RURAL FOOD SECURITY POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT GROUP (RFS) INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THE POVERTY ERADICATION STRATEGY

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1. INTRODUCTION

There is no specific policy on poverty eradication, according to top officials in the Vice President's Office. Instead, poverty eradication policy statements are included in each of the country's sectoral ministries such as those for Agriculture and Cooperatives, Trade and Industries, and Labour and Youth Development. The Poverty Eradication Unit in the Vice President's Office follows the guidelines of <u>The National Poverty Eradication Strategy</u> (URT, Vice President's Office, 1998), which provides, nevertheless, much of the expected content of a policy.

On the other hand, the Tanzanian government prioritised poverty as one of its major concerns in the 1960s and 1970s, and adopted a variety of measures to reduce poverty and income inequalities. These included a coherent incomes policy, and substantial support for rural development programmes and basic social services in the context of the Socialism and Self Reliance policy. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania had one of the lowest income differentials in Southern Africa, and highest quality of life indicators among low income countries in SubSaharan Africa.

Economic reform policies have reversed these trends, as will be discussed below. Economic growth and stabilisation have been achieved, but at the expense of the well-being of the majority. Poverty has increased, along with income disparities, and led to widespread dissatisfaction with the macroeconomic reform process.

This is an opportune time to review <u>The National Poverty Eradication Strategy</u> (hereafter NPES), in the light of current efforts by government as well as civil society to develop the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) and debt relief (URT Ministry of Finance 2000, TCDD/PRSP 2000).

The review will draw on the information and analysis provided in other review papers presented here, in particular that of "Livelihoods, Employment and Income Policy" (Mbilinyi and Nyoni 2000).

It is based on analysis of policy documents, secondary literature, and interviews with key resource persons in government, academia and civil society organisations, who are listed in the Annex. It has also gained from the input received from participants at the Policy Review Feedback Workshop in May 2000, and the discussant of this report (Mongula 2000).

The conceptual framework is briefly discussed in the next section, followed by some background discussion in section three. Key elements of the NPES are presented in the fourth section. The fifth section provides an analysis of the policy, beginning with the process of policy formulation, and then the strengths and shortcomings of the content of the policy.

2.0 CONCEPTUALISATION

2.1 Poverty is defined here as lack of means to satisfy basic material and social needs as well as a feeling of powerlessness, in line with the civil society paper on PRSP which is cited here (TCDD/PRSP 2000). The concept of powerlessness presumes an understanding of power relations among different groups of people, including rich and poor, men and women, old and young, and government leaders and ordinary citizens. Poverty has many dimensions, including income and basic-needs elements, and includes attributes such as the right to dignity, non-discrimination and social inclusion, which are not measurable in quantitative terms (Vandemoortele 2000).

The globalisation process has led to increased income and wealth disparities and greater impoverishment, amongst the poor, as well as between the poor and the rich. This is the outcome of policy as well as global market forces. Budget and aid allocations to basic social services have dramatically declined, along with allocations to the infrastructure needed by poor smallscale producers and traders such as rural transport and communications. Greater poverty, in turn, has acted to slow down the development process.

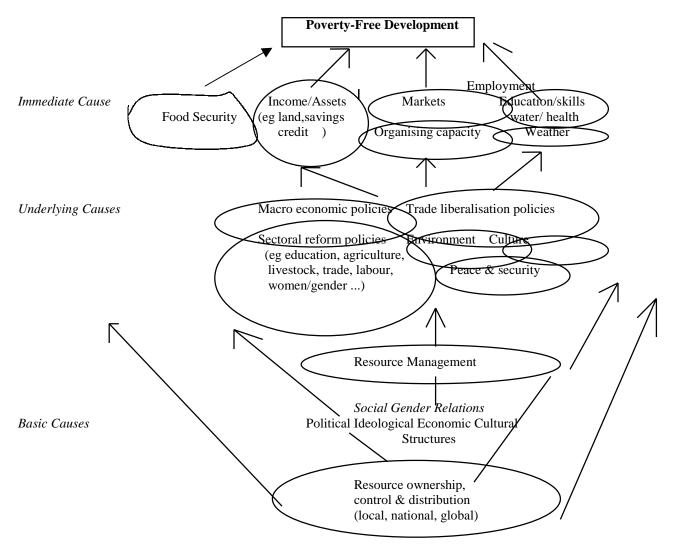
- 2.2 'High-achieving countries', that is, countries with rapid social progress and economic development, incorporated principles and good practices of social policy within their overall development strategy, as outlined by Vandemoortele (2000:14):
 - they simultaneously addressed economic and social rights; they did not pursue economic growth first, while keeping social development in abeyance;
 - they considered universal access to basic social services as a public sector priority none of them relied on the free play of the market, on 'trickle down' or on narrowly targeted programmes as the mainstay for achieving universal coverage;
 - they spent more on basic social services;
 - they also spent better by (I) reaching the poorest (equity); (ii) improving the impact of social spending (efficiency); and (iii) providing an integrated package of basic social services so that their combined impact was greater than the sum of the parts; and finally
 - they protected the budget for basic social services during periods of crisis and austerity, because these investments have relatively long gestation periods.
- 2.2 A conception of *people-centred poverty-free development* has been adopted, which incorporates mechanisms to ensure equity, empowerment of the poor, and participatory decision-making, as outlined below (Mbilinyi et al 1999, drawing on the work of Rahman 1993):
 - all segments of society have a voice in deciding what the key priorities/ objectives of development will be
 - all segments of society participate in making key decisions on the policies to be followed to reach these objectives
 - at the level of implementation, all segments of society participate in deciding how to use means so as to reach given ends
 - all segments of society benefit equally from development, in terms of access to and control over key resources at all levels of society

- special measures are adopted to overcome inequalities and disempowerment of the past, so as to enable specific disempowered groups (women, youth, pastoralists, the poor) to access resources and become full participants in development.
- 2.3 Participatory development recognises the need to build and strengthen civil society organisations and popular social movements to engage with the structures of power in place in politics, economics and culture. These include grassroots organisations or *self-organisations*, led by members of a given interest group such as smallholder livestock-keepers, farmers, workers, marginalised youth or working women. Building participatory democracy depends on a process whereby the people become increasingly responsible for their own emancipation, through experience in organising themselves and struggling for their rights.
- 2.4 A graphic illustration of the conceptual framework adopted by TCDD/PRSP is presented in Figure 1 below. The goal of poverty-free development depends on access to immediate causes:
 - food security;
 - employment, livable incomes, and adequate assets;
 - markets;
 - organising capacity to advocate for rights and interests;
 - education/skills, water, health services; and
 - adequate weather conditions.

