GOODBYE TO PROJECTS?

THE INSTITUTIONAL IMPACTS OF A LIVELIHOOD APPROACH ON DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

RESEARCH PROJECT NO. R7908

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PAPER NO 3

A REVIEW OF APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS IN TANZANIA: FROM PROJECTS TO LIVELIHOOD APPROACHES

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BACKGROUND TO PROJECT AND WORKING PAPER SERIES

This paper is one in a series of working papers prepared under a research project named Goodbye to Projects? The Institutional Impacts of a Livelihood Approach on Development Interventions.

This is a collaborative project between the Bradford Centre for International Centre for Development¹ (BCID) with the Economic and Policy Research Centre (EPRC), Uganda; Khanya – managing rural change, South Africa; and, the Institute for Development Management (IDM), Tanzania. The project is supported by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) under their Economic and Social Research Programme (ESCOR).

Approaches to projects and development have undergone considerable change in the last decade with significant policy shifts on governance, gender, poverty eradication, and environmental issues. Most recently this has led to the adoption and promotion of the sustainable livelihood (SL) approach. The adoption of the SL approach presents challenges to development interventions including: the future of projects and programmes, and sector wide approaches (SWAPs) and direct budgetary support.

This project intends to undertake an innovative review of these issues. Central to this will be to question how a livelihood approach is actually being used in a range of development interventions. This will be used to identify and clarify the challenges to the design, appraisal and implementation of development interventions and changes required from the adoption of a livelihoods approach.

The research is to be conducted in two phases. The first phase consists of general and country reviews on SL and development interventions. The second phase of the research is detailed case studies on development interventions in Uganda, Tanzania and South Africa. These case studies will compare and contrast the implementation of sector wide approaches, programmes and projects developed following an SL approach against those designed using a "classical" approach.

This paper 'A Review of Approaches to Development Interventions in Tanzania: From Projects to Livelihood Approaches' is the third in the series of the project working papers. This is the output of a literature review and semi-structured interviewing in Tanzania.

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PROJECT WORKING PAPERS TO DATE

- 1. Annotated bibliography on livelihood approaches and development interventions.
- 2. Review of livelihoods approaches and development interventions in South Africa.
- 3. Review of approaches to development interventions in Tanzania: From projects to livelihoods approaches.

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For more details on the project and copies of recent publications please consult the project's web site:

• http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/dppc/goodbye.html

Summary

For the past forty years (1961—2001), Tanzania has been at the forefront of debates on development policy and strategy among the developing countries. The approaches to implement the agenda of fighting the three enemies of development in Tanzania that were identified in 1961, namely, poverty, diseases and ignorance have been changing over time. This paper describes the various approaches in development interventions in Tanzania from 1961 to the present day. This includes a consideration of the extent of the adoption of the sustainable livelihoods approach as a method of analyzing and understanding realistic priorities for development. It also reviews the part played by donor countries in supporting these efforts. The latter part of the paper reviews the current policy and strategy context in the country, as a framework for on-going studies of current approaches to development.

Primary data and other information for this working paper were collected by interviewing officials in various development agencies and government ministries and departments. Development agencies included multilateral, bilateral, and non-governmental organisations (international and national). Another source of information was various published and unpublished documents.

1.0 Introduction

Efforts to curb poverty in Tanzania started right after independence in 1961. Several strategies were employed to bring about rural development, these include, establishment of settlement schemes in early to mid 1960s, the Arusha Declaration with the emphasis on rural development, *inter alia*, in late 1960s. In mid-1970s, the Villagisation programme was also a means the government considered could bring about rapid rural development after the slow pace of Ujamaa villages formation, (Woods, 1975 and Ellman, 1975). Also, in 1970s, there was a decentralization of the government functions, (Conyers, 1974).

The above strategies undertaken by the government in the first two decades after independence did not bring about the level of development that would eradicate poverty. Instead, the economic growth slowed to the extent of causing crisis in early 1980s. In this economic crisis, the government with the assistance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund initiated the structural adjustment programme (SAP). The SAP has been implemented in Tanzania in five phases as follows: National Economic Survival Programme (1981-82), the Structural Adjustment Programme (1982-1985), the Economic Recovery Programme (1986-89), and the Economic and Social Action Programme (1989-92), (Chachage, 1993). The fifth and most current phase goes under the name of Rolling Plans and Forward Budgeting (1993-2002 (Mtatifikolo, 2000).

