

MARCH 2016

TRACKING **PROMISES**

Analyzing the Impact of Feed the Future Investments in Tanzania

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A REPORT OF THE

CSIS GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY PROJECT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS REPORT IS BASED ON interviews and site visits conducted in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, and Arusha in August 2015. The authors met with officials at the U.S. embassy, representatives of the Tanzanian government, senior officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, representatives from organizations implementing agriculture and nutrition development projects in Tanzania, representatives from the private sector, and Tanzanians benefiting from U.S. government assistance. The two-week visit was supplemented by desk research and discussions in the United States with international development experts and officials from the United States Agency for International Development. The views expressed here are solely those of the authors.

This work was made possible by the generous support of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

WHEN THE UNITED STATES officially launched the global hunger and food security initiative called Feed the Future in May 2010, it was unclear whether the surge of development assistance and renewed commitment to address hunger and poverty would make a profound difference in selected developing countries. As one of 19 focus countries under the initiative, Tanzania saw a dramatic rise in U.S. funding for agriculture and nutrition, from \$15 million in 2010 to an average of \$62 million per year from 2011 to 2015 in USAID food security and agriculture funding. In fact, Tanzania has received more Feed the Future funding than any other focus country in the world with a total of \$327 million from FY 2010 to FY 2015. In addition, other federal agencies have contributed expertise and resources to the initiative, along with other USAID programs, such as the U.S. Global Health Initiative.

Tanzania was the only country that had a formal launch ceremony that involved high-level State Department officials. Former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced in June 2011 at a rural women's cooperative in Mlandizi, Tanzania, that "subject to Congressional approval, the United States will invest nearly \$70 million in agricultural development and food security in Tanzania over the next two years...to support country-led plans that address the root causes of poverty, hunger, and under-nutrition." She explained that the United States would target 80 percent of Feed the Future investments in the southern growth corridor, called SAGCOT, to maximize impact, to support the country-led vision laid out by the government of Tanzania, and to concentrate private sector partnerships.

Increased investments in Tanzania have yielded impressive results. In 2014 alone, farmers supported by Feed the Future programs in Tanzania increased the value of their agricultural sales by more than \$19 million and the U.S. Government reached 1.4 million women in the targeted zone with nutrition services to improve maternal and child health.

Equipped with valuable natural resources and a growing economy, Tanzania holds significant potential for agricultural development. The country must overcome several barriers, including weak infrastructure, protectionist policies, poor extension services, and lack of access to quality inputs, in order to unlock this potential. Despite strong economic growth, averaging seven percent annually, Tanzania did not meet the first Millennium Development Goal of reducing hunger and extreme poverty by half by the end of 2015. In the areas where Feed the Future works, more than 37 percent of the population still lives in poverty. In addition, the govern-

ment of Tanzania still has not met its commitment to the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) to dedicate 10 percent of its budget to agriculture.

So what has Tanzania gained from the increased investment of U.S. tax dollars to address hunger and poverty? Is it business as usual or is it development done differently? The Global Food Security Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) traveled to Tanzania in August 2015 to evaluate and document the efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability of the Feed the Future initiative in Tanzania.

Overall, we found that Feed the Future has made a positive impact, particularly among smallholder farmers. Rice production has doubled, the horticulture industry has been significantly supported, and rural communities are eating more diverse, healthy diets. Despite constraints to growth, such as a poor policies, weak infrastructure, and slow progress within SAGCOT, the United States' investment and development leadership needs to be sustained and strengthened for there to be a meaningful reduction in Tanzania's food insecurity.

The team's observations over a two week period on the ground talking to dozens of implementing partners, donors, government leaders, and direct beneficiaries led to the following broad recommendations for U.S. policy makers to consider so that the United States remains an effective development partner to Tanzania:

- Take action to reinvigorate SAGCOT despite its slow progress.
- Create a new mechanism to improve communication and collaboration among partners.
- Better link and leverage other U.S. agencies and efforts.
- Create more flexible, innovative contracts for infrastructure-related projects.
- Maintain attention on policy and the enabling environment. ●



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Agriculture contributes to over 30 percent of Tanzania's gross domestic product and engages 75 percent of the labor force. Mariam Kibwana, 37, has received support from Feed the Future for the past three years to improve her crop of cabbage, carrots, cow peas, and green peppers, which now earn premium market price for their high quality. She complains, though, that she still needs access to finance to buy improved inputs and that markets are poorly organized.

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UNDERSTANDING THE COUNTRY CONTEXT

DESPITE IMPRESSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH, DECREASING POVERTY TRENDS, AND CONSIDERABLE NATURAL RESOURCES, there are still 16.8 million Tanzanians who are chronically undernourished. According to the 2015 Global Hunger Index, Tanzania's food security level is considered "serious."¹ Chronic food insecurity is counterintuitive in a country where agriculture is the backbone of the economy, contributing over 30 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP)² and engaging 75 percent of the labor force. Investing in and developing the agricultural sector across Tanzania is not only critical to meeting the growing consumption needs of a chronically undernourished population, it is also the key to sustaining economic growth and maintaining political stability.

There have been notable development gains in Tanzania in recent years, with GDP growing an average of seven percent a year since 2001,³ the basic needs poverty rate declining from 34 percent in 2007 to 28 percent in 2012, and the extreme pov-

¹ Global Hunger Index, "2015 Global Hunger Index: Tanzania, <http://ghi.ifpri.org/countries/TZA/>.

² World Bank Data Set, "Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)," accessed September 15, 2015, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.TOTL.ZS>.

³ World Bank Data Set, "Custom Data Set: Real GDP growth (%), Developing sub-Saharan Africa; the World," accessed September 15, 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/global-economic-prospects/data?region=SST>.

Farmer yields and fertilizer use across the country are exceedingly low.

erty rate declining from 12 to 10 percent over the same period.⁴ However, economic growth has been largely limited to the mining and telecommunications sectors and thus not equally enjoyed by the country's most vulnerable population segments.

Tanzania's large land mass and rapid population growth, combined with poor and inefficient infrastructure, make it difficult for many people across the country to access basic services. The government of Tanzania's official poverty reduction strategy aims to address these issues, but the government has limited resources and capacity to pursue its objectives. Development gains depend, in large part, on donor assistance. In 2013 alone, the World Bank reported that Tanzania received almost \$3.5 billion in official development assistance from donors around the world.⁵

With the exception of a few specialized crops, such as tea and sugar, there is no critical mass of profitable agriculture in Tanzania

today.⁶ Farmer yields and fertilizer use across the country are exceedingly low. Tanzanian farmers average only 1.5 tons of maize, a dietary staple, per hectare, which is significantly lower than the 4.2 tons per hectare in South Africa and 10 tons per hectare in the United States⁷ Farmers in Tanzania use an average of 9 kilograms (kg) of fertilizer per hectare, compared with 27 kg in Malawi, 53 kg in South Africa, and 276 kg in China. More than 90 percent of the 2.5 million heads of cattle, 14 million goats, and 4 million sheep that roam the Tanzanian countryside are low-yielding, conventional breeds. Although Tanzania has one of the largest livestock populations in Africa, the sector accounts for only one percent of Tanzania's national exports. Furthermore, restricted market access and poor quality inputs trap the majority of farmers in subsistence-level activities, where many earn less than \$1 per day.

Few would disagree that Tanzania has untapped potential. A sustained multisectoral approach over years, along with greater Tanzanian government engagement, has the promise of achieving economic and food security gains catalyzed by agricultural development. With improved access to finance, infrastructure, modern farming inputs, and technical assistance, Tanzania's smallholder

farmers could achieve much higher yields, empowering them both to feed their communities and to export to regional and international markets. Partnerships between the public sector, multinational companies, and smallholder farmers in local communities present opportunities for increased agricultural productivity and commercialization. Untapped arable land throughout Tanzania can be brought into production sustainably and efficiently through collaborative partnerships.⁸ At present, however, most farmers are isolated, vulnerable, and cultivating crops using outdated practices.

Chronic hunger and malnutrition negatively impact the productive capacity of the Tanzanian labor force. In 2014, more than 3 million children under five were estimated to be stunted. A critical examination of the patterns of economic growth, poverty, and food insecurity in Tanzania reveal a gaping disconnect between the potential of the country and the reality of rural poverty. The divide can largely be attributed to trade liberalization policies and privatization efforts, which did not include effective measures to modernize agricultural production or mechanisms to distribute associated earnings to vulnerable populations. Low levels of investment in agriculture from both the public and private sectors can partially explain the gap

between nationwide economic growth and stagnant levels of rural poverty. Other factors exacerbating the situation include poor governance, weak infrastructure (electrification and roads), gender inequalities, and low-quality farm inputs.