However, immediate causes need themselves to be explained by the next level of analysis ie underlying causes. Here the framework focuses on policies concerning macro reform, trade liberalisation, and sectoral reform, along with the environment, culture and peace and security. A set of basic causes explains why certain kinds of policies are set in motion: from patterns of resource ownership, control and distribution to social gender relations to resource management.

- 2.5 The conceptual framework reflects the grassroots perspective of poverty and the poverty-free development process, in that it is holistic and multisectoral. As noted in the civil society perspective on PRSP, the majority of people in villages and towns do not judge the national economy in terms of economic statistics such as Gross National Product (GNP). Popular perceptions are that the economy is performing well if people get enough food to eat, good education and health services at affordable prices, with increased income and purchasing power. This is especially true for people living in poverty, women and youth.
- 2.6 The conceptual framework for poverty-free development is based upon the framework adopted by the RFS Group in its work on rural food security. However, parallels can be made with the Sustainable livelihoods framework of DFID (nd) which is presented in the Livelihoods and Income paper (Mbilinyi and Nyoni 2000). A graphic illustration of this is provided in Figure 2. The livelihoods concept adopted by the DFID guidelines assumes that people living in poverty are active agents, engaged in their own livelihood strategies, ie ways of combining and using livelihood assets. The conceptual framework is multi-dimensional, with linkages to macro and micro levels of analysis. Livelihood outcomes influence livelihood assets; which in turn influence and access, in positive and negative directions, the transforming structures and processes.

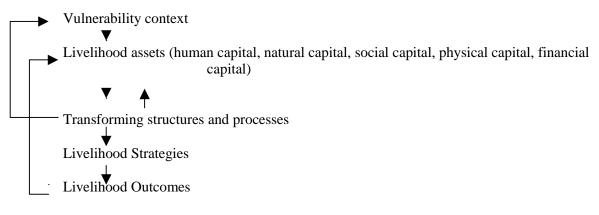
Figure 1 Conceptual Framework of Poverty-Free Development



Source: A revision of Figure 1 in "*Rural Food Security in Tanzania: The Challenge for Human Rights, Democracy and Development*" by Marjorie Mbilinyi (Editor), Bertha Koda, Claude Mung'ong'o and Timothy Nyoni, Dar es Salaam, IDS/Oxfam, 1999, p.7

Livelihood assets (human capital, natural capital, financial capital, social capital and physical capital) reflect the immediate level of causation in Figure 1. All were noted as significant facilitators of food security by villagers who participated in the RFS participatory action research in 1998 (Mbilinyi et al 1999). Laws, policies, culture and institutions – all the elements which make up the processes segment of *transforming structures and processes* in the sustainable livelihoods framework – would be placed in the underlying level of causation. Structures of power in politics, economics and culture are situated at the level of basic causes.

Figure 2 Sustainable livelihoods framework



Source: Revision of Figure 1 in DFID nd:2.1

The vulnerability context in Figure 2 refers to (1) trends in population, resources, national/international economy, governance and technology; (2) shocks in human health, natural, economic, crop/livestock health and conflict); and (3) seasonality of prices, production, health and employment opportunities.

Livelihood assets refers to the five forms of capital noted above, which interact with and influence each other. All five were identified as significant for food security in our earlier work. Of special importance in our analysis was social capital at community level. In the guidelines, social capital refers to (1) networks and connectedness that increase people's trust and ability to work together and expand access to wider institutions; membership of more formalised groups; and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate cooperation, reduce transation costs and may provide informal safety nets among the poor.

Human capital refers to the "skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives" (ibid:2.3.1). Natural capital includes land, forests, water, air quality, erosion protection, biodiversity degree and rate of change. Physical capital refers to the basic infrastructure (affordable transport, secure shelter, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean, affordable energy, and access to information) and producer goods needed to support livelihoods.

3.0 BACKGROUND

3.1 A general overview of the present crisis of livelihoods and incomes for people in urban and rural areas has been presented in the <u>Livelihoods</u>, <u>Employment and Income</u> paper. Poverty and income inequalities have increased in conjunction with the economic reform process – a small minority of Tanzanians have been able to enrich themselves, while the vast majority are impoverished. Smallholder agriculture, including livestock-keeping, has been completely undermined by liberalisation and privatisation policies, along with fiscal austerity measures. One indicator of the decline in smallholder agriculture is the increased rate of rural-urban migration, especially of youth and adult women. Another is the growing dependence of rural households on off-farm activities for basic subsistence.

- 3.2 A great many statistical indicators have been developed by different agencies to monitor poverty and welfare, using different approaches. In its discussion of extent of poverty, NPES noted the following situation in the 1990s:
 - 50% of Tanzanians are poor; 36% of the poor live in very poor conditions; 60% of the rural population is poor compared to 39% of the urban population
 - poverty is defined partly by low incomes the poverty line for Tanzania is Tshs 73,877 (1995) per annum
 - women are poorer than men, arising partly from systematic discrimination in access to basic resources such as land, livestock and credit; and lack of control over the proceeds of their labour, especially in household agricultural production
 - high levels of unemployment, especially among youth (nearly 30%)
 - poverty is reflected in high mortality rates: the average life expectancy at birth of a Tanzanian is 50 years compared to 77 years in developed countries and 62 years on the average for all developing countries; the infant mortality rate is 96 per 1000 live births compared to 7 in developed countries; the under-five mortality rate is 158 per 1000 live births, compared to 9 per 1000 in developed countries; the maternal mortality rate is 200-400 per 100,000 live births, compared to 95 per 100,000 live births.
 - Malnutrition is widespread (1996 figures) among both children and adults, especially pregnant and breastfeeding women. Among under-fives, 43.4% are stunted, 30.6% underweight and 7.2% wasting. Maternal malnutrition is reflected in the high prevalence of low birth weight.¹
 - Illiteracy rate has increased, from 10% in the 1980s, to 32% in the 1980s, a reflection of the negative impact of economic reforms on school enrolment. The literacy rate is lowest among low income families, 59% compared to the national average of 68%. Gross enrolment rate in primary school declined from 90% in the 1980s to 77.8% in 1996, in part the result of the cost-sharing policy. Poor households are unable to afford the rising costs of schooling.
 - Only about 11% of Tanzanian households have piped water in or within the household domain; about 38% have to walk up to 15 minutes to reach a water source; about 27% spend up to 30 minutes; and the rest must walk more than 30 minutes. This has an especially detrimental impact on girls and women, given the gender division of labour which allocates water toting primarily to female household members.
- 3.3 The Vice President's Office has recently developed <u>Poverty and Welfare Monitoring</u> <u>Indicators</u> (1999) which provide more detailed breakdowns of key indicators, by gender and regional/district differences. Of special importance here, in the light of the livelihoods framework, are figures pertaining to access to basic productive resources. For example,

¹ Malnutrition endangers life in an immediate sense, by increasing vulnerability to disease, including HIV/AIDS infection. Moreover, it is highly associated with reduced mental capacity, which may be irreversible in the case of infants and children. This, in turn, reduces the level of human resource development and human capital at the national level, with a negative impact on economic growth.

according to the National Agriculture Census of 1994/95, the average acreage of cultivated land per household was 0.91 acres, which is too small to sustain an average five-member rural household (Mbilinyi 1997). Households headed by women had less cultivated land than men: 0.62 compared to 0.97 respectively. The vast majority of agricultural households, some 99.95%!, relied on the hand hoe as their main tool of production; only 0.17% reportedly used oxen drawn implements.

