Received: 12 November 2021 | Accepted: 3 May 2023

DOI: 10.1111/dpr.12718

ARTICLE

WILEY

How gender mainstreaming plays out in Tanzania's climate-smart agricultural policy: Isomorphic mimicry of international discourse

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Funding information
Global Challenges Research Fund, Grant/Award Number: BB/P027784/1

Abstract

Motivation: Gender mainstreaming is often promoted internationally as the vehicle of choice to achieve gender equality. Concepts of mainstreaming are commonly seen in climate-smart agriculture (CSA), where it is proposed that they can bridge gender gaps in agricultural input use and productivity. The rhetoric of mainstreaming, however, often relies upon and perpetuates gender myths and assumptions.

Purpose: We investigate how gender mainstreaming has spread into Tanzania's agricultural policies. We ask whether the government has the capacity to put these concepts into practice to address gender inequality. We explore this in the context of CSA, an increasingly important aspect of agricultural policy.

Methods and approach: Using the literature on policy transfer and isomorphism, we critically analyse gendered discourse in Tanzania's CSA policies to explore how gender is problematised and governed within policy. We use NVivo 12 to inductively code policy documents. We support these insights with the observations of key informants.

Findings: We find little evidence that gender has been effectively mainstreamed in Tanzania's CSA policies. We see a gap between the normative goal of gender mainstreaming and the practices intended to address gender (and intersectional) inequalities. The gap is made all the wider by limited recognition within government-from national to local—of how such inequalities affect agriculture. Not only are policies detached from local contexts leading to infeasible plans, but also local government lacks both resources and capacity to implement them.

Policy implications: Our study calls into question much of the global discourse on gender mainstreaming, especially the myths that support it. It shows how representing the problem in a particular way can lead to dysfunctional policy.

A better approach would be to start with understanding the various inequalities seen in agriculture in Tanzania, inequalities of gender but also of class. It would take into account the capacity to implement policy in the field. A more practical approach, tailored to the realities of rural Tanzania, would benefit the people of Tanzania more than just imitating questionable international discourse.

KEYWORDS
climate-smart agriculture, gender mainstreaming, isomorphic mimicry, policy transfer, state capacity, Tanzania

1 | INTRODUCTION

Since the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, "gender mainstreaming" has been positioned on the international stage as the vehicle of choice to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women (Moser & Moser, 2005; Sweetman, 2015). The isomorphism[1] of gender mainstreaming as a policy framework is evident not only in development assistance whereby major donor states and donor organizations seek to maintain legitimacy of their aid programmes, but also within the policy frameworks of aid-recipient nations who seek to reflect internationally agreed best practice.

Despite its popularity, gender mainstreaming relies upon and perpetuates gender myths and assumptions, lacks operational clarity and implementation guidance (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015), and relies on its interpretation and implementation at the local level within institutional structures that themselves are often highly gendered and have previously supported male privilege (Alston, 2014). It is therefore important to ask "what are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender?" (Bacchi & Eveline, 2003) for countries with high levels of aid dependency, such as Tanzania, which are under greater pressure to conform to ideas of "best practice" (Mdee & Harrison, 2019).

In this article, we apply a discourse analytical perspective (Fischer, 2003; Feindt & Oels, 2005), combined with Carol Bacchi's "What's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) tool (Bacchi, 2009), to Tanzania's Climate Smart Agriculture (CSA) policy framework to explore this question analysing how gender inequality in the agricultural sector is framed as a policy "problem" and how it is then "governed" through policy-implementation plans.

We begin by critiquing gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy by drawing on broader arguments within the wider discourse and practice of "good governance." We then apply the concepts of capability traps and isomorphic mimicry to examine the gap between gender mainstreaming policy in theory and application in practice.

This is important considering that decentralization shapes the governance agenda of Tanzania, which means it is also important to explore how policy is resourced and implemented through levels of government. Supporting our findings through key informant interviews with staff from Tanzania's National Government Ministries, universities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development partners, we demonstrate that Tanzania's CSA policy framework incorporates gender in a superficial and insubstantial way, resulting in "wish list" policies that do not respond to existing evidence on intersectional inequalities or to current institutional capacity for implementation. We suggest that this formulaic mainstreaming of gender in policy becomes an almost meaningless performative game played out by development actors across all scales, rather than producing considered policy and actions to address gendered inequality in agriculture.

2 | THE DIFFUSION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING WITHIN AGRICULTURAL TRANSFORMATION DISCOURSE

Gender mainstreaming discourse has its roots in persistent links between women, environment, and development in climate change and sustainable development agendas (Resurrección, 2013). Feminist debates on the gendered division of labour and the essentialism of women's knowledge and dependence on the environment centred within

[1]Political sociology literature on world polity argues that common policy models and global norms proliferate globally as the enactment of "world culture," diffusing down to nation states whereby states enact models in an effort to seek legitimacy on the international stage—resulting in isomorphism in policy and practice (Meyer et al., 1997; Swiss, 2011).

the Women in Development (WID) and Women, Environment and Development (WED) movements of the 1970s and 1980s/1990s, respectively, seeped into development industry discourse and practice through the lobbying and promotion of women-centred policies and projects (Leach, 2007).

By the mid-1990s, the promotion of "engaging men and boys" in the fight for gender equality shifted the discourse to gender and development (GAD). The GAD movement became reliant on gender binaries defined by access to resources and opportunities, with "gender training" promoted as the solution (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015). The Beijing Declaration in 1995 then enshrined gender mainstreaming into the objectives and discourse of international development (Ferguson, 2015), where it has since been diffused into the domestic policy of many countries as a fundamental strategy that requires all policy and interventions to be assessed in relation to their differential impact on men and women to ensure that gender inequalities are not perpetuated through institutional means (Alston, 2014; Staudt, 2003). However, despite the term "gender" providing camouflage for a persistent focus on women (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015), a mainstream emphasis on the vulnerable woman in need of development assistance has remained resilient through the rhetoric of "women's empowerment" (Cornwall & Brock, 2005) and "investing in women and girls as smart economics" (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Hickel, 2014) in the agendas of international development agencies (Prügl, 2015).

In agricultural transformation discourse, gender mainstreaming has entered policy discourse through debates over increasing the agricultural productivity of women (Doss, 2014), and increasing women's access to credit and land tenure markets (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2010, 2017), and increasing women's participation in decision-making and policy-making arenas (Collins, 2018). It has become mostly a rhetorical commitment within policy spheres, often adopting technocratic approaches and quota-based female representation in governance bodies. Gender mainstreaming is therefore critiqued for becoming a "strategy" lacking coherence in both application and implementation guidance, with limited agreement in the policy or academic literature as to what precisely gender mainstreaming means or how it should be done. Criticism has reached "critical mass" (Hankivsky & Hunting, 2022)—largely because gender mainstreaming is judged to have failed to deliver substantive improvement in the socioeconomic status of marginalized women (Changachirere, 2019; Huyer & Partey, 2020).