2.0 Approaches to development interventions

2.1 The early years of independence – the project approach

Since independence, the Tanzanian government and donor community have been applying many approaches to financing development. The different approaches have been influenced by the actual and perceived needs of development at different times.

In the early years after independence, the aim was to develop the nation's infrastructure and increase its productivity. For example in the Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961-63, nearly 30% of the funds were budgeted for communication, power and works whilst 24% and 13.7% were allocated for the agricultural and education sectors respectively (Government of Tanganyika, 1962). This budgeting pattern did not change significantly for the two subsequent development plans, namely, the Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-69 and 2nd Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1969-74. (Government of Tanganyika, 1964 and URT, 1969).

This focus on infrastructure and productivity resulted in large-scale infrastructure projects such as the TAZARA railway and the TANZAM road as well as the development of several state farms, and construction of hydroelectric power stations. External donors, following traditional and well-established approaches to project planning and management, generally funded these infrastructural projects and others in social sectors. By the nature of the projects, and in keeping with the development ethos at that time, these projects tended to be planned and implemented as individual interventions, using traditional project cycle management techniques. For example plans were developed using formal and centralised processes of planning and appraisal, and the projects were implemented through their own specific budgetary and organisational arrangements.

2.2 The Programme Approach

While these changes were going on within Tanzania, there were changes also in the wider context of development, as agencies moved their focus from projects to programmes. In the first Union Social and Economic Development plan (1981/82-85/86), development activities were identified as projects, as this was formulated before the change in emphasis from projects to programmes. In the late 80s, Tanzanian government planning generally changed from project to programme approaches, reflecting the work done through regional integrated development programmes (RIDEPs) and later District Development Programmes. Thus the Second Union Plan (1988/89-93) was formulated on the basis of programmes, and 665 programmes were identified for funding.

The change from projects to programmes was effected in order to attain greater efficiency in the implementation of development interventions and better utilization of resources (URT, 1988). The programme approach differed from the project approach in considering a basket of development interventions, analysed over a longer time frame than projects, and integrated in the expectation that their outputs would thereby complement one another. Programmes were intended to be implemented using existing government budgeting systems and organisations.

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The programme approach has continued to be an approach favoured by both donors and government in their development interventions. This is supported by the evidence obtained by one of the authors from interviews conducted with officials in various agencies ² (see appendix A). These officials reported that the programme approach has been adopted by many development agencies after realising that projects are too restrictive in terms of achieving the desired development objectives. This was the case because people's lives are affected by an array of interwoven factors.

Different agencies interviewed had a variety of ways of identifying development programmes to fund or manage. For example, the donors (multilateral and bilateral) said that they work with the government sectors in identifying programmes. The government officials claimed that they compile the proposals of programmes from the grassroots where communities have participated in prioritising their needs. For NGOs, programmes to be funded are identified by the beneficiaries themselves who can approach either the NGOs directly or through NGOs' working partners.

The major methodology of involving the communities in identifying and prioritizing their needs was reported to be PRA (participatory rural appraisal). However, some interviewees had reservations concerning the efficacy of this approach.

The practice of some donors requiring a certain level of contribution from the community before funding development activities in some areas puts the PRA exercise into limbo. A case in Ulanga district council where one major donor required 40 per cent contribution (25% in terms of cash and 15% in terms of labour/materials) has left many development projects unimplemented. A 25% cash contribution demanded of the already poor people seemed too much according to the interviewees in Ulanga. Therefore, programmes/projects go unimplemented despite the fact that beneficiaries' priorities were considered in designing development interventions and donors provided 60% of the funds required.

Another reservation relating to participatory management of forestry resources is demonstrated by a particular case. When this particular programme started members of the communities used to share the proceeds of illegal timber harvesting through sharing of fines or confiscated products. Now that the number of trespassers have declined remarkably, many villagers who used to be active in managing the reserved forests, catchments and their buffers are left at a cross roads. Therefore, sustaining villagers' interest in active participation can be difficult, especially if specific rewards from participation gradually diminish

Finally, it was established that since development experts approach beneficiaries from specialised sectors, experience has taught the beneficiaries to mention priorities that fall in the jurisdiction of the sector. For example, if beneficiaries know that those soliciting views through PRA are coming from Water department, the priorities they mention will align with a Water department jurisdiction.

