Participatory Land Use Planning to Support Tanzanian Farmer and Pastoralist Investment

Experiences from Mbarali District, Mbeya Region, Tanzania
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Abstract

The food security of more than 80% of Tanzania's population and the country's economic growth depend on family farming on certified village lands. Realizing the importance of smallholder's roles in food security and economic development, the government introduced Village Land Use Planning (VLUP) as a tool towards sustainable family farming in support of green growth – a strategy for sustainably improving productivity within degrading natural resources. This study explored the potential for village certification and VLUP processes to improve opportunities for sustainable family farming and green growth development. The study focused Mbarali District in Mbeya Tanzania, where interest in VLUP has been growing as a result of increasing demands on land for agriculture, livestock, conservation and, more recently, large-scale agriculture investments. The study found that while the VLUP process is an important stepping stone for securing land tenure for smallholder farmers, many barriers currently prevent it from contributing to green growth at a significant scale. Among the pertinent challenges are inadequate support (financial and technical) for implementation, lack of understanding of village certification and VLUP processes and its participatory nature by key actors, insensitivity to minority groups' needs, and contests over boundaries between village governments. Preliminary findings show that, where properly implemented, VLUP would potentially advance family farming leading to the issuing of Certificates of Customary Rights of Occupancy (CCRO) to individual farm families, providing a legal mechanism for more vulnerable producers, particularly women, to protect their land and resources, guaranteeing long term access to common pool resources within the village, and reducing social conflicts.

List of acronyms

CCRO Certificate of Customary Right of Occupancy
CSO civil society organization
GDP Gross domestic product
MKUKUTA Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania (National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty)
MKURABITA Mpango wa Kurasimishia Rasilimali na Biashara za Wanyonge Tanzania (Property and Business Formalization Programme)
NARCO National ranching company
NLUPC National Land Use Planning Commission
PLUM Participatory land use management
PSRC Parastatal Sector Reform Commission
REDD Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation
SAGCOT Southern agricultural growth corridor of Tanzania
VLUP Village land use plan
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**Introduction**

**Background**

Family farmers are the heart of Tanzanian agriculture. More than 80 percent of the country’s population relies on farming for their food and livelihoods, and agriculture accounts for 25 percent of the GDP (SAGCOT Centre, 2011a). Recognizing the centrality of agriculture to the Tanzanian economy and the well-being of Tanzania’s people, the government recommitted to boost public and private investment to transform agriculture through a new strategy, Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First), introduced in 2009. Kilimo Kwanza, along with the Big Results Now framework, a development strategy designed to launch Tanzania from low- to middle-income country status, and the second phase of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA II), underscores a growing role for the private sector in agriculture-led economic development. These policies paved the way for initiatives like the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania (SAGCOT), a public-private partnership supported by the World Economic Forum, to rapidly expand investment in agricultural intensification and commercialization in the bread basket corridor that spans southern Tanzania from Dar es Salaam in the East to Mbeya region in the West.

Policy makers at the national level who are championing such initiatives argue that the well-being of smallholder farmers and pastoralists, the majority of Tanzania’s population, are at the core of the country’s new investment strategies – aiming to reduce poverty and improve food security. However, in the Southern Corridor, rapid expansion of agricultural investment, intensification and commercialization threaten to negatively impact the production of local crops and livestock upon which millions of smallholders depend for their livelihood and nutritional security. Imminent plans for major external investments in agriculture could also negatively affect the ecosystem services on which family farming depends in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Excessive water use during irrigation, widespread soil erosion, and forest conversion to agriculture all contribute to accelerating landscape degradation.

To help avoid or reduce these detrimental outcomes, a “green growth” approach to agricultural development in the Southern Corridor has been put forward by EcoAgriculture Partners with support from the SAGCOT Centre in a “Greenprint” (Milder et al., 2013) for investing in climate-smart agriculture that conserves biodiversity. The agriculture green growth strategy identifies production and marketing opportunities for smallholder producers including the farmers, pastoralists and fisherfolk who comprise the majority of the population in the Southern Highlands. It proposes incentives for producers to steward biodiversity and ecosystem services while improving incomes, livelihood security and resilience to climate change. Not only is the resilience and prosperity of smallholder farmers and their communities central to the success of green growth, smallholders play a critical role in shaping agricultural practices and conservation efforts.

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1 For further discussion on the concept and definition of “green growth”, please see the work of the African Development Bank (2013), the World Bank (2012), Hoffman (2011) and Ekins (2002).
Transitioning to more sustainable agricultural practices, however, will require farmers to assume more risk in the early stages of adoption when investment costs outweigh returns. Smallholder farmers’ characteristic intolerance of risk, owing to limited access to capital and insufficient land tenure security, limits their capacity to experiment with new technologies and practices. This is especially true for women producers who are the majority of small farmers in Mbeya but who have even more limited access to capital, education and decision-making roles than men. While various organizations are working to enable smallholders to access start-up capital, the issue of land tenure security remains central to agricultural development. Such is the case in the Mbeya region where smallholders, entrepreneurs and other local leaders in agriculture, conservation and rural development have cited land tenure insecurity as a primary stumbling block to innovation and the adoption of sustainable agricultural practices.

Rationale

Mbeya region is at the western end of Tanzania's southern highlands. The region includes important biodiversity hotspots around Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa, as well as in the Kitulo Plateau and areas around Mt. Rungwe. Despite its distance from Dar es Salaam, the headwaters of the Rufiji River, located in Mbarali District, make the region critical important to national water supplies and hydroelectric power generation. Mbarali District also supplies water to several irrigation projects in the Usangu flats and elsewhere in the Rufiji basin. Mbeya's abundant water and rich base of natural resource are the foundation of the Region's productivity. Eighty percent of the Region's population depend on agriculture
and livestock as their main livelihood. In particular, Mbarali District is recognized for commercial production of high quality rice grown in and around the Usangu flats. For these reasons, Mbarali District and surrounding areas have been selected by the SAGCOT initiative as one of the cluster areas targeted for large-scale investment. However, these national priorities are relatively unknown to local communities, and when communities are aware they often perceive such plans as a threat to uncertified village lands and smallholder producer livelihoods. Village certification and land use planning have been highlighted by the SAGCOT initiative and the national government as a tool which will allow villages to participate in the designation of investment areas, and protect agricultural and grazing lands of village members.