In part, this is because the discourse around gender is often reflective of mainstream development reliance on stylized "facts" regarding women: (1) women make up 70% of the world's poor; (2) women produce 60%–80% of the world's food; (3) women own just 1%–2% of the world's land; and (4) women are intrinsically better stewards of the environment (Doss et al., 2018). Despite such statistics being rarely supported by reliable or conclusive empirical evidence, they are frequently used by international organizations to support their women-centred approaches (Doss et al., 2018)—increasing the universalization of women as vulnerable or virtuous in relation to the environment (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). Critiques also centre on the enthusiastic acceptance of gender mainstreaming by neoliberal development actors like the World Bank who distort and co-opt feminist knowledge within their promoted strategies of "investing in women and girls as smart economics" that present the business case for gender equality (Davids & van Eerdewijk, 2016; Prügl, 2017).

In reality, gender–agriculture relations are diverse and differentiated, embedded in complex socio-political interactions. As Noe et al. (2021) point out, rural areas in Tanzania are sites of dynamism and change where any new livelihood opportunities and income-generating possibilities are likely to give rise to new periods of contestation over the ownership and control of revenue streams, continuing to shape gendered livelihood dynamics in the process and disrupting visions of linear progression towards gender equality. Due to the complexity and dynamic nature of gendered social power relations, a one-size-fits-all approach to gender inequality is unlikely to have uniform or transformational impact (Sandler & Rao, 2012).

Gender mainstreaming can thus be taken as an element of "good governance," where its prescription has been inserted into the national policy frameworks of the aid recipients to follow the best practice approach of mainstream development agendas. "Isomorphic mimicry" (Andrews et al., 2013, 2017a, 2017b) is a direct consequence of the promulgation of universal good governance principles whereby states mimic the appearance of best practice in their design of institutions and policies, and yet lack the underlying functionality or capacity to follow through, often

leading to unclear state accountability and elite capture (Mdee & Harrison, 2019). This is because policies themselves do not succeed or fail on their own merits, rather they are dependent upon the process of implementation (Hudson et al., 2019)—and so rely on the training and knowledge of relevant government staff and the institutional capacity of government ministries to understand, implement, and monitor policy (Pritchett et al., 2013). This is important in light of such statements as: "Gender mainstreaming can only do as much as those institutions in which 'gender' is 'mainstreamed'" (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015, p. 404) and "'Capability traps' therefore arise when states lack the capability to implement the promised actions in their policies and plans" (Pritchett et al., 2010).

Transplanting international best practice through gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy within domestic policy thus offers an interesting insight into policy isomorphism and capability traps. The interrelated widespread critiques that gender mainstreaming relies on and perpetuates gender myths and assumptions, lacks any implementation guidance, and has failed on an international scale in advancing gender equality should be borne in mind. Exploring how the gender mainstreaming rhetoric interacts with local gender relations and practices in the process is important (True & Mintrom, 2001) considering that neo-institutional sociologists highlight how such global norms and discourses interact with domestic politics and institutions, not always directly or unproblematically (Aminzade et al., 2018). This is particularly true in the context of Tanzania given that decolonial feminist praxis argues that the mainstream doctrine of "equality" within the gender mainstream rhetoric fosters Western values embedded in autonomy and individualism, and that it is ill suited to African contexts (Tamale, 2020). As such, we are not interested in defining or promoting gender mainstreaming, rather we are concerned with how it is deployed and promoted by development actors as a policy strategy to achieve gender equality, and how this sits at odds with evidence on the reality of gendered livelihood dynamics within Tanzania, and the implementation capacity of the Tanzanian state.

3 | HISTORY OF TANZANIAN GENDER AND AGRICULTURAL DYNAMICS

Successive governments in Tanzania have sought to modernize agriculture with an emphasis on commercialization (Mdee et al., 2017)—with CSA promoted as both a panacea for agricultural transformation in the context of climate change (Collins, 2018) and as a means to bridge the "gender gap" in agriculture (Huyer, 2016). CSA in Tanzania has its antecedents in the post-independence socialist ideology "Ujamaa" and state-led agricultural investment codified in the Arusha Declaration—ultimately abandoned when the government was starved of finance by donors to force compliance with the IMF/World Bank conditions of structural adjustment programmes and liberalization which promoted modernization; and more recently the "African green revolution" focused on large-scale commercial investment (Mbilinyi, 2016; Mdee et al., 2020; Rusimbi & Mbilinyi, 2005). Work by Mbilinyi (1994, 2016) on agrarian struggles and gendered livelihood dynamics in Tanzania explores the continuity between colonial efforts to demolish peasant production and promote settler and corporate agriculture, showing that throughout the colonial and postcolonial period an "unholy alliance" between donors, the Tanzanian state, big business and peasant household heads constructed and reinforced patriarchal relationships and control over women's labour as a social control.

Women are very active in the agricultural sector in Tanzania, where 70% of economically active women work, with 70% of the Tanzanian population living in rural areas (Mbilinyi, 2016). However, colonial conceptualizations of women's roles remain powerful today through unequal power relations and access and control over resources, political representation, and say in agricultural decision-making (Badstue et al., 2021). The relationship between gender and agriculture within Tanzania is, however, far more complex than the donor discourse allows, as colonial regimes and structural adjustment policy reforms have become interwoven with customary arrangements to shape the current landscape of social relations (Mdee et al., 2020). Therefore, the roles of women in agricultural value chains across Tanzania are diverse and dynamic, with regional, economic and cultural variations (Bradford & Katikiro, 2019).

Indigenous women have long fought for Tanzanian legislation for women's rights (Badstue et al., 2020), and since the Beijing Declaration in 1995 Tanzania has committed to gender mainstreaming within its policies, and specifically in relation to climate change policy through *The national guidelines for mainstreaming gender into climate change adaptation related policies, strategies, programmes and budgets* (URT, 2012b). Demonstrating how mainstream development has affected the practices of both the state and local elites in Tanzania (Green, 2014), agro-industrial corporations have also adopted a variety of gender mainstreaming strategies, not just to fall in line with the international development agenda, but also to resolve the threat to the agro-industrial conquest that traditional smallholder farming poses through the resistance of peasant women to land grabbing and commercialization. Thus, gender mainstreaming is purposefully absorbed so as to accompany the promoted message that its ultimate objective is to improve smallholder production in order to reduce poverty (Mbilinyi, 2016).

Yet far from moving towards gender equality, recent research highlights that the current discourse within Tanzania appears to promote essentialist understandings of gender based on patriarchal characterizations of women and what their roles should be (Badstue et al., 2021). The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), a transformative feminist umbrella organization, argues that the Tanzanian government pays inadequate attention to gender, with a lack of specific strategies or interventions aimed at achieving gender equality within the agricultural sector (TGNP, 2018).