The government of Tanzania has undertaken significant efforts to better coordinate and revitalize nutrition programs across the country. In 2011, the country joined the Scaling Up Nutrition (SUN) movement, and a high level Steering Committee led by the Prime Minister's office was created. A national Nutrition Strategy (2011/12-2015/16) with a \$520 million budget has been operationalized, establishing council steering committees and appointing regional and district nutrition officers throughout the country.⁹ In addition, specific nutrition budget lines have been created in nutrition lead ministries and in the councils.¹⁰

2015 marks the end of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) period. Despite impressive economic growth, Tanzania did not meet the first MDG, which was to halve hunger and extreme poverty across its population. However, progress has been made towards other key MDG targets over the last decade: more than 90 percent of children have been enrolled in primary

⁴ World Bank Group, "Tanzania Mainland Poverty Assessment," May 5, 2015, 2, http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSPContentServer/WDSP/IB/2015/05/06/090224b082e47cf0/1_0/Rendered/PDF/Executive0summary.pdf.

⁵ World Bank Data Set, "Net official development assistance and official aid received (current US\$)," accessed September 10, 2015, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/DT.ODA.ALLD.CD>.

⁶ UK Department for International Development, "Summary of DFID's Work in Tanzania 2011-2015," May 2012, 2, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67407/tanzania-2011-summary.pdf.

⁷ UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), "Production, Crops, Tanzania, Area harvested," accessed August 14, 2015, <http://faostat3.fao.org/compare/E>.

⁸ SAGCOT, "Investment Blueprint: Why Invest in Tanzanian Agriculture," January 2011, 27, http://www.sagcot.com/uploads/media/Invest-Blueprint-SAGCOT_High_res.pdf.

⁹ United Republic of Tanzania, "AIDE MEMOIRE: Consultations of Development Partners in order to Accelerate Stunting Reduction in Mbeya, Iringa, and Njombe Regions," December 2014.

¹⁰ Ibid.



Agricultural productivity across Tanzania is stifled by outdated technology repeatedly used by isolated farmers. Tanzanian farmers average only 1.5 tons per hectare for maize, a dietary staple, compared to 10 tons per hectare in the U.S.

school every year since 2005; child mortality has been reduced by 45 percent since 1999; and HIV rates have stabilized while malaria deaths have been cut in half since 2000.

The government of Tanzania has created a number of national development plans and joined international efforts to address hunger, poverty, and malnutrition. The Tanzania Development Vision 2025, the country's overarching development framework, establishes clear priorities to shift towards a more commercial, private-sector-led Tanzania. Meanwhile, the Agriculture Sector Development Program (ASDP), designed to implement the Agriculture Sector Development Strategy (ASDS), is led by Tanzania's five agricultural ministries and 132 local government authorities and is coordinated by the Ministry of Ag-

riculture and Food Security. Its objectives are to empower farmers through access to better agricultural knowledge, technologies, markets, and infrastructure, as well as to increase private-sector investments in agriculture and food production.

Funding for ASDP is \$1.78 billion over eight years, of which 75 percent is earmarked for irrigation development work and two percent for market and private-sector development initiatives. ASDP has helped increase crop and livestock production and growth in agricultural exports due to the adoption of new technologies, better extension services, increased irrigation, and greater access to mechanization. However, the limited/lack of involvement of the private sector in ASDP has been a fundamental weakness.

Tanzania formally joined the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) in July 2010. CAADP, an initiative led by the African Union within the context of the New Partnership for African Development, provides a framework for African countries to achieve economic growth and food security through agricultural transformation. Member governments agree to allocate 10 percent of national budgetary expenditures annually to the agricultural sector, as well as to establish a minimum annual agricultural growth target of six percent. Tanzania has not met the 10 percent budget allocation requirement, though government officials explain that the definition for budget allocations is not inclusive of financial commitments in other sectors that impact agriculture. Development and donor partners feel there needs to be a continued push for the government of Tanzania to meet the budget requirement, stating that the commitment is an entry point to encourage more local and international investments.

Tanzania is also part of the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, an initiative announced by President Obama at the Camp David G8 summit in 2012 and which now has 200 private companies committing \$10 billion to 10 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Feed the Future is part of the United States' commitment to the New Alliance, which aims to generate greater private investment in agriculture development, to scale innova-

tion, and to achieve sustainable food security outcomes while reducing poverty and ending hunger. Of the 50 million people in sub-Saharan Africa expected to be lifted out of poverty by 2022 through the New Alliance, 6.7 million will be from Tanzania. In 2014, only \$684 million of the New Alliance private-sector investments were invested, reaching 8.2 million smallholder farmers.¹¹

The New Alliance aims to support CAADP country investment plans, referred to in Tanzania as the Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan. By joining the New Alliance, the government of Tanzania re-affirmed policy commitments such as integrating nutrition in all food security and agricultural programs. Other shared responsibilities include increasing coordination and collaboration to achieve greater effectiveness.¹²

The socioeconomic environment in Tanzania presents excellent opportunities for growth, shared prosperity, and sustainable development over the next 15 years and beyond. The importance of sustained engagement in the Tanzanian agricultural sector cannot be overstated, as agricultural development and improved food security sets up a virtuous cycle for economic growth and prosperity. This report outlines the critical role that U.S. government programming does, can, and should continue to play in Tanzania's food security. ●

¹¹ New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition and Grow Africa, "Joint Annual Progress Report: 2014-2015," October 2015, 2, https://new-alliance.org/sites/default/files/resources/New%20Alliance%20Progress%20Report%202014-2015_0.pdf.

¹² G8, "G8 Cooperation Framework to Support the 'New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition' in Tanzania," 2012, 4, <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/TanzaniaCooperationFramework.pdf>.



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In 2014 alone, 100,000 farmers and producers in Tanzania used new technologies and updated practices to improve production and increase incomes, thanks to Feed the Future. Aminah Omanga, 40, from the Mzumbe area near Morogoro, shows off her healthy tomato crop which more than doubled by using improved inputs and drip irrigation.

— 2 —

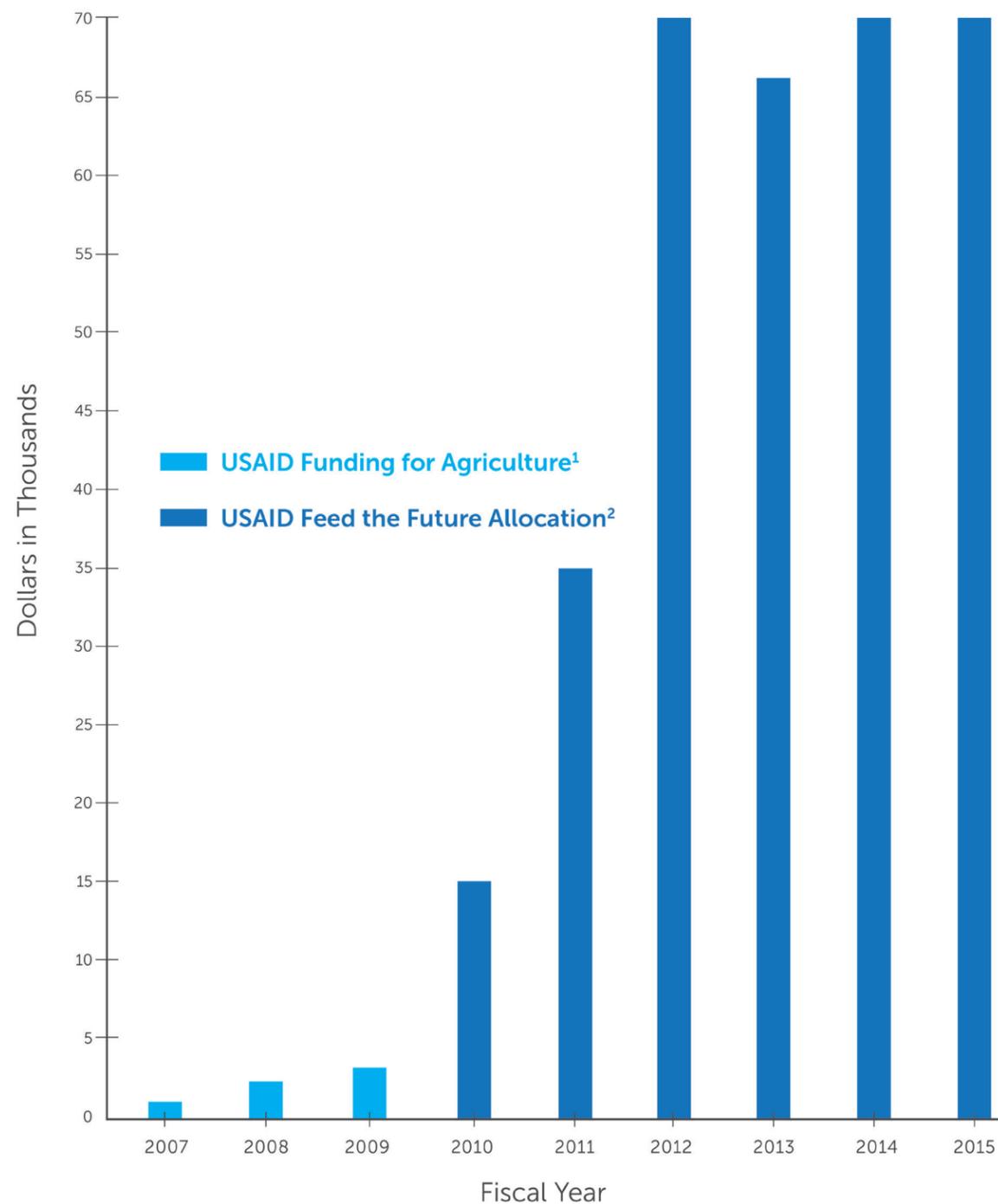
U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE AND INVESTMENT