The government of Tanzania, through the National Land Use Planning Commission, has set out specific guidelines for village land use planning (VLUP) as a tool for conserving priority areas, reserving land for investment, reducing land use conflicts, and establishing a market for land thereby boosting rural economies (NLUPC, 2011). The guidelines, designed for implementation at the village level, are based on the Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 (and more recently Land Use Planning Act No. 6 of 2007). The law aims to improve local access to and control of land and natural resources. The guidelines outline a participatory process by which villages can plan land use within their boundaries to reduce conflicts between land users, improve natural resource conservation, and improve tenure security for village members. Formally, the VLUP process must be preceded by the certification of village lands by the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements, which is the first step to ensuring tenure security. While not always the case, the VLUP process usually provides a stepping stone between village certification and several other legal processes (e.g., village survey and demarcation, issuance of village certificates which is a precondition to individual customary land titling, designation of conservation areas, and others). This potentially powerful planning and governance mechanism for improving tenure security for family farmers, however, has been slow to advance. The complex and sometimes contradictory policies, bureaucratic institutions and processes and high facilitation costs are viewed to be limiting the implementation of land use planning processes.

Tanzania now has more than a decade of experience with participatory land use planning. At present, however, fewer than 10 percent of Tanzania’s villages have developed village land use plans (OECD, 2013). The perceived finality of land use planning decisions may be an obstacle to wider implementation. Although the process aims to resolve land conflicts, it is designed only to address conflicts between village members, not conflicts between neighboring villages. Such conflicts between villages, which must be dealt with through the preceding process of village certification, can take years to resolve and prohibit villages from moving on to developing land use plans. If agricultural development and conservation to a large extent hinge on VLUP implementation, land use planning processes are needed that are sufficiently flexible to maintain future options for development. At the same time, implementation of the Village Land Act will need to provide adequate tenure security for family farmers to invest in sustainable agricultural practices and market innovations to support them. Two key challenges which have limited the widespread implementation of VLUP are specified below.
First, district governments face serious budgetary constraints for facilitating land use planning. For instance, in Mbarali District, the geographic focus of this study, the development of a VLUP costs no less than TSH 6 million (USD 3,750). The district government receives enough funding to support one to three VLUPs per year. Currently, 26 of the district’s 99 villages have VLUPs. However, given the financial limitations of the local government to support the development of VLUPs, much of the funding and capacity to facilitate the VLUP process comes from other organizations interested in supporting VLUPs or from villages themselves.

Second, only a few villages in Mbarali District have successfully managed to advance their own land use plans given the limited capacity of district authorities. Many other villages have had difficulty discerning the steps for establishing a VLUP or confirming the plan with district councils. In other cases, villages have been able to pull together the necessary funding but lack internal capacity to complete the process on their own. In such cases, they must coordinate with several levels of local government to access actors with capacity and willingness to help them navigate the VLUP process.

These challenges have resulted in third party actors, often development and conservation organizations with interests of their own in the area, supporting VLUP processes through financing and technical expertise. Such organizations currently supporting VLUP processes in Mbarali District typically are interested in achieving one of the outputs that hinge on VLUP processes (e.g., establishment of wildlife management areas and wildlife corridors). While there has been some concern that the agendas of these organizations drive the VLUP process and potentially influence village land allocations, their involvement usually is viewed as more rather than less beneficial. In particular, facilitating organizations often have years of experience navigating the VLUP process at the district level. In some cases, facilitating organizations are able to leverage power at the district level to keep a process in motion that would have stalled if managed solely by village leadership.

To date, most of the reports on VLUP processes in Tanzania have been prepared by these facilitating organizations, and the geographic emphasis has been primarily in northern Tanzania in the areas around Arusha and Kilimanjaro (ILC, 2013; Ujamaa Community Resource Team, 2010), although Mango and Kalenzi (2011) document experience with developing cost-effective land use plans in neighboring Iringa and Njombe regions. Additionally, Kauzeni and colleagues (1993) documented the experiences of several villages in Handeni district, however these experiences did not follow the most recent guidelines for VLUP offered by the NLUPC (2011). In contrast to these documented experiences, government interest in large-scale agricultural investments in Mbarali (SAGCOT Centre, 2011b) adds a new dimension to demand for land. Although the land use planning policies have been in place for some time, there has been some lag in translating the interests of investors into support for VLUP processes in the region.

Now, as interest in agricultural investment and conservation in the Southern Corridor is growing, so is interest on the part of third party facilitators in shaping VLUP processes. In this study, we use the case of Mbarali district in Mbeya region to highlight the diversity of experiences related to land use planning in the Southern Highlands. Of the 26 villages in Mbarali district that have VLUPs, only a handful have been developed through formal
facilitation by a third party organization, suggesting that existing reports on the land use planning process may not have captured the experiences of villages that are trying to navigate the process on their own or with very limited guidance and funding from NGOs or CSOs. We also point out key differences in stakeholder interests and motivations for advancing land use planning at the village level in Mbarali District.

Since the development of the SAGCOT initiative, EcoAgriculture Partners and ERMCSD have been working with community leaders and partner organizations in Mbeya region. The partnership has focused on understanding the opportunities for implementing some of the green growth opportunities outlined in the Greenprint (Milder et al., 2013) in Mbeya. Such strategies include sustainable intensification of livestock production, improved soil and water management, and increased capacity for value-adding activities. The partnership also explored the potential of new market mechanisms like certification programs and payments for ecosystem services, to support small- and medium-sized producers, particularly through the creation of multi-stakeholder platforms of producers, entrepreneurs and NGO representatives. Over the past three years, these partners identified tenure insecurity as one of the primary barriers to smallholder farmer adoption of more sustainable practices. Given the emphasis on advancing land use planning in the SAGCOT framework, the partners want to explore the potential for this planning tool for tenure security and increasing smallholder farmer willingness to adopt the best practices identified by the platform.

