



LINK BETWEEN LANDS AND AGRICULTURAL
POLICIES AND STRATEGIES AND
THEIR EFFECTS ON FOOD PRODUCTION

By

Dr. Furaha Ngeregere Lugoe
Rector/Managing Director
Dar Es Salaam Institute of Land Administration
and Policy Studies, DILAPS
P. O. Box 35424,
Dar Es Salaam,
Tanzania

www.dilaps.or.tz
E-mail: topocarto@raha.com;
rdilaps@dilaps.or.tz

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Abstract

One of the key mandates of the lands sector is distribution and, whenever necessary, re-distribution of land for land access to citizens, and their businesses. Land is as much a platform of human activity as it is a collective asset of all citizens and as such good governance dictates that land be administered through a Government system of land administration that is transparent and easily accessible to all. A system that grants protects and guarantees the security of tenure. The land policy in Tanzania views land as, among other things, an economic asset. The Government expects the land policy to facilitate “the economic use of land, rural and urban development, housing, squatting, the quality and security of title, advancement of agriculture and the protection of the environment.

Food production is perhaps as important to people as the land itself since humanity cannot exist without either of them. In Tanzania over 85% of rural people rely on agriculture and livestock keeping for their livelihoods. Yet statistics in the agricultural sector development strategy show that around 42% of households regularly have inadequate food. Food insecurity is endemic to our livelihoods. The irony of it all is people do not produce more food. Figures also indicate that about 85% of Tanzania’s arable land is under crop under a smallholder peasant mode of production and has, on the average, so been for generations at a per capita land holding of 0.12 ha. This picture setting is against the background of 44 mill. ha., of unexploited arable land that can be redistributed in such a way that each smallholder peasant receives an average of 15 ha. What is the problem with our policies that facilitate food production? Figures also indicate that food production has not improved in spite of interventions made to smallholder farmers costing some US\$ 100 mill., per year on the average in the recent past.

This paper explores one intervention that has not been attempted and one that is being advocated by agricultural economists in the fight against hunger and poverty. It is the agricultural transformation of the majority smallholder peasantry to medium scale farmers, whose first step is the increase in the per capita acreage to make full use of a reserve of arable land in the country. The paper also reviews the situation with pastureland and concludes with a scenario of deficit land against permanent pasture, although, a reserve is observed against non-permanent pasture. It sees a misinterpretation of this scenario as a major cause of conflict between pastoralism and the environment. The paper discusses in general: (i) why it is important to instil in the people a sense of belonging to the land; (ii) paradoxes in land distribution and land use; (iii) adequacy of lands sector framework to address itself to current challenges; (iv) proper linkages between agricultural and land administration strategies; (v) the need to increase efforts to operationalise, in particular, the Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 through programmes and increased funding. The paper concludes with a menu of conclusions and recommendations that would be vital to kick start a green revolution and real onslaught on poverty using the land as the key resource.

INTRODUCTION

A national policy is a “broad set of rules and regulations that guide and govern action throughout the country on the subject matter”. Policies are needed whenever organizational goals and sub-goals are delegated to functional Managers. Policies specify constraints within which these managers are expected to operate (Lugoe and Yanda, 2007). In Tanzania for example some of the key rules of operation for land managers are the fundamental principles of the national land policy and land laws. Of concern here are policies that touch on people’s rights and land administration as defined above. The latter policies, in addition to the land policy include environmental, property development, economic, taxation, mortgages, data and information, disputes and conflict resolution, land-use and trade policies.

A National Policy would include provisions for: (i) assignment of responsibilities to the various departments of the central government; (ii) the roles of the various levels of government; (iii) the role of the educational, training and capacity building institutions; (iv) resources to be allocated and priorities to be assigned in delivering land administration services; (v) possible areas of cooperation within a broad category of stakeholders; (vi) guidelines in charging for land administration products and services and their prices; and (vii) the resolution of the various socio-economic and technical issues (ibid.).

Land and Its Significance in Tanzania:

Land is a term that is diversified in meaning and significance. To some people land is to be cherished as a landscape that has evolved as a result of geological processes. Yet to others, this landscape contains vital resources that must be exploited in order to achieve economic growth and development. To another group of people land is a legal entity or a space in which a variety of rights are defined so as to govern human behaviour in relation to it. A book on land law and registration views land “as a source of all material wealth” and in the glossary part of a popular book, land has been defined as “the surface of the earth, the soils and the rocks beneath it, the air above and all things fixed to the soil” (Mtatifikolo and Lugoe, 2006).

Such views provide the many meanings of land to people. It suffices to say that to all human beings land is, functionally speaking, a space or platform for human activity as reflected in the many forms of land use (e.g. agriculture, pastoralism, conservation, settlements, infrastructure development, recreation, etc). The interpretation of land in the Land Act No. 4 of 1999 of Tanzania includes “*the surface of the earth and the earth below the surface and all substances other than minerals and petroleum forming part of or below the surface, things naturally growing on the land, buildings and other structures permanently fixed to the land*”. This interpretation is conveniently stated so as to exclude resources administered through other legislations.

Land is a central issue in many Government policies, strategies and plans from the national vision 2025, national strategy for growth and reduction of poverty (NSGRP), national agricultural and livestock policy (ALP) and corresponding strategy, ASDS, rural development policy (RDP), and its strategy, RDS, etc. In the recent exercise on needs assessment and costing of NSGRP/MKUKUTA, land was among the sectors included from the onset (Lugoe and Mtatifikolo, 2006). It was then acknowledged that strong links and synergies exist with all sectors operating on the land particularly, food production, energy, water, roads, environment, etc.

Dividends from the Sense of Belonging to the Land:

Land has socio- economic and cultural values to the inhabitants and users. It is not by chance that you and I were born on Tanzanian soil and as a result we are attached to it. The one reason why we are now talking about land in relation to food production in Tanzania is because it is where we grow crops and keep animals for our food. Production and productivity of the land will in the long run depend on how we conserve it to serve our needs.

The National Geographic Magazine interviewed an onion farmer in USA about production on his farm in 1998. This is what he had to say: *"fifty years ago ... an acre planted in onions would produce about 200 sacks ... of yellow onions. When we got that up to 350 sacks per acre, we thought we were the hottest thing in farming. Today if we cannot produce 800 sacks per acre, we can't compete with the guy down the road"* - a yield increase of 400%! One would be quick to attribute the increase in production to good weather and short-term improvements made to the soils, etc. Yet there are long term investments that are crucial to success in agriculture and, equally well, to livestock keeping leading to higher food production. There is no doubt that the quoted farmer increased investment in his business. But underlying this investment is a sense of belonging to the land - a sense of ownership guaranteed by national laws, not to mention adequate land for a profitable business.

