NATURE AND MAGNITUDE OF LAND ACQUISITIONS IN TANZANIA: ANALYZING ROLE OF DIFFERENT ACTORS, KEY TRENDS AND DRIVERS IN LAND ACQUISITIONS

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ABSTRACT

During the period between 1967 and the early 1990s the economy of Tanzania was centrally planned and managed with major means of production including land and industries under the direct state control. Around 1990s Tanzania liberalized its economy. As a result, the government embarked on a major privatization policy and opened up the market for international investors. Recently, we have witnessed influx of foreign investors who want to invest in the country's farmlands. Most of these investors come from India, China, Europe, Malasia, America, Arab Countries and South Africa. However, land is limited in supply. Besides, the impact both beneficial and adverse brought by these foreign direct investments (FDIs) to Tanzania are not well known. This project evaluated the nature and magnitude of land acquisition and accumulation currently taking place in the country, by analyzing the role of key actors, trends and drivers in the land acquisition process. Mixed methods were employed in gathering data. Qualitative methods include in-depth interviews (IDIs); focus group discussion (FGDs); key informant interviews (KIs); observation and documentary reviews (DR). Surveys were used to capture quantitative information that could not be captured using qualitative methods. Quantitative data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Micro Soft Excel (MS-Excel) computer packages while qualitative information from key informant interviews were summarized and jotted down into main themes. Results show that Tanzania's land acquisition and accumulation process is dominated by foreign companies who have acquired cheaply huge tracks of land for different purposes. Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in Tanzania have not reduced poverty neither have they improved living conditions of the people. The myth of an "idle" land is a major cause of the current rush for land acquisition and accumulation in the country. Other findings show that increased land crises, increased cost of purchasing land, increased land shortage, and outbreak of famine due to export oriented production are key challenges brought by FDI in the study areas. The study recommends that, existing local smallholder farmers must be informed and involved in all stages related to negotiations over land deals that they own or that surround them. Likewise due to sensitivity in land matters to human livelihoods, the land tenure policy should be reviewed to the possible minimum period of time.

Key words: *Land acquisition and accumulation, Tanzania, mixed methods, FDI, modalities and magnitude of Land deals.*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Land is a very important resource for any country's socio-economic development because it supports the livelihood of nearly everyone. The importance of land to country's development is emphasized by the fact that most of the population derives their livelihood from land through activities such as farming, livestock production, industry, construction and the related (Lugoe, 2008). It is important to note that in spite of its importance, land is a resource that cannot be expanded as human population and their socio-economic activities do and should therefore be managed and distributed with utmost care. A starting point in land management is said to be equitable land distribution especially setting out rules which will govern such distribution and use.

The process of land acquisition can be traced back through centuries of human history in the North, South, East and West and encompassing many episodes and innumerable examples, including pre-colonial land seizures associated with territorial wars, European enclosures in the North, and dispossession of native peoples in North America and Australasia. In many regions of the global South, land was first grabbed by pre-colonial rulers in chronic territorial wars with each other, then by colonial governments and increasingly by foreign or domestic corporations (TNI, 2013). It is further explained that, the nineteenth century set the ground for a new type of imperialism up to the post-war period in 1940s where a highly monopolised form of corporate capitalism under the leadership of finance capital manifested. It is through this practise; expanded reproduction took hold in the centres of the system and required the escalation of primitive accumulation in the peripheries and the deployment of chartered companies (Moyo and Yeros, 2011). Thus, the contemporary waves of large scale land acquisitions for commercial production in developing in Africa and other parts of the world which are taking place today indicate the outcome and continuation of the leadership of small and competitive industrial capitals.

It is important to note also that, the new form of land acquisition and accumulation happening now has been differently conceived by many people. Most scholars, media and activists have labelled the process as 'land grabs' (Massay, 2012; Borras Jr and Franco, 2012) while, some have describe this phenomena as the "new scramble for Africa" (Moyo and Yeros, 2011; Moyo, 2008). Others have refuted those descriptions on the grounds that the current land deals are being negotiated by sovereign African states in the exercise of powers that they have under national laws (Odhiambo, 2011). In parts of East African countries like Uganda, the Land Equity Movement defines a land grab as the accumulation of land holdings through illegal and or illegitimate means, or simply as deliberately and illegally taking away someone else's land rights (LEMU, 2009). LRRRI (2011), however, qualify the practice since there are incidences whereby land acquisitions in light of the domestic policy frameworks and the legal system are sanctioned.

Literature on large-scale land-grab in Africa thus, is complex and is centring on their pros and cons. In the process, two schools of thought have arisen. The first is concerned with the question whether this is a cynical land grab that amounts to a new wave of exploitational colonialism and the second school is concerned with the question whether this is the best opportunity Africa has ever had in decades to generate investment inflows that will fund lasting economic benefits (Ogalo 2011).

Harvey (2003) however, emphasises the process as the permanent nature of primitive accumulation under capitalism, expressed as historical conditions for 'expanded reproduction' which is a pure form of exploitation by capital over labour. Moreover, Moyo and Yeros (2011) emphasises that, land deals is seen as new phase of land alienation which was underway in the 1990s under structural adjustment; to this a renewed interest on oil, gas, bio-fuel and minerals contribute a systematic pressure to the scramble and land alienation.

In most parts of developing countries where agriculture is the cornerstone for socio-economic development, land acquisition and accumulation is controversial where issues like economic, political, institutional, as well as legal and ethical are raised as key drivers of government-backed investment to food security, poverty reduction, rural development, technology, access to water resources (Cotula *et al*., 2009), rise in food commodity prices in 2008, underutilisation, cheapness and availability of land (Galaty, 2012). Consequently, some developing countries are straggling to attract foreign investment into their agricultural sectors with a view of filling in the gap left by deteriorating domestic budgetary resources, creating employment and incomes and promoting technology transfer.

Tanzania for example, has a national movement to attract huge local and foreign direct investments in village lands in sectors such as agriculture, mining, tourism and biofuels production (Cotula, 2011; de Schutter, 2010; Chachage, 2010). The reason behind investment attraction on land is to transform Tanzania into the so called "regional agricultural powerhouse". But, questions remain as Cotula *et al*. (2009) and FAO (2012) put it forward: is foreign direct investment compatible with the needs of local stakeholders as well as those of the international investors? Do these investments yield more general development benefits than being land grabbing? This paper responds to some of these questions by assessing the nature and magnitude of land acquisitions in Tanzania. In so doing, the paper contributes to the existing debates by highlighting benefit and challenges brought by the current land acquisition and accumulation process in Tanzania. The paper further describes main actors, their role in the process, key trends and drivers of the process, as well as modalities and magnitude of land deals in the country.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Large-scale land acquisitions or "land grabs" pose serious threats to the human rights of host communities by denying land users access to vital natural resources, undermine local livelihoods, jeopardize food security, and exacerbate tenure insecurity (Cotula, 2011). Land users face possible deportation from lands that they have been cultivating for decades. Indigenous peoples and pastoral populations, in particular, stand to lose access to land that is indispensable to their livelihoods. Host populations face decreased food security as most of what is produced is being transferred back to the foreign investors' homes. Troubles and conflicts among investors and the host poor have been evident. Investors have been targeting "marginal" and best lands for irrigation potential, soil fertility, proximity to markets and or areas with availability of infrastructure. The poor farmers have been deprived from their access to land, and increasing concentration of resources has been placed into the hands of minority individuals (Cotula, 2009).

The leaders in land acquisition process in Africa are international agribusinesses, investment banks, hedge funds, commodity traders, sovereign wealth funds, UK pension funds, foundations, China, India, and individuals attracted by some of the world's cheapest land. Together they are scouring Sudan, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Malawi, Ethiopia, Congo, Zambia, Uganda, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Mali, Sierra Leone, Ghana and elsewhere in Africa. Researchers estimates that up to 50 million hectares of land – an area more than double the size of the UK – has been acquired in the last few years or is in the process of being negotiated by governments and wealthy investors working with state subsidies (Vidal, 2010).

European bio-fuel companies alone have acquired about 3.9 million hectares in Africa. This has led to displacement of people, lack of consultation and compensation, broken promises about wages and job opportunities. For example Sudan, emerging from civil war and mostly bereft of development for a generation, is one of the new hot spots. South Korean companies in 2009 bought 700,000 hectares of northern Sudan for wheat cultivation; the United Arab Emirates have acquired 750,000 hectares and Saudi Arabia concluded a 42,000-hectare deal in Nile province (Cotula, 2009).