Our objectives for the study were 1) to understand the key components of a VLUP process that could engage smallholder farmers and pastoralists; 2) to engage community leaders and innovators in understanding and shaping the policy environment for improved land use planning in Mbeya; and 3) to inform potential facilitators of VLUP processes in the Mbeya region of the major challenges and opportunities to support smallholder and pastoralist investment in sustainable production.

To achieve these objectives, we focused on the following primary research question: What do smallholder farmers and pastoralists, and the organizations who support them in Mbeya region describe as key components of a village land certification and land use planning process that will provide sufficient tenure security and lead to smallholder investment in sustainable agricultural practices?

Within this main question, we identified four specific questions that would help us better understand the VLUP process and potential outcomes:

How do smallholder women, men and families in the Mbeya area describe sufficient land tenure?

What are the regulatory and procedural boundaries of land use planning process that are conducive to smallholder engagement?

Who do family farmers identify as key actors and allies in village land use planning?

What resources and mechanisms are needed for smallholder men and women farmers to play substantial roles in land use planning processes?
Reviewing experiences with VLUP in Tanzania and around the world

Land use planning policies in Tanzania were developed in response to growing conflict over land and natural resources, the need for improved tenure security, and the government’s interest in establishing a market for land. Several studies have cited concerns for local control of resources in the face of ‘land grabbing’ trends across Africa as the motivation for developing such policies (Nelson, 2010; Ujamaa Community Resource Team, 2010). Concerns over land grabbing are present in the Southern Highlands, particularly since the formation of the SAGCOT initiative, which aims to dramatically increase foreign investment in the region. However, land use planning was designed as much to create opportunities for economic development, conservation and tenure security, as it was to mitigate the risks of land grabbing.

Documentation of participatory land use planning at the village level has been greater in northern Tanzania (Ujamaa Community Resource Team, 2010). This is likely due to the concentration of international organizations that have provided financial and technical support for land use planning processes in areas of high conservation value and where land use conflicts were understood to be leading to increased poverty, inequality and land degradation.

Some of the few documents on VLUP experiences in southern Tanzania point to the relevance of VLUP for meeting the objectives of a variety of stakeholders. For instance, ILC has published a study on improving land use planning in rangelands through participatory mapping activities with pastoralist communities in central Tanzania (ILC, 2013). Mango and Kalenzi (2011) document and discuss how VLUP is needed to support Participatory Forest Management and potentially access climate adaptation and REDD funding. Organizations like Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) are working in the region to protect critical habitats and depend on VLUPs to support the formation of wildlife management areas (WMAs). Government programs supporting the formalization of property rights, like MKURABITA, support VLUPs to improve villagers’ access to Certificates of Customary Rights of Occupancy (CCROs) (Ole Kosyando, 2006). Still others actors, such as the SAGCOT public-private partnership, are interested in supporting VLUP to ensure the allocation of village land for investment (Milder et al. 2013; German et al. 2011). The support of such initiatives has often helped villages to complete the VLUP process quicker than villages only receiving support from the district authorities. Villages are also more likely to use highly participatory, albeit costly, methods for developing plans if they receive additional support, suggesting that all parties are more likely to be satisfied with the outcome.
Table 1. Actors involved in VLUP in Mbarali District, their interests in participating in the process and their potential contributions to green growth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Interests</th>
<th>Long-term contribution to sustainable intensification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District Authorities / Government</td>
<td>Conflict management, conservation, investment</td>
<td>Ensure that VLUPs contribute to district vision and plan for conservation and agricultural investments that support local livelihoods and preserve resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village Leaders</td>
<td>Conflict management, economic development</td>
<td>Identify key areas for conservation within village boundaries; Provide education and extension materials on sustainable crop and livestock production practices; Establish relationships with knowledgeable CSOs that will help build local capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crop and livestock farmers</td>
<td>Secure land tenure, access to capital, access to water and natural resources</td>
<td>Improve crop and livestock management systems implemented on individual plots; Leverage new capital to invest in sustainable practices; Establish farmer and livestock keeper associations to share knowledge and build capacity on sustainable practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSOs and other development partners and government programs</td>
<td>Large scale biodiversity and ecosystem conservation, large scale agricultural investment, formalization of land and business ownership, etc.</td>
<td>Establish guidelines and protocols for sustainable investments; Educate villages on the opportunities and values associated with biodiversity conservation and sustainable intensification; Improve market access and opportunities for smallholder organizations to participate in value adding activities; Advise district government on suitable areas for conservation and investment, or other economic development opportunities; Provide funding and facilitation for VLUP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other countries have used participatory land use planning to achieve many of the same objectives mentioned above, although with different processes and outcomes. For example, participatory land use planning has recently been implemented in the Lao PDR to support land registration and create opportunities for communities to access REDD funding through the development of participatory forest management (PFM) (National Agriculture and Forestry Extension Service et al. 2009; Bourgoin et al. 2013). Throughout the 1990s a host of African countries reformed land policies to improve tenure security and market access. Uganda, in particular, went through similar land reform in the late 1990s to protect customary claims on land and prevent appropriation of village areas (Tripp, 2004). Despite significant differences in the process and outcomes of land reforms and land use planning in these cases, the potential benefits and interests of stakeholder groups are the same (e.g., tenure security for smallholders, a market for land, new economic opportunities, etc.). Many of these cases present land use planning in light of the interests of one or two stakeholder groups, particularly conservation and development organizations aiming to support village access to new sources of income generating opportunities. In Tanzania, these diverse interests work together to create a demand for land use planning (Table 1). The following cases highlight some of the opportunities and challenges related to VLUP experiences by villages in southern Tanzania.
Methodology

We used a two-part participatory research methodology to answer our research questions. The methodology was informed by the motivation for the study which stemmed from a year-long engagement with innovative leaders in Mbeya who are committed to advancing an agriculture green growth strategy for intensification. Through a series of workshops, these multi-sector leaders have identified priority activities for advancing sustainable agricultural practices that stand to improve smallholder livelihoods (EcoAgriculture, 2013; ERMCSD, 2013; Recha, Tumsifu & Rasheli, 2014). Land use planning has been identified by these leaders as an opportunity area for improving the capacity of smallholders to participate in land use decisions in their landscapes and reduce the risks associated with adopting sustainable practices. Conversations following these workshops in late 2013 led to the development of the objectives and questions of the current study.