IN RESPONSE TO THE FOOD PRICE CRISIS OF 2007 AND 2008 AND THE RESULTING riots across the world, the U.S. government renewed its commitment to tackle global food security after decades of declining assistance. In 2010, President Barack Obama created Feed the Future as a Presidential Initiative, leveraging the strengths of 11 U.S. agencies to attempt to break the cycle of hunger and poverty. Twenty countries were originally selected to be part of the initiative based on criteria related to need, opportunity for partnership, potential for agricultural growth, opportunities for regional synergy, and resource availability. Since 2010, USAID Feed the Future programs have allocated over \$5.6 billion, comprising more than one third of USAID's appropriated funds for Official Development Assistance.¹³

Feed the Future has made impressive progress during Presidents Obama's tenure, reaching more than 12 million rural households throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Twelve of the now 19 focus countries are in sub-Saharan

¹³ U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Congressional Budget Justification, various years, <http://www.state.gov/s/rm/rls/statecbj/>.

USAID FUNDING LEVELS IN TANZANIA FROM FY 2007 — FY 2015



¹This includes obligations for USAID investment in agricultural programs that pre-date the President's Feed the Future Initiative, and so were not specifically tracked. These figures represent agricultural programming but should not be considered fully comprehensive.

²The President's Feed the Future Initiative launched in FY 2010. This funding represents USAID Feed the Future allocations. This does not include USAID/Washington program activities that may operate in or benefit the country.

Africa and, in 2014 alone, Feed the Future reached nearly 2.5 million African farmers with improved technologies and management practices, spurred over \$306 million in new sales on the continent, brought small-scale entrepreneurs increased income opportunities through nearly \$600 million in new agricultural and rural loans, and reached 9 million children under five with nutrition programs.¹⁴ While these claims of success by the Administration are impressive, it is critical to take an up-close look at focus countries and probe more deeply.

Through Feed the Future, the United States has invested heavily in Tanzania's agricultural development. Between FY 2010 – FY 2015, a total of \$327 million has been committed, making Tanzania the largest Feed the Future focus country program in the world¹⁵ and cementing its place as a key partner in President Obama's strategy towards sub-Saharan Africa.

The increased attention and investments have yielded notable results. A Feed the Future-funded policy analysis demonstrated that local farmers would have lost \$200

million each year that a maize export ban remained in place and convinced the government of Tanzania to lift that ban in 2011.¹⁶ In 2014 alone, farmers supported by Feed the Future increased the value of their agricultural sales by more than \$19 million. One hundred thousand farmers and producers reported that they are using new technologies and management practices for the first time,

significantly improving production and increasing incomes. Feed the Future also leveraged nearly \$152 million in private investments in food and agriculture. During the same time, the U.S. government reached 1.4 million women with nutrition services to improve maternal and child health.

The 2011-2015 Feed the Future Multi-Year Strategy in Tanzania was designed

through a whole-of-government consultation process. Coordinated by U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), U.S. agencies engaged in the drafting of the strategic plan included State Department, the U.S. Global Health Initiative, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), the U.S. Peace Corps, the Overseas Private Investment

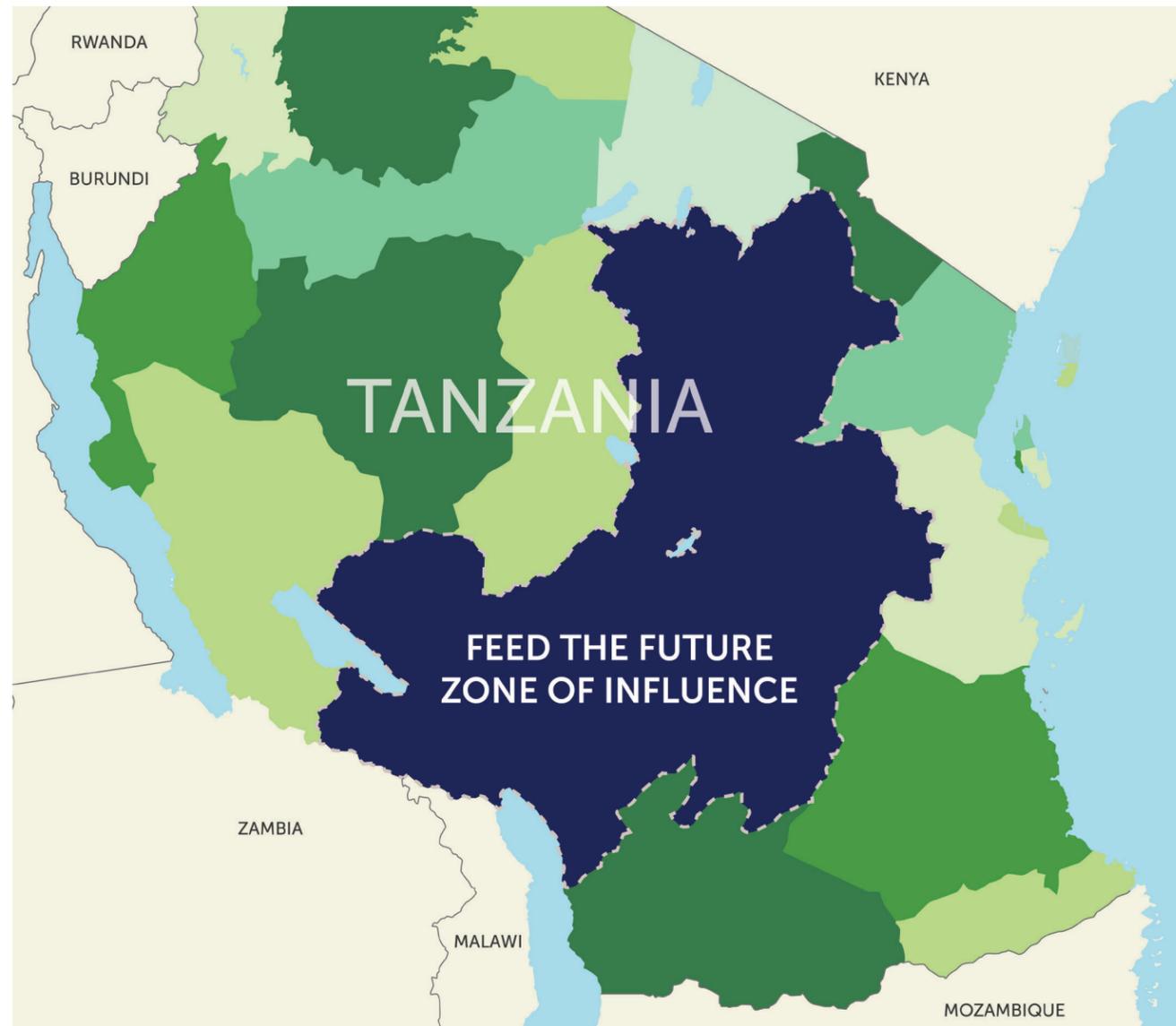
Through Feed the Future, the United States has invested heavily in Tanzania's agricultural development.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Feed the Future, "2014 Feed the Future Progress Report: Accelerating Progress to End Global Hunger," May 2014, 20, [http://www.feedthefuture.gov/sites/default/files/resource/files/2014%20Feed%20the%20Future%20Progress%20Report%20\(3\).pdf](http://www.feedthefuture.gov/sites/default/files/resource/files/2014%20Feed%20the%20Future%20Progress%20Report%20(3).pdf).

¹⁶ The figure featured in this document is \$217 million. John Baffes, Varun Kshirsagar, and Donald Mitchell, "Domestic and External Drivers of Maize Prices in Tanzania," June 2014.

