



REVIEW REPORT

Evaluation of Oxfam's work to increase citizen engagement and influence on agriculture policies and practices in Burkina Faso and Tanzania

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List of Acronyms

ANSAF	Agricultural Non State Actors Forum
AP	Agency for Peacebuilding
ASDP	Agriculture Sector Development Programme
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CPF	Confédération Paysanne du Faso
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DADP	District Agricultural Development Plan
EAC	East African Community
FFH	Female Food Hero
FGD	Focus group discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GII	Gender Inequality Index
KII	Key informant interviews
LEAP	Global Leaders Empowered to Alleviate Poverty
MAFSC	Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperative
MLDF	Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of the Parliament
MWI	Ministry of Water and Irrigation
NAFAN	New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PNSR	National Plan for the Rural Sector
PORALG	President's Office Regional Administration and local Government
SPONG	Secrétariat Permanent des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales
TAFSIP	Tanzanian Agriculture Food Investment Plan
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
TOC	Theory of Change

Executive Summary

Overview of Intervention

The initiatives evaluated in this report are part of Oxfam's global GROW campaign, which focuses on three pillars – 1) Agriculture and food production/consumption, 2) climate change, and 3) women and communities' rights to land – and has the overall aim of ensuring that “*people living in poverty can claim power in the way the world manages land, water and climate change, so that they can grow or buy enough food to eat – now and in the future.*” In particular, this evaluation looked at the agriculture advocacy strand (Strand III) of the *Global Leaders Empowered to Alleviate Poverty – Phase II (LEAP 2)*, a multi-country programme which funds part of the Oxfam Confederation's work in the GROW Campaign. Under this Strand, which aims to influence agricultural policies and practices in and for Africa, efforts are designed and implemented at the intersection of food and sustainable agriculture on the one side, and land and women's rights on the other. The principal goal is that more and better-used finance for agriculture is bringing benefits for poor women farmers and other small-scale agricultural producers.

Evaluation Framework

The evaluation focused only on activities implemented in the last three years (2015-2018) in Burkina Faso and Tanzania—two of the five African countries where agriculture advocacy activities under LEAP 2 have been implemented to date. The specific objectives guiding the evaluation were three: to generate evidence of change of Oxfam's and partners' work through the interventions; to generate evidence of change in Oxfam's efforts to create space for women farmers and civil society to meaningfully engage with decision-makers on different levels; and to analyze how Oxfam and partners can improve their work.

Overall, the focus of evaluation has been on learning and on producing actionable recommendations. The evaluation used an action-research approach based on multi-source qualitative data—e.g. a document review, focus group discussions (FGD) and key informant interviews (KII). In Burkina Faso, the evaluation took place in five locations: three cities (Ouagadougou, Koudougou and Bobo-Dioulasso) and two rural localities (Yagma and Orodara). In Tanzania the evaluation took place in Dodoma and in Dar es Salaam. Although most of the FGDs and KIIs took place in Dodoma, respondents were from different parts of the country. In total, 42 KIIs involving 45 informants and 8 FGDs were held, with women leaders, Oxfam staff and partners, policy-makers from different institutions, and other stakeholders who took part in LEAP 2 activities.

Summary of Findings

Burkina Faso

LEAP 2 project activities in Burkina Faso are well integrated into Oxfam's wider programming in the country. This initiative has been implemented by Oxfam and two main partners: the Confédération Paysanne du Faso (CPF) and the Secrétariat Permanent des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales (SPONG). The flagship activity within the project was the campaign around the "Rural Women's Manifesto: 10 measures to build a Burkina Faso without hunger." This manifesto was designed, through a participative process, by 25 rural women leaders representing farmer's organizations and CSOs involved in the agricultural sector, helped by CPF and SPONG and with Oxfam's support. The Manifesto became the main advocacy tool used for advocacy activities, which included: the organization of the Koudou du Faso and Koobo Awards, i.e. national events for farmers, political leaders, public administration staff in charge of the rural sector, journalists and cyber activists; capacity building for partners, and in particular women leaders; outreach to journalists to incentivize reporting on issues related to agriculture; and support to CPF and SPONG to engage with authorities on the second National Plan for the Rural Sector (PNSR 2).

Overall, these efforts have successfully kick-started change at three levels: first, women leaders involved in the project now have the capacities and self-confidence to speak out about their grievances, needs, and demands; secondly, women are also taken into account when decisions are made, both at the community and at the government levels; and thirdly, women's demands have started being addressed by the highest authorities. These results have been possible thanks to women's participation in the project's activities, such as trainings on advocacy techniques, budget monitoring, and engagement on national or continental policies like the PNSR 2 and the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP).

The programme also faced some challenges, mostly internal ones. The most important challenge encountered during the project related to the monitoring of the advocacy campaign, and was mainly due to the high number of measures in the Manifesto that had to be monitored. Another challenge was given by the nature of the national events, where relevant project messages were presented to larger audiences. While women leaders managed to seize these occasions to present their demands, the increasingly 'entertaining' nature of the events also meant that they were not always seen as an effective opportunity to address gender inequalities and women's grievances. Additionally, social mobilization of women at the local level, through marches or collective action, has not worked well mainly due to a lack of ownership. Finally, events like the Koudou du Faso and the Koobo Awards, despite their high potential, have had limited impact so far.

Tanzania

LEAP 2 activities in Tanzania are also an integral part of Oxfam's wider programming in the country. Activities have been implemented by Oxfam with a wide array of local partners, coalition building having been one key aspect of the intervention. Overall, three main components have been implemented: 1) the identification of political change-makers in key positions; 2) a study oriented to understand how the agricultural budget benefits small-scale food producers (and especially women), and the gaps, challenges and opportunities for change; and 3) network building with CSOs and groups engaged in ongoing gender budgeting analysis and advocacy. The flagship activity in Tanzania was the Female Food Hero (FFH) competition (*Mama Shujaa Wa Chakula*, in Swahili), a reality TV series that lasted five seasons, which involved thousands of women farmers and was broadcast nationally.

Overall, activities implemented in Tanzania under LEAP 2 have led to three main positive outcomes: first, the programme has increased evidence-based understanding of agricultural policies among women small farmers; secondly, it has improved advocacy for increasing women and other small-scale farmers' benefits from agricultural budgets and programmes; and lastly, it has increased public attention to the situation of small farmers, through FFHs. In addition, coalition building was effectively done, mainly through the establishment of the Agricultural Coalition, which included five national and international CSOs working on agriculture and was able to organize several meetings and forums at different levels, but in particular with Members of Parliament (MPs).

Here also the programme faced some challenges, both internal and external ones. The main challenge was that, in spite of reaching high-level officials, advocacy efforts have not yet produced the desired impact change, and the overall agricultural sector budget remains low, averaging 5% of total annual government budget over the last three years. In this case, Oxfam and partners have likely overestimated the role that MPs have. The difficulty in achieving impact can, however, also be linked to a key external challenge: namely, since coming into power, Tanzania's new government has set its priority on building an industrial economy, while also showing some resistance to listening to CSOs on agricultural issues.

Conclusions

Overall, it is interesting to see how interventions in the two countries have produced similar results and faced similar challenges. Yet, the differences, both in terms of the effectiveness of strategies and the type of results produced, are also important. In Burkina Faso, Oxfam and its partners have successfully influenced dynamics at two levels: first, women leaders involved in the project now have the capacities and self-confidence to speak out about their grievances, needs, and demands, including in front of authorities; and second, women's demands have

started being addressed by the highest authorities, with official promises made by the President and the Prime Minister. Some positive actions have also been taken (i.e. new land plots given to women), but progress is still needed in terms of monitoring promises, participation of senior officers and advocacy efforts at the local level.

In Tanzania, the overall advocacy strategy of Oxfam and its partners has positively contributed to improving the space for women farmers and civil society to engage with and influence decision-makers at local, regional and national levels. In particular, the research on the agriculture budget has generated evidence for advocacy and to engage decision-makers, in particular MPs. With them, significantly, Oxfam and partners have been successful in supporting women farmers on some policies (i.e. land ownership, on-time distribution of seeds, etc.) and the government has dedicated specific resources for them. But this engagement, while high level, has not yet produced the desired changes in terms of the national agricultural budget.

Comparing the achievements and challenges from both countries, one key finding is therefore that advocacy efforts by Oxfam have successfully reached a significant number of decision-makers, from the local to the national level. However, Oxfam will have to overcome challenges, seen in both countries but particularly in Tanzania, whereby governments tend to challenge CSOs when they criticize them or provide facts that do not favor them.

The overall theory of change for Strand III has proven to be an effective guiding tool for the interventions in both countries. However, its use has been limited, both in terms of thinking formally about what works and what does not, and for engaging partners around learning. Finally, the term *LEAP* is not familiar to many partners and stakeholders in either country. This is not necessarily a weakness. The opposite is probably true, in fact: the work is focused on advocacy issues and on the trust between policy-makers and Oxfam and its partners, without continuously labeling the activities.

Recommendations

Based on all data and information collected during the evaluation, the following recommendations are made to Oxfam and partners, and presented by key outcomes:

i) Meaningful engagement of women farmers

In order to build on the progress made in empowering women farmers to date, Oxfam should continue to invest in capacity building in both countries, and specifically in expanding these efforts to reach out more effectively to rural women at the grassroots.

In Burkina Faso, Oxfam and partners should engage more senior politicians and government officials during advocacy workshops.

And in Tanzania, the Agricultural Coalition should consider supporting women farmers with experts during the high-level policy meetings.

ii) Influencing decision-makers

Oxfam in both countries should pay greater attention to policies that affect the agriculture sector, in particular by analyzing the role of industrialization policies and developing advocacy messages accordingly.

In Burkina Faso, Oxfam and partners should specifically consider scaling up events like the Koudou du Faso and the Koobo Awards in order to reach their potential impact. The Koudou, in particular, could become a major feature in Burkina's rich events landscape. Additionally, Oxfam's partners should also target customary chiefs in advocacy efforts, as they still yield influence over land distribution and social dynamics at the community level.

In Tanzania, Oxfam should consider adding capacity-building trainings for senior level officials in ministries (e.g. on the role of women in agriculture). Oxfam should also mobilize partners to address the risks of working in a shrinking space for CSOs. The Agriculture Coalition should continue to liaise with the government at the highest possible level and in a coordinated fashion, and to do this, it could specifically appoint a person (perhaps on a rotational basis) to act as a focal point at ministerial level.

iii) Effective and context-appropriate strategies

In both countries, Oxfam should invest in conducting (or renewing) a power analysis in the agricultural sector. While change-makers have been identified in key positions, the power dynamics and structural barriers to change could be better defined, and are also in rapid transformation. Oxfam should then invest more time to adapt the theory of change for Strand III to the specific country contexts. And it should continue to ensure that the advocacy work is well structured at both national and local levels. In particular, Oxfam should organize more meetings between national policy-makers and community leaders.

In Burkina Faso, Oxfam and partners should review how much to invest on national events, in light of their increasingly 'entertaining' character. Oxfam should also build an enhanced policy monitoring system of its advocacy campaigns both at the local and national levels. And it should strengthen mobilization of women at the local level.

In Tanzania, finally, the Agricultural Coalition should review its internal organization, which could benefit from practical steps such as the signature of a memorandum of understanding.