Ethiopia, Madagascar and Sudan are the three countries with the highest number of individual land deals, which cover approximately 2.8-3milion ha. Studies further show that the number and magnitude of land deals in different countries are not necessarily correlated. This is especially apparent in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo with approximately 11milion ha despite only 6 land deals and in the case of Mozambique with approximately 10milion ha despite only 10 deals. A further analysis of the deals in these two countries reveals that both countries have very large individual deals with South African investors. In DR Congo a group of South African companies are leasing an area of approximately 8 million ha, while the South African farmers' association Agri SA has signed an agreement for 10million ha in Mozambique. Agri SA has negotiated a similar deal on 10million ha in the Republic of Congo and Tanzania with 11million ha (Global Land Project, 2010).

However, as Cotula, (2009) noted that primary and secondary data on land acquisitions in Africa is scarce and often of limited reliability. Therefore, a need to study and document land deals in Africa is still very crucial. Among targeted countries or "hot spots" Tanzania has scant literature on land deals. As a consequence, the nature and magnitude of land acquisition and accumulation in this largest country in East Africa is not well known. Besides, information on the role of different actors, key trends and drivers in land acquisitions in the country is in short supply. It was within this perspective that, this study was conducted to fill in the existing knowledge gap was proposed.

1.3 Objectives

This study is set to assess nature and magnitude of land acquisitions in Tanzania thereby analyzing the role of different actors, key trends and drivers in land acquisitions. Specifically it intends to:

(i) Identify key actors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process;
(ii) Assess key trends in the Tanzania's land acquisition;

(iii) Identify the main forms of land acquisition and accumulation currently taking place
in Tanzania;
(iv) Determine the driving factors behind Tanzania's land acquisition;
(v) Analyse and document modalities and magnitude of land deals;
(vi) Suggest policies and strategies to ensure a win-win scenario among different actors
in Tanzania's land acquisition process for rural development.

1.4 Research Question

This study was intended to answer the following major research question: What is the nature, characteristics and magnitude of land acquisitions in Tanzania? In order to effectively address this key research question, the following secondary questions were formulated:

(i) Who are the key actors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process?
(ii) What are the key trends in the Tanzania's land acquisition process and how can we assess them?
(iii) Which forms of land acquisition and accumulation is currently taking place in
Tanzania?
(iv) What are the factors behind the current Tanzania's land acquisition process?
(v) What are the modalities and magnitude of land deals? Who owns what? Who does what? Who gets what? What do they do with the surplus wealth that has been created?
(vi) Which policies and strategies may be adopted to ensure a win-win scenario
among different actors in Tanzania's land acquisition process for rural development?

3.0 METHODOLOGY

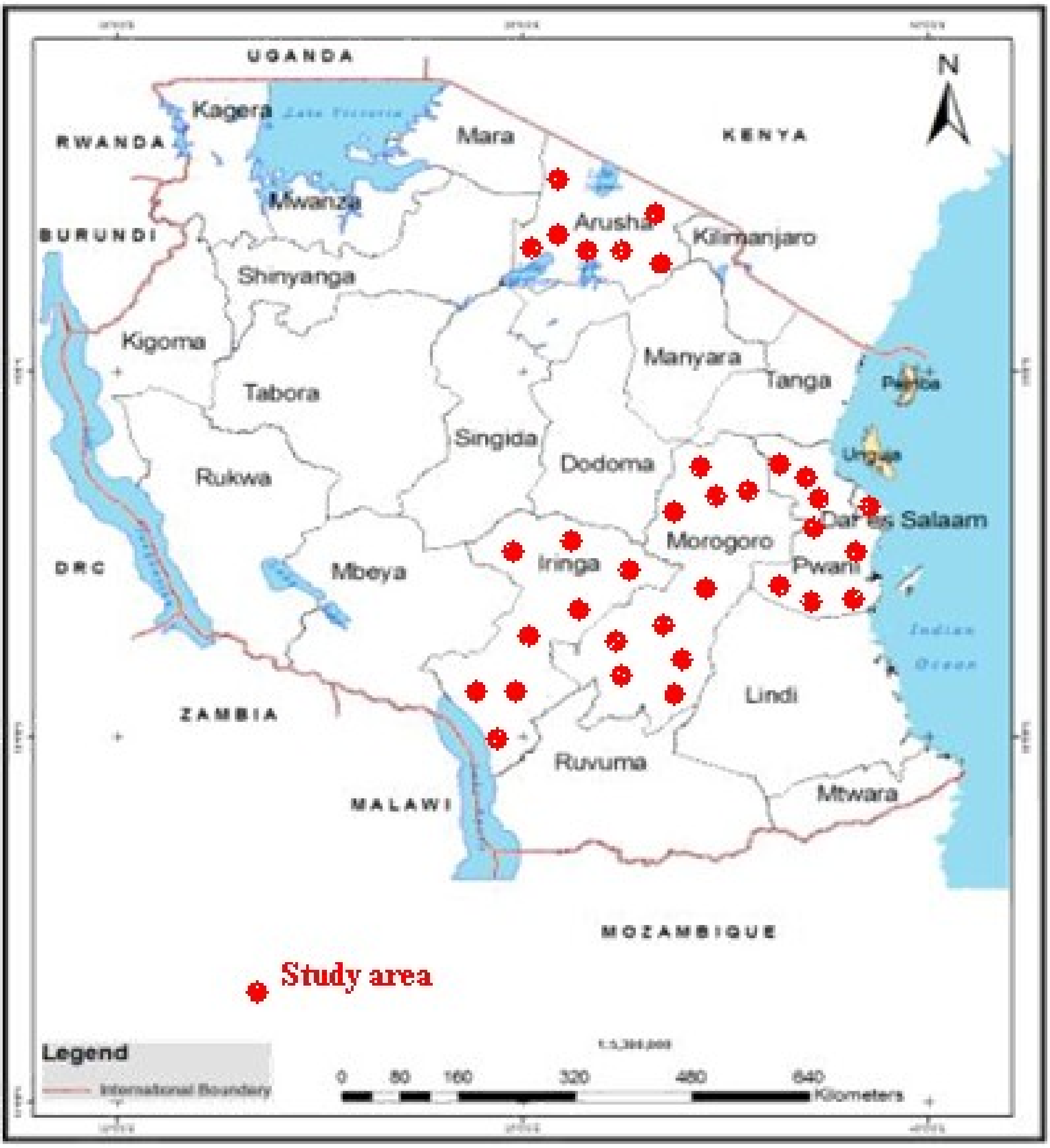
3.1 Research Design

This study employed a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods commonly referred to as "mixed-methods research design" because of the involvedness of the research problem related to nature and magnitude of land acquisitions. Gerring (2007) refers to this design as "qual quant" approach. Saunders et al. (2007) refers to it as an "integrated research paradigm". Quantitative research is generally associated with the positivist paradigm. It usually involves collecting and converting data into numerical form so that statistical calculations can be made and conclusions drawn. On the contrary, qualitative research is the approach usually associated with the social constructivist paradigm which emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality. It is about recording, analysing and attempting to uncover the deeper meaning and significance of human behaviour and experience, including contradictory beliefs, behaviours and emotions. Researchers are interested in gaining a rich and complex understanding of people's experience about a research problem in question and not in obtaining information which can be generalized to other larger groups (Saunders et al., 2007). This pragmatic research design grants researchers the freedom to use any of the methods, techniques and procedures typically associated with quantitative or qualitative designs depending on the nature of the research problem. By using mixed methods quantitative and qualitative designs complement each other to depict a wider picture of the researched problem. This design supported a variety of analytic strategies that exploited the connections between macro- and micro-levels of analysis.

3.2 Description of the Study Areas

This study covered Arusha (Northern), Pwani, Morogoro, Dar es Salaam (Eastern) and Iringa (Southern) regions of Tanzania (Map 1).

Map 1: Map of Tanzania showing surveyed regions on land acquisition



Source: Modified from Google Earth

The five regions were selected for this study because they comprise major regions where investments in land by foreigners have been taking place due to its fertility and favorable weather condition. Besides, these regions have clear access to the Indian Ocean through Tanga and Dar-es-salaam Harbours and are near to the Mwalimu Nyerere international airport and the Kilimanjaro International Airport. Thus, giving them easy access and an added advantage as far as transportation of products to overseas markets is concerned.

3.3 Sampling Procedures

This study used purposive sampling techniques and four categories of individuals as respondents. The first category was that of smallholder farmers in the study areas. Smallholder farmers included individuals who own farms with less than one hundred acres of land and that they produce both food and cash crops. The second category of respondents was foreign investors. This category consisted of foreign people who have acquired land in the study areas. The third category was that of government officials. This category also included officials in the local government especially villages, those officials working with Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) and officials from the Ministries responsible for land and other related government departments and agencies. The fourth category involved community or clan elders and/or leaders.