The sense of belonging does not come easy. The world bears witness to poor land management and poor production reported on state farms and cooperatives in the former Soviet Republics and other Socialist States, where the land was state owned and production followed a command economy rather than a response to markets. One of the first policy reversals undertaken in these states after adopting market economy policies was to change to individualisation of land tenure. In Tanzania the Ujamaa policies almost extinguished customary land tenure - a form of freehold tenure practiced for centuries, through the villagisation programme (Lugoe, 2007). It can be recalled that villagisation was governed by legislation that sought to place all land under the village governments and none in the ownership of village individuals, as did the ex-socialist States. The National Agricultural Policy of 1983 for example sought to give village titles of 999 years. Under such policies, production and productivity took a nosedive, not to mention the rise in land-related conflicts, in all areas where the villagisation programme was instituted. The Agricultural and Livestock Policy, states, in part, that export crop production declined between 1970 and the mid-1980s as the growth rate of total declined at an annual rate of 4.5%. During the same period food crops declined by 0.2% per annum between 1986 and 1991 while livestock registered negative growth rates (GoT, 1997). A sense of belonging to the land motivates not only high production, but also good land management practices and long term planning.

THE NATIONAL LAND RESOURCE FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

We shall restrict food production to agriculture and livestock keeping systems that operate and cannot exist without a good land tenure dispensation, and exclude others such as fishing, hunting, gathering, etc. It is also important to clearly know the type of land resources available for these economic and cultural activities. The land policy gives the land use statistics that, although over ten years old now, will serve to guide discussion on this subject matter. Firstly, the statistics show that slightly less than 5% of Tanzania land mass is comprised of arable land at 48.8 mill. Ha. (GoT, 1995). However, it is only 10.1% of the land surface at 9.0mill. Ha that is under cultivation, implying that over 81.6% of all arable land is not used for farming. Also, some 8.4 mill. Ha of land is used for small scale farming by about

3.8 million peasants *at an average of 2.2 Ha, per peasant*. The remaining 592,074 Ha, is managed under large scale farming that includes sisal, coffee, tea, estates and plantations under granted rights of occupancy.

The picture being painted by this statistics is that of *abundance of land as the 81.6% of arable land* is available for new occupation and use. Although this observation is positive for land administration, the small average of 2.2 ha., per smallholder farmer does not address the wishes of the land policy objective of promoting rapid social and economic development of Tanzania that now focuses on economic growth and reduction of poverty within the framework of the National Strategy for growth and reduction of poverty (NSGRP) or MKUKUTA (GoT, 2005).

Further, the same source shows that Tanzania is made up of 61,285,800 Ha of pasture out of which only 35.5 mill. Ha, is permanent. However, the amount of acreage used for pasture stands at about 44 mill. Ha or some 71.8% of the non-permanent pasture. These figures also imply that a sizable proportion of grazing is undertaken on 8,475,200 Ha, of non-permanent pasture, that is vulnerable to harsh weather conditions. The picture derived from this scenario is that there exists a reserve of 17.2 mill. Ha comprising *about 28.2% of pastureland* available for use and a deficit of land at 23.5% on permanent pasture in livestock agriculture.

It is agreed that sustainable livestock keeping can only be possible where land use suitability is considered. The converse is a rupture into land use conflicts with encroachment of animal herds into farming and conservation lands.

The Land Distribution Paradox:

The National Land Policy focuses on promoting a secure land tenure system, encourage the optimal use of land and facilitate a broad based socio-economic development without endangering the ecological balance of the environment. It seeks therefore to enable peasant farmers and herders to use land as an economic platform. Agricultural sector development policy and strategy support the implementation of the NLP of 1995 as it is dependent on land and landed resources such as water, forests, etc that have a far reaching effect on production. It recognizes the importance of tenure security to land management and financial resource availability.

The paradox observed above whereby with an abundance of arable land the country still experiences marginal land access under 3 ha., is a real problem that the country must address itself to. The paradox extends to pasture where the figures showing a general deficit in pasture for sustainable livestock agriculture seem to receive marginal attention. As it will be seen later, although the land policy sees this shortfall, the agricultural and livestock policy in its development strategy does not. As such we reserve further discussion to be made in the discussions on agricultural policies and strategies.

LAND TENURE IN TANZANIA

The 1995 National Land Policy of Tanzania has upheld the leasehold system introduced in the country by the Germans and retained by the British colonial systems. The NLP documents states that: *“the policy reiterates and retains the four central land tenure tenets in a modified form that land is publicly owned and vested in the president as a trustee on behalf*

of the citizens; speculation in land will be controlled; rights of occupancy whether statutory or customary are and will continue to be the only recognised types of land tenure; and rights and title to land under any consolidated or new land laws will continue to be based mainly on use and occupation” (GoT, 1995). Under this system therefore, the land is “not owned” but leased from the State for a specified number of years. It is vested in the sovereign (Crown, Presidency, etc) and availed to users through a mechanism that is centred in the Minister responsible for lands, Commissioner of Lands and the land administration system centred around that office.

In a leasehold system, the land user 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. For the time of the lease the recipient, *de facto*, owns the land and can do whatever is possible under the terms of the lease. However, there are limitations as to the extent to which land rights can be enjoyed under lease conditions, depending on whether or not the land administration system is able to guarantee the security of tenure and the sanctity of the certificates of title. The effectiveness of the NLP and legislation emanating out of this policy therefore hinges on the effectiveness of the land administration system in the country. The NLP and the new land laws (Land Act No.4 and Village Land Act No. 5 both of 1999) have a set of 15 fundamental principles that “... *all persons exercising powers are to have regard to ...* (GoT, 1995).“ On the face of it, the set is a brilliant framework for land administration. Experience of the past 12 years since they were adopted seem to show, unfortunately, that many land administrators do not apply these principles or find it hard to break the old mindset on land administration and adopt the new dispensation.

Land tenure system may have not changed over the past century in Tanzania but policies used in the administration of land by the Government in power have. The strong role of government in land administration can be inferred from the policy setting and emphasis. Government has the leading role in land administration and non-Governmental and professional institutions are its close partners only. The reasons for the government’s key role include: (i) firstly, that land and property rights are of central importance in governance. 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, i.e., land cannot be created. (ii) Secondly, land administration is a public good as lives and the economy depend on it (see definition of land above) and as a collective asset that it is, 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 (Lugoe, 2007).