1. Intervention Background

The initiatives evaluated in this report are part of Oxfam’s global GROW Campaign, which focuses on three pillars – 1) Agriculture and food production/ consumption, 2) climate change and 3) women and communities rights to land – with the aim of ensuring that “*people living in poverty can claim power in the way the world manages land, water and climate change, so that they can grow or buy enough food to eat – now and in the future.*” In particular, this evaluation looked at the agriculture advocacy strand (Strand III) of the *Global Leaders Empowered to Alleviate Poverty – Phase II (LEAP 2)*. LEAP 2 is a global funding platform aimed at defending and improving aid by traditional donors, influencing the development cooperation strategies of certain emerging economies, and increasing the availability of agricultural development budgets that benefit female and male smallholder farmers in Africa. The second phase of the programme ran from April 1st, 2015, to June 30, 2018, and it marked the first time that work under LEAP has been launched in Africa.

Strand III has two geographically delineated components: the first one aims to increase and improve investments for agricultural development in target African countries and at the pan-African level, particularly for small producers and women in five countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Tanzania); the second one aims at increasing and improving agricultural aid policies and budgets in target European countries (the Netherlands and Italy), at EU-level, and in the US. Agricultural budget advocacy (including analysis and tracking) has a prominent place under this Strand.

In target countries, and in Burkina Faso and Tanzania in particular, efforts are designed and implemented at the intersection of food and sustainable agriculture on the one side, and land and women’s rights on the other. The premises are that for those people who are on the front lines of the fight against hunger—i.e. those individuals whose livelihoods depend on small-scale food production, and especially for women—insecure tenure of land is a critical factor in preventing them from realizing the right to food. The rights of women are particularly important to achieving a better future where everyone has enough to eat because of women’s critical roles in access to and production of food all across Africa.

Overview of the Intervention Goals

The main goal guiding efforts under Strand III is that more and better-used finance for agriculture is bringing benefits for poor women farmers and other small-scale agricultural producers.¹ The first primary outcome – the one pertinent to this evaluation – is to “improve

¹ Oxfam International, “Global LEAP Strand III Overview”, 2015.

policies and programmes for agricultural development that benefit women and other small-scale farmers in target African countries, [which include] Burkina Faso, Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Tanzania.”² Under the Strand, four intermediate outcomes have been identified:

1. Increased evidence-based understanding of agricultural policies, investments and beneficiaries in the target African countries;
2. Improved advocacy for increasing women and other small-scale farmers’ benefit from agricultural budgets and programmes by key civil society organizations (CSO) allies in target African countries;
3. Improved public championing for increasing benefits from agriculture budgets and programmes for female and other smallholder farmers in target African countries;
4. Increased commitments by target African countries, the African Union, and other continental and regional bodies on agricultural spending that benefits women and other small-scale farmers in line with the Maputo Declaration of 10%.

The actual implementation of activities under Strand III varies from country to country. This is due to the differences in context that exist among target countries, as well as the different portfolios’ of Oxfam’s Country Offices. How Strand III activities were implemented in the locations chosen for the evaluation is described in detail in the country-specific sections of this report.

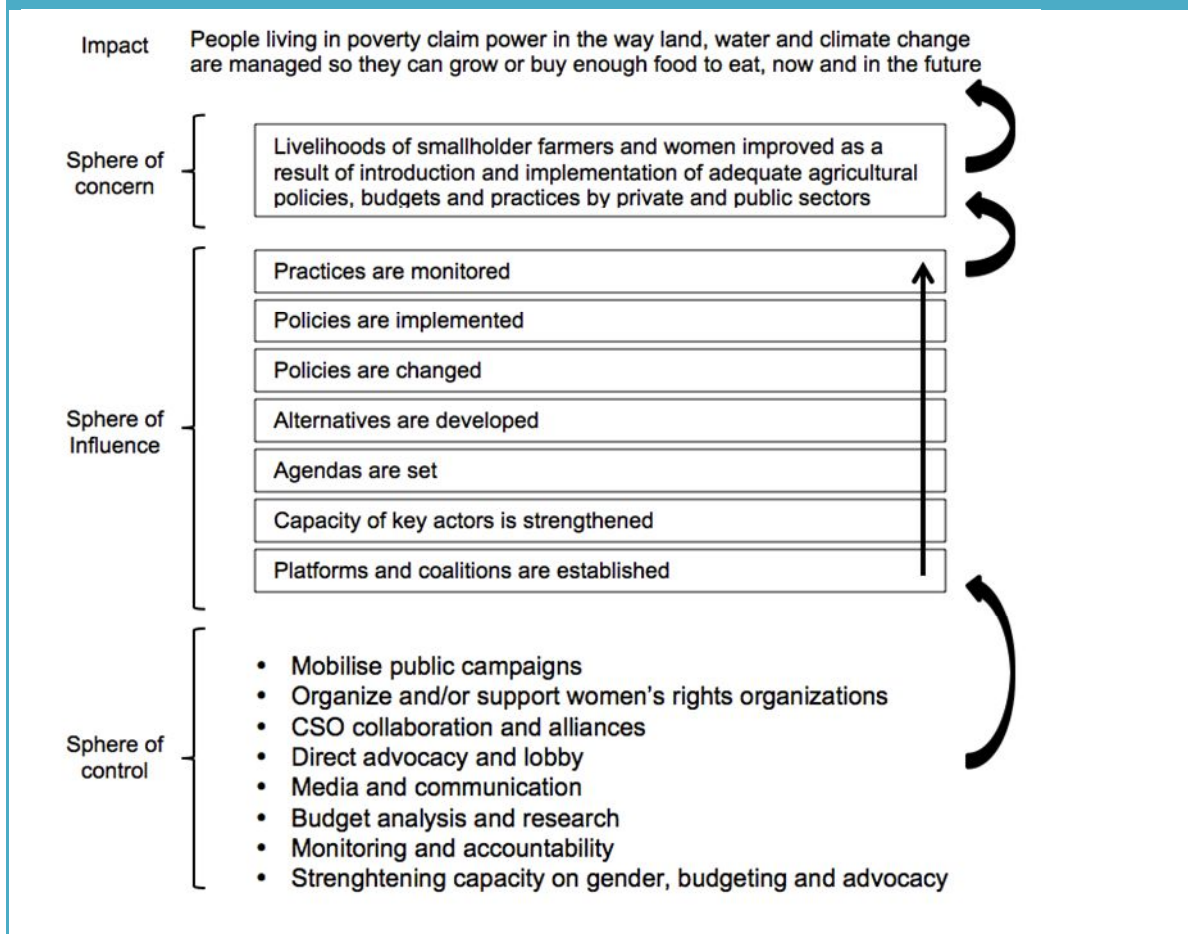
Description of the Intervention’s Theory of Change

Initiatives under LEAP 2’s Strand III are designed around a theory of change that describes how Oxfam sees change happening (e.g. the change pathways from actions and strategies to outcomes). Oxfam developed the original theory of change for LEAP 2 in 2014. It was then reviewed and amended as a result of LEAP’s mid-term review, which was completed in May 2017. It is this revised theory that has since then guided the organization’s efforts under Strand III, and for this reason it is hereby reproduced (albeit in simplified form).³

² Oxfam International, “Global LEAP 2, Strand III Results Framework”, 2015.

³ See: “Mid-Term Review - External evaluation of LEAP 2”, May 2017.

Table 1: LEAP 2 Strand III – Agricultural Advocacy Theory of Change



The theory of change is meant to highlight how change at impact level (i.e. the sphere of concern)⁴ should result from the combination of national, regional and international advocacy with public campaigning and collaboration with allies, networks, influential individuals and the public. Under the sphere of control, Oxfam and partners also seek to mobilize affected communities and consumers, engaging them in pushing for changes within the sphere of influence, that is, from governments and the private sector. Importantly, the theory of change, thus depicted, has so far represented more of a guide for Oxfam Country Offices in Africa rather than a tool for adapting programmes and developing strategies. This will be explored in further detail in the Reflections on the Theory of Change section.

⁴ As the desired impact of the LEAP 2 management team is shared with others involved in the GROW Campaign, its achievement is envisioned as the cumulative result of efforts and teams that work outside of LEAP.

2. Evaluation Framework

The evaluation was commissioned by Oxfam to assess the extent to which efforts under Strand III of LEAP 2 have achieved expected and unexpected outcomes and to identify evidence that these outcomes have contributed to improved agricultural development policies and programmes benefiting women and other small-scale farmers.

Evaluation Objectives and Approach

Overall, the focus of the evaluation has been on learning and its aim has been to produce actionable recommendations for how Oxfam and its partners can improve their efforts in the future. However, because of the complexity and breadth of Strand III efforts, the scope of evaluation was narrowed in two ways: first of all, it looked only at the last three years; secondly, while Strand III efforts target five African countries, evaluation activities focused only on Burkina Faso and Tanzania as case studies. The evaluation also did not focus on Strand III's second main outcome, which focused on key donors, although some references to this work are present in the report, where they are relevant for the analysis of collected data.

The specific objectives guiding the evaluation were three:

- To generate evidence of change of Oxfam's and core partners' work through the identified interventions (i.e. to what extent have the outcomes been achieved);
- To generate evidence of change of Oxfam and partners' efforts to create space for women farmers and civil society to meaningfully engage with decision-makers on different levels; and
- To analyze how Oxfam and core partners can improve their work going forward.

The evaluation used an action-research approach based on multi-source qualitative data. The following lines of inquiry were used to guide all data collection and analysis for the evaluation, in line with the chosen approach:

- To what extent did the efforts of Oxfam and core partners influence the attitudes, policies and practices of government officials in terms of creating space for meaningful engagement of civil society (particularly of women farmers) and policies and practices related to women and men smallholder farmers?
- How can Oxfam and partners improve efforts to create space for women farmers and civil society to meaningfully engage with and influence decision-makers directly at local, regional and national levels?
- How can Oxfam and partners be more effective in influencing decision-makers in terms of policy change and/ or improved implementation of existing policies related to women and smallholder agriculture?

- How does Oxfam and core partners understand the causal mechanisms behind their advocacy work?
- Based on the learning, how can Oxfam and core partners improve their work going forward?

Evaluation Activities

In Burkina Faso, the evaluation took place in five locations: three cities (Ouagadougou, Koudougou and Bobo-Dioulasso) and two rural localities (Yagma and Orodara). In total, 21 key informant interviews (KIIs) involving 23 informants and five focus group discussions (FGDs) were held, targeting women leaders, Oxfam staff and partners, stakeholders who took part in LEAP 2 activities (e.g. officials from the Ministries of Agriculture and Animal Resources, journalists, food caterers, rural women and customary chiefs). Among the 23 informants interviewed during the data collection, 10 were women and 13 men; 4 came from a governmental background and 19 from CSOs (including 2 from Oxfam). The research was carried out in April 2018 by a team of two researchers.

In Tanzania the evaluation took place in Dodoma and in Dar es Salaam. Although most of the FGDs and KIIs took place in Dodoma, respondents were from different parts of the country, as the evaluation team had the opportunity to conduct interviews and focus groups in the context of an activity conducted under Strand III (a multi-partner meeting and an Agriculture Forum that brought together beneficiaries, stakeholders and government officials). Overall, evaluation activities in the country included 21 interviews with 22 informants and three FGDs with women farmers, Oxfam and partners' staff, Members of Parliament (MPs) and officers from different departments in the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives. Among the 22 informants interviewed during the data collection, 18 were women and 4 men; 7 came from a governmental background and 15 from CSOs (3 from Oxfam). The research was carried out in May 2018, also by a team of two researchers.