The first set of research activities involved key informant interviews with partners in the Mbeya region, as well as representatives from organizations that have facilitated LUP processes in Mbeya or elsewhere in Tanzania. The aim of the key informant interviews was to further refine the research objectives and questions from the perspective of Mbeya leaders interested in advancing green growth. Part of the participatory design of this study was that a subset of the key informants from the region would also play key roles in informing and guiding subsequent research activities at the village level. Prior to field research, we also reviewed relevant gray and peer-reviewed literature on participatory land use planning, particularly cases from Tanzania and the Southern Highlands.

The preliminary activities laid the foundation for the second set of research activities. In March 2014 we gathered a team of partners and leaders from Mbeya to engage in site visits and interviews. The field component of the study involved a one-day workshop to
review the study objectives and questions with input from key informants, collaboratively develop the interview guides, and finalize the schedule for field visits with relevant contacts at the district and village levels. Following the one-day workshop, the full research team conducted structured interviews with district leadership, village councils, smallholder farmers and pastoralists in three villages in Mbarali district. The villages were selected for their diversity of experiences related to land use planning as well as their ease of access and willingness to participate in the study. District officials helped identify villages with and without VLUPs, informing our final decision on villages to include in the study. Interviews with village leadership and individual farmers and pastoralists were conducted in Mbadaga (has formal VLUP), Mwaluma (does not have VLUP) and Matebete (informal VLUP) villages. Following the site visits and interviews with leadership and individuals at the district and village levels, we held a follow-up workshop to share, synthesize and analyze the findings from the interviews. In particular we focused on comparing experiences between villages with and without land use plans, as well as the difference in perspectives of crop and livestock farmers. Although we did not use gender as one of the primary dimensions for comparison, we aimed to conduct at least 30% of interviews with female crop and livestock farmers. In addition to this report, we produced a policy brief targeted at district level policymakers that highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the current VLUP process in meeting the demands of villages for reduced conflict over land resources and improved tenure security, as well as recommendations for scaling up VLUP effectively and efficiently in Mbarali district. The results reported in the following section are based on the interview data with the district authorities and village members.
Results

Three cases of experiences with the VLUP process from Mbarali District

Case one: Uncovering the challenges and opportunities with land use planning in Mabadaga

The pathway to a VLUP in Mabadaga

Mabadaga went through the process of developing a land use plan in 2008. It is one of the 60 villages whose planning process has been facilitated by MKURABITA (MKURABITA, 2013). District planning officials felt that the VLUP process had proceeded well in Mabadaga and that the bylaws established during the process were being implemented actively by village members. The primary reason that the village began the land use planning process was to address land use conflicts between crop farmers and pastoralists. However the primary motivation for MKURABITA’s involvement was to formalize land rights and local businesses through the granting of Customary Certificates of Right of Occupancy (CCRO). Alongside MKURABITA, other facilitating organizations as well as the Mbarali district council extended information on the VLUP process, particularly in relation to areas of conservation value.

Prior to land use planning, Mabadaga had patches of forests within its boundaries that were used by village members for firewood, charcoal production, grazing and access to other forest products. However, use of the forested area was resulting in noticeably diminished stream flow to other areas in the village. Also, regular conflicts between land users as well as the perception of a rapidly increasing population, particularly of livestock keepers, pushed the village to engage in land use planning.

The village followed the protocol for developing the plan established by the National Land Use Planning Commission (NLUPC). First, the boundaries of the village were surveyed by the Ministry of Land, Housing and Human Settlements. Then the Village Assembly, composed of all village members, appointed members to a Village Land Use Management (PLUM) Committee. Ideally VLUM committees represent all of the major stakeholder groups and are responsible for identifying the needs and coming up with recommendations for the areas included in the village plan. In Mabadaga, few pastoralists, who are a minority in the village, were selected for the VLUM committee. This was due in part to a desire to have a committee that reflected the composition of the village, and in part due to cultural bias against incorporating pastoralists, who were often seen as more recent immigrants to the village, into administrative processes. After the committee made its recommendations, the Village Council created the plan and presented it to the General Assembly for approval. Although not all of the village members that we spoke with in Mabadaga participated directly in the PLUM committee or the General Assembly, those we spoke with were all aware that the process was going on.
After the plan was agreed on in the Village Assembly, bylaws were drafted, agreed on and presented to the district for approval. The bylaws for managing the forest area were approved by the district, and are being implemented actively by village members. The village has established a forest management committee that controls access to the forest area by granting permits for harvesting timber or firewood. It also has established bee keeping in the forest that all community members are free to participate in. Although only one pastoralist is a member of the forest management committee, both pastoralists and crop farmers agreed that conserving the forest already was generating positive outcomes for the community. Most notably, since the bylaws for conserving the forest have been implemented, annual water flows have been restored to several streams in the village. The bylaws for the agricultural and livestock areas have been drafted, agreed upon and are implemented to some degree but they lack legal strength since the district has yet to formally approve these other bylaws. The bylaws were presented to the district six years earlier, but at the time of this study no one knew when the district would approve the bylaws for agricultural and livestock grazing areas.

The establishment of distinct bylaws for each type of area is not common practice in VLUP and presents a gap in the understanding of formal VLUP guidelines at the village level in Mabadaga. Most important to note is that villages do not yet feel that they have a legal mechanism for consistently controlling use of agricultural and grazing lands.

Figure 3. Map of Mabadaga village land use plan registered with the Mbarali District authorities.