In essence the central role of Government in land administration remains crucial to the success of the tenure system selected and to the roles assigned to land in the lives of the people. The preface to the National Land Policy document drawn up by the then Minister responsible for Lands agrees that the “the present system of land tenure accepted since independence, and further developed over three decades **is a product of the past**” (GoT, 1995). He noted further that the right to land with secure tenure must be respected, but land problems extend much further than individual claims to tenure rights. They involve other issues such as the economic use of land, rural and urban development, housing, squatting, the quality and security of title, advancement of agriculture and the protection of the environment.

A DECADE OF THE NLP

Perhaps it is prudent to pose a question as to how effective has the NLP been in addressing the developments that called for its formulation? These developments can be captioned into eight clusters of issues, namely:

1. Competition for land in a growing human population that is free to migrate
2. Environmental degradation by large livestock herds and their compelled mobility
3. Government policies and co-existence of agriculture and pastoralism
4. Conflicts caused by increased urbanization and suburban agriculture
5. Increased local and foreign investment in land
6. Village land tenure and individualization of title
7. Awareness in land and property value, and land market forces
8. Good Governance, Enhanced land tenure security and justice

It may be of significance to review developments in Tanzania after the passing of the National Land Policy document in 1995 and get an insight of changes to the land administration system from that viewpoint.

Land policy has been defined as a set of rules and regulations to guide action. Several actions have emanated from the NLP. Four years after the promulgation of the NLP, in 1999, the Land Act No. 4 and the Village Land Act No. 5, respectively, were enacted (GoT, 1999). A new legal framework for the regulation of land-based relations has evolved to replace the old. The second sections in the Acts, clearly spell out that the respective law is to be understood as operationalizing the Fundamental Principles of NLP in its area of coverage, namely; village lands for the Village Land Act No.5 and general lands for the Land Act No. 4.

Three Lands Sector Development Plans and Strategies were prepared immediately following the enactment of the Land Laws in 1999, by the Lands Sector Ministry. The plans and strategies (Mtatikolo and Lugoe, 2007) are: (i) Ministry of Lands Action Plan for the Implementation of the New Land Laws No. 4 and No. 5 of 1999 formulated by the Ministerial Implementation Committee (MIC) in July 1999; (ii) The Land Resources Management Programme Project (2000 - 2010), which comprised of three major components: the Land Tenure Security Enhancement, Land Markets Reform and the Land Information Management components; and (iii) The Modernization of Surveys and Mapping Division and Registrar of Titles Project (2000-2003), which was essentially a Land Information System (LIS) Strategic Management Plan with focus on Land Administration.

The three projects have been strategic in the following ways (cf. Mtatikolo and Lugoe, 2007): (i) The Action Plan for the implementation of the Land Laws was to start with exercises such as translation of the Laws into the national language, preparation of Regulations for the Laws, and key aspects of sensitization and publicity of the Laws; all these pending the preparation of a lands sector Strategic Plan for such implementation. So initially such implementation would be in a series of annual sets of activities without any long term and comprehensive Strategic Plan. (ii) Secondly, the Land Resources Management Programme was conceived in 1999 to operationalise the land policy and the new land laws and to address specifically, the problems affecting the lands sector such as lack of security of tenure over land, conflicts in land uses, difficult access to planned and serviced urban plots, uncoordinated land information, bureaucratic land administration, etc. The programme was also designed to complement reforms undertaken in other sectors of the economy such as

liberalization, privatisation and adoption of a market economy. The proposed programme had three components, namely; land tenure security enhancement; land markets reforms; and the land information management programme; and (iii) Finally, the last project had, as its long term objective, to “create a national land information system” in support of land administration, planning and development, including property boundaries, ownership, leases, mortgages and other related information. Documentation on the three projects points to limited success for the Action Plan and for the Modernization project; and almost no-implementation of the LRMP (ibid.).

What followed in 2004 was an exercise that was to see the sector consolidating its framework of activities through the preparation and subsequent adoption of the Strategic Plan for the Implementation of Land Laws – SPILL. It was seen to accommodate all the important elements of the three projects above, and more.

The 20,000 Plots Project Showcase:

This project has its roots in the Anti-corruption Action Plan (2001 – 2002) to increase supply of planned and surveyed and serviced plots in the towns, municipalities and Cities, particularly in Dar Es Salaam. The total number of surveyed plots in the country had been declining from 22,000 plots in 1972 down to 5,429 plots in 1999 nationwide, many of which were not new plots. This was at a time when about 15,000 dwelling units were being constructed every year in Dar Es Salaam alone.

The project was yet another attempt at alleviating the shortage of plots in the Urban Centres. It took off where several Sites and Services projects of the period from 1974 to 1985 ended. Over 35,000 plots have been planned and surveyed under this project at an average cost of TShs. 800,000.00 per plot, including rudimentary services. It is envisaged by SPILL to survey about 50,000 plots per year for the foreseeable future under this project country wide using a revolving fund of about 40 Billion Shillings.

The Mbozi Pilot Project on Village Titling:

A policy statement in the 1995 NLP is recalled here. “Individuals should be allowed to obtain individual titles within an area not designated for communal uses, land conservation and other specified village or community projects. ... Villagers, through their village assemblies will therefore be allowed to survey such lands and get separate Certificates.” The Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 provides for certificates of customary right of occupancy to anyone in the village with customary tenure. The sector Ministry has attempted to kick start this process in Mbozi District.

A related showcase was the earlier project that took processes under the Village Land Act to survey and map villages in one district, and proceeds with processes that culminated into individual titling of individual parcels of land in Mbozi District of Mbeya Region. This is now being expanded to other Districts; mainly to bring home the logic that ‘it makes economic and political sense to enhance land tenure security through the Certificates of Customary Rights of Occupancy, CCRO’, which is the legal document for the titles under the Village Land Act of 1999. More on customary tenure in Tanzania is discussed in Lugoe (2007).

Again, and for the first time Tanzania’s lands sector has taken a new and operational view of land administration in village lands and results are overwhelming. The sector Ministry in Government reports that by May 2004, 7 villages in the pilot project area received certificates

of village land, which enabled titling for individuals within the villages. The certified villages had risen to 38 by September as village boundary surveys intensified. Also the first two CCROs were issued and registered at this time, rising to 240 by September. It is further reported that one of the village peasant farmers managed to secure a loan on the basis of the registered CCRO and purchased a tractor.