2.3 Sector wide approaches (SWAPs)

In the past five years, some development agencies have started pooling resources to fund specific sectors. This pooling of resources by donors is commonly known as the sector wide approach (SWAP). It aims to increase co-ordination amongst donors so that they can make

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systematic improvements, increase government ownership and support rather than fragment government systems (Hobbs, 2001, World Bank, 2000 and Foster et. al, 2000). In other words, all significant donor funding for the sector supports a single sector policy and expenditure programme, under Government leadership, adopting common approaches across the sector, and progressing towards relying on Government procedures to disburse and account for all funds (Foster 2000).

According to Tomlinson (2000), donors switching to SWAPs seem to respond to a number of concerns:

- One-off fragmented projects ('islands of excellence in a sea of under-provision') overwhelm the developing country's management capacity, weaken these governments by attracting the best local human resources, and weaken aid sustainability and effectiveness;
- Conditionality-based donor dialogue has not worked to create 'favourable' policy environments in developing countries;
- Broad donor commitments to International Development Targets (halving the proportion of people living in poverty, etc.) require broad coordinated approaches.
- There is renewed attention to the importance of 'local ownership' for effective development cooperation.

In Tanzania, donors are pooling funds in "baskets", for example the Health Sector Basket (HSB) and Local Government Reform Basket Fund (LGRBF). The education sector is also being funded under a similar arrangement. These basket funds represent the sector wide approach (SWAP).

The SWAP funding mechanism has its own problems such as different donors having different reporting requirement, and different priorities. When SWAPs are analysed critically, it seems that they may result in less bargaining room with individual donors as so-called 'preconditions' or 'critical success factors' are imposed under the guise of improved donor coordination (Tomlinson, 2000). Donors also have differing internal rules and regulations, which impose strains on the operation of the sector support programmes.

According to the Ministry of Finance³, the amount of funds from donors under SWAPs arrangements increased by almost 150% for year 1999/2000 to 2000/01. Officials from various donor agencies such as UNDP and EU predict that funding under this arrangement will continue to rise.

2.4 Direct budgetary support

Direct budgetary support is a variant of SWAPs, whereby donors pool resources to assist the government budget but without linking this to a particular sector. Information from experts from the Ministry of Finance (Treasury) and UNDP indicate that the amount of funding through direct budgetary support is increasing as many donors begin to have confidence in the Tanzanian government to use the pooled funds prudently.

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³ Only percent data is provided here, as publication of raw data was restricted.

Foster (2000) suggests that the direct budget support mechanism of funding has several advantages. These advantages include: the problem of fungibility is dealt with by dialogue on overall national expenditure priorities, enabling donors to monitor whether development assistance is contributing towards a pattern of expenditure that is shifting over time towards the agreed policy priorities. The costs of managing the aid flow are dramatically reduced. The focus of Government and donor attention can be on improving the overall management and accountability for public expenditures, rather than being diverted to more parochial project concerns.

The movement towards general budgetary support involves a bargain whereby donors give up direct control of how their money is used, in return for enhanced dialogue on the overall budget and how it is managed.

Examples of direct budgetary support, according to Treasury experts, include the following: programme/budgetary aid or balance-of-payments support (PBB), poverty reduction budgetary support (PRBS), and multilateral debt fund (MDF). These types of budgetary support, as explained above, comprise provision of assistance that is not defined in terms of specific investment or technical co-operation projects. It is instead provided in the context of broader development programme and macro-economic objectives and/or it is provided for the specific purpose of supporting the recipient's balance-of-payments position and making available foreign exchange. This category includes non-food commodity input assistance in kind and financial grants and loans to pay for commodity inputs. It also includes resources ascribed to public debt forgiveness (UNDP, 1999), under which the amount of loans forgiven by external agencies is to be used by government in increasing the funding of the activities in the economy that focus on poverty reduction.

Even though the disaggregated data of the trend in external assistance for the past 10 years are not readily available, the aggregate data indicate that the trend has been rising (UNDP 1999). Experts from UNDP, Tanzania and the Treasury confirm that budgetary support funding has been on increase. For example, data for the past two years from Treasury indicate that budgetary support, as a percentage of external financing, was 25% in the 1999/00 budget and 30% in 2000/01.