Research also points to policy-implementation gaps in the existing gender policy within Tanzania. Ampaire et al. (2020) explored the extent of gender integration in agricultural and natural resource policies in Uganda and Tanzania, noting both an interpretation of gender issues as "women's issues," with significant "gender gaps" due to a lack of information, action, and strategy—particularly at lower governance levels (see also Acosta et al., 2015, 2016). In Uganda specifically, Acosta et al. (2019, 2021) show that top-down donor discourses of gender mainstreaming influence the development policies of Uganda, yet any transformative potential is limited through policy processes that are themselves gendered and premised on gender assumptions—resulting in variegated interpretations of gender shaped by local norms.

In the policy transfer literature, Mdee and Harrison (2019) apply the concept of isomorphic mimicry to current irrigation and water management institutions in Malawi and Tanzania, demonstrating that when these governance frameworks are designed according to" best practice" and "good governance" principles, they result in dysfunctional governance systems that are disconnected from actual irrigation patterns. Aminzade et al. (2018, p. 71) explore the diffusion of the main discourse on agricultural development within Tanzania, noting that, owing to its dependence on foreign aid, Tanzania is "precisely the sort of country where one would expect policy transfer to occur." They found multiple and competing discourses—particularly around the major national policy visions for the agricultural sector and the role of smallholder farmers within this. Importantly, they highlight that the dominant domestic discourse privileges the business elite and openly encourages private investment and foreign capital as business partners in new agro-industrial activities, pointing to an emerging national bourgeoisie within Tanzania. Not only have neoliberal policy discourses been imbibed from the outside since the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, they are simultaneously promoted within Tanzanian government by officials who are themselves part of an internationalized business class closely connected with donors and private sector actors, and who see such public–private partnerships as being in their own interests. This is an important consideration in exploring the factors shaping the reception and diffusion of gender mainstreaming in the context of agricultural development discourse in Tanzania.

Our study expands beyond the existing literature by bringing together research on global norm diffusion and policy isomorphism to critiques of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy within Tanzania's CSA policy framework. We contribute to these debates by exploring what "gender" it is that is being mainstreamed, and by answering the following questions: What is the problem represented within Tanzanian policy regarding the relationship between gender and agriculture in Tanzania? How is this then "governed" through policy-implementation plans? What does this demonstrate about the capacity of the Tanzanian state to understand and approach gender within

the agricultural sector? In light of Tanzania's decentralized governance structure, we also explore how policy is disseminated and implemented through levels of government.

4 | METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

4.1 | Analytical approach

This article uses a discourse analytical perspective (Fischer, 2003; Feindt & Oels, 2005) combined with the "What's the Problem Represented to be?" (WPR) tool (Bacchi, 2009) to consider how gender is mainstreamed across Tanzania's national CSA policy landscape. With its roots in Fairclough's (1995) seminal work, critical discourse analysis examines policy as discourse, allowing the researcher a particular awareness of the role and importance of language within policy (Feindt & Oels, 2005). Exploring the policy transfer of gender mainstreaming within Tanzania's national CSA policy landscape requires exploration of the framing and narratives of gender present within these policies and the extent of external influence on the policy process. A discourse analytical perspective—drawing on Foucault's (1991) theory of discourse—also helps to explore how policies exercise power through a production of truth, and in the process discursively construct gender and social relations.

The WPR approach follows a practical methodology to extract and scrutinize problem representations (Bacchi, 2009)[2]:

1. What is the problem (for example gender inequality) represented to be?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this problem representation?
3. How has this problem representation come about?
4. Can the problem be thought about differently, and what is not being considered in this problem representation?
5. What effects are produced by this problem representation?
6. How/where has this problem representation been produced and disseminated, and how has it been (or could it be) questioned or replaced?

Together, these tools enable critical rigorous appraisal of the extent to which gender has been mainstreamed within Tanzania's national CSA policy landscape-with a discourse analytical perspective enabling study of *which* gender discourses are included and the WPR approach leading the researcher to question *why* certain discourses are included where others are not.

4.2 | Policy selection

We illustrate Tanzania's CSA policy framework in Figure 1 within a broader policy framework aimed at driving agricultural development and reducing poverty within Tanzania. This demonstrates which policies are in place to target the agricultural sector, the relationship between these policies, and how together they aim to operationalize the Five-Year Development Plans (FYDP I and II), The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (I and II,

[2]The background to the WPR approach is the argument that we are governed through problematizations of aspects of society that need to be fixed. Effective implementation of gender mainstreaming requires a focus on how policy creatively constructs problems and hence shapes how we understand gender relations and gender inequality (Bacchi & Eveline, 2003). The WPR approach therefore lends itself particularly well to policy discourse analysis through approaching policies as "prescriptive texts"—discussed by Foucault as texts that construct social relations and prescribe how societies should be governed. The WPR approach thus builds on Foucault's use of problematizations (Rabinow, 1997) through encouraging a critical interrogation of policies (Bletsas & Beasley, 2012) in how they "give shape and meaning" to the "problems they purport to address" (Bacchi & Eveline 2010, p.111).

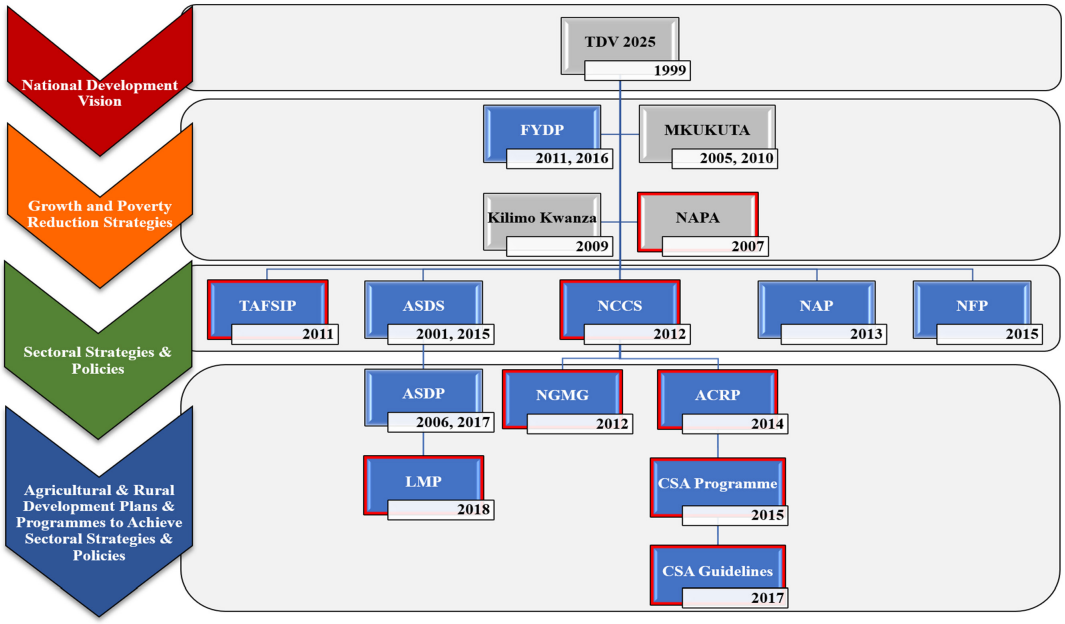

FIGURE 1 Tanzania's CSA policy landscape—outlining the policies in place to target the agricultural sector. Policies shaded in grey have not been included in the analysis as they were produced prior to 2010. Policies outlined in red received financial and technical support from international organizations and country development partners—further details are in Annex 1.

