Evolution of Rural Development Strategies and Policies
Lessons from Tanzania

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Abstract

This country case study has been financed by the OECD Development Centre, in partnership with Korean authorities, for the preparation of its Rural Development Policy in Perspective. Fifty years after the independence, Tanzania remains a least-developed country. Growth has been led by construction in a booming Dar es Salaam and by capital-intensive sectors, with limited job creation opportunities for the vast, growing labour supply of youth. After the independence, the nationalist and autonomous policies, led to Ujamaa. It targeted self-reliance and a new economic and social organization, based on the creation of new villages providing infrastructure, services, and organizing production. The results were ambivalent, with a quick deterioration of economic indicators attributable to inefficient state interventions and wrong incentives, but also with significant progress in terms of human development. Up to now, due to its major role in the economy and society, agriculture is a key priority of the government. Rural development, as such, is not adequately addressed by specific actions. However, in spite of strong reinvestment in strategy and policy design, and on monitoring government's action, the accumulation of objectives and programs, and the predominant sectorial approach, raise the question of the effective global strategy which might be able to tackle the many challenges the country faces. It calls for more prioritization and requires more than coordination.

Keywords:

Structural Change, Rural development, Tanzania

Résumé

Cette étude a été financée par le Centre de développement de l'OCDE, en partenariat avec les autorités coréennes, pour la préparation de ses recommandations en termes de politique de développement rural. Cinquante ans après l'indépendance, la Tanzanie reste un pays moins avancé. La croissance récente a été tirée par la construction à Dar es Salaam, en plein essor, et des secteurs à forte intensité capitalistique, avec des possibilités de création d'emplois limitées pour les nombreux jeunes qui arrivent sur le marché du travail. Les politiques nationalistes et autonomes de l'Indépendance, ont fait émerger les Ujamaa. Elles visaient une nouvelle organisation économique et sociale plus autonome, sur la base de la création de nouveaux villages ; permettant la fourniture d'infrastructure, de services, et l'organisation de la production. Les résultats ont été ambivalents, avec une détérioration rapide des indicateurs économiques attribuables aux interventions de l'État inefficaces et aux mauvaises incitations, mais aussi avec des progrès significatifs en termes de développement humain. Jusqu'à présent, en raison de son rôle majeur dans l'économie et la société, l'agriculture reste une priorité clé du gouvernement. Le développement rural, en tant que tel, n'est pas abordé de manière adéquate par des actions spécifiques. Cependant, en dépit du fort réinvestissement dans la stratégie, la conception des politiques et le suivi de l'action du gouvernement, l'accumulation des objectifs et des programmes, et l'approche sectorielle prédominante, soulève la question de l'efficacité de la stratégie pour relever les nombreux défis auxquels le pays fait face. Il appelle à plus de priorités et nécessite plus que de la coordination.

Mots-clés : D

Changement structurel, Développement rural, Tanzanie

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Introduction and methodology

This country case review on Tanzania is a desk study which was completed by a seven-day mission in the country from April 24 to 30, 2015. The mission included Bruno Losch, Cirad, and Vicente Ruiz, OECD Development Centre. It focused on interviews and meetings in Dar es Salaam, as well as two days spent in Tanga, with major stakeholders from the government (ministries), public agencies, public–private partnerships and private platforms, research institutions, and donors. The organization of the mission benefited from helpful support from Teampro.

The report was prepared by identifying accessible documentation – major policy documents, relevant research work (see Bibliography) – and by using international databases (e.g. WDI, FAO, UNCTAD, Comtrade) and national websites resources, when possible. Access to information, and particularly reliable data and long-time series, was a major difficulty. This constraint, as well as the short time allocated for this work, created a drawback for an in-depth analysis of rural development policies in the country and prevented any effective assessment of their outcomes.

As a consequence of these limitations, the adopted methodology was to engage in a periodization of rural development policies and agricultural policies, the latter being a major component of rural development, attributable to the weight of agriculture in the rural economy. The identified policies were put into perspective with the broader context of national development strategies over the last fifty years. The approach made possible a sequencing of successive policies and the presentation of their rationale, orientation, objectives and major characteristics. This overview of successive public policies was completed by a review of insights on what have been the major developments in rural areas with regard to productive sectors and rural welfare.

The report is organized as follows. The first section sets the scene and presents the major characteristics of the country with regard to its geography, political system and administrative structure, demography and population, and macro-economic trends. The second section proposes a sequencing of development strategies since the 1960s with relation to national and international dynamics. The third section discusses the evolution of agriculture and rural development policies within the overall development framework. It is followed by a tentative review of the major rural development outcomes. The last section proposes main lessons learned from Tanzania’s experience.

Section 1. Country profile

1.1. Main geographical characteristics

The United Republic of Tanzania is situated in East Africa, immediately south of the equator (between 1° and 11° South) and has an Indian Ocean coastline of around 800 km. The country covers about 945 000 km² including 2 000 km² of the Zanzibar archipelago. The Great Rift runs on the western part of the country, where Tanzania shares three major lakes with its neighbours: Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyasa (cf. map in annex). Except for the narrow coastal strip, most of the country is above 200 m and the majority is above 500 m. About 650 000 km² of the mainland are available for productive purposes; 100 000 km² are mountains; and 150 000 km² are national parks. The country contains Mount Kilimanjaro.
Tanzania presents several agro-ecological areas (Mlambiti et al., 1999), which from east to west are:

- The Coastal area, which receives between 1000 and 1300 mm of rainfall. The region is mainly dedicated to the production of cassava, banana and tree crops (macadamia and coconut).
- The Arid and Semi-arid zone (e.g. Masai steppe), is mainly dedicated to livestock and drought resistant crops (cassava, sorghum and sisal)
- The Plateaux (500 – 800 mm).

In addition, the Highlands are situated in the north, northwest and the south of the country, and there are several river valleys (e.g. Rufiji and Kilombero) with good soils which offer strong potential for agriculture (see map in annex).

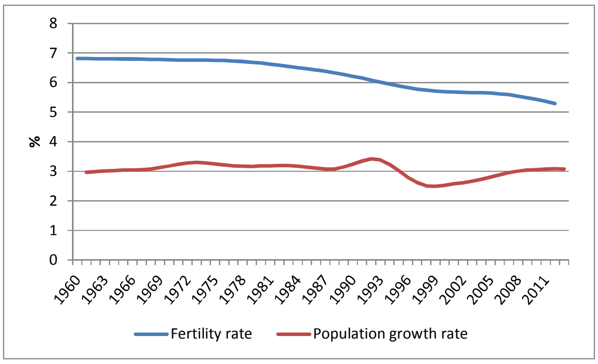
1.2. Political system and administrative organisation

Tanzania was founded in 1964 as a United Republic, based on the union of the Republic of Tanganyika (independent in 1961) and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (independent in 1963). Except for common matters handled by the Union Government, the mainland and Zanzibar are administered separately. The President is the head of State and of government. The legislative system is based on a unicameral house – the National Assembly (the *Bunge*) – with 357 members: 239 are elected from constituencies; 10 are directly appointed by the President and 5 by the Zanzibar House of Representatives; and 102 seats are reserved for women who are elected by the political parties on a proportional basis. Tanzania had a one-party system until 1992. However, the previous sole party – the Party of the Revolution or *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) – remains the dominant ruling party, with 74 % of National Assembly's seats.
Tanzania is divided into thirty regions (*mkoa*), with twenty-five on the mainland and five in Zanzibar. These regions include 169 districts (*wilaya*), which correspond to the local authorities: 34 of them are urban units with autonomous city, municipal and town councils; the others are led by autonomous district councils, subdivided into village and township councils. Decentralization changed over time. During the Socialist period, local governments were abolished (1972) and replaced by direct rule from the central government. They were progressively restored in 1984 with the re-establishment of rural councils. The first decentralization policy was initiated in 1999 with *the Local Government Reform Program,* which was progressively implemented in the 2000s with the objective of transferring the design, coordination and implementation of sectorial policies (e.g. agriculture and roads) to the district level.

1.3. Demography and population

Tanzania's population has quintupled over the last 50 years, from 10 million in 1960 to an estimated 52 million in 2015. With a population growth rate of 3.1 % in 2012 (higher than the average 2.7 % in sub-Saharan Africa), the population would multiply by 2.5 times in the next 35 years and reach 130 million by 2050 (UN medium scenario) or nearly 80 million more people. The reason for this dramatic push is an incipient demographic transition: with an enduring fertility rate of 5.3 children per woman in 2012 (Figure 1), Tanzania has performed poorly and remains in the third group out of four on the African demographic transition pathway (Guengant, 2011).

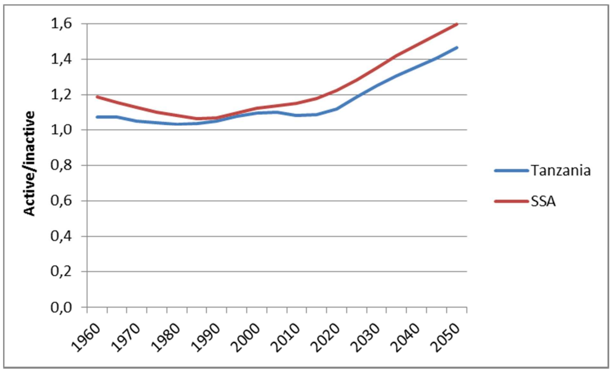
Figure 1 – Evolution of population growth and fertility rates (1960-2012)



Source: WDI

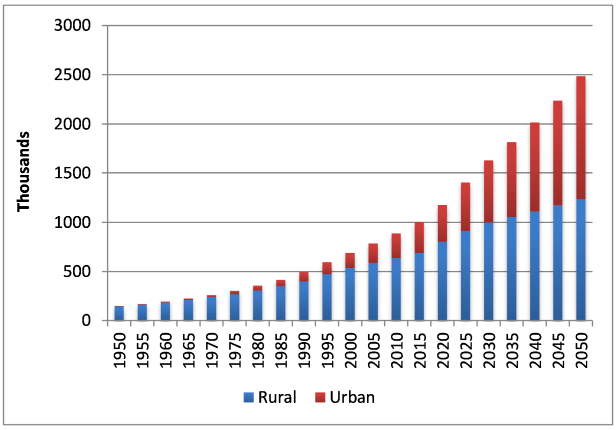
The population is very young. In 2013, 45 % of the population was under 15 years old and 64 % under 24. The evolution of the age structure translates in a slightly improving activity ratio (of 1.1 active for 1 inactive people), similar today to the average situation observed in sub-Saharan countries (Figure 2). However, the country will reap its demographic dividend well after 2050 (the ratio should be only 1.5 at that date) and at a slower pace than other countries in the region. With a yearly cohort of youth entering the labour market estimated at 1 million today, the country will have to provide jobs for 13 million new workers in the next 10 years (Figure 3) and they have already been born: this is a huge opportunity for growth, requiring adequate public policies which target inclusion. The challenge is particularly high for rural Tanzania, which would have to host nearly 9 million of these new labour market entrants.