Feed the Future Zone of Influence in Tanzania



Feed the Future-funded projects are concentrated in a specific geographic location, called the zone of influence, to maximize investment impact and support country-led plans. The zone of influence purposely overlaps with the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), a region the government of Tanzania identified for its potential to foster economic growth and reduce poverty.

Corporation (OPIC), and the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). The plan was created in consultation with the government of Tanzania, and actively aligned with country-defined priorities. The government of Tanzania identified electricity and rural roads

as two serious impediments to agricultural transformation and pushed for infrastructure strengthening to be included.

A specific geographic location, or a “zone of influence,” was selected to maximize impact in terms of poverty reduction and improved

nutrition. The zone of influence is predominately located in the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), a region that the government of Tanzania identified for its potential to make a significant contribution to Tanzania’s economic growth and poverty reduction. In addition to geographic areas, specific value chains thought to hold the most potential were also identified. Rice, maize, and horticulture were selected, while other areas of Tanzanian agriculture, including livestock, were not flagged for investments.

Feed the Future is currently working in the following areas to reduce poverty and improve nutrition in Tanzania:

- **Nutrition:** Fostering social and behavior change to improve nutrition, especially for women and children, with a focus on the critical 1,000 day window between the beginning of a woman’s pregnancy and her child’s second birthday.
- **Value chains:** Transforming the rice, maize, and horticulture value chains through programs focused on production, processing, marketing, and natural resource management, as well as increasing the competitiveness of smallholders.
- **Policy:** Strengthening local government capacity to catalyze policy change, as well as providing in-depth policy analysis on key constraints to agricultural growth.
- **Research, technology, and innovation:** Working with the Tanzanian National Agricultural Research Services at Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) on collaborative research to enhance Tanzania’s ability to improve productivity.
- **Rural infrastructure:** Improving agricultural productivity through the expansion and rehabilitation of existing irrigation schemes, as well as the construction of feeder roads to improve market access for smallholder farmers. •

AN OVERVIEW OF FEED THE FUTURE PROGRAMS IN TANZANIA

THE SCOPE OF FEED THE FUTURE IN TANZANIA IS FAR-REACHING AND THINLY spread, supporting 38 different programs, partnerships, or organizations. There are 10 Feed the Future Innovation Labs currently operating in Tanzania, drawing on the expertise of U.S. universities to advance collaborative research solutions on issues ranging from climate change-resistant beans to integrated pest management. US-DA's McGovern Dole Food for Education programs provide food and assistance to children in schools, supported by a Micronutrient-Fortified Food Aid Program led by Kansas State University.

This section highlights select USAID-funded programs that comprise the bulk of Feed the Future programming in Tanzania and that were the primary focus of the CSIS research trip.

The **Mwanzo Bora Nutrition Program**, a \$35 million project that receives funding from both Feed the Future and the Global Health Initiative, aims to improve maternal



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Low-cost good agricultural practices, like trellising for tomatoes, can reduce waste compared to traditional farming techniques which often lead to a percentage of the crop rotting on the ground. Farmers learn to grow their crops more effectively through training sessions held on demonstration plots, funded by Feed the Future.



New mothers visit a health clinic near Morogoro for check-ups with a community health facilitator and to track the weight and height of their children. Feed the Future provides training and support to the community clinic, using dramas, songs, plays, and testimonies to teach messages on nutrition and maternal health.

and child health, focusing particularly on the first 1,000 days of a child's life. Mwanzo Bora, which means "good start," teaches families farming techniques and provides nutrition advice at the community level. Its objective is to ensure that children have the ability to grow, to learn, and to lift themselves out of poverty. The project raises awareness of undernutrition through innovative social and behavior change communication techniques including parent multimedia kits with a range of educational activities and audio-visual learning materials, as well as working at the community level with peer support groups. One of the project staff members told CSIS that "behavior communication change is our driving force."

The program has helped reach 1.4 million women with nutritional services and trained more than 14,000 community leaders and

extension workers on dietary diversity, home gardening, exclusive breastfeeding, and targeted micronutrient supplementation. Overall goals of Mwanzo Bora include reducing both childhood stunting and maternal anemia by 20 percent in the Dodoma, Manyara, and Morogoro regions. It further aims to build the institutional capacity of the government of Tanzania and local civil society organizations around nutrition programming.

Field trips to Mwanzo Bora sites proved that the project is integrating nutrition and agriculture in innovative ways. In collaboration with local NGO partners and extension workers, the project has helped community members establish and maintain demonstration farm plots, often right outside health clinics. Community members learn how to grow vegetables and to diversify their diet with low-cost, practical techniques.

Zena Omary from Morogoro proudly introduced herself as a "1,000 Days grandmother." Four of her six grandchildren, including the girl shown here, have been given a nutritious, diverse diet in the first 1,000 days of life, thanks to what she has learned from Feed the Future.



Trainings include the importance of protein consumption and small animal husbandry, including how to raise and cook rabbits, chickens, and ducks. When CSIS toured a rural site in Morogoro, behavior change at the community level was clear: community members understood the value of the first 1,000 days, proudly introducing themselves as a "1,000 days grandmother" or a "1,000 days father" and showing off their babies and children who looked remarkably healthier and stronger than their elder siblings due to their more nutritious diet.

One of the key indicators of Mwanzo Bora's success is the number of people trained, an imperfect metric for behavior change in practice. Field staff agreed that there is a need to include more impact and outcome indicators to measure success; they also said that there has been double counting in the

past due to the design of the data collection system. The project has created a new evaluation system to avoid future errors, but the efficacy of the system has yet to be proven. Despite measures to build capacity, data collection in some rural areas remains a challenge and the capacity of local civil society partners is poor.

The \$30 million, six-year **NAFAKA Staples and Value Chain Activity** works to improve smallholder productivity and profitability within the rice and maize value chains, to expand markets and trade, to increase private-sector investments, and to raise incomes for vulnerable households. Working in rural communities across ten geographic areas within SAGCOT, the project's key activities include conducting fertilizer verification trials which focus on urea placement, increasing access to inputs, improving markets



Through partnerships with producers, farmers, and associations, 116,000 hectares of rice are being cultivated with improved technologies and practices and gross margins for rice have increased by 15 percent across Feed the Future's zone of influence.

and trade through farmer associations, and expanding advocacy while strengthening association services.

NAFAKA has nearly 900 demonstration plots where staff teach good agricultural practices; since the project began in 2011, they have directly reached more than 157,000 farmers and service providers. Through partnerships with producers, farmers, and associations, 116,000 hectares of rice are being cultivated with improved technologies and practices. Gross margins for rice have increased by 15 percent across the Feed the Future zone of influence. NAFAKA is credited with doubling rice production; rice now competes with maize as both a commercial and staple

consumption crop. The CSIS team toured rice demonstration fields that illustrated the benefit of improved inputs and technology. We met farmer association groups who have doubled production thanks to better irrigation and training through NAFAKA.

The market has not been able to keep up with the demand for improved inputs. Throughout NAFAKA's target areas, the demand for maize and rice seeds has been estimated at 60,000 metric tons while local seed companies are only able to supply 20,000 metric tons annually, on average. This gap presents a huge opportunity for the private sector. The importance of meeting farmers' demand for improved seeds is coupled with the necessity

of empowering the farmer with information—counterfeit seeds and inputs across rural markets were highlighted as an important concern by NAFAKA field staff.

Although NAFAKA has leveraged nearly \$3 million in new private-sector investments in the agricultural sector, an unfavorable policy environment has made the private sector hesitant to invest. For example, large volumes of duty-free rice imports resulted in a dramatic decline in the price of local rice production. For maize, the difficulty of securing export permits has translated into illegal and unregulated cross-border trade with neighboring countries.

The **Tanzania Agricultural Productivity Project (TAPP)**, which ended in August of 2015, was the only USAID-funded agricultural project in place in Tanzania before the launch of Feed the Future. With \$35.5 million allocated over five years, the project impacted nearly 62,000 households across 12 regions. The primary goals of the project were to raise smallholder incomes, to improve community nutrition, and to expand markets through demonstrating horticulture as a profitable business and a sustainable pillar of community and regional food security.

TAPP introduced improved technologies and good agricultural practices to smallholders, focusing on high-value horticulture crops such as avocado, sweet pepper, and green beans. More than 53,000 farmers adopted improved technologies and their yields tripled. The project worked with 52 partners, mainly

from the private sector, and facilitated approximately \$90.5 million in incremental sales among clients over its five year tenure.