Challenges

Evaluation activities were conducted in line with the agreed methodology and schedule, as these were finalized during the assignment's inception phase. Challenges were minor. In Burkina Faso, because of the diversity of interviewees, the evaluation team sometimes had to stray from the question guides, although always in line with the semi-structured approach chosen for KIIs. Another difficulty stemmed from the fact that partners in both countries did not always distinguish between Oxfam's projects, which tend to be intertwined, and therefore spoke about their collaboration with Oxfam more generally rather than specifically about LEAP 2. In Tanzania, the first three interviews were with informants who had very little knowledge

about LEAP 2 and therefore could not provide any valuable insight. However, the evaluation team adjusted immediately, identifying other key individuals with the support of Oxfam's staff and its partners. Interviews with them were more informative and valuable.

3. Intervention Context

Burkina Faso

Geographical Information

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country located at the heart of West Africa, south of the Sahel region. It counts around 19 million inhabitants⁵, known as Burkinabè. The majority of the population lives in rural areas (71.1%) although the urbanization rate has been increasing for thirty years, with the capital city Ouagadougou reaching 2.7 million inhabitants in 2015.⁶

Political Information

Burkina Faso is a semi-presidential republic, with President Roch Mark Christian Kaboré at the head of the State, and Prime Minister Paul Kaba Thieba heading the government. The country experienced significant political turmoil just before the start of the LEAP 2 programme. Indeed, in October 2014, a popular insurrection forced long-standing President Blaise Compaoré to resign and flee the country, opening the door to a one-year political transition and laying the ground for the country's most open and transparent presidential and legislative elections in its history. These were held in November 2015, despite an attempted coup d'état in September of the same year, and proved quite competitive: the ruling party, the *Mouvement du Peuple pour le Progrès*, had to form a coalition with smaller parties in order to secure a majority in Parliament following the electoral results. Local elections then took place in May 2016. The project was therefore implemented in a peculiar but favorable environment. With the outcome of the election uncertain beforehand – contrary to the four previous elections, which Compaoré won without surprise – candidates were more open to advocacy efforts, including from rural women who represent a sizable share of voters. Civil society had played a major role in bringing about the regime change, and levels of citizens' engagement have remained high since then. The 2014 events also revived the ideals of former President Thomas Sankara (1984-1987), in particular around the promotion and consumption of local products.

⁵ UN Data, *Burkina Faso* (available at <http://data.un.org/en/iso/bf.html>; accessed on 5 May 2018).

⁶ *Ibid.*

Environmental Information

Agriculture and cattle raising are the main activities for 86% of the population; and the rural sector contributes to 30% of the national GDP. Cotton and livestock are the country's main exports, overtaken only by gold since 2009. Indeed, Burkina Faso has over the last decade known a mining boom with the discovery of important gold deposits at a time when global gold prices have been rising. While agro-businesses are increasingly settling in the country, especially in the Western and Southern regions, family-based, extensive farming remains predominant across the country. The Sahelian part of the country is characterized by thin and poor soil vulnerable to water and wind erosion. High demographic pressure and climate change both affect the country's already limited resources.

Power Analysis

Burkina Faso is one of the poorest countries in the world – its GDP per capita was 627 dollars in 2016.⁷ In 2009, 46.7% of the population lived under the poverty line (2 dollars per day). Even though customary chiefs have officially no political power, they still yield extraordinary influence over their communities. This is especially true regarding land use, despite the fact that land is legally the property of the State or local governments, or is privately owned.⁸ In the Mossi Plateau and the Western region, which covers most of the central area of the country, power lies with the Village Chiefs, while land attribution is the prerogative of Land Chiefs, so as to avoid power concentration.

Gender Analysis

Burkina Faso ranks 185 out of 188 countries in the Gender Inequality Index (GII). Labor force participation is 76.6% for women compared to 90.7% for men.⁹ The country remains a deeply patriarchal society in which women are rarely included in decision-making processes, including on choices that concern them. A rare exception is women's own revenues: according to official statistics, how they are used is a decision taken mainly by the woman in 88% of the cases.¹⁰ Practices are particularly discriminatory regarding land access. Despite the fact that women are the pillars of family-based agriculture, land remains the property of men. Indeed, the National Gender Policy adopted in 2009 stated, "women, who are responsible for 75% of subsistence farming yields, paradoxically enjoy a weak access to means of production, human capital, and financial and dissemination services."¹¹ Even widows do not often inherit land from

⁷ World Bank, *Burkina Faso* (available at <https://data.worldbank.org/country/burkina-faso>; accessed on 5 May 2018).

⁸ National Parliament of Burkina Faso, *Law No. 034-2012/AN on Agrarian and Land Reform*, July 2012 (available at <http://extwprlegs1.fao.org/docs/pdf/bkf139639.pdf>; accessed on 15 June 2018).

⁹ UNDP, "Table 5: Gender Inequality Index", *Human Development Reports* (available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII>; accessed on 8 May 2018).

¹⁰ Government of Burkina Faso – National Institute of Statistics and Demography (INSD), *Enquête Démographique et de Santé et à Indicateurs Multiples (EDSBF-MICS IV) 2010*, April 2012.

¹¹ Government of Burkina Faso, *Document de la Politique Nationale Genre du Burkina Faso*, October 2009.

their husband. In line with this broad outlook, as well as with prevailing cultural norms, women often tend to shy away from speaking publicly in front of men and authorities.

Tanzania

Geographical Information

Tanzania is an East Africa country, the 13th largest country in Africa, and part of the East African Community (EAC). It counts around 55 million inhabitants.¹² The majority of the population lives in rural areas (67.8%) although the urbanization rate has also been increasing. Tanzania is mountainous and densely forested in the Northeast, while Central Tanzania is a large plateau, with plains and arable land. To the North and West lie Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika. To the Southwest lays Lake Nyasa.

Political Information

Tanzania is a presidential constitutional republic and since the 1970s Dodoma has been the country's official capital city. However, only since 2017 have political institutions been progressively relocated to the city.

For most of its history after gaining independence in 1961, Tanzania has been a single-party state, with the socialist-progressive Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) firmly in power. Only in 1992 did the country transition to a multiparty system. During the last national elections, in October 2015, John Pombe Magufuli (from CCM) was elected the country's fifth President, and the new government has since then prioritized efforts to clampdown on corruption, improve public administration and manage public resources for improved social outcomes.¹³

Economically, Tanzania has sustained relatively high economic growth over the last decade, with GDP growing at an average rate of between 6-7% per year. But while the poverty rate in the country has declined, the absolute number of people living in poverty has increased. As of 2018, Tanzania's GDP per capita is USD 3,457.¹⁴ Despite the steady growth, however, the country remains dependent on foreign aid, with about 40% of the government budget being financed by international donors.¹⁵

¹² UN Data, *Tanzania* (available at <http://data.un.org/en/iso/bf.html>; accessed on 15 May 2018).

¹³ World Bank, *Tanzania* (available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tanzania/overview>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

¹⁴ International Money Found, *World Economic Outlook Database*, April 2018, (available at <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2018/01/weodata/index.aspx>; Accessed on 17 May 2018).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Environmental Information

Although only 12% of Tanzania's land is arable, agriculture accounts for one-quarter of the GDP, grows at about 4% per year, contributes to over 70% of food consumed, 85% of exports, and employs 75% of the national work force, the majority being women.¹⁶

Agriculture is thus a crucial sector for the country's economy, but does not generally provide enough livelihood opportunities for those employed in it. Poverty is in fact heavily concentrated in rural areas and among smallholder farmers who are reliant on what they grow for what they eat. Many of these farmers do not have access to investment or infrastructure that would enable them to build secure livelihoods for themselves and their families.¹⁷

Recognizing this challenge, the Government of Tanzania has set up numerous policies for strengthening the agricultural sector with the aim of reducing poverty, and is implementing several investment initiatives, in line with the Malabo Declaration adopted by African heads of state to implement the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), which is Africa's main policy framework for agricultural transformation, wealth creation, food security and nutrition.¹⁸ Many of these policy initiatives fall under the umbrella of the Agriculture Sector Development Programme (ASDP)¹⁹, which is implemented at district level through District Agricultural Development Plans (DADPs). The financing mechanism and framework for the implementation of DADPs is led by the Tanzanian Agriculture Food Investment Plan (TAFSIP).

The Government has also urged measures to enable and encourage the private sector to play a more significant role in national development. Both governmental and international stakeholders believe in fact that private sector involvement in the country's development can help finance the Government's ambitious investment plans, be a source of finance and innovation, and create jobs for new entrants into the job market.²⁰

Finally, the agro-business sector has also expanded in recent years, with repercussions for traditional farmers. Although they may not own titles to it, smallholder farmers and cattle herders have in fact been using much of this land for centuries. The Government, however, has increasingly favored easy access to land for foreign investment, whereas those groups

¹⁶ UN Data, *Tanzania* (available at <http://data.un.org/Search.aspx?q=Tanzania>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Oxfam Tanzania Country Office, Internal documents, 2017.

¹⁹ The ASDP is a "basket fund" project which addresses the development challenge of enabling farmers to have better access to and use of agricultural knowledge, technologies, marketing systems and infrastructure, all of which contribute to higher productivity and farm incomes.

²⁰ World Bank, *Tanzania* (available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/tanzania/overview>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

have seen much of their customary spaces or property seized. This has led to rising conflicts over the land that remains.²¹

Power Analysis

The most recent Tanzanian elections, in October 2015, were believed to be the most competitive since the introduction of multi-party democracy. And while the CCM retained power in the end, the elections showed some positive milestones. For example, a unified opposition was able to present a realistic challenge to the ruling party. Also, while the new government has initiated a crackdown on civil society, including through legal and parliamentary processes, these have elicited a strong response and have been heavily criticized by national and international actors interested in protecting civic space. According to some analysts, there have been pockets of leaders from all sectors of society speaking out about assaults on freedoms and political violence²², which included limitations to freedom of information and expression, human rights abuses and weakened rule of law.²³

Gender Analysis

Tanzania ranks 151 out of 188 countries in the Gender Inequality Index (GII). Labour force participation is 74% for women and 83% for men.²⁴ In general, analysis on gender relations shows that “Women are more likely than men to be poor and illiterate and less likely to have access to training and credit.”²⁵

According to research conducted by Oxfam, while women make up 75% of the agricultural labor force, they own less than 10% of the land. Only 3% of women have access to formal financial services and 5% to agricultural extension services. Women struggle to gain fair access to markets, lack proper training and adequate tools and face threats of violence. This inequality is reinforced by negative societal attitudes towards smallholder farmers, particularly women, who are neither acknowledged nor valued for the crucial contribution they make to food production and the fight against poverty in the country.²⁶

²¹ “There isn’t any”: Tanzania’s land myth and the brave New Alliance”, *African Arguments*, May 2018 (available at <http://africanarguments.org/2018/05/15/there-isnt-any-tanzanias-land-myth-and-the-brave-new-alliance/>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

²² “Tanzania: Everyone is scared”, *African Arguments*, March 2018 (available at <http://africanarguments.org/2018/03/02/tanzania-everyone-is-scared/>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

²³ Kwayu, Aikande C. and Varja Lipovsek, *Civic Space in Tanzania*, September 2016 (available at [http://www.twaweza.org/uploads/files/CivicSpace-FINAL%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.twaweza.org/uploads/files/CivicSpace-FINAL%20(1).pdf); accessed on 17 May 2018).