Divergent perspectives on VLUP development and implementation

The interviews with the Village Council members in Mabadaga echoed the perspective of the district planning officials – that the VLUP process had effectively reduced the number and severity of conflicts between crop farmers and pastoralists. However the perspectives of individual village members varied widely. The benefits for crop farmers to participate
in the process were clear; the VLUP and bylaws protected their land from being damaged by livestock and allowed them to begin applying for CCROs. The process of issuing CCROs takes place apart from the VLUP process, but the designation of areas for settlement, agriculture and grazing in a VLUP is important for helping village members claim rights to their land. The selling price of land in the village with a CCRO is triple that of land without a CCRO, and CCRO land can be rented for twice as much as land without a CCRO. Additionally, CCROs can be used as collateral for taking out loans, which was of interest to nearly all of the crop farmers we spoke with. In contrast to the views of the Village Council and District government that the VLUP reduced conflict between farmers and pastoralists, farmers felt that the number of conflicts remained the same. The plan and its bylaws, however, gave them legal tools for managing conflict. In general, crop farmers were satisfied with the plan and the process used to develop it. It addressed their primary concerns about the growing pastoralist population, grazing in the forest area and access to water supplies.

The pastoralist perspective was quite different from the crop farmers'. Although they were asked to participate in the planning process, they were not satisfied with the area of land for livestock grazing. It was not clear if pastoralists felt pressure to approve the plan during the Village Assembly or if their opinions were simply overlooked by others in the Village Assembly. Foremost among their concerns was the absence of a water source in the grazing area. All reported that the grazing area was only suitable for grazing during the wet season and completely inadequate for grazing during the dry season. To access water for their livestock they must cross areas zoned for agriculture. According to pastoralists and crop farmers, pastoralists had been gathering water from these streams before the creation of the land use plan, but livestock traffic was associated with crop damage. Crop farmers were looking to the land use plan bylaws to provide a legal mechanism for regulating livestock traffic on farmland, while pastoralists were hoping the land use plan would give them the legal right to access water. Pastoralists struggle to understand how the plan was agreed upon when it seemed clear to them that no pastoralist would willingly agree to land without water. However, it was clear that the plan had been approved despite pastoralists’ concerns. In general they felt that the crop farmers’ views were preferred throughout the VLUP process. Similar situations have been reported elsewhere in Tanzania (Ole Kosyando, 2006). Due to the poor quality of grazing land, pastoralists were not interested in applying for CCROs either individually or collectively. Pastoralists confirmed the reports of a growing pastoralist population. However, they noted that recent immigrants are from a different tribe. Ethnic conflicts between recently immigrated pastoralists and pastoralists with a longer history in Mabadaga caused many pastoralists to feel even less confident in the land use plan and its benefits to them. Additionally, the placement of settlement areas far from grazing areas is directly in conflict with the pastoralist way of life and the desire and need to live close to their herds. Most pastoralists did not live in settlement areas even if they were assigned a plot and instead lived in temporary structures in the grazing area.
Unanticipated challenges

VLUP development and implementation in Mabadaga has followed the majority of guidelines set out by the NLUPC with mixed satisfaction regarding the outcomes. The Village Council members said that arriving at a consensus when land users have such different interests and expectations was more challenging than expected. The devolution of power to address land user conflicts from the district to the village level has created a sense of responsibility on the part of village governments to handle conflicts internally and to demonstrate to the district that they are capable of exercising the responsibility granted to them. However, the village governments do not have the capacity to address all of the conflicts that arise. There were other challenges related to overlapping or unclear authority, particularly in relation to who can and should provide the right of residency to immigrants and the impacts of those decisions on the current land use plan.

Resettlement and supporting village members to adopt new livelihoods was also challenging. For instance, village members previously engaged in charcoal production now must derive their livelihoods from crop farming. Prior to the implementation of the bylaws for the forest area, many village members dependent on the forest over-harvested resources in preparation for reduced access. Since the implementation of bylaws, forest management committee members or village members with permits to access the forest and its resources have on occasion been apprehended by conservation officials guarding the wildlife management area (WMA) indicating that local authority over the forest is not necessarily recognized by other actors in the landscape. In the other areas of the village the time lag in approving the bylaws has been both confusing and challenging as it limits the legal force of the current plan.
Positive outcomes and future opportunities

Mabadaga has been able to accelerate development and improve socio-economic conditions for many village members, due in part to the VLUP and granting of CCROs. Despite the challenges and ongoing conflicts between land users, the plan was not revised after three years as existing VLUP policies prescribe. A revision could be implemented to address the most serious concerns with the plan and adapt to changes in the village since the development of the original plan. In conversations with pastoralists and crop farmers, extension on technologies and practices for sustainable intensification could benefit both groups and reduce some conflict, for instance, by allowing grazing on crop residues during the dry season. After the initial education and sensitization on the VLUP process, no organizations actively facilitated planning or implementation of bylaws. The involvement of a CBO or other facilitating organization may have helped to push the bylaws through the district approval process, as was the case with the set of bylaws that were approved for the forest conservation area.

Mabadaga’s mixed experience with VLUP could be more positive if a revised plan were developed that provided water to the livestock area and explored new and creative solutions for improving crop and livestock production. Successful planning and implementing would be increasingly likely if the district government established mechanisms for ongoing capacity development of Village Councils related to the VLUP process and for communicating with villages on the timelines for different stages in the process.

Photo 3. Despite differences in opinion about the VLUP, a crop farmer and pastoralist share a laugh with the research team after the interviews.
Case two: Navigating the path toward a VLUP in Mwaluma

Mixed perceptions and early attempts to begin the VLUP process

Including the perspectives of villages without land use plans is important for revealing potential barriers to initiating the VLUP process, especially gaps in knowledge and capacity at the village level. Mwaluma’s experiences with land use planning help bring some of these issues to light. The Village Council was familiar with the Village Land Act No. 5 of 1999 and generally aware of the VLUP process but few village members were familiar with the legislation (e.g., the Village Land Use Planning Act), process (e.g., NLUPC guidelines) or potential benefits to them. Those who knew about the VLUP process had heard about it through contacts in neighboring villages, like Kibaoni Village, that already have land use plans and were benefitting from having CCROs. To date, the village has not received any formal education or training materials on the VLUP process.