Initial sample size for the study was four hundred (400) respondents (appendix I). This sample size was considered adequate for this study because according to Hair et al. (2006), any sample size usually suffices for descriptive statistics. But a good sample size between 200 units and 500 units is needed for multiple regression, analysis of variance (ANOVA), or log-linear analysis. The study sample of 400 is within the required range that is suitable for rigorous statistical and econometric analyses (Sudman, 1976; Amin, 2005). Besides, two investors were sampled purposively from each district, making a total of eight (8) investors in four (4) districts. Ten (10) Village leaders were also interviewed from each district making a total of 40 respondents in all districts for that category. One (1) central government officials was interviewed from Tanzania Investment Center (TIC) and the Ministry of land respectively. However after realising the importance of interviewing as many stakeholders as possible we included two sub-categories where one individual was interviewed from each. These were an official from the Land Rights Research and Resources Institute (LRRRI) as well as from the Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA). The total sub-sample in all these sub-categories minus those smallholder farmers reached 52 as compared to 50 respondents estimated earlier. We also included 15 new respondents in the sub-category of smallholders and their number increased to 365 respondents from 350 estimated before as seen in appendix (i). The total final sample size was 417 respondents from different categories as mentioned. In this category a household was our sampling unit; both male-headed and female-headed households were included in the sample. The distribution of sample size as per regions is presented in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Distribution of respondents (smallholder farmers) per region

S/No.	Region	Population	Sample before survey	Sample after survey
1	Arusha	1,288,088 People	83 Respondents	85 Respondents
2	Pwani	889,154 People	58 Respondents	58 Respondents

3	Morogoro	1,753,362 People	113 Respondents	120 Respondents
4	Iringa	1,490,892 People	96 Respondents	102 Respondents
5	**Total**	**5,421,496 People**	**350 Respondents**	**365 Respondents**

Source: Appendix (i), authors' sample size determination

3.4 Types and Sources of Data

This study gathered both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative information on key actors, key trends, driving factors and main forms of land acquisition and accumulation taking place in Tanzania were collected. Number of investors, people employed, people who were relocated to allow investors, value of investments in Tanzanian Shillings, land acquired by investors, land compensated, amount of money paid as compensation, as well as opportunities and challenges of land acquisition for Tanzania's socio-economic development and environment sustainability are among quantitative data which were collected.

Data were obtained mainly from respondents in the field, the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC), the Export Processing Zones Authority (EPZA), Land Matrix Project Data Base, the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlement, Various district authorities, the Land Rights Research Resources Institute (LRRRI) commonly known as "*HAKIARDHI*" in Kiswahili and the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures

Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to gather information about the research problem. Qualitative methods involved documentary review; in-depth interviews; observation and key informant interviews which were specifically used to gather information on key actors, key trends, and driving factors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process as well as main forms of land acquisition and accumulation taking place in the country (see appendix ii). In addition, survey was used as a quantitative method of collecting data related to land size owned by investors and smallholder farmers, number of investors in the country, social demographic characteristics of smallholder farmers, number of people who were relocated to allow investors in different villages, land compensated, amount of money paid as compensation, as well as opportunities and challenges of land acquisition for Tanzania's socio-economic development and environment sustainability. In this regard, structured questionnaire was prepared and administered to smallholder farmers in Kilolo, Kisarawe, Mvomero, and Arumeru districts.

3.6 Data analysis procedures

Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Micro Soft Excel (MS-Excel) computer software was used to analyse data. To identify key actors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process; to identify the main forms of land acquisition and accumulation currently taking place in Tanzania as well as to examine opportunities and challenges of land acquisition for Tanzania's socio-economic development and environment sustainability; descriptive statistics were applied. Key trends in the Tanzania's land acquisition and accumulation process were mapped over the period of sixteen years from 1996 to 2011. This time was seen by researchers as sufficient enough to provide a true picture of the land acquisition and accumulation process taking place in the country.

Qualitative information from focus group discussions, key informant interviews and observational notes were transcribed into word processing documents. These transcriptions were then read and re-read to get the key messages. From these transcriptions key themes or patterns of ideas, concepts, behaviour, interactions, incidents, terminologies, or phrases were identified. Abbreviated codes such as few letters, words, or symbols were assigned to key themes and placed near them. This helped to organise the data into common themes emerged in response of dealing with specific items. These themes were later organised into coherent categories which summaries and bring meaning to the study.

4.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSION

4.1 Profile of the Studied Population

A total of 417 respondents from the five regions, that is, Arusha, Pwani, Morogoro, Iringa and Dar es Salaam regions were interviewed. The sample involved 365 smallholder farmers and 52 Key Informants (Government Officials, Researchers and Village Leaders). The results show that the majority of smallholder farmers (84.1%) were married, while a few (7.1%) were singles. However, this result is not surprising as marriage in the country is almost compulsory even the divorced and widows or widowers who are 60 years and above get re-married as it is pointed out by Smith (2002). Results further reveal that, most heads of households were men (69.9%) compared to (30.1%) women. This scenario depicts a true African culture. In the African way of life and culture, the household head is usually a male. The study by Lacey and Sinai (1996) observed that, in the Sub-Saharan Africa, it is difficult to compare the levels of Female-Headed Households (FHHs) and Male-Headed Households (MHHs); since in most cases a female report male as head, and even when the male-spouse is not present on a regular basis.

Age is a very crucial social demographic character as it indicates whether an individual is an adult or not. Children normally are not allowed to own land in the country. The mean age of 44 years and the median age of 42 shows that the majority of the respondents were within the productive age group, hence, they are entitled to own land (Table 2). These results are in-line with Atanasi (2007). On the other hand, the mean years an individual spent schooling is 7. This implies that, the majority of the respondents in the study areas had only primary education. This is because, as reported by Gould and Huber (2008) primary school education in Tanzania is nationally compulsory, and children are expected to attend school from age 7 to 13. The study indicates that on average each household in study areas had 6 persons. This household size is higher compared to the national household size of 4.9 persons per household reported by the 2002 population and household census (Atanasi, 2007). According to the author families among smallholder farmers normally have higher household size. This is because; among smallholders the family is a major source of labour, something which triggers many parents to prefer many children and large families. Table 2 also shows that most households earn an average of Tanzania Shillings 3 313 344 per year. This is translated into Tanzania Shillings 276,112 per month. When this figure is converted into US $using a current exchange rate of 1US$ to 1500 Tanzania Shillings, they yield 184.10 US $per month per household which is equal to 6.10 US $per household per day. When divided by average household size in the studied households which has 6 people, the figure becomes 1.0 US $per person per day. This implies that most people in the studied districts live on US$1 a day and under US$2 a day internationally accepted poverty thresholds.

Table 2: Profile of the studied population (n = 365)

Variables	**Max.**	**Min.**	**Range**	**Mean**	**Mode**	**Median**	**Std. Deviation**
Respondent's age in years	89	18	71	44	35	42	13.809
Respondent's education (Years spent schooling)	17	0	17	7	7	7	2.706
Household size	19	1	18	6	6	6	3.171
Land owned by a household in acres	300	0	300	9	0	4	23.577
Annual income of the household head (Tshs)	48 600 000	300000	483000	3 313 344	960000	1505000	6242872

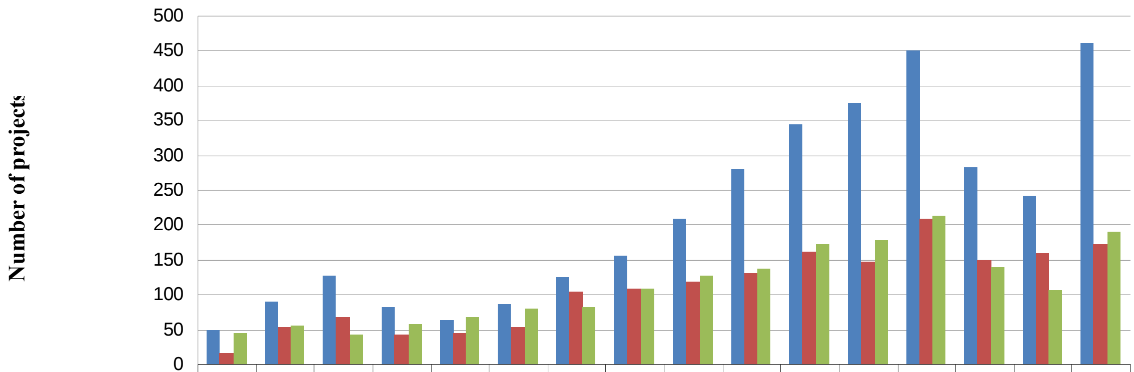
Source: Field Survey, 2011

4.2 Trend and driving factors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process

Notwithstanding Tanzania's population growth rate of 2.9 percent per year resulting into population increase from about 11 million people in 1960s to nearly 44 million in 2010 (LRRRI, 2011); until the past sixteen years most scholars continuously believed that the country was under-populated and therefore its land was under-utilised. This myth of a vast under-populated-cum-under-utilised land is a major cause of the current changes in the trend of land acquisition in the country. Literature shows that in 1995 only 10.1 percent of the land was under cultivation, of which 93.4 percent was under small-scale cultivation while some 6.6 percent was under large-scale farming (URT, 1997b). By the early 2000, the situation had not changed significantly as the area under cultivation was only 9.1 million hectares with 1.5 million hectares being under medium and large-scale farming whilst the total land allocated to smallholders was 11.9 million hectares (LRRRI, 2011: 6).