²⁴ UNDP, “Table 5: Gender Inequality Index”, *Human Development Reports* (available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

²⁵ Interactions, *Women Economic Empowerment in Tanzania* (available at <http://interactions.eldis.org/economic-empowerment/country-profiles/tanzania>; accessed on 17 May 2018).

²⁶ Oxfam Tanzania Country Office, *Internal documents*, 2018.

4. Evaluation Findings

Burkina Faso

Overview of LEAP 2 in Burkina Faso

Project activities under Strand III in Burkina Faso are well integrated into Oxfam's wider programming in the country. This initiative has been implemented by Oxfam and two main partners: the Confédération Paysanne du Faso (CPF) and the Secrétariat Permanent des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales (SPONG). CPF is a national platform gathering 15 unions and federations set up by various producers. It is a representative body of the farming sector, beyond its affiliated members. Within the CPF, there are a Women's Collective and a Youth Collective, which provide a consultative space to those groups. The CPF's core mission is to promote modern, competitive and market-oriented family-based farms. The SPONG is a collective of 177 national and international NGOs and associations aimed at facilitating networking, capacity building and advocacy. It is generally invited by the government to be part of consultation committees. In addition to these partners, a wide range of civil society organizations (CSOs) and other actors (members of the administration, journalists, bloggers, caterers, politicians, consultants) were also involved to take part in the activities.

The flagship activity within the project was the campaign surrounding the "Rural Women's Manifesto: 10 measures to build a Burkina Faso without hunger." The Manifesto was designed, through a participative approach, by 25 rural women leaders representing many farmer's organizations and CSOs involved in the agricultural sector, helped by CPF and SPONG and with Oxfam's support. It became the main advocacy tool used throughout the period under review to press for social change in line with LEAP 2's objectives.

The Manifesto reflected rural women's pressing needs and demands in a clear and targeted manner, and women leaders were supported in advocating for the inclusion of these measures in the political parties' programmes before the 2015 elections, and later on in the elected government's policies. This intense advocacy campaign took the form of individual meetings with politicians and ministries' officials, public addresses by women leaders during national events surrounding International Women's Day and National Farmers' Day, workshops in which members of the government were invited to provide an account of their actions against the 10 measures, as well as press conferences, participation in media programmes, and influencing on social networks.

Complementing the advocacy campaign, Oxfam and its partners also carried out other activities as part of the LEAP 2 programme. Oxfam specifically contributed to the organization of two recurring events: the 'Koudou du Faso' culinary festival aimed at promoting locally

produced dishes and products, and the ‘Koobo Awards’ highlighting media reporting about issues related to agriculture. Oxfam also supported capacity building for its partners, and in particular women leaders belonging to the CPF’s Women’s College. Oxfam and its partners also encouraged journalists to report on issues related to agriculture, especially those affecting women and small farmers, through trainings, field visits, and a press caravan. Finally, Oxfam helped CPF and SPONG to engage with authorities regarding the new National Plan for the Rural Sector (*Programme nationale du secteur rural*, or PNSR 2), and supported research on issues such as agricultural insurance and women’s access to land.

Key achievements

The evaluation has found evidence indicating that Strand III efforts in Burkina Faso have successfully kick-started change mainly on three different levels:

- Women leaders involved in the project now have the capacities and self-confidence to speak out about their grievances, needs, and demands, including in front of authorities.
- Women are also taken into account when decisions are made, both at the community and at government levels.
- Women’s demands have started being addressed by the highest authorities, with official promises made by the President and the Prime Minister, some of which have started to be delivered on.

In terms of increased capacities and self-confidence, thanks to their participation in the project’s activities, including trainings on advocacy, agriculture budgeting, and national or continental policies like the PNSR 2 and the CAADP, advocacy meetings, and exchange visits abroad, women who were targeted by Oxfam and partners now feel more accomplished and confident, as reflected in the key quote in the side box. According to some of these women, as well as CSO representatives working with them, the combination of trainings by CPF, the equipment provided by the government following advocacy efforts, and increased access to land have specifically contributed to increasing rural women’s financial autonomy.

“Thanks to this capacity strengthening, I am able to stand out to defend women’s interests at the national, regional, and international levels. I work towards feminist objectives, and with sectorial interests in mind.”

Rural woman leader, Burkina Faso

All women leaders interviewed have stated that their participation in activities has boosted their self-confidence, which has enabled them to speak out, to value their own voice and opinion, and to be respected and listened to by their (male) peers and decision-makers. Women leaders have shown proactiveness and commitment when they seized every

opportunity to call on government authorities to respect their promises, including in public speeches held during national celebrations around International Women's Day and Rural Women's National Day, and at various meetings with local authorities, ministry officials and Ministers themselves.

Through these actions, and the support they were provided with, **women leaders were most effective in reaching authorities at the highest level** and making themselves heard by Ministers, MPs, civil servants and even the President himself. They succeeded in influencing policy-making by reminding the authorities publicly of their promises and formulating clear demands. Women leaders interviewed have directly attributed some governmental measures to their lobbying, such as the distribution of tractors and grinders to rural women.

Since the elections, the government has been especially responsive when advocacy efforts receive media coverage (public interpellations during national events, press conferences, etc.). A ministry official, interviewed for the evaluation, explicitly said that after the President was personally called upon by a women leader during the Rural Woman's National Day in Kaya, he gave instructions to the ministry to do something for these women, and to publicize it. This media coverage of women's grievances or of the government's response certainly affects the government's public image and support, and has therefore been a useful tool for leverage in the project's advocacy efforts.

Women interviewed during the evaluation highlighted the importance of speaking for themselves, rather than having an NGO or a representative speak on their behalf. This approach, which Oxfam and partners supported directly, led to a positive result highlighted by a female staff of one of Oxfam's partners: "[Women] managed to become the authorities' direct counterparts themselves, rather than leaving this [role] to intellectuals at the national level." **The direct relationship with authorities gave women a level of agency in advocating for their own needs**, enabling them to describe in their own words their reality, and taking direct part to decision-making processes. According to other Oxfam partners, this has led to government officials becoming more aware of the difficulties faced by rural women on the ground, for example about issues of land, access to credit and insurance. As one partner representative put it: "*Mayors did not even use to know what a small farmer is, but now they understand the land challenge.*"

The campaign also reached a wide audience and left its mark on Burkina's rich cultural landscape through events like the 'Koudou du Faso' food fair. This event was appreciated across the board and praised for bringing women together, enabling people to discover local products and dishes, and highlighting women's know-how and national delicacies. By providing such a platform and increasing interest in local dishes, the fair also encouraged

participants to improve the quality of their products. According to all stakeholders involved in the Koudou, this event has helped to promote local consumption by making local dishes better known and more appreciated. An Oxfam partner also described it as “*an opportunity for advocacy to convince the administration of leading by example.*”

In looking at the overall success of LEAP 2 in Burkina Faso, it is clear that a major factor benefitting Oxfam and partners was the political context. Because the 2015 elections saw no incumbent running, they were more open than any previous election: candidates were looking for programmatic ideas and also to mobilize voters. It was therefore a timely initiative to target candidates during the campaign. As one of Oxfam’s partners explained, activities under LEAP 2 “*led candidates to make promises before being elected; now they are trying to implement them because they find themselves accountable.*” Independently from Oxfam and its partners’ activities, the political context has remained favorable after the elections, with CSOs and citizens continuing to have expectations for increased accountability in the post-Compaoré era, as illustrated by initiatives like the ‘Presimeter’.²⁷

Multiple informants noted that all the initiatives described above were, in their opinion, partially responsible for several key promises and positive actions made by authorities, including the following:

- The President has pledged to allocate 30% of new land plots to women;
- The Prime Minister passed a decree to use local products for catering during workshops organized by the government and in public procurement processes;
- In some areas, local authorities have already acted, e.g. in Bama and Banfora where 10% of land has been allocated to women.
- A farmers’ bank is being set up with an initial capital of 10 billion CFA Francs, with farmers’ associations holding part of the capital, to increase access to credit and innovation efforts in the farming sector.

These actions, though difficult to directly attribute to the sole efforts of Oxfam and its partners, appear to have been pushed forward by the LEAP 2 activities. As one official from the Ministry of Animal Resources stated: “[*These women*] *call upon us, like a bell above our head, to remind us of our promises.*” Commitments have so far remained mostly promises, however, and limited to low-scale, one-off actions. What remains to be seen is evidence of durable, systemic change.

Oxfam has also supported the completion of research, which fed into advocacy efforts in favor of rural women and small farmers. For example, a consultant conducted a study to assess the

²⁷ This is a mechanism set up by CSOs to measure the implementation of the President’s manifesto and to assess people’s perception of governmental action (see: <http://www.presimetre.bf/>).

government's implementation of campaign promises a year after the President's election, and the findings were shared by women leaders during a press conference. One of Oxfam's partners, FIAN Burkina, also conducted a study on the situation of farmers' evicted from their land in Kounkoufouanou, a rural community based in the eastern region, to enable them to express informed grievances to the government. These studies appear to have increased the quality of advocacy efforts, by producing data that could be used by women leaders, journalists, and CSOs to support their statements.

One case where research led to concrete change relates to the involvement of CPF and SPONG in consultative processes with the government, in particular around the PNSR and the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition (NAFAN). Specifically, Oxfam led research to evaluate the results of this first phase of the PNSR (PNSR 1), which was carried out between 2011 and 2015, and published a report in November 2016 presenting its achievements and shortcomings.²⁸ These findings, shared with and appreciated by the relevant Ministries and foreign donors, were used to effectively advocate for significant improvements in the plan's second phase. Oxfam then supported CPF and SPONG to take an active part in the design of PNSR 2. The involvement of civil society in the design of PNSR 2 thus enabled the policy to be more widely accepted by the various stakeholders. In a positive development, CPF and SPONG have currently secured funding from TrustAfrica in order to monitor the implementation of PNSR 2 following this success. Overall, these activities have enabled CSOs and farmers' associations to take an active part in designing public policy concerning the rural sector, therefore improving participatory governance and accountability.

Challenges

The most important challenge encountered during the course of the project related to the monitoring of the advocacy campaign. Several informants pointed to the high number of measures in the Manifesto (10) to explain why the monitoring was difficult, stating that it would have been easier to follow up on three or four key demands. At the end of the first year, a consultant was hired to analyze the Prime Minister's 'State of the Nation' speech to compare it with the President's campaign promises, therefore providing Oxfam, its partners, and women leaders with accurate and objective information about progress made and remaining gaps, which they used to call upon the government to increase their efforts. Unfortunately, this activity was not repeated later on, and in later years monitoring was limited to ministries' own accounts.

²⁸ Oxfam, "En ordre dispersé - PNSR 2010-2015", November 2016 (available at <https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/bp-burkina-faso-en-ordre-disperse-251116-fr.pdf>; accessed on 15 June 2018).

Specifically, each year around International Women's Day, Oxfam and its partners have organized a workshop where government officials have been invited to come and provide an account of their actions in favor of rural women. Many stakeholders have praised this periodic exchange as a good opportunity to review progress made and further advocacy efforts. However, some limits were also recognized. First, as the administration self-reported on its actions, the event failed to provide an objective, independent evaluation of progress. Secondly, ministry representatives participating in these workshops were often junior staff, without the authority to make commitments in the name of the ministry and unable to properly influence decision-making following the workshop. Ministers and the President were reached directly during national events, and some meetings, whose purpose varied and did not necessarily focus on accountability as much.