The Village Council of Mwaluma had been advised by a local CSO that it would need to take certain steps to qualify for a VLUP. So the Village Council raised money to prepare a village registry (in particular, a locking file cabinet and village seal) in preparation for VLUP, but they did not know how to initiate the process with the district after having purchased the basic supplies. They wrote a letter to the district government outlining their interest in beginning the process in 2010 but have not heard back, nor have they followed up since the first letter was sent. Formally, the village registry is only required for the issuing of CCROs, which is not legally dependent on VLUP. However, Mwaluma’s experience as well as the experience of the other cases presented highlight that these nuances, although stated in the guidelines for VLUP provided by the NLUPC, are not clear to village members or village leaders.

Perceived benefits and interest in engaging in VLUP

Crop farmers make up the majority of Mwaluma’s population but, like Mabadaga, recently immigrated pastoralists from tribes not traditionally present in the village are increasing in number. The village members were hopeful that the VLUP process could help reduce conflicts with immigrants. However Mwaluma faces the biggest challenge to certifying their village land and developing a land use plan – unclear and contested village boundaries. Until the boundaries of the village itself have been agreed upon by adjacent villages, surveyed by the Ministry of Land and the village has been issued a land certificate, the village cannot proceed with a VLUP. The process for registering villages and their populations is done through a separate office, the Cooperative Office, than the process of surveying and marking village boundaries. Villages tended to be confused by this and in many cases unsure of appropriate and effective means for resolving boundary disputes between villages. In fact, the VLUP process, which is designed to begin after village boundaries have been set, does not offer tools for resolving for inter-village conflict. Residents of Mwaluma were also hopeful that a VLUP would lead quickly to the granting of CCROs, which would help to reduce boundary conflicts between individual families and landowners in the village.

The Village Council and village members who had some familiarity with the VLUP process said that they would prefer to participate in a VLUP process through the mechanisms that were designated in the formal protocol. Some members were even prepared and
interested to be members of the VLUM committee if asked. They suggested that the district
government could improve the VLUP process by providing materials that clearly outline the
process and individual steps. They also reported that they would be interested in raising
their own funding to support the VLUP process but that they were unaware of the costs.
They suggested that the district provide a general budget to villages that outlines the basic
costs so that villages can begin to raise funds in advance of approaching the district about
initiating a VLUP.

Case three: Starting from a different point, initiating the VLUP process in Matebete

The formation of Matebete and the titling of Matebete Ranch

Matebete presents a unique case of land use planning. Although they have yet to establish
a formal land use plan with the district government, the village has an established and
respected informal land use plan. The population of Matebete is predominantly pastoralist,
particularly Maasai. The story of Matebete's formation as a village is closely tied to the history
of the National Ranching Company (NARCO), a parastatal organization established in 1968.
The Usangu Ranch covered more than 43,000 ha of the Usangu plains and was managed by
NARCO. During the 1990s the government introduced reforms calling for the privatization
of public companies to improve their performance. Usangu Ranch was one of two NARCO
ranches that were entirely privatized over the next fifteen years through the work of the
Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) (HAKIARDHII, 2009). The village of Matebete
had the opportunity to transfer ownership of the title deed from NARCO, providing them
with relatively secure land tenure sooner than most other villages in Mbarali would be able
to secure village lands. It is important to note that the title deed covers only the ranch lands
and not all of the areas devoted to settlement and other activities that Matebete would like
to register as village lands.

Developing an informal land use plan for improved ranch management

Around the time Matebete village was formed the District Council encouraged the village to
develop a VLUP. Rather than wait for the formal process to take place the Village Council led
an informal planning process that designated areas for grazing, settlement and agriculture.
Initially, the purpose of the plan was to bring some level of organization to village lands that
would promote environmental conservation in keeping with the customary practices of the
Maasai (e.g., not cutting green trees) and maintain the land to benefit coming generations.
Although traditionally members of Matebete village were migratory pastoralists, village
members felt that they had benefitted from having secure land tenure and reduced
migration between villages. Having boundaries for the ranch has also made them aware
of the need to improve livestock production through more sustainable intensification
like improved rangeland management and fodder production. They recognize that some
traditional practices, like unlimited herd growth, are not the ideal strategy for them now
that they have limited land for grazing. They do however, still have a strong preference for
raising traditional cattle breeds that serve multiple purposes and are more resilient to the
local climate, rather than modern dairy or beef breeds.
Despite having developed their own land use plan, the village members did not have a strong awareness of the land laws or the formal VLUP process. Rather they had heard that VLUP was a mechanism for land ownership and improved tenure security. Although they have a title deed for the ranch land, disqualifying that area for a CCRO, they do not have formal ownership of the areas for settlement or agricultural, and would like to have CCROs to secure their tenure on those lands.

The primary constraint to developing a formal VLUP in Matebete has been boundary disputes with neighboring villages. Matebete villagers claimed to know the boundaries of the ranch very well, in comparison to neighboring villages that were unaware of the legal boundaries of their land. It also seemed clear that the title deed for Matebete Ranch provides such strong evidence of their ownership that any disputes taken to court would be quickly resolved in their favor. Because of the village's confidence in their boundaries they have raised funds to support fully the surveying process conducted by the Ministry of Land. However, the process has been stalled by the District Council which argues that Matebete should not be the sole bearer of the surveying costs. By requiring the adjacent villages to share the cost, the District Council is able to delay the process until those villages are willing to pay. It is unlikely that paying will be in the interest of neighboring villages since the surveying would most likely grant Matebete the legal power to stop other villages' encroachment on ranch lands and water sources.
The Village Council and village members in Matebete were frustrated by the lack of action to survey the land. They expressed interest in receiving more information from the district government on the VLUP process with clear steps for moving forward. In their case, they are willing to raise money to support the full cost of developing the VLUP, but even so, they cannot seem to advance the process. Matebete is interested in exploring opportunities to develop cultural and ecological tourism in their village, but designating land for investment, business or conservation requires VLUP to take place first. The District has the opportunity to accelerate VLUP in villages like Matebete that are well-prepared for land use planning. However it will require navigating overlapping domains of political authority between the District Council, the village and the District Planning Office in order to break down barriers.