These factors have significantly contributed to a recent increasing rush for investment in Tanzania's farmlands for the past sixteen years. For example, the number of investments owned by citizens increased from 49 in 1996 to 462 in 2011. On the other hand; investments owned by foreigners increased from 17 to 172 during the same period with joint venture investments increasing from 45 to 191 (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Trend of investments by ownership type in Tanzania (1996-2011)



	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Citizens	49	90	128	81	64	87	126	155	208	281	345	376	450	283	242	462
Foreigners	17	53	67	43	46	53	104	109	119	131	161	147	208	149	160	172
Joint ownership	45	56	44	57	68	80	81	108	127	138	173	178	213	139	107	191

Source: Consolidated from the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) data base, 2012

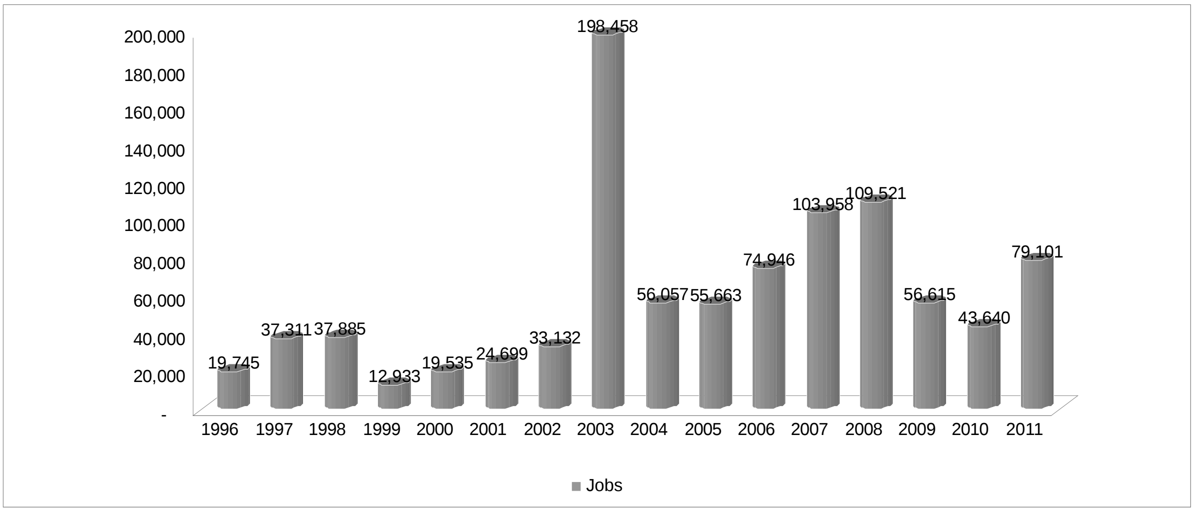
It was the intention of this study to also examine whether or not this increase in number of projects especially foreign investments has any bearing on transfer of technology and skills, creation of employment, and poverty alleviation in the host communities. In that regard we visited four districts namely Arumeru in Arusha region, Mvomero in Morogoro region, Kiasarawe in the Coast region and Kilolo in Iringa region in order to triangulate the information obtained at national level, that is from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlement, the TIC, the EPZA, and the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Co-operatives.

Photo 1: The Kilimanjaro Flowers in Usa River Ward, Arumeru District, Arusha Region acquired 209 Acres (84 ha) of farm land

Source: Filed Survey, 2011

The data at national level indicated an increase in employment from 19,745 jobs in 1996 to 79,101 jobs in 2011 (Figure 2). However, these national data did not separate jobs that were generated by the citizens' investments and that of foreigners or joint ventures. As a result, these data do not give us a true picture of the advantages of FDIs in the country as far as job creation is concerned. Furthermore, the information obtained did not provide a complete picture of the type (whether full time or part time; permanent and pensionable or contractual, etc), value (minimum and maximum wages) and quality (working environments decent or not) of the jobs created. Consequently, leaving many questions an answered; that had to be answered only by visiting the investment areas and conduct survey to sampled respondents. No national data on transfer of technology and skills was made available and therefore it was difficult to compare the national data and the findings from the field survey.

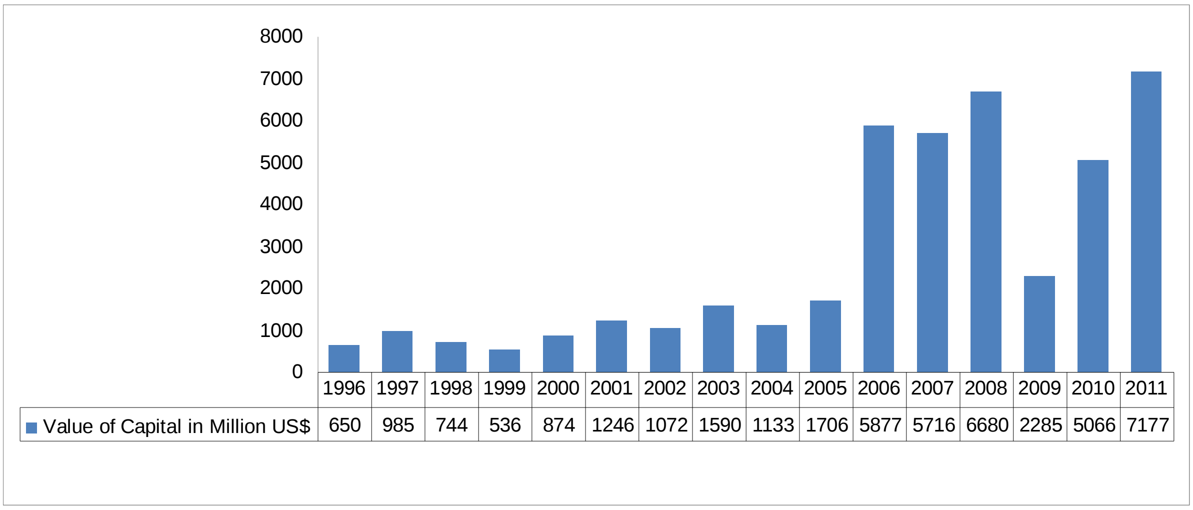
Figure 2: Trend of job creation in Tanzania (1996-2011)



Source: Consolidated from the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) data base, 2012

Data on trend of capital growth for the past sixteen years showed that, value of capital among registered investments grew from US$ 650 million in 1996 to US $7177 million in the year 2011. However, the similar problem to that of job creation existed where the value of capital was not separated between internally and externally generated jobs. This left many aspects such as value of FDI that were invested in the country during this period wanting. Despite this difficulty, we managed to get data on FDI capital inflows for nine years (2000-2008) and the data shows that; FDI inflows increased from US$463.4 million in 2000 to US$695.5 million in 2008 (URT, 2009: 17), equal to an increase of only US$232.1 million in a period of nine years. In addition, this information does not show level of poverty among the host communities, thus denying a chance of making a comparative analysis to see if these FDI have had any significant impact on poverty reduction.

Figure 3: Trend of registered investments' capital growth in Tanzania (1996-2011)



Source: Consolidated from the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) data base, 2012

Findings from observation, FGDs and Surveys conducted in the afore-mentioned districts showed a different scenario. In the districts where FDI are operating poverty is still high; for instance, most households earn only an average of Tanzania Shillings 3 313 344 per year (Table2). Other indicators such as availability of food, clean and safe drinking water, shelter, sanitation facilities, education, access to information, access to services to mention just a few showed a high rate of poverty. For example all villages we visited had no access to newspapers, very few had electricity connections and most of them were using solar power. The Tanzania Poverty and Human Development Report 2009 show that only 29.7 percent of urban households and 2 percent of households in rural areas are connected to electricity (URT, 2009:27). Many reasons might be attributed to this: First, is the poor connectivity; Second, power produced is not enough to cover the entire country; and third, may be lack of finance to lay down the infrastructures; fourth, people cannot afford to pay installation costs and the resulting bills; fifth, many people live in make shift dwellings which do not qualify to be connected to the electricity, houses like the ones found in Dihinda Village are very common in most parts of the country (Photo 2). Furthermore, we did not notice any household with a Tv set hence limiting villagers access to information only through radios and verbal communication. It is also important to note that radio reception in most remote districts like those we visited is very poor.