known as MKUKUTA I and II), Kilimo Kwanza ("Agriculture First"), and the National Adaptation Plan for Action (NAPA)—and so provide a roadmap to achieve the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 (TDV) of becoming a middle-income country by 2025.[3] At the national level, we selected key Tanzanian policies (all plans, programmes, strategies and guidelines are henceforth referred to as policies) related to CSA specifically but also in the fields of agriculture (including consideration of crops, livestock, and fisheries), climate change, and development, as these areas allow for a broader perspective of how gender is conceptualized within Tanzanian policies associated with CSA.

The analytical focus of this article is mainland Tanzania. As this research is focused specifically on CSA, the following policies written from 2010—when the concept of CSA was first introduced and entered policy-making arenas (Chandra et al., 2018)—to 2019 (year of analysis) were included:

1. Tanzania Climate Smart Agriculture Programme, 2015
2. Tanzania National CSA Guideline, 2017
3. Tanzania National Agriculture Policy (NAP), 2013
4. Agricultural Sector Development Programme Phase 2 (ASDP II), 2017
5. Agricultural Sector Development Strategy II (ASDS II), 2015
6. Tanzania Agriculture Climate Resilience Plan (ACRP), 2014
7. Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP), 2011
8. Tanzania National Climate Change Strategy (NCCS), 2012
9. Tanzania Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP I), 2011b
10. Tanzania Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP II), 2016

[3]This was achieved five years ahead of schedule as Tanzania was recategorized as a lower-middle income country by the World Bank in July 2020. However, it should be noted that this does not yet take into account the impact of COVID-19 on Tanzania's economy.

11. The National Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender into Climate Change Adaptation Related Policies, Strategies, Programmes, and Budgets (NGMG), 2012
12. Tanzania Livestock Master Plan (LMP), 2018
13. Tanzania National Fisheries Policy (NFP), 2015

Where possible, the FAO Legislative Database (FAOLEX) (n.d.) was used to obtain national policy documents. The Tanzanian Government Portal and/or a web search was used to obtain the remaining documentation. Further details of each policy are detailed in Annex 1. This review is particularly pertinent to Tanzania as many of the policies reviewed (Annex 1) are currently in review.

4.3 | Coding

Inductive coding of policy documents was employed using NVivo 12. This was useful in examining each policy document in full as a discourse and to code text into different themes. Inductive coding allowed categories and narratives to emerge through the analysis rather than being preconditioned by the researcher (Behrman et al., 2014).

A first round of coding scanned for any mention of gender, with a second round of coding involved searching for key words ("gender," "women," "men") and terms ("gender mainstreaming," "gender equality," "gender social norms") within the documents to ensure that all relevant text was captured. Different codes were assigned depending on the ideas and concepts and how gender issues were discursively framed within the policy text, including, for example, the following codes: "definition of gender," "women's access to agricultural resources," and "women's vulnerability to climate change." Following this, the final stage analysed the coded text to group the initial codes into dominant themes and concepts.

This process enabled us to determine the representations of dominant problems and key gender narratives within the Tanzanian CSA policy landscape. For example, we grouped the initial codes concerning women's access to resources and inherent vulnerability into a dominant narrative that demonstrated that discussions of gender equality within Tanzania's policies are often framed as being solely women's issues and rely on popularized gender myths.

4.4 | Key informant interviews

The findings were supported and validated through nine key informant interviews conducted between March and September 2020.[4] Key informants were purposively sampled to represent perspectives among Tanzania's National Government Ministries, universities, NGOs, and development partners/international finance institutions (IFIs). At government level, key informants who had experience of working in ministries involved in the production of the policies the majority of analysed were selected (Annex 1). Where direct quotes are used, job/sector titles are given in order to give background to viewpoints while ensuring the anonymity of interviewees.

5 | DISCUSSION

Our discussion is structured as follows: first, a critical analysis of what gender is mainstreamed within Tanzania's national CSA policy framework, i.e. what themes and narratives are dominant, and, importantly, a consideration of how and why donor-driven gender discourse impacts how such policies are designed and implemented. Second,

[4]Most of these interviews took place online owing to the COVID-19 pandemic.

we explore how gender is mainstreamed within Tanzania's (in theory) decentralized governance structure given that lower governance levels are tasked with the interpretation and implementation of policy directives concerning gender mainstreaming.

5.1 | Gender narratives within Tanzania's CSA policy landscape

Our analysis revealed four dominant narratives around what and how gender is mainstreamed within the Tanzanian CSA policy landscape: (1) gender being either absent or inconsistent (gender blind); (2) gender discourse focusing solely on women (gender = women); (3) and, within this, women being consistently portrayed as victims (reinforcing gender stereotypes); and (4) a disjuncture between gendered policy goals/objectives and implementation and monitoring plans (limited and inconsistent implementation plans)-outlined in Table 1 at the end of this section. The first three narratives demonstrate that if and when text around gender is included within Tanzania's CSA policy documents, it is often inconsistent, repetitive, and likely to have been copied verbatim from elsewhere, and to reflect donor-driven discourses that reinforce gender stereotypes around women's inherent vulnerability and domestic responsibilities. Our analysis of the implementation and action plans of Tanzania's CSA policy landscape revealed that any ambition relating to gender mainstreaming appeared to stop at policy formation level, rarely carrying through into planned interventions to tackle gendered inequalities, and often with no monitoring plan in place to track progress.

In discussing why gender was absent or inconsistent across policy, interviewees noted that gender is often included as something of a box-ticking exercise to please development organizations providing technical and financial support to the policy process, as suggested by one intergovernmental organization informant in reference to Tanzanian policy:

> *our policy environment is also externally driven, financed if I may say. So, that explains a lot, why we have just gender as a component thrown into the policy rather than having it as part and parcel of the policy.*

Looking further into which policies included the generalized gender statements seen in Table 2, our analysis highlighted that many of these policies received financial and technical support from international development organizations (CSA Programme) such as the FAO (CSA Guideline), World Bank (ACRP), and United Nations Development Programme (NGMG), and also bilateral agencies (TAFSIP) such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID, now the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office) (CSA Guideline, ACRP), the Danish International Development Agency (NCCS), and Japan International Cooperation Agency (NGMG). This is important as this recurring narrative of the vulnerable woman in need of development assistance fits into the mainstream stylized gender myths noted by Doss et al. (2018) and is evident within the rhetoric of these same organizations (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; MacGregor, 2010).