The lowest 20% of the population had only a 6.9% share in total national income/consumption (1986-95 data). The highest 20% had a much greater share.²

Some 79% of all households depended on firewood as the main source of energy, which was provided mainly by girls and women on the basis of unpaid family labour (1993-94 data).

- 3.4 National aggregated averages on the basis of quantitative measures are often misleading, however, given the major differences that may be found among members of different segments of a population in a given attribute. More qualitative indicators have also been developed, on the basis of participatory poverty assessments at community level (Narayan 1997, URT/UNDP 1998). These tend to highlight the relative position of the rich and the poor at local level, and bring in the power dimension.
- 3.5 Narayan's (1997) recent study of poverty in 88 villages of Tanzania, using participatory poverty appraisal techniques, has provided insight into grassroots perceptions of the meaning and causes of poverty and wealth.³ The very rich were described as people who were "very able", "could breath freely", were "stuffed". The poor were called "hardworking, toiling, those who sleep tired, one who has to sell his labor, and a cursed person…" (p 8). However, the most negative and ambivalent terms were used to characterise the very poor: "poor by choice, someone who cannot even depend on himself, a really low person, a stupid fool, people who rely on others.. someone whom to employ is a threat."

The characteristics of poverty were location-specific and differed according to agroecological factors. Land was the first characteristic mentioned in most locations. Landlessness was found to be increasing, especially in areas with high agricultural potential near market centres or plantations, and was highly associated with the poor and very poor. In Arusha and Kilimanjaro, the issue was not land per se, but access to fertile land, in part due to land degradation. In these areas, people linked land to the means to work the land: "We have land but nothing to work it with. All I have is a small hoe. You have to bend your back to work with a small hoe and after two hours you are tired" (ibid: 10). Others emphasised the link between falling farm incomes and increased prices for farm inputs: "I cannot afford fertilizer or hybrid seeds, and I do not qualify for credit. Without fertilizer, the land does not produce even enough to feed the family." Access to farm inputs had declined as a result of trade liberalisation policies.

 $^{^2}$ The richest 20% of Tanzanians earned some 45% of total national income; while 52% of the rural population received incomes less than two-thirds of the national average per capita income (UNDP 1998:48). Some 50% of the total population were officially categorised as poor in the early 1990s, i.e. having an annual income below the poverty line; and some 36% lived in absolute poverty, unable to provide for most basic needs (ibid:206). The largest number of poor people lived in rural areas (60% all rural households), and there is growing regional and district disparity, with some 90% of households in some areas defined as poor in Kigoma, Shinyanga, Lindi and Ruvuma (cited in Mbilinyi et al 1999:33). ³ The references to Narayan are taken from Mbilinyi et al 1999:33-35).

3.6 Pastoralist communities emphasised the significance of cattle ownership as a marker of wealth or poverty, but they also considered the size of farms and the success of farming. In the recent Rural Food Security study (Mbilinyi et al 1999), pastoralists in Ngorongoro emphasised livestock ownership, but they also questioned its relevance to poverty when a household head owning hundreds of cattle and goats failed to educate his children or clothe them well, and did not provide sufficient food requirements for his family. According to Narayan (1997), fishing communities in Mwanza prioritised access to motor boats and fishing nets. In cultivating communities, capacity to grow cash crops marked the rich and very rich from others.

The quantity and quality of food consumed was another characteristic feature of wealth and poverty. Poverty was associated with "skipping meals, reducing meals to one or two a day, involuntarily changing diet, sending children to neighbours' homes to eat, and poor performance in school (hunger making poor children unable to pay attention)..(p.11). Basic consumption goods such as sugar, cooking oil and kerosene were considered to be luxury goods for the poor. "The very poor were described as lucky to eat at all, totally dependent on the goodwill of others for food." Similarly, hospital care and a complete school education were perceived to be out of reach for the poor.

In Arusha, the rich monopolised village leadership positions, for example. They also controlled the local markets, able to set the prices for goods they purchased. "The rich buy goods from the poor at low prices after the harvest and later sell them when prices are high." "The rich become rich by buying cattle during times of hunger" (ibid).

- 3.7 Female-headed households were much poorer than male-headed households, not only in terms of income expenditures, but in terms of ownership of key assets such as land, and access to other resources such as education. The number of female-headed households in the very poor category was double that of male-headed households, in contrast to earlier surveys which did not find significant differences according to gender of household heads. The key dimension turned out to be the question of access to and control over basic resources like land, rather than cash income. Many women in the very poor category worked in off-farm activities such as food vending and petty hawking to earn cash, and therefore appeared less poor on purely income indicators.
- 3.8 How did people at village level explain the causes of poverty? The most common factor which was mentioned by nearly half the participants was the ability to farm productively and with good returns, which was associated with lack of farm inputs and implements, lack of credit, distant or poorly functioning markets, price fluctuations, land degradation, drought or floods and lack of land (p.16). Poor health was also perceived as a cause of poverty, given the rising costs of health care and the negative impact of poor health on capacity to work. Social problems also contributed, such as alcohol abuse, laziness, selfishness and witchcraft. The lack of education services and the policy of cost-sharing were also mentioned.
- 3.9 The policy implications of the study are highly relevant to this review. One was the need to improve the marketing infrastructure, and ensure the availability of good roads and low-cost transport. Another was support for improvements in and dissemination of basic farming technologies, which would benefit the poor disproportionately. Improved access to effective health care facilities would enhance the livelihoods of the poor. More government attention was needed to social 'ills' such as alcohol abuse. Finally, female-headed households need to be targetted, given their generally higher rates of poverty, as well as their proven capacity to

be more productive than their male counterparts, if given access to the necessary resources (p.17).