Figure 2 – Evolution of the activity ratio (1960-2050)



Source: WDI

Figure 3 – Estimated labour market entrants (1950-2050)



Source: WPP

As in other countries in the continent, urbanization developed rapidly, even though the urban growth rate decreased over time, from 6 % per year in the sixties to 4 % in the nineties. Urbanization has, however, increased again since the early 2000s owing to economic recovery: growth reached 5.4 % per year at the end of the decade. This sequence in urbanization growth was interrupted during a very specific time period in the mid-1970s when the government imposed the forced resettlement of rural dwellers in new villages, of 3 000 people and more. This policy directly and indirectly (migration to big cities) translated into a 10 % urban growth rate per year over the decade (see annex).

With 16 million people living in cities in 2014 (UN estimate), the urban population represents 31 % of the total. It is the highest ratio in Eastern Africa (Ethiopia 19 %, Uganda 16 % and Kenya 25 %) but it is under the SSA average of 37 %. The consequence of this distribution of population is that rural areas will continue to lead in numbers until around 2045: a reminder of the strategic importance of rural issues.

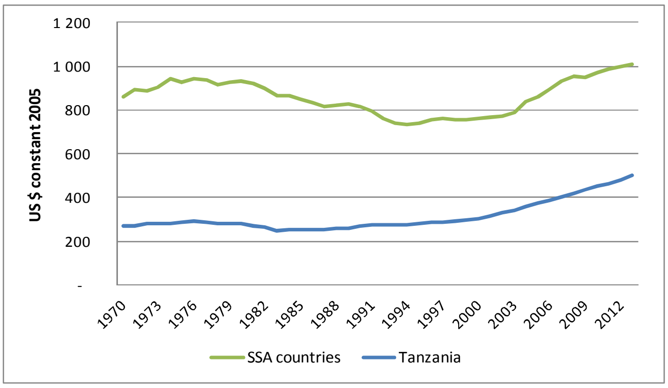
Dar es Salaam, the major harbour and economic hub, had an estimated population of 5.1 million in 2015. It hosts 10 % of the population of the country and 31 % of its urban population. This implies a relatively polarized urban structure. However, the country has six to seven cities with more than 300 000 dwellers, which are located in the most densely populated areas. Mwanza, the second city in size near Lake Victoria, has a population of 840 000,[1] and Zanzibar reaches 570 000. The three other cities are in the range of 350 000 to 450 000 people: Arusha in the north, near Kilimanjaro; Mbeya in the Southern Highlands, near the Zambian border; and Morogoro, located 200 km west of Dar es Salaam. Dodoma, the new capital city, in the centre of the country, is within the same population range (see map in annex).

1.4. Main macro-economic characteristics

Tanzania is a low-income country, which had performed poorly until the 2000s. With around 500 US$ per capita, it remains one of the 34 African least-developed countries and it stands at half the SSA average, which however masks a strong heterogeneity among African states (Figure 4).

[1] Therefore, the primacy index of the country is 6.1.

Figure 4 – Evolution of the GDP per capita (1970-2013)

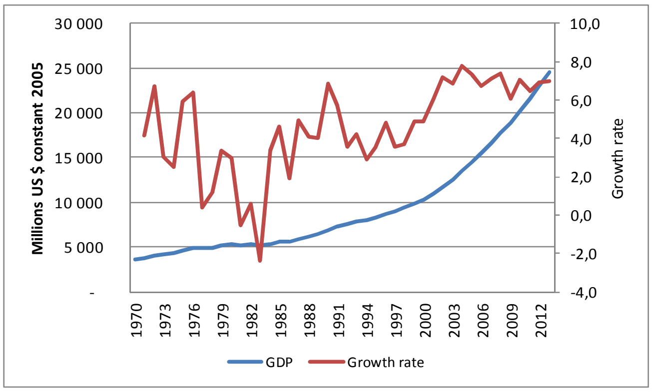


Source: WDI and UNCTAD

The policy orientation of the two first decades after independence, which were characterized by processes of nationalization and heavy state control over the economy, resulted in a deep macro-economic crisis and a recession between 1982 and 1988. The impact of structural adjustment policies on Tanzania's GDP per capita was somewhat less severe than in other SSA countries, owing to the bad performance of the 1970s. A slow and difficult recovery occurred in the next decade, with a 4 % annual economic growth rate which was far too similar to population growth (3.5 % in the early 1990s) to significantly improve the average income per capita (Figure 5).[2]

The country has recorded a strong economic growth since the mid-2000s and has maintained an average growth rate of 7 %, which is higher than in other countries of the East African Community (EAC). The source of growth is mainly related to a few capital-intensive sectors which translated into an increase of private capital flows, resulting in an improved balance of payments. These sectors are mainly construction and telecommunications, as well as financial services and retail trade, which benefit from increasing incomes. The recent discovery of gas reserves offers strong prospects for a sustained growth trend. However, the impact of gas production will not be felt before 2020 and will also depend on the improvement of infrastructure (roads, harbours and electricity), which limitations are a major constraint,[3] and on progress in governance and the business environment (the country is ranked 131 out of 189 in *Doing business 2015*). In addition, the extractive sector has limited impacts in terms of growth distribution, and national welfare improvement will require more jobs that are productive.

Figure 5 – Evolution of GDP (1970-2013)



Source: UNCTAD

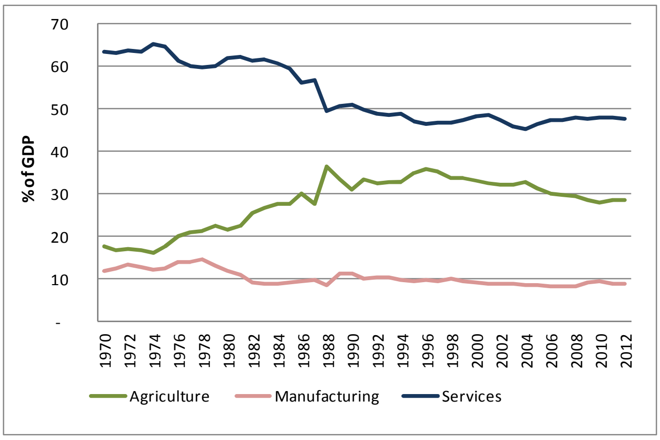
[2] Access to macro-economic data for Tanzania is difficult and international databases perform poorly. The World Development Indicators only provide information from 1988–1990 onwards and other sources of data were used, particularly the UNCTAD database which displays data starting in 1970.

[3] Dar es Salaam faces huge congestion costs estimated by the World Bank (2013) to the equivalent of 1/3 of the average monthly salary lost in traffic jams.

Sector shares in GDP and employment

As with most SSA countries, Tanzania is characterized by the importance of informal activities in agriculture and services, which are the major contributors to the GDP (Figure 6). Services are mainly in the informal urban sectors, and mostly related to trade and transport. Agriculture remains the backbone of the economy and its sector share has increased over time. It reaches around 30 % of the GDP – a significantly high figure, even compared with SSA standards. The overwhelming share of the production comes from small and family farms, and the importance of farm enterprises is limited. This massive agricultural sector attracts a large part of services through the marketing of products. Construction, resulting from urbanization, and the development of infrastructure have been significant contributors to economic growth over the last decade. Manufacturing has stagnated and even decreased since 1970.

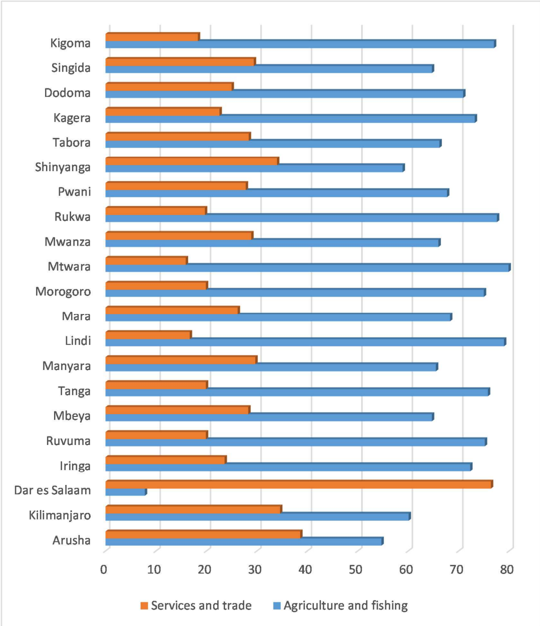
Figure 6 – Evolution of sector contribution to GDP (1970-2012)



Source: UNCTAD

The role of agriculture in the economy appears to be even more strong, when looking at the employment structure. Agriculture has, over time, been the major sector for absorbing the growing labour force. Today, 75 % of the active population still pursue an agriculture-related activity and agriculture's share has decreased very slowly over the last fifty years (from 92 % in 1960). This massive role of agriculture is experienced countrywide: excepting Dar es Salaam, only the few regions where the major cities are located have an agriculture share in the labour force below 70 %. Similarly, the share of services only reaches the 30 % threshold in these regions (Figure 7). Manufacturing remains very marginal: it provides 10 % of employment in the economic capital and 5 % in Arusha.

Figure 7 – Employment in agriculture and services by province (2014)



Source: UNDP 2015

International trade and payment accounts

During the first two decades after independence, Tanzania mainly looked inward and prioritized self-reliance. As a consequence, foreign exchange became limited, with continuing decreasing ratios to GDP reflecting the deep recession of the 1980s when exports fell below 5 %. Trade increased steadily after the early 2000s and has risen today to 20 % of the GDP for exports, and 40 % for imports (Figure 8). As a consequence, the trade balance, which had for long been negative, deteriorated strongly.