Photo 2: A house at Dihinda Village, Kanga Ward, Turian Division, Mvomero District, Morogoro Region.

Source: Filed Survey, 2011

Other matters that were mentioned by respondents as being FDI attractions to Tanzania apart from availability of arable land include: Presence of infrastructures such as Export Processing Zones (EPZ) and Special Economic Zones (SEZ); days investor takes to finalise a deal; tax holidays, tax waivers and exemptions; affordable registration costs; markets availability; availability of water for irrigation and political stability (Box 1). These views from respondents signify a true image of FDI attractions to Tanzania. Under the investments facilitation policy Tanzania offers many services free of charge to new investors. For instance, Land acquisition is free and supposed to be delivered within 30 days; VAT registration is free with delivery time of seven days and Tax clearance is free and delivery time is one day. Other free services with delivery time in brackets are: Tax Payer Identification Number (3days); customs approval import list (21days); business name search (2days); business licensing (3days); company registration (3days); work permit class B-Labour (7days) as well as linkages with government institutions. However, the government of Tanzania is charging very little on other services such as: Application form (100 US$); certificate of incentives (750 US$); residence permits class A (1620 US$); residence permit class B (620 US$); and special pass for class A and B for only 400 US $(URT, 2010: 36).

Likewise, corporate tax of 30% is charged to all investors regardless of the sector. Withholding tax on interest and dividends vary from sector to sector; for example in agriculture, tourism and infrastructure withholding tax on interest is 10% while in the mineral sector it is 5% (URT, 2010: 39). Similarly, the Right of Occupancy an important land document is obtained almost free of charge. The TIC specifies in its investment guide the conditions for accepting an offer of right of occupancy as one having completed a land form number 20 (for urban land) and or land form number 21 (for farm land) and signature by the applicant or his authorized representative or agent; this should be accompanied by a fee of 5,000 Tanzania shillings which is equivalent to 3 US $(URT, 2010: 46). Comparing to other African countries Tanzania appear to be charging low for most services Kenya for example charges Kenya shillings 20,000 (238 US$) to Kenya shillings 50,000 (594 US$) for business permit depending on the nature of the business (KIA, 2012).

Box 1: Things that attract FDIs to Tanzania

Group $ATTRACT Things that Attract FDIs to Tanzania

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Availability of arable land	1	306	10.0	83.8
Presence of infrastructures (EPZ, etc)	2	163	5.3	44.7
Days investor takes to finalise a deal	3	65	2.1	17.8
Tax holidays, tax waivers and exemptions	4	72	2.3	19.7
Affordable registration costs	5	97	3.2	26.6
Markets availability	6	92	3.0	25.2
Water availability for irrigation	7	12	.4	3.3
Political stability	8	2257	73.7	618.4
		-------	-----	-----
	Total responses	3064	100.0	839.5

0 missing cases; 365 valid cases

Source: Field Survey, 2011

4.3 Actors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process

The government established the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) in 1997 to be the primary agency of government to coordinate, encourage, promote and facilitate investment in the country and to advise the government on investment related matters. All government departments and agencies are required by the law to cooperate fully with TIC in facilitating investors. However, statutory law gives power to the President to acquire land for public interest or for redevelopment. This is seen by the government as necessary for it to be able to get land for development projects. Besides, prior to 1995 when the National Lad Policy was developed, no clear legal definition of public interest existed under the law and the aggrieved party could not appeal against the acquisition. The 1999 Land Act and Village Land Act define public interests as investments of national interest. Under this Act and the 1995 National Land Policy, land is "not owned" but is vested in the Presidency and availed to users through a mechanism that is centred in the Minister responsible for Lands, Commissioner of Lands and the land administration system revolving around that office. In this system, the land user briefly owns the land rights and developments made to the land. Land rights can either be granted or deemed to have been granted and certificates are issued and registered to prove the identity of the rights owner (Lugoe, 2008). It is important to note that even though all land is regarded as public land the 1999 Land Act and Village Land Act, which only became operational two years later, in 2001, created three categories of land: (1) general land, (2) reserve land and (3) village land (LRRRI, 2011: 10).

The Village Land Act No.5 of 1999 now governs land possession and access in villages. It divides village land into communal, vacant and customary land. Only Customary land can be issued with a certificate of customary rights of occupancy (CCRO) in the name of the landholder. Land allocated by a village council "whether made under and in pursuance of a law or contrary to or in disregard of any law" is confirmed to be held for a customary right of occupancy. These provisions have promoted the holder of customary right of occupancy from a bare licensee to a rights holder. Under section 20-(1) of the Land Act the law provides that a non-citizen of Tanzania shall not be allocated or granted land unless it is for investment purposes under the Tanzania Investment Act, 1997. It is intended that land for investment purposes will be identified, gazetted and allocated to the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) by way of right of occupancy. The TIC will, in turn, grant derivative rights to investors. The Act does not restrict other forms of acquisition of land rights by non-citizens. There is no restriction on purchases from government through auctions or tenders or from the Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) in the process of privatization of public enterprises. A non-citizen may obtain a derivative right from a village council (section 32 of the Village Land Act). Nor is there any restriction placed on purchases by non-citizens, of rights of occupancy or even customary rights of occupancy in the market place. Further, there is no restriction on purchase by non-citizens of shares in companies holding rights of occupancy. The thrust of the legislation is to enable foreign investors to access land since they are considered agents for development.

It is evident therefore that, government and its agencies form one group of key actors and have the leading role in land acquisition and administration in Tanzania. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and professional institutions are only its close partners. The reasons for the government's key role as provided by Lugoe (2008) are: Firstly, that land and property rights are of central importance in governance and good governance dictates that an important resource such as land must be administered as a collective asset and be managed under the premise that as population grows the territorial jurisdiction remains the same, as land cannot be created. Secondly, land administration is a public good as lives and the economy depend on it and as a collective asset, land administration is a public expenditure that must be budgeted for by the national treasury, and where necessary, to be supplemented by user fees and donations, with government being the collecting and disbursement channel.

Other key actors in the Tanzania's land acquisition process include foreign investors who have invested or want to invest in various sectors of the economy. There are more than 56 foreign companies with investments in the country. These companies are listed in the Land Matrix (2012) as follows: The DWS GALOF a Germany company which is growing barley has a land amounting to 5000 hectares of farmlands; Rufiji Basin Development Agency (RUBADA) from United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which has acquired a total of 5818 hectares of land for agriculture; Green Resources AS of Norway which have invested in forestry for wood or fibre, forestry for carbon sequestration under REDD project with 100000 hectares of land; and Sekab, Sweden based company which has acquired more than 795,000 hectares of farmlands for sugarcane plantations. Other FDIs include AgriSol Energy LLC owned by the Summit Group Pharos Global Agricultural Fund of United Arab Emirates (UAE) which acquired more than 325,117 hectares of land to grow maize in various parts of the country; Unit LLC from United States of America which grows oil palm in a farm of about 50,000 hectares of land as well as a Bio-Energy Investments (BEI) a South African Jatropha growing company which has acquired a total of 9006 hectares of land. In addition to these companies are Korea Rural Community Crop (KRC) from the Republic of Korea which has acquired 100,000 hectares of land for agriculture; Diligent Energy Systems from the Netherlands with 3500 hectares of land for Jatropha growing; FELISA a Belgium oil palm company with 10,000 hectares of land; and Bio Massive, a Swedish company which have acquired more than 50,000 hectares of land to name just a few.

4.4 Forms of Land Acquisition and Accumulation in Tanzania

Forms of land acquisition and accumulation in Tanzania were captured using documentary reviews and in-depth interviews. Literature show land acquisition and accumulation in Tanzania to date back to pre-colonial times. However, the wave was intensified during colonial times up to early 1960s. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the current wave of large-scale land acquisition for investment, commonly known as the new land grab among the circles of critics, is both a product and by-product of neo-liberal globalisation (Chachage, 2010: 10). The main factors used to explain this seemingly new phenomenon are (1) Food (In)security and (2) Energy (In)security. However, another explanatory factor that is increasingly creeping in is that of 'Environmental (In) security' (*ibid*). These factors and their associated actors – local and foreign companies, political and business elites as well as international financial and developmental institutions – will become apparent in the case studies below. In the case of Morogoro the main focus is investments in agribusiness particularly in the area of cash and food crops. The case of Iringa generally focuses on investments in forestry for carbon credits alongside the traditional timber trade. Finally the case of Pwani (the Coast Region) primarily focuses on agrofuel-cum-biofuel production purportedly for energy security.