Women and men prioritised development problems differently, which highlighted the importance of gender disaggregation and the need to talk directly to women to ensure that their views and needs are reflected in development planning. Analysis of the top five problems selected by women and men in all the villages is instructive. Food shortages were only highlighted by women, not men at all, along with water, health, drunkenness and farming, in order of frequency. Men, in contrast, mentioned, in order of frequency, transportation, farming, drunkenness, health and water. The key factors which marked a gender difference, therefore, were food shortages (a female priority) and transportation (a male priority). This suggests that poverty eradication programmes need to target women and men separately in order to be effective.

3.10 The implications of the information provided by participatory work at the grassroots level is that poverty is a multidimensional issue, involving all sectors, and that it is caused by differential power and wealth in society. This corresponds to community perceptions about household food security as well, according to the findings of the Rural Food Security Group in Ngorongoro and Shinyanga Rural Districts (Mbilinyi et al 1999). The policy implications of a structural analysis will be discussed in the final sections of this paper.

4.0 THE NATIONAL POVERTY ERADICATION STRATEGY

4.1 Overall Goal

As stated in Section 2.1 of the strategy document, "the overall goal of the National Poverty Eradication Strategy is to provide a framework to guide poverty eradication initiatives in order to reduce absolute poverty by 50% by the year 2010 and eradicate absolute poverty by the year 2025"(p.19). The means to achieve the overall strategy goal is through:

- i) Providing a coordination mechanism for the implementation of poverty eradication initiatives.
- ii) Creating an enabling environment for effective poverty eradication efforts;
- iii) Empowering the poor to participate effectively in poverty eradication programmes
- iv) Ensuring full participation of women in poverty eradication initiatives;
- v) Providing clearly defined roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders in implementing poverty eradication plans and programmes, [and]
- vi) Promoting equality of opportunity for men and women to lead a decent and productive life.

4.2 Specific Goals

The specific goals of the poverty eradication strategy "focus on improved economic growth and people's incomes as a basis for poverty eradication, provision of education, water, health, housing, infrastructure and employment by the year 2010"(p.20). Different sectors and ministries then set their respective targets in eradicating poverty.

4.2.1 Economic Growth

In line with the specific goals, economic growth was targeted at between 8-10% per annum compared to the current growth of about 4%. The share of the manufacturing industry in overall SDP was targeted to increase from the current 8% to 20% by the year 2010. The strategy also envisaged the diversification of the economy to reduce dependency on agriculture and enhance agro-industries.

4.2.2 Per Capita Incomes

With regard to the increase in per capita incomes, the target was to increase it from the current US\$ 200+ to about US\$ 500 per annum by the year 2010.

4.2.3 Education

The targets in the education sector are to (p.21-22):

- i) Achieve universal primary education
- ii) Expand secondary education by strengthening existing Government secondary schools and construct new schools. Local authorities, NGOs, individuals and other institutions will be encouraged to establish private secondary schools. The target is to have at least one secondary school in each ward;
- iii) Raise the number of people who can read and write to 90 per cent of all Tanzanians taking into account gender considerations (and)
- iv) Expand and strengthen primary and technical education in order to enhance the ability of individuals' advancement.

4.2.4 Water and Sanitation

The targets in the water and Sanitation sector are to (p.22):

- i) Increase access to water up to a coverage of 90% within a distance of 400 metres;
- ii) Increase access to sanitary services particularly to urban dwellers by at least 50% of current status; (and)
- iii) Discourage unnecessary tree cutting in order to prevent soil erosion.

4.2.5 Health and Nutrition

The targets in health and nutrition are to (p 22):

- i) Reduce the incidence of diseases and deaths and increase life expectancy by providing health services to mother and children, to treat and prevent communicable diseases.
- ii) Increase access to health centres and reduce the average distance to a health facility in both urban and rural areas.
- iii) Reduce severe malnutrition among children under 5 years from the rate of 6% to 2% or less, and moderate malnutrition from 44% to 22%; (and)
- iv) Reduce maternal mortality rate by half from 200-400 per 100,000 live births to 100-200 per 100,000 live births.

4.2.6 Employment

The targets in employment are to (pp 22-23):

- i) Reduce the general level of unemployment to less than 10%
- ii) Reduce the rate of unemployment among women and youth"(pp. 22-23).

4.2.7 Housing

The Poverty Eradication strategy aims at achieving decent housing for all.

4.2.8 Infrastructure

The targets for infrastructure are to (p 23):

- i) Improve the existing roads so s to be passable throughout the year;
- ii) Strengthen districts and rural roads; (and)
- iii) Sensitize regions, districts, NGOs and donors to mobilize and allocate resources to rural roads.

4.3 Strategies to Implement Goals

4.3.1 Policies and Strategies for Creating an Enabling Environment for Poverty Eradication The NPES outlines a long list of policies and strategies for creating an enabling environment for poverty eradication (section 2.2.1). The basic policies are: good governance; coordination of policies and programmes; effective participation; economic growth; raising people's income; the development of key economic sectors ie agricultural, industrial, mining; cooperatives; infrastructure.

Specific strategies are outlined for each policy, following existing policy statements. For example, good governance would be promoted by the following strategies (p.25):

- i) Improving and enforcing a system of accountability at all levels of government
- ii) Strengthening of public institutions responsible for public accountability and transparency
- iii) Enacting and enforcing legislation to support implementation of poverty eradication programmes
- iv) Strengthening the media to ensure public awareness of government activities
- v) Ensuring gender sensitivity in leadership participation
- vi) Undertaking regular policy reviews to ensure harmonization of policies [and]
- vii) Providing leadership education and training at grassroots level ie street, village and ward to enhance efficiency.

Policy/programme coordination will be enhanced by (pp 25-26):

- i) Developing a coordination mechanism for poverty eradication
- ii) Establishing poverty eradication networks at all levels [and]
- iii) Establishing clear lines of communication at national, regional, district and community level for poverty eradication.

Effective participation will be enhanced by (26-27):

- i) undertaking high level advocacy on the need to eradicate poverty as a vital national issue
- ii) Sensitizing and creating awareness of the problem as well as opportunities existing for its eradication using change agents
- iii) Enhancing organizational, analytical and managerial skills of stakeholders...
- iv) Enabling the people and communities to mobilize own human and material resources to be able to prioritize, plan and implement poverty eradication initiatives
- v) Strengthening local government capacity through technical and financial support and rationalization of their functions...

- vi) Enhancing dialogue and coordination among stakeholders in planning and implementation of poverty eradication programmes
- vii) Promoting women leadership skills, particularly those in village councils, ward and district councils in order to enable them [sic] participate effectively and contribute towards decision making [and]
- viii) Promoting legal education for women and the community as a whole.

The main strategy to raise people's income was credit provision in rural and urban areas, including savings and credit schemes.