Creation of a Comprehensive Urban Land Property Register:

The City of Dar Es Salaam in particular, is 70% made up of slums that are a target of the Millennium Project in poverty reduction. The project for “Urban Property Registers”, commenced in 2004 by using satellite imagery to identify homes in the irregular settlements. Project activities include: (i) undertaking field campaigns to map and register houses and plots in the irregular settlements; (ii) establish registries; and (iii) encourage and support residents to apply for residential licences. The project is being piloted in Dar Es Salaam with a view of expanding to other Cities namely; Mbeya, Arusha, Mwanza and Tanga in the foreseeable future. It is envisaged that an upgrading of the irregular settlements would follow. The residential licences will give residents access to microfinance to upgrade their homesteads and contribute to a better living environment when land services are introduced.

Strategic Plan for the Implementation of New Land Laws (SPILL)

The Preparation of a Strategic Plan for the Implementation of the Land Laws (SPILL) was a required Government action by March 2005 under the Performance Assessment Framework (PAF) for Poverty Reduction Budget Support (PRBS) and Poverty Reduction Support Credit (PRSC 3) from donors including, the World Bank and European Commission (EC) driven by the need to modernise agriculture and livestock keeping. It is not surprising therefore that the strategy was financed from funds set aside for the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP) (Lugoe, et al, 2005).

To meet this obligation, the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlements Development hired consultants to prepare the strategic plan by identifying, through a consultative and validation methodology, all sector needs as identified by stakeholders. Consultative meetings were carried out in some sixty sessions in 15 Districts of Tanzania bringing together about 2,700 people comprised of villagers, NGOs/CSO advocates, officials in local and Central Governments and development partners. Results of the consultative workshops that served as inputs for the purpose of building the strategic plan are presented in Lugoe et al (2005) and discussed in Lugoe (2006). This was followed by a careful costing of interventions that had a direct bearing on the implementation of the land laws. A financial assessment of the identified needs for the medium and longer terms was also compiled as a co-document to SPILL known as the Investment Plan for SPILL (Lugoe et al, 2005b).

The Essence of SPILL in Terms of Food Production:

The Land Laws, as they stand, provide for a broad classification of land into three categories namely; general, village and reserve lands. Over the period of tenure history in Tanzania, much emphasis has been placed on general and reserve land. Village land has received very little attention in spite of the fact that over 80% of the population has lived and operated in the villages. Of late, the lack of due attention with regard to tenure security in village lands has tempted many violators to act in contravention of the law. It was therefore important that the plan of action in SPILL considered mainstreaming village land tenure as a top priority (Lugoe et al, 2005) in economic growth and poverty reduction.

Village lands are made up of farm and grazing lands to a large measure. A small part of such land is comprised of human settlements. Land tenure insecurity, in all settlements, is rampant. Most affected are the cities and villages-on-the-fly to 'small town' category. A conflict in the latter case surrounds the cessation of provisions of the Village Land Act No.5 and the application of provisions of the Land Act No. 4. The strategy has been blessed with a project formulated to implement its provisions. It has attracted funding from the World Bank to a tune of about US\$ 30 million – an amount that the sector has never been able to attract since independence in 1961. The lands component of the private sector competitiveness project is now on stream. Besides the World Bank funded project, the president's office has a project for the formalisation of businesses and transforming informal property into live capital. A substantial portion of this project lies also in the lands sector.

The Property and Business Formalization Programme (PBF):

The Government has established the Property and Business Formalization Programme or MKURABITA that seeks to transform properties and businesses in the informal sector to entities held and operated within the confines of the prevailing law in the formal economy. The formalised property and businesses are expected to enable their owners to access more capital in the formal financial sector and benefit from expanded market opportunities, among other benefits.

The expected outcome of the programme are: (i) reduced individual household poverty; (ii) improved living standards of the target groups; and (iii) an expanded national market economy that is governed by the rule of law. Its overriding Goal is thus to empower that target groups and individuals in the informal sector so that they can participate fully in the modern market economy through the use of the formalized properties and businesses, effectively contributing to the attainment of the MDG Targets via reduction of income poverty.

The role of the Lands Sector in the programme is obvious, especially to the extent that the bulk of informal activity and the poor are in the rural areas where land is the major means of production. Earnings from land and land-derived businesses and property will hinge largely on the security of land tenure, on a credible land delivery system and a framework, which facilitates the proper development of housing and human settlements. For instance, it has been estimated that about 90% of small scale economic assets and business activities are held and conducted in the informal sector making it difficult for the property and business owners to access available economic activities. The Land Act No. 4 of 1999 provides for the recognition of landed properties with irregular tenure, as already discussed, and provides residential licences as a step in tenure regularisation. MKURABITA on the other hand is a community empowerment initiative for the benefits of economically disadvantaged individuals. It is in this light that it is viewed as a part of the NSGRP strategy and of the Millennium Project (MP) in Tanzania. This initiative is geared at, among others, recognition and documentation of landed assets into universally accepted property records to be used to create liquidity and provide for recognition of property rights and tenure security.

Land Reform Component of the Private Sector Competitiveness Project:

The project component is a direct flow from SPILL and is funded by the World Bank at a cost of about US\$ 30 million. It has six subcomponents, namely: (i) land registry and land information; (ii) geodetic control and base mapping; (iii) decentralisation of land administration services; (iv) formalisation of property rights in the planned areas; (v)

strengthening the dispute resolution mechanisms; and (vi) capacity building. The main activities are:

- Developing an efficient, re-engineered registration process supported by strengthened land information systems;
- Improving survey and mapping infrastructure, scanning and updating maps and undertaking geodetic control and urban mapping in priority areas;
- Decentralizing land administration services in Districts by establishing District Registries, surveying and issuing certificates of village land, and providing support and guidance to villages in establishing registries.
- Undertaking field campaigns to map and register house plots in unplanned settlements in Dar Es Salaam and other priority areas, and encouraging and supporting residents in applying for residential licences;
- Facilitating land disputes resolution by strengthening the District Land and Housing Tribunals, improving infrastructure, and supporting public awareness campaigns;
- Capacity building, involving a programme of short term training and providing support for the project management and monitoring and evaluation in the Lands sector Ministry.

The project started in mid-2006 and continues, initially, for a duration of five years.