There are two main ways in which one can own or acquire land in Tanzania. The first one is through "a granted right of occupancy" while the other is through "customary right of occupancy". However, both of these two ways are legally restricted to Tanzania citizens unless where investment is involved (LRRRI, 2011). Thus, there is a third way which accommodates non-citizens' land acquisition, that is, investing. In its investment guide TIC has listed five forms in which a foreign investor may occupy land in Tanzania. These are: One, derivative rights under Section 20(2) of the Land Act, 1999; two, application to the Commissioner for Lands for grant of right of occupancy under Section 25 (1)(h) and (i) of the Land Act, 1999; three, Sub-lease from private sector; four, license from the Government; and five, purchase from other holders of granted right of occupancy (URT, 2010:46). Furthermore, Section 19 (1) (b), (2) of the Land Act, 1999 refers to a "derivative right" as implying "right derivative of a granted right of occupancy". Thus, this Section 19 (2) reads:

"*A person or a group of persons, whether formed into a corporate body under the Companies Act or otherwise who is or are non-citizens, including a corporate body the majority of whose shareholders or owners are non-citizens, may only obtain a right of occupancy or derivative right for the purpose of investment prescribed under the Tanzania Investment Act*."

In its Section 20, entitled "Occupation of Land by non-citizens restricted", the Land Act stipulates:

(1) For avoidance of doubt, a non-citizen shall not be allowed or granted land unless it is for investment purpose under the Tanzania Investment Act.

(2) Land to be designated for investment purposes under sub-section (1) of this section shall be identified, gazetted and allocated to the Tanzania Investment Centre which shall create derivative rights to investors.

(3) Subject to Section 37(8), all lands acquired prior to the enactment of this Act shall be deemed to have no value, save for unexhausted improvements for which compensation may be paid under this Act or any other law.

(4) For the purpose of this Act, anybody corporate of whose majority shareholders or owners are non-citizens shall be deemed to be non-citizens or foreign companies.

(5) At the expiry, termination or extinction of the right of occupancy or derivative right granted to a non-citizen or foreign company, reversion of interests or rights in and over the land shall vest in the Tanzania Investment Centre or any other authority as the Minister may prescribe in the "Gazette".

Besides, it is important to recall that the land which is in most cases targeted for these large scale investors is not the one under "a granted right of occupancy". Rather, it is the one under "a customary right of occupancy", this is because to a greater extent Tanzania is still rural and agricultural country, hence; majority of Tanzanians own land through customary law, despite modernisation efforts" Nshala

(2008:3) as cited in (LRRRI, 2011: 14). Most of this land constitutes what the Village Land Act, 1999 defines as “village land”. Section 4(1) of the Act empowers the President, where s/he is ‘minded to transfer any area of village land to general or reserve land for the public interest”, to do so by directing “the Minister to proceed in accordance with the provisions of this Section.” Expectedly, the provision of Section 4(2) includes the following definition: “For the purpose of subsection (1), public interest shall include investments of national interest.” Consequently, another form of land acquisition occurs which is “village transfer land” for investment purposes (LRRRI, 2011: 15).

4.5 Modalities and magnitude of land deals

It was of interest to researchers to ascertain themselves about modalities, magnitude of land deals and level of land dispossession in the country. Results show inequality in terms of land ownership where, common citizens own very small pieces of land ranging from 0 to 300 acres (120 ha) with an average of 9 acres (3.6 ha) per household (Table 2). When divided to number of adults in the household the figure decreases to 1.5 acres per person equivalent to 0.6 ha per person. This land size is not even enough to meet the households’ food requirements. On the other hand, investors in Tanzania have acquired huge piece of land ranging from 200 ha to 400,000 an average of 43,031 ha per investor (see Table 3). Generally speaking as of 2012 records, 47 investors in Tanzania own a total of 2,022,438 ha (20,224.38 Square Km) of arable land. Slightly below the size of Belgium (30,510 Square Km) but larger than the size of Delaware (3,146.3 Square Km) and Massachusetts (12,614 Square Km) combined.

Worse still the process of land acquisition by foreign investors has dispossessed the common citizen’s land. Mvomero district in Morogoro region ranked first among the surveyed districts with 247 smallholder farmers being displaced and consequently dispossessed of their land. Kisarawe in coast region ranked second with 14 smallholder farmers; while Kilolo in Iringa ranked third with a total of 8 smallholders reported to have been displaced. A countrywide study would depict more than this. Arumeru district had no even single case of displacement. The reasons for Mvomero to rank first are many: First, is the over expansion of Mtibwa Sugar Estate Limited; and second is the establishment of a new district head office which among other things declared huge piece of land as being under the district council for development. The third reason may be the fact that, not all districts have equal land value; some have more fertile land than others. Some are suitable for animal production while others are more favourable for crop cultivation. Fourth, involves the issue of population density. Being situated between Arusha (fourth largest city in the country) and Kilimanjaro (the region that is known for long time to be over-populated); Arumeru district is over populated because of her geographic location. There is no way an investor would get 6000 ha of farmlands in the district without evicting many people. Another reason is associated with politics, the district is situated in an areas normally controlled by the opposition party *Chama cha Democrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)* translated to Party of Democracy and Development. Most people in this district have been fully sensitised on the importance of land and the disadvantages of selling land cheaply to foreign investors. One of the unusual things that happened in the district was that of smallholder farmers invading farms owned by investors. This action was said to be politically motivated by CHADEMA, even if leaders of CHADEMA quickly denied the allegation. The commercial farmers association said that threats of eviction have been received by more than 20 horticultural farms with a collective annual output of nearly $300 million, employing around 467,000 local people. This invasion might have discouraged more investors to acquire land in the district.

Kilolo is another district with land crises. According to regional commissioner's office (2006) Kilolo District has total area of 7,882.0km^2 with an estimated population of 229,000 (2012 Est) and an estimated growth rate of 1.8%. 1,078.0km^2 is water surface and the rest is land surface. Investment activity in this area is mainly in two areas, agriculture and livestock farming. Investors in this area with their respective size of land invested are: Rutuba Farm (600ha.) which is a foreign investment dealing with farming in wheat, maize and dairy cattle rearing; Tommy Dairy (201ha.) which is owned by a local investor dealing with dairy keeping; and Ndoto Farm (205ha.) - a foreign project dealing with dairy keeping. Others are New Forest (more than 6000 ha); MUHESA farm (300ha.) which is owned by a local investor dealing with dairy farming; Stambuli farm (145ha.) owned by a local investor dealing with dairy farming; the S.C.I.M Brothers (local investor) in Kilolo village dealing with dairy farming and the Mtanga farm (875ha.) which is owned by a foreigner dealing with wheat, berry and dairy farming. Areas with these investments are Mawambala, Ihimbo, Italula, Luganga, Kilolo and Kihesamgagao respectively with a total area invested over 7916ha which is over 26% of the total area of the district.

The take-over of more than 7916ha (more than 26%) of the total district area in Kilolo by investors has brought about several challenges to the rural communities in the respective areas. Like in other areas where this study was done, complaints were over the land shortage and increased cost of purchasing land. It must be noted that when land was allocated to investors, the affected communities were those who initially were using the land as basic source of their living. Many were compensated in cash terms. Thus, they had to purchase land from other individuals. Compensations were inadequate to enable them acquire enough land for their families and in accordance with the respondents, villagers complained to government officials on poor compensation. But because of ignorance and lesser access to legal support, valuation and processes of right of land ownership, many individuals remained silent; they remained hopelessly with the idea that even if they could complain to the government, nothing could take place. Concerning this, Mrs. Anna Sesemba (48 years old) a villager at Ihimbo village, Ihimbo ward, Kilolo district had this to say: "Sera zinatengenezwa na serikali, sasa sisi tutapata wapi la kusema? Mtu kama mimi hata ningeshinda mimenyoosha mkono hakuna mtu wa kunisikiliza" (Policies are made by the government, what we can say then? Even if I raise my voice the whole day there is no one to listen to me). *Because of increased cost of purchasing land and land shortage, some ended getting small and less fertile pieces of land.* The practises have resulted into persistent land conflicts among land users, famine, crime, child labour and somewhere family disintegration.

The land crisis in Kilolo between the New Forest Company a UK registered Company and people of Kidabaga Ward were still going on at the time of this study. The New Forest request for farmland in Tanzania dates as far back as 2006 (LRRRI, 2011: 34). According to the author, at that time the company loaded with maps from the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlement Development (MLHHSD), came with a request of about 30,000 ha of land in an area. However, a “reconnaissance survey” done by the district revealed that it did not have such a huge area; rather it had only 6000 ha. Out of 11 villages that were within the earmarked area, only 6 agreed that they had available land to offer. But the Company continued its expansion move which resulted to multiple land conflicts with the surrounding villages.