The CSIS team met with dozens of smallholder farmers whose land and incomes had dramatically improved thanks to assistance from TAPP. It was particularly impressive to see the difference in crop quality and cycles when farmers used drip irrigation. When TAPP first began conducting trainings on how to properly utilize drip irrigation systems, the market price for a system was approximately \$2,000 per acre. Farmers were given a voucher with a 50 percent subsidy to purchase the technology, but uptake was slow. Smallholders were not convinced the system was worth the large investment. Through demonstration plots and training, farmers witnessed the increase in productivity due to drip irrigation, and its popularity soared. Demand increased, driving system costs down to \$800 per acre and demonstrating both sustainability and the private sector's integral role in smallholder commercialization.

One farmer group in the Mzumbe area told the CSIS team that "their eyes have been opened" and that they "won't be using old technology anymore." Thanks to training, support from TAPP, and the use of drip irrigation, the four person group expanded its tomato season and more than doubled its harvest. The group plans to use the additional income to pay off loans for the irrigation equipment as well as to buy food for member households, to pay school fees, and to cover medical expenses.

Building industry capacity is also a core tenet of Feed the Future programming. In addition to supporting horticulture farmers through projects like TAPP, Feed the Future supports the **Tanzania Horticulture Association (TAHA)**, a local member organization that has been developing and promoting the horticulture industry in Tanzania since 2004. It built its management capacity through a partnership with TAPP and, in 2012, became a direct grantee of USAID. Its \$4 million, five-year grant provides technical support to smallholder farmers on topics including logistics, market information, advocacy, access to finance, and institutional strengthening.

TAHA is the fastest growing farmers' organization in the region and horticulture is a booming industry. Horticulture exports in Tanzania increased dramatically between 2006 and 2013, from \$60 million to \$470 million in value. Additionally, there has been a significant increase in local private-sector investments. TAHA has helped transform the horticulture sector by successfully addressing a number of policy blockades. It has catalyzed the removal of value-added taxes on inputs, streamlined input registration processes, and reduced constraints to industry development.

By uniting large-scale professional organizations with small farmers' groups and local organizations, TAHA has significantly increased partnerships and collaboration. Continued success for the horticulture industry will depend on strengthening commercialization, addressing postharvest losses, and improv-

ing transportation and infrastructure so that farmers and their goods can reach markets. TAHA leadership told CSIS that, although Tanzania hasn't realized a green revolution yet, "USAID support has done a great job and helped make significant improvements in food systems in Tanzania...we are now building enterprises thanks to USG support."

In the 1960s, the United States helped create an agricultural college in Tanzania that later grew into the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Tanzania (SUA). The bridge between U.S. universities and SUA then collapsed for decades due to declining assistance for agricultural research. A senior Tanzania advisor from SUA told the CSIS team that "U.S. universities lost touch with us for a long time." Feed the Future fueled a resurgence in collaborative research between multiple academic institutions, linking American and Tanzanian researchers once again to advance agricultural research and strengthen institutional capacity.

One such collaboration is the **Innovative Agricultural Research Initiative (iAGRI) Project**, led by Ohio State University. Through training, research, and organizational transformation, this six-year, \$25.5 million project aims to strengthen collaborative research capacities at SUA. It is preparing the next generation of leaders in Tanzania by providing advanced degree training in agriculture and nutrition to 137 graduate students. iAGRI has more than 130 collaborative research projects underway to address

research gaps in crop improvement, value chain management, climate change, gender and agricultural productivity, water resource management, policy analysis, extension systems, nutrition, and food science.

iAGRI is most proud of its work in organizational change at SUA to strengthen staff capacity and institutional support. Project staff explained that building human resources is meaningless if the institution has vague strategies, a weak structure, and inefficient processes. Both trained researchers and a strong institution to support their human capital are essential to maximizing the contributions of research to food security outcomes.

The short timeframe associated with traditional USAID funding streams is a challenge for tangible research progress and institutional change. iA-

GRI tracks the number of people trained and the rate of adoption of new technologies, yet it lacks indicators tracking long-term institutional change. Project staff stated that achieving quick success is an unrealistic expectation for an academic research institution like SUA. Staff told CSIS that "there is so much emphasis on intermediate results that we are not focused on institutional development for the long term."

An enabling policy environment that attracts private-sector investors is critical to

Tanzania's ability to reinvigorate agricultural growth. Feed the Future is investing in the **SERA Project** to conduct policy research and analysis to advance policy reforms and create a conducive business environment in Tanzania. The five-year, \$8.5 million dollar project, which concludes in 2016, is the first policy-centered food security project in Tanzania.

The government of Tanzania has changed major agricultural policies based on SERA analysis and reports. Most notable was a 2012 reversal of a 2011 export ban on staple crops, resulting in immediate and positive

benefits to producers and a dramatic return on U.S. investment. If the export ban on rice and maize had remained in place, it would have cost Tanzanian farmers approximately \$200 million a year. In contrast, the SERA export ban study only cost \$500,000 to produce.

More than
53,000 farmers
adopted improved
technologies and
their yields tripled.

SERA's presence and analysis has helped raise the level of dialogue on agricultural policies among the private sector, civil society, and the government of Tanzania. The project also works on local institutional development and capacity building, from teaching a course on practical policy analysis to stakeholder assessments on policies to help the government of Tanzania prioritize investments. Still, fractured government frameworks coupled with weak local leadership continue to inhibit private-sector invest-

The Government of Tanzania has changed major agricultural policies based on SERA analysis and reports.

ments and participation in policy reforms. The **Irrigation and Rural Roads Infrastructure Project**, a four-year, \$16.7 million project set to expire in August of 2016, plays an advisory role to local government bodies to build, expand, or improve irrigation and road infrastructure. The initial concept was to complement other Feed the Future projects in the USAID/Tanzania portfolio that address the production, marketing, and processing of rice, maize, and horticulture.

Overall, the project is mandated to support the construction of 1,000 kms of rural roads in four districts within the SAGCOT corridor. Road selection is based on government priority, economic benefit, and impact potential. In 2014, only 55 km of roads were built against a target of 232 km and no irrigation activities were completed despite a target of 1,300 irrigated hectares. There are a number of challenges limiting both the efficiency and effectiveness of the Irrigation and Rural Roads Infrastructure Project. The capacity of the local government is weak, particularly in project management, but the project

remains heavily reliant on their leadership. Government at the district level lacks sufficient capacity to properly maintain rural roads, making overall improvement slow and fragmented.

The irrigation component of the project includes rehabilitation and expansion of existing infrastructure. An environmental study is currently underway to see if an irrigation scheme can be expanded in the Kilombero Valley. The initial assessment was deemed insufficient and both USAID and the project agreed that a more thorough environmental study was necessary before beginning construction. The year-long study examines how much water is available in the area, the project's impact on the natural habitat, and socioeconomic factors. The expected conclusion of the report, which had not been finalized at the time of this publication, is that expanding irrigation in the area will have a detrimental effect on the environment and should not proceed.

An additional constraint is trying to fit a long-term investment into a traditional USAID program cycle. Results from infrastructure investments take time. Project staff explained to CSIS that "irrigation is not a short-term element of the development cycle" and that "conception to operation can take up to 15 years." The typical five-year USAID project cycle, coupled with pressure for quick results, creates unrealistic expectations and may lead to inaccurate characterizations of achievement. Rushing implementation to meet target indicator requirements can have negative social, en-

vironmental, and economic implications. In interviews with CSIS, local staff said this has been a "very political project" and "lessons have not been learned from past failures." Strengthening infrastructure is critical to connecting smallholders to local and regional markets and, indirectly, to increasing yields of crops which are demanded highly in those markets. However, current constraints on the ground in Tanzania are undermining the sustainability of U.S. investments in this area. Infrastructure projects must be paired with long-term funding and improved political capacity in order to see long-term benefits. Overall, Feed the Future projects have undoubtedly made a deep impact on individual

lives and strengthened the capacity of Tanzania to address hunger and poverty. Smallholder farmers have increased their income and the quality of their crops. Rural communities understand the value of a nutritious diet, especially in the first 1,000 days. Rice production has doubled and the horticulture industry has been significantly supported. Regardless of constraints—including a poor policy environment, weak local capacity, bureaucratic burdens, and a lack of coordination—the United States should continue to invest development assistance funding in Tanzania. Five years of increased focus and funding are not enough to achieve lasting results in food and nutrition security. ●



The irrigation pumps at Dakawa currently break down twice a week for six to 12 hours at a time. Feed the Future plans to rehabilitate this pump house, which serves hundreds of rice farmers in the area.