The general view as the sector since interventions since 1999 reveals is that there has been more emphasis on urban land interventions and activities than have been rural based interventions that could benefit the larger populations and the greater proportion of the land. The Mbozi experiment is a good start, though slow. The sector needs to take up the challenge in a more serious way by setting up a well funded Division of Village Land Development Services as a regulating mechanism so as to reverse the old trend and emphasis on land delivery for urban settlements.

THE AGRICULTURAL AND LIVESTOCK POLICY, 1997:

The overall importance of the National Land Policy (NLP) of 1995 to the Agricultural and Livestock Policy (ALP) of 1997 and generally, to food production cannot be overemphasized. The ALP, in its overview, spells out four reasons for a need to review agricultural and livestock policies of the 1980s. The first two reasons are obvious and address the merging of agricultural and livestock policies, on one hand whilst the second addresses the transition from command to market economy. One will note immediately that the remaining two reasons dwell on land policy reform including the environment. The ALP proceeds to state that; “Outdated traditions and instruments must be discarded...”in the light of the new challenging environment ushered in by the four fundamental factors. Thus stated the NLP was a major driving force for the review of policies pertaining to food production (Got, 1997).

The ALP of 1997 states that land administration arrangements determine agricultural and livestock land use, such that when land policies change the latter must also re-examine its rules and regulations so as to ensure a good fit. It acknowledges that land is a valuable resource that must be made available to all actors in a diversified and multi-sector economy. It notes with emphasis that as over 85% of rural folk depend on land for their livelihoods, through agricultural related activities, many land policy statements are therefore directed towards the rural people. It also accepts the primacy of land over agricultural policy with a

statement that “agricultural policy must be revised to meet the demands of the new land policy.”

The ALP, 1997 accepts that the agricultural sector is the main user of land resources in the country and calls for the lands sector to ensure access and ownership of land for smallholder farmers so as to assist in the modernization of agriculture. It further agrees with the fundamental principles of the national land policy including statements on; vestment, land value, customary and statutory rights, land titling and certification, women’s land access. It also agrees and advances other land policy statements such as those on; village land zoning, urban agriculture, land use planning, mitigation of conflicting land uses, discouraging nomadism and the protection of rangeland and arable land uses. Above all the ALP agrees that there is abundant land for expansion of agricultural and pastoral activities in spite of inadequate and poorly developed water resources that lead to poor livestock distribution and range degradation.

LANDS SECTOR IN CONTEXT OF ASDS:

Mechanism of Achieving Objectives of Poverty Reduction, according to the ASDS (section 1.1), will be through “a rural development strategy (RDS) and a complementary Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS). The RDS will cover the entire rural sector, including agriculture, non-farming economic activities, and economic and social infrastructures (URT, 2001). Comment is made here on key sections of the ASDS that can be accomplished through a re-examination of provisions in land policies, otherwise overlooked or marginalised in ASDS.

1. The ASDS will cover crop and livestock production and related agribusiness activities in more detail.” It is doubtful, as we’ll see shortly, whether these mechanisms are sufficient to address the issue without a land administration reform that could address land access, provide and enhanced security of tenure, address land-use conflicts, etc. Section 1.2 of the strategy states, in part, that “current estimates are that around 42% of households regularly have inadequate food. Localized food insecurity and hunger are common and reflect inadequate resource endowments at the household level.” It should be appreciated that the inadequate resources include easily accessed land for people living in nucleated and now, over populated rural settlements, called villages for lack of a better word.
2. Section 2.1 provides some handy statistics for the evaluation of land abundance/scarcity. It states that “out of 50 million ha., suitable for livestock production only 26 million ha., or 50% is currently being used mainly due to tsetse infestation. Thus the country has a large untapped land resource but its utilization would require the development of physical infrastructure and eradication of tsetse flies.” Further, “despite this abundance of unutilized land, Tanzania agriculture is dominated by small scale subsistence farming. Approximately 85% of the arable land is used by small holders who operate between 0.2 and 2.0 ha., and traditional agro pastoralists who keep an average of 50 head of cattle. It is estimated that the average per capita land holding is only 0.12 ha.

The major limitation on the size of land holdings and utilization is the heavy reliance on the hand hoe as the main cultivating tool.” It concludes that “this “hand-hoe

syndrome” among Tanzanian smallholder farmers is both a cause and symptom of rural poverty. Given the generally abundant land supply, households’ capacity to maintain and increase their production through land expansion depends on the extent to which they can higher labour or use labour saving technologies An assumption has been made in the analysis that expansion of household land holding is easy and without impediment and that given labour and tractor technology and herbicides the sky is the limit and land is abundant. It may be recalled that the abundance of land discussed at the opening of the section is national but let it not be forgotten that many smallholder farmers wish to expand their smallholdings but cannot do that. One of the effects of villagisation programme was to bring villagers together mostly along roads so that the government could easily provide them with social services. The many villages that got involved have continued to increase in population. Also. the village lands are extensive yes, but unreachabeable on one’s feet for daily farm work. These drawbacks should be added to those stated in this section 2.1.

3. Under section 2.2 the ASDS laments with concern that “ the level of agricultural growth during the last decade is considered unsatisfactory because it has not been able to bring a significant number of the rural poor above the poverty line, “.. agriculture must grow much faster if rural poverty reduction is to become a reality in Tanzania.” Further, “the incentive structure (farm implements, pricing mechanism, etc) in the sector over the past decade has not encouraged growth or investment in the sector.”

May be it is better to listen to what smallholder farmers themselves have to say as to what the starting point ought to be. In consultative meetings across the country in context of formulating the strategic plan for the implementation of the land laws (SPILL) in 2004/5 the outcry was on higher acreages per individual farmer. Since such land cannot be found in the villages they beseeched the government to re-settle willing farmers to new areas in an organized and empowered manner. In other words, the smallholder farmers called for a reversal of the villagisation process empowered by the government in the same way that villagisation programme was empowered but with new goals of using the land to address poverty. Such intervention would also agree well with the assumption made in section 2.3.1 of the ASDS, on potential opportunity for expansion in farm production of most crops, livestock and livestock products.

4. ASDS recognizes in section 2.3.1 that access to “the unexploited natural resource base of 44 million ha., of arable land, 50 million ha., of rangeland hosting an abundance of surface and underground water and several agro-ecological zones” may be a binding constraint to the expansion and diversification of crop and livestock production. Constraint can be along two lines namely depletion for poor management of land and landed resources, or unavailability and inaccessibility to farmers and livestock keepers.