A detailed list of strategies is provided for agricultural development, the sector of most relevance to the grassroots participants in this review (p.30):

- i) Identifying and increasing access to new farm land by farmers and improving means of communication
- ii) Establishing food preservation at district and household level
- iii) Intensifying production on already cultivated land through improved technologies and inputs.
- iv) Increasing the availability of basic farm inputs and promote the use of organic fertilizers by farmers
- v) Improving marketing services including marketing research for agricultural products
- vi) Developing and promoting improved on-farm storage facilities to reduce post harvest crop losses
- vii) Encouraging increased investment in smallholder irrigation systems
- viii) Increasing the availability of credit and other forms of financial support to the agricultural sector
- ix) Improving and speeding up the process of land surveying and issuing title deeds to individuals and communities
- x) Developing and setting aside grazing land [and]
- xi) Improving the marketing research for agricultural and livestock product.[sic]

4.3.2 Sectoral Strategies for Poverty Eradication

Specific policies, or rather, policy objectives, are presented for the following sectors: education, health, water supply, employment, environment and settlement. In each case, these policy objectives are general, and do not target people living in poverty.

Separate strategies are presented for each sector, which remain, again, at the general level, without specific strategies for people living in poverty. In the case of education, for example, the NPES strategies are general statements such as "Facilitating and encouraging private sector and NGO participation in the promotion of education"; "Increasing government resource allocation to the education sector"; "Encouraging communities to participate in the provision and maintenance of education infrastructure" and "Promoting Adult education programmes as a means of promoting adult literacy" (pp 38-39).

4.3.3 Overall Strategies for Implementing the National Poverty Eradication Strategy

The following are overall strategies:

i) Ensuring that through the services of extension workers and change agents, public awareness is created about poverty and its causes and the resources available to eradicate it

- ii) Undertaking capacity building measures to empower all stakeholders with the knowledge and skills required to organize, assess and implement programmes for poverty eradication with greater effectiveness
- iii) Empowering individuals and households to mobilize resources for poverty eradication
- iv) Setting realistic and measurable goals in order to facilitate monitoring and evaluation of programmes
- v) Ensuring equality of access to and control of land between men and women
- vi) Increasing social sector investment
- vii) Encouraging public institutions, the private sector and other organizations to establish day care centers so as to allow women [sic] participate fully in development initiatives
- viii) Increasing investments in the manufacturing sector as a way of diversifying the economic base and reduce reliance on agriculture
- ix) Promoting and developing tourism as a way of raising national income [and]
- x) Putting in place programmes that encourage population growth rate that is commensurate with the growth of the economy.

4.3.4 Institutional Framework for Implementation of NPES

The Vice President's Office has the central role of monitoring and coordinating the implementation of NPES. A Poverty Eradication division has been set up in the Vice President's Office to supervise, monitor and coordinate the activities of other stakeholders (N S Magonya, pers. comm.). Its work is to be guided by the Poverty Eradication Advisory Committee, which includes representatives from the private sector, NGOs and donors, as well as relevant ministries, according to the Strategy paper (p.47). However, the Advisory Committee was not mentioned by ministry personnel. The central ministries for Planning, Regional Administration and Local Governments, and the Civil Service Department incorporate poverty eradication considerations into national plans; mobilise and allocate financial resources; build capacity; and facilitate good governance and participation in policy implementation. Each sectoral ministry is to incorporate poverty eradication programmes into its activities ie mainstreaming poverty.

Local government authorities are expected to plan and implement poverty eradication initiatives in collaboration with the people themselves and local institutions. These local authorities include village councils, development committees at ward level, District Councils, Town, Municipal and City Councils. They are expected to strengthen local leadership; interpret macro and sectoral policies according to local conditions; provide technical support and skills development at ward and village level; sensitise communities; coordinate district plans and the activities of civil society organisations and donor programmes; mobilise resources for implementation of district plans; and prepare reports on poverty eradication projects/programmes (ibid:50).

The first role mentioned of village governments is to enact by-laws that encourage poverty eradication initiatives, eg protection of the environment and enhancement of community participation. Other responsibilities include sensitisation and awareness raising; needs assessment at village level; proposing strategies of action; mobilisation of resources, including labour, for implementation of village plans; coordinating and monitoring civil society organisations' activities; and maintaining social service facilities (pp 50-51).

Another set of similar responsibilities are designated for households, families and communities, and including promotion of women in decision making (p 51).

Other stakeholders discussed include donor agencies, NGOs, the private sector, trade unions, cooperatives and associations, grassroots self help groups, and extension workers and change agents.

4.4 Resource Mobilization

The NPES document outlines the following strategies for mobilising the (required) resources (NPES:37):

- i) Earmarking resources according to needs and priorities of the various target groups and communities;
- ii) Putting in place incentives for individuals, communities, and the private sector to mobilize local savings which can then be used to support poverty eradication programmes
- iii) Broadening the tax base and strengthening the tax system towards additional revenue generation for poverty eradication programmes
- iv) Strengthening the application of user fees and cost recovery for services and put into place a mechanism for protecting the most vulnerable groups.
- v) Conducting research on best modalities for availing credit facility to the grassroots organizations for poverty eradication; (and)
- vi) Strengthening the national input fund, which provides agricultural input support to farmers at the grassroots level.

Government of Tanzania mainly finances recurrent expenditures (Paschal B Assey pers.comm). The major source for development financing are donor agencies, especially the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the British Department of Finance and International Development (DFID). Bilateral assistance is also forthcoming from Denmark and Japan, for example.

5 ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL POVERTY ERADICATION STRATEGY

5.1 PROCESS OF POLICY FORMULATION

5.1.1 The National Poverty Eradication Strategy started as a policy document with policy statements and objectives, prepared by a team of experts selected by the Vice President around 1995. The team had a two week retreat in 1996 and came out with a poverty eradication policy outline. A series of consultative workshops were held to discuss the policy outline. The first was a technical workshop in 1996 in which the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) was asked to review the policy outline. This was followed by six zonal workshops in the same year covering all regions of Tanzania. These zonal workshops involved mainly planning officers, District Executive Directors (on the side of local governments) and a few non-governmental organizations. There were hardly any grassroots organisations or representatives of communities.

In 1997 a national workshop was held for different stakeholders; and a separate workshop for Members of Parliament. After all these workshops, the experts team compiled the final draft. which read as the "Policy for Poverty Eradication". The policy draft was then submitted to

the Cabinet Secretariat and then to the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee (IMTC). The IMTC comprises of permanent secretaries from all ministries.

At the cabinet secretariat, the policy statements were removed from the policy draft constitution so as to remain with the substance of the matter only, that is the strategy. The removal of the policy statements was on the grounds that they were already stated in existing sectoral policies.

In 1998 the Cabinet approved the National Poverty Eradication Strategy; and it was launched by the President during the Uhuru Torch Race in Musoma.