Some informants also noted that the focus on inviting ministry officials rather than technical experts, though understandable, had drawbacks. Experts are the ones who carry out the decisions: they can have strong influence over decision-making processes, and may be more stable targets. Similarly, although the Manifesto's measures may have been integrated into parties' manifestoes and some official action plans, they were not necessarily included in the government's multi-year plans. In such cases, ministries' monitoring departments would not systematically collect data related to those specific issues.

The monitoring of the campaign and its impact on the ground was even more *ad hoc*. Some women leaders kept track of their activities on their own initiative, producing reports of every advocacy meeting they had. This practice was not systematic, however. In a similar fashion, the monitoring of the government's action at the local level, such as equipment distribution, was not carried out systematically.

Multiple informants also talked about a challenge in regards to public events and their increasingly 'entertaining' character. According to staff from Oxfam and partners, International Women's Day has in particular taken a 'folklore'-like aspect, which means that while it is unimaginable not to use this opportunity for advocacy, it is also hard to have a real impact through it because of the number of issues that are thrown in, and the perception that it is more a festive celebration of women rather than a day to address gender inequalities and women's grievances.

Oxfam and partners' campaigning was also found to be weak under two aspects. First, social mobilization of women at the local level, through marches or collective action, did not work well. It was attempted once in Kaya, where women organized a march to communicate their demands, but a lack of ownership by the rural women was reported during the evaluation. Secondly, efforts on social networks were also less of a success than other advocacy means,

especially on Twitter, which is not widely used in Burkina Faso. Facebook is a much more widespread platform to reach out to people in sensitization efforts, with 730,000 monthly active users as of January 2017.²⁹ However, its use remains the purview of young urban dwellers, and rural women are completely disengaged from it, both as receivers and as producers of messages.

Finally, the evidence gathered through the evaluation suggests that events like the Koudou du Faso and the Koobo Awards, despite their high visibility potential, have had limited impact so far, which has been attributed by Oxfam staff and partners to limited resources. The awards given out during these events have been considered by several interviewees as insufficient to raise enough interest. While the Koudou still provide publicity to the caterers and attract visitors, the interest in the Koobo Awards has dwindled, with only five submissions for the third edition, down from 25 in the first one.

Lessons learned

Overall, the advocacy campaign around the Rural Women's Manifesto was seen very positively by all interviewed stakeholders. By cross-referencing the information collected from multiple sources, several key lessons have been drawn from Oxfam and partners' experience. These are included below:

- First of all, having rural women leaders advocate for themselves is a very strong approach, as it enables them to be empowered and makes the government accountable to them directly. Their engagement of ministries and even the President himself makes these decision-makers aware of rural women's situation and grievances, without relying on intermediaries. This approach is particularly effective when exploiting the politicians' own agenda and needs—i.e. votes and publicity. Therefore, approaching parties and politicians before election campaigns should be seen as a reliably good strategy to convince them to incorporate specific commitments in their campaign's platforms. Working with journalists and encouraging media coverage of the campaign's issues and activities is also a way to increase pressure on the decision-makers.
- Related to the media campaign, engaging journalists to encourage them to report on issues related to agriculture and the rural sector is a very good way to sensitize decision-makers and the wider population on these issues. Topical trainings and field visits appear to be the most effective activities in order to achieve this, as they

²⁹ We Are Social Singapore, *Digital in 2017: Western Africa* (available at <https://fr.slideshare.net/wearesocialsg/digital-in-2017-western-africa>; accessed on 24 May 2017).

directly result in the production of press articles or radio and TV reporting, which continue to have, in Burkina Faso, the most reach among people.

- Though the Koobo Awards is a good initiative, it has so far failed to spark sustained interest over the course of the project, and this is probably due to the limited resources given to allow for adequate publicity and attractive prizes. Its potential impact on promoting media coverage of issues related to the rural sector is also not as straight-forward as the other activities described earlier, especially considering the financial challenges faced by most journalists in Burkina Faso. Oxfam and its partners should think about redesigning this event or abandoning it in favor of more direct and impactful actions.
- The Koudou du Faso has far more potential and should be scaled up in order to reach greater impact. However, to become a major feature of Burkina Faso's rich events landscape, more partners need to be involved, and not just among civil society, but also private economic operators and public institutions. With a wider base and increased resources, it could draw sub-regional attention and have a stronger impact on the promotion of local products and talents.
- Monitoring of the campaign's results has proved to be a more challenging process. Encouraging women leaders to report on their activities more systematically, like a few of them have taken the initiative to do, and following up on authorities' promises and actions would be a cost-effective and empowering way to conduct monitoring at the local level. The CPF's existing network would be very useful in coordinating such efforts, without the need to create burdensome and costly committees. Sensitizing women leaders about the importance of monitoring and how it benefits them and their communities (government's promises upheld, equipment and services received, accountability) could also be an important step before training them on how to effectively conduct this monitoring.
- Furthermore, while the capacity-building and advocacy efforts have been concentrated at the national level, future initiatives would benefit from expanding these efforts to the local level, in order to go beyond women leaders and reach out more effectively to rural women at the grassroots level. This would improve the quantity and quality of women's representation and enable rural women to engage with local government – an important aspect considering the decentralization process currently ongoing in Burkina Faso – as well as customary chiefs, who still yield influence over land access and social dynamics.

- The engagement and empowerment of rural women at the grassroots should also be linked to improved communication flows, so that rural women are aware of opportunities and services available to them.
- Oxfam's role as a facilitator and a convener is seen as its main added value. Its work is particularly appreciated because the organization chooses to work with partners, giving them the tools and resources to accomplish their mission, rather than doing it for them and in their stead.

Tanzania

Overview of LEAP 2 in Tanzania

LEAP 2 activities in Tanzania are also well integrated into Oxfam's wider programming in the country. In general, they have been implemented in three main components. The first, conducted at the start of activities, focused on identifying political change-makers in key positions. The second component was a study aimed at understanding how the agricultural budget benefits small-scale food producers (and especially women), and the gaps, challenges and opportunities for change. Finally, the last component looked at building networks with CSOs and groups engaged in ongoing budgeting analysis and advocacy.

Overall, Oxfam's aim in Tanzania was to see an increase in the budget allocation towards the agriculture sector, and job creation to benefit poor and marginalized women and youth. Over the years, the organization has built relationships with key CSOs and political institutions, in particular with the:

- Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperative (MAFSC);
- Ministry of Industry, Trade and Marketing (MITM);
- Ministry of Livestock Development and Fisheries (MLDF);
- Ministry of Water and Irrigation (MWI);
- President's Office Regional Administration and local Government (PORALG);
- Parliament of Tanzania; and
- Marine Parks Reserve Unit.

Oxfam supported the establishment of a strategic partnership of organizations, called the Agriculture Budget Advocacy Coalition (Agricultural Coalition), which is presently composed by six national and international CSOs: Oxfam in Tanzania, ActionAid Tanzania, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Policy Forum, ForumCC and Agricultural Non State Actors Forum (ANSAF). The Agricultural Coalition's work has included the production of Budget Guidelines Analysis, the organization of public forums, engagement with budget

processes at ministerial level as well as with MPs, media advocacy and networking and coalition building. A key component of the campaign work in Tanzania has been the collection and analysis of data, which have fed into national and also global level advocacy.

The flagship activity within LEAP 2 in Tanzania was the Female Food Hero (FFH) competition (*Mama Shujaa Wa Chakula*, in Swahili). This was a TV series that lasted five seasons, each involving thousands of women farmers. The TV programme drew the attention of almost a quarter of the Tanzanian population, who welcomed the messages and dreams of small-scale women food producers, and highlighted their challenges as they asked the government to support the sector.³⁰

In relation to budget research, Oxfam in Tanzania finalized in October 2016 a scorecard for collecting data to uncover patterns, trends and relationships in the agricultural budget process, which are relevant in policy and programmatic decisions. The data collection has involved a total of 2,500 people in 11 regions all across the country.

Finally, Oxfam in Tanzania has also worked with two other major coalitions: the first is the climate change and agriculture budgeting interest group, and the second (that it supported in establishing) around agriculture budget (allocations and tracking) and advocacy.

Key achievements

Overall, the evaluation shows that activities implemented in Tanzania under Strand III have led to three main positive outcomes: they have increased evidence-based understanding of agricultural policies among women small farmers; they have improved advocacy for increasing women and other small-scale farmers' benefits from agricultural budgets and programs; and, lastly, they have increased public attention to the situation of small farmers through FFHs.

In terms of increased evidence-based understanding, all the female small farmers interviewed agreed that the budget advocacy trainings and related publications, which Oxfam and partners have been responsible for, have improved the role of women in advocacy and that, as one interviewed women farmer said, they can now "*keep politicians responsible by themselves*."³¹

In order to take part to the official budgeting process, which starts at the local level, Oxfam and partners trained and mobilized women farmers at the village level. In relation to this, one farmer said that thanks to the trainings she learned to be more effective in following up with policy-makers after meetings. Many women mentioned that budget trainings have been empowering also in linking the community level with the national one. For example, several trained women are now working as trainers in their respective areas, and one of them has

³⁰ Oxfam Tanzania Country Office, "LEAP Tanzania Quarterly Report – July-September 2015", 2015.

³¹ Interview with female small farmer, Dodoma, May 2018.

been travelling abroad and also acting as a leader at the international level. In this framework, the scorecard analysis was useful in bringing the local level priorities for farmers to the national level. It created an agenda for budget advocacy where previously there wasn't one.

Under this outcome, budget research analysis was also effective, according to multiple stakeholders. Specifically, representatives from several CSOs in the Agricultural Coalition mentioned this as a successful strategy, and one said that it was a good entry point with decision-makers: *"...many decision-makers do not know about the budget. By doing research and presenting findings, such as best practices from other countries, showing them the GDP contribution of agriculture and amount, [the budget] could work better."* Similarly, a staff member from Policy Forum, one of the members of the Agricultural Coalition, said: *"...our relationship with the Ministry of Finance began when we started to publish a simple budget summary for the public to be able to understand, because the Ministry was unable to fund this publication. This relationship built up to an extent and now they can share with us a number of documents. For instance, sometimes budget books are difficult to be accessed, but we can easily communicate with the ministry and get a copy instantly."*

When it comes to improved advocacy, in the last three years Oxfam consolidated its position and reputation as an organization trusted by political institutions. This trust is due to several factors. In particular, the strategy adopted by the organization to pursue its advocacy aims has played a key role, as described by one of Oxfam's officers: *"we call ourselves a 'critical friend'. We are not campaigning against the government. We try to avoid, if possible, public campaigns. We don't go public with the results of our research, just with the government. We go public if it doesn't work with the government."* Two other factors were often mentioned as being important for improving the effectiveness of advocacy efforts: firstly, building relations and working together with other CSOs, and, secondly, the involvement of small-scale producers and the role of animators aimed at mobilizing citizens action and at improving local level accountability,

Coalition building was done mainly through the Agricultural Coalition, which was able to organize several meetings and forums at different levels, but in particular with MPs. Decision-makers have been engaged and participated in agriculture forums and programmes prepared by CSOs in collaboration with local farmers to discuss issues around agricultural budget and policies. The Coalition has also established a platform for women to participate in the budget process, and hence be able to question – and receive feedback from – their representatives. All the CSO informants interviewed confirmed that the Coalition established good synergies and avoided duplication, especially on budget analysis and on advocacy work. Oxfam and partners were also able to inform citizens of their rights around understanding and questioning the budget.

