced poverty, below those levels that would have otherwise prevailed, in rural areas" (Sweden 2016: 90). The causes are the lack of recognition and/or response with regard to inadequate capacity in the energy sector to create an environment for sustainable energy provision.

5.5 HEALTH

In the health sector, the main areas of focus for Development Partners have been basic health-care (e.g. maternal and child care), tuberculosis control, and infectious disease control, targeted in particular at HIV/AIDS. As emphasised earlier, HIV prevalence has been reduced substantially, and the number of AIDS-related deaths has also fallen. These improvements have been unevenly distributed between regions, however, due in particular to large disparities in the availability and quality of health services.

The Programme for Strengthening Paediatric HIV and AIDS Services in Tanzania, funded by USAID, offers an illustration of the effects and



This malaria surveillance officer pays home visits to quickly test, treat and monitor households to prevent malaria, Zanzibar 2015. PHOTO: MORGANA WINGARD/ USAID

limitations of interventions in this sector. The programme made important contributions to strengthening Tanzanian AIDS and Tuberculosis control programmes. Its "Know Your Child's Status" campaign contributed to the identification, testing and referral of infected children, and to bringing them to care. Its approach to paediatric HIV post-graduate training – which combines case-based classroom education with clinical attachment, followed by on-the-job mentoring – also proved an excellent adult learning model. However, it was too costly to have the reach, coverage and impact required in Tanzania, due to the lack of human resources in health (USAID 2015).

Other interventions have addressed HIV/AIDS through support to social services – in particular,

education and awareness-raising on sexual and reproductive health and rights, as exemplified by Restless Development's activities. The organisation has led community-level awareness-raising and educational interventions, particularly through collaboration with schools and support to local groups and volunteers. A large number of young Tanzanians have benefited from this outreach, have dared to talk more openly about taboo questions, and have increased their knowledge on reproductive health, the prevention of early pregnancies, and the use of health services. Such outcomes, in turn, have contributed to decreases in early pregnancies and drop-out rates for young schoolgirls (Sida 2015b).

5.6 EDUCATION

The Government of Tanzania has strongly focused on education in the last 20 years. Through the ambitious Education Sector Development Plan I (1997-2007) and II (2008-2017), Tanzania has become one of the African countries that has come closest to full enrolment in primary education. Its objectives have now shifted to improving the quality of learning, increasing retention rates in primary schools, and extending high enrolment rates to secondary education.

Development Partners have contributed to Tanzania's education policy through general budget support (until 2014), support to

the poverty reduction strategy, and sectoral assistance. The World Bank and other donors have made substantial contributions to the main components of the Sector Development Plan – namely, the Primary Education Development Programme (first phase 2002-2006, second phase 2007-2011, and third phase 2012-2017) and the Secondary Education Development Programme (first phase 2004-2009, second phase 2010-2015). The results have been spectacular in terms of improving access to primary education. During the implementation of the first phase of the Development Programme, the enrolment rate of seven-year-old children jumped from 18 per cent to 84 per cent (World Bank 2010). At the same time, the pass rate for the end-of-primary exam increased from 25 per cent (2001) to 70 per cent (2006). Retention rates also improved, while the pupil-teacher ratio increased dramatically. However, these trends were all reversed in the last decade. Enrolment rates have decreased somewhat, the pupil-teacher ratio has worsened, and – more disturbingly – the drop-out rate has increased from 20.8 per cent in 2005 to 33.3 per cent in 2012 (Tanzania 2014b).

With regard to secondary education, the number of government and community schools increased from 828 to 2,806 during the implementation of the first phase of the Development Plan (World

Bank 2010). The rate of enrolment multiplied by almost three, but learning outcome indicators dropped. Naturally, the spectacular increase in the number of schools, pupils and teachers also generated a host of management issues. Since 2007, enrolment rates have been stable, but the training of sufficient numbers of teachers with appropriate qualifications, the reform of curricula, and the development of administrative capacities have remained challenges for the Tanzanian education system (Tanzania 2014b).