2.5 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach provides a methodology and a framework for analysing and understanding realistic priorities for development. It advocates a set of principles that should underpin poverty focused development activities: putting poor people at the centre of development; building on people's strengths rather than their needs; cross-sectoral thinking; understanding the linkages between policy decisions and local realities; responding quickly to changing circumstances; and ensuring long-term sustainability.

The SL framework is a tool to improve our understanding of livelihoods, by illustrating the main factors that affect people's livelihoods (e.g. access to assets; vulnerability; policies, institutions and processes), and the typical relationships between these (DFID SL Guidance Sheets, 2000)

Interview results indicate that very few development agencies have started employing SLA directly in their development interventions. Care International (T) has been using the Household Livelihood Security Framework (HLS) that is quite similar to SLA. DFID has commissioned some studies in the country on the approach. Also, some scholars, particularly from the Food Security and Development Group at the University of Dar es Salaam have started using the approach to analyse some policies in the country.

Many other development agencies when asked on specific principles of SLA, it was established that the approaches they use in identifying, implementing and monitoring their development intervention embody the SL core principles.

Similarly, with the application of SWAPs and direct budgetary support in funding and implementing various development interventions in the country, some core principles of SLA are considered.

Since many development practitioners in the country have not heard about the approach, they do not harbour any feeling about it. For example, interviewees from the World Bank and ESRF indicated that they had not heard of the approach. The fact that many officials in Tanzania have not heard about the approach is supported by the figures as follows: Out of 30 officials interviewed, only less than one third (seven) have some information about the approach. The number rises to seven by the fact that four officials are from CARE-Tanzania, the only organization utilizing SLA. However, two interviewees, one from a bilateral agency and another from the university had some feelings that SLA is being somehow 'pushed' by DFID.

Likewise, when the approach was presented at a symposium at Moshi based Cooperative College in September 2001, the reaction of the symposium participants was that SLA could only be new in a name. Since most of the core elements are found in many other participatory approaches/methods.

3.0 The Current Policy and Strategy Framework

The donor community has been quite supportive of the Tanzanian economic development agenda. According to World Bank (2000), by the early 1980s Tanzania was among the top five African foreign aid recipients (others were Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, and Zaire). Similarly, in 1997, Tanzania was still in top five aid recipients (others were Mozambique, Uganda, Madagascar, and Ethiopia).

As mentioned above, Tanzania started the economic reform process since mid 1980s. In this period, a number of policies and strategy papers were formulated with the cooperation of various stakeholders in Tanzanian development. In the agricultural sector, for example, reform interventions include: the reduction of price distortion for agricultural products and inputs (e.g. subsidies and price controls); the divesture and privatisation of parastatals; and the rationalisation and restructuring of the Ministry of Agriculture (Temu, 2001).

Reforms in the broader public sector include: fiscal reform whereby government expenditure was based on cash budgeting; civil service and local government reforms, The main aim of local government reforms is to strengthen the capacity and autonomy of local government so

as to improve service delivery to the people. (URT, 1996). In addition, the Public Service Reform Programme was launched in 2000, aiming at making the Tanzanian civil service efficient, effective and transparent.

The shifts in policy and strategy framework described above have been influenced in particular by the following factors: the new political, social and economic realities such as democratization and pluralism, economic globalisation and regionalism. Other factors are competition based on the logic of the market, the departure from a state-welfare system to cost recovery and cost sharing, and the recognition of the importance of private sector as an engine of growth and development.

As a background to the setting of the new policy framework, the Tanzanian government has prepared certain key strategy papers, including Vision 2025 and the Poverty Strategy Reduction Paper.

Vision 2025 is a national vision of economic and social objectives to be attained by the year 2025. The vision expresses both hope and determination in ridding the country of poverty, disease, and ignorance. It seeks to do so by achieving high and sustainable growth, at an average of 8 percent, and halving abject poverty by 2010 and eliminating it by 2025.