Table 3: Modalities and Magnitude of land deals in Tanzania

S/No.	Investor	Country of Origin	Ownership Type	Sector invested in	Location in Tanzania	Land Acquired (Hectares)	Project Status
1.	DWS GALOF	Germany Western Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Barley		5000	
2.	Rufiji Basin Development Agency (RUBADA)	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Foreign	Agriculture, Rice	Rufiji district	5818	
3.	CAMS Group	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Foreign	Agriculture, Sorghum		45000	
4.	D 1 Oils	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Foreign	Agriculture, Jatropha		60000	
5.	Green Resources AS	Norway, Northern Europe	Foreign	Forestry for wood or fibre, Forestry for carbon sequestration / REDD,Trees		100000	
6.	Sekab BT	Sweden, Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Sugar Cane	Rufiji district	400000	In land acquisition process
7.	Sekab BT	Sweden, Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Sugar Cane	Bagamoyo district	22,500	Seed cane planted and irrigation reservoir constructed
8.	Sekab BT	Sweden, Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Sugar Cane		375000	
9.	Korea Rural Community Crop (KRC)	Republic of Korea Eastern Asia	Foreign	Agriculture		100000	
10.	Diligent Energy Systems	Netherlands,Western Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, jatropha	Arusha, Babati, Manyara, Handeni, Tanga, Singida, and Monduli districts	3500	In addition to this amount of land, the investor have contracted over 4000 farmers
S/No.	**Investor**	**Country of Origin**	**Ownership Type**	**Sector invested in**	**Location in Tanzania**	**Land Acquired (Hectares)**	**Project Status**

S/No.	Investor	Country of Origin	Ownership Type	Sector invested in	Location in Tanzania	Land Acquired (Hectares)	Project Status
11.	FELISA	Belgium, Western Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Oil Palm	Kigoma	10000	Land dispute in court for extra 350 ha obtained from 2 villages. No EIA done
12.	African Biofuel and Emission Recuction Co. TZ. Ltd	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Croton *megaloc-arpus*		20000	Collecting seeds from natural and planted forests
13.	African Green Oils	United Republic of Tanzania	Joint Venture	Agriculture, Oil Palm	Rufiji, district	30000	Planted 360 ha and financing land use plans in 7 villages
14.	Bio Massive	Sweden,Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Jatropha	Lindi	50000	
15.	Clean Power TZ Ltd.	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Oil Palm	Bagamoyo district	3500	Project abandoned due to high cost of doing land use planning
16.	CMC Agriculture Bio-energy Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, white Sorghum	Bagamoyo district	25000	Land requested approved but required to do land use planning
17.	Donesta Ltd & Savannah Biofuels Ltd.	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha	Dodoma	2000	Over 200 ha planted
18.	ETC Bio-Energy Ltd 2008	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture		9263	
19.	InfEnergy Co. Ltd.	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Foreign	Agriculture,Oil Palm	Kilombero district	5818	Land lease pending. Cultivaing rice while growing oil palm
20.	KIKULETWA Farm Ltd. Alovera	Plantation United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Foreign	Agriculture, Aloe Vera & Jatropha	Kikuletwa	400	

21.	Shanta Estates Ltd		Foreign	Agriculture, Jatropha	Bagamoyo district	14500	
22.	Tanzania Biodiesel Plant Ltd	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture Oil Palm	Bagamoyo district	16000	Land not surveyed; land granted by district but not by TIC
23.	Trinity Consultants / Bioenergy TZ Ltd	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha	Bagamoyo district	16000	
24.	Export Trading Group part of Bio - Energy Investments (BEI)	South Africa	Foreign	Agriculture, Jatropha		7000	
25.	Indonesia	Malaysia, South-East Asia	Foreign	Agriculture, Oil Palm		48000	
26.	Sekab BT	Sweden, Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Sugar Cane		200	
27.	Sekab BT	Sweden, Northern Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Sugar Cane		19000	
28.	Sithe Global Power LLC	United States of America	Foreign	Agriculture, Oil Palm		50000	
29.	AgriSol Energy LLC, Summit Group	United States of America	Foreign	Agriculture, Livestock& Corn (Maize)		325117	
30.	Kilombero Company	United Republic of Tanzania	Joint Venture	Agriculture, Livestock& Sugar Cane	Kilombero	8000	

S/No.	Investor	Country of Origin	Ownership Type	Sector invested in	Location in Tanzania	Land Acquired (Hectares)	Project Status
31.	Mtibwa Company	United Republic of Tanzania	Joint Venture	Agriculture, Livestock & Sugar Cane	Mvomero district	7000	There is land dispute between out-growers and the company over ownership of land at new land village
32.	Kagera Sugar Company	United Republic of Tanzania	Joint Venture	Agriculture, Livestock & Sugar Cane	Kgera	7000	
33.	SYNERGY Tanzania Ltd	United Republic of Tanzania		Agriculture, Sugar Cane		20000	
34.	Biodiesel East African Ltd	Keya	Foreign	Agriculture, Jatropha		10000	
35.	KITOMONDO Ltd	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha		2000	
36.	DONESTER	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture,Jatropha		2000	
37.	Eco Green Fuels Tanzania Ltd.	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture		500	
38.	SAVANA Bio-fuel	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha		5000	
39.	Tanzania Green	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha		200	
40.	RUBANA Farm	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha		400	
41.	CHAWAGWA	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha		200	
42.	Kapunga Rice project	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture, Jatropha& rice		50000	
43.	Tanzania Land Conservation Trust	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Livestock & Tourism		17807	
44.	Int. Water and Electric Corp.		Foreign	Agriculture Corn (Maize)		101000	
45.	All Dutch farmers	Netherlands, Western Europe	Foreign	Agriculture, Flowers		12000	
46.	K.I. Samen B.V. Grashoek The Netherlands / Holland Dairies Ltd / Tanga Dairies Cooperative Union (TDCU)	Netherlands, Western Europe	Joint venture	Agriculture	Tanga	1000	
47.	Illovo Sugar	United Republic of Tanzania	Local	Agriculture; Sugar cane		9715	

Source: Compiled from field survey (2011); LRRRI (2011); Land matrix project data base (2012)

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

Land to a common Tanzanian is everything. It is food, shelter and clothes. Land is politics as well. It is a place where hope begins and ends. It is precious than a Bank Cheque. This vital resource should be handled with ultimate care. The information that more than 117 multilateral companies have acquired huge hectares of land (more than 2,022,438 ha) in the country is striking. Foreign investors have been buying land from smallholder farmers at a very cheap price. Worse still the government have not set conditions to protect the vulnerable smallholder farmers from losing all their land. Government should not allow citizens to cheaply sell off their land. As Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere the founder and Father of the modern Tanzania Warned: *"...If we allow land to be sold like a robe, within a short period there would only be a few Africans possessing land in Tanganyika (Tanzania) and all the others would be tenants..."* (Nyerere, 1966: 55). This study has found that:

i. Government and its agencies, foreign investors, and the common citizens are the key actors in land acquisition and administration in country. The government and its agencies forming the largest group of key actors and have the leading role in the process;

ii. There are two main ways in which one can own or acquire land in Tanzania, that is, through a granted right of occupancy and through customary right of occupancy;

iii. There were no transparency during Land deals negotiations between government officials specifically village leaders and investors;

iv. It is further noted that, in terms of land ownership inequality exists between common citizens and foreign investors. Common citizens own very small pieces of land ranging from 0 to 300 acres (120 ha) with an average of 9 acres (3.6 ha) per household;

v. The process of land acquisition by foreign investors has dispossessed the common citizen's land;

vi. Villagers who were dispossessed their lands were not well compensated;

vii. Dispossessions of local land owners by foreign investors have prompted land crises all over the country. The current crises occurred in Manyara, Kibaigwa, Kilosa, Arumeru, Mvomero and Tarime.

viii. Mtibwa Sugar Estate ltd. Out growers are underpaid;

ix. The expansion of the Mtibwa Sugar Estate ltd. (MSE ltd.) has displaced a lot of smallholder farmers and is a major cause of the land conflicts in the area;

x. The influx of foreign investors into the country have triggered local land rush by town based elites;

xi. Land in the study areas is sold very cheap; on average one acre of land is sold at Tshs 87871.21 approximately equal to US $ 55 per acre at the average exchange rate of 1 US$ to 1600 Tshs. Besides, the law do not prohibit foreign investor to purchase land from local owners neither does it protect the local owners;

xii. The number of investments owned by citizens increased from 49 in 1996 to 462 in 2011, on the other hand; investments owned by foreigners increased from 17 to 172 during the same period with joint venture investments increasing from 45 to 191;

xiii. Even if employment has increased from 19,745 jobs in 1996 to 79,101 jobs in 2011this have not improved the standard of living of most citizens who 85% of them reside in rural areas;

xiv. Though capital growth for the past sixteen years among registered investments grew from 650 million US dollars in 1996 to 7177 Million US dollars in the year 2011, poverty remains persistently high among majority of the population;

xv. In most investment areas, investors promised to offer social services as part of their social responsibility campaigns but unfortunately that did not happen in the study areas. Only two investors one from Kilolo and another Mvomero district have managed to offer at least few of the promised services to neighbouring villages.