5.7 CROSS-CUTTING ISSUES

Gender

Tanzania has made significant progress towards gender equality. National policies, strategies and reforms are now gender-sensitive. Women's representation in Parliament increased from 30 per cent to 37 per cent during the last national elections, with 29 per cent of the seats reserved for women, and, for the first time, a woman was nominated as Speaker in the National Assembly. However, gender-based violence is still pervasive, the poverty gap has widened, and poverty negatively affects rural women to a larger extent than the rest of the population (Sida 2014).

Many of the programmes reviewed above contain gender equality provisions. For instance, training and awareness-raising emphasising gender

issues were conducted during the implementation of all UNDP programmes (UNDP 2015).

In the education sector, empowerment interventions such as UNICEF's TUSEME⁴ programme had a positive impact in “engaging girls and boys in life skills, reducing school dropouts, motivating teachers' attitudinal change towards girls, and reducing absenteeism” (UNICEF 2015: 40). TUSEME clubs managed by teachers boosted the confidence of pupils – particularly girls – to speak out about their problems and to take action. Because of the lack of sustained interest and active involvement from local authorities, however, the expansion possibilities and sustainability of the programme are considered limited.

Infrastructure projects in areas such as electrification and water also have beneficial impacts in terms of gender equality, since the collection of water or firewood is primarily the women's role in rural Tanzania (USAID 2013). Of course, better infrastructure alone will not establish gender equality. In rural Pemba, gender relations and the role of women in daily life have started to shift as a consequence of increased use of electricity, but these changes are still limited as many of the traditional

4 “Let us speak out” in KiSwahili.

constraints on the activity of women remain unchanged (Norad 2016).

Human rights

In the last decade, there have been some indications of a gradual deterioration of the environment for human rights activists, journalists, civil society representatives and members of the political opposition. The electoral cycle engendered bursts of violence in 2010-2011 and 2015-2016. Although limited, these were primarily oriented towards political opponents and critics of the ruling party. Donors have followed this situation with concern. Several among them reacted to the political imbroglio created by the suspension of the 2015 electoral process in Zanzibar by reviewing, reducing or freezing their grants.

With the exception of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme and the activities of Restless Development, the projects reviewed in this brief do not directly consider human rights issues. However, many have components or outcomes that are relevant from a human rights perspective – in particular, support to poverty reduction and to good governance. For instance, the design of the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania reflected the underlying human rights challenges facing communities in the agricultural sector. The



Girls sitting on the door step. Pemba 2015. FOTO: KEN OPPRANN

project facilitated awareness-raising sessions, and provided tenure assurance to poor people, as well as access to more development support (UNDP 2016b).

In the last decade,  there have been some indications of a gradual deterioration of the environment for human rights activists, journalists, civil society representatives and members of the political opposition.

6. Lessons learnt

Development cooperation

in recent years has helped to strengthen public management and improve public services, all of which provide a foundation for future development. However, the challenges remain numerous, and tackling them will require better models of dialogue and partnership for development.



Habiba Suleiman, a district malaria surveillance officer, on her way to Shakani village, as part of her work for the USAID-supported Zanzibar Malaria Elimination Program, 2015. FOTO: MORGANA WINGARD/ USAID

The experience of development co-operation in Tanzania in the last decade has been one of considerable progress in certain areas, persistent weakness in others, and occasionally one of disappointments and tensions. The period has been rich in lessons for the future of development assistance to the country.

Strengths

One of the key positive lessons is that past efforts to mobilise tax resources and reform public financial management have generated important progress in the economic stewardship of the country. In addition, despite the current slowdown, the Tanzanian economy has proved itself able to maintain a sustained growth path, despite external turbulences. If public policy maintains reasonably sound macroeconomic fundamentals, continued growth could provide a strong basis for poverty reduction and modernisation efforts in the coming years.

Even if it does not always match the increasing burden placed on it by economic transformation and the fragmentation of aid, the increase in the central administration's capacity in key areas of governance is real. This has contributed to a number of important achievements in access to primary education, transport infrastructure,



Worker pouring sunflower seeds into an extraction machine in Dodoma, 2016. FOTO: MITCHELL MAHER/INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY INSTITUTE

and agricultural productivity – primarily by expanding public service delivery. Tanzania has developed some of the foundations of a modern state.