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) is a medium-term strategy of poverty reduction, developed through broad consultation with national and international stakeholders, in the context of the enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. The origin of the HIPC is the G-7 meeting of 1999 in which the rich countries in the world adopted an initiative of debt relief for highly indebted poor countries. Both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund endorsed the Initiative thereafter. The Paris Club donor community and other donors grant debt relief based on fulfillment of HIPC conditions. These conditions are having a sound Structural Adjustment Programme, and a strategy for poverty reduction. Also, the indebted country should have an effective economic and financial policy, as well as good governance (URT, 1999)

Within this framework, the Government has undertaken a reassessment of policies across a range of areas. Many policies have been revised and new policies have been drawn up. Strategies to implement these policies indicate the shift in thinking from the Arusha Declaration era. Generally, the strategies put in place after the economic reforms aimed at building competencies and strengthening accountability for improved public service delivery. However, enhanced cost-effectiveness in public service delivery entails three main areas of action: improving strategic prioritisation of expenditure; adopting a results- orientation as the main approach for monitoring the effectiveness of public spending; and strengthening competencies and institutional capacity for managing public service programmes prudently, particularly at the local government level.

4.0 The Management of Development Assistance by Government

The management of development assistance, particularly of technical cooperation, since independence to the early 1990s is described by some authors as poor (Rugumamu, 1994). The major explanation for Tanzania's poor performance was the incapacity of the state to design comprehensive development policies and establish effective and efficient institutional

frameworks for policy management. As a result, technical cooperation⁴ tended to be not only ad hoc and laissez-faire but also allowed donors to impose their own preferences on the economy. Under those circumstances, therefore, the loosely coordinated foreign resource flows led to neither sustainable institutional capacity building or to cumulative technology transfers.

Similarly, aid development policies were usually silent on how to carry out technical cooperation needs assessment. The low levels of technical cooperation effectiveness in Tanzania are largely attributed to imprudent economic planning and management. Too often, aid-supported projects were left to donor management and control; rarely were they systematically incorporated into annual development budgets. Not surprisingly, when the time for their transfer to national institutions came, the Ministry of Treasury was caught unawares.

Efforts have been made by both donors and the government since mid 1990s to rectify this situation. As a result, most external assistance programs are now based on frameworks that aim to justify the support being granted. These frameworks, in general, take the form of Economic and Technical Agreements with agreed minutes on annual consultations. In addition Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) is often prepared outlining the details of the cooperation agreement. The CAS includes objectives underlying the implementation strategies, priority areas and indicative resource commitment. While the formulation of CAS has traditionally been the domain of donors, today national ownership has become one of the most discussed issues in Tanzania. In a bid to rectify the problem of fragmented donor programs, and to rationalize coordination mechanisms, several initiatives have been introduced. These include the Medium Term Expenditure Framework, the Tanzanian Assistance Strategy, and the UN Development Assistance Framework.

The Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) (1997) is a top down process to determine resource availability and allocate resources between sectors, and a bottom up process of estimating the actual requirements of implementing policies in each sector (Oxford Policy Management, 1999). Public Expenditure Review (PER) as a vehicle for setting strategic priorities, budgeting, and monitoring effectiveness in the economy, and using Public Expenditure Management (PEM) as a tool to improve the policy process, complements the MTEF.

With a view to strengthening ongoing efforts for improving government-donor partnership, the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS) has been formulated. The TAS is expected to remove the inefficiencies of the current parallel systems. TAS provides an overall national development strategy that would underpin the formulation of individual donor strategies. According to UNDP, the process of developing and refining the TAS was participatory and based on the example set by the PER process, which is considered as being one of the great successes of the current Tanzanian government and among the best practices in Africa.

Complementing these broader initiatives, the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for Tanzania, (2002—2004) aims to achieve greater integration among the individual country programmes of UN Funds, programmes and specialised agencies so as to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the UN System in its endeavour to support

⁴ This is a major form of external finance, for example, data from Treasury for 1999/2000 was 75% and in 2000/01 was 70% of the total external finance.

development. Also, UNDAF provides the UN system with a framework for a joint response to the needs and priorities of the Tanzanian people.

These initiatives, which involve all stakeholders, focus primarily on policy and implementation of development programmes. The conclusions and recommendations from the PER/MTEF processes reinforce overall donor coordination, as well as feed into the annual Consultative Group (CG) meetings. At the sector level, the Government is now implementing sector investment programmes, where donors are encouraged to support specific agreed outcomes. In addition, the establishment of the Multilateral Debt-relief Fund (MDF) has proved very effective at co-ordinating donors to support outcomes through direct budgetary support.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper has reviewed Tanzania's varied journey towards development, and the role that donors have played, and continue to play, in supporting that journey. The country's development dynamic has gone through quite distinctive phases, starting with the post-independence focus on *Ujamaa* (African socialism) and, moving through liberalisation and market reforms and culminating at the present time in poverty reduction strategies (and accompanying debt relief).