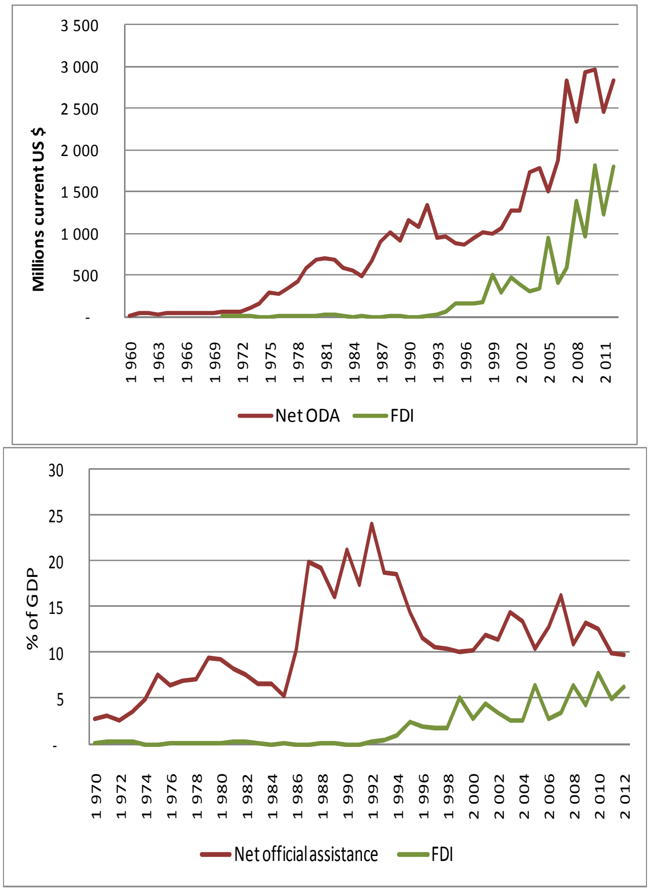
The country has a diversified goods export structure, although gold has received a rising share over the last years (between 30 and 35 %). All mining products (gold, precious ores and copper) account for around 45 % of the export total, with agriculture exports being the second-highest source.

Figure 8 – Importance of trade and evolution of trade balance (1970–2012)

Source: UNCTAD

Tanzania has been a major recipient of foreign aid. It received strong support from the international community during the decade of major economic reforms (between 1985 and 1995) when ODA reached around 20 % of the GDP (Figure 9). Aid flows continued into the 2000s and rose from 1.5 to 3 billion US$ per year, although their amount, related to GDP, decreased (around 10 %). Tanzania is within the small club of four African countries which reached the 3 billion US$ ODA threshold in 2013, together with Egypt, Ethiopia and Kenya (OECD-DAC). The country is also a destination for FDI, which has progressively developed since the mid-1990s and reaches almost 2 billion US$ a year today.

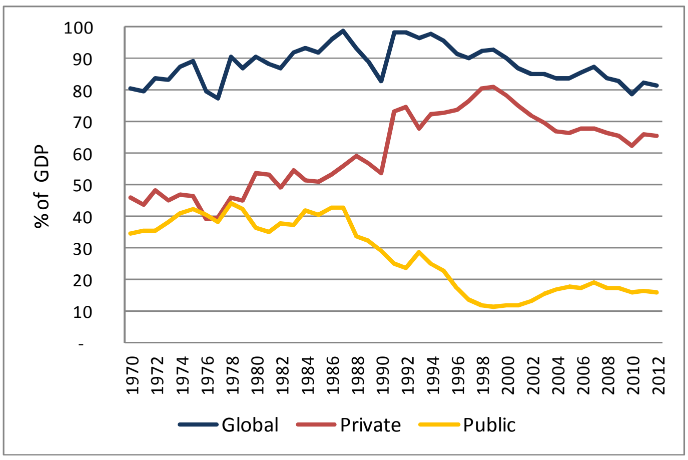
Figure 9 – Evolution of ODA and FDI



Source: WDI and UNCTAD

Global consumption remains very high and still represents 80 % of the GDP – a significant improvement since the 1980s (Figure 10). A major change has been the strong decrease in public consumption, which highlights an effective reorientation of public policies: its ratio, which was equivalent to private consumption during the socialist period, is now below 20 %.

Figure 10 – Evolution of consumption shares in GDP



Source: UNCTAD

Section 2. An overview of development policies since the 1960s

Tanzania is among the few sub-Saharan African countries which have engaged in an effective experience of policy rupture. The political regime decided to build a new model of development and an African way to socialism. It implemented radical changes which were, however, short-lived owing to the rapid deterioration of the economic situation. After two decades of reforms characterized by adjustment and liberalization policies, the country benefits today from a long-lasting period of economic growth.
Three major sequences can be defined with regard to development polices: independence and socialism; economic liberalisation; and support to sectorial growth and poverty reduction.

Figure 11 – Sequencing of development policies

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>60</td><td>61</td><td>62</td><td>63</td><td>64</td><td>65</td><td>66</td><td>67</td><td>68</td><td>69</td><td>70</td><td>71</td><td>72</td><td>73</td><td>74</td><td>75</td><td>76</td><td>77</td><td>78</td><td>79</td><td>80</td><td>81</td><td>82</td><td>83</td><td>84</td><td>85</td><td>86</td><td>87</td><td>88</td><td>89</td><td>90</td><td>91</td><td>92</td><td>93</td><td>94</td><td>95</td><td>96</td><td>97</td><td>98</td><td>99</td><td>00</td><td>01</td><td>02</td><td>03</td><td>04</td><td>05</td><td>06</td><td>07</td><td>08</td><td>09</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Tanzania</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="4">J. Nyerere & A. Karume</td><td colspan="21">J. Nyerere</td><td colspan="11">A. Mwinyi</td><td colspan="9">B. Mkapa</td><td colspan="10">J. Kikwete</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Independance & creation of Tanzania</td><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="13">Socialist period: self reliance and planned economy</td><td colspan="6">First reforms towards liberalization</td><td colspan="14">Structural adjustment and liberalization</td><td colspan="16">Sectoral and poverty reduction strategies - "Mkukuta"</td></tr>
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Source: authors

2.1. Independence and socialism

During the very first years following independence and the creation of the United Republic of Tanzania (1964), the very standard economic policies of that time were implemented – mainly import substitution – which resulted in the development of infant manufactures (Campbell et al., 1992). The real start of new Tanzania was the radical shift towards socialism initiated by President Nyerere's Arusha Declaration in 1967, founding a new policy as a basis for a new regime.
The objective was the development of self-reliance as a way to transform economic and cultural attitudes and escape the old dependency patterns which had been shaped over time by colonization and continuing European and Western influence. The promotion of the new society relied on *Ujamaa* – which in Swahili means, at the same time, brotherhood and family (i.e. an equivalent to socialism) – as a new ideology and basis for a national development project (Ibhawoh et al., 2003). Being the pillar of self-reliance, freedom and unity, Ujamaa translated into a one-party system, the official use of Swahili, the nationalization of key economic sectors (banks and large industrial enterprises), free and compulsory education, and support to agriculture as a national response to the rule of international finance and capital. Its backbone was the "villagization" of production and social services through the creation of new villages with collective production and infrastructure.

The model progressively evolved towards a totally planned economy (Utz et al., 2008) with the *Planning Commission* having a pivotal role in resource allocation and price setting, and the abolishment of local governments (1972), as well as coercion through political control and forced villagization. With *Operation Vijiji* (1973) and then *Operation Sogeza* (1974), 9 million people (most probably) were displaced.
Due to similitudes with the Chinese experience, Tanzania received support from China. This was a first but limited effort of cooperation of this country with the African continent, mainly relying on technical assistance. Nevertheless, China also funded and built from 1970 to 1975 the 1 860 km-long Tanzania–Zambia railway (TAZARA), the first major railway investment since the colonial times in Africa, which aimed at unlocking Zambia and helping that country to escape from its dependence on Rhodesia and South Africa. Tanzania also received significant international attention, including from several Western donors (Northern Europe), for its equity and ethics objectives.

Ujamaa translated into effective social progress in terms of health and education, with strong outcomes (literacy rates, child mortality and female participation). However, the economic results were more sobering, with decreasing agricultural production and a deteriorating business climate (over-taxation, corruption and bureaucracy) which resulted in the widening of structural deficit. The macro-economic situation further deteriorated with the simultaneous collapse of export commodity prices, the oil price shock, and the Uganda–Tanzania war in 1978-1979, followed by the partial but costly occupation of Uganda by Tanzanian forces (Putterman et al., 1994).

2.2. Structural adjustment and liberalization

The macro-economic situation led the government to engage in difficult negotiations with international donors in order to get support. After a devaluation of the Tanzanian Shilling, the first discussions with the IMF led to a three-year standby agreement in 1980, with the *National Economic Survival Program* (NESP) in 1981, followed by a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1982, based on the standard macro-economic components (internal and external balances, monetary and fiscal policy). Progresses were slow. A new devaluation occurred in 1984 and local governments were restored.

In that context, which sanctioned the economic failure of Ujamaa, Nyerere announced his retirement in 1985. He was replaced by a new elected president, Hassan Mwinyi, who continued the reform process and started a gradual liberalization of the economy (Campbell et al., 1992). A four-year *Economic Recovery Program* (ERP) was initiated in 1986, focusing on liberalization of prices and marketing (including food). In order to deal with the social costs of the reforms, an *Economic and Social Action Program* (ESAP or ERP II) followed in 1989. The *Local Government Reform Program* (1990) enacted political, financial and administrative decentralization. On the political side, the Zanzibar Declaration (1991) removed many of the restrictions which had been imposed by the Arusha Declaration of 1967 regarding private entrepreneurship and access by party members or civil servants to additional incomes (Tripp, 1997).

The next step in the reforms was engaged in under President Benjamin Mkapa, in the mid-1990s, with the privatization of state-owned enterprises and banks, as well as the revision of land and labour legislation, the improvement of the business environment and the promotion of public–private partnerships. The power of the Planning Commission was severely reduced, to the benefit of the Ministry of Finance, in charge of the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF), and of the Bank of Tanzania, directly managing Tanzania's public debt (Utz et al., 2008). These reforms improved the economic environment and fostered FDI which started to increase at the end of the 1990s, bringing the opportunity for greatly catching-up on needs.