Framed within a focus exclusively on women and their consistent portrayal as victims, the "vulnerable woman in need of assistance" trope is reminiscent of the discourses of the Women, Environment and Development (WED) movement (Agarwal, 1992; Resurrección, 2013) and stems from pressures within the development agenda to simplify narratives to provide an entry point for gender within the development discourse (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). The recognition that the impacts of climate change will be articulated along social poverty lines (Nelson et al., 2002) has provided space in the international development agenda for the women's movement to again strategically position itself and revive its rhetoric to drive policy and programming. This is not to say that women are not sometimes vulnerable to climate change—but this will vary widely depending on different contexts. Importantly, such narratives also homogenize all women into a single group, who are all inherently vulnerable to climate change. As Chigbu et al. (2019) argue, this homogenization is tantamount to a lack of recognition of women and their individuality, with their development becoming constrained by stereotypes. This tendency to focus on the "vulnerable

TABLE 1 Four dominant narratives that describe how gender is conceptualized across Tanzania's CSA policy landscape.

	Description	Policy Example(s)	Interview Example(s)
Gender Blind	Gender either not included or inconsistently discussed across policies	1. **LMP:** gender was not mentioned once 2. **ASDS II:** gender was not mentioned in the policy goals nor objectives across ASDS II 3. **FYDP I:** despite stating that *"gender equality…has been given special emphasis in the plan,"* gender was mentioned just three times across the main document 4. **National CSA Guideline & NCCS: the** text around gender had clearly been copied verbatim across study sites and objectives/interventions	1. This finding was reconfirmed across all key informant interviews, with one intergovernmental organization informant stating: *"Most of them* [policies] *are gender-blind…it depends on who is in the policy-making process. When it is dominated by men, gender is not an issue"* 2. When asked what this narrative says about the Government of Tanzania's approach to tackling gendered inequalities, one academic informant again noted that the "fashion" of including gender within policies means that those involved in its production will *"cut it from anywhere and paste it there…because it pleases development partners"*
Gender = Women	Gender discourse focusing solely on women	1. **ACRP:** states *"The ACRP is an opportunity to build resilience of female farmers"* and calls for a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of climate change on women and girls 2. **ASDP II and TAFSIP:** used the phrase *"women and other vulnerable groups"* 3. Nine of the 13 policy documents included instances where women were discussed in terms of their vulnerability	1. All key informant interviews illustrated this, with two interviewees noting that it is becoming "fashionable" to include gender—and particularly in terms of women's vulnerability—in Tanzanian policy, with one former government employee informant noting: *"you are not empowering them, you are just giving them names, you are giving them titles"* 2. Multiple informants also noted that this comes down to a simplistic understanding of the concept of gender in Tanzania: *"in Tanzania unfortunately… when you speak of gender…they mean women"* (former government worker); and *"in Tanzania, gender is synonymous with women"* (academic)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

	Description	Policy Example(s)	Interview Example(s)
Reinforcing Gender Stereotypes*	Women are consistently portrayed as universal victims of climate change	1. **NAP:** *"there are inadequate skills and knowledge among women"* 2. **CSA Guideline:** *"women have a… greater dependence on natural resources for livelihoods, responsibility for food production"* 3. **TAFSIP:** *"women as producers of staple food and the guardians of household food and nutrition security"*	1. Key informant interviews illustrated just how embedded these stereotypes are within Tanzanian society, with almost all interviewees promoting the narrative that women are inherently more vulnerable to climate change: • *"Women are differently impacted by climate change"* (intergovernmental organization informant) • *"Women are more vulnerable to climate change… we know women have less productivity in their farms…we are the main care givers in the house"* (IFI informant)
Limited and Inconsistent Implementation Plans	Gender included in policy goals/objectives but not carried through to implementation plan nor given any gendered performance indicators	1. **CSA Programme:** included gender in the first core objective to *"increase productivity of the agricultural sector through (appropriate) climate-smart agriculture practices that consider gender"* - yet did not outline how appropriate CSA practices should consider gender, nor was gender mentioned in any of the policy actions to achieve the objectives. 2. **CSA Guideline:** *"enhance gender and youth capacity to adapt"* was frequently included in the gender recommendations across the 21 study sites but how this should be achieved was never outlined, with no mention of gender within the performance indicators of the monitoring and evaluation plan 3. **NFP:** included a policy objective to *"ensure that gender issues are mainstreamed in the fisheries and aquaculture interventions in order to attain gender equity and development"*—yet how this is to be achieved was not discussed. 4. **FYDP I & II:** noted that a lack of M&E indicators is common across Tanzania's policy frameworks: *"More than 10 years have elapsed since Vision 2025 was launched. In the absence of a formal framework for monitoring and evaluating its implementation, efforts to evaluate the progress and achievements have been thwarted, making it difficult to ascertain the outcome on the country's development"* (FYDP I)	1. Key informant interviews also supported this, with one NGO informant noting: *"most of the policies are well formulated but… lack implementation strategies"*—an issue that many informants noted was common across Tanzania's policy landscape 2. Lack of guidelines as to how "gender mainstreaming" should be done was picked up by one academic informant: *"the mere mention of gender mainstreaming does not make such policies gender sensitive…we need to see the strategies in place with regard to gender mainstreaming"* 3. One academic informant stated that *"policies were written just as aspirations of what you want to achieve… there was no plan actually for implementing them. And at the end of the day there was no monitoring and evaluation"* 4. Suggested reasons for this disjuncture were a lack of co-ordination between ministries and a lack of resources when it comes to implementation

*Table 2 describes these stereotypes in more detail.

TABLE 2 Narrative 3: Reinforcing Gender Stereotypes—dominant gender narratives and reasons cited within the analysed policies.

Gender Narratives	Frequently cited reasons supporting each narrative	Policies
Women more vulnerable to climate change/affected by climate change impacts	Women have: • less access to resources, information, education/training and credit • fewer assets (e.g. land, credit) and face legal or regulatory obstacles • low literacy levels and less say in decision-making • limited mobility • greater dependence on natural resources	CSA Guideline ASDP II TAFSIP NCCS FYDP I NGMG
Women have lower agricultural productivity	Women have: • limited technological support and skills • less access to resources • other (time-consuming) responsibilities	NAP ACRP FYDP II NGMG
Unequal gender roles: women have more domestic responsibilities	Women have: • responsibility for food production, water, and fuel • more caring responsibilities which affects participation in political and economic activities, adult literacy programmes, and training • more responsibilities owing to male urban migration • inadequate skills and knowledge • inequitable access to productive resources and inappropriate technologies	CSA Guideline NAP NCCS NGMG

woman" within Tanzanian policy is thus reflective of neoliberal understandings of poverty within international development, whereby vulnerability is framed as an individual problem resulting from identity-based disadvantage (Mdee et al., 2020)—through simply being a woman in this context. This was noted by an informant from an international development organization: "*those policies are not even addressing gender, they were there characterizing women…as people who are vulnerable*."