Interviews conducted among various development agencies particularly the bilateral and multi-lateral ones confirm that there are cordial relations between the government of Tanzania and the donor community. This has recently resulted into debt forgiveness of about half of the external debt.

Also, it has been established from the interviews that many development interventions are trying to involve the beneficiaries of development interventions. PRA is the most popular means of doing this at the beginning of the interventions. However, some interviewees were sceptical since the process is sometimes very expensive and at times the beneficiaries tend to have more expectations that cannot be satisfied by the interventions. In addition, the priorities mentioned by the beneficiaries usually are tailored to align with the jurisdiction of the departments involved in priorities determination through participatory methodologies.

On the application of SLA in Tanzania, it has been pointed out that few development agencies directly use the approach. However, almost all development agencies uphold the core principles of the approach in their development intervention. Similarly, some scholars, particularly from the Food Security and Development Group at the University of Dar es Salaam have started using the approach to analyse some policies in the country. Also, there are several commissioned research employing the approach being undertaken in the country

Donor support has also gone through distinct phases, matching and sometimes resulting from changes in the development dynamic. Donor support was initially channeled through projects, discrete development interventions that were well suited to the infrastructural and productive assets required in the early years of independence. Projects then gave way to programmes, which had a wider scope and longer time horizon than projects. As a result of the decentralisation processes of the mid 70s, the programmes tended to have a geographical focus (initially regional, and then, following local government reform, at district level).

Sector wide approaches were a natural successor to programme support, sharing many of the characteristics of programmes but without their geographical focus, and therefore more easy to implement within existing government structures.

Finally, sector wide approaches are beginning to give way to direct budgetary support, in which donors contribute directly to the central budget, in theory allowing the government greater freedom in deciding how those resources should be allocated.

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APPENDIX A: List of Organisations and Individuals Interviewed

S/N.	Organisation	Name	Position/Title
1	UNDP	Ms. M. Crook	Programme Officer
2	UNDP	Mr. Rutta	M&E Officer
3	UNCDP	Mr. Mkwawa	Programme Officer
4	FAO	Mr. J. Yonaz	Programme Officer
5	Care (T)	Mr. Njebele and Ms.	M&E Officers
		Terry	
6	UNDP	Mr. Sala	Assistant Rep. (ECON.)
7	UNDP	Mr. Phillips	Programme Officer
8	NORAD	Mr. J. Studsord	Natural Resource Desk
9	DANIDA	Anna Maria	Agric. and Gender Desk
10	Care (T)	J. Ulimwengu	Assistant Country Director
11	CARE Civil Soc. Prgrm.	Mr. Basela	Programme Officer
12	SUA	Dr. Mbiha	Head of Dept./ Researcher
13	World Bank	Mr. Rwechungura	Programme Officer
14	Moro Munic. Counc.	Ms. Lyimo	Munic. Economist
<i>15</i>	Ulanga Distrt. Counc	Mr. P. Nkurila	Distr. Planning Off'cer
16	Eco. & Soc. Res.	Dr. Tiba	Research Fellow
	Foundation (ESRF)		
17	Min. Nat. Res. & Tourism	Mr. Kiwele	Assistant Director-
			Beekeeping Section
18	Natnl. AIDS Contr.	Dr. Fimbo	Programme Director
	Programme		
19	Plan'g & Privt.	Mr. Mshanga	Assistant Director –
	Commission		Investment
20	Min. Agric & Food Security	Mr. Mpaki	Economist
21	Min. Nat. Res. & Tourism	Mr. Ngoo	Schedule Officer Catchment
21	Willia Peta Peta Controlli	1111.11800	and Mangrove Conservation
22	Belgian Embassy	Ms. Debbie Vlugt	Accountant
23	SUA	Dr. Andrew Temu	Economist
24	Inst. Resource Assessment	Dr. F. Maganga	Research Fellow
	(UDSM)		
25	DfID	Ms. C. Sergent	Head DFID Tanzania
26	DFID	Mr. S.Jonathan	Natural Resource Officer
27	Oxfam	Mr. Silas Likasi	Programme Officer
28	Min. of Finance	Ms. Hazel Gray	Officer in External
			Finance Department
29	MCDWAC	Mr. Zayumba	Director of Planning
30	UNDP	Ms. K. Pfliegner	Programming Officer