The shift of assistance from project funding to budget support in the course of the last decade supported these developments. Despite the problems of governance and corruption, budget support to Tanzania was working before it was suspended by a majority

of development partners (European Commission 2013, Sweden 2016).

The progress of civil society in holding central and local government to account on the use of public funds is also a key development of recent years that holds promise for the improvement of governance in the future.



Labourers working on an irrigation project, Pwani, 2007. FOTO: SCOTT WALLACE/WORLD BANK

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Weaknesses

From the standpoint of the aid effectiveness agenda, given the hopes placed in Tanzania a decade ago, it is tempting to conclude that development co-operation has experienced a dramatic regression. As a consequence of the budget support crisis, the policy dialogue between the Tanzanian Government and development partners is at a historic low. This has fed a lack of interest and commitment by the Government, which has affected the impact and sustainability of numerous programmes.

One of the weaknesses that led to the crisis is that governance concerns were not adequately incorporated into the design of assistance schemes. More constructive co-operation on governance issues will entail integrating precise monitoring and evaluation provisions in all projects, and intensifying the technical work with anti-corruption bodies. In other words, donors, too, have responsibilities in the prevention of corruption.

In many cases, the impact of projects has been lessened because of a lack of attention at project inception to the conditions of implementation, context factors that could

enable project outcomes or become obstacles, and the conditions in which the outcomes will develop in the post-completion phase.

This experience shows that:

- Project design has to be based on careful consideration of the entire life cycle of the project outcomes in the local context.
- In particular, projects should not only anticipate their implementation conditions, but also consider how to prevent institutional bottlenecks, and how to act on enabling factors that help to maximise impact.
- Many projects would benefit from establishing stronger partnerships with the appropriate local partners for implementation.

Gaps

In virtually every area of development co-operation – and, more broadly, of public policy – in Tanzania, there is a need for more comprehensive and better quality data. Although progress has been made in this field in recent years, many gaps remain – in particular, with respect to central and local government expenditure data, the scope and frequency of surveys, and detailed information on financial flows (whether related to aid or not).

Looking ahead

Unfortunately, lessons are not automatically learnt, or put into practice. The future role, magnitude and modalities of development

co-operation in Tanzania will depend on how these lessons are integrated into a common operational framework.

To set up such a platform, the first step is to restore the constructive and co-operative attitude that prevailed a decade ago. The sustainability of assistance continues to rely on the condition of local and national ownership – and ownership requires trust. The tensions that have affected relations between the Government of Tanzania and development partners carry an important lesson for the future: that the policy dialogue is necessary, and that it has to be structured as a constructive exchange, based on careful consideration of facts, and geared towards a search for solutions. When the dialogue serves to set objectives for the partner government, these objectives have to be mutually agreed upon and realistic (European Commission 2013).

Although Tanzania's progress in building up certain public services has been spectacular, the continuation and expansion of this progress will be more challenging. The focus will have to shift from quantitative to qualitative outcomes, and greater capacity will be required to deliver high value-added services. Closer co-operation between development partners and the Tanzanian administration will be vital in this phase of qualitative development.



Audience at a ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone for the Ubungo Overpass, 2017. FOTO: SARAH FARHAT/WORLD BANK

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Abbreviations

ASDP	Agriculture Sector Development Programme	NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
CCIAM	Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation and Mitigation	NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (“the Party of the Revolution”)	ODA	Official Development Assistance
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
CRS	OECD Creditor Reporting System	PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
DFID	UK Department for International Development	REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
DPP	Director for Public Prosecutions	SAGCOT	Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania
EPINAV	Enhancing Pro-poor Innovation in Natural Resources and Agricultural Value Chain	TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations	TNP	Tanzania National Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	UK	United Kingdom
GII	Gender Inequality Index	UN	United Nations
GNI	Gross National Income	UNDAP	United Nations Development Assistance Plan
HDI	Human Development Index	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
HESAWA	Health through Sanitation and Water	UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development	UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
IPTL	Independent Power Tanzania Limited	USAID	United States Agency for International Development
LGA	Local Government Authority	WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	WFP	World Food Programme
MKUKUTA	National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction		

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Mkunazini primary school in Zanzibar, April 2017

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