The consultative policy making process did not reach the grassroots, in the villages or towns. However, Tanzania has now qualified for the Highly Intebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) and the government is in the process of preparing a poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) which requires the participation of all main stakeholders, especially the grassroots (Assey pers.comm.).

- 5.1.2 The process of formulating the NPES was essentially top-down, therefore, involving government officials and experts in the initial and final formulation stages. The only form of consultation was *workshopping* at national and zonal level, with limited participation of NGOs and no participation of communities, people living in poverty or their organisations.
- 5.1.3 The Poverty Reduction Strategy programme which is part of the HIPC initiative provides space to encourage more participation by different segments of civil society in the policy formulation, implementation and monitoring process. At the same time, there is a need for critical analysis of the entire HIPC process. Critics within Tanzania and outside have noted the following major flaws (Mbilinyi 2000):
 - The linkage between liberal economic reforms and structural adjustment; and the poverty reduction strategy, which forces recipient countries to maintain the very pro-growth policies which produce poverty and inequality
 - The relatively small amount of debt relief provided, over a long time frame of 20 years, as in the case of Tanzania; and
 - The strengthening of neo-colonial institutional systems which legitimise the globalisation process by means of the active cooptation of civil society organisations.

Debt cancellation is needed, not debt relief. And a radical restructuring of the national and global economy. Otherwise, countries like Tanzania will be forced to borrow more, in order to overcome the limitations of unfair trade practices and unequal terms of trade in the global market.

5.1.4 Efforts being made by civil society organisations to have a voice in the PRSP programme have had a mixed and shaky start. 4

As noted in the civil society paper (TCDD/PRSP 2000), the input of civil society organisations in the PRSP consultative process has faced major limitations which have hampered their work. These include the following:

⁴ Personal observation as participants in TCDD/PRSP meetings, and involvement in the case of Mbilinyi in drafting the civil society paper on PRSP; see TCDD/PRSP 2000.

- a very short time period in which to carry out the consultative process;
- lack of clarity on the side of government as to their understanding of what a consultative process entails
- lack of access to relevant documents, a reflection of the above; and
- failure to specify the mechanisms to be adopted to ensure a) full participation of civil society organisations at all levels (national to grassroots) in the HIPC/ PRSP process; and b) full participation and empowerment of local communities in the HIPC/PRSP process.

Several top government officials plainly perceived the entire PRSP process as an imposition by donors, which is forcing them to spell out specific targets to be reached in the short term as well as the long term. These will then become monitoring indicators, to be achieved at each stage as a condition for accessing HIPC relief. Indicators have been adopted which are almost meaningless, in that they reflect targets already reached, prior to the HIPC initiative. This nullifies the whole expectation for shifting more resources to the social services sector, and to other poverty reduction priorities.

Although expressing positive acceptance of consultation with civil society organisations, there is truly a lack of understanding among government officials as to what participation means (see our analysis earlier in this report). The same 'workshopping' model has been adopted, as a means of providing feedback to policy documents prepared in advance by government officials and experts. The government often acts defensively in response to activist activities and criticism from academia and other segments of civil society, rather than welcome their input into the democratisation process (see Mung'ong'o 2000b).

Civil society organisations (CSOs) involved in the TCDD/PRSP process have different visions of development, and different levels of experience in carrying out advocacy work. The following *lessons for civil society organisations* were meant to address these problems, and will be reproduced here, given their relevance to the tasks ahead.

- 1. What kind of proactive role can be carried out by civil society organisations to safeguard national and local interests, and especially those of people living in poverty? And to ensure greater transparency and accountability of government and donor institutions at all levels? And the internalisation of PRSP at all levels?
- 2. Although progress has been made during the last ten years, the level of selforganising in civil society at local and national level has been insufficient. How can people living in poverty be supported in their efforts to organise themselves, so as to challenge poverty and its basic causes? What steps can be taken to increase the involvement of youth in existing and new organisations, as well as their own selforganising?
- 3. Civil society organisations have not been proactive enough in challenging structures of debt, poverty and their causes. What steps can be taken to increase capacity to review macroeconomic policy at all levels? And to disseminate the information as widely as possible?
- 4. The PRSP provides an excellent opportunity for civil society organisations to refocus macroeconomic policy so as to be more poverty focused. It is essential and urgent that civil society organisations act proactively, so as to promote their own vision of development, and to challenge mainstream views and policies which perpetuate the

basic underlying causes of poverty. An immediate objective is to ensure that savings which result from debt relief will be allocated to priority areas, by including civil society organisations in monitoring mechanisms adopted. The role of CSOs in monitoring debt relief money in order to ensure transparency and accountability has been affirmed in the *Kiambatanisho* paper. This implies openness of information along with participatory processes to track spending in all sectors, at all levels.

The specific recommendations presented in the draft civil society paper are presented below as Recommendation 1, as indicative of the direction being taken.

Recommendation 1

- (1) Those civil society organisations now involved in the PRSP process, and others, should be invited to become full participants in the TAS process, eg through their involvement in task forces and technical committees.
- (2) There should be greater participation of civil society organisations in the Public Expenditure Review, including PRSP organisations.
- (3) Mechanisms need to be established to ensure accountability and real representativeness of participating civil society organisations in the PER and PRSP/TAS process, through, perhaps, the strengthening of the TCDD/PRSP, and expansion of outreach activities.
- (4) The mechanisms established to enhance participation of civil society organisations in the TAS and PRSP processes should be incorporated with relevant adjustment within the ongoing Local Government Reform process; local government should focus on facilitation of local initiatives at the grassroots and district level and greater local control over resources generated locally, including foreign exchange earnings.
- (5) (a) Regarding para 11d in *Kiambatanisho*, a meeting should be called of civil society organisations to deliberate on the preliminary draft prior to the consultative meeting,

(b) The preliminary draft should be made available by government to the PRSP/TAC civil society partners with sufficient time to disseminate and discuss at the meeting of civil society organisations.

- (6) Dissemination of information on PRSP and TAS to the grassroots should be given top priority by government, donors and civil society organisations, beginning now, to entail popularisation strategies in Kiswahili as well as English.
- (7) Participatory poverty and PRSP indicators involving grassroots to be developed, and implemented so that people can participate in monitoring the implementation of the first phase, and contribute to the planned review in June 2001.

Source: TCDD/PRSP 2000

Reference is made therein to the TAS process, ie Tanzania Assistance Strategy. This is a relatively new framework of policy formulation that has been adopted by government, in partnership with donors, so as to give more space and voice to government in policy formulation vis-à-vis donors. Efforts are now being made by civil society organisations to include CSOs in this process, so as to better represent the views and interests of the grassroots and different sectors of society. TAS takes precedence over PRSP in the policy making

structures of government; indeed, PRSP has been incorporated into the TAS organisational profile (Mgonja at TCDD/PRSP meeting, 21-22 April 2000).

5.2 CONTENT OF THE STRATEGY DOCUMENT

The National Poverty Eradication Strategy is a compilation of many planned strategies by sectoral ministries to eradicate poverty, along with those of the Poverty Eradication division itself.

5.2.1 The strategy document has several *positive aspects*:

- It reiterates the vision of the country since independence in the early 1960s. The vision was of a poverty-free society.
- It recognizes the need for a multisectoral approach to combat poverty, involving all sectors of the economy and all stakeholders including the grassroots, the civil society, the government and donor community.
- It underscores the need for sustainability by emphasising environmental conservation and reduced dependency on foreign assistance
- It underscores the importance of targeting the marginalised groups, especially the women and the youth, in directing resources for poverty eradication
- It has defined an institutional framework for implementing, monitoring and evaluating efforts to eradicate poverty. The framework starts with the poverty eradication division of the Vice president's Office, through ministries, regions, down to the district level.
- The strategy recognizes the need to have poverty indicators to assist in the implementation and monitoring exercise. The Government has produced a document on poverty and welfare monitoring indicators (URT 1999).

5.2.2 The Need for a Poverty Eradication Policy

The failure of the government to enact a concrete policy on poverty eradication has appeared to reduce the political will to implement the NPES within government at all levels.

Recommendation 2

The government should enact a National Poverty Eradication Policy, which sets forth a clear statement of objectives, priorities in the short- and medium-term, and the institutional framework to oversee and implement the policy. It should include a detailed plan of action, indicating mechanisms of implementation, by whom, within a clearly defined time frame. Resource commitments should be sought from different stakeholders, in particular from central government, donor agencies, and the private sector. An institutional framework should be designed which incorporates participatory processes at all levels.

A sharp clear vision of poverty-free pro-poor development in Tanzania is lacking which would guide the formulation of a poverty eradication policy. Such a vision would guide all government ministries and programmes, not only those most relevant to poverty eradication, with special focus on the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission. Underlying such a vision would be a conceptualisation of development which puts people first, not things, and not the market.

The current market-led development strategy which focuses on economic growth has spelt disaster for the majority of Tanzanians. The economic reform process *necessarily* leads to greater income disparity and poverty, the displacement of poor smallholder producers and growing unemployment (see Mung'ong'o 2000a). The two goals of economic growth as presently defined, and poverty eradication are therefore contradictory.

Recommendation 3

A national public debate needs to be carried out, as a matter of urgency, on what kind of development strategy best meets the needs of the majority of Tanzanians, is participatory and sustainable, and reduces poverty in the short-term, while eradicating poverty in the long term. This should involve all stakeholders, including government, political parties, civil society organisations, the private sector, communities, and donor agencies. Civil society organisations should take the initiative to ensure full participation at all levels.

5.2.3 General Omissions and Weaknesses of NPES Document

The strategy document has several omissions and weaknesses including:

• Lack of statement of concrete mechanisms of implementation to achieve each of the "policy" or strategy goals or objectives, which provides information about specific activities to be carried out, by whom, within what time frame, with what resources.

Recommendation 4

Prepare a plan of implementation which provides information about specific activities to be carried out, by whom, within what time frame, with what resources, for each objective; this should be carried out in a participatory way with representatives of all key stakeholders and people living in poverty in particular. The activities should be broad enough to allow for flexibility at the local level, but specific enough to be monitored.

• There are too many 'goals' and these have not been prioritised; making it difficult for different actors to know which ones to focus on. In a context of scarce resources, this encourages non-implementation and lack of accountability.

Recommendation 5

The key objectives of NPES need to be prioritised for the short- and medium-term, in order to guide the process of resource mobilisation and implementation.

• Lack of resource commitment by the government to execute the strategy. The document provides a list of intentions without specifying how much resources are required for each strategy, and the expected source(s). The main sources would appear to be donors, on the one hand, and local governments, communities, and individual households, on the other. The first reflects donor dependency, while the latter is both unrealistic and cynical. The main responsibility is given to the poor to

somehow advance themselves, in the absence of concrete programmes of income and resource redistribution.

Recommendation 6

The central government needs to take responsibility for provision of resources to both reduce poverty in the short term, and eradicate poverty in the long term. The potential sources of resources are multiple and real; what is required is political will. The sources of resources include HIPC debt relief; progressive taxation policies; income redistribution measures; community-based planning and implementation of key policies, such that local communities mobilise local resources while accessing additional resources from the district and national level.

• The NPES includes stated strategies which have led to increased poverty, such as a focus on economic growth (p.21) *without income redistribution*; increased agricultural productivity (p. 30) without specifically targetting low income smallholder producers; increased industrial productivity (p.32) without specifically targetting low income micro and small enterprises.

On the other hand, none of the key sectoral policies and strategies which are specified as for poverty eradication in education, health, water, employment promotion, environment protection and housing specifically target people living in poverty. Nor is any mention made of the present cost-sharing policies, which have deprived a growing portion of the poor from access to these vital services. Without specified actions, the benefits of these programmes may continue to benefit the rich and middle income groups in the future, as they have in the past. Agreed that universal social service provision is a key priority for poverty eradication, this needs to be combined with focused strategies to reach the poor.

Recommendation 7

Adopt a policy of universal primary education, universal health services provision and universal water provision as key aspects of the poverty eradication policy, which is paid for by means of taxes, community self-help programmes and family provision of eg uniforms and notebooks. Cost sharing adds little revenue, demands excessive administrative resources, and excludes the poor from basic social services and should be dropped.

Recommendation 8

Develop specific activities which target people living in poverty in each key sector, and overall; these include progressive taxation policies; employment creation programmes which focus on low income women, men and youth; scholarship programmes for poor children/youth at secondary and tertiary level; etc.⁵

• Although poverty monitoring was established as one of the central purposes of NPES, it lacks clear priority within the National Poverty Eradication Division (NPED), and is not perceived as a critical, promotional activity (Booth and Cooksey 2000:39). Moreover, there is a lack of awareness of the potential to use data

⁵ Progressive taxation policies include an emphasis on graduated incomes tax, bit universal sales taxes such as VAT which are to the disadvantage of the poor.

imaginatively so as to promote better policy. The lack of a concrete action plan with specified concrete indicators to monitor progress, which has been noted above, reflects the lack of clarity about the need for poverty monitoring.