In terms of increased public attention to the situation of female farmers, Oxfam and partners were able to create a platform that successfully allowed women to engage from the family to the national level, increasing their self-confidence and sense of empowerment. During the focus group discussions, participating female farmers agreed that at the family level the programme empowered women by providing them with a platform (e.g. budget forums) to present their challenges. As a result, some of them shared that they felt that smallholder farmers now received attention from decision-makers and other stakeholders within the country and beyond. At the district level, the programme

“In our culture, women are less important, so many things said by women have less value too. It took me a long time to convince my fellow women. On the other hand, advocacy jobs are viewed as the opposition for those politicians who do not want to be corrected...”

Female Food Hero

was then able to bring together female farmers and local government authorities to discuss agriculture priorities during official budget sessions. Finally, at the national level, the programmes conducted analysis to assist the Ministry of Agriculture to be able to link with other ministries and stakeholders who contribute to the agriculture sector.

At the community level, activities managed to engage citizens to a large extent: interviewed informants firmly believe that local farmers are now ready to report to local leaders if they see anything that needs to be addressed. As a FFH explained, *“In 2017, Oxfam trained us about budget and policy issues. They also helped us to form our smallholder female farmers’ group. Since we have been in groups, it has become easy for us to hold officials responsible. Now [for example] when we want an agro-vet to visit us we go as a group, and if s/he does not show up, it is easy for us to raise our voices and difficult for them to control us... These days when an agro-vet is needed and cannot make it, they call and give us a legitimate reason for not showing up, and apologize.”* This is definitely seen as a step forward, as echoed by another FFH during the FGD: *“I don’t know about my fellow women, but in my community, I never had an opportunity to meet my political leaders to discuss about agriculture budget and policy [before the programme].”*

It is important to note, when discussing success under advocacy, how several stakeholders linked this with broader positive changes in agricultural practices, some of which have also been due Oxfam’s efforts. For instance, as one partner representative said, *“Female farmers have been improving their agriculture practices and life because of this programme. Our country, like many other countries around the globe, is experiencing the consequences of climate change. This programme has trained female farmers on how to diversify their agriculture practices to cope with this challenge. Now it is common to find female farmers growing resilience crops depending on the area they are in, or doing agro-business [agriculture*

combined with other livelihood activities such as fishing or livestock keeping]. This has been improving their lives and the lives of those in their community.”

The importance of local women’s voice has had important spillover effects, as confirmed by political representatives and government officials. For example, a male officer from the Ministry of Agriculture stated: *“I was working in a project involving the Masai tribe. The project, funded by FAO, was aimed at identifying the longstanding agriculture structure in Tanzania. During implementation, I noticed that Masai women now more than ever have been key in decision-making in their communities... Before, Masai men made all decisions. It was not the case during my experience.”* Another officer from the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security, and Cooperative Societies said, *“...for a week or so we did a campaign to increase awareness of using pesticides for crops among farmers in the lake zone. Women were active in all activities, including asking questions and debating.”* The informants believed that women’s involvement in decision-making processes has increased in general since the start of Oxfam’s efforts. For example, the Masai tribe belonged to a community where a patriarchal system was dominant. This change has been likely influenced by advocacy from organizations such as Oxfam, which is also running several additional programs beyond FFH, focusing on the Masai tribe.

As a strategy, investing in the Agricultural Coalition was seen as very positive, as the network played a central role improving the advocacy capacity of its member organizations, avoiding overlapping and effectively working with one voice. As a member of the Coalition explained: *“...It is difficult to advance our agenda by ourselves. By using local farmers, politician can listen... An agenda without locals is less effective.”*

In terms of public championing and media, while the initiative produced different media outputs, the FFH was the most visible, as well as the one that was mentioned most times as effective and as a success. Through the FFH series, a *“recognition was created”* and *“women farmers are now in the spotlight”*, as one Oxfam representative said. The media impact of the TV programme has indeed been wide, reaching millions of Tanzanians in their homes. In parallel, Tanzania’s Facebook page has grown constantly, reaching more than 16 thousand likes in 2018. And various bloggers, whom Oxfam has engaged, have assisted to get stories out to a wider online audience: over 100 blog posts have been circulated relating to the FFH Competition in 2015.

Importantly, FFHs were not only able to influence public opinion and to profile women farmers in the country, but also to be directly listened to by policy-makers. Using beneficiaries to present the challenges that they are facing, and asking for the specific solution directly from the decision-makers during forums and other events, was indeed a very effective strategy to

pursue change. As an Oxfam representative highlighted, the “*use of local farmers has been a good strategy. Now in the parliament or at the ministry level, when agricultural challenges are debated, decision-makers are using local farmers as a reference, instead of CSOs. This [work with FFHs] has been influencing decision-makers.*” For instance, the parliamentary committee responsible for agriculture used FFHs during the budget session to show the importance and need of small-scale farmers.

Finally, when it comes to increased political commitments, while decision-makers were responsive to specific issues, this happened only to a limited extent. As a flagship issue, the government has allocated specific resources for female farmers, which were not in place before the campaign. A concrete example is how a prominent MP agreed to facilitate engagement between the new Small Holder Farmers Federation, an advocacy and engagement platform for farmers, and Parliament. This MP also thinks that Oxfam is doing important work with MPs by bringing the challenges of farmers to them. Even if she is one of the most experienced politicians in Tanzania, Oxfam’s work is useful for her, because it brings a critical perspective and language that she can use.³² She also mentioned obtaining fertilizers by procurement as a success attributable to Oxfam, after its meetings with policy-makers, although this could not be adequately verified during the evaluation. Another example was provided by a FFH: she raised her voice to complain about the unaffordable fee for processing land ownership, and her advocacy resulted in the government reducing it.³³ Another FFH shared a similar story: “*I have been directly involved in decision-making committees at the local level. We have been working tirelessly on the issue of seeds to reach farmers at the appropriate time. We have shouted until they heard. Now we get seed on time.*”

Challenges

The programme encountered some challenges in terms of the effectiveness of advocacy-related activities. The main one was the inability to influence change at the highest level, as the overall agricultural sector budget remains low, averaging 5% of total annual government budget over the last 3 years. The LEAP 2 campaign was therefore not able to have the desired impact. Oxfam and partners can reflect on this trend from two

“The project’s core goal is to increase the budget. In uplifting citizen engagement, particularly that of women from rural areas, the project has been very successful. But in the core part, which is to increase the budget, the project has not been successful.”

Oxfam staff. Tanzania

³² See, for instance, this recent declaration at the Parliament: <http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/1840340-4567142-25182uz/index.html> (accessed on 17 May 2018).

³³ The example, while relevant and useful, was not confirmed by other sources during the evaluation, primarily for lack of time and resources.

perspectives: the identification of key policy-makers and the full understanding of power dynamics within political institutions.

Under the first perspective, the Agricultural Coalition has mainly invested on building relations with MPs, who were involved through various events. As already discussed, MPs dialogued with women farmers and some of them used the acquired information to discuss about agriculture during parliamentary sessions and commissions. This advocacy work was therefore effective in terms of influence and has started to deliver results on some policies. However, it did not have a significant impact on influencing structural issues, such as the agricultural budget.

Among Oxfam's partners, some agree, as one representative said, *"that the strategy of lobbying certain MPs who have interest in agriculture issues has been very effective because they listen to the presentation and take notes that are later used in the sessions."* However, an Oxfam representative also acknowledged the limits of this work: *"We have not got the right formula for policy change and policy implementation. We have informed MPs, we have made information [available], but we have not reached the point of [changing] budget allocation. The level when politicians [go from] listening to taking action is not reached yet, but we have the potential."* And another partner said that, from his perspective, they *"are not able to influence, at least the majority, and trainings are still needed. Just a few [MPs] are speaking freely."* Another comment from a member of the Coalition was that it is *"hard to say if we achieved results on budget."*

Why efforts around the budget have not been successful might therefore be due to how the project did not focus enough on decision-makers outside of the Parliament. A first concrete difficulty was indeed represented by the changes of focus among ministries in the last few years, coupled with the different responsibilities that they hold in relation to agriculture. This could need an extra effort from the Agricultural Coalition, in terms of analyzing the different components within the national budget. Another systemic challenge to influencing budget allocations, which MPs and officers from different ministries mentioned, is that the government has a comprehensive approach and the agricultural budget is related to several ministries, such as the Ministry of Natural Resources, Water, Disaster Managements and Health. The majority of the politicians interviewed seemed indeed aware that the budget for agriculture is a sensitive issue, but that it is low compared to the population employed in the sector and to the GDP produced. This is a valuable starting point for Oxfam's work, but the experience gained so far suggests that awareness that focuses exclusively on agriculture might not be enough to make a change in budget allocations.

This difficulty in achieving impact is also tied to the fact that, since coming into power, the new government has set its priority on building an industrial economy. An experienced MP explained that the agricultural sector needs industrialization: *“Most of the resources are for agriculture, but not in that budget, for instance textile sector, cashew nuts, tobacco, sugar. It will involve small and big farmers. Some NGOs are good because they are following the Tanzanian [government’s] vision, [which is that] industry will support tomorrow’s green revolution.”* This terrain could be slippery, as it could shift focus away from agriculture, but the Agricultural Coalition probably needs to understand which aspects of industrialization could benefit small farmers, and therefore warrant engagement. As a member of the Coalition explained: *“the government is investing on [industrialization]. It is political, it lacks a strategy, but it’s a good agenda overall. The way it is implemented is questionable. Our message is: invest more on agriculture to industrialize. Put money in agriculture to see the strategy working. Put money in research, create the market out there. We are carefully trading with it.”* Ultimately, Oxfam and partners should pay attention also to other policies, outside of agriculture, to continue playing a critical role and avoid the risk of just ‘filling gaps’ left by a government with a strategy, but limited resources. In fact, the governmental representatives interviewed for the evaluation gave the overall impression that Oxfam and other NGOs should contribute to official plans and strategies exactly where the political institutions have not allocated enough resources.

In addition, the role of the private sector must be taken into greater consideration. LEAP 2 documents call for an involvement of the private sector, but this was not concretized so far. An Oxfam representative considers that it could be strategic to engage key players, because the private sector can also influence the government. At the same time, it will be important to make sure that the programme continues to work on capacity building, from the community level, as described above. The combination of these two aspects – involvement of the private sector and work on capacity level from the grassroots level – is a complex process, but it could be possible. Working with the private sector carries some risks – i.e. diverging objectives and values, etc. – but many analysts agree that it is indispensable in order to reach large-scale sustainable development in some sectors, including agriculture. Analyzing previous experiences in Tanzania or in other contexts could be very useful.

The Agriculture Coalition should also consider if it has been able to reach the key people not only at the parliamentary level – where evidence shows good levels of influence and of political commitments – but also with the executive government and the different ministries. The overall impression is that several good connections have been established, but the Coalition has not been able to fully exploit them. This could also have been due to a lack of an updated power (or structural) analysis and to a monitoring process on advocacy results at ministerial level.