2.3. Strategies for growth and poverty reduction

In the early 2000s, the government decided to give a new orientation to its policy in order to deal with rising inequalities and recurring poverty. It endorsed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and simultaneously adopted its own strategy: *Development Vision 2025*. Prepared by the Planning Commission, the nation's development strategy for the 21st century targets a high quality of livelihood; good governance and the rule of law; and a strong and competitive economy. It is supported by sectorial strategies articulated with the *National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty* (NSGRP), also known in Swahili as *Mkukuta* (see Bibliography).

The NSGRP is the backbone of Government's action. NSGRP I was implemented in 2005 for five years, followed by NSGRP II in 2010 (2010–2015), with a major focus on education,

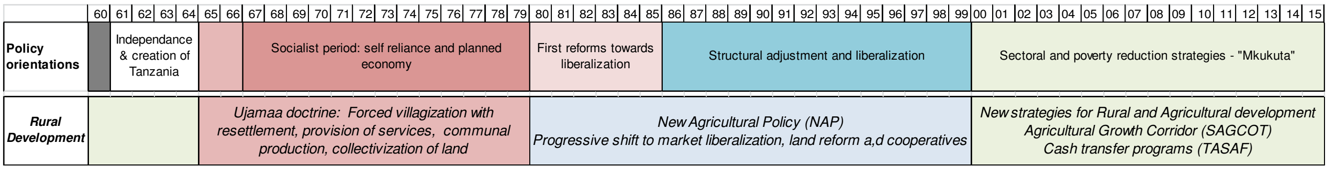
health and nutrition, as well as quality of life (habitat and water), social protection, governance and accountability. In parallel, the *Tanzania Social Action Fund* (TASAF) was launched in 2001 and commenced actions towards improving extremely poor households. TASAF focused on basic services (health and education), initiated a cash-for-work programme, and a pilot on conditional cash transfers (CCT) during its second phase (2005), which was up-scaled in phase 3 (2013).
The decentralization effort was reinforced, and the formulation, coordination and implementation of policy are intended to shift from national to district levels, notably for agriculture and roads development and maintenance. Due to the long-standing centralization of Tanzanian administration and to low capacity and fiscal autonomy of local governments, districts are more involved in practice in the implementation of ministries' programs than they are in formulation and coordination.

More recently, in order to accelerate the implementation of public policies and the transformation of the country towards a middle-income status by 2025, the government initiated a new program: *Big Results Now!* (BRN), "*a delivery methodology focused on delivering specific goals within a stipulated timeline*" (URT, 2013a, p.4). Six key priority sectors (NKRAs – National Key Result Areas) have been identified: agriculture, transport, energy, water, education, and resource mobilization. To improve the implementation record, the *President Delivery Bureau* (PDB) was created in 2013 (with Malaysian technical assistance) and is in charge of close monitoring with ministerial delivery units for each key sector (on a weekly and monthly basis). Effective delivery at the local government levels is a concern and the program is implementing regional delivery units. It confirms a dominant sectorial approach and the subordinate role of the regional level.
The policy segmentation is somewhat amplified by donors' interventions. Tanzania is a major recipient of ODA and donors tend to focus on thematic and sectorial issues. Donors' coordination exists, but it is more concerned with avoiding overlapping interventions.

Section 3. Agriculture and rural development policies in practice

Rural development policies have followed a contrasted path, echoing the major policy and political choices of the country. Three major periods can be identified: the time of collectivization, the time of liberalization, and the time of definition of new strategies.

Figure 12 – Evolution of agriculture and rural development objectives



Source: authors

3.1. Villagization and collectivization (1967–1980)

During the socialist period, the Ujamaa villages were the backbone of public policy in rural Tanzania. They targeted an upgrade of living conditions through resettlement in new villages, which were to provide modern infrastructure and social services (health and education). However, they were also the instrument for an increasing state control over the different aspects of production. As such, the Ujamaa experience was an encompassing rural development policy which went beyond rural areas, with an objective of reshaping the economy and the society.

Land was formally nationalized in 1974 and, in 1975, the *Village Act* assigned the allocation of land among farmers to the Ujamaa villages, therefore acting like an agency of land reform (Collier et al., 1986). Village committees were also in charge of the organization of collective production and of the allocation of individual plots to farmers.

The government directly engaged in the definition of production objectives and in crop choices. Incentives were provided through specific programs, like the *Maize National Program* in 1972 which distributed seeds and fertilizers to the new villages. However, compulsory measures were also implemented (Isinika et al., 2003): in 1974, *Operation Kilimo* required farmers to cultivate a minimum of three acres of food crops and one acre of cash crop (the crop selection depending on the region).

On the marketing side, the government took control of prices (1974), which were used as an instrument to orient crop production and especially to favour food crops (Isinika et al., 2003). A pan-territorial price policy setting one unique price per crop was implemented in 1976 in order to achieve inter-regional equity and to stimulate production in remote areas. Producers' Cooperatives, which were a pillar in the first Ujamaa years (URT, 2005), were abolished in 1976 and replaced by Crop Authorities, the *National Milling Corporation* (NMC) and other parastatals in charge of inputs, transportation, storage and processing (Campbell et al., 1992; Putterman, 1995). Ujamaa villages became primary agents of the NMC and the closure and banning of private shops in rural areas was decided on in 1976 (*Operation Maduka*).

These coercive measures deeply reshaped economic and social practices. They led to strong opposition from the population and also to many biases and side effects. The locations of many of the new villages were inappropriate and resulted in land shortages; mandatory production objectives led farmers to make irrational production decisions; a weak administration at the village level resulted in corrupt practices to the benefit of richer peasants (Ibhawoh et al., 2003); and controlled marketing led to the development of the black market.

Beyond these very unpopular and inefficient coercive practices, the *Ujamaa*, however, had an effective impact on rural development, notably in primary education and basic healthcare. It is important to note that, forty years after its end, some key ideas and themes of *Ujamaa* – equity, unity, cooperation and solidarity – remain and translate into the popular culture (music, systematic references to Julius Nyerere, the Nation's founding father) as a way to condemn corruption and rising inequalities (Fouéré, 2011).

3.2. Liberalization and the New Agricultural Policy (1980 – 2000)

Due to overall macro-economic imbalances, and increasing economic difficulties related to the inefficiencies of collectivization and decreasing production, the government engaged in a progressive liberalization process which spread over the 1980s and 1990s. During these decades of restructuration and recovery, rural development per se was set aside and boosting production was the objective.

A first step was the abolition of the pan-territorial price policy (1981) and a new *National Agricultural Policy* (NAP) was launched in 1982. Its major changes were: land reform giving access to 33-year land leases, with the objective of raising confidence and fostering investments; and the end of the NMC monopoly and a new *Cooperative Act,* restoring cooperatives and cooperatives' unions (but still banning private marketing). However, on the price side, the government maintained its control, with administrative prices being based on production costs and a living index, and it introduced a very debatable regional pricing system, taxing areas with comparative advantage and subsidizing remote areas.

The implementation of the *Economic Recovery Program* in 1986, which targeted further liberalization, led to the abolition of administrative prices and regional pricing, the progressive suppression of subsidies, and the end of control on food marketing (as well as a reduction of controls on import and export). Reforms were continued in the 1990s with the suppression of remaining subsidies (fertilizers) and the initiation of a revision of land and labour legislation. A new *Land Act* (1999) recognized the intrinsic value of land and the possibility of private transactions.

The liberalization of production and marketing, as well as improvements in infrastructure (*Integrated Roads Program*), had evident positive impacts on agricultural dynamics and led to some increase in producers' productivity. Nevertheless, the end of subsidies for fertilizers, rising production costs, difficult access to inputs and credit, and the very slow implementation of land reform resulted in a more contrasted picture, and some authors point to very uncertain, and sometimes negative, impacts of these reforms on crop productivity (Isinika et al., 2011).

3.3. The "Time of strategies" (2000–present)

The 2000s was a decade of strong investment in designing visions and development plans. Following the *Development Vision 2025* (2000), the *National Rural Development Strategy* was drafted in 2001, followed by the *Agricultural Sector Development Strategy* (ASDS) in 2003, and its operationalization through the *Agricultural Sector Development Program* (ASDP), adopted in 2006. As such, actions in the agricultural sector progressively became a major component of the new *National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty* (NSGRP I and II).

The Rural Development Strategy has very general objectives: the promotion of a widely shared growth, development of a conducive environment for investment, support to rural financial services, and careful management of natural resources. Its key priority areas are agriculture, livestock, small- and medium-scale enterprises, and human and natural resources. The Agricultural Sector Development Strategy echoes these objectives and focuses on agricultural sector growth and rural poverty reduction, while the Development Program (ASDP) targets the institutional framework (with new responsibilities allocated to the district level), the business climate for improving the marketing of inputs and outputs, and the facilitation of transport and trade.

In parallel with this planning of public policies, actions were taken to facilitate access to inputs. Fertilizer subsidies were progressively reintroduced with the *National Agricultural Inputs Voucher Scheme* (NAIVS) in 2003, initially targeting the Southern Highlands, then ten regions and 700 000 farmers, and finally 20 regions and 2 million direct beneficiaries in 2010/2011. This development was consolidated by the adoption of the *Fertilizer Act* in 2008, providing a more effective regulation of the fertilizer industry (quality and standards). It was also stimulated by political objectives, 2010 being an election year (Cooksey, 2012).

The proliferation of strategies, plans and programs on one side, and the reality of government's organization on the other side – with five ministries in charge of agriculture or dealing with agriculture issues – led the government to adopt crosscutting approaches in order to manage the growing coordination problems. In 2009, the *Kilimo Kwanza Initiative* (or Agriculture First) was launched by President Kikwete as a national resolution to accelerate agricultural transformation. Formulated under the patronage of the *Tanzania National Business Council* (TNBC), it proposes a holistic approach based on a public–private dialogue with discussion groups and a direct involvement of the private sector for agriculture modernization.