5.2 Conclusions

In view of the above findings it can be concluded that:

i. There is a great land rush for Tanzania's farmlands; and although the government and its agencies such as the TIC, MLHHSD, EPZA, and local authorities form the largest group of key actors and have the leading role; it has not done much efforts to protect the local smallholder farmers from losing their land, the only resource they depend for survival.

ii. The influx of foreign based companies has not only triggered local land rush but also evicted the local farmers from their land. Dispossession of local land owners by foreign investors' expansionist policy has prompted land crises in most parts of the country which calls for urgent solutions;

iii. Most smallholder farmers own land through customary right of occupancy while investors own land through a granted right of occupancy; The law allow them to purchase from local farmers at market price;

iv. Land in the study areas is sold very cheap; the prevailing market price of land do not benefit land owners;

v. The increase in number of investments and the resultant employment have not significantly neither reduced unemployment rate nor have it improved the standard of living of common citizens;

vi. Poverty remains constantly high among many citizens despite increase in capital growth of foreign investments for the past sixteen years. This is because, the government have not formulated clear policies on how it will benefit from FDI directed into land.

vii. The failure of investors to offer social services to the nearby villages as promised is another cause of conflicts between investors and local farmers in the study areas.

5.3 Policy Implications

In order to make sure that there is a “win-win” scenario in most land deals in the country this study recommends the following for policy implementation:

i. Transparency in negotiations

Existing local smallholder farmers must be informed and involved in all stages related to negotiations over land deals that they own or they surround. Free, prior, and informed consent is the standard to be upheld. Particular efforts are required to protect the rights of indigenous and other marginalized ethnic groups such as the minority tribes, widows, disabled persons and poor villagers. The media and civil society can play a key role in making information available to the public.

ii. Respect for existing rights

Those who lose land should be compensated and rehabilitated to an equivalent livelihood. The standards of the World Commission on Dams provide an example of such policies.

iii. Sharing of benefits

The local community should benefit, not lose, and from foreign investments be it in agriculture or mining sector. To do so a government should make Joint Ventures between local investors preferably smallholder farmers with foreign investors mandatory. A good example is the Joint Venture between Villagers at Mawambala village in Kilolo district with RUTUBA FARM. In this arrangement, an investor does not own land but has contracted farmers to grow wheat and sell to the company. Farmers have developed the so called “Block farming”, they produce together and sell together but actually each has his/her own plot of land. Besides, Leases are preferable to lump-sum compensation because they provide an ongoing revenue stream when land is taken away for other uses. Contract farming or out-grower schemes are even better because they leave smallholders in control of their land but still deliver output to the outside investor. Explicit measures are needed for enforcement if agreed-upon investment or compensation is not forthcoming.

iv. Environmental sustainability

Careful environmental impact assessment and monitoring are required to ensure sound and sustainable agricultural production practices that guard against depletion of soils, loss of critical biodiversity, increased greenhouse gas emissions, or significant diversion of water from other human or environmental uses.

v. Putting the last first; National food security

Negotiations should start at the village level, where land is found. Investors who want to acquire a piece of land should consult the land owners who are in most cases villagers. Government officials especially at the village and district level should stop signing contracts on behalf of the villagers. They know what is good and bad, they should not be told what to do. Concerning nation’s food security; it is advised that the government should discourage investments which do not provide a detailed account on how they will assist in ensuring food security.

vi. Addressing the problems facing out growers

Out-growers are very important actors in the country’s land acquisition process. Addressing their problems such as under payments, poor working conditions, lack of legal contracts, low wages, and the like would ensure good neighbourhood between the Sugar cane companies and the out-growers. There is a need to ensure that, each Sugarcane company has an out-grower scheme and association.

vii. Stop politicising land issues

Land is livelihood; politicians should stop politicising land issues as it is a sensitive and may quickly turn a peaceful country such as this into a civil war prone country. Examples are many.

viii. Land Tenure Issues

Land tenure policy of 33, 66, and 99 years appears to be too long a period. Stakeholders recommended to be reduced to a maximum of 30 years only. There after land should be returned to the Government and an individual may re-apply or else government should re-allocate to the new applicant

ix. Furthermore, the study recommends the following areas for future research:

≅ Since employment creation is mentioned as one of the crucial benefit of FDI, there is a need to study the number of jobs, type of jobs and quality of employment resulting from FDI in Tanzania.

≅ Since it has been mentioned that, most investments in Tanzania are joint ventures. There is a need to study, type of business ventures in the country, the people involved in the joint ventures, and their beneficiaries.

≅ Since most investors claim that they do offer social services to the surrounding communities. There is a need to study types of services offered, value of services offered and their beneficiaries.

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Appendix (i):

Sample size determination

A: Based on a sample size formula by Fisher et al. (1991) as described hereunder:

$$n \cong \frac{Z^2 Pq}{d^2}$$

Where; -

n = Sample size when population under study is greater than 10 000

Z = Standard normal deviate (z-score set at 1.96, corresponding to a confidence interval of 95%

P = proportion in the target population estimated to have a particular characteristic ; if

not known a proportion of 0.5 can be used

q = Proportion of the population lacking particular characteristic of interest

d = degree of accuracy (significance level) desired, set at 0.05.

Given:

P = Percentage of students studying entrepreneurship courses within four higher learning institution (not known), we use 50%.

Z = 2.0

q = 1.0-0.5

d = 0.05

The sample size for the study is given by: $\frac{2^2 x 0.05 x 0.05}{0.05^2}$ = **400 respondents**

B: Proportionate sampling

Estimated population in each region:

1. Arusha = 1,288,088 People
2. Pwani = 889,154 People
3. Morogoro = 1,753,362 People
4. Iringa = 1,490,892 People

Total population in the 4 regions = **5,421,496 People**

Using a formula: $n \cong \frac{p_1}{p_2} xN$

Where,

N = Total sample

n = is the expected sub-sample

P_1 = is the estimated population of the particular area in this case region

P_2 = is the total population of all study areas in this case 4 regions

We get the following sub-samples:

S/No.	Region	Population	Sample
1	Arusha	1,288,088 People	83 Respondents
2	Pwani	889,154 People	58 Respondents
3	Morogoro	1,753,362 People	113 Respondents
4	Iringa	1,490,892 People	96 Respondents

Appendix ii:

Key Informants Interviewed

S/No.	Name	Title	Organisation	Location
1.	Mr. Gasper Luanda	Assistant Commissioner for Lands-Urban Lands Admission	MLHHSD	Dar Es Salaam
2.	Mr. E. Ndemela	Lawyer and Advocate	TIC	Dar Es Salaam
3.	Mr. Joseph Chiombola	Assistant Programme Officer	LRRRI	Dar Es Salaam
4.	Mr. Lameck Borega	Investment Officer	EPZA	Dar Es Salaam
5.	Mr. Bayela, E. M.	Land and Natural Resource Officer, Kisarawe District	Kisarawe district	Pwani (Coast)
6.	Mr. Merckzedek Meyasi	Retired Cooperative Officer	Arumeru disctrict	Arusha
7.	Mr. Elineema Matera	Retired Extension Officer	Arumeru district	Arusha
8.	Mr. Shukuru Raymond	Smallholder farmer	Kazimzumbwi Village, Kisarawe district	Pwani
9.	Mr. Nicholas Katindasa	Village Chairman	Kidabaga Village, Kilolo district	Iringa
10.	Mr. Mohamed Seif Mkafu	Smallholder farmer	Kwadoli Village, Mvomero district	Morogoro
11.	Ms. Anna Sesemba	Smallholder farmer	Ihimbo Village, Kilolo district	Iringa
12.	Mr. Michael Nebioti Kikoti	Smallholder farmer	Kidabaga Village, Kilolo district	Iringa
13.	Mr. Onesmo F. Kaewa	Extension Officer	Mvomero district	Morogoro
14.	Mr. M.C. Kaguo	Extension Officer	Mvomero district	Morogoro
15.	Mrs. A. Lyimo	Manager – Research and Information Systems	TIC	Dar Es Salaam
16.	Mr. Biezery Malila	Senior Cooperative Officer	Kilolo district	Iringa

17.	Ms. Valesca Kwangolo	Smallholder farmer	Maji ya chai Village, Arumeru district	Arusha
18.	Ms. Conjeta Kikimba	Smallholder farmer	Mawambala Village, Kilolo district	Iringa
19.	Ms. Elizabeth Kimbilile	Smallholder farmer	Mawambala Village, Kilolo district	Iringa
20.	Mr. Leonard Lukas	Village Executive Officer	Isele Village, Kilolo district	Iringa