The evaluation also found that at the level of ministries, the evidence produced by CSOs and networks (i.e. Oxfam and/ or the Agricultural Coalition) has had limited impact. Information published in official reports needs, in fact, the approval from the government. In the experience of the partner responsible to follow this process, however, it has happened that the Ministry of Finance and Planning changed some figures. And in these situations, the Coalition has decided to publish both figures, showing the different sources.³⁴ During several interviews, it became clear that some government officials see the relation with CSOs on data as a *one-way process*, with government providing feedback to organizations, but not vice versa, as CSOs cannot do advocacy directly vis-à-vis the ministries, according to these informants. These attitudes, about the role of civil society and advocacy, are likely to reflect a power dynamic among Tanzanian institutions and represent a huge challenge to promote the use of evidence for improving policy. Moving forward, the Coalition's analysis should therefore focus not only on the roles of individual government agencies, but also on the overall vision of the government and on its relations with CSOs. While tension exists at this level, there also continues to be overlap around common values and objectives, such as when government-funded projects are not delivering on expected results and need to be improved.

Interestingly, an economist from the Ministry of Agriculture suggested that the Coalition could be more strategic when engaging the ministry on the issue of budget: "*To influence the budget, they need more than the time they are spending at the local level to the parliamentary committee. They should begin this engagement five months before to make sure key decision-makers such as the Ministers and Permanent Secretaries are on board...By coming late after everything has been planned, no one will be able to change.*"

These difficulties are also connected to the guidelines provided by the government in the budget formation process. The process was described, by different policy-makers, as bottom-up, from the villages to the government. However, as a ministerial representative described, the government "*identifies priorities and means to achieve them.*" In other words, the process is, *de facto*, more top-down. Some small farmers confirmed that government-issued guidelines are planning many aspects of their work (from fertilizers to seeds), and they find it difficult to make changes. In this framework, there is the risk for NGOs to just 'fill gaps' in the government strategy and needs. A representative from the Agricultural Coalition confirmed, "*guidance is provided by the government...they are not ready to receive everything.*" Following up on these difficulties, a MP shared during a FGD that "*because the relationship between government and CSOs is not good, the government keeps some distance with the CSOs and any advice coming from them is received as a challenge by the government.*" Overall, CSOs continue to

³⁴ See, for instance, *Budget trends in agriculture and perspectives from food producers 2013/2014, 2014/2015, 2015/2016, 2017.*

dialogue with policy-makers, although the new government has sought to exercise more control on how CSOs interact with political institutions.

From a specific gender perspective, the evaluation recorded different positions from policy-makers. During the FGD with MPs, for instance, a participant stated, *“as a woman, I will tell you that we are not influenced by policy that much. The policy-makers do not listen to women. We cannot get even a loan to start up a farm, because we are not trusted in terms of capacity of doing agriculture.”* Other participants had different opinions about this issue, however, suggesting that, to a large extent, women have been participating in decision-making activities. Another female MP replied with a rather radical and controversial affirmation that: *“...Due to the nature of our community, where women are still less appreciated by the community members, their involvement in decision-making is very low... The current government does not listen to women.”*

An additional challenge is the internal organization of the Agricultural Coalition. While the Coalition is well established and fully operational on analysis and advocacy at the national level, it remains informal, as members agree that this is the best way to work. In order to improve some internal mechanisms, however, a member representative suggested signing a memorandum of understanding, and to discuss and introduce a new strategy to advance agriculture budget and policy. These steps seem feasible and not time consuming and they can help to clarify some internal dynamics.

In this framework, a power analysis (or a renewed mapping of political change-makers) could help to address whether better actions can be taken in the future. Similarly, some ministerial officers noted that Oxfam is not properly active in the Tamisemi framework.³⁵ Oxfam provided different comments on this point, but finally confirmed that they have registered all the projects. This aspect probably deserves more attention, at least in order to understand why some civil servants have this perception.

A further issue that appears challenging and to some extent controversial is the engagement at district level. While several informants suggested that at local to district level is where the programme has achieved the greatest results, during the FGDs with government officials, many also mentioned that the Coalition *“could have more influence at district level.”* During another FGD, a MP stated also that *“...at the district level, local authorities are required to provide a percentage of their internal revenue to fund women programmes in our district. Women have been empowered through grants, loans and so forth, which resulted in them*

³⁵ Tamisemi refers to the President's Office Regional Administration and Local Government (See <http://www.tamisemi.go.tz/>).

becoming independent and starting to be more involved in agriculture and other activities, including decision making processes.”

Lessons learned

Overall, based on the analysis of the key achievements and challenges encountered in the implementation of activities to date, it is possible to sketch the following lessons learned from the evidence collected in Tanzania:

- The advocacy with MPs is well structured, but, as a member of the Coalition said: *“we could have more people at ministerial level; there is room for expanding.”* In addition, key MPs can be approached directly rather than just through a call for a joint meeting. Others need specific advocacy plans (entry points, face-to-face meetings, connections with their constituencies, etc.).
- The Agricultural Coalition is well established and paramount for advocacy work at the national level. It needs some adjustments, however, from internal organization to fresh discussions on the achieved and not achieved results in advocacy. This process could support more clarity in internal relations and benefit from the introduction of a new strategy to advance agriculture budget and policy.
- Local authorities need assistance in building capacities, while this programme is focused mainly nationally. As a FFH pointed out during a FGD: *“... Oxfam should find a way to send a strong message to the local authorities about FFH. Some of the local officials regard the FFH contest like other shows. They should know this is an initiative to promote agriculture, and also that we are ambassadors or role models for small farmers and communities on agricultural best practices.”*
- For Oxfam, labeling its programmes is not an issue. It can build relations and trust without presenting donors and labels every time. However, some officials presented it as a limitation and probably this deserves some more internal reflection.
- Youth are different from women. Oxfam is working on youth separately in Tanzania, but it is possible to combine work targeting the two groups, as this programme is already doing, to an extent. This issue could be also discussed within the Agricultural Coalition.
- Women farmers reached significant results in advocacy, but sometimes they encountered difficulties in debating with politicians, for instance in the dialogues with MPs. Oxfam and its partners could review this issue in the analysis of power relations, also considering whether they should support female farmers with experts during the high-level policy meetings.

- Monitoring could be improved. In particular, the advocacy activities could be more systematically recorded and M&E tracking tools could also be created within the Agricultural Coalition.

5. Reflections on the Theory of Change

Looking holistically at the key achievements and challenges, the evaluation has also tried to answer whether the changes that Oxfam and partners have contributed to have taken place in line with the theory of change for Strand III. Findings relating to this aspect of the evaluation are presented for each country, as the evidence makes it clear that the theory of change differs by location. This adaptation happened informally, or perhaps intuitively, as, overall, the theory of change for Strand III formally remains the same one for all the five countries (see Table 1). These adjustments made to adapt the programme to the local contexts, and the specific way in which social change happens in the two countries, represent, however, also a positive practice, one that should be promoted in the future.

Burkina Faso

The first finding is that Oxfam and partners in Burkina Faso chose activities and strategies in line with the pathways described by the overall theory of change: specifically, capacity building, research, coalition efforts and media outreach (under the sphere of control) have led or contributed to several positive changes in terms of increasing capacity of key individuals and CSOs, shaping agendas and policy alternatives, and influencing commitments made by policy-makers (under the sphere of influence).

Overall, the analysis of the evidence reveals that while some of the theory of change's linkages are valid, others are less so. The main strategy used by Oxfam and partners in Burkina Faso focused on combining capacity building and public campaigning (including media outreach), using the 2015 national elections as an entry point for putting pressure on policy-makers (through the Manifesto). Empowering female farmers and giving them advocacy tools and platforms allowed them to raise their demands from the local to the national level, whereas the work with journalists created pressure on policy-makers to respond to them. This was effective in creating new agendas, proposing alternatives and ultimately getting politicians at the highest level to make commitments that had not been made before. All of this validates both the decisions made by Oxfam and part of the conceptualized pathway to change.

Yet, the promises extracted during the elections have not been followed through; and as proposed policy changes are lagging behind, the evidence points to important challenges in

terms of sustaining pressure on policy-makers. In this regard, some activities in which Oxfam has invested, like the Koudou du Faso and Koobo Awards, appear to have had diminishing returns, in terms of creating pressure, and government officials at national level have been able to stall progress. Similarly, the efforts to monitor commitments made by authorities have been less effective than getting to those promises, in part because of the lack of specific capacities and a structured system for collating and sharing data, especially at the local level. In general, efforts at this level appear to have been more limited, also in terms of allocated resources, and much less effective to advance alternative policy solutions and ensure their implementation.

Overall, Oxfam and partners took advantage of an enabling opportunity, the 2015 elections, to make more progress than anticipated towards its outcomes; since then, however, they have been unable to respond to government resistance (or inertia). This is not necessarily a flaw in the theory of change design, but it calls for a review of assumptions, where Oxfam should anticipate that officials, while welcoming alternative policy solutions during campaigns, will be more constrained in their implementation once elected. Linked to this, the theory of change for Strand III should also account for the existence of multiple entry points, and in this respect the theory of change might indeed be improved: specifically, it has not sufficiently conceptualized how change needs to take place not just at the national level, but also at the local or grassroots level. In this context, empowering women farmers could be more effective if accompanied by greater efforts to mobilize communities, focusing, for example, on events and campaigns that resonate locally and can be owned by communities.

Tanzania

Similarly as in Burkina Faso, the first finding is that Oxfam and partners in Tanzania also chose activities and strategies in line with the pathways described by the theory of change: capacity building, research, coalition-building and media outreach (under the sphere of control) that have led or contributed to several positive changes in terms of increasing capacity of key CSO actors and platforms, creating policy alternatives and influencing the attitudes of both key policy-makers and the public (under the sphere of influence). This confirms the relations between Oxfam and partners' strategies and the expected outcomes, but a more detailed analysis is necessary to assess the validity of the theory of change.

In Tanzania, the specific strategy Oxfam and partners chose was a combination centered on relationship-building with key policy-makers, in particular within Parliament and also with local authority officials at the district level, and media outreach. This choice is consistent with the 'critical friend' role, which, according to the evidence, Oxfam played well. Whether this strategy has been effective is, however, less clear, on three separate levels. First, while relations with

MPs have been positive, this has yet to translate into concrete changes at the level of policies and practices. Secondly, at the district level dialogues between women and smallholders on the one side and government officials on the other have improved, but practices by authorities are not yet changing. Lastly, the media outreach has been very successful at informing and sensitizing a wide audience, but this success has not yet been utilized for promoting policy changes (for example by creating public pressure).

Overall, the evidence suggests that Oxfam and partners' strategies are not taking into due consideration several key assumptions, which might affect the change pathways. First, in relation to engaging MPs and local authorities, Oxfam's efforts are not factoring in (and therefore responding to) power dynamics and structural barriers that exist within institutions (i.e. parliament and ministries) and between national and local officials. These, however, appear to be a key factor behind the barriers to policy change, and Oxfam's 'critical friend' strategy has not been fully effective in addressing them, in part because this strategy requires the organization to be seen as a technical, rather than political, actor, in part because it prioritizes access to key government representatives more than changing their knowledge, attitudes or behavior. Addressing this in the future could simply mean inviting a more diverse group of government representatives to relevant events.

In relation to media outreach, instead, the main issue is that the current theory of change does not give a role to public attitudes on agricultural policies and practices, although the experience in Tanzania clearly shows that these can be influenced and the experience of Oxfam with campaigns more generally suggests that they can be used to influence policy. The change pathway in this case would also not follow the one described in the theory of change, as public attitudes would influence policy changes without necessarily affecting alternatives or agendas.

6. Conclusions

In **Burkina Faso**, activities under Strand III of LEAP 2 are well integrated into Oxfam's wider programming in the country.