Photo 5. Female leader from Matebete village shares her perspective on land use planning and opportunities for improving livestock production in Matebete.
Conclusions and Recommendations

The results of the study are presented as three cases developed from the interviews conducted with Mbarali District authorities, village councils and village members. Their experiences with VLUP and the opportunities they described for green growth, while not exhaustive, provide important insight into the range of experiences that villages in Mbarali District have had with VLUP. They also highlight challenges and opportunities for villages, district authorities and CSOs that see VLUP as an important step in advancing green growth. Additionally, there are a few caveats that should be mentioned before the conclusions. Village Councils and village members in Mabadaga, Mwaluma and Matebete may not have correctly interpreted the VLUP guidelines, even after having established a VLUP. The varying levels of understanding on VLUP guidelines, the benefits that VLUP could bring and the mechanisms for dealing effectively with multiple demands on village lands highlights important gaps in sensitization and awareness raising that would not have come to light if the study had focused only on success stories from the district.

Opportunities for supporting land tenure security and green growth through VLUP

We highlighted the cases of Mabadaga, Mwaluma and Matebete villages in Mbarali District to test the hypothesis of a group of leaders from Mbeya Region that land tenure security would be crucial for encouraging family farmers to adopt sustainable crop and livestock farming practices, and the VLUP was a key stepping stone in achieving tenure security. In all of the cases, with varying degrees of clarity, the villagers felt that CCROs were the most important policy instrument for securing land tenure, but they understood VLUP to be a necessary intermediate step to receiving CCROs. Although the issuing of CCROs is not officially dependent on VLUP, the villages understood that it was.

The impact of VLUP on the potential for green growth is uncertain from the three cases we studied. While village plans create the opportunity for villages to designate spatially which areas are most appropriate for farming, grazing and conservation – an important aspect of green growth – the chain of events between VLUP and individual farmers’ adoption of sustainable practices is long. In Mabadaga several of the farmers we spoke with planned to use their CCRO as collateral to take out a loan to improve their practices. However, these were all crop farmers and they investments they were planning were not necessarily in line with the goals of green growth. Rather farmer investment plans tended to take into consideration government subsidies for crops. In Mwaluma it was not clear that farmers planned to make any changes to agricultural practices once they could apply for CCROs. Pastoralists, who received very little extension and subsidy support from the government tended to have few or no plans for investing in sustainable practices, Matebete being an notable exception. In Matebete, villagers emphasized the benefit of CCROs for securing
settlement land, but their interest in learning about sustainable livestock intensification practices was more related to limited grazing area. Matebete provides an interesting example of pastoralists who have shifted their understanding of growth and prosperity from herd size to herd quality in response to purchasing the title deed on ranch lands.

At the onset of the study, the research team expected that VLUP would be an important mechanism for villages to designate land for investment, a priority expressly mentioned by the SAGCOT Center (SAGCOT Centre, 2012). Interviews with Mbarali District officials revealed that they were aware of this priority at the national level. However, at the village level, they were not aware of any villages that had set aside land for external investors, particularly as villages were pressed to meet internal demands for land under rapidly changing demographic conditions. It appears that village land certification will need to be completed for all villages in the district before the district can decide which lands outside of villages (i.e., general land) is best suited for investment. The district, in coordination with the region, is best positioned to consider which types of investment will be most appropriate for supporting the sustainable growth of the communities surrounding investment areas.

Impact of VLUP on women crop and livestock farmers

Given the diversity of family farmers and the central role of women in agriculture in Tanzania, it is important to consider the potential benefits of VLUP to women producers. The guidelines for VLUP clearly state that women must be included in the village council and VLUM committees. Despite these provisions in the guidelines, customary laws, traditions, and work constraints all tend to limit the participation of women, and in fact, villages often proceed with VLUP without the required number of women participants. This seemed to be the case in Mabadaga village where there were no female members of the village council at the time of the study.

Women from Mwaluma village mentioned that they were looking forward to the bylaws that would accompany the VLUP so that they would have a legal mechanism for defending their land regardless of their limited assets, physical strength, or education. In Matebete village, the women from Matebete reported that the shift from a nomadic to a sedentary pastoral lifestyle had a positive impact on the ability of women to participate in VLUP, particularly in relation to the reproductive role that women play. Another result of this shift is that women in Matebete are considering new income generating opportunities for their village like jewelry production and agroecotourism. Additionally, the designation of lands for agriculture, settlement and grazing, among others stands to reduce the distance women will need to travel between settlement, field and fuelwood collecting areas.

Although the vast majority of farmers in the villages we studied had not yet received CCROs for their land, women were excited by the potential benefits of a CCRO, most notably as collateral for receiving credit. However, in practice, it remains to be seen if the laws will be executed well and women will have equal access to CCROs, or if rural credit organizations will accept CCROs as collateral.
Challenges facing VLUP at the district level

Despite the availability of the NLUPC guidelines and the publication of recently developed “how-to” guides for participatory land use planning (FAO, 2009), it seems that appropriate, easy-to-understand materials on VLUP are not being passed along to villages. Perhaps districts perceive the guidelines are meant to be used by districts and do not see the need to pass such guidelines onto village, or perhaps they have limited awareness of the availability of additional resources and, therefore, have not made them available to villages. It may also be that these resources, although available in Swahili are more targeted to potential NGO and CSO facilitators of land use planning than village leaders themselves. These resources may become more available as an increasing number of facilitating organizations become interested in supporting VLUP in southern Tanzania. In the meantime, districts should aim to provide educational materials to villages on relevant land policies and the VLUP process.

Another common challenge across villages was the impact of inter-village conflict on stalling village land certification and the VLUP process. Formal mechanisms exist for dealing with boundary conflicts between villages, but they require financial resources and political power to navigate above and beyond what is needed for VLUP. District councils, whose constituents come from multiple villages, may have incentives to stall the resolution of boundary conflicts to avoid a loss of political support from constituents who would lose the boundary dispute. In the case of boundary conflicts and other issues, like the approval of bylaws, villages lack the political power to advance the VLUP process. Mabadaga’s experience of waiting for approval of bylaws for years is reported in other districts as well (Mbwile et al., 2012).