Both aspects require a careful system of land administration. Good land management relies on granting land rights to known and able custodians and users of land. Land rights provide not only the right to use the land but to use it in a responsible manner. Conservation institutions should be given land rights and be vested with the responsibility of conserving the land and its ecosystems for the future generations. A stagnant land administration system such as one that is denied of land administration financial and other resources could limit land delivery. If something is not done along

these lines, the Village Land Act for example, could constrain land delivery in the 85% of this land mass of Tanzania.

5. The migration of youth from rural to urban areas is seen by the ASDS as “depleting the rural labour force. It is stated that this could be because of low level of return on labour and the drudgery of rural life. The problem is much bigger when seen from the lands sector point of view as rural problems are transformed into problems of the urban habitat. It is migration from a larger to the smaller landscape with changes in livelihoods for which the subjects are no more prepared than in village lands from which they hail.

In the urban areas are persistent land disputes as a result of rapid expansion of towns from a total urban population of 686,000 in 1967 to 10 million at the turn of the century, encroaching on fertile farming lands in Arusha, Moshi, Bukoba, Mbeya, Morogoro, and most other towns. This is a national challenge whose solution relies on improving livelihoods in rural areas and a better economy with enhanced better rural services could provide a relief to both agriculture and lands sectors. But, it is a long term undertaking.

AGRICULTURAL SECTOR’S DEMANDS ON THE LANDS SECTOR:

Agricultural Sector Development Strategy’s (ASDS) biggest concern and linkage to the lands sector is about streamlining procedures for legal access to land. According to section 5.7 and 58 of ASDS, the concern is divided into the following three aspects, namely: (i) sensitization of the public on provisions of the new Land Acts; (ii) streamlining procedures for legal and physical access to land; (iii) monitoring the implementation of the Land Acts with a view of correcting any shortcomings that may become apparent; and (iv) undertaking surveys and demarcation of potential investment zones.

An attempt is made here to evaluate the gravity of this claim in context of the objectives of ASDS. It must however, be pointed out first that too much emphasis has been placed on procedures and the land laws rather than on reforms and the national land policy knowingly that laws are hard to follow and interpret by the ordinary stakeholders. Easier to follow are the unique and easy to follow 15 fundamental principles of the NLP and the land laws around which the land policy and laws are built.

On Sensitization:

Some of the items that were implemented under the Ministry of Lands Action Plan for the new Land Laws, shortly upon enactment of the land Act No. 4 and Village Land Act No.5 of 1999 are:

- Preparation of Regulations and Prescribed Forms (with DFID technical assistance).
- Translation of principal land laws from English to Kiswahili (by the Office of the Parliamentary Draftsman)
- Translation of Village Land Act No. 5 (Regulations and Forms)
- Capacity building training of 70 Land Officers at Ardhi Institute Tabora in 1999 and 2000.
- Preparation of Guidelines for Participatory Village Land Use Planning and Management and a Citizens Guide for implementation of the Village Land Act No. 5

(prepared by the National Land Use Planning Commission for application by District and Village leaders).

- Public awareness rising in the local “Mzalendo” paper (by the National Land Use Planning Commission) and
- A strategic Planning Workshop for all local stakeholders was held in October 1999 and a donors conference was organized in March, 2000 by the Ministry.

This was a start in the sensitization process. More work has been done thereafter. But perhaps the most far-reaching undertaking has been awareness raised through the formulation process of the strategic plan for the implementation of the land laws (SPILL). **SPILL** was prepared with the participation of 13 Regions, 15 Districts, 60 Villages and over 2,700 participants in a landmark participatory approach for the sector including MDAs LGAs and CSOs. All these efforts have not bore the desired results as witnessed in recent conflicts in the Usangu valley.

On Streamlining Procedures for Access:

It could do the nation a lot of good if policy translated into laws could be left to guide action in matters of land. Besides the laws and related regulations, quasi-legal procedures and directives that circumvent the legal framework overburden the lands sector operations. Perhaps this was a part of concerns that prompted the Ministry of Agriculture to seek, through development partners, a formulation of a strategic plan for the implementation of the land laws

Decentralisation has been advocated in SPILL through: (i) a phased programme for the decentralisation of all land administration support services to the District level; (ii) hiving-off non-regulatory services from the sector Ministry to local government authorities; and (iii) setting up land boards to administer and manage land matters in the Districts. In SPILL, Land Administration Support Services have been differentiated from land delivery services (LDS). The LASS includes authority to examine and approve town planning drawings, cadastral surveys, and valuation reports; signing certificates of title; undertaking title verifications, adjudications, transfers and transmissions; and keeping copies of land records, land-use plans and approved layout designs in a well-developed and maintained land information system, LIS. On the other hand LDS, to be provided by LGAs, include the design of settlement layouts, preparation of micro land use schemes, cadastral surveying, land development control, valuation of properties in villages and towns, land allocation, etc.

SPILL also takes a cautious approach to the decentralisation process, calling for great precaution to be taken to preserve the key aspect of all land administration services, namely record keeping i.e., once framed and approved land records must continue to be preserved for as long as possible and be accessed with the same authority stipulated in sectoral laws, so as not to disturb, damage or in any way undervalue the century old string of records of the sector. Misplacement and loss of land records is a prime source of chaos in land tenure systems that can only serve to fuel commotion in neighbourhoods and exert stress to the land and the economy.

On Monitoring of Land Laws:

This is not an easy demand. It is up to the courts to provide an interpretation of the law in response to claims and counter claims from people in search of justice. It may be too early for the courts to publish case reports that would significantly alter or lead to amendments to the laws.

There has however been an amendment to the Land Act No 4 of 1999. The Gender Land Taskforce advocates, of over ten NGO's, reports that the amendment did not adhere to the consultative processes used in the run-up to the enactment of the new land laws. In so doing the amendment reversed many of the achievements of the NLP and new land laws with regard to common ownership, undeveloped (bare) land and notices with regard to mortgages, among others. The amendment is by far seen to favour the lenders in a mortgage and the civil society organisations have called for a re-examination of these clauses.

On Demarcation and Surveys of Investment Areas:

The process will naturally be a slow one in the beginning if the Village Land Act is to be followed. Land Administration on village lands for each village should be undertaken within known boundaries.