The initiative has successfully kick-started change at two levels: women leaders involved in the project now have the capacities and self-confidence to speak out about their grievances, needs, and demands, including in front of authorities, and they are now taken into account when decisions are made, both at the community's and at the government's levels; women's demands have started being addressed by the highest authorities, with official promises made by the President and the Prime Minister, some of which have started to be delivered on.

"Mayors did not even use to know what a small farmer is, but now they understand the land challenge."

Oxfam partner, Burkina Faso

The increased financial autonomy and self-confidence of women farmers enabled them to speak out, to value their voice and their opinion, and to be respected by their (male) peers and by decision-makers. The campaign was most effective in reaching authorities through meetings as it enabled women leaders to directly engage government officials on specific issues.

The authorities have recently made several key promises and taken some positive actions, including the pledge by the President to allocate 30% of new land plots to women and a decree issued by the Prime Minister to prefer local products in public procurement and catering at local and national government events. These remain mostly promises, however, and low-scale, one-off actions.

Progress is still needed in terms of monitoring, participation of senior officers, and advocacy efforts at the local level. Overall, the most important challenge encountered during the course of the project has been related to the monitoring of the advocacy campaign.

In **Tanzania**, the overall advocacy strategy of Oxfam and its partners has achieved significant results in the last three years. Oxfam and its partners have contributed to improving the space for women farmers and civil society to engage with and influence decision-makers directly at local, regional and national levels. Recognition was created for women farmers. FFHs feel more powerful and they are training other women. Significantly, with the support of the partners, some of them are now able to own their land. The programme was able to reach decision-makers and target the public through both mass communication and specific advocacy strategies. All the FFH interviewed suggested that working with Oxfam opened the

door to them to meet politicians and other key decision-makers they would otherwise never have met.

The research on agriculture budget analysis has generated evidence for advocacy and to engage decision-makers, in particular MPs. With them, Oxfam and partners are doing an important work bringing directly the voices and challenges of farmers. Significantly, Oxfam and partners have been successful in supporting women farmers on some specific policies and the government has dedicated specific resources for them.

Comparing the achievements and challenges from

both countries, one key finding is that advocacy efforts by Oxfam have successfully reached a significant number of decision-makers, from the local to the national level. If Oxfam and partners will be able to focus on the power dynamics in the agricultural sector, for instance investing in a more detailed power (or structural) analysis, they can yearn to have an impact on the national budgets for agriculture. In order to do so, they would have to continue building and capitalizing on another two very positive aspects of their work in both countries: the trust built among political institutions, and on the fact that, after three

“After being trained on their importance in their community, now women are involved in meetings to discuss the problems and solutions in their community. Some have become the breadwinners of their families...”

Agriculture Coalition partner,
Tanzania

years of activities, women farmers are now in the spotlight. On the challenges side, however, Oxfam will have to overcome the difficulty, seen in both Burkina Faso and Tanzania, of governments antagonizing CSOs when they criticize them or provide facts that do not favor them.

The overall theory of change for Strand III has proven to be an effective guiding tool for the interventions in both countries. However, its use has been limited, both in terms of thinking formally about what works and what does not, and for engaging partners around learning. Many members of the Agricultural Coalition in Tanzania are not aware, for example, of the theory of change. The experiences in the two countries also point to space for improvement around the change pathways, linked to the combination of different strategies that Oxfam has at its disposal. In this context, a deeper analysis of power structures could also serve to update and improve the theory of change, by looking at assumptions in particular.

Finally, the term LEAP is not familiar to many partners and stakeholders in either country. This is not necessarily a weakness. The opposite is probably true, in fact: the work is focused on advocacy issues and on the trust between policy-makers and Oxfam and its partners, without

continuously labeling the activities. However, this should be clearly part of a shared strategy, and coherent actions should follow.

7. Recommendations

Based on all data and information collected during the evaluation, the following recommendations are provided by the evaluation team. Overall, efforts under Strand III succeeded on many fronts. However, there were some poignant and more specific challenges that should be taken into consideration as Oxfam and its partners plan future activities. The recommendations are presented below by key outcome, and offered with the aim of contributing to a learning process in this perspective.

i) Meaningful engagement of women farmers

1. Oxfam should continue to invest in capacity building in both countries. In Burkina Faso, while the capacity-building and advocacy efforts have been concentrated at the national level, through women leaders, future initiatives would benefit from expanding these efforts down the line, in order to go beyond women leaders and reach out more effectively to rural women at the grassroots. Trainings and advocacy actions, like meetings and community discussions adapted to the institutions addressed, are activities that could be integrated at both levels. Illiteracy should be considered in planning training of rural women. In Tanzania, the programme has increased evidence-based understanding of agricultural policies among women farmers and it has improved advocacy for increasing women and other small-scale farmers' benefits from agricultural budgets and programs. Oxfam and partners should continue to invest energies in this direction.
2. In Burkina Faso, Oxfam and its partners should engage more senior politicians and government officials during advocacy workshops. Ministry representatives participating in the workshops were often junior staff, without the authority to make commitments in the name of the Ministry and with the ability to properly transmit demands higher up or to influence decision-making following the workshop. In the same line, both ministry officials and technicians should be involved in the advocacy activities and in the follow-up. These considerations could be part of the power analysis discussed in the previous session.
3. In Tanzania, the Agricultural Coalition could also consider supporting women farmers with experts during the high-level policy meetings. Women should stay at the forefront of the advocacy efforts and this support should not downgrade women's positions, but

should reinforce their considerations in a broader structural level, for instance during dialogues with MPs.

ii) Influencing decision-makers

4. Oxfam in Burkina Faso and its partners should consider scaling up events like the Koudou du Faso and the Koobo Awards in order to reach their potential impact. The Koudou, in particular, could become a major feature of Burkina's rich event landscape. In order to achieve this, however, more partners need to be involved among civil society, media, private economic operators, and public institutions. With a wider base and increased resources, it could draw sub-regional attention and have a stronger impact on the promotion of local products and talents. The Koobo Awards' dwindling attractiveness should encourage Oxfam and its partners to reconsider this activity, in order to improve it through increased resources or to use these resources in a different, more effective fashion.
5. Oxfam in Tanzania should consider adding capacity-building trainings for senior level officials in ministries (for instance on the role of women in agriculture, on land property rights, on agricultural revenue, etc.), possibly through the Agricultural Coalition. Joint CSOs-institutions trainings could also be a way to build trust and connections already during this stage. Consider also targeting specifically men for training and activities on gender issues at the grassroots level.
6. Oxfam in Tanzania should mobilize the Agricultural Coalition in order to consider and address the risks to working in a shrinking space for CSOs in the country. As several regional and international analysts agree that the space for CSOs has been shrinking, Oxfam should be ready for a scenario where working with the current strategies of advocacy would not be fully possible. Another element to consider while doing the analysis is budget constraints. For instance, the Agricultural Coalition seems solid enough to continue its work also with fewer resources, but the new strategy plan should identify key advocacy issues and priorities for this scenario.
7. Oxfam in both countries, together with their respective partners, should analyze the role that industrialization policies have for agriculture, and develop advocacy messages accordingly. Governments are investing on industrialization, in particular in Tanzania. In that country, the Agricultural Coalition could consider how to engage with this topic in order to promote small farmers and the role of women in agriculture. For instance, financing the agricultural chain through industrialization and recognizing the high productivity and benefits of small farmers.

8. Local partners in Burkina Faso should also target customary chiefs in advocacy efforts, as they still yield influence over land distribution and social dynamics at the community level. Women leaders have already acknowledged this necessity and have carried out such efforts, and customary authorities should be highlighted in future programming as advocacy target groups, along high-level government figures, local government authorities, and ministry technicians. Influential and respected women leaders can play an important role in explaining their needs to elders, influential men, and chiefs and to convince them of the benefits to the community of responding to these needs. Oxfam should assist partners in this process, giving them the proper tools and accompanying them as necessary.
9. The Agriculture Coalition in Tanzania should continue to liaise with the government at the highest possible level and in a coordinated fashion. To do this, the Coalition members should appoint a person (perhaps on a rotational basis) to act as a focal point at ministerial level.

iii) Effective and context-specific strategies

10. Oxfam should invest in conducting a power analysis in the agricultural sector in each country. Change-makers have been identified in key positions, but the power dynamics and structural barriers to change are not well defined, and are also in rapid transformation. In Burkina Faso, power dynamics in the agricultural sector deserve deeper considerations. In Tanzania, Oxfam worked on a power analysis in the past, but only for the Parliament, and this could not be enough for the level of advocacy potentially reached today. For instance, large attention has been devoted to the Ministry of Agriculture, but agriculture is a big sector and involves more than one Ministry. The role of all lead Ministries (Agriculture, Industry and Trades, Land and Settlement, and Water and Irrigation, and Livestock and Fishing) should be defined, along with other stakeholders, private sector included.
11. Oxfam in Burkina Faso and its partners should continue the reflection on the risk of the 'entertaining' character of national events to present women demands. In particular, women's Day has particularly taken a 'folklore'-like aspect. Considering the risk of trivialisation, it is important to recognise the limits to what is meaningfully achievable through these events. Oxfam and its partners should therefore study how to make rural women's grievances and needs heard through other, potentially more effective activities (meetings and workshops, press conferences, etc.).
12. Oxfam in Burkina Faso should build an enhanced policy monitoring system of the advocacy campaign both at the local and national levels. At the national level, it could be possible to hire a consultant to analyze the government's annual "state of the

nation" and to work with ministry departments to strengthen their own skills and integrate relevant objectives and indicators could be a good avenue, or working with existing CSOs to improve government accountability. At the local level, rural women and women leaders could be trained on the necessity and benefits of monitoring, then on how to do it. They can monitor the local implementation of national policies, and keep track of equipment/service distribution (gifts of tractors or seeds, vaccination of cattle, etc.) to ensure it is transparent and fair. This could follow what a couple of individual women leaders already do in Burkina on their own initiative, without adding administrative hurdle, but by making it more systematic and centralizing the information.

13. Oxfam in both countries should invest more time to adapt the theory of change for Strand III to their contexts and the specific objectives and strategies being used in the countries. With technical assistance from Oxfam America (e.g. on facilitation or theory of change design), Oxfam Country Offices should bring relevant staff and partner representatives together for half-day facilitated and participative seminar to finalize the theory of change. This could then be used to guide future learning efforts, including evaluations. In particular, Oxfam and partners should look at the role played by public attitudes for influencing public policy.
14. Oxfam should continue to ensure that the advocacy work is well structured on all levels, paying in particular attention to the linkages between efforts at national level with activities conducted with local institutions and in the districts. In the future, Oxfam Country Offices in each country could organize more meetings between national policy-makers, including MPs, with community leaders and members at local and district levels.
15. Oxfam in Burkina Faso and its partners should strengthen mobilization of women at the local level. The engagement and empowerment of rural women at the grassroots level should be linked to improved communication flows, so that rural women farmers become aware of opportunities and services available to them.
16. The Agricultural Coalition in Tanzania should also review its internal organization. The informal way of working of the Coalition has been appreciated by the partners, and they do not consider a legal registration as necessary. The Coalition could, however, benefit from other practical steps: the signature of a memorandum of understanding, which could increase the level of commitment; guidelines and ongoing meetings to update one another; and the organization of one annual policy event to discuss some agricultural issues each year with stakeholders and the private sector.