This perspective focusing on sectorial results has been confirmed by the launch of the *Big Results Now!* Program, managed by the *President Delivery Bureau.* In that context, notwithstanding a national strategy, rural development is not an integrated framework for public interventions. This is rather the function of existing sectorial strategies and action plans which de facto contribute to rural development. Agriculture, which is the backbone of the rural economy, is one of the six BRN's national key result areas. Other NKRAs in education, energy, water and transport also have a rural impact.

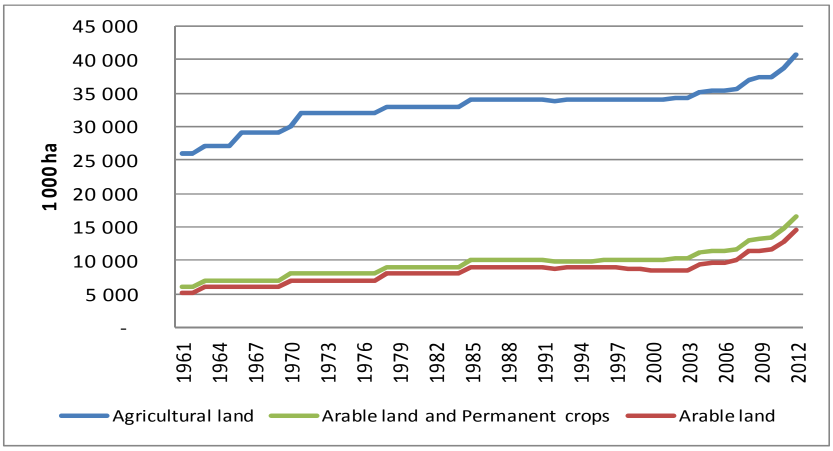
The regional approach to development does not appear as a government priority, the exception being the *Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor* (SAGCOT). This development initiative, launched in 2012, aims at coordinating private investments and connecting smallholders to agro-businesses. In order to boost sector growth and productivity gains with a regional concentration of efforts in a high potential area, SAGCOT fosters the installation of private investors with large commercial farms, and the promotion of intense linkages with smallholders through contracts and access to modern inputs and irrigation systems. It targets attractiveness for private companies, and monitoring the results will help to measure the effective impact on rural development.

Section 4. Main rural development outcomes

4.1. A few reminders about the agricultural sector

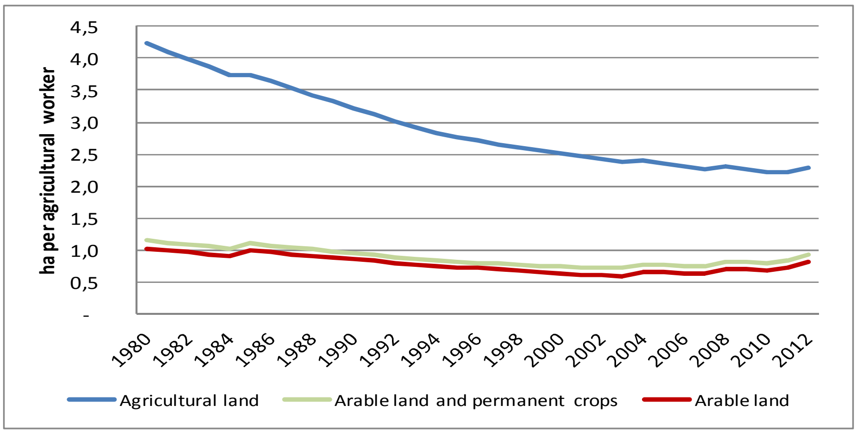
Tanzania is a large country, in land area. As in many other SSA countries, agricultural development has occurred though progressive increases in cultivated acreage (see definition in annex), based on extensive agricultural practices which are characterized by a general use of shifting cultivation and manual tools. This results in low labour productivity and low yields. The acreage dedicated to permanent pastures (used for forage and for more than five years) is important and explains a significant difference with arable land devoted to temporary crops (including temporary fallow) and land dedicated to permanent crops (which are limited in Tanzania). Arable land expansion occurred in the sixties and seventies from 5 to 10 million hectares, and then in the 2000s when it reached a total of 15 million hectares, which are partly cultivated due to the shifting practice (Figure 13). A growing agricultural population has resulted in significantly decreasing size-per-agricultural worker (Figure 14), with around 1 available hectare per worker today (and more than 2 when pastures are included).

Figure 13 – Evolution of agricultural land (1961-2012)



Source: FAO

Figure 14 – Evolution of available land per agricultural worker (1980-2012)



Source: FAO

The overwhelmingly extensive production systems and their basic agricultural practices are reflected in a very low rate of mechanization: 56 % of farm acreage is cultivated by hand (hoe), 32 % with oxen, and only 4 % with tractors, with the remaining 8 % having no tillage (Isinika et al., 2011). The number of tractors decreased over time, up until the early 2000s. The number of tractors was minuscule, in the range of 20 000 units for the whole country in 2002, when considering the 14 million people engaged in agricultural activities at that date (Table 1). Furthermore, the use of tractors is highly concentrated in the Kilimanjaro area, where high value crops were developed, being mainly horticulture (Mlambiti et al., 1999).

Irrigation is marginal and reaches the threshold of 200 000 hectares with difficulty, which equates to around 1.5 % of the total arable land (Table 2). One-third is located in the Arusha–Kilimanjaro area. The voluntaristic objectives of the agriculture development plan (ASDP, 2006), which targeted the development of small-scale irrigation on 405 000 ha within 15 years, appear to be out of reach.

Table 1 – Agricultural machinery

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2002
Tractors (units)	16 550	16 800	16 898	12 700	9 500	7 500	7 400	8 480	21 207
Tractors per 100 sq.km of arable land	32	28	24	18	12	8	8	9	25

Source: WDI

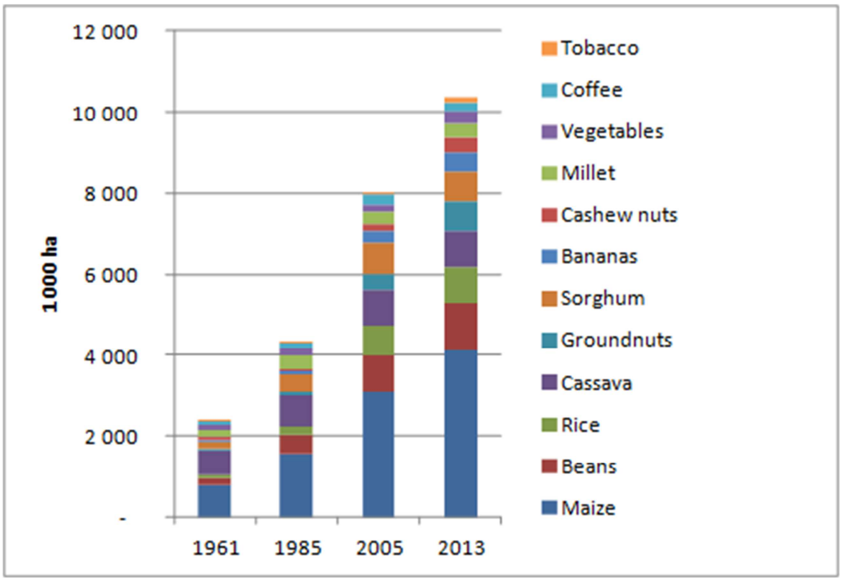
Table 2 – Irrigation development (1961-2012)

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006	2012
Arable land (1000 ha)	5 200	6 000	7 000	7 000	8 000	9 000	9 000	9 000	8 530	9 700	14 500
Total irrigated (1000 ha)	20	30	40	65	123	144	148	150	172	184	184
Total irrigated (%)	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.7	2.0	1.9	1.3

Source: FAO

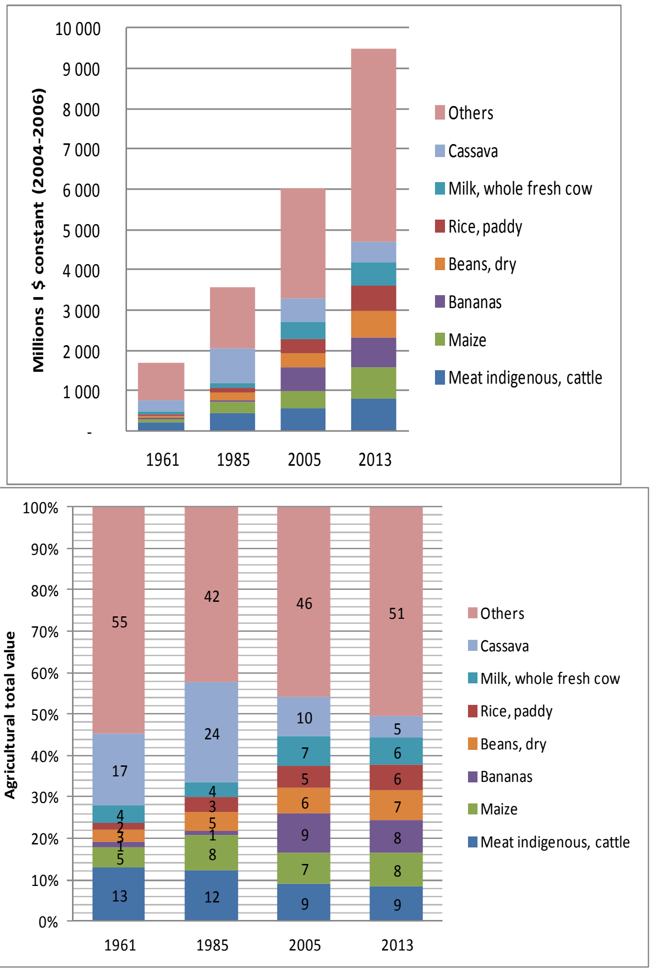
In spite of its subsistence farming systems, Tanzania has observed important modifications in its production pattern over the last 50 years (Figure 15). Until the 1970s, production was little diversified, with the main crops being maize and cassava. Significant changes have occurred since then, with a dramatic expansion of maize acreage (from 2 to 4 million hectares) and a diversification and expansion of other crops (beans, rice, groundnuts, bananas and vegetables). Tanzania is an important producer of cattle, which is the most important production in value (Figure 16). Dairy also developed rapidly, with some noticeable success stories, such as *Tanga Fresh Ltd* in the Tanga region.