This mimicry of mainstream gender narratives within the Tanzanian CSA policy framework underlines the domination of some aspects of Tanzanian policy-making by donors and NGOs, as noted by a Tanzanian national working in the Tanzanian office of an intergovernmental organization: "*most of the development including the CSA is coming from the outside with the package of gender…but that gender is not unpacked to suit the local circumstances*."

This was also noted by informants who had experience working in government in Tanzania, in the words of another informant working in a different international development organization: "*if they [policy-makers] know you are a donor, they will speak the language you want to hear.*"

Several informants suggested that the influence of these donors on the policy process meant that gender mainstreaming was included within Tanzania's policies so as to accommodate donor requirements—as a former government employee put it: "*I have seen in some documents that people are doing it [gender mainstreaming] just for the sake of funds*."

That the aspirational narrative of gender mainstreaming appears to stop at policy formation level—with limited and inconsistent implementation plans, operational clarity, or budget—was also evident in Uganda's climate change policy, a neighbouring country with similarly high levels of aid dependency (Acosta et al., 2019). This is perhaps unsurprising given the lack of international agreement on what exactly gender mainstreaming means or

how it should be done. In the absence of clear implementation and monitoring plans, "mainstreaming" gender throughout policy and programming by retrofitting a gendered focus into existing projects, often led by staff who have little experience or knowledge of gender analysis, is likely to result in gender becoming invisible in many programmes as a result of critical issues and opportunities being missed (Quisumbing et al., 2014).

Indeed, in almost half of the policy documents analysed, gender considerations were included in the cross-cutting section of the policy—often grouped together with "youth." However, across the policies it was never outlined *how* gender cuts across different sectors of society, nor how it should 'be addressed in all thematic areas' (ASDS II). For example, in the NCCS, gender was mentioned just once outside the cross-cutting section—indicating there was little recognition of how gendered inequalities impact different aspects of society. Noting how cross-cutting issues are neither budgeted for nor made specific to the activity level, an informant from an international development organization explained, "*So, this cross-cutting issue becomes no one's responsibility…it just falls through the cracks*."

This points to the power of external development organizations over the policy process in Tanzania, as a former government employee noted:

> *The World Bank has been a very big funder to [the Agriculture] Ministry. And FAO…UK Aid, DFID…they have been stipulating that…if your interventions, or your programme, or your projects do not show exactly how you are going to deal with gender, we are not giving you money.*

Interrogating further the influence of such organizations, it became apparent in some key informant interviews that the actual production of some policies is, in fact, outsourced to external consultants, highlighting how the policy process is a co-production between Tanzanian policy elites and external consultants who have absorbed the gender mainstreaming agenda. An informant from an international development organization clearly emphasized this: "*as a rule of thumb, all these Ministries are using consultants to do their policies…so the document is detached from the reality and the people who should implement it*."

They went on to reflect on the consultative/participatory workshops within the policy process, supposedly there to ensure that policies are robust and have input from multiple sectors of society: "*They just want to say 'oh so many people attended the consultative session'…They didn't give us the document prior to the meeting! They come with a PowerPoint presentation*."

Considering the gender stereotypes included within the Tanzanian CSA policy framework and the policy-implementation gaps discussed above, we agree with Ferguson (2015) that the prevalence of consultants and "gender experts" in international policy processes has not led to the high-quality gender mainstreaming processes envisaged, and indeed may be complicit in embedding neoliberal models of development (Fraser, 2013) by giving the appearance of "doing gender" reduced to "helping women" (Cornwall, 2007). As a case in point, numerous informants touched on gender quotas and improved female representation within Tanzanian policy-making as evidence that gender is being adequately addressed.

Presenting and accepting all women as inherently vulnerable and as a target group for interventions not only shifts attention away from the structural causes of such inequities, but it also shapes the interventions that are included as a result, as picked up by one IFI informant: "*What are the main underlying causes of these issues that we need to address? That could be missing and might also influence the nature of the solution that we might take on board*."

In sum, we argue that the policy transfer of gender mainstreaming, and the gendered assumptions and myths that underpin this, produces policy that appears more like "*wish lists*" that can be "*really well produced but are not going to work here [in Tanzania]*," in the words of an employee of an intergovernmental organization and a former government employee, respectively. This was further underlined by an IFI informant who stated "*The gap is in implementation itself because no clear guidance is given on how this should be done*."

5.2 | Mainstreaming gender within Tanzania's decentralized governance structure

Our analysis of how gender is mainstreamed within Tanzania's decentralized governance structure yielded some important insights into the capacity of the Tanzanian state to understand and engage with gendered inequities within the agricultural sector. We found: (1) a lack of state capacity to make use of evidence on the relationship between gender and agriculture in Tanzania; (2) limited dissemination of policy from national to local level; and (3) a lack of capacity and resources at local level to interpret and implement policy.

First, the four narratives set out at the start of subsection 5.1 suggest a lack of state capacity to make use of existing evidence on the relationship between gender and agriculture in Tanzania. For example, despite the LMP being completely gender blind, there are numerous studies that highlight gendered differences in types and sizes of livestock-keeping in Tanzania (Covarrubias et al., 2012; Galiè et al., 2015), as well as Eastern/Southern Africa (Njuki & Sanginga, 2018), and more generally (Doss, 2018; Kristjanson et al., 2014).

Going beyond a sole focus on gender as the main axis of inequality, more effective policy for addressing gender within CSA requires increased incorporation of already existing evidence on intersectional inequalities in agriculture in Tanzania – for example, Van Aelst and Holvoet (2016) and Tavenner and Crane (2019). In neighbouring Kenya, Mungai et al. (2017) outline why it is important to take an intersectional approach to CSA to enable policy-makers to understand how an individual's multiple identities intersect to mediate inequalities within the agricultural sector, and thus how to structure policies in a manner that acknowledges these complexities.

That very few of the policy documents cite academic studies to back up their gender stereotypes (Table 2) further points to a lack of engagement with the wealth of literature on the relationship of gender and agriculture within Tanzania. Other than the ACRP, which cited an Open University of Tanzania report to support the statement that gendered access to resources results in women having lower agricultural yields than their male farmer counterparts, the second and final policy document to cite studies was the NGMG—yet these references are limited to supporting the numerous claims as to the inherent vulnerability of women to climate change. As argued by Ferguson (2015), the failure to include academic insights within policy often boils down to having to "sell" gender to sceptical policy-makers and hence refraining from presenting ideas about gender that are "too complex" or "too political."