Table: Land Delivery through TIC in 2004

S/N.	Plot/Farm No.	Location	District/Region	Acreage	Investment Category
1	2370/28	Central	Ilala/DSM	5.20 Acres	Tourist Hotel
2	Plot No. 4	Mjimwema	Temeke/DSM	9.909 Ha.	Tourist Hotel
3	Farm 435	Nguru ya Ndege	Mvomero/Morogoro	2450.85 Ha.	Agricultural/Livestock
4	Plot No. 4	Ubungo	Kinondoni/DSM	13.54 Acres	Industrial
5	Plot No. 2	Ununio	Kinondoni/DSM	5.388 Ha.	Beach Hotel

6	Plot No. 10	Ununio	Kinondoni/DSM	8.089 Ha.	Beach Hotel
7	Plot No. 28	Pugu Road	Ilala/DSM	81,394 Sq. Ft.	Industrial
8	Farm No. 108/1	Mgololo	Mufindi/Iringa	980 Ha.	Industrial
9	Farm No. 108/2	Mgololo	Mufindi/Iringa	380 Ha.	Industrial
10	Plot No. 79	Shaaban Robert Str.	Ilala/DSM	3092 Sqm.	Office Block
11	Farm No. 434	Nguru ya Ndege	Mvomero/Morogoro	1195Ha.	Agricultural/Livestock

The turnover in village management personnel does not assist this provision unless the boundaries have been surveyed and village provided with a certificate of village land. There are over 11,500 registered villages, which make it an arduous task. Notwithstanding this drawback, the Tanzania Investment Centre has maintained a land bank that is growing and land delivery to foreign investors has been accomplished through this mechanism. Records show that there were two hundred ninety six (296) parcels covering an area of 628,476.51 hectares identified for delivery through the land bank mechanism at TIC. In this list are land parcels, which are surveyed, have titles deeds, are free from impediments and in most cases they have infrastructure. Out of the 296 land parcels, 67.53% are designated for farming and

most of them are found in Tanga Region. Unfortunately only two such land parcels in the tabulated list had been made available for agricultural and livestock activities by September, 2004.

Land Management:

Sections 6.6 and 6.7 of the ASDS are basically, sections on land management within rangelands and other land uses. It is acknowledged that productivity in the livestock sector and improvement in soil fertility will require redress to:

- ❖ The use of dams and dips, etc. This is a very forward looking approach and one that addresses land use conflicts across villages and which have costed lives recently.
- ❖ Demarcating and allocating land to be used by pastoralists and agropastoralists is central to good land husbandry in village lands. It addresses trespass and other forms of land rights violations and leads to peace in villages.
- ❖ Sensitization of the land laws as has been addressed in this paper.
- ❖ Developing and insitutionalizing a system for early warning of droughts and floods and impending fodder shortage for livestock. Shortage of common resources for livestock has been a major cause of conflict in recent years.

Generally speaking, conflicts and disputes are on the increase when scarcity of resources is increases and access to these resources is reduced (Mung'ong'o, and Mwamfupe, 2003). At the village level resources such as communal pasture, water sources, woodlots supplying firewood or charcoal, good soils for burnt bricks, fishing ponds and rivers, are examples of communal resources. A major case in point is the Usangu valley, in Mbarali District in the Southern Western Highlands. The recent draught experienced countrywide causing dams to dry up in the last 5 years has had a big toll on livestock and pastoralists had to migrate to where water and pasture are readily available. The Usangu valley, which is a source of most southern rivers of Tanzania, has been seen as a safe haven for pastoralists at the expense of the environment and shrinkage of the ecosystem. It is most welcome to have a dam in each village where livestock is found.

Further, the ASDS calls for the preparation of comprehensive land use maps with district-by-district details including data on soils, soil fertility, water, precipitation, etc. It is not immediately known to what level of seriousness was this provision made. The preparation of land use maps is most involving in terms of skills, vastness of territory, institutions, and finances. Land use maps cannot be prepared unless the territory is endowed with good base maps with appropriate detail that can only be displayed on medium scale topographical maps. Tanzania does not have such maps serve for the Y742 series that is not incomplete in coverage but existing map sheets are outdated and in dire need of revision.

Land Use Planning:

Due to its importance in availing all sectors of the economy with a model of the landscape on which to plan and design various economic activities, the national base map need always be in print and be updated at most after 10 years i.e., 10% of the territory to be photographed and mapped every year. However, deficiencies both in coverage and quality exist. Taking an average time lapse between revisions of the basic mapping at 1:50,000, then all blocks, with the exception of North-East and Mwanza-Geita blocks, are due for revision.

Land-use planning focuses on identifying current and envisaged land-use types on a map as a guide to all stakeholders. It provides a plan of the landscape that has been zoned with regard

to various land-uses. It is a framework for implementation by all sectors operating on the land.

It is not possible to compile such a plan unless a base map is available. Land use is most demanding on the mapping processes to issue maps of different scales. Most used are small scales (1:50,000 to 1: 250,000) for nation wide planning; medium (1:5,000 to 1: 20,000) for District and urban planning. Of important application are satellite images especially where changes in land use are being monitored. Satellite imagery has the capability of studying land cover by gaining information on soil moistures, the geology, vegetation and hydrology and hydrography. Socio-economic information layers for land-use planning at lower levels must be gathered from participatory processes, taking into consideration the needs and expectation of the communities.

The national 1:50,000 base map of Tanzania consists of 1265 map sheets compiled from aerial photographs. However, only 1255 sheets have ever been mapped. There are 14 provisional sheets of the Tanganyika series in the northeast and, another approximately 12500 square kilometre of landscape has never been mapped, though photographed. The latter consists of the 8 map sheets of Kiomboi area in Singida Region and 2 sheets in Kagera Region. In addition to the Kiomboi and Bukoba unmapped gaps and the decay of existing maps, other deficiencies in the national mapping programme include: (i) delay in the production of maps for areas already photographed resulting in the production of already decayed maps or a waste of resources in aerial photography; (ii) maps being consistently out of print for lack of printing funds that would avail them to users; and (iii) breaking down of the antiquated printing equipment of the mapping branch in the Surveys and Mapping Division, SMD (IST, 2001).

The required level of funding for the mapping sector in Tanzania is obtained from three sources: Firstly, a recent study (1999) funded by the government of Sweden calls for an investment of TAS 5 billion for the modernisation of the SMD including capacity and capability funding in surveys and mapping. Secondly, a preamble to the public Expenditure review (PER 02) study report summarises the needs for topographical maps for all users, including ASDS and RDS, at TAS 41.4 billion. Finally, a geo-referencing system of 16,000 rural and 28,000 urban geo-referencing points has been found necessary by the Institution of surveyors of Tanzania (IST) at a cost of TAS 6.7 billion and is sufficient for 1:10000 rural and 1:2500 urban mapping needs (ibid.).