Figure 15 – Evolution of main production acreage (in ha)



Source: FAO

Figure 16 – Evolution of main productions (in value and %)



Source: FAO

In terms of production output with regard to population, Tanzania has met the average energy supply requirements (more than 2000 kcal/capita/day) since 1976 (Table 3). Cereals are the major contributor, while animal products represent only 6 %.

Table 3 – Evolution and contribution to food supply (kcal/capita/day)

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011
Total Tanzanian food supply	1 746	1 819	1 677	2 219	2 198	2 262	2 231	2 040	2 035	2 145	2 167
Vegetal Products	1 605	1 672	1 525	2 068	2 062	2 111	2 090	1 918	1 903	1 999	2 027
Animal Products	141	147	152	151	136	150	141	121	132	146	139

Source: FAO

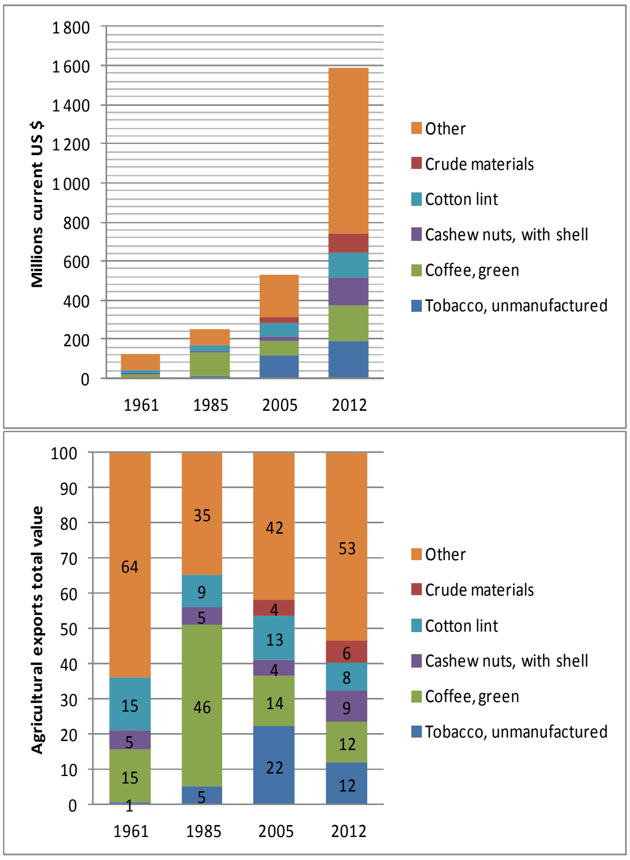
After gold, gems and other ores, agricultural products are the second-ranked source of exports from the country, although their share has decreased owing to the rising prices of minerals (Table 4). Traditional export products were green coffee and cotton lint. Diversification occurred, however, over time with the development of tobacco, cashew nuts, sesame, cloves and tea (Figure 17 and annex). These exports are mostly raw products. There is a huge and untapped potential for horticulture products, the development of which is limited by lack of infrastructure and finance.

Table 4 – Evolution and importance of agricultural trade

	1976	1981	1987	1995	1997	2001	2006	2011	2013
Food imports (% of merchandise imports)	11	7	15	10	17	15	12	10	8
Food exports (% of merchandise exports)	60	63	68		65	61	53	32	45

Source: FAO

Figure 17 – Major agricultural exports (in value and %)



Source: FAO

Agricultural imports have strongly increased since the beginning of the 2000s. They have reached 1.2 billion US$ (see annex) and correspond with the basic needs of a growing urban population (mainly wheat, palm oil and sugar). They correspond with around 10 % of total merchandise imports, while agricultural exports maintain a significant position in trade (around 50 % of total exports).

4.2. Rural welfare

In spite of the rapid progress of social indicators during the socialist period in the 1970s, human development in Tanzania remains particularly low. In 2013, the country was ranked 159th for the Human Development Index (HDI), with a value of 0.49 (UNDP, 2014). Regional disparities are important: four regions (Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam and Iringa) have reached a medium level of human development (Table 5). These are regions with higher shares of urban population, a situation which translates into the better access by urban dwellers to social services (although high urban densities can also have a negative impact, as shown by Dar es Salaam, which ranks only third).

Table 5 – HDI by region in 2014

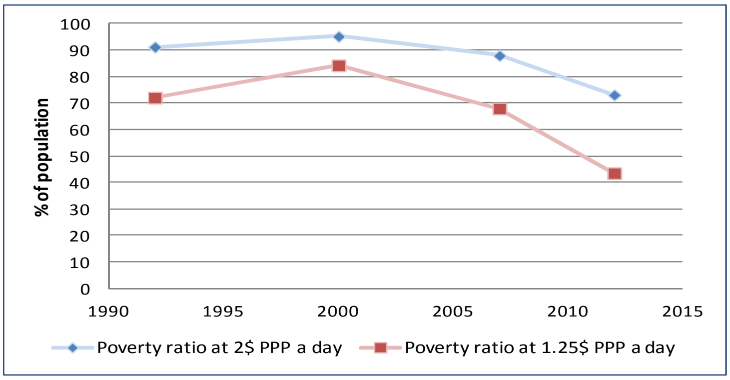
	HDI index value		HDI index value
Arusha	0,721	Mtwara	0,618
Kilimanjaro	0,719	Mwanza	0,616
Dar es Salaam	0,714	Rukwa	0,57
Iringa	0,693	Pwani	0,549
Ruvuma	0,674	Shinyanga	0,545
Mbeya	0,668	Tabora	0,519
Tanga	0,661	Kagera	0,494
Manyara	0,633	Dodoma	0,487
Lindi	0,628	Singida	0,475
Mara	0,62	Kigoma	0,426
Morogoro	0,62		

Source: UNDP 2014

Evolution of poverty and poverty reduction policies

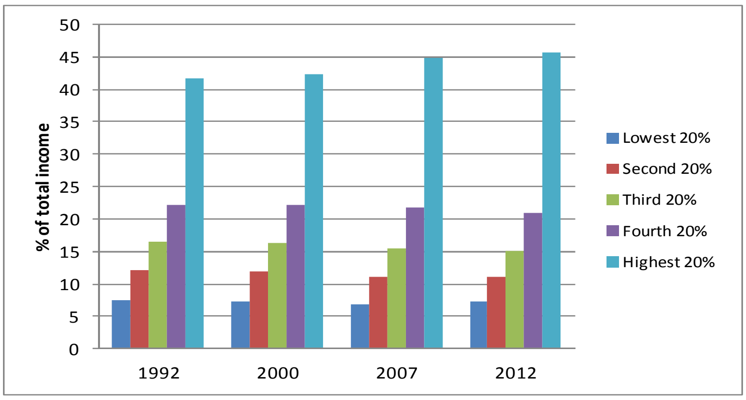
With one of the lowest GDPs per capita on the continent, poverty remains high in Tanzania. However, progress has been quite significant over the last 25 last years. The percentage of the population living on less than 2$ a day (PPP) reduced from 91 % in 1992 to 73 % in 2012. The reduction in extreme poverty was even more rapid: from 72 % in 1992 and 84 % in 2000, to 43 % in 2012 (Figure 18). The difference in poverty between rural and urban areas is twofold. When using the national poverty line, the ratio of poor is 16 % in urban areas and 33 % in the countryside. Income inequalities which rose in the 1990s remain stable (the GINI index increased from 34 in 1994 to 38 in 2002, and was 37.8 in 2012). Income distribution is also constant (Figure 19).

Figure 18 – Evolution of poverty (1990–2010)



Source: WDI

Figure 19 – Evolution of income distribution (1992–2012)



Source: WDI

Tanzania is among the few African countries to have engaged in the implementation of a cash transfer program as a tool for poverty reduction and for giving support to the food-insecure. The program is managed by the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). After a successful pilot phase, the program was upgraded to 24 districts and aims to reach around 300 000 poor households. Further developments are planned to reach 70 % of the districts of the country and one million households. The program is currently supported by the World Bank with a total budget of 234 million US$. It develops a Productive Social Safety Net (PSSN) approach, including conditional cash transfers, payments for work (public works), and support to community-driven interventions with targeted infrastructure development in education, health and water, as well as capacity building.

Social policies and human development

The creation of the Ujamaa villages in the 1970s was a tentative experience for a massive provision in basic health facilities, adult literacy and primary education in the rural sector (Collier et al., 1986). The concept for the new villages was to gather scattered homesteads and relocate them to new houses to be built around common services centres (Ibhawoh et al., 2003). Despite positively significant, but localised, results in terms of infant mortality and literacy rates, the coercive implementation, the budgetary constraints and the following crisis and adjustment programs led to drawbacks and stagnation.
During the past 25 years, welfare indicators have not improved much (Table 6). Levels of access to improved water sources, sanitation facilities and electricity are very low, including for urban populations, when compared with developing countries' comparators. The situation in the countryside is particularly bad, with 4 % of the population having access to electricity and 8 % to sanitation. Significant achievements have occurred in improved water supply under the BRN's water NKRA, which has reported new water points for 2.3 million people in rural areas (URT, 2013a).

Table 6 – Evolution of welfare indicators

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2012
Improved water source (% of Tanzanian population with access)	55	55	54	54	53	53
% of urban population with access	94	90	87	83	79	78
% of rural population with access	46	46	45	45	44	44
Improved sanitation facilities (% of Tanzanian population with access)	7	8	9	10	12	12
% of urban population with access	9	12	16	20	23	25
% of rural population with access	6	7	7	7	7	8
Access to electricity (% of Tanzanian population)	7		9		15	
% of urban population	24		38		46	
% of rural population	1		2		4	

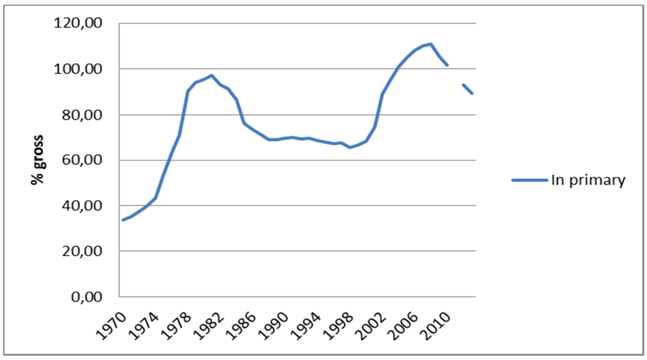
Source: WDI

The evolution of education indicators is ambivalent. The change in level of enrolment in primary school highlights the temporary but significant achievement of Ujamaa, with a ratio reaching 95 % at the end of the 1970s (Figure 20) – higher than many countries with a similar GNP at that time.[4] After a strong decrease in the two following decades, the enrolment in primary schools is now a quantitative success again.[5] However, it has to be compared with the average number of years in school (Table 7) and, above all, with the

[4] The literacy rate of adults was 73 % in 1977 (Collier et al., 1986) and 68 % in 2010.
[5] Enrolment ratios can exceed 100 %, due to the inclusion of over-aged and under-aged students.

insignificant ratio of enrolment in the secondary and the tertiary institutions (Figure 21), which raises the question of an insufficient level of human capital to address the country's challenges.