In the VLUP process, the initial development of the plan and bylaws is emphasized. However, the law also requires that the plan be revised every three years. The revision process is rarely discussed in documented experiences of VLUP. Also, villages have been unable to approve their bylaws within three years. Currently, it does not appear that villages themselves or the district have the financial resources to support revisions to VLUPs. Rapidly changing local contexts, however, in terms of the number of village residents and changes in distribution of livelihood strategies demands that plans be revised or they will quickly become irrelevant.

VLUP is designed to be participatory and, in general, most villagers are satisfied with their participation. Minority groups in Mbarali, however, especially pastoralists are more frequently regarded as immigrants and non-residents, limiting their inclusion in the participatory process. Also, although plans are apparently approved by the village assembly, pastoralists’ interests are often not addressed to their satisfaction. For instance, the issues of limited or no water for grazing, granting of marginal lands for grazing, and unwelcomed rapid growth in pastoralist and livestock populations have been documented elsewhere (Mbwile et al., 2012). This is especially the case when pastoralists are trying to move into new villages following evictions from conservation areas. The combination of pastoralist immigration to the Mbeya Region and resettlement of pastoralist populations within the Region created tension for these scarce resources, particularly between crop and pastoralist families.
Opportunities and recommendations for advancing VLUP

Various actors have different possible incentives for participating in VLUP (Table 1). Despite the challenges VLUP faces, it provides unique opportunities for a variety of stakeholders including villagers to meet their goals for conservation, land tenure security, and investment. Moving forward the district should take advantage of these diverse interests to advance the VLUP process in ways that support green growth by making sure that each group understands how VLUP could potentially be aligned with their interests.

Considering the limited resources that District authorities have to advise VLUP processes and the significant opportunities for capacity building at the village level, our research reveals a need for interdisciplinary collaboration to support VLUP development. For instance, CSO facilitators could partner with districts to provide educational materials to accompany the NLUPC guidelines on VLUP and use their technical knowledge and political power to accelerate the approval of VLUPs and bylaws. Based on the experience of Matebete, it is apparent that facilitators do not always need to fund the process, but they could extend relevant information to villages and help them navigate the political process. There also may be opportunities for facilitators to work beyond the village scale to help resolve village boundary disputes, one of the main obstacles to widespread land use planning.

Second, districts, in recognizing rather than ignoring the interests of different actors in VLUP, could capitalize on this variety of interests to incentivize the development of VLUPs. This involves providing actors with information on the processes and products that hinge on VLUP (e.g., CCROs, WMAs, investment concessions, etc.), and outlining the benefits of VLUP for achieving each of their goals.

Third, districts could benefit from a more complete review of the VLUP process. Rather than putting all of their funding for VLUP toward the development of new plans, districts could conduct a review of existing plans to see 1) if they have been successful, 2) if bylaws are being followed, and 3) if village members and other stakeholder groups are benefitting. By doing so, districts could better address the lack of consideration of minority perspectives, as demonstrated in the case of pastoralists’ unaddressed needs for grazing land and access to water in Mabadaga. District level enforcement of the revision of VLUPs every three years, as the law specifies, could also help to address land management challenges related to growing populations and shifting livelihood strategies within villages.

Finally, districts, in collaboration with villages, could consider developing a District Land Use Plan outlining the priorities of the District Governments related to forest conservation, protection of water resources, agricultural production and investment. District level plans could also make specific provisions for growing and migrant populations, an issue which has proved challenging in village plans. Such plans could help districts to provide better guidance to villages on VLUP. It could also facilitate a coherent vision for green growth across the district. With their own plans, districts would be better positioned to partner with organization that have vested interests in seeing the district develop in particular ways. This larger scale plan could open economic opportunities for smallholders while protecting the critical resources that contribute to the long-term sustainability of the region.
References


## Annex 1

### Summary of interviews

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<td>Crop farmer</td>
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### Category of interviewees

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Annex 2
Author details

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The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and the individuals interviewed for this report. They do not constitute official positions of ILC, its members or donors.
EcoAgriculture Partners is a U.S. based non-profit organization that works with partners to bring about a world where critical rural landscapes are managed as ecoagriculture. Under its new Strategic Plan for 2011-2014, EcoAgriculture will pursue this goal by providing training, research, policy solutions, and advisory support to farmers, communities, non-profit organizations and governments at landscape, national and international levels. EcoAgriculture Partners helps build bridges among partners from diverse sectors to develop evidence-based solutions in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the United States. In addition, it serves as secretariat for the Landscapes for People, Food and Nature Initiative, a major cross cutting collaborative program to engage ecoagriculture champions and influential stakeholders to develop and implement action agendas for advancing ecoagriculture at multiple scales.

The Environmental Resources Management Center for Sustainable Development (ERSCMD) is an international non-governmental organization. The ultimate objective of ERMCSD is to promote the organization and coordination of climate smart agriculture, environmental conservation, natural resources management, and development activities within the eastern Africa region. The organization promotes networking and cooperation among sub-Saharan Africa environmental organizations to share environmental information and build their capacity to participate in regional work related to sustainable development. Find out more at: http://ermcsd.org/
Agricultural Research Institute-Uyole (ARI-Uyole) is a public institution, under the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives (MAFC), Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives (MAFCs) (www.kilimo.go.tz). ARI-Uyole www.ariuyole.go.tz is mandated to undertake agricultural research and development in Southern Highlands Zone of Tanzania. It delivers demand-driven research services in agricultural technologies, information services and transfer to farmers, particularly smallholders for increased productivity, profitability and sustainable use of natural resources. ARI-Uyole has developed improved high yield crop varieties that are tolerant to abiotic and biotic stresses, crops’ husbandry practices, natural resources management, and has characterized farming systems and generated various policy recommendations.

University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) is Tanzania’s premier university specialized in teaching, consultancy and research. UDSM has set itself a vision to become not only a centre of academic excellence in Africa but also a world class research university with a mission to advance knowledge and understanding through excellence in teaching, research and dissemination of research findings. To achieve the above the University places value in continuously expanding its national, regional and international collaborative research networks which seek to maximize the synergies arising from such collaborative arrangements.
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Experiences from Mbarali District, Mbeya Region, Tanzania

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