That Tanzanian policy is out of step with feminist theory and empirical research points to a lack of understanding and commitment among policy-makers themselves—as highlighted by an informant from an international development organization: "*you cannot require gender to be mainstreamed very well when they [policy-makers] don't know themselves*," and reiterated by an academic informant: "*There is no political will to mainstream gender.*"

The international development organization informant reflected further on his experience of pushing for Tanzania's agricultural policies to include gender, noting that it was not until female MPs engaged with the issue that the need for gender inclusion was taken seriously:

> "*We presented the findings to the members of Parliament in Tanzania, and I got a professional shock…I just couldn't believe…the lack of appreciation that gender was in any way related to climate change, related to food security!*"

This also demonstrates how gender is predominantly viewed as a woman's issue—where it is the job of female MPs (a minority) and "gender people/specialists" (who are always thought of as women) to fight for their "appreciation" and inclusion within Tanzanian policy—itself due to such gender specialists being included in the policy process.

Furthermore, the policy-implementation gaps outlined above are particularly evident within Tanzania where, in theory, due to the policy rhetoric of decentralized governance (Mdee & Ofori, 2018), the responsibility for interpreting and implementing these policies falls to local government authorities (LGAs). One former government worker informant commented:

"*The [Agriculture] Ministry is disseminating to the district level only, who are supposed to take it further to the ward and villages…things are stuck like that*," before explaining further that the limited dissemination of policy from national to local level leads to capability traps:

> "*have these ground level people interpreted the national policy well and correctly so that they can put it into implementation?…if interpretation is not done very well and correctly here, expect dis-linking*."

This is compounded by LGAs, which frequently lack trained personnel who understand how or why gender should be mainstreamed, as well as lacking the technical and financial resources to do so. As an international development organization informant put it:

> "*The districts would tell you 'we don't know how to do this'…they have never had any training on gender before*."

This issue was even discussed within policy, with ASDS II stating:

> The LGAs are supposed to be epicentre of planning and implementation of agricultural development programmes…However, some of local government authorities usually suffer from a number of problems…delayed and inadequate deployment of funds from approved national budgets. These weaknesses are known and they need to be addressed.

This is also evidenced in the wider literature on local service delivery (Mdee et al., 2017; Mdee et al., 2020; Mdee & Mushi, 2021; Mollel and Tollenaar, 2013; Pilato et al., 2018).

Although this article does not examine the finance allocated to budgeting for gender-responsive actions contained in the documents analysed, Ampaire et al. (2016) found a significant gap between policy-implementation strategies and gender budgets in Tanzania's natural resource sector policies, with many national policies and district plans either not budgeting for gender at all or having inconsistent budgeting plans. A drive to include "women" and "youth" led to the allocation of 10% of district revenues to formally registered women and youth groups in Tanzania (5% each). However, the informants noted that most women's groups do not receive these funds, which are often diverted into more tangible local infrastructure projects. Mdee and Ofori (2018) highlight that the opaque application process and the delay in distributing funds mean that the impact of such funding is minimal and subject to elite capture. This was supported by a former government informant: "*If you are waiting for the government money, they cannot be followed closely…Because funds will be little and will not be enough*."

This issue is not limited to gender and is part of a wider issue in Tanzania's supposedly decentralized governance structure, where roughly three-quarters of the (already limited) local budgets go towards fixed costs (salaries and district council meetings), with further limits on the use of the remaining budget—meaning local development plans are rarely funded (Venugopal & Yilmaz, 2010).

Looking further afield, underfunded and under-resourced local councils and districts are a common issue in policy implementation in Southern and Eastern Africa, as reported in both Malawi and Zambia (Mdee et al., 2020). In practice, Tanzania's governance remains highly hierarchical and centralized, and LGAs receive scant resources and lack authority-with the result that they are ill-equipped to implement policy interventions and are often forced to try to make up the shortfall through donor-funded projects (Mdee et al., 2020; Mdee & Ofori, 2018).

6 | SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research has shown that, on the international stage, gender mainstreaming relies on and perpetuates gender myths and the homogeneity of women. Focusing on identity-based disadvantage limits any engagement with the

complex reality of inequities as a product of structural class relations, resource control, and power. It also leads to identity-based labelling as a strategy to tackle inclusion (Mdee et al., 2020), fitting women into the status quo through representation politics rather than transforming the status quo (Nkenkana, 2015).

We find little evidence that gender has been effectively mainstreamed across Tanzania's CSA policy framework, with a significant gap between the normative goal of gender mainstreaming and the actual inclusion of gender (and intersectional) inequalities within policy. This is compounded by limited understanding and commitment within the Tanzanian government—from national to local level—of how such inequities impact the agricultural sector. As a proxy of best practice favoured by major donor states and organizations, gender mainstreaming offers a classic case of how the good governance problem leads to isomorphic mimicry whereby policies and institutions give the appearance of gender being understood and taken seriously, but in practice lack intersectional understanding and recognition of local context, implementation specificity, or capacity to implement policies as designed. Crafted in the international arena, we demonstrate that the incorporation of gender mainstreaming across Tanzania's CSA policy framework leads to capability traps for the government to respond to the differentiation between farmers and to patterns of existing inequalities.

With calls to "leap beyond the endless debates on gender mainstreaming" (Sandler & Rao, 2012, p. 549), it is crucial that we move away from the gender myths and essentialism of women that has riddled work on gender mainstreaming, inherited from transnational neoliberal framings of gender. Incorporating greater conceptual clarity on gender inequalities within Tanzanian policy that is intersectional, contextual, and location-specific is imperative. We therefore argue against ambitious gender mainstreaming statements and for producing context-specific policy frameworks that respond to existing institutional capacity.

Producing detailed policy that deals with this complexity would require huge administrative capacity and, as indicated by our evidence here, is unlikely to make much difference in implementation potential. Therefore, looking to design such policy is implausible and counterproductive.

Rather, our argument is that it is imperative that policy is designed with implementation in mind—relating to existing institutional capacity to interpret and implement policy, monitor and track change, and understand dynamic and contested changes in gendered livelihood dynamics. From a WPR perspective, producing policy that relates to and starts with a contextualized understanding of existing evidence on intersectional inequities in Tanzania—and of existing institutional practice and capacity to implement—offers a way of navigating beyond these capability traps. To avoid the unsupported gender myths and assumptions upon which many internationally promoted gendered policy solutions are based, it may counterintuitively be better not to prioritize gender at all in order to address the complexities and intersectional nature of inequity (Hunting & Hankivsky, 2020). In the context of Tanzania, this would mean designing policy that does not uncritically absorb the gender mainstreaming rhetoric, but rather starts from an intersectional understanding of agricultural livelihood dynamics and nuanced patterns of resource use within the country.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The conceptual underpinnings and research design were conceived by all authors. R. Smith performed the data collection and analysis and created all figures and tables. The text was written by R. Smith, with contributions from A. Mdee and S. M. Sallu. All authors reviewed and revised the text.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We gratefully acknowledge helpful feedback from the anonymous reviewers. In addition, we thank the interviewees who generously offered their time and insights.