Figure 20 – Evolution of enrolment in primary school



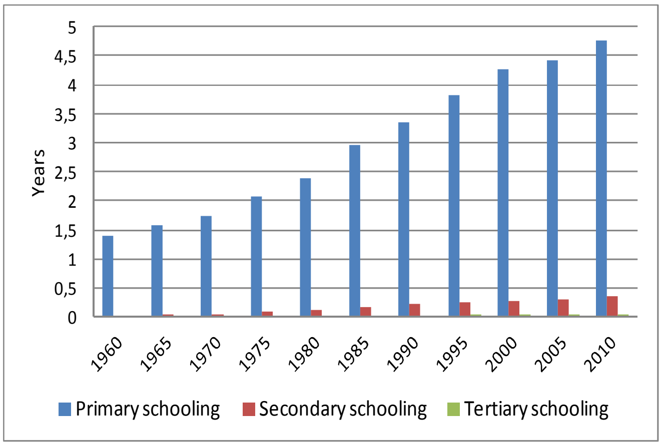
Source: WDI

Table 7 – Evolution of school enrolment by education level (% gross)

	1970	1975	1979	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004	2010	2012	2013
Primary	33,83	53,16	93,99	86,69	68,99	68,50	66,51	100,91	101,68	93,01	89,52
Secondary	2,65	3,07	3,39	3,06	4,57	5,30			31,65	34,97	32,97
Tertiary	0,17	0,23	0,27	0,27	0,25	0,42	0,63	1,25	2,11	3,92	

Source: WDI

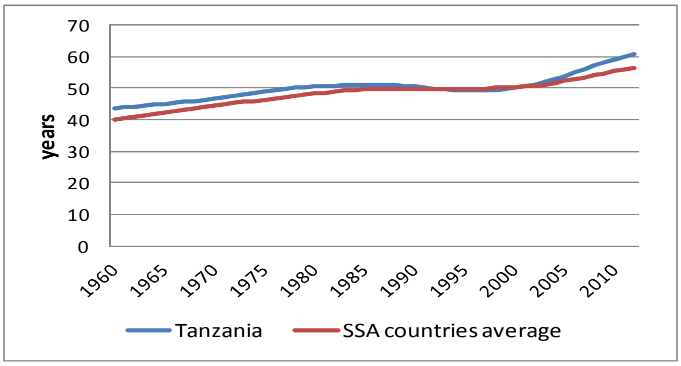
Figure 21 – Evolution of the schooling duration



Source: Barro-Lee

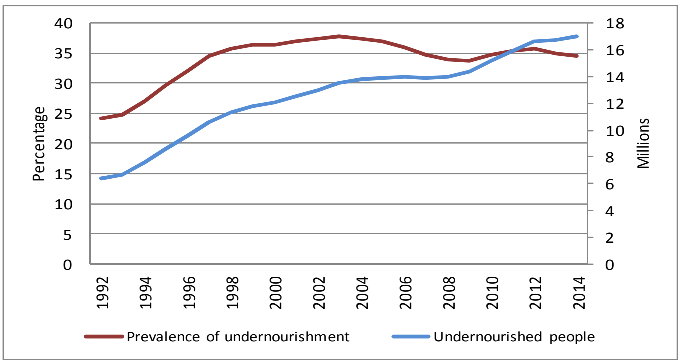
Health indicators have improved. As a consequence of a sharp decrease in infant mortality, a slight development in healthcare and an improving socio-economic environment, life expectancy grew from 44 to 61 years between 1960 and 2012, following the progression of other SSA countries. Tanzania performed better than other countries during the Ujamaa period and over the last few years (Figure 22). However, owing to poverty rates which result in difficulties in gaining access to food, the prevalence of undernourishment remains extremely high: 34 % of the population, or 17 million persons, are affected (Figure 23).

Figure 22 – Evolution of life expectancy in Tanzania and SSA (1960–2012)



Source: WDI

Figure 23 – Evolution of undernourishment (1992–2014)



Source: FAO

Section 5. Main lessons from the Tanzanian experience

About development policies

When using an international yardstick to assess the outcomes of the Tanzanian development experience, the low performance of the country is quite obvious. Fifty years after the independence, Tanzania remains a least-developed country, and income per capita is far below the average income of SSA countries. Of course, the last decade has seen significant improvements with a robust growth rate, higher than in the neighbouring countries, and the country is catching up.

The levels of progress achieved so far are, however, insufficiently inclusive to have an effective impact on poverty. Growth has been led by construction in a booming Dar es Salaam and by capital-intensive sectors, with limited job creation opportunities for the vast, growing labour supply of youth. Human development indicators highlight the major disparities between rural and urban areas and between regions, which reflect the overwhelming importance of agriculture in Tanzanian livelihoods – a low-return activity, mainly based on subsistence farming and the production of staple foods.

From the early sixties, Tanzania followed a policy sequence which is quite common in most SSA countries. In response to unsustainable macro-economic imbalances, the nationalist and autonomous policies at the time of independence were replaced by standard adjustment and liberalization measures in the 1980s and 1990s. After these years of economic reforms, Tanzania reengaged in development strategies with a somewhat frantic combination of visions, plans and programs. In practice, the backbone of government's action was, however, to foster economic growth through sectorial development, while simultaneously engaging in poverty alleviation programs. This policy orientation was suggested, encouraged and supported by donors who have played a substantial role over time, with Tanzania being one of the biggest ODA recipients in Africa.

The donors' approach, which is characterized by a sectorial bias and thematic interventions, amplified the segmentation of public policies resulting in significant coordination issues for the government. In order to increase efficiency and "results delivery", several crosscutting initiatives, focusing on close monitoring of public policies, have been recently implemented. They tend, however, to accentuate the sectorial bias and do not address the recurring regional disparities, the increasing territorial imbalances resulting from an ever-growing and congested Dar es Salaam, and the persistent rural–urban gap which should justify a more integrated approach to development. The challenges of youth employment and demographic growth, the expected impacts of climate change in a fragile East Africa region – major issues which do not appear at the forefront of the public debate – should motivate a stronger investment in a multi-sectorial, place-based approach, which means that more is required than FDI based development corridors.

About rural development

As in most countries with broad rural populations and low economic diversification, Tanzania's rural development policies were mainly implemented within a broader approach, targeting first the development of agriculture and then the implementation of poverty reduction programs. However, in spite of these common features, Tanzania in the 1970s engaged in an original policy experience, relying on a rural community-based development: the *Ujamaa.*

Conceived as an African way to socialism, the Ujamaa was more than rural development. It targeted self-reliance and a new economic and social organization, based on the creation of

new villages providing infrastructure, services, and organizing production. The results were ambivalent, with a quick deterioration of economic indicators attributable to inefficient state interventions and wrong incentives, but also with significant progress in terms of human development. This was particularly the case in education and health, through social infrastructure development in rural areas.
After the Ujamaa experience, rural development disappeared from the policy debate, which focused entirely on economic reforms. Agriculture was a critical target due to its weight in the economy; and state withdrawal, liberalization, and the end of subsidies were the major objectives. After twenty years of restructuring of the agricultural sector, a rural development strategy was drafted in 2000. It adopted very general objectives, recognizing major interactions between rural communities and urban centres, and targeting both production and social development in rural areas, but it did not result in targeted interventions.
The rural development strategy was quickly layered by successive government's plans, programs and initiatives, resulting in an effective dominance of sectorial approaches. Due to its major role in the economy and society, agriculture is a key priority of the government, the objectives being to increase productivity and remove the many bottlenecks in infrastructure and market governance. Rural development, as such, is not adequately addressed by specific actions, and references to the 2001 strategy are limited or evanescent. If a "rural concern" exists, it stands at the crossroads of *Mkukuta* and the ASDP, under the monitoring of the President Delivery Bureau.

Main cross-cutting themes

The Tanzanian experience is a strong reminder about the importance of adequate incentives. The corruption of the Ujamaa experience led to a major failure, attributable to inappropriate and coercive measures: mandatory crops, the banning of private marketing and private businesses, central pricing, over-taxation, mandatory resettlement, and collectivization of land. The consequences were, among others, the stagnation of production, the decrease of export crops, and a major disruption of commercial networks for both inputs and outputs.
The importance of a secure economic and institutional environment, reducing risks for farmers, is key. It means first securing land rights and land access, as well as avoiding abrupt changes in rules of the game, particularly about the commercialization of products. Adequate, timely and transparent information can facilitate farmers' decisions.
In a context where imperfect markets (lack of private agents, lack in infrastructure, and bottlenecks resulting in high transaction costs) and missing markets (credit, inputs and extension services) are a common feature, the state has an important role to play in providing public goods, incentives and targeted supports. It requires adequate governance and the strengthening of capacities at central and local government levels.
Collective action can play a significant role and have a leveraging effect. If the Tanzanian experience of cooperatives has been somewhat chaotic and remains constrained by structural inertia inherited from the past, rural producers' organizations, when provided with the adequate support, can comprise an effective instrument for change. This is also the case for local development associations. Capacity building is again a priority.
The Tanzanian government has been addressing many of these issues over the last 15 years. However, in spite of strong reinvestment in strategy and policy design, and on monitoring government's action, the accumulation of objectives and programs, and the predominant sectorial approach, raise the question of the effective global strategy which might be able to tackle the many challenges the country faces. It calls for more prioritization and requires more than coordination. Moreover, donors could support this

overall policy effort. In that context, rural areas should benefit from higher concern, owing to the population distribution and what it means in terms of employment. Agriculture development has a critical role to play because rising farm revenues result in growing rural demand and rural diversification; and this process has to be supported by adopting a regional approach which identifies the major assets and constraints to be dealt with.