KIMBERLY FLOWERS/CSIS

KEY EMERGING ISSUES

Awareness and Impact

Feed the Future and the United States' leadership to address agricultural development and undernutrition in Tanzania is well known among partners, the government of Tanzania, and beneficiaries. Private-sector partners believe the increased levels of funding and attention has helped leverage other investments, expanded the private sector's ability to reach smallholder farmers, and increased demand for high quality inputs. The Tanzania Ministry of Agriculture explained to CSIS that it takes a "transformation of mind with time, commitment, and resources" to make an impact and "that Feed the Future has done that and we are seeing good results." The CSIS team met many individuals whose lives have been significantly improved because of Feed the Future and they understand that their success is because of the American people.



KIMBERLY FLOWERS/CSIS

Amri Sudi Kimbowengo, 62, is the chairperson for a community in Morogoro that benefits from Feed the Future programs. He explained that he has seen stunting levels decline thanks to an increased understanding of giving children a more diverse diet.

The Power of Policy

The importance of a strong enabling environment to attract and retain investors was emphasized by industry specialists with a variety of backgrounds in nearly every interview. Unfortunately, the government of Tanzania's protectionist trade policies are a barrier for growth. Tanzania's corporate tax rate stands at 44 percent, compared to Zambia's 30 percent tax rate and a special agricultural enterprise tax rate of 10 percent. A produce tax, which the government has committed to reduce or eliminate, lessens the competitiveness of Tanzania's exports, adds to an already high tax burden, and is driving away potential investors. A number of joint policy collaborations between Feed the Future projects and respective government ministries are working to build policy-making capacity. In particular, the collaboration addresses approaches to reforms on local taxes and the introduction of a digital payment system. This kind of support must continue.

Agricultural Production vs. Commercialization

Feed the Future efforts have effectively doubled rice production in parts of Tanzania, as well as significantly increasing the incomes of horticulture producers. Efforts have not, however, focused enough on the commercialization of smallholder farmers and their connections to larger, more profitable markets. There are individual success stories, but scaling up commercialization should be a top priority which will require stronger coordination between the private sector, the donor community, and the local government, particularly now that the second phase of the Agriculture Sector Development Program is being created. As the head of TAHA explained to us, there is an increasing need to adopt market-driven development approaches to foster regional competitiveness and to promote sustainability.

Infrastructure Issues

Senior officials within the government of Tanzania are frustrated that an environmental study may halt progress on a planned irrigation project. An environmental study was conducted to assess water sustainability in the area and whether a new irrigation scheme would undermine it. Officials called the study "never-ending," and said that they plan to move ahead with the work no matter what the results of the study revealed. The government of Tanzania plans to secure a loan from China to move forward with the irrigation project if the soon-to-be-released USAID environmental study determines that the project is not feasible.

Government Partnership

Overall, the government of Tanzania is happy with the United States' vision and partnership on agricultural development and nutrition and with how it supports country-led plans. When pushed, however, senior officials from the government of Tanzania explained that while their relationship with USAID has improved over time, they wished there was deeper,

more honest collaboration, particularly on program design and evaluations. They expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the bureaucratic reporting burden of working with USAID is greater compared to other donors. There have also been internal USG complaints that senior State Department officials at the US Embassy do not consider Feed the Future to be a top priority. Meanwhile, the USAID Mission Director has made it clear to staff that Presidential initiatives support, but do not drive, strategic development goals.

USAID/Tanzania Staff Turnover

While hesitant to criticize their funder, a variety of USAID implementing partners explained that there has been a lack of continuity from USAID/Tanzania because of numerous staff changes. Some of these changes are due to normal rotations, but there seems to have been a number of key staff within the Feed the Future team who left over the past few years. The number of changes has been disruptive to partners, who have to work with new staff and inconsistent processes multiple times throughout their contract.

MCC Coordination

The \$698 million Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact signed with the government of Tanzania in 2008, MCC's largest to date, focused on stimulating economic growth and increasing household incomes through infrastructure investment in transportation, energy, and water. MCC is in the final stages of signing a new \$473 million compact with the government of Tanzania to strengthen the power sector, dependent on Tanzania satisfying requirements of the Control of Corruption indicator. Unfortunately, the proposed compact has not been strategically aligned with food security efforts; there has been internal pressure to align it with Power Africa over Feed the Future. Because the MCC is one of the 11 Feed the Future implementing agencies, the importance of continued support and focus on food security efforts and activities by the institution is invaluable to the sustainability of all U.S. government work.

This report proceeds with a set of more comprehensive observations around two components of Feed the Future programming in Tanzania, the SAGCOT model and programmatic linkages with the Peace Corps, before concluding with recommendations to augment Feed the Future efficacy and efficiency in Tanzania. ●

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE SAGCOT MODEL

THE SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL GROWTH CORRIDOR OF TANZANIA (SAGCOT) is a public-private partnership that focuses investments and interventions in a well-defined geographic area to boost economic growth through competitive agricultural development. This rich agricultural strip, which stretches across the southern highlands to the Zambian border, has been called the potential bread basket of the East and Central African regions. The initiative has gained broad donor support, with USAID as a prominent champion since its inception. Between 80 to 90 percent of Feed the Future investments are focused in the SAGCOT region, reflecting strong support for the initiative by the U.S. government.

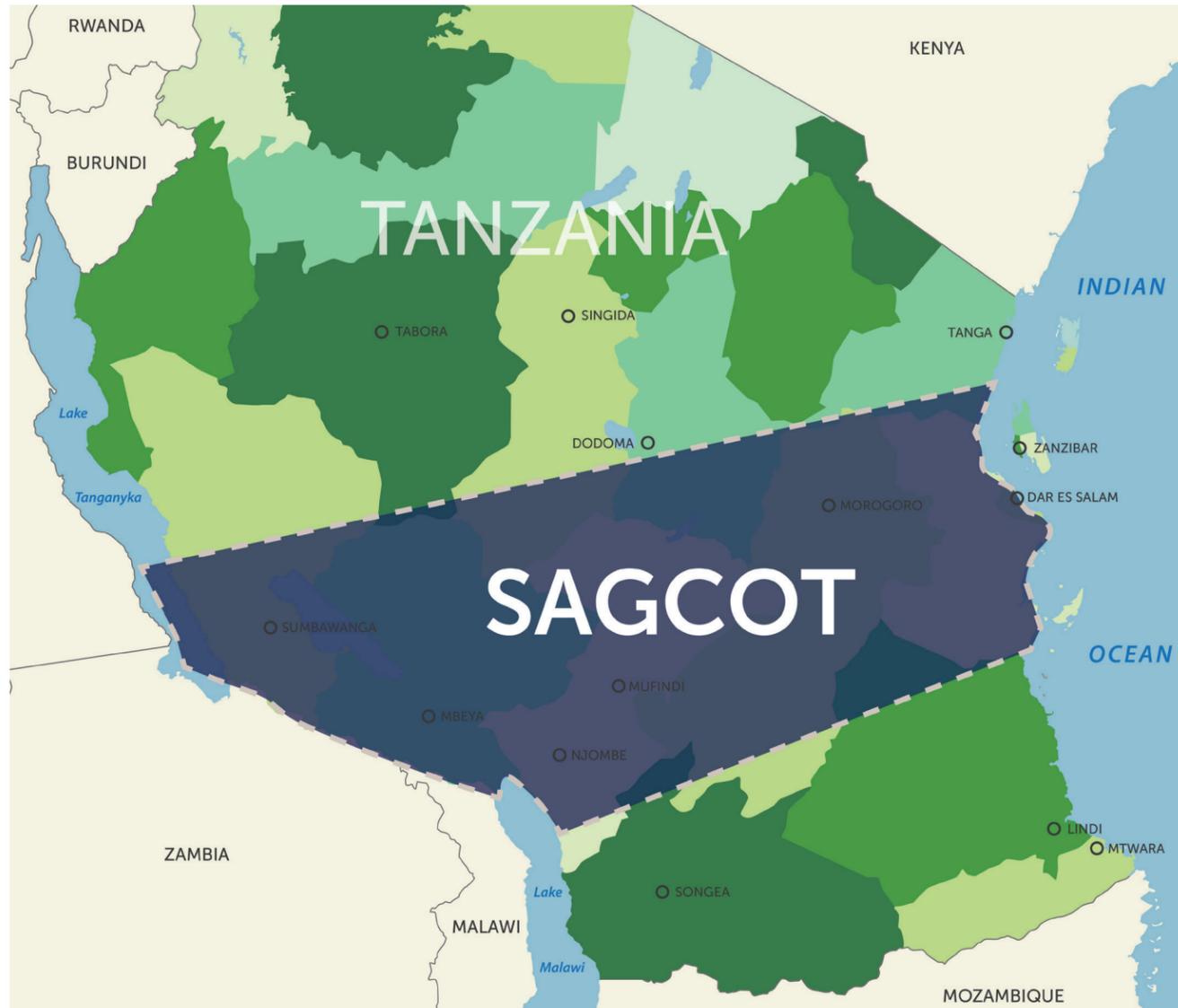
SAGCOT was officially launched in May 2010 at the World Economic Forum for Africa in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Soon thereafter, the SAGCOT Center, an independent secretariat, was created to serve as a broker and catalyst of partnerships to strengthen inclusive, sustainable, and viable agricultural value chains. Some describe SAGCOT as the Silicon



KIMBERLY FLOWERS/CSIS

Drip irrigation is a low-cost technology that has transformed the lives of smallholder farmers in Tanzania. The precise irrigation allows farmers to lengthen their growing season, increasing the quality and quantity of their harvest and, more importantly, their income.

Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania



The Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), announced in May 2010 at the World Economic Forum, is a public-private partnership that strategically focuses agricultural investments and interventions in a well-defined geographic area to boost economic growth. The SAGCOT region has been called the potential bread basket of the East and Central African regions.

Valley of sustainable business models; in fact, in 2013 the French government named SAGCOT one of the top 20 sustainable innovations to change the face of Africa.

The SAGCOT design is unique and powerful; it has real potential to drive sustainable agricultural growth in Tanzania. The SAGCOT investment blueprint sets out a clear roadmap

¹⁷ The investment blueprint was developed by an Executive Committee created at the World Economic Forum. The committee draws its members from the government and the private sector, both domestic and international. SAGCOT, "Investment Blueprint: Why Invest in Tanzanian Agriculture, 5.

for improving rural infrastructure, catalyzing private investment, and facilitating better coordination and collaboration between the private and public sectors and smallholder farmers.¹⁷ Policymakers expect that innovative financing mechanisms, including a multi-donor catalytic investment fund, will leverage over \$2.1 billion of private investment over a 20 year period.¹⁸ Supplemented with a public-sector commitment of \$1.3 billion, the ambitious end goal is to triple the area's agricultural output.

There are currently around 100 registered SAGCOT partners, half of which are from the private sector, maximizing the SAGCOT Center's existing capacity to manage these partnerships. The goals of the initiative are lofty. By 2030, SAGCOT partners seek to bring 350,000 hectares of land into profitable production, to transition 100,000 smallholder farmers into commercial farming, to create 420,000 new employment opportunities, to lift 2 million people out of poverty, and to generate \$1.2 billion in annual farming revenues.¹⁹

According to officials from the Ministry of Agriculture, SAGCOT is a critical initiative that embodies the concepts of Tanzania's strategic plans to prioritize agricultural development, supports requirements of CAADP for increased investments in infrastructure and value chains, and contributes to private-sector investments under the ASDP. SAGCOT and its

partners are credited with the development and expansion of several strategic partnerships and investments, including Kilombero Plantations Ltd (KPL) with rice, Unilever with tea, and Agro EcoEnergy's with sugarcane. In total, these partnerships represent over \$800 million in investments with the potential to engage at least 36,500 smallholders.

The SAGCOT strategy focuses on promoting competitiveness through "clustering." Based on economies of scale, farmers and agribusinesses are most likely to be successful when they are located in proximity to each other and related service providers. Six initial clusters, which have long-term potential for profitable groupings of farming and extension services have been chosen, but the investments have yet to be realized. Each cluster will require investment along the full agricultural value chain. Some of the investments will be public goods (e.g. rural infrastructure) from the government and its development partners, while other investments will come directly from the private sector.²⁰

The objective is to link smallholder producers with commercial agriculture, giving them the tools to engage with larger, more global markets. Out-grower schemes will be designed to allow smallholders in the vicinity of large-scale farms to access inputs, extension services, value-adding facilities, and markets. SAGCOT will also support smallholder pro-

¹⁸ SAGCOT, "Greenprint for SAGCOT," 2013, 53, <http://ecoagriculture.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/A-Framework-for-AGG-Greenprint-for-SAGCOT-June-2013.pdf>.

¹⁹ SAGCOT, "Becoming a SAGCOT Partner," 2015, 1, http://www.sagcot.com/fileadmin/documents/2015/SAGCOT_Partnering_Brochure.pdf.

²⁰ SAGCOT, "Investment Blueprint: Why Invest in Tanzanian Agriculture," 8.

ducer associations, helping their members enter equitable commercial relationships with agro processing and marketing businesses.²¹

Alongside its agriculture potential, the SAGCOT region also has high levels of poverty and faces increasing vulnerability to climate change. These conditions create both a mandate and an opportunity to develop SAGCOT as a green growth model for agriculture-led development. In August 2012, the SAGCOT Center established a green growth strategy focusing on sustainable natural resource management, and plans to facilitate and coordinate green investments in collaboration with multiple stakeholders, including domestic and international companies, donors, civil society, and the government of Tanzania.

Despite notable progress, there are number of internal and external constraints which have limited growth in the corridor, including the following:

- Negative international press on land grabs have turned some private-sector partners away. Senior officials within the government of Tanzania, SAGCOT staff, and private-sector partners consistently reported to CSIS that land theft is not possible and misleading articles have had a serious impact on potential investments.
- There has been minimum coordination between stakeholders at all levels. According to SAGCOT staff, leaders are having operational rather than strategic dialogues. This lack of communication and understanding discourages possible champions and undermines potential success. Leadership within the government of Tanzania and the donor community is limited by administrative burdens, making them unable to think or act strategically.
- The SAGCOT Center has serious capacity constraints and is unable take on an appropriate facilitating role between investors and complex government regulations, much less local community concerns. These systemic constraints have stalled scale up and prevented the emergence of positive signals needed to attract more private-sector investment. The SAGCOT Center receives funding from seven different donors, all with different visions and reporting requirements.
- SAGCOT has not seen any direct returns on investment yet, so some stakeholders see the initiative as a lot of talk with little action. Although private-sector partners are promising contributions “on paper,” there is a sense among some stakeholders that SAGCOT does not have the capacity to follow up and to fast-track investments.
- Premium markets are hard to reach. The SAGCOT area does not have the upgraded infrastructure or an international airport it needs to easily transport goods to Europe.

- The government of Tanzania has not created an enabling environment conducive to attract investors. Policies are unpredictable, poorly communicated, and inadequately implemented. For example, SAGCOT partners are required to write up to 15 different letters between various government ministries just to process and confirm a letter of intent to be a SAGCOT partner. There is no infrastructure within the government of Tanzania to facilitate small or large investments, and many state that the Tanzania Investment Center is not functioning.
- Increasing agricultural productivity requires a market-driven approach and scaling up proven technologies. Going forward, SAGCOT needs to become more of a venture capital company to facilitate the transformation of Tanzania’s smallholder economy to an African Green Revolution. An agricultural revolution will only take place with a significant increase in the uptake of new technologies.
- The addition of the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition has been confusing to all partners. Because of the duplication, partners wishing to join the New Alliance in Tanzania must go through the SAGCOT Center. Some feel that promises were made regarding the New Alliance without sufficient country capacity to back them up. The right funding, communication, infrastructure, enabling environment, and collaboration is not in place to support the vision and intention of New Alliance partners.

More than five years since its launch, SAGCOT struggles to show sustainable success. The innovative concept that could be a model for other African countries is hampered by a lack of strategic coordination, capacity constraints, and a poor enabling environment.

Despite these challenges, it is too early to withdraw support. Misunderstandings and high levels of optimism have created unrealistic expectations. Success will depend on changing mindsets, behavior, and systems among many actors. Constraints demonstrate the complexity of targeted agricultural development in Tanzania, but such hurdles can be overcome with collective support. The United States should continue its engagement with SAGCOT, both the region and the Center, and focus its support to address these challenges. ●

²¹ Ibid.



KIMBERLY FLOWERS/CSIS

Godfrey Felician, 22, has received support from a Feed the Future program for three years. His cabbage, carrots, and cow peas are of higher quality than past harvests thanks to the new technologies and practices that he learned, like drip irrigation and raised beds.

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THE USAID AND PEACE CORPS CONNECTION

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS HAVE BEEN ADVANCING AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT since the agency began in 1961. Today, their grass-roots work in select countries is directly tied to Feed the Future. Since Peace Corps signed an agreement with USAID in July 2011, some volunteers are now called Feed the Future Volunteers. Although only five percent of the Peace Corps' nearly 7,000 volunteers²² around the world work exclusively in agriculture, 53 of Peace Corps' 65 total country posts provided food security programming in FY 2014 and reported on Feed the Future results²³. Despite some administrative challenges, the partnership between Peace Corps and USAID is one that should be celebrated and strengthened.