Mainstreaming Gender:

The ASDS is structured within gender policies of Tanzania and the lands sector is unequivocal on the issue as it states in the fundamental principles that: “The right of every woman to acquire, hold, use and deal with land shall, to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions be treated as a right of ant man.”

A key aspect of the land tenure system of Tanzania, as provided in the Land Act no. 4 and the Village Land Act no. 5 of 1999, is the enhancement of the right of vulnerable groups (women, children, minorities) in society (Fimbo, 2004). The male dominant structure of society has traditionall governed nearly 80% of the rural population including succession and inheritance in Tanzania. The problems are deep-rooted in the succession or inheritance of immovable property including land by the female gender. Custom, culture and certain religious practices have combined to produce a bias against vulnerable groups.

Both Land Act No. 4 and Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 have attempted to put into effect the above sentiments with provisions relating to repugnancy of customary law, acquisition of land rights and sales or assignments of land and mortgages. A number of critical statements against gender discrimination are provided in the Land Act no. 4, in the context of co-ownership and mortgages (see sections 85, 112, and 161 (2)), which apply to the Village Land Act as well. The latter is very specific on the rights of children in sections 20(2), 23(2) (e) (iv), 30(3) c) and 33 (1) c) and that of pastoralists in sections 29 (2) (a) (iii), 3 (1) (l), 7 (1) and 8 (8) (d). The Village Land Act provides for a representation of women (at least 25%) on the Village Council, at least 4 members of the Village Adjudication Committee and at least 3 on the Village Land Council (dispute settlement) to guard against discrimination in the access to land (Lugoe, 2007).

But these provisions alone will not remove the problem that has been experienced over many decades. Today's women's relations to land are much more complex than status relationships reflected in inheritance. More importantly are relations governed by roles of women as food producers for the home and market, i.e., as farmers and farm workers and are affected by policies on land matters. Women as full subjects on land relations should pursue issue of difficulties encountered in exercising effective control and management of land; of removing barriers to land access; and of food production hindered by inequitable distribution and redistribution of land.

Women issues ought to recognise land as the most important and valuable of all assets particularly to rural economies. In villages land provides livelihood, an identity and a sense of belonging and, determines status also. It is a vital asset for women over other sources of income, particularly for those engaged in smallholder agriculture, (ibid.).

Checklist of Policy Interventions for Promoting Food Production:

The following is a check list of essentials to be taken into consideration by the land administration machinery in close collaboration with the agriculture and livestock sectors directed at higher food production in Tanzania.

- ❖ Guarantee the Security of Tenure or the Sanctity of Title to Land
- ❖ Issue Certificates of Occupancy in General and Village Lands
- ❖ Address the Occurrence of Conflicts known to be destructive to property and preventing land usage
- ❖ Curb all forms of trespass some of which breed tenure insecurity and lead to crop theft and land degradation
- ❖ Attract medium-scale family-based farming businesses deemed to be most productive and effective to economic growth whilst mitigating land hoarding
- ❖ Provide access to financing schemes and mortgages using land as collateral
- ❖ Promote leasing of agricultural lands to allow unavoidable absenteeism on land whilst keeping the land productive
- ❖ Work towards providing re-settlement schemes for higher acreages to smallholder farmers as a measure in redressing the ill-effects of villagisation on land access.
- ❖ More funding to the Lands Sector Ministry. Needs assessment and funding of the lands sector as recently identified by MKUKUTA stand at: **270.273** billion Shillings.

CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATIONS:

Summing up the symbiotic relationship between land policy and strategies and those of the agriculture and livestock sector the following become apparent:

- (1) Land policies are far reaching in satisfying current demands placed on the lands sector by the food producing sectors. This having been said it is important to bear in mind that the sector suffers from serious financing problems. The current budget for example is only a fraction of the 20,000 plots project that has produced some 35,000 urban plots. Many activities cannot be implemented for lack of resources and stakeholders and policy makers should be aware of this situation. It has been suggested in Mtatikolo and Lugoe, (2006) that “Cross-sectoral linkages and synergies see the Lands Sector as an indispensable sector in all the land intensive sectors of the economy (agriculture, livestock, mining, infrastructural developments, etc) but using little from them. The costing exercises have, therefore, recommended accordingly so that the sector is availed more resources that will facilitate its national commitments and responsibilities.”
- (2) The comments given in response to various statements, in policy and strategy, for the agricultural sector show that the sector seems to leave out the real issues with respect to land tenure, land distribution and land use. The agricultural sector needs to re-think its position and have a dialogue that will focus on land reform and land administration. Policy makers are called upon to remember that Tanzania once had a villagisation policy and programme. The policy and programme have been abandoned but their legacy lingers on and are encumbering land access that is truly in the interest of enhanced food production and poverty reduction. In the same manner that government moved people away from their abundant ancestral lands, it should now mount a programme to re-settle them where they will have enough lands for enhanced production and productivity, against hunger and for poverty reduction as described in the strategic plan for the implementation of the land laws, SPILL.
- (3) The real break through in food production will come when land is redistributed in such a way that smallholder peasants become a minority against the majority of medium scale farmers. The nine items in the checklist above should be addressed as national concerns in addition, and also in the interest of food production and other land based actors in the economy. The strategic plan for the implementation of the land law, SPILL, should proactively be put into implementation that includes drawing up a programme of implementation and appropriate funding as advocated therein.
- (4) Give due attention to the main challenges of the sector addressed in various sector documents including SPILL under four clusters. These are: (i) **Systemic** challenges reflecting policies of the past such as villagisation of the 1970s whose results were difficult to reverse, gender imbalance, poor enforcement of law and order, and some urbanization and housing policies of the past. (ii) **Exogenous** forces like uncontrolled urbanization, population movement and shift to the east, rural-urban migration, lagging urban infrastructure, corruption and the development of spontaneous settlements were noted as developments taking place outside the capacity of the lands sector alone, or, in certain cases, even the nation. (iii) **Policy Derived** challenges caused by limited and weak capacity for policy analysis and planning, inefficiency and stagnation in land delivery, poor enforcement of planning and building

regulations, skilled manpower retrenchments, unregulated land markets, non-empowerment of dispute settlement machinery and the weak enforcement of law and order fell in this category. (iv) **Financial Resource Constraints** such as the near freeze on topographical mapping and land use planning services, a stagnant cadastral survey system, incomplete village boundary survey, a run-down land administration infrastructure, proliferation of irregular settlements, and, poorly facilitated law enforcement institutions as some of the core manifestations of budgetary squeeze.

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