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World Urbanization Prospect (WUP)
http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/

Annexes

Maps

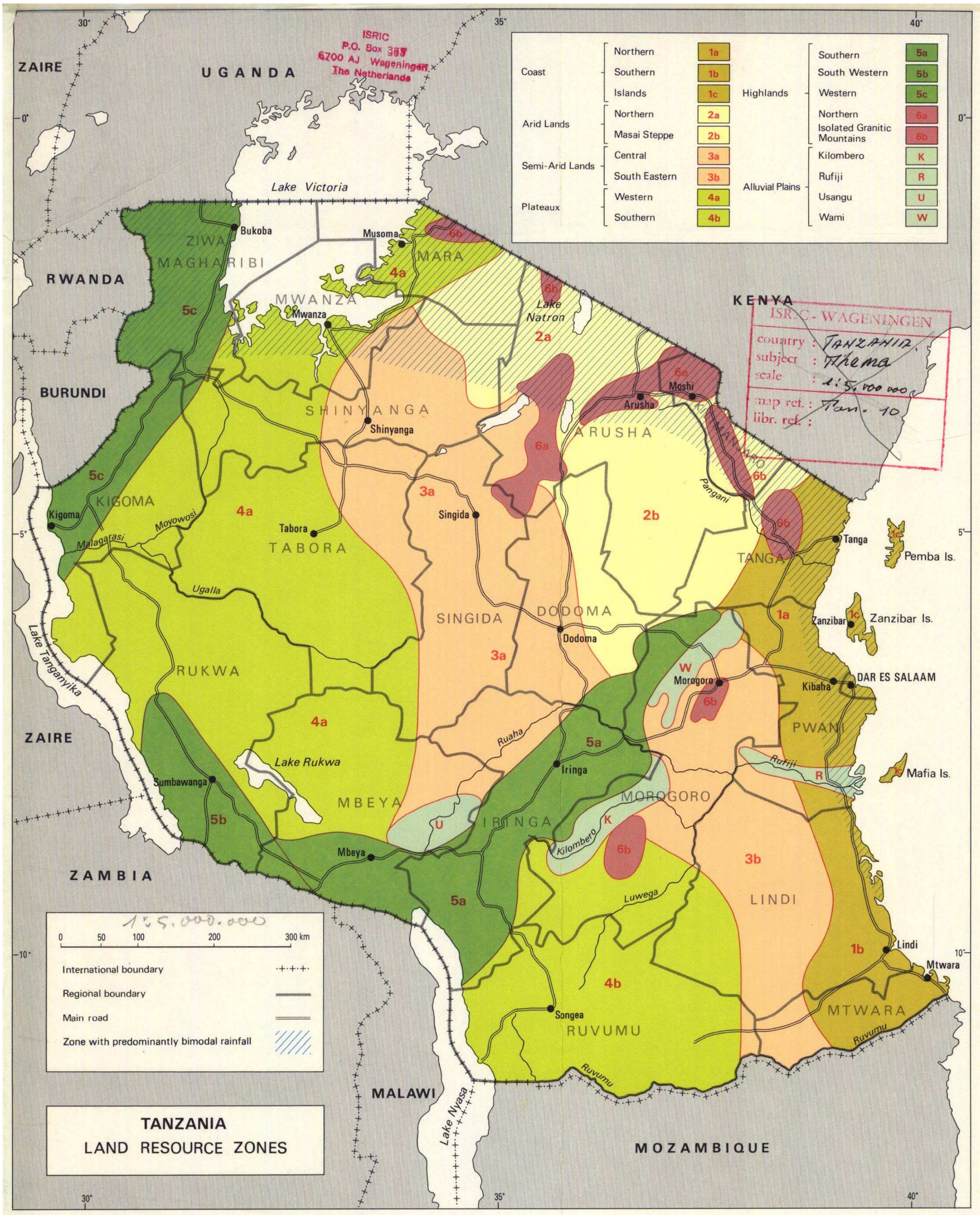
Administrative divisions:

Source: Ezilon 2009
http://www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/tanzania-maps.html

Geographic features

Source: Ezilon 2009

Major agro-ecological areas

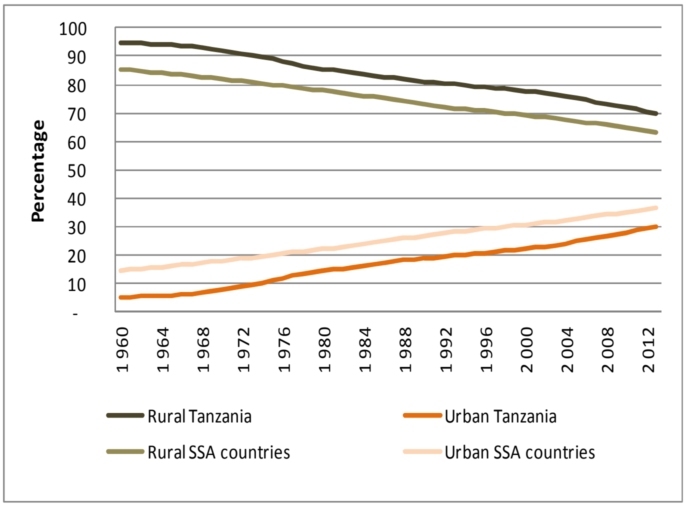


Source:
http://eusoils.jrc.ec.europa.eu/esdb_archive/eudasm/africa/maps/afr_tz2001_to.htm

Additional statistics

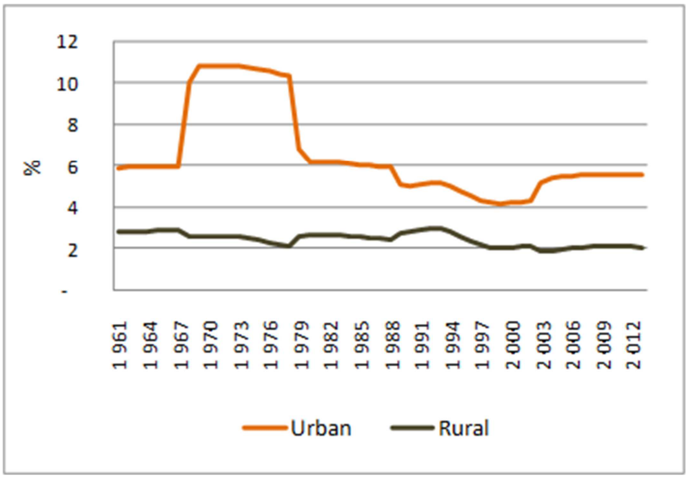
Demography

Evolution of population distribution



Source WDI

Evolution of rural and urban population growth rates



Source: WDI

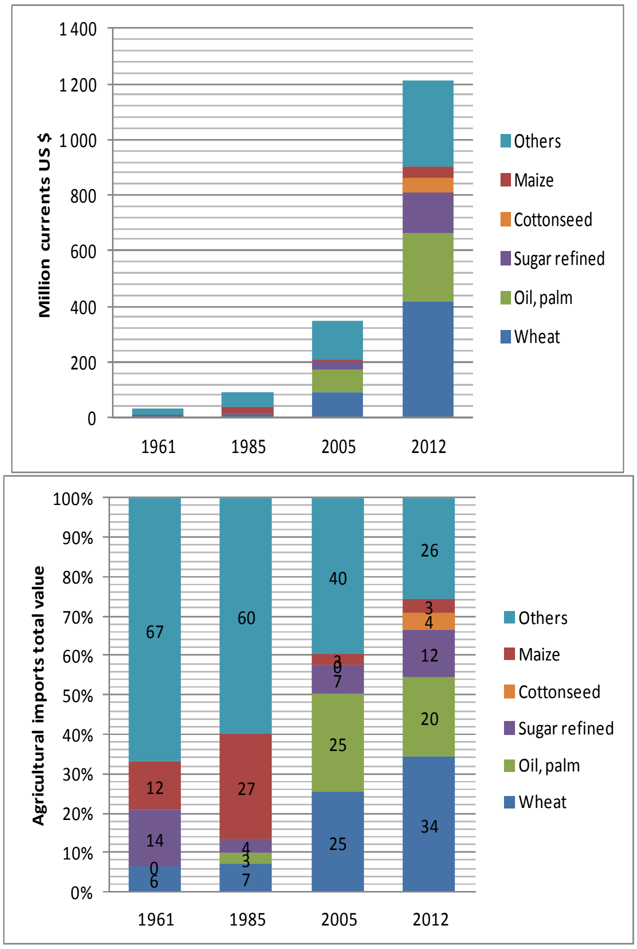
Economy

GDP shares per sector

	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2012
Agriculture	18	18	21	28	31	35	33	31	28	29
Industry	19	18	17	13	18	18	19	22	24	24
Manufacturing	*12*	*12*	*12*	*9*	*11*	*10*	*9*	*9*	*10*	*9*
Others	*7*	*5*	*5*	*4*	*7*	*9*	*10*	*14*	*14*	*15*
Services	63	64	62	59	51	47	48	46	48	48

Source: WDI

Main food imports (in value and in %)



Source: FAO

Definition of agricultural land

Agricultural land refers to the share of land area that is **arable**, under **permanent crops**, and **under permanent pastures**.

- **Arable land** includes land defined by the FAO as land under temporary crops (double-cropped areas are counted once), temporary meadows for mowing or for pasture, land under market or kitchen gardens, and land temporarily fallow. *Land abandoned* as a result of shifting cultivation is *excluded.*
- **Land under permanent crops** is land cultivated with crops that occupy the land for long periods and need not be replanted after each harvest, such as cocoa, coffee, and rubber. This category includes land under flowering shrubs, fruit trees, nut trees, and vines, but *excludes* land under trees grown for *wood* or *timber.*
- **Permanent pasture** is land used for five or more years for forage, including natural and cultivated crops.

(Source: FAO)

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