A formal agreement between USAID/Tanzania and Peace Corps was signed in April 2013 to directly support the Feed the Future initiative. Over the length of the four-year agreement, Peace Corps Tanzania receives a paltry amount of funding, an average of \$164,000 a year, to conduct food security trainings for staff, volunteers, and host-country counter-

²² Peace Corps, "Fast Facts," accessed August 23, 2015, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/about/fastfacts/>.

²³ Peace Corps, "Performance and Accountability Report FY15," November 16, 2015, 152, <http://files.peacecorps.gov/multimedia/pdf/policies/annrept2015.pdf>.

While the Peace Corps and USAID connection is a good example of leveraging the strengths of diverse U.S. agencies and the return on investment is noteworthy, **it is far from a perfect union.**

parts, to provide grants to support volunteers' small projects, and to train volunteers to accurately collect and report on results. Peace Corps Tanzania, one of the oldest Peace Corps programs, currently has 200 volunteers working in three sectors: education, health, and agriculture. The fifty volunteers that serve in the sustainable agriculture sector are strategically placed in the Feed the Future zone of influence.

As community mobilizers who have fully integrated into remote villages, volunteers serve as a bridge between rural communities and other Feed the Future programs, expanding the effectiveness and reach of other U.S. investments to address hunger and poverty. For example, Peace Corps Volunteers in Tanzania are working closely with the Farmer to Farmer program, implemented by Catholic Relief Services, which sends American agricultural experts on short-term volunteer assignment to share skills and build capacity in select Feed the Future focus countries. The collaboration builds on strengths from both sides: Peace Corps Volunteers know the local language, have extensive cross-cultural skills, and have established trust within the community, whereas Farmer to Farmer participants have the technical expertise that many young generalists in Peace Corps do not.

Because Peace Corps Volunteers are based in the country for more than two years and are required to do village situational assessments, their local knowledge can greatly improve the effectiveness of short-term field work by Farmer to Farmer volunteers by understanding capacity gaps and providing logistical guidance.

Additionally, Peace Corps Volunteers are empowering their communities to address food and nutrition security through trainings and projects on climate-smart agricultural practices, water catchment, beekeeping, and food preservation. Volunteers learn and teach others about postharvest handling and storage to reduce food loss or how to make and use natural pesticides to improve pest management. Volunteers formed a peer group called the FEAST committee to share best practices and provide support, resources, and inspiration to each other on food security projects. In FY 2015 alone, volunteers in Tanzania trained more than 2,500 Tanzanians on agricultural productivity or food security, and more than 3,000 in child health and nutrition. In the past two years, nearly 2,000 farmers have applied improved technologies or management practices thanks to Peace Corps efforts.

While the Peace Corps and USAID connection is a good example of leveraging the strengths

of diverse U.S. agencies and the return on investment is noteworthy, it is far from a perfect union. The small amount of funding from USAID comes at a heavy administrative price. Peace Corps country staff explained to the CSIS team that they feel it is a bureaucratic burden to be a USAID grantee and that they are not naturally set up to handle the requirements of being a USAID implementing partner. Peace Corps struggles between the dual identity of both a development and a volunteer agency, and its small field staff have limited time or capacity to handle the complex reporting requirements of an agency drastically different than its own.

Finalizing the Memorandum of Understanding between the agencies took a substantial amount of time and effort, and the allocation of funding as well as the establishment of new processes took even longer. Numerous USAID implementing partners, including Peace Corps, explained to the CSIS team that there has been a rapid turnover rate of USAID/Tanzania staff, creating inconsistency and confusion. Peace Corps country staff said that targets were not clear, yet USAID/Tanzania was impatient and wanted to see results quickly.

Accurate reporting poses a serious challenge to Peace Corps offices and volunteers. Peace Corps did not inherently have the kind of tracking system needed to produce quality data and the heavy focus on indicators is a core cultural difference between the agencies. Required reporting indicators include number of individuals trained in agricultural productivity or food security, number of farmers who have applied improved technologies, number of organi-

zations who have received assistance, and number of people trained in child health and nutrition. However, indicators do not include the number of people volunteers have linked to other Feed the Future projects that serve their area, a valuable component of the partnership.

Numbers are likely double counted in some instances, while results from areas that are technically outside of the Feed the Future zone of influence are included. Plus, numbers reported are from volunteers across all sectors, including those funded through the Presidents Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), so lines are blurred between Feed the Future Volunteers and their peers. Volunteers live in remote areas, often with limited electricity and internet access, making filling out electronic reports three times a year a challenge in and of itself. Reporting methods need to be adapted to Peace Corps realities, using locally appropriate tools.

On the other hand, the stringent reporting requirements have forced Peace Corps to improve its data collection tools and monitoring and evaluation systems worldwide. In 2014, Peace Corps rolled out two new reporting systems, but they still require extensive training, trouble-shooting, and high bandwidth. Data quality standards remain inconsistent between the agencies, as USAID's requirements do not match Peace Corps processes for data collection. Peace Corps Volunteers in posts around the world continue to make errors when reporting, including under-reporting, selecting the wrong indicators, and not following up to measure behavior change. ●

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING THE UNITED STATES' ROLE IN TANZANIA

AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT LOOKS AHEAD AND CONSIDERS HOW TO BUILD on efforts to promote agriculture and nutrition in Tanzania, it should consider the following policy recommendations:

- **Take action to reinvigorate SAGCOT despite its slow progress.** Although a lack of strategic coordination, weak institutional capacity, and a poor enabling environment are impediments to success, the SAGCOT model has tremendous potential and continued funding and technical assistance are integral to Feed the Future success in Tanzania. Assistance should be tailored to increase the long-term institutional capacity of the SAGCOT Center, either through direct funding or technical support, in a way that allows the Center to be in the driver's seat. Feed the Future projects should continue to be concentrated in the southern corridor to maximize coordination and results, but there need to be more transparent, strategic conversations to link efforts with SAGCOT members. Companies who made commitments to the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, which is



KIMBERLY FLOWERS/CSIS

Despite constraints to growth, such as a poor policies, weak infrastructure, and slow progress within SAGCOT, the United States' investment and development leadership needs to be sustained and strengthened for there to be a meaningful reduction in Tanzania's food insecurity.

²² Peace Corps, "Fast Facts," accessed August 23, 2015, <http://www.peacecorps.gov/about/fastfacts/>.

²³ Peace Corps, "Performance and Accountability Report FY15," November 16, 2015, 152, <http://files.peacecorps.gov/multimedia/pdf/policies/annrept2015.pdf>.

inexorably linked to SAGCOT, should be held accountable for their promises while more robust service provision for private-sector actors is simultaneously prioritized.

- **Create a new mechanism to improve communication and collaboration among partners.** Despite marked improvement over the past few years, poor coordination among donors, implementing partners, the private sector, and local government has weakened the impact of U.S. investments in Tanzania's food security. The United States must go beyond the administrative dialogue and carve out space to plan strategically with its partners to improve effectiveness and sustainability. As the lead agency for the initiative, USAID should make a more deliberate effort at the country level to formalize coordination between all partners in order to share strategies, leverage efforts, and engage communities.
- **Better link and leverage other U.S. agencies and efforts.** Communication and collaboration among U.S. government agencies operating on the ground is integral to sustainable success. Even if Feed the Future relies upon successful whole-of-government coordination in Washington, DC, inter-agency collaboration on the ground in Tanzania needs to be improved. There was minimal strategic alignment between the first MCC compact and food security, creating a lost opportunity to connect infrastructure improvements under MCC with Feed the Future beneficiaries. The proposed MCC compact expected to be signed this year will have very little direct impact on food security with its current design. The Peace Corps partnership demonstrates both the power and complexity of streamlining activities across U.S. agencies with divergent development missions. Consider placing a USDA representative in the U.S. mission to enhance coordination with regional USDA programs.
- **Create more flexible, innovative contracts for infrastructure-related projects.** All sectors do not develop at the same speed. The traditional five-year USAID project cycle hampers long-term planning around infrastructure investments in Tanzania and becomes bureaucratic burden. More flexible contracts should be designed. Building roads and upgrading irrigation schemes both require significantly more time than what is generally allotted to a typical USAID agriculture or nutrition program. Implementers of infrastructure projects have been under immense pressure to deliver quick wins, perversely incentivizing project benchmarking and reporting which is necessarily a reflection of tangible, sustainable successes.
- **Maintain attention on policy and the enabling environment.** The United States should increase its funding and attention to improve the enabling environment through USAID-funded policy projects. Policy work rarely provides quick wins, as it takes significant time and effort to build trust, establish relationships, and conduct high-quality research to catalyze change. Commercial investments in the SAGCOT region or elsewhere will remain stalled in the absence of clear legal frameworks that are both welcoming and enforceable. Specifically, the United States needs to elevate its support of and attention to land rights in Tanzania. •

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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