NPED lacks the capacity and leverage to develop the kind of analytical poverty monitoring process called for, which can be used to monitor key policies in all ministries, including macro policies within the Ministry of Finance and Planning Commission (see below, drawing on Booth and Cooksey 2000). Analysis of budget processes and resource allocations by government and donors provides the most viable opportunity for poverty monitoring at this moment. Steps have already been taken in this regard by civil society organisations, such as the Gender Budget Initiative led by TGNP (1999).

Recommendation 9

Poverty monitoring needs to focus on outcome-oriented budget processes and aid partnerships, such as those being developed under the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) and the PRSP/TAS processes, with an increased involvement of civil society organisations at all levels.

5.2.4 The Institutional Framework⁶

5.2.4.1 Mainstreaming poverty reduction/eradication involves a radical transformation in the institutional framework of policy formulation. There is a need, in the case of Tanzania, for high level policy discussion within each ministry; policy dialogue within and between ministries; the formulation of reform plans with concrete reference to resource opportunities and constraints; and predictable funding for government departments so as to enable rational planning (Booth and Cooksey 2000:5). Specific mechanisms need to be established to ensure coordination between and within ministries, and between government and other 'partners', including donor agencies and civil society organisations. This would counteract the present fragmentation found at all levels.

A major opportunity exists in the periodic Public Expenditure Reviews (PER), and the medium-term economic framework (MTEF), which sets expenditure priorities on the basis of outcomes and performance, and involves civil society organisations along with government and donor agencies. The TAS/PRSP process also involves civil society organisations, who have emphasised as a key priority the development of monitoring mechanisms to ensure that debt relief funds actually go to the sectors and programmes that have been prioritised (TCDD/PRSP 2000).

The Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS) provides another opportunity to ensure policy dialogue among key stakeholders, and poverty monitoring. Through TAS, the Tanzanian government is to take the lead in setting guidelines for policy formulation, vis-à-vis donor agencies. Multilateral agencies, and to a lesser but increasing extent bilateral agencies, have shown their willingness to channel funds through the national budget process, and to engage in common strategy discussions. TAS is being provided with a secretariat and working groups, which overlap now with PRSP (see TCDD/PRSP 2000).

⁶ This section draws heavily on the recent report by Booth and Cooksey (2000).

5.2.4.2 The system for poverty monitoring is rudimentary, with most institutions focusing on data collection and processing; and/or data analysis and dissemination. Systematic policy analysis is only carried out in the context of MTEF and TAS/PRSP, and is not performed by other major information systems such as sectoral programmes, the National Bureau of Statistics, the Planning Commission, and NPED. REPOA, an independent research institution, has been systematically involved in all three functions.

In most cases, reams of quantitative data are collected, but they are not used to inform policy debate within and between government ministries, or with other stakeholders. Agencies/organisations that carry out qualitative analysis, using participatory poverty assessment techniques (PPA), have carried out some form of policy analysis, and made policy recommendations accordingly (Narayan 1997, URT/UNDP 1998), but these are few in number and have had limited impact on public debate. Moreover, macro policy decisions continue to be made without making use of the output from PPA.

5.2.4.3 Responsibility for management of the development budget was shifted to the Ministry of Finance so as to rationalise donor-funded project investment and improve budget coordination in 1997. Poverty reduction programmes could also have been shifted there, so as to strengthen the link between anti-poverty policy and central resource-allocation decisions (Booth and Cooksey 2000:14). Instead, they were shifted from the Office of the President (formerly within the Social Dimensions of Adjustment programme) to the Vice-President's Office (VPO). The Poverty Eradication Division is directly under the Permanent Secretary.

VPO, however, according to Booth and Cooksey, lacks operational responsibilities and does not allocate or administer significant Government resources. This severely reduces its leverage in monitoring other ministries, especially Finance and the Planning Commission; and mainstreaming poverty considerations into macro and sectoral policies and programme implementation. The division has also been allocated too little staff resources to carry out its numerous responsibilities. Given limited resources, NPED had three major achievements by the end of 1999: the production and dissemination of the NPES in English and Kiswahili; technical work on poverty indicators (URT VPO 1999); and raising a substantial international loan to support poverty reduction through micro finance (Booth and Cooksey 2000:18).

In their institutional review of NPED, Booth and Cooksey (2000:21) list the following weaknesses:

- Unclear mandate: promoting change of focus in public policy versus coordinating new externally-funded programmes
- Lack of commitment to critical examination of past failures in poverty reduction
- NPED is a marginal actor in budget and public expenditure management
- Sectors and districts lack strong incentives to cooperate with NPED
- Too many diversionary activities have been undertaken and rated more highly
- NPES lacked line-ministry support and/or did not seek critical engagement with major stakeholders
- NPED leadership is over-sensitive to independent analysis and does not seek to cultivate it
- Low salaries make attraction of further capacity difficult; and
- Activities implemented have been determined in practice not by previous prioritisation but by external events.

Their recommendations, with which we concur, include the following:

- Develop a more specialised, promotional role for NPED
- Use outcome-oriented processes such as the Mid Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) to motivate critical policy thinking
- Develop the idea of an action plan to link critical diagnosis and realistic steps towards policy goals, and
- Develop mutual interest and synergy between government and non-governmental poverty analysis.

The major threats to these recommendations remain barriers set up by key stakeholders opposed to NPED having a greater role in mainstream issues; and the lack of enough political backing and stronger leverage for NPED. In this and other ways, NPED resembles the situation faced by the Women and Development Policy which is currently located in the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children (see Koda 2000).

Another threat remains donor dependence in information gathering and dissemination, one of the key functions proposed for NPED. Donor agencies independently carry out data collection activities, whose results are often not accessible to national institutions and organisations and/or individual analyses. In line with the new emphasis on partnership, donors should focus more funds on strengthening national and local institutions engaged in data collection ie poverty monitoring.

5.2.4.4 Mechanisms need to be established to ensure *real* participation by communities, community-based groups, NGOs, trade unions and self-organisations of the poor in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring. There are growing initiatives by donor agencies, government departments, and especially NGOs to implement participatory poverty assessments (PPA), and/or to develop some form of participatory assessment, analysis and planning. In addition to Narayan (1997) and URT/UNDP (1998) cited above, there is the UNDP Capacity Development Fund, which focuses on grassroots planning for capacity-building at local level (Prof Lucien Msambichaka pers.comm.; Msambichaka 1997). RIPS ie the Rural Integrated Project Support programme funded by Finland in Mtwara and Lindi, represents one of the most successful participatoryprogrammes, which has been grounded within district and regional government systems (RIPS 1998). A major forerunner was the Child Support Protection and Development programme funded by UNICEF and administered through MCDWAC, which established community-based programmes to monitor child and maternal nutrition and welfare (see analysis in Mbilinyi 1993, Pyle and Mbilinyi 1993)

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RESOURCE PERSONS INTERVIEWED

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