FUNDING INFORMATION

This work was jointly supported by the Priestley International Centre for Climate at the University of Leeds and the Biotechnology and Biological Sciences Research Council through UK Research and Innovation as part of the

Global Challenges Research Fund—AFRICAP programme—grant number BB/P027784/1. The authors also acknowledge the financial support of The Annette Lawson Charitable Trust and the logistical and technical support provided by the Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF) in Tanzania. The research was carried out under COSTECH research permit no. 2020–035- NA-2019-413.

The analysis and perspectives presented are those of the authors only and are independent of the institutions and organizations that facilitated the work.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data supporting the findings of this study are available upon request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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How to cite this article: Smith, R., Mdee, A. & Sallu, S. (2023). How gender mainstreaming plays out in Tanzania's climate-smart agricultural policy: Isomorphic mimicry of international discourse. *Development Policy Review*, *41*, e12718. https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12718

ANNEX 1

List of Tanzanian National Policies analysed with information as to each policy-implementation period, goal, Ministries involved and also the organizations that provided financial and/or technical support.

No.	Policy	Year	Implementation Period	Policy Goal	Ministries Involved in Production	Organizations providing Financial/ Technical Support
1	**Tanzania Climate Smart Agriculture Programme**	2015	2015–2025	*"To have an 'Agricultural sector that sustainably increases productivity, enhances climate resilience and food security for the national economic development in line with Tanzania National Development Vision 2025'"*	• Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives[1] • Vice President's Office	• New Partnership for Africa's Development Agency (NEPAD) • Southern African Development Cooperation (SADC) • Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) • East African Community (EAC) • The Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS)
2	**Tanzania National CSA Guideline**	2017	-	*"To inform implementation and up-scaling of CSA practices in Tanzania…The guideline provides a platform for application of sustainable approaches and practices across the agricultural, food security and climate change related policies at all levels"*	• Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries[2]	• Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) • VUNA Programme (DFID Funded)
3	**Tanzania National Agriculture Policy (NAP)**	2013	-	*"To facilitate the transformation of the agricultural sector into modern, commercial and competitive sector in order to ensure food security and poverty alleviation through increased volumes of competitive crop products"*	• Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives[1]	Not mentioned
4	**Agricultural Sector Development Programme Phase 2 (ASDP II)**	2017	2017/18–2027/28	*"Transform the agricultural sector (crops, livestock & fisheries) towards higher productivity, commercialization level and smallholder farmer income for improved livelihood, food security and nutrition"*	• Ministry of Agriculture	Not mentioned

No.	Policy	Year	Implementation Period	Policy Goal	Ministries Involved in Production	Organizations providing Financial/ Technical Support
5	**Agricultural Sector Development Strategy II (ASDS II)**	2015	2015/2016–2024/2025	*"Contribute to Tanzania's national economic growth and poverty reduction (Vision 2025/LTPP) by:* • *Promoting inclusive and sustainable agricultural growth (at a rate of 6 percent per annum);* • *Reducing rural poverty (i.e. reduce the percentage of rural population below the poverty line from 33.3% in 2011/12 to 24% by 2025/26);* • *Improving food and nutrition security (e.g, reduce % of rural households below food poverty line: 11.3% in 2011/2012 to 5% by 2025/26)"*	• Ministry of Agriculture	Not mentioned
6	**Tanzania Agriculture Climate Resilience Plan (ACRP)**	2014	2014–2019	*"To provide Tanzania's crop agriculture sub-sector and stakeholders with a roadmap for meeting the most urgent challenges of climate change"*	• Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives[1]	• World Bank • UK Department for International Development (DFID) • IDRC-funded climate change project under the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) • AGRA through Open University of Tanzania • The Bank-Netherlands Partnership Programme (BNPP)
7	**Tanzania Agriculture and Food Security Investment Plan (TAFSIP)**	2011	2011/12–2020/21	*"Contribute to the national economic growth, household income and food security in line with national and sectoral development aspirations"*	• Ministry of Finance	• "Funding of the task has been through the Governments and a number of development partners"

(Continues)

No.	Policy	Year	Implementation Period	Policy Goal	Ministries Involved in Production	Organizations providing Financial/ Technical Support
8	**Tanzania National Climate Change Strategy (NCCS)**	2012	-	*"To enable Tanzania to effectively adapt to and participate in global efforts to mitigate to climate change with a view to achieving sustainable economic growth in the context of the Tanzania's national development blueprint, Vision 2025; Five Years National Development plan; and national cross sectoral policies in line with established international policy frameworks"*	• Vice President's Office (Environment)	• Government of Denmark, TAFSIP Drafting Team
9	**Tanzania Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP I)**	2011	2011/12–2015/16	*"To unleash the country's resource potentials in order to fast-track the provision of the basic conditions for broad-based and pro-poor growth. The targeted average GDP growth rate for the FYDP I period is 8 percent per annum (equivalent to a 5 percent per capita growth target), building up from a 7 percent growth in 2010, and thereafter consistently maintaining growth rates of at least 10 percent per annum from 2016 until 2025"*	• President's Office, Planning Commission	Not mentioned
10	**Tanzania Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP II)**	2016	2016/17–2020/21	*"FYDP II…implements aspects of Tanzania's Development Vision (TDV) 2025 which aspires to have Tanzania transformed into a middle income and semi industrialized nation by 2025… raise annual real GDP growth to 10 percent by 2021 (from 7.0 percent in 2015), per capita income to US$ 1,500 (from US$ 1,043in 2014) and reduction of the poverty rate to 16.7 percent from 28.2 percent recorded in 2011/12"*	• Ministry of Finance and Planning	Not mentioned

No.	Policy	Year	Implementation Period	Policy Goal	Ministries Involved in Production	Organizations providing Financial/ Technical Support
11	**The National Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender into Climate Change Adaptation Related Policies, Strategies, Programmes and Budgets (NGMG)**	2012	-	*"To provide a systematic approach in mainstreaming gender into National Climate Change Adaptation related policies, strategies, programs, plans and budgets for MDAs, LGAs, CSOs and private sector to ensure gender equality in sustainable development"*	• Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children	• Government of Japan—financial support through the African Adaptation Programme (AAP) • United Nations Development Programme—facilitation
12	**Tanzania Livestock Master Plan (LMP)**	2018	2017–2022	*"The LMP is a series of five-year development implementation plans or 'roadmaps', to be used to implement the ASDP II…The LMP sets out livestock-sector investment interventions—better genetics, feed and health services, and complementary policy support—which could help meet the ASDP II targets by improving productivity and total production in the key livestock value chains of poultry, pork, red meat and milk, and dairy"*	• Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries	• Funded by Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation • Technical support from International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI)
13	**Tanzania National Fisheries Policy (NFP)**	2015	-	*"To develop a robust, competitive and efficient fisheries sector that contributes to food security and nutrition, growth of the national economy and improvement of the wellbeing of fisheries stakeholders while conserving environment"*	• Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries	Not mentioned

[1] The Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives was merged into the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries in 2015.

[2] The Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries split in 2017 into two separate Ministries to improve efficiency: the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries.