TIMBER FARMING: DOMESTIC INVESTORS OF TREE PLANTING, LAND TRANSACTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS ON GENDER RELATIONS IN SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS, TANZANIA

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In Africa, land has been more of a liability than an asset. Land use has been an ultimate cause of unrest through borders and boundaries conflicts between nations and communities, a reason for lamentations and grievances of family members within households. The contemporary rush for African land has witnessed both national and wealthy international investors acquiring all types of lands: unused, used, underutilized, occupied, fertile, barren, and irrigable and claimed whichever land, which was deemed fit for investment. Similarly, timber farming in the Southern highlands of Tanzania has attracted attention of both industrial foreign investors and domestic non-industrial investors. Although access to land by the former is controlled by existing laws, transactions of village land by the later are more complex than what the literature on land-grabbing shows. This study focuses on tree planting investments as emerged post global environmental crisis of 2007-2008, especially the involvement of domestic investors in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Following the urbanization growth, the regional demand for construction materials i.e. poles and timbers from Eucalyptus and Pines tree species piled up, exceeding the capacity of supply from Sao Hill plantations, by then the only largest supplier. To cover the deficit, the construction industry resorted to few existing private woodlots. These sold their trees at high prices, which connoted tree planting as a lucrative business. This in turn attracted different people, companies and institutions to purchase land for tree planting. Land is a finite resource. The operating system of land transactions has demarcated a significant change in land holdings among rural communities, with much land going to the hands of few domestic investors leaving smallholders land scarce. Since land has been turned to a commodity with uncontrolled transactions and that domestic investors are unregistered hence unknown and that the implications of rampant transactions of family lands are unknown, the study aimed at

characterizing domestic investors of tree planting and their mechanisms of accessing village lands. The study went further analyzing motives for land selling and processes of land transactions between smallholders and domestic investors. Most of the Southern Highlands societies practice the patriarchal system of human relations where women voices and agency are muted. Since land has become a commodity in the family, the study investigated the social relations between parents in families involved in land sales, hence assessed the impacts of land transactions for tree planting on land accessibility by women in selected villages. The study was conducted in selected villages of Kilolo, Mufindi, Njombe, Makete, Songea and Wanging'ombe Districts. In total, fourteen villages namely Isaula, Usokami, Kibengu, Mapanda (Mufindi), Ndengisivili (Kilolo), Lupembe, Itunduma, Kifanya, Iyoka, Ngala (Njombe), Mhaji (Wanging'ombe), Ifinga (Madaba) and Ludihani and Maliwa (Makete) were involved in research work. The selection of villages was purposive with the main criteria being tree planting surge hence transaction of village land between smallholders and domestic investors. The research work is qualitative that aimed at in-depth understanding of the timber rush processes in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Further, the study aimed at exploring perceptions of different groups of people in the study communities on such a tree-planting surge. The study employed a qualitative case study design. Data were collected from 85 respondents. These included in-depth interviews with 11 key informants i.e. 6 Chairpersons of Village Councils and 5 District Forest Officers, semi structured interview with 34 domestic investors, 26 land sellers, 4 middlemen and 10 women. In addition, 4 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with women were conducted. The study identified five major types of domestic investors: urban-based investors without local ties, urban-based investors originating in the area in which the investments are taking place, resident villagers, local leaders and government and religious institutions. Each category uses one of three different access mechanisms, namely capital, social identity, and authority. Apart from capital as their main

mechanisms, urban-based investors use middlemen as a mechanism of access. Middlemen bridge the gap of information on villages where land is plenty and specific sellers on one hand, linking them with investors on the other. In general, access to land for domestic investors in Tanzania's Southern Highlands is facilitated by the state to a lesser extent and with limited use of force. Further, the vast lands in villages, the *Mahame* lands, are ill defined in statutory land laws. This incapacitates the village land administrator's control over *Mahame*, making their management complicated. Land transactions are motivated by several pull and push factors including the growing local capitalism, income poverty, and commodification of lands when smallholders succumb the monetary baits from local elites and other domestic investors. Since they are labour intensive, tree planting activities have generated multiple employment opportunities to locals albeit low paid daily jobs. Tree planting surge has led to crumbling of family lands with appropriation of women's land ownership and control. Land transactions have perpetuated gender inequality within families, marital stress and symbolic violence, with women being subjugate to men's whims. The misogynistic practices have downgraded women hence they cannot own land or co-own with their husbands or receive a share of money from land sales in their families. The involved families are rendered landless with dwindling crop production, a dawning indicator of food insecurity and sustained rural poverty. Generally, rampant land transactions are unjustifiable and the current transactions of village lands need to be either controlled or stopped altogether to avoid impending destitute conditions.

DECLARATION

I, Justin Edward Lusasi, do hereby declare to the senate of Sokoine University of Agriculture that this thesis is my original work done within the period of registration and that it has neither been submitted nor concurrently being submitted in any other institution.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Yustina Dominicus Fyumagwa, a single determined parent who paved a way for me to reach this academic height.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AbD	Accumulation by Dispossession
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFC	Danish Fellowship Center
DFO	District Forest Officer
DIIS	Danish Institute for International Studies
DP	Development Partners
FBD	Forest and Beekeeping Division
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDT	Forest Development Trust
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FYDP	Five Years Development Plan
GPS	Geographical Positioning System
GRL	Green Resource Limited
IFRO	Institute for Fodevare of Resource Okonomi
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
KU	Kobenhavns Universitet
KVTC	Kilombero Valley Teak Company
MADEBE	Make a forest Develop Best
MDPI	Multidiscipline Publication Institute
MKURABITA	*Mpango wa Kurasimisha Rasilimani na Biashara Tanzania*
MPM	Mufindi Paper Mills
MSGs	Millennium Sustainable Goals

NAFCO	National Agriculture and Food Corporation
NDC	National Corporation Development
NFC	New Forest Company
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NIPF	Non Industrial Private Forestry
PA	Primitive capital Accumulation
PFCTT	Private Forest and Carbon Trading in Tanzania
PFP	Private Forest Programme
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHFP	Sao Hill Forest Plantation
SPM	Southern Paper Mills
STEMMUCO	Stella Maris Mtwara University College
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TAF	Tanzania Association of Foresters
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TANWAT	Tanzania Wattle Company
TDFL	Tanganyika Development Finance Company Limited
TFCG	Tanzania Forest Conservation Group
TFS	Tanzania Forest Services
TGAs	Tree Growers Associations
TIC	Tanzania Investment Center
TWICO	Tanzania Wood Industry Corporation
TZS	Tanzania Shillings
UK	United Kingdom
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

VA	Village Assembly
VC	Village Council
VEO	Village Executive Officer
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the concluding remarks put forward by Annelies Zoomer when analysing processes that drive land grabbing also called 'foreignisation of space' is, 'Land stays where it is, but the transfer of property rights has a direct impact on the poorer sections in local communities that do not have sufficient power to either control the situation or benefit from it' (Zoomer, 2010). In the African context, land has been more of a liability than an asset. Land use has been an ultimate cause of unrest through borders and boundaries conflicts between nations and communities, a reason for lamentations and grievances of family members within households, a point of struggle over resources by leaders and local communities (Noe, 2013; Bluwstein *et al.,* 2018). Land has been a busy property such that if economic development would be assumed from its fidelity utilization, then Africa would be economically equally strong as other continents. But as asserted by Hall *et al.* (2015), the contemporary land rush is a continuation of large-scale land acquisition, establishment of enclosures and dispossession experienced in the past. Apart from the acquisitions for establishing colonies, the most acquisitions are foreign direct investments sought by host governments to restore the economies that were devastated by the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) of 1980s also biodiversity preservation pioneered by initiatives from the global North (Sunseri, 2009).

The contemporary rush for African land has witnessed both national and wealthy international investors acquiring all types of lands: unused, used, underutilized, occupied, fertile, barren, and irrigable and claimed whichever land, which was deemed fit for investment (Hall *et al.,* 2015). Although Zoomer (2010) and Hall *et al.* (2015) indicate factors including land markets and cheap processes for resource claim (hence referred to

land and water grabbing) as pull factors for foreign investments in Africa, the 2007/2008 global crisis with long-term projects of addressing the rise of food prices, search for green energy and investments for harnessing climate acted concordantly (Deininger, 2011; Cotula, 2012; Hall, 2013; Olwig *et al.,* 2015). Thus, intensive food crops cultivation, biofuels, trees for carbon offsetting, nature conservation and land acquisition for speculative reasons are occurring in most African lands (Hall *et al.,* 2015; Locher and Sulle, 2013; Nolte *et al.,* 2016). Although improved land laws have been effective in moderating the pace and size of acquisition by foreigners (Pedersen, 2016), acquisition, accumulation, and transactions by domestic investors are facilitated by local leaders, leading to similar end point – a struggle for the scarce resource by local communities (Hall *et al.,* 2015). Thus, along these investments there are a range of impacts including an increase of landlessness among the locals, differentiation of locals due to unequal distribution of land, the growth of a class of a few elites, rising poverty for the marginalized and creation of employment opportunities (Hall *et al.,* 2015; Sulle, 2016).

This study focuses on tree planting, particularly the involvement of domestic investors in the village land of Southern Highlands Tanzania and the associated impacts. Different people, communities, and institutions are actively growing varieties of tree species in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania (Lusasi *et al.,* 2019). Although little is known about these, much of their tree planting investments are taking place in village land, transforming some agrarian lands to plantations, the agrarian restructuring, which at some point is associated with conflicts, violence, and impairment of livelihoods (Hall *et al.,* 2015). The study explores the processes involved in planting of timber trees pine, and eucalyptus species in village lands as promoted by investors and development partners from abroad. As de facto, tree planting investments are promoted to propel rural economic development, which materializes through transactions of lands, a change in land use to

increase land productivity and production of timber and related raw materials as demanded by domestic and regional industries. Other motives for tree planting include curbing carbon dioxide from industrial emissions hence harmonizing climate change, supply of transmission poles from eucalyptus trees, timber, raw materials for paper mills and for renewable energy (Ngaga, 2011; Lambin and Meyfroidt, 2011; Olwig *et al.*, 2015; PFP, 2016).

It is observed that tree plantations have led to the loss of land tenure and limited access to land among local communities for conventional uses such as grazing and other land based resources such as traditional medicines and some foods. Other local communities are being displaced from their settlements, having their cultural burial grounds and ancestral worship places encroached something which caused tension and conflicts between local communities and investors (Charnley, 2006; Kaboggoza, 2011; Lyons *et al.*, 2014; Westoby, 2014; Locher, 2016).

1.1 Tree Planting Investments in Tanzania

The history of tree planting in Tanzania is traced back from 1800s when the land was under colonial administration (Ahlback, 1986; Ngaga, 2011; Pedersen, 2017). The German settlers planted trees as cash crops and as amenities around their offices and houses, the practice that was imitated by locals who worked as employees. After the Germans, the British administration invested in tree planting to recover the cut by Germans and on land cleared by farmers (Ngaga, 2011).

Several Forest Ordinances were laid down to establish tree plantations and regulate tree cutting to serve several purposes, including sustainable supply of timber for fast growing towns, preserving productive forests while protecting vulnerable forests, managing forests

as sources of revenues for cash strapped government and creating forest reserves to protect water catchments (Pedersen, 2017). To local communities, these forests were perceived as open access for raw materials; hence the attempts by authorities to restrict access were refuted leading to several protests and uprisings including the Maji maji rebellion of 1905 (Sunseri, 2009).

Despite these challenges, the colonial strategy of alienating land for forest reserves continued, thus several montane and canopy forests along water catchment areas, also forests with branded timbers were protected (Sunseri, 2009). Although the Germans established the first forest reserves, it was the British who registered most forest reserves. Until 1986, 30% of the forestland was gazetted forest reserves (Ahlback, 1986).

Due to low growth rate of indigenous hardwood species like Mninga (*Pterocarpus angolensis*), Mvule *(Afzelia guanzensis*)*;* the colonial era introduced the fast growing exotic teak (*Tectona grandis*), pines (*Pinus patula, Pinus elliotti*), eucalyptus (*Eucalyptus saligna, Eucalyptus globulus*), wattle (*Acacia mollisima, Acacia mearnsii*) and *Grevillea robusta*. These plantation forests were a significant reason for the fall of natural forests (Ahlback, 1986). Thus, several forest plantations were established in early 1900s including Longuza plantation of 1906, Shume and Magamba plantation of 1907 in the Northern Tanzania. In 1939, Sao Hill plantation forest with exotic pines and eucalyptus trees was established in the Southern Highlands (Ngaga, 2011). Thus, the wood industry grew significantly so is illegal logging. African pit-sawyers, Asians and Greeks concurrently operated wood business although foreigners with high harvesting technology accessed valuable trees and Africans remnants (Pedersen, 2017).

Although the objectives for growing trees are diverse, timber supply remained the major focus for most tree growers. As such, the colonial government did not walk alone, several private companies, Tanganyika Wattle Company Limited (TANWAT) owned by the Commonwealth Development Corporation CDC and Tanganyika Development Finance Company Limited TDFL and FORESTAL as examples were along the forest plantation investments (Ahlback, 1986; Pedersen, 2017).

After independence 1961, the Tanzanian government neglected management of the forest sector. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 emphasized peasants' ownership of means of production, which is land and forests through their government and co-operatives. This led to denouncing some of the colonial forest reserves turning them open access to farmers, leading to forest disintegration and degradation. The outcome of such management system was overconsumption, which led to scarcity of fuel wood and soil erosion. The severity of such outcomes forced the government to promote village forestry by duo intensive afforestation campaign of late 1960s and 1980-84, with little success. Like the colonial lords, the Tanzanian government encouraged people to grow trees in their homes, schools, churches and in communal village land (Hurst, 2004).

Furthermore, the government large-scale plantations were expanded to intensify exports from state-owned sawmills and wood processing industry. The increased production by Government Corporation like Tanzania Wood Industry Corporation (TWICO), National Development Corporation (NDC) and establishment of Southern Paper Mills (SPM) in Mufindi coupled by nationalization policy led to dwindling of private forest companies like TANWAT, which dominated the wood industry in 1960s (Pedersen, 2017). The factories and sawmills engulfed the trees to unsustainable levels. Although the wood processing grew, plantations were not expanded and the existed plantations were not

properly managed. Thus, maladministration of natural and plantation forests, encroachment and deforestation retarded the capacity of government plantations to satisfy demand for forest raw materials, which opened doors again for private sector involvement. To motivate private sector involvement, the government revised the forest policy[1] and forest Act to accommodate the need for participation of private sector, but the efforts were in vain. No forest was privatized due to lack of political will, perception on privatization and lack of institutional framework (Ngaga, 2011).

The desire to recover deforestation and degraded forest reserves attracted attention not only for the domestic actors but also the foreign institutions and development partners from Finland, Sweden, Norway and China. Several donor funded tree growing initiatives like *Misitu ni Mali* (Forests are wealth), *Hifadhi Mazingira* (Conserve the environment), Tanzania Forest Conservation Group (TFCG), WWF, Care International and NGOs like the Tanzania Association of Foresters (TAF) rose the spirit of tree growing all over Tanzania (Ahlback, 1986; Ngaga, 2011), and so plantations were established through village governments, individual villagers, groups or associations, schools, churches and institutions like the Tanganyika Christian Refuge Service. These campaigns and practices were similar to the current initiatives of *Panda Miti Kibiashara* (Grow trees for business) introduced by the Finnish Private Forest Programme (PFP[2]) and Forest Development Trust (FDT) in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

Thus, the country's potential private investors in forestry were in limbo for decades until

[1] It is the low production from government plantations and management problems that opened doors for private sector investment in forest plantations rather than sincere will of the government to diversify forestry production potentials.

[2] Through PFP, which was implemented in 2013, individual villagers and association of villagers in the so called Tree Growers Association TGA, have accessed village land, seedlings, tree growing knowledge and equipment for maintaining the plantations.

the rising of land grab phenomenon in 2007-8. Although most of the land grab deals were focused on biofuels and food products and conservations (Zoomers, 2010; Locher and Sulle, 2013; Cotula *et al.*, 2014; Hall *et al.*, 2015), some large tracts of land were acquired for forestry investments (Locher and Muller, 2014; Locher, 2016; Nolte *et al.*, 2016).

Currently, industrial tree grower companies include Green Resources Ltd. and Mufindi paper Mills of Mufindi District, New Forest Company of Kilolo District, Kilombero Valley Teak Company of Kilombero District and TANWAT in Njombe District (Ngaga, 2011). These have been a game changer for involvement of non-industrial tree growers in the Southern Highlands referred elsewhere as Non Industrial Private Forestry (NIPF). Their involvement in employing locals in establishing plantations, technical trainings in plantation management, distributions of free seedlings are among the promotional activities for NIPF in the region.

Although the Tanzanian government provides in her forest policy (URT, 1998) the need to incorporate the private sector actors in forestry, the stealthy rise of domestic investors in the Southern Highlands didn't and still doesn't have direct support from the government (Pedersen, 2007). It has been clearly shown that the main players in igniting the rush of tree growing are development partners (DPs) like donor funded projects of PFP, which in 2014, took over the activities of Private Forest and Carbon Trading in Tanzania (PFCTT) of promoting small scale tree farming in the Southern Highlands. Others are foreign large-scale tree planting investors; the Green Resources Limited (GRL) from Norway and the UK based New Forest Company (NFC).

This study was inspired by precipitous tree planting activities in the Southern Highlands

as led by hardly recognised domestic investors from all regions of Tanzania. The Village Land Act 1999 paved a way for these investors to acquire village lands for tree planting, the land previously not set for forestry (Ngaga, 2011), hence far from reach by government arms responsible for forestry. Most of the land was acquired from indigenous smallholders who were willing to sellers or transfer ownership to tree growers.

1.1.1 Land Acquisition

The scramble for land in Tanzania is historical, spanning from colonialism era where the colonizers defined their territories from land boundaries. Following the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, the newly formed government under Mwalimu Nyerere adopted the major colonial land management system. As such, all land remained public vested under the president as a trustee (URT, 1999a). Through slogans 'Ardhi ni mali' which means land is wealth, and 'Ardhi ni mali ya Taifa' meaning that, land is a national property, the independent government revoked individualization of land that was proposed under freehold tenure, hence embarked on heavy nationalization of land and land resources.

Several processes involved in village land acquisition in Tanzania. Inheritance is mainly a process within the family when the parents decease. Family shares involve a father or mother distributing the available land to children and other kinsfolks. Other processes include clearing a bush where villages are still in establishing, purchase of land from other villagers, renting of land for agriculture and allocation by the Village Council (Kauzeni *et al.*, 1998; URT, 1999a).

There are three categories of public land in Tanzania: general land, reserved and village land (URT, 1999b). General land is part of the public land that is not reserved or village land, and according to the Land Act (URT, 1999a), it includes unoccupied or unused

village land. Reserved land refers to areas set aside for conservation including but not limited to forests, national parks, conservation areas, marine parks also public recreation grounds and highways. The village land is land within the boundaries of a village as registered in accordance with the provisions of section 22 Local Government District Authorities Act Cap 287 (URT, 1999b). It is the land, the boundaries of which have been agreed upon between village councils claiming jurisdiction over that land.

Since land cannot be sold in Tanzania, the latest land reforms (URT, 1999a; 1999b) have opened a market for land rights to individual villagers (willing sellers-willing buyers) and village councils to transfer some of the village land to interested buyers. According to the Village Land Act (URT, 1999b), sec 22, peoples whether individuals, in groups or an association, provided that they are all citizens of Tanzania, may apply for customary right of occupancy in village land for private purposes, for indefinite duration or the length of occupancy of up to ninety-nine years (URT 1999b, sec 27). Although the Village Council (VC) must approve land transactions between resident villagers and non resident individuals or organizations, a villager can rent out or lease village land to another villager without the approval of the VC only if the lease, license or usufruct is for a period of one year or less (URT, 1999b). Under its authority and with the approval of the Village Assembly (VA), the VC can approve land transfer rights on land of sizes between five and thirty hectares. If the size of the land to be transferred exceeds 30 hectares, then apart from the consent of the VA, the VC must also seek advice from the Commissioner of land. In all cases, the VC has the duty to assure that such acquisitions will generate benefits to villagers and that the acquisition will not jeopardize access to land by women, disabled and/or landless people in the village (Willy, 2003).

These are, among others, processes that grant access to village land for afforestation

activities in the Southern Highlands. In some cases, domestic investors have been involved in informal unrecorded processes of land acquisition, which has led to lack of knowledge about domestic investors and their motives for investments (Olwig *et al.*, 2015). Although the law gives priorities to investments related to agricultural development (URT, 1967, sec 4), it does not discriminate the nature of agricultural investments whether food crops or plantations, the later being the focus of the current study, the tree planting investments that threaten the sustainability of smallholder farmers and subsistence agriculture (Olwig *et al.*, 2015).

Village land can be transferred to either general land or reserved land and vice versa for public interest (URT, 1999b). The VC governs such transfers but with the approval of the VA. If the village land to be transferred is less than 250 hectares, then the VA can approve or refuse the recommendations of the VC. If the village land in question is more than 250 hectares, then the request is to be forwarded to the District Council who will recommend and forward the recommendations to the Minister responsible for land who will approve or refuse the recommendations of the VC. If approved, the transfer request will be forwarded to the President who, as the trustee, has the power to transfer the land. Of importance is that, the National Land Use Plan Act 2007 requires each village to have land use plan before leasing any land to investors and that about 2/3 of the village land is to remain for the village uses.

The Village Land Act (URT, 1999b) provides for village land divided into three types; individual land, where one is responsible to develop and modify; communal land, where every member of the village has access to it such as land used for pastures, fetching firewood, and a spare land, which is left for future planning of economic development or expansion of settlements of future generation.

A Village Council has authority to grant a customary right of occupancy to a person or

group of persons who are not necessarily resident in that village but citizen of Tanzania (URT, 1999b). Since the law restricts land holdings for one person to a maximum of 20 ha, (URT, 2001), it is equally mandatory for land applicant to declare land holdings in Tanzania for the VC to deliberate if such an application is within the prescribed limits.

1.1.2 Gendered access to land

Notwithstanding the emphasis of equality in accessing land, the Tanzania land reforms have not succeeded in eradicating such a gender inequality (Pedersen, 2015). Contestation on customary land tenure and its gender implications have span from colonial to postcolonial periods. While the concept gender often has different interpretations, for the purpose of this study, gender is referred to relationship between women and men in relation to their access to the family land used for tree planting. In Tanzanian history, access to family land was mainly through inheritance and both male and female children were entitled to such inheritance with men acquiring bigger land parcels because of assumed household responsibilities (Tsikata, 2003). Since rural settings dispose women as care takers, their interaction to land is more than that of men, rendering them owners of the land they interact with. Thus, women fight for land rights because land is their predominant place where agricultural production and other economic activities for household wellbeing are derived. Although the struggle for rights persists, factors like formalization and individualization of land ownership that is facilitated by the existing land laws, coupled with land shortage have hindered land inheritance to females, concentrating land in the hands of males. Largely, women rely access to land through marriage and/or their male relatives (Tsikata, 2003; Pedersen, 2015). When analyzing gender relations and females situations at global level, a study on the lives of rural women and girls in agricultural transformation in different countries including Tanzania concluded that the females in the global south are at worst situation as compared to

females in global north (Fox *et al.*, 2018). With the rising land market hence increased pressure on land coupled with individualization of land, special measures are required to mediate access to land by diverse groups of women.

1.2 Problem Statement

This study focused on acquisitions or rather transactions of village land for tree planting in selected regions of Southern Highlands Tanzania. Tree planting surge has turned substantial agrarian land to forest plantations. Although actors include industrial scale investors and individual NIPF tree growers, the distinction between them is clear. The large-scale investors are conspicuous, mainly led by foreigners. Domestic investors are a diverse group ranging from village residents smallholders to urbanites with covert practices. Multiple studies on tree planting investments in Tanzania have explored extensively on large-scale foreign investments (Refseth, 2010; Olwog *et al.*, 2015; Locher, 2016; Pedersen, 2017). Only few of the existing literatures (PFP, 2016; 2017) have hitherto described domestic investors of tree planting, their motives to tree planting and processes followed in acquiring village land. Equally, the information on impacts of such rampant land transactions between smallholders and investors on resources accessibility by households and by local communities is scant (Olwig *et al.*, 2015; Locher, 2016).

Due to failure of the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and the policy of self-reliance, the government reverted to free market policies and economic liberalization policies of 1980s hence market friendly land reforms of 1990s (Pedersen, 2016). The leniency of the Tanzania Investment Center (TIC) to accommodate international investors in their multitudes and the Kilimo Kwanza initiative of 2009 (Olwig *et al*., 2015) attracted many foreign investors to acquire land for agricultural related investments including tree

planting. In turn, these motivated domestic investors to engage in tree planting investments (PFP, 2016).

Land is a finite resource. The national land reforms of 1999 did not foresee the emergence of domestic investors and agrarian transformation; hence no instrument was designed to regulate acquisition of communal village land by domestic investors. The operating system of land transactions has demarcated a significant change in land holdings among rural communities, with much land going to few capital-intensive domestic investors (PFP, 2016). The mechanisms by which most domestic investors acquire village land for tree planting do not follow the legal processes that regulate acquisition of village land for domestic investments (Olwig *et al.,* 2015; PFP, 2016). Most of the landholders and domestic investors are unregistered, unknown and so hard to identify. Although they acquire land for tree planting, some of their motives to tree planting are ambivalent, also covert sizes of land they hold as demanded by the law (URT, 1999b). Locher and Sulle (2013) argued that much of the Tanzanian land leased to investors is in non-transparent projects. Some of the land given to investors is not clearly known whether it is from the village land or general land, some confirmed investments belong to projects different to those described in acquisition process, which raise questions on how was the land acquired, who and where is the origin of investors.

In the article ‘How come others are selling our land?’ Locher (2016) describes violations of customary land tenure and statutory laws in acquisition of village land for tree planting in Kilolo District of Iringa region in the Southern Highlands. The said violations granted access to village land to investors without consent of the village assembly. In the situation whereby the consent has been granted by the village assembly, there were no fair compensation of land and land resources. This was a dispossession that led to conflicts

between investors and local communities, local migration, and other extended social inequalities.

Though not comprehensive, an attempt to categorize investors of afforestation in Southern Highlands was done by Olwig *et al.* (2015), where investors with land above 50ha were identified as medium and large scale investors. GRL for instance with 6269 ha of land planted with trees was listed as a large-scale investor. Generally, Olwig concentrated to conspicuous, formal, easy accessed investors, hence missed out the bottom-up smallholders and urbanites, rural elites and institutions that play a great role in the current agrarian transformation through transactions of village lands. The transactions of village lands between smallholders and domestic investors perpetuate social differentiation in local communities. Social classes of minority elites controlling means of production are created while majority indigenous remain as laborers. Whether true or not, the claim that accumulation by dispossession increases inequality among local communities needs qualification.

Further, Gender inequality is a stumbling block to most of rural women development strategies. Rural women and girls spend much time on households welfare mainly on ‘gender triple roles’, limited opportunities to formal education and to work outside households, hence exposed to men’s emotions and other physical abuse (Fox *et al.*, 2018). Consequently, women develop fear of retaliation and lose courage to pursue their rights. Equally, some customs, traditions and patriarchal systems of rural areas deny the rights of women to access, use and own land and landed resources, the discrimination that skews poverty heights to women, also connoted as feminization of poverty (Rwegasira, 2012). Although the current land reforms provide to the VC as village land administrators that the rights to land by women are equally important and hence should be treated equally as

the rights of men (URT, 1999b), there has been dearth of literatures on gender in tree planting alongside gender equality in land access, which is generally far from being realized.

1.3 Justification of the Study

Africa has been a victim of agricultural investments, which for long time has not redeemed poverty, instead fuelled food insecurity, importation of food hence economic debts, unemployment and hence rural urban migration (Hall *et al.*, 2015). The investment in plantation forest is not a novel situation for the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. In 1939, the government through Forest and Beekeeping Division (FBD) established a state owned forestry the Sao Hill Forest Plantation (SHFP) in Mufindi District. The plantation was purposive to supply wood and wood products to meet domestic demands and earn foreign exchange through wood exports (Ngaga, 2011). The government established National Forestry Policy (URT, 1998) and National Land Policy (URT, 1997) as a framework for forest and land management respectively. Since forests are established on land, there is a need to empirically establish mode of equitable distribution of benefits from afforestation activities in village lands while maintain the benefits for non-forestry land uses.

Furthermore, the Tanzanian Five Years Development Plan 2016/2021 (FYDP) objective five (v) envisage on poverty reduction and improving livelihood by promoting shared benefits among the majority by increasing productivity and employment opportunities (URT, 2016). This gives emphasis on inclusion of communities in means of production and shared benefits rather than excluding others. Since agriculture provides large portion of employment in the country (67%), it is rational to rationalize the contemporary investments in village land based on empirical findings. Similarly, the Sustainable

Development Goals (SDGs) two (2) provides strategies to totally combat hunger by promoting sustainable agriculture and sufficient food production to all communities of the World. Also, the SDGs advocate women land ownership and not dispossession as signified by current practices in Southern Highlands Tanzania.

Although understudied, the current wave of afforestation activities is widely spread among individuals, community associations and institutions, converting farms to private forest plantations, a peculiar practice. This study contributes knowledge on private forests in village land of Tanzania, which has similar setting to Sub Saharan African countries.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 Overall objective

The overall objective of the research is to investigate tree-planting activities conducted by domestic investors in the village lands of Southern highlands of Tanzania, land transactions, and impacts on gender relations.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

i) To characterize tree planting investors and mechanisms of accessing land for tree planting in Southern Highlands.

ii) To analyze processes of land transactions for tree planting between smallholders and domestic investors in the Southern Highlands.

iii) To assess impacts of land transactions for tree planting to land access by gender groups in villages of Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

1.4 Research Questions

The study answers the following research questions;

i) Who and how do investors acquiring land for tree planting in villages of Southern Highlands regions?

ii) What motives and processes are followed in selling land for tree planting between smallholders and domestic investors?

iii) How have land transactions for tree planting affected accessibility of family land between gender groups?

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Tree planting activities involve different groups of stakeholders and actors who are influenced and/or affected differently by the processes. As such, three distinct themes emerged in the course of this study. The first is about tree growers as domestic investors who prior to planting trees had to access land from smallholders. To understand the diversity of the group and mechanisms employed to acquire village lands, insights from a theory of access by Ribot and Peluso (2003) were employed. Second, smallholders as primary landholders facilitate the lucrative investment in timber trees by selling village lands to domestic investors. In some instances, smallholders are observed to succumb to cash and services from domestic investors, hence forego landholdings. This is on the one hand analysed through theories that critique political economy by Carl Marx: Primitive Capital Accumulation, and on the other hand, it is analysed through insights from Harvey (2003) Accumulation by Dispossession, an extension of the primitive accumulation. Third, when it comes to land, most of the Southern Highlands societies are androcentric patrilineal whose traditions and customs dispose immovable resources to males as custodians. Because of the patriarchal social practices, women are left behind in most processes of land custodianship and management, leading to their poor participation in household planning, decision making, and practices related to land. This study investigates the position of women in land claims, management and control, and their fate

after land transactions. Women are often mistreated, discriminated, and hence subjugated by their partners, parents, and relatives. Thus, the insights and concepts of Symbolic Violence from Bourdieu (2001) were employed to analyse gender inequality and symbolic violence as related to land transactions for tree planting investments.

Diverse as it is, the study could not be easily completed by a single theory in explaining the dynamic processes of tree planting ranging from actors, acquisition of village lands, and implications of the activities at its best. Thus, to capture the nitty-gritty practices on each matter, an appropriate theory was sought for each objective, hence ended up employing three theories.

1.5.1 Theory of access

Acquisition of village land for tree planting in Southern Highlands of Tanzania is analysed by access theory. On the study of land use and political economy, Blaikie (1981) explained that for one to gain access to land for investments, other resources such as money to buy farm inputs and/or technology to make the land productive were required. Thus, a property can be employed as tool of alleviating poverty, but it is not that all matters. Other things required to enable extraction of benefits from a resource are the means, processes, and relations, collectively described by Ribot and Peluso as Mechanisms of access. The theory of access describes several types of mechanisms: social relations, social identities, authority, knowledge, labour, capital, technology and market. According to Ribot and Peluso, access is not about disposal of rights to things, rather it is the ability to extract benefits from them whether through right-based mechanisms and/or illicit mechanisms.

Majority of local communities have acquired land through customary systems and it is from land where they derive most of the benefits. The current trends show that the Village Council (VC) grants most of the customary ownership of plots of lands to domestic investors when motivated differently through money disposed for land transaction, sound promises to support village development activities, provision of infrastructures such as roads, school and health care facilities, and the like. Others include social relations between officials at village or district level regarding who knows who, which identify who has resource access priority over the others, also corruption as de facto in most access deemed processes. Others use the means of authorities and powers to access land and to maintain their access (Kweka, 2012; Locher, 2016).

1.5.2 Primitive capital Accumulation (PA) and Accumulation by Dispossession (AbD)

When analysing the land grabbing phenomenon of 2007-08, Borras and Franco (2012) explained the process of land rush for food production, green energy and climate crises as accumulation by dispossession (AbD). This study employs Primitive Capital Accumulation (PA) theory of Marx (1844), when extra economies separated the European peasants from land. The theory was later modified by David Harvey as AbD (Harvey, 2003, 2004). According to Harvey, Marx's assumptions of PA, which include modus operandi of commodification and privatization of natural resources such as land, operates equally in the current World.

Since the land grab was coined so due to the engagement of the global north to the global south and involved international companies rather than individuals, then the acquisition and hence access to land by domestic investors and expropriation for tree planting by government agencies such as the Tanzania Forest Services (TFS) in the Southern highlands (Lusasi *et al.*, 2019) is an epitome of both the PA of the past (Moyo and Yeros,

2011) and the AbD of the land grabbing era, with differences in the scale of operations (Bluwstein *et al.,* 2018). The land transactions that are concentrated by domestic investors both as individuals and institutions, denote a "cannibalistic and a predatory" acts (Harvey, 2003), that create enclosures and dispossession of locals by locals and locals by urbanites.

The motives of capitalists are to accumulate wealth through economic and extra economic means, which results into exploitation and appropriation of other people's properties, the practice that leads to social inequalities. Unlike the analysis in land grab literatures, which put among other criteria, size of land acquired for transnational corporate investments, this study does not limit itself to size or scale of the acquired land or investment. The study looks at the processes of land acquisitions by domestic investors who create enclosures as the means of dispossession also called control grabbing (Bluwstein *et al.,* 2018), commodification of village lands, and impacts on gender equality. Described as an emphasis of a permanent nature of PA under capitalism, AbD does appropriate the means of production from indigenous majority, placing into the hands of few capitalists enhancing capitalist social relations (Harvey, 2003; Hall, 2013).

According to Harvey, accumulation by dispossession involves displacement of peasant populations, converting family land into agribusiness, and the formation of landless people who succumb to the capitalist's bait (Harvey, 2003). Harvey describes accumulation by dispossession as an outcome of the created crisis that "prey upon low income families", taking away from them their assets and resources that would probably relieve them from their poverty conditions. Such appropriations involve loss of resources such as land and houses as in the flipping house markets of US (Harvey, 2003). It is the system that allows reinvestment of surplus capital, the investments that are backed up by the state powers in entering a non-capitalist environment. As such, capital is invested

using cheaper inputs such as labour, raw materials and low cost land (ibid.).

Although the study draws from specific experiences of Marx and Harvey, it further acknowledges the events of accumulation and hence dispossessions in the Southern highlands as similar but not the same in the context of both time, space, and the nature of events with those in the global north (Levien, 2018). The Marx's primitive accumulation of the 19th Century involved the then growing industrial societies in Europe, usurping large lands from peasantry communities turning the landless into labourers. Similarly, Harvey's AbD focuses on privatization of different things including large-scale lands in the global north. The Tanzanian Southern highlands case is a similar in that vast land is appropriated and expropriated not as industrial conglomerates, but as multitudes of small parcels of individual investors, the aggregates of which amounts to a big land grab.

1.5.3 Symbolic violence

Several concepts; psychoanalytical feminism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, radical cultural feminism, as well as liberal political theory, advocate for all people as equal in spite of their different sexes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2001; Calas, 2007; Okali, 2012). There is a long history of struggle for women emancipation, equal rights, sameness, equally capable and recognised as rational human being, contested between men and women (Fonjong, 2008; Veuthey and Gerber, 2010). However, societies in different parts of the globe have embraced practices that perpetuate power imbalance between men and women (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016).

Pierre Bourdieu described the dominant practices that subjugate subordinates' agency and voice as symbolic violence, a non-physical violence manifested in the power asymmetry between social groups, 'exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of

communication and cognition, recognition or even feeling' (Bourdieu, 2001). Expanding from Bourdieu's invention, Ojha (2006) describes symbolic violence as existing in either recognized or misrecognized form, challenged and changed or unchanged. As such, Ojha describes misrecognition as the highest level of symbolic violence, occurring in most natural settings and practices of the society with the highest level of unconsciousness on such practices amounting to symbolic violence. For instance, the androcentric practices of natural resources management among global societies have been doxic- "taken for granted values are being enacted automatically in practice without much questioning equally by those dominant and dominated" (Ojha *et al.,* 2009). Similarly, the traditional setup of most rural societies in the global south disposes powers to men as owners of immovable natural resources hence owners, decision makers, and right bearers to land (Panda and Agarwal, 2005; Alemu, 2015; Fox *et al.,* 2018; Snyder *et al.,* 2020).

Colaguori (2010) described both concrete and symbolic violence as active mechanisms of social life tied to the order of domination and destruction. Though not visible, practices of symbolic violence are equally destructive as they create a dichotomy of freedom and constraint through misrecognition, condescension, consent, and complicity of one group over another (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2001; Okali, 2012; Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016). It is through misrecognition when practices of symbolic violence are perceived differently from what they really are, hence accepted as legalized actions in the society (Durey, 2014). In practice, women's silence to men's dominant practices not only proliferate unequal power relations, but also imply acceptance and hence reproduction of their own subordination. It is the social settings that has accepted and internalized such social control and complementary domination over women as accepted by both men and women. Symbolic violence surpasses the covert inequality and women domination perpetrated by men, as it extends to commodity market systems where economic

conditions exclude, marginalize, disenfranchise, and promote gender inequalities (Colaguori, 2010). Thus, disparities in parental care given to daughters versus sons, restrictions on dos, don’ts and marriage submissions, groom the symbolic violence; and societies perceive them as natural, given, and unchangeable (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016).

Violence in its different forms of physical and symbolic exist in different areas of human activities from laws, gender relations, and racial discrimination (Colaguori, 2010). Durey mentioned at least three areas where social practices manifest misrecognition hence symbolic violence, which undermine women potentials: unequal wages between men and women for the same type and amount of job, restrictions from furthering education and professional carrier for women, also full-time employed women bearing primary responsibilities in houses including children care (Durey, 2014). When recognized, practices of symbolic violence are challenged and sometimes changed (Ojha, 2006). Social competition is one of the strategies adopted by courageous but dissatisfied members of the subordinate group who call for change by challenging the dominant group. This has led to a change of social identity, status, material disposal and symbolic inequalities in some of the reported cases (Panda and Agarwal, 2005; Aveling *et al.,* 2013; Pedersen, 2015; Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017).

1.6 Conceptual Framework

The contemporary land rush as illustrated in Fig. 1.1 is a continuation of large-scale land acquisition, establishment of enclosures and dispossession experienced in the past (Hall *et al.,* 2015). Apart from the acquisitions for establishing colonies, most acquisitions are foreign direct investments sought by host governments to restore the economies that were devastated by the SAP of 1980s also biodiversity preservation pioneered by initiatives from the global North (Sunseri, 2009). The global environmental crisis of 2007-08, which

involved the rise in prices of food and fuels, and climate problems was the ignition of the contemporary land rush by wealthier investors from the north (Deininger, 2011; Cotula, 2012; Hall, 2013). In order to curb the climate problems, several approaches were employed, tree planting being one of them. Described as moral economy approach by Olwig *et al.* (2015), Tanzania harboured several multinational capital intensive companies from the north: GRL, NFC, and initiatives from development partners, Private Forest Programme (PFP) from Finland, and Forest Development Trust (FDT) being the widely referred.

The climate problems came at the time when timber supply from the state owned Sao Hill Company dwindled to the point that supplies for timber demands extended to few available to Non Industrial Private Forest (NIPF) individuals (Ngaga, 2011). The first sellers of their woodlots benefited more, which motivated expansion of their woodlots and pulled many smallholders to grow trees as it was a more lucrative business than was the case with conventional crops such as maize and beans. Though not directly supported by the government or legal frameworks (Pedersen, 2017), majority of tree growers from urban areas and institutions required land plots prior to tree planting. Due to their diversity, tree growers employed different mechanisms of securing access to village lands, including financial capital especially for investors from private institutions, businessmen, and central government employees, social identity for investors residing in urban areas but originate from the villages of investments, and authority for public, religious institutions and local leaders.

According to the access theory, modes and pathways of access to village land and land resource tenure cannot be fully demarcated by statutory and customary laws or any other oral provisions. Since land administration is polycentric, the prescribed steps of acquiring village land were thought cumbersome and bureaucratic, which motivated some investors

into evading them (Kweka, 2012; Locher, 2016). Thus, there are other undertakings that are socially and legally forbidden including bribes, which mediate access to resources (Ribot and Peluso, 2003).

Both land transactions and tree planting activities have outcomes and short and long-term impacts. The commodification of land has created classes of landed and landless, with the latter being created by the practices of accumulation of land hence dispossession by the former (Borras and Franco, 2012). The alienation of village lands for tree planting divorced some people from their means of production-land, who turned to sell labour to plantations. Thus, tree planting has created a range of employment opportunities for the dispossessed albeit with low paid jobs, a situation that mirrors the era of primitive capital accumulation. Since they are labour intensive, tree planting activities accommodate more men than it does women (FDT, 2015). Thus, communities surrounding the plantations benefit from wage-labour opportunities and infrastructures created by and from the plantations.

The land transactions on the other hand create household income from commodification of lands. In a long run, land transactions move the resource from original owners to buyers and most of the transactions are non-reversible. Eventually, when the selling stops, most of the village lands are finished, occupied by non-villagers who mostly reside in the urban areas but control the rural economies. Apart from the dispossession of locals, land transactions for tree planting have portrayed several short and long-term impacts mostly skewed to smallholders as land sellers. An assessment by FDT (2015) showed that, on average tree growers occupy more lands than do non-tree growers, hence a reason for the growing land scarcity, landlessness, food insecurity and differentiation among local communities.

Because of the misogynistic practices in the societies, land transactions have been an anchor of gender inequalities, discrimination and other mistreatments against females collectively conceptualized as Symbolic violence. Due to the tree planting surge, women have lost their voices and agency over natural resources management, the situation that has let land transactions in families go unnoticed hence uncontrolled. Although accusations are heard from individuals, women's situation is weak relative to the normalized traditions and taboos that subjugate them. Most victims take the situation as natural, given, and unchangeable.

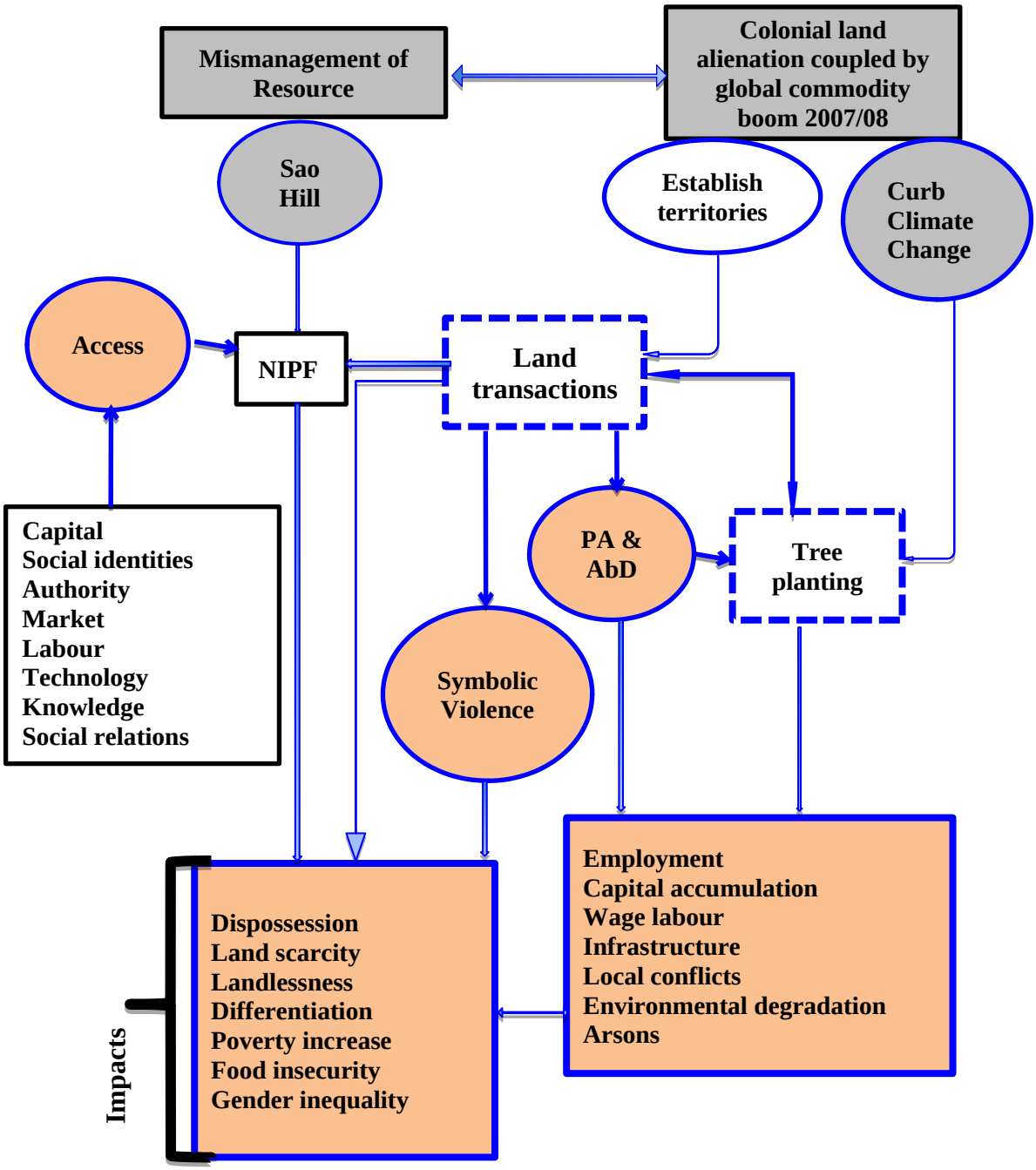

Figure 1.1: **Conceptual framework showing reasons for the growth of Non Industrial Private Forest (NIPF), mechanisms of access to village lands and impacts to communities of involved villages. (Source: Author, 2020)**

1.7 General Methodology

The thesis project was conducted in regions with extensive tree planting activities, i.e. Iringa, Njombe and Ruvuma regions of Southern Highland of Tanzania. The study sites included selected villages in Mufindi and Kilolo Districts of Iringa region, Njombe, Wanging'ombe and Makete Districts of Njombe region and Songea District of Ruvuma region (Fig. 1.2). The weather and climatic conditions of the area is favorable for planting exotic trees including pines, eucalyptus and wattle tree species. It is in this area where large-scale state-owned tree plantation company, Sao Hill is found, along with private companies; Tanzania Wattle Company (TANWAT), Green Resources Ltd (GRL), New Forest Company, Mufindi Paper Mills (MPM). Other cash crops grown in the area include tea, pyrethrum, avocadoes, which make the regions busy with processing and milling industries also brick making for construction boom. Majority of the population are indigenous *Hehe, Bena* and *Kinga* tribes, with a few immigrants who responded to the tree planting surge and timber businesses (Olwig *et al.,* 2015).

Most of the private tree plantations both industrial and non-industrial are established in village lands, the acquisition of which accounts for illegal and legal land deals. Although industrial acquisitions of village lands for tree planting are conspicuous and mostly formal, there are sloppy cases (Locher and Muller, 2014; Locher, 2016). The acquisition for most of non-industrial private forestry are mostly surreptitious, thus, 'neither the district nor village governments have a formal register of these individuals because land right transfers generally take place informally between buyer and seller' (Olwig *et al.,* 2015).

To unlock the mystery of mushrooming woodlots, a pilot study was embarked in 2016, visiting District Forest Officers (DFOs) in Njombe, Makete, Wanging'ombe, Mufindi and

Kilolo Districts. I learned from the DFOs that non-industrial tree growers include villagers in Tree Growers Associations (TGAs), supported by Private Forest Programme (PFP), an initiative funded by Finnish government (PFP, 2016). Apart from members of the TGAs, there are other Tanzanians from different parts of the country who invest in tree planting as a lucrative business. The information from DFOs helped out the purposive selection of villages where rampant transactions of village lands for tree planting are taking place. As put by Alvesson (2011) 'a review of previous studies and theoretical ideas provide clues for what is still not investigated well or needs to be revisited'.

Conflating the information from DFOs with review of few available studies on tree planting in the Southern Highlands gave a way on what needs to be done i.e. follow up the processes of transaction of village land for tree planting by domestic investors. Thus, fourteen villages namely Isaula, Usokami, Kibengu, Mapanda (Mufindi), Ndengisivili (Kilolo), Lupembe, Itunduma, Kifanya, Iyoka, Ngala (Njombe), Mhaji (Wanging'ombe), Ifinga (Madaba) and Ludihani and Maliwa (Makete) were involved in research work. Dwelling in access scholarly works (Berry, 1994; Ribot and Peluso, 2003), I explored domestic investors and later mechanisms they employ to access village lands and other inputs necessary for tree planting investments. Looking at the different ways in which domestic investors and smallholders look and value things like land, I supplemented the access scholarly with a political economy voices (Shivji, 1996; Patnaik *et al.,* 2011), who enlighten processes of primitive capital accumulation that push land grabbing in Africa, the neo colonialism approach to the global south. Though small parcels, the amount of land transacted for tree planting is an epitome of the land grab era, that has alienated village lands unprecedented since independence of 1961 (Olwig *et al.,* 2015). Seeing land as a commodity for sale has facilitated and pushed for informal, uncoordinated land

transactions, that has impaired participatory decision making within families, evoking injustice and symbolic violence to some family members (Bourdieu, 2001).

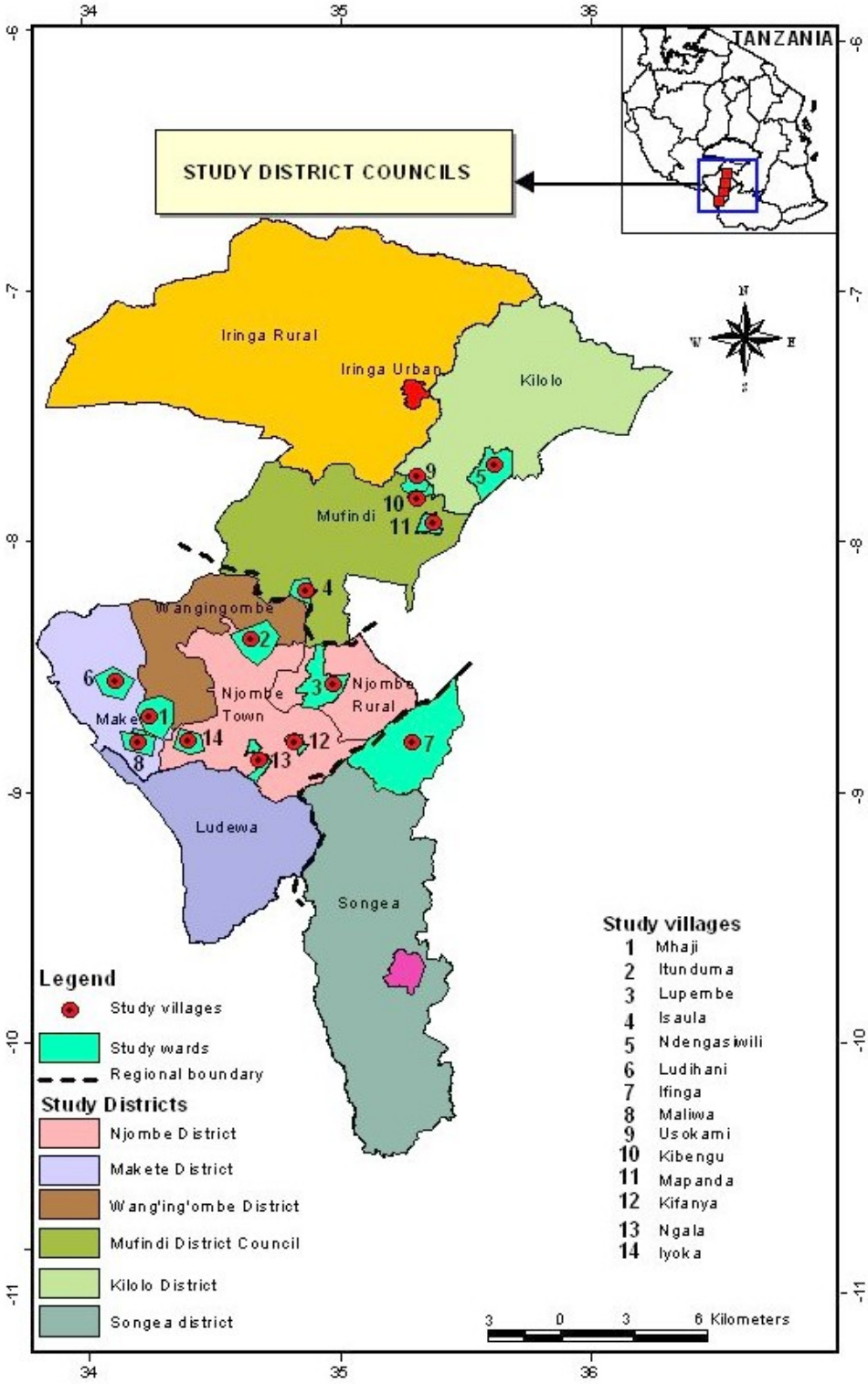

Figure 1.2: Map Tanzania showing case study districts and villages

(Source: timber rush project, SUA)

1.7.1 Research design

This is a case study, a paradigmatic case that sheds light on similar, but less intensive investment dynamics elsewhere in Tanzania and on the African continent. A case study is a research method used to generate in depth, multifaceted understanding of a complex phenomenon using variety of methods including interviews and observations. For detailed case study strategy and misconceptions/misunderstandings about case studies see Winne (1989); Ragin (1997); Flyvbjerg (2006); Tarrow (2010); Willig *et al.* (2011). The social sciences approach delineates appropriate number of cases to study and similarly positivist scholars require many cases to justify generalizability of the findings. But for this exploratory study, the aim is to provide a detailed in-depth analysis of diverse actors i.e. domestic investors, smallholder land sellers and women affected in any way by tree planting in Southern Highlands. This limited the number of cases to study (Ragin, 2004). I finally align to one of the conclusions from Flyvbjerg (2006) and Lund (2014) who argue that findings from a single case study can be extrapolated.

The investigation of land holdings in Tanzania is one of the sensitive issues, as land has become a scarce resource. Asserted by Askew and colleagues (Askew *et al.*, 2013), competition for land and violent land-related conflicts are becoming the order of the day throughout Tanzania, it was necessary to problematize the rampant tree planting investments in the Southern Highlands. Since the aim was to understand how land is acquired, several theoretical approaches that explain the practices were considered. The theory of access (Ribot and Peluso, 2003) provides for the means, processes and relations i.e. mechanisms of access to resources. Accordingly, the mechanisms can be right based or illicit gains, which include theft, overtly use of force and stealthily lies.

The land laws of Tanzania established ceiling for individual land holding up to twenty

hectares (URT, 2001). The income poverty situation of smallholders who hold vast lands (contrary to the ceiling established in the law) in villages subjugate their power and control over resources, hence succumb to the monetary bait from domestic investors. Since fiscal capital facilitates land transactions, it was important to integrate the role of capitalism theories the Primitive Capital Accumulation of Carl Marx (Marx, 1967) and its modified version of Accumulation by Dispossession (Harvey, 2003).

I embarked on this exploratory approach to stay closer to the community of study essentially to build trust and rapport with the local communities. As such, I stayed in villages from October 2017 to May 2018 observing, recording and learning the day to day rural livelihoods and tree planting activities including land transactions, tree planting, fighting wild fires in woodlots, mediation of land use conflicts related to tree planting. This 8-months stay in the study area built experience and expertise in the field of study (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The design is favoured in explaining how or why rampant tree planting in village lands of Southern Highlands Tanzania.

1.7.2 Data collection methods

The research followed standard procedure of Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) postgraduate research. The first fieldwork activity was conducted for eight months from October 2017 to May 2018, followed by follow-up studies in some months of 2019. Talking to village officials, Village Executive Officer (VEO) and Chairman of the Village Council gave the picture of the amount of information they have and gave a gateway to ordinary villagers including land sellers. As noted by Olwig *et al.* (2015), most villages do not have formal register for domestic investors of tree planting nor do they have full information about land transactions happening in the village.

Since the first activity planned was getting the names and contacts of domestic investors

from the village offices, I was forced by the circumstances to rearrange and start with identification of land sellers who could then share details of their customers; the domestic investors. It was easier to locate the land sellers than buyers as most of the former reside in rural areas while the latter was the combination of rural and urban dwellers.

Since land business was at some point connoted illegal, some villagers were sceptical to talk to strangers. Some people attempted to hide the amount of land they had transacted though they still gave details of their customers. To overcome the scepticism, the village chairman assigned me a young man to move around with as my a research assistant. This assistant introduced me to land sellers telling them of my purpose although at the end of the interview, they still kept asking me to buy land from them. Through interaction with some land sellers it was easier to snowball other land sellers and their customers.

During the stay at Isaula (one of the study villages), I worked as a participant observer (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2010). I attended some spates of land transaction processes that were witnessed by the village land committee; also, though beyond the scope of this study, the conflict resolution processes at village land tribunal. The committee administers the survey of the land while the seller demarcates the boundaries in the presence of witnesses from neighboring plots of land.

Several methods namely in-depth interview, focus group discussion, semi-structured interview, and field observations, were employed to collect the qualitative data for the study. Several approaches of land transactions, management of woodlots including fire fighting and conflict resolutions were observed. In-depth interviews were done with key informants to understand the role of local governments as land administrators (URT, 1999a) and their role in land transactions and hence the benefits accrued to the village

from such investments. Key informants were local government officials at village and district levels. These are regarded as experts in matters related to land management and tree planting investments at village and district levels. From the key informants interviews I expected to get the amount of village land planted with exotic trees as a result of timber rush and the amount of land available for crop cultivation. Unfortunately, this was not possible as villages do not have registry of land transactions (Olwig *et al.*, 2015; PFP, 2016) and could not control the spate of land transactions.

The land sellers, domestic investors, middlemen and women were involved in a semi-structured interviews (Bernad, 1988; Galletta, 2013), which were more comprehensive for the nature of the respondents and the information required from them. The semi-structured interview aimed at establishing the legitimacy of selling village land, opportunities, and the costs foreseen by different stakeholders.

For each category of respondents, the interviews went on until the saturation point was reached i.e. a point where no new information was coming out (Lund, 2014). Thus, data were collected from a total of 85 respondents. These included semi-structured in-depth interviews with 11 local government officers i.e. 6 Chairpersons of Village Councils and 5 District Forest Officers, 34 domestic investors, 26 land sellers, 4 middlemen and 10 women.

A total of five Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted, one FGD with village youths both girls and boys and four FGDs with women selected conveniently from among females in the selected villages. The selection of women alone was purposely to avoid men's suppression of women in collective discussion, a common practice in this patrilineal society. The FGDs were guided by a checklist of questions that aimed at

analysing participants perception, thoughts and impression regarding the on-going land transactions for tree planting, land ownership system, availability of land in the village, food security and sources of livelihood such as firewood. An FGD consisted of eight to nine members and lasted for 45 to 80 minutes. Most of the information gathered was audio recorded after seeking for the consent of the respective respondent and the data were transcribed verbatim.

1.7.3 Data analysis

The analysis of data proceeded each day of data collection (Yin, 2004). Data processing began with recapping the information gathered on each day and this was done at the end of the data collection activity or before the beginning of the new data collection. This helped to immediately discover new emerging themes/issues that required clarity. The approach was helpful as it helped in the improvement of the checklist where some questions were dropped and others added to get the most of what is important. Data were in the form of text, hence it was possible to draw themes and patterns for each group or category. Thus, the analysis intended to understand the motives for land transactions, motives for tree planting, and perception on going land transactions and their impacts.

1.7.4 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis has five chapters organized in the form of publishable manuscripts. The first chapter presents an introduction to the study of Villages for sale. The background information informs about origin of land rush in the global south, precipitous tree planting that led to the crumbling of village lands of Southern Highlands. The chapter presents the objectives and research questions, describes theoretical insights of the study, conceptual framework, and the methodology.

Chapter Two presents a manuscript on Typology of Domestic Investors derived from the

first specific objective of the study. This manuscript is published under the peer-reviewed journal of Geoforum. In this manuscript, I present part of the literature review, which suggest that the scale of domestic investments in the global south exceed that of foreign investors. Based on the theory of access, the manuscript develops a typology of domestic investors involved in tree planting activities in Southern Highlands Tanzania. It also details the diversity of private domestic land-based investments in Africa. As such, the manuscript identifies five major types of domestic investors of tree planting including Urban-based investors without local ties with rural lives, urban-based investors originating in the villages of their investments, resident villagers, public and religious institutions, and local leaders. Each category employs one of the three access mechanisms namely capital, social relations, and authority.

Chapter Three presents a manuscript on the transaction of village land between smallholders and domestic investors titled Villages for Sale. The manuscript examines the rush to village land for tree planting in the Southern Highlands. It further presents the practices of land transactions, motives and the role of middlemen who facilitate transactions of the village land between strangers that is, villagers and domestic investors without local ties. Employing the concepts of primitive capital accumulation and accumulation by dispossession, the manuscript presents pull and push factors that compel smallholders cede their ancestral lands-Mahame-to domestic investors. The impacts of such practices, which include limited access to land and landed resources by local communities are presented.

Chapter four presents the third manuscript that presents Gender inequality, marital discrimination and Domestic violence as they emerge in the selected tree-planting villages of Southern Highlands. The manuscript is published as Journal article in the Journal of

Land under the Multi-disciplinary Publishing Institute (MDPI). Tree planting surge has raised the value of land and increased the sense of land ownership among family members in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Since most families practice patriarchal system of human relations and land is customary owned, land claims have affected women more than it affected men. This discrimination against women and associated unjust treatment results from misrecognition and symbolic violence that suppress women voices and agency, which lead to unsustainable management of the resource.

Lastly, Chapter Five covers the summary of major research findings, conclusions and recommendations, followed by a section on theoretical reflections and suggestion of areas for further research.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 A TYPOLOGY OF DOMESTIC PRIVATE LAND-BASED INVESTORS IN AFRICA: EVIDENCE FROM TANZANIA'S TIMBER RUSH

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Abstract

Processes involved in making land-based investments in the global South are more complex than the literature on land-grabbing shows. This study diverges in its focus from foreign-led investments to South-South investments dominated by domestic investors. Recent studies have suggested that the scale of domestic investments may far exceed those of foreign investors. However, our knowledge about these domestic investors – who they are and how they access land – is still limited. The current study reviews the literature on land-based investments in Africa and analyses empirical research into

acquisitions of land for timber investments in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The paper serves a dual purpose, developing a typology of domestic investors involved in tree planting in the Southern Highlands, and improving our understanding of the diversity of private domestic land-based investments in Africa. The study points to a significant diversity with regard to how land is acquired by domestic investors and identifies five major types of such investors: urban-based investors without local ties, urban-based investors originating in the area in which the investments are taking place, resident villagers, government and religious institutions and local leaders. In the main each category uses one of three different access mechanisms, namely capital, social identity, and authority. In general, access to land for small- and medium-scale domestic investors in Tanzania's Southern Highlands is facilitated by the state to a lesser extent and with less use of force. By unpacking the diversity of domestic investors, the paper suggests that the impacts of these investors on local livelihoods differ at the local level. However, more research is needed on the scale and impact of each type of domestic investor.

Key words: Domestic investors; typology; access mechanisms; tree planting; land acquisition, village land

2.1 Introduction

Much attention has been paid to land-based investments – often termed 'land-grabbing' – in Africa in recent years. Following in the wake of high global commodity prices in 2007–8, the early phases of NGO and research publications tended to focus on the investments of large-scale foreign investors (see, for instance, Zoomers 2010; Anseeuw *et al.,* 2012). However, around 2012–13 academic researchers began revisiting established truths, as statistics on large-scale land acquisitions had turned out to be inflated. Methodologies were revised, as it was realized that processes were more complex and involved more actors than had previously been believed (Cotula, 2012; Edelman, 2013; Locher and Sulle, 2014). The role of local and national political actors, not least the state, in mediating investments or in acting as investors themselves was emphasised more strongly (Evers *et al.,* 2013; Wolford *et al.,* 2013; Pedersen and Buur, 2016). Some of this research suggested that the scale of domestic investments may far exceed that of foreign investors (Cotula 2013; Jayne *et al.,* 2015). However, our knowledge about these investors – who they are and how they access land – is still limited.

Informed by empirical research into land acquired for timber investments in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, this paper serves the dual purpose of developing a typology of domestic investors involved in tree-planting activities in the Southern Highlands and of improving our understanding of the diversity of domestic land-based investments in Africa in general. For this purpose the paper adopts a primarily qualitative case-study approach to analyse the situation in the Southern Highlands, with its boom in investments in tree-planting activities, as an extreme case that sheds light on similar, but less intense investment dynamics elsewhere in Tanzania and on the African continent.[3] Recent research on land ownership in Tanzania suggests that the amount of agricultural land held by urban-based investors increased from 11.8% in 2005 to 32.7% in 2010 (Jayne *et al.,*

[3] On strategies for using specific cases to generate theory and on the selection of extreme examples for this purpose, see Flyvbjerg 2006.

2016). Evidence from other African countries also shows significant albeit less dramatic increases in amounts of urban-held land (ibid.).

Tanzania's Southern Highlands in particular have seen a proliferation of small and medium-size investors, whose activities have now far overtaken those of the larger foreign and government-owned plantations. The timber rush has given rise to a transition within the forestry sector in the Southern Highlands, dramatically changing the relative importance of different categories of tree growers. An intensification of tree-planting on private land driven by market demand has also been observed in Ghana, Uganda and Ethiopia, but the scale and composition of the actors in these cases is as yet unclear (Zhang and Owiredu, 2007; Turyahabwe *et al.*, 2015; Abiyu *et al.*, 2016). Evidence from Southeast Asia suggests that a diversity of actors may be involved in such crop booms (Hall, 2011). In Tanzania, the overall trend is a change in the relative importance of government and private industrial plantations on the one hand and non-industrial private forestry on the other, including small-scale private forestry, mainly by resident investors. As a result of the timber rush, non-industrial private forestry now accounts for some 61% of the national forest area in the Southern Highlands or around 325 000 hectares (Ngaga, 2011; Milledge *et al.*, 2018). However, new large-scale projects involving state actors are also currently underway.

The typology developed in this paper focuses on how land is acquired. It points to significant diversity in this regard among domestic investors. In order to develop the typology, the paper draws on a combination of George and Bennett's work on typological theorizing (George and Bennett, 2005, 233ff.) and Ribot and Peluso's 'A Theory of Access' (Ribot and Peluso, 2003) – which focuses not only on how land is acquired, but also on the benefits it may bring – as well as on empirical research into land transactions

in Tanzania's Southern Highlands. The article addresses three access mechanisms that are most important in acquiring land in the context of a land rush like that in Tanzania's Southern Highlands, one characterized by evolving land transaction practices and growing land markets, namely capital, social identity, and authority. In the first preliminary typology, four major types of domestic investor are identified, namely urban-based investors with no pre-existing ties to the area, urban-based investors originating in the area, resident villagers, and religious and government organizations. These four main types of domestic investor use different combinations of access mechanisms to acquire land, but each type has one mechanism that is more important than the others. The model will then be refined by introducing a basic distinction between different uses of authority from below by investor types linked respectively to claims of autochthony and authority from above. We suggest that this is more useful in the case of investors from outside the location of the investment.

The development of a typology is important for analytical as well as for value-based reasons. Analytically, previous research on domestic investors has been rather fragmented, tending to focus on just one type of investor at a time (Hilhorst *et al.*, 2011; Jayne *et al.*, 2015; Pedersen and Kweka, 2017). A more systematic typology helps identify the diversity among domestic investors, which furthermore can be important for future research into the amounts of land acquired by the different groups. The article also makes a value-based contribution regarding the different implications of the transactions of different types of domestic investor for local populations. As will become clear, different types of investor impact on local livelihoods differently depending on their embeddedness and scale. This matters because it suggests that better regulation of land markets, which tend to be relatively autonomous in a land-rush context, may require interventions targeting different types of investor in different ways.

The paper is based on a combination of a review of the literature on access and land-based investors in Africa with field research in the Southern Highlands in mainland Tanzania. The fieldwork was conducted in Iringa, Njombe and Ruvuma regions in the Southern Highlands, whose climate and annual rainfall are conducive to the growing of pine and eucalyptus trees. Although trees are grown almost all over the region, the scale of domestic investment differs from one village to another. Since information on suitable villages for in-depth fieldwork was needed before we could carry out individual interviews, discussions were held with District Forest Officers (DFOs), who pointed out villages with high levels of domestic investment in tree planting. Hence in-depth interviews were conducted on investments in Isaula village in Mufindi District, Maliwa village in Makete District, Ngala village in Njombe Urban District and Kifanya village in Njombe Rural District. The data collected in the four villages were supplemented by visits to Ifinga village in Songea District and Usokami, Kibengu and Mapanda villages in Mufindi District. Since Village and District Councils do not have complete databases on domestic investors, interviewees were identified through snowballing, beginning with local landowners, land-sellers and middlemen, who eventually led us to domestic investors. We interviewed forty-eight (48) individuals: thirty-four (34) domestic investors, ten (10) land-sellers and four (4) middlemen. The interviews focused on the investor's own origins, occupation and land acquisition.

Since land buyers interacted with sellers and middlemen prior to documenting land transactions for the Village Councils, we went further by triangulating the data with information from the Village Councils and interviews with village chairmen and secretaries, land-sellers and middlemen. In some instances, the interviews were supplemented with field visits to the woodlots of various domestic investors. Whereas the

available statistics are reproduced in the article, they are better on the scale of tree planting than on the distribution of land among the different types of investor. Developing a better understanding of this distribution is a task for future research. It should also be noted that, whereas rental markets are increasingly more important in Africa (Deininger *et al.*, 2017), they do not feature strongly in Tanzanian timber production due to the long-term nature of tree planting for this purpose.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section two we review the literature on land-based investors in Africa. Section three discusses the theory and methodology that have allowed us to develop a theoretically informed and empirically grounded typology of investors. By combining the three access mechanisms (Ribot and Peluso's 'A Theory of Access', 2003) that are most important in acquiring land in our case study with our findings from our empirical research, we can identify four main types of domestic investor. Section four first provides an outline of the historical context in which the rush to acquire land for tree-planting took off in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania before presenting empirical findings on different investor groups and subgroups based on extensive fieldwork. In section five the proposed new typology is refined further, followed by a discussion of its analytical and policy implications. Finally, section six draws some conclusions.

2.2 Land-based Investments in Africa: a Literature Review

In the wake of rising commodity prices around 2007-8, use of the term 'land-grabbing' proliferated, and it became a powerful tool with which to criticize what was perceived to be a crisis in contemporary capitalism (Tokar and Magdoff, 2009). Not only did NGOs use the term, so did many scholars, linking it in particular to investments in biofuel production at that time. Foreign corporate investments were depicted as 'grabs' that posed

a threat to African smallholders' food security and livelihoods (Borras *et al.,* 2010; Vermeulen and Cotula, 2010; Zoomers, 2010). The literature drew on existing scholarly traditions, most importantly the access literature, which, as part of a growing critique of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the World Bank to facilitate privatization and markets in land, had pointed out that these reforms were incompatible with bottom-up user perspectives and therefore were often not implemented (Berry, 1993; Scott, 1998). A number of scholars emphasised that contemporary neoliberal land-tenure regimes are but one example of a much longer tradition of land alienation propagated by foreigners (Shivji, 1998; Manji, 2006; Moyo, 2011).

Around 2012–13, however, discussions and publications about the scale of land-grabbing, as well as the methodological issues underlying its study, began to appear, as database records turned out to have been inflated. Initial estimates of global deals amounting to around 200 million hectares (Anseeuw *et al.,* 2012) were revised downwards to closer to 30 million hectares (Nolte *et al*., 2016). Methodologies were revisited, and there was a call to pay greater attention to context and for more grounded methods to be adopted (Edelman *et al.,* 2013; Scoones *et al.,* 2013; Locher and Sulle, 2014). The drivers, actors and outcomes of land acquisitions were also revisited. Although most scholars continued to emphasise the drift towards greater involvement by foreign corporate agribusinesses due to the expansion of capitalism and growing world market demand, the role of other actors was now emphasised more.

A major change in emphasis occurred, namely the incorporation of the state and its authorities into the research, as it became increasingly clear that they often actively facilitated or partnered large-scale land transactions. Scholars increasingly stressed the importance of unbundling the role of different state actors (Borras *et al.,* 2012; Evers *et*

al., 2013; Wolford *et al.*, 2013; Lavers and Boamah, 2016). A wide variety of reactions among host-country governments to the increasing global demand for land could be observed, some seeking to mitigate it by, for instance, imposing land ceilings, while others were more prepared to act as facilitators. It turned out that, although acquisitions did not always follow the letter of the law, they were often 'broadly consistent with national law' (Cotula, 2013, p. 11; see also Levien, 2018). Consequently, terms like 'land rush' came increasingly into vogue as an alternative to the 'land-grab' terminology, with its connotations of illegality and theft (Hall, 2013; Pedersen and Buur, 2016). South–South investments also increasingly came on to the radar (Borras *et al.*, 2012; Margulis *et al.*, 2013).

The role of domestic investors was also examined more prominently in the literature. Domestic investors have a much longer history in Africa (Baglioni and Gibbon, 2013), but their significance when compared to foreign investors had been downplayed in the early land-grab literature. However, it turned out that, even though the deals they were involved in were typically smaller than those of international investors, their accumulated amounts of land often far exceeded those acquired by foreign investors (Cotula, 2013). Early research from West Africa suggested that urban-based elite groups consisting of businessmen, politicians and government officials featured prominently among the buyers, but this was based on the premise that 'agro-investors come from outside the community and have not acquired land by heritage or gifts' (Hilhorst *et al.*, 2011). Often, the size of landholdings has been used as a defining feature in the classification of such 'emergent' farmers, as they tend to be larger investors than resident smallholders, but smaller than large-scale domestic investors. Jayne *et al.* (2015) suggest that they typically hold between five and a hundred hectares of land. Finally, recent research into petroleum-related investments has pointed to an increase in land acquisitions by state organizations,

allegedly for ‘public purposes’, but in fact often for speculative ones (Pedersen and Kweka, 2017).

Whereas each of the shifts in research mentioned above represents an important contribution to an improved understanding of domestic investors, they tend to be limited to a focus on specific groups. The acquisition of land from below involving resident smallholder actors has not received much attention. While much of this growth is by urban-based investors, at least some of it comes from local farmers. However, such transactions have been identified as a factor in processes of social differentiation at a very local level linked to more and more specialized and marketized production systems (Hall, 2011; Sitko and Jayne, 2014; Greco, 2015; Boamah, 2015). These processes could be linked to investment and foreign capital on a larger scale (Sulle, 2016; Hall *et al.,* 2017), but they did not have to be. Indeed, a slowdown could be observed in large-scale foreign investments, as commodity prices began falling – for agricultural products this happened after 2011 – without necessarily affecting national or local investment patterns (Cotula and Berger, 2018). Often, these could be driven by processes related to higher local commodity prices for certain commodities, improved market access because of improvements in infrastructure or simply because of population growth, which increased the pressure on land and therefore its value (Brockington *et al.,* 2018; Östberg *et al.,* 2018).

2.3 Access Mechanisms and the Development of a Typology

This article generates categories of domestic investor in the form of a typology, taking how land has been acquired for tree-planting activities as its main criterion. Given the fragmented nature of existing research, in other words, it aims to contribute to theory-building regarding domestic investors by developing a theoretically informed and

empirically grounded typology of them. Developing a typology requires the systematic analysis and identification of elements that allow for more comprehensive generalizations about the different types of actor (George and Bennett, 2005). Each of the four main types of domestic investor we identify consists of a group of actors with ways of accessing land that are sufficiently similar to constitute them as a group and distinguish them from other investor types.[4] Whereas there is a great deal of diversity within each type, suggesting several sub-types, the main reason for the establishment of each of the four overall types of domestic investor is that the sub-types within a type share the same main access mechanisms, namely capital, social identity, or authority.

Theoretically, in deploying these three mechanisms, the article draws on the same three access mechanisms (out of eight) that are listed in Ribot and Peluso's (2003) 'theory of access', as they are the most relevant in this regard. There are several reasons for the choice of the focus on these three out of Ribot and Peluso's eight structural and relational access mechanisms (namely technology, capital, markets, labour, knowledge, authority, social identity and social relations). As our aim is to contribute to the literature on the land rush, our main focus is on how land for tree-planting purposes is acquired in the first place, rather than on any later benefits that may be derived from it, which is a stronger element in the other access mechanisms. In this regard, the three access mechanisms we have chosen were those that emerged most strongly in our fieldwork material.

Our focus on 'capital', 'social identity' and 'authority' does not imply that the other access mechanisms are irrelevant when it comes to acquiring land in the Southern Highlands. For instance, changes to sawmill technology have helped spread timber production to remote areas (Wit *et al.*, 2010). Without the increased market demand for

[4] For more on typologies and typological theory, see George and Bennett 2005.

timber products from urban centres in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda (Ledger, 2017), tree-planting in the Southern Highlands would most likely have continued to be mostly for household consumption. Similarly, there are different types of knowledge that are relevant to different types of investor depending on their main access mechanisms. Whereas urban-based investors often pay more heed to procedure and to some extent to the laws and regulations guiding land sales, resident village investors use their knowledge of village land-allocation processes, while government organizations focus on the regulatory frameworks that guide land acquisitions for development purposes. Thus, mechanisms like technology and knowledge are important to all types of investor, making them less useful in developing a typology.

The context of our analysis, namely the land rush for tree-planting purposes in the Southern Highlands in Tanzania, has also contributed to speeding up changes in existing land-tenure systems. Traditionally, social identity has been more important for access to land in sub-Saharan Africa, often in some combination with traditional authority (Berry, 1993, 1994; see also Peters' critical assessment of this agenda, 2004). The advent of markets in land and the use of capital as an access mechanism affect the role and importance of social identity in different ways, depending on the type and strength of local authority structures (Peluso and Lund, 2011). Previously, land was often accessed either by right of the axe, that is, the cutting of trees and bushes in a certain area, or through the traditional authorities (Kauzeni *et al.,* 1998). Whereas going through the latter could also involve pecuniary transactions, intrinsically it was often more about social identity. Capital, by contrast, more easily mediates relations between strangers.

Finally, authority continues to play an important, albeit changing role in many transactions. 'Authority' may include customary authorities as well as state-backed

authorities. Boone (2014) makes a key distinction between neo-customary and statist land-tenure systems in Africa, the former granting a greater role for ethnicity and customary institutions, the latter a greater role for central state institutions. Research by Lavers and Boamah (2016) into large-scale foreign investments in Ghana, with its strong customary land-tenure institutions, and Ethiopia, with its more statist system, suggests that existing land authorities use investments to strengthen their own power (Peluso and Lund, 2011). Less research has been carried out on the relations of small and medium-size domestic investors with authority. However, we do know that hybrid forms of land tenure and authority emerge in the wake of land markets. The term 'informal formalization' has been coined to describe how, in the context of increasing pressure on land and the absence of accessible formal services, existing local-level authorities often forge what look like formal documents (Mathieu, 2001; Benjaminsen *et al.*, 2009).

Table 2.1 below shows the importance of different access mechanisms to different types of investor. The values are relative – that is, they are based on assessments of the relative importance of different access mechanisms based on explorative research. Thus, for instance, the fact that authority and social identity are less important for urban-based investors does not imply that these mechanisms are not important. Indeed, whereas urban-based investors tend to access land through capital, often facilitated by middlemen with a stronger local social identity, they also often seek to formalize their ownership by going through the formal authorities and obtaining title to the land.

Table 2.1: Typology of domestic investors in non-industrial private forest in Southern Highlands, Tanzania, by access mechanism

Typology of domestic investors	Access Mechanisms		
	Capital	Social identity	Authority
DIs 1: Urban-based investors			
(i) Private companies, businessmen, central government employees	1	3	3
(ii) Local government employees	1	2	2
DIs 2: Resident villagers			
(i) Resident farmers inheriting land	3	1	3
(ii) Resident villagers with access to surplus land through allocation from village council	2	1	2
(iii) Villagers buying land from other villagers	2	1	2
DI 3: Urban investors originating from area	2	1	2
DIs 4: Institutions			
(i) Religious institutions	3	2	1
(ii) Government institutions	3	3	1
DIs 5: Local leaders			
(i) Political leaders	2	2	1
(ii) Religious leaders	2	2	1

1: more important; 2: less important 3: not important
DIs stands for Domestic Investors (**Source:** authors, based on fieldwork for this study)

Here it is worth noting that domestic investor type 3 stands out because of the ambivalence surrounding the importance of capital and social identity respectively. This is due to significant variation within this type with regard to access mechanisms, where some obtain information on available village land from relatives but pay relatively high amounts for it, while others acquire land as cheaply as villagers do. When compared to other urban-based investors, the role of social identity is also different because it relies more on kinship. Other urban-based investors often ‘borrow’ and ‘pay for’ social identity from middlemen, who originate in the area or have strong local connections, and are increasingly mediating land transactions. Middlemen are well informed about the situation in rural areas and are on good terms with landowners and the village authorities. It could

be argued that another of Ribot and Peluso's access mechanisms, namely 'other social relations', should have been included in Table 2.1, but since it is not that relevant for the other investor types it is instead included under 'social identity' for urban-based investors.

2.4 The Emergence and Scale of the Timber Rush and Domestic Investors

Table 2.2 below shows the distribution of forest among the three major categories of investor. In ballpark figures, government and private plantations each account for one fifth of tree cover, while Non Industrial Private Forest (NIPF) on village land covers the remaining 60%. No exact statistics are available for how NIPF tree cover is distributed between resident small-scale tree-growers and non-resident domestic investors. We know from the FDT baseline survey (FDT, 2015) that on average resident small-scale tree-growers had a 0.4 ha wood-lot. Milledge *et al.* (2018) estimate that there are 100 000 small-scale resident tree-growers. Based on these figures we estimate that resident small-scale tree-growers occupy 40 000 ha of forest, or about a quarter of the NIPF forest area. The remaining three quarters of the NIPF forest, some 134 000 ha, is managed by domestic investors. In sum, resident farmers by far outnumber the non-resident domestic investors, while the domestic investors dominate in terms of forest area. We have no reliable data on the distribution of forest area between different categories of domestic investor.

Table 2.2: Scale of forest plantations by investors

Forest Investors	Planted (thousand hectares)
Industrial Public Forest	**57**
Tanzania Forest Services (TFS), Sao Hill plantations	53
TFS (Others)	4
Industrial Private Forest	**53**
Green Resources	17
Kilombelo Vallery Teak Company (KVTC)	8.1
Mufindi Paper Mills (MPM)	4
New Forest Company	4.8
TANWAT	13.5
Unilever Tea	1.5
Metekeleza	4
Non-Industrial Private Forest	**174**
Total	**284**

Source: adapted from Forest Development Trust 2017 and Milledge *et al.*, 2018. Data for NIPF is based on analysis of satellite images.

The rush by NIPF to establish small to medium-size plantations on village land is a recent phenomenon. In spite of assistance from donors during Tanzania's post-independence period, tree planting on village land only expanded at a slow pace in the Southern Highlands from the late-1970s to the mid-2000s (Ahlback, 1986). According to local government data from six districts (interview with District Forest Officers, 2017), forest cover on village land in 2005 was less than 10 000 ha.

Common incentives for the timber rush include strong market demand as a consequence of a national supply deficit in wood. In the mid-2000s, state-owned forest plantations and a few large-scale private plantations were the main sources of timber in the country. However, these were unable to meet the demand, a development fuelled by a long period of consistently high economic growth (Ngaga, 2011; Pedersen, 2017). Qualitative

fieldwork reveals that the factors that initiated the timber rush in the mid-2000s differ for resident and non-resident domestic investors.

Difficult physical access to markets for trees is the key explanation for why the planting of wood-lots by resident villagers progressed at a slow pace until the mid-2000s. To access the market, resident farmers had to fell their trees using manual saws, manually transport the four-metre-long tree trunks to the road and hire a private truck to transport them to private sawmills, which were mostly located in Mufindi District and were linked to the Sao Hill state forest. From 2005, President Kikwete's administration opened up imports of cheap mobile sawmills and chainsaws from China that allowed businessmen to buy trees from farmers in the fields and process them into planks on site. By 2011 more than a thousand mobile sawmill units were operating in the Southern Highlands (INDUFOR, 2011). This gave direct access to the market, leading to an increase in the sale of mature trees planted by resident villagers in the 1980s and 1990s. Qualitative interviews indicate that a main driver of the timber rush among resident villagers was the experience of how soon tree growers became well off from selling their mature trees to mobile sawmill operators after 2005 (Friis-Hansen *et al.*, 2019).

The precipitous rise in non-resident domestic investors in Tanzania's Southern Highlands was also driven by President Kikwete's support for speeding up implementation of the Village Land Act of 1999. A domestic market in land had emerged in the 1980s when so-called 'African socialism' collapsed and the ensuing liberalization allowed private investments in land (Sundet, 1997). This led to a surge in land conflicts and paved the way for a reform of land tenure through two acts, the Land Act and the Village Land Act (both of 1999), which sought to regulate land markets, decentralized authority over rural land to the local level, recognized existing rights to land and facilitated the establishment of a

new system of formal land courts (URT, 1994; Pedersen, 2016). While this, de jure, restricted informal transactions in land, potentially it also provided greater security for small and medium-size investors acquiring village land.

Different categories of investor then emerged, foreign and domestic, small- and large-scale (industrial), private and public, all jumping into the tree-growing business. Although the Tanzanian government's forest policy recognizes the need to incorporate private-sector actors into forestry (URT, 1998), the rise of domestic investors in the Southern Highlands happened without any direct support from the government (Pedersen, 2017). Government support in various forms was, on the other hand, visible in the facilitation of other, foreign, large-scale investors, such as Green Resources Limited of Norway and the UK-based New Forest Company (Olwig *et al.*, 2015). Development partners (DPs) were involved in facilitating both foreign direct investment (FDI) and the smaller domestic investors.

As will become clear below when we describe the Southern Highlands' timber rush, different types of land were accessible to different types of actor. In 2007 District Commissioners asked all village governments to identify land available for domestic investors. However, it should also be noted that implementation of this kind of land-use planning is still limited in Tanzania. The vast majority of land suitable for domestic investors belonged to the land-use category locally known as *mahame*, that is, land left idle when farmers were forcibly resettled into nuclear village settlements in 1974 during what is known as 'Operation Sogeza' or the villagization policy under African socialism (Friis-Hansen, 1987). *Mahame* land had little use value for its owners, as it was located far from their villages. When, therefore, the land rush started in a locality, urban-based

domestic investors took advantage of the lack of local awareness of the value of land and acquired land early and cheaply.

2.5 Urban-based Investors without Local Ties

There has been a significant increase in the proportion of agricultural land held by urban households in Tanzania (Jayne *et al.*, 2016). Urban-based investors are characterized by their strong financial resources, which facilitate their investment activities, not only when acquiring land, but also in hiring people to work on their wood-lots, hence they often own large wood-lots compared to resident village investors and typically acquire land for business purposes. In our example of the Southern Highlands this generally means land for tree-planting. However, there has also been speculation that some tracts of land have been acquired as investments in and of themselves and that tree-planting is secondary. For example, one survey suggests that a larger proportion of land owned by medium- and large-scale landholders in the Southern Highlands remains unused when compared to land owned by smallholders (FDT, 2015). However, this may also reflect a more systematic approach to establishing plantations by larger investors, who stagger their planting to allow for continuous future annual harvesting.

As the group of urban-based investors without local ties is diverse, we have divided it into two sub-categories: private companies, businessmen and central government employees; and local government employees, each of which relies on capital as the key access mechanism, as well as drawing on actors possessing social identity or authority to various degrees.

The latter are employees in various sectors such as teachers, medical doctors, district officers, administrators, directors and the like, who rely on capital to acquire village land

for tree-planting. Apart from their salaries, local government employees may secure money from financial institutions like banks. Some of this capital is used to acquire land to establish plantations of various sizes, sometimes in different villages. When asked where local government employees acquire village land for tree planting, an investor working for local government (a chairman of an urban-based tree growers association) had this to say: '*It depends; most investors get land from individual villagers, but a few get it from the village government*' (interview at Mafinga, 10th April, 2018).

The fact that one may access land 'from the village government' indicates that, even though capital is the most important access mechanism, local government employees often possess knowledge of the area and are in direct contact with villages, villagers and village government due to their location in the areas of investment. Their position as government employees thus puts them in a privileged position in relation to village governments, although this rarely enables them to avoid paying for the land at market rates. This also explains why the average size of their landholdings is below those of other urban-based investors because their salaries are lower than those of businessmen and central government employees.

By contrast to local government employees, the larger investors typically come from outside the rural areas. Most are central government employees, businesspeople and/or entrepreneurs, but a few private companies investing in land can also be found. Regarding the latter, we do not include the large-scale plantations, as these are foreign-owned and tend to have a much longer history in the Southern Highlands. Overall, the group of urban-based investors rely on capital to gain access to village land, and capital is also important in utilising the land, for instance, in buying inputs, sowing and harvesting. The capital facilitates the formal, informal and at times downright illegal acquisition of plots

of land. Domestic businessmen, private companies and high-level central government employees access land to make a profit out of it: '*If you calculate how much money you can make in one acre of wood-lot, and compare to the money you invest, you will find that tree-planting is a good business to go into. There are less running costs involved, no chemicals for fumigation, no fertilisers, just money for making fire breaks and wait for trees to mature*' (interview with local businessman in Iringa, 24th November, 2017). This is how businessmen perceive tree-planting as an investment.

Several private companies or organizations are therefore investing in tree planting in the Southern Highlands. Although on a varying scale, all companies rely on finance capital as a mechanism to acquire village land for tree-planting. Companies acquire both communal and individual village land from village councils and villagers respectively. In Isaula village, a company called Kahawa Timber Ltd. has acquired 140 hectares of land, some of which it has planted with eucalyptus and some with pine trees. Similarly, Matekeleza Chang'a & Co. Ltd, a large-scale domestic investor, owns more than six thousand hectares of tree plantations in different villages in the Southern Highlands.

Private companies, businessmen and central government employees often hire middlemen to acquire land for investment, either purchases of village land from the village government (the commons) or from individual villagers. Typically originating in the area, these middlemen often possess the social identity that the investor lacks. They also often manage the investment on their behalf, which can be time-consuming if you run a business or are employed by the government: '*The problem is time. You cannot run your business in town and at the same time manage tree-planting by yourself. If you have time it is better to go by yourself, not to use middlemen. In that way villagers will know you, which is a good thing*' (interview with businessman in Makambako, 29th April, 2018).

Because of their lack of local social relations that can help mediate cases of conflict, urban-based investors often prefer to have their land registered by the village government and only later try and obtain title deeds. This, they claim, helps their wood-lots to be recognized by the villagers and village governments, thus increasing their security of tenure. In so doing, they typically make sure that their land purchases are documented with the village government and that witnesses to land transactions and the names of neighbours bordering the purchased land are listed in documents. Urban-based domestic investors are expected to contribute to village development activities, which some do as a way to gain acceptance in the village. Some complain about the ad hoc and non-transparent system that guides the contribution by or involvement of domestic investors, making it unpredictable and at times feeling like blackmail. On the other hand, many investors do not contribute, and some of those who have accessed land through village allocations do not even fulfil the promises they made as part of the land transaction.

2.6 Resident Villagers

Resident villagers are a group of domestic investors with very strong local relations within the villages. We distinguish between villagers with surplus land, villagers who receive land through allocations from the village government, and resident villagers who buy land from other villagers. Each of these sub-types is analysed in more detail below. Typically, they all own land already, whether through inheritance or from having cleared the bush. Sometimes they have claims to land outside existing villages that had been used by their parents or grandparents but was left vacant during villagization of the 1970s. The status of such land is unclear in Tanzania's land laws, but feelings of ownership are often strong and tend to resurface whenever land is to be put to active use again (Sundet, 1997). A local social identity is an important criterion during allocations. Ethnicity may play some role, but due to Tanzania's statist land-tenure system this is less pronounced than in other

African countries (Boone and Nyeme, 2015). Residence means that they access land more cheaply than urban-based investors or even for free.

Within the Southern Highlands, village land is commonly very unequally distributed. A 2015 survey of 3285 respondents found that two thirds of resident tree-growers own more than two hectares and 11% more than four hectares, while two thirds of resident farmers who did not grow trees owned less than two hectares (FDT, 2015). The survey further shows that the average amount of land owned by resident tree-growers is 2.4 hectares, of which 42% is planted with trees. By comparison, the average landholding of resident farmers who do not grow trees is 1.2 hectares. Qualitative interviews confirm that on average resident tree-growers have relatively small wood-lots (average one hectare) compared to non-resident domestic investors.

There are, however, large variations within villages, as well as between districts. Whereas the average lots of resident farmers are relatively small, many have multiple plots, some of which are located outside the village. Some villagers also have claims to land outside their villages that were used by themselves or their families prior to the relocation to nuclear villages under villagization (called Ujamaa). This land is often remote and little used, on steep slopes, or consists of fields that used to be hired out to poorer farmers in the village who had limited landholdings. As the prices for their forest and agricultural products go up and access to markets improves, cultivation of this land can be intensified.

If villagers want more land, in a village that has enough communal land individuals may be able to apply for land from the village council during village re-allocations. To gain access to land one often needs to pay survey fees, which cost many times less than the normal price for acquiring land. The better-off villagers can meet this sum, but not all who

can manage the fees get a piece of land; other mechanisms, such as how connected you are, how influential you are and your consequent ability to access those who control the land determine who obtains land and who does not. It is nonetheless through the distribution of communal village land that most villagers become Non-Industrial Private Forest (NIPF) actors.

In the Southern Highlands, an important group of resident domestic investors in this regard is the Tree Growers Association (TGA). Members of the TGA are villagers who acquire communal village land from village councils as a requirement for donor-supported tree-growing activities under the donor-funded Private Forest Program (PFP). Depending on the availability of surplus land, not all villagers interested in tree-planting gain access to land. Thus, social relations and one's relationship with the village leaders (those with authority and control of access to land) determine who gains access to land and its associated benefits from involved donors. Village-based members of TGAs are readily accessible and identifiable, so contribute labour to tree plantations when needed.

Finally, a few well-off individuals in villages, or 'rich fellows', who run small businesses within the village buy land from other villagers. They own assets such as good houses, motorbikes, bicycles and sometimes cars. Their wealth and status enable them to acquire access to land by purchasing it, normally at low prices. They are in a position to accumulate vast amounts of land from different villagers through the normal buying and selling of land or by lending money in exchange for land as security. Unlike other villagers, this group formalizes its land ownership, and despite having a lot of land from inheritance, they do not sell land to others unless circumstances force them to. When asked to describe the position of land-sellers in the village and to comment on whether he would sell land to other people, a resident investor said, '*It depends on the problem you*

are facing. If you have a problem, you will be forced to sell land. These people are different. Some people sell land, but they don't have any problem to solve, but others have problems to solve, including taking care of big families' (interview conducted at Isaula village on 13th March, 2018).

2.7 Urban Investors Originating in the Area

Although they do not live there, urban investors originating in the area of investment tend to resemble resident investors the most when accessing land. Their importance differs from one locality to another, but it is generally growing. In our case-study area, the Southern Highlands, they play a big role. Parts of the region were designated labour reserves, from which labour for plantations elsewhere could be drawn during colonial times. Structural adjustment in the 1990s, furthermore, undermined agricultural production and pushed many young men and women to migrate to urban centres (Friis-Hansen, 2000).

Even when they are second- or third-generation migrants, they see themselves as being from the village and are often perceived as such by resident villagers. These perceptions can lead to strong relationships with villagers in ways that are tied to social identity. They either inherit land or acquire it cheaply through village allocations.

Thus, due to their origin, some investors enjoy good relationships with village leaders, who may even facilitate access by dodging some legitimate steps in acquiring land. Social identity allows them to bypass laws and the bureaucracy and reduce the price of land. '*I belong to the leadership family, a great-grandson of Chief Mkwawa's warrior Kigwamumembe, who was a chief in command responsible for the Mufindi area. Everybody around here knows our family*' (interview with urban-based investor in his

village of origin, 5th April, 2018). We were told this by an investor originating in the village, who bought an estimated eighty hectares of land, with another eight hectares thrown in as a gift because he was a great-grandson of Chief Mkwawa's warrior.

Finally, some acquire land cheaply through local relationships, typically relatives with information about land markets in the villages. When asked how they know about land availability in the village, one investor said, '*I got a phone call from my mother in the village, who told me that someone is selling land for tree-planting at a cheap price, so I told her to hold it for me*'. Their social relationships put them in a better position to access land than other outsiders, even when potentially the third party could pay a higher price for the land.

In terms of how they hold land, however, urban investors who originate in the area resemble other urban-based investors. Being absent from the village for long stretches of time makes them feel insecure about their tenure, and they feel they are under greater pressure to put the land to productive use. In the Southern Highlands, therefore, the planting of trees often plays a dual role, first as a means to ensure security of tenure, and secondly as an investment opportunity. A businessman working as a car importer in Dar es Salaam who inherited land in his village of origin Maliwa in Makete District stated: '*Planting (pine) trees on the fields that I inherited from my father is a good way to benefit from the land without having to be present in the village. I realized that growing trees is a good business and bought additional land* [a former common grazing area] *from the village government to plant trees*' (domestic investor, interview 25th August, 2017). Sometimes one may also seek to formalize one's ownership by going through the process of obtaining certificates or a title deed.

2.8 Government Organizations, Religious Organizations and Local Leaders

Both local and central government entities, as well as religious organizations and local leaders, often own large tracts of village land, in our case-study area typically land set aside to establish wood-lots. This land is usually accessed through the use of authority. Often, organizations apply for a share of communal village land, as the village council, with the consent of the village assembly, can allocate larger or smaller shares of it. Village councils allocate common village land for various public purposes, for instance, local public schools, and villages and district councils themselves may also set aside or acquire land as their own investment. By comparison, central government organizations that are closer to the state often seek to acquire much larger tracts of land for business purposes. There are normally few costs involved in the allocation process itself.

Many government organizations own village land for tree plantations. Public institutions acquire communal village land through allocation by the village council as a local and, sometimes, national public good. This, combined with the authority they possess, makes capital less important in accessing land. When asked how the village acquires land for itself or for schools, which may include wood-lots, one village chairman in the Southern Highlands had this to say: '*The village does not need to pay for land acquisition; the land is theirs, and you cannot buy your own property*' (interview with village chairman, 16th November, 2018). For such local public purposes, villagers often participate in establishing and maintaining wood-lots by contributing their labour in a procedure called *Maendeleo ya kijiji*, or village development, and anyone who fails to show up is hit with a financial penalty.

Organizations closer to the central state tend to acquire far larger tracts of land for investment purposes, a practice that has become important in Tanzania in recent years. In

the Southern Highlands the Tanzania Forest Service (TFS), a state agency under the Ministry of National Resources and Tourism that holds and manages forests on behalf of the state, has thus acquired three plots encompassing a total of around 17 000 hectares of village land. It sees itself as different from private investors: '*Our approach as the TFS is to acquire land from the villages, and we work more on this land that is considered public. There is very big land. So, we just take this land and make it part of the government land (…). and not allow everybody to go to individuals in the village and take pieces of land from individuals. That would be bad*' (interview with TFS official, 1st May, 2017).

Similarly, Sokoine University of Agriculture has recently acquired 10 000 hectares for tree-planting, as this is seen as a reliable source of income when government funding is unstable. The University was invited to buy the land by the Regional Commissioner, who stated that there was plenty land available in the area.

There is therefore some opacity around the rights and procedures related to such large acquisitions of land, which are often framed as important for the development of the nation. Whereas a lot of effort is made to persuade villages to allocate their land voluntarily, there is often an implicit threat of compulsory acquisition (Pedersen and Kweka, 2017). Whereas capital is not a direct part of the deal, the land is not completely free. Institutions often contribute to villages in kind, decided through negotiating procedures, often in the form of the construction of roads, school classrooms or the like: '*to acquire land you have to give something to the villages. We as TFS said we would give a gravity water project*' (interview with TFS official, 8th December, 2018). Such corporate social responsibility (CSR)-like exchanges is not necessarily finite and can be ongoing.

TFS has also started drawing up land-use plans in order to facilitate acquisitions. Typically, central government institutions seek to acquire formal title deeds.

Similarly, religious institutions have a great deal of authority embedded in people's beliefs. As a highly respected institution, churches have accumulated vast tracts of land. As authoritative organs they are rarely questioned or accused of misconduct, allowing them to enjoy the benefits of the land. Most of the land owned by these institutions is, consequently, acquired by means of allocations from village councils, gifted, in the form of shares, or bought at low prices from villagers.

Christianity prevails in most of the Southern Highlands, with the Roman Catholics taking the lead in acquiring land for tree-planting purposes. When asked how religious institutions acquire village land for tree-planting, a village chairman explained: '*Our churches don't have money to buy land, so we help them with land, just like the government does in other church issues, like importation of goods*' (interview with a village chairman, 16th November, 2018). Other denominations include Lutherans, Pentecostals and the New Life in Christ Church, all of which also own land apart from their church premises. Like the cases of land held by the village government and public schools, religious institutions too are not obliged to contribute to village development.

Finally, local village, district and religious leaders often own large tracts of village land for tree-planting purposes. Local politicians and village leaders are authoritative individuals who may not have the money to buy land from individual villagers but do have powers to influence land distribution and land transactions, which gives them a share of land plots. Their position as authorities provides a mechanism allowing them to acquire land in many villages through village allocations, and they often own large tracts. Their

knowledge about availability and prices on the land market is an additional advantage. When we asked one politician about the low prices he had paid for his land, he answered, '*I'm a home boy*', meaning that as he is a local, the prices for him cannot be the same as for outsiders. When asked about how the villagers regard him, one village chairman said, '*I am just like other villagers. I have bought land from different villagers, but villagers do not know how much land I own*' (interview with village chairman, 13th April, 2018).

Like religious organizations, religious leaders are strongly connected to villagers through shared beliefs. As such, church priests and pastors possess some authority embedded in people's beliefs, which enables them to access land at low prices (if cost is involved at all) and even receive land as offerings from believers. When asked about their motives for planting trees in a village, one pastor said, '*We are the church, we need land to plant trees that will help us run the institution without depending much on people's offerings. We don't have a branch in this village, but we think in the coming years, these people might be members of our church*' (interview with the pastor in Mafinga, 9th April, 2018).

2.9 The Typology of Domestic Investors Refined

In section 3, this article introduced a preliminary typology of domestic small- and medium-size private land investors. As demonstrated in section 4, moreover, land is acquired through various access mechanisms. Based on these findings, this section refines the typology into the model below. As should be clear, the commoditization of land does not necessarily extinguish other mechanisms of access, but rather increases their intermingling. In fact, it has been observed that the intensification of globalization has led to an upsurge in claims to autochthony, that is, a greater emphasis on localized social identity, including when it comes to accessing land (Ceuppens and Geschiere, 2005; Chauveua and Colin, 2010). This is clearly the case with resident villagers and urban-

based investors originating in the area. However, in line with Boone's findings on the effects of Tanzania's rather statist land-tenure system, our paper suggests that, although ethnicity may play a role in Tanzania, this is less explicitly the case than in many other African countries (Boone, 2015). In the Tanzanian context residence – or family residence – is key.

This points to some overlaps in the access mechanisms in Ribot and Peluso's framework that deserve further discussion in order to advance our understanding of domestic investors in the context of a land rush characterized by growing land markets and rapidly evolving land transaction practices. Thus, Ribot and Peluso make a basic distinction between 'legal/illegal access' and the other access mechanisms. However, the overlap between legality and authority as different access mechanisms is significant. In order to unpack domestic investors and develop a typology, an excessively strong focus on legality may therefore not be the most important consideration. This insight recalls research on property, which places a greater emphasis on how land is held, the rights this entails and how landholdings are sanctioned by socially legitimate institutions, rather than on legality per se (Sikor and Lund, 2009; and Lund, 2011).

This indicates the existence of an intimate relationship between land and authority. Rather than choosing between legality and legitimacy, we suggest that a more fruitful distinction analytically is between authority derived from below, and therefore linked to autochthony, and authority derived from above that is linked to more universal claims related to the state, citizenship and religion, as shown in Table 2.3 below. Thus, urban-based investors without local ties and government and religious organizations share a tendency to draw on 'universal' authority from outside the area of investment, even though one uses capital as the main access mechanism and the other only does so to a limited extent. Both tend to

formalize the land they have acquired. However, rather than treating autochthonous and universal authority as a binary, we suggest that they should be seen as the outcomes of processes of mutual transformation (Pedersen, 2012). This is especially the case in a statist land-tenure system like Tanzania's, which at the same time retains an important role for the central state in regulating land while decentralizing much control to local-level authorities (Boone and Nyeme, 2015; Pedersen, 2016).

Table 2.3: A model of land acquisition as mediated by two modes of authority

	Social identity	**Capital**
Authority from below	Resident villagers having social identity as main access mechanism.	Urban-based investors originating in the area combining social identity and capital.
Authority from above	Government and religious institutions using authority as main access mechanism.	Urban-based investors without local ties using capital as main access mechanism. Often formalized landholding.

This model depicts the different types of domestic investor as functions of different access mechanisms, there being a basic distinction between authority derived from claims to an autochthonous origin and those of a more universal nature. By authority related to claims to autochthony, we mean authority related to specific groups, which may be ethnic, class or place-specific. By authority related to claims of a more universal nature, we mean authority related to what are often perceived as modern systems, like state bureaucracies that claim to provide for the inclusion of all citizens irrespective of their origin.[5] Whereas the model refines the previous typology based on empirical findings, it stops short of developing a typological theory, which would require comparative analysis between cases in more contexts in order to test and refine the findings (George and Bennett, 2005).

[5] For inclusion and exclusion in social systems, see Luhmann 2002.

The model points to variation in how land is acquired. This is important for several reasons. First, it matters when it comes to evaluating and researching land rushes such as the present one. A main difference from the large-scale, foreign investors who received so much attention in the early land-grabbing literature is the fact that access to land for small and medium-size domestic investors in Tanzania's Southern Highlands is facilitated by the state to a lesser extent and with less use of force. Furthermore, unlike many other crop booms (Hall, 2011), it is not primarily driven by global value chains in export markets. It is a defining feature of Tanzania's timber rush that it has been a relatively autonomous process driven more by domestic and regional demand for timber products, which seems to be controlled by local and national actors.

Much investment has also taken place on land that used to be communally owned by villages, but which was often not intensively used. The rise in small- and medium-size investors therefore seems to derive just as much from the expansion of farmland as from a reduction in the amounts of land controlled by smallholders, which in Tanzania as a whole have remained largely unchanged over the land-rush period (Jayne *et al.*, 2016, p. 202). While this does not mean that vulnerable groups like pastoralists, who may have used the land for grazing previously, are not affected, it is apparent that procedures related to land-based investments have been controlled from below to a greater extent than was depicted in the early land-grab literature.

However, large-scale land acquisitions by government and religious organizations have at times involved a degree of pressure, a fact compounded by Tanzania's Land Acquisition Act of 1967, which provides particular government institutions with a great deal of discretionary power to purchase land compulsorily for development purposes. The paper

therefore also includes domestic large-scale state actors, which have re-emerged as important land-based investors in the country in recent years post-liberalization (Pedersen and Kweka, 2017). However, even in these cases much effort seems to have gone into obtaining local consent prior to the acquisition of land.

Secondly, just as motives for acquiring land are likely to differ among different types of investor, so will their investments lead to different outcomes in terms of social and economic development. Whereas investments have resulted in gains in wealth and livelihood opportunities for many, they are also associated with processes of social differentiation where some may be left worse off (Sulle, 2016). Individualizing the ownership of land limits the amount of land available for grazing the livestock of pastoralists. It is often also gendered in that women may lose access to firewood or water sources that were previously available (Giovarelli, 2009). In order to acquire a better understanding of the scale and impact of different types of investor on development and livelihood outcomes, more research is needed.

2.10 Conclusion

This paper has served the dual purpose of developing a typology of domestic investors involved in tree-planting activities in the Southern Highlands and helping improve our understanding of resource rushes elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa. It draws on a combination of a review of the literature on land rushes on the continent, empirical research into investments in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania and access theory, identifying a greater diversity of domestic investors than is often acknowledged in the literature. The paper identifies five main types of investor, namely urban-based investors, resident village investors, urban-based investors originating in the area, state and religious institutions and local leaders each of which accesses land through different combinations

of access mechanisms. In this regard, Tanzania's Southern Highlands serve as an extreme example that may shed light on similar, but less intense investment dynamics elsewhere in Tanzania and on the African continent.

By discussing the specific combinations of access mechanisms for different domestic investors, the article also develops a model depicting the different types of domestic investor as functions of different access mechanisms, with a basic distinction between authority derived from claims to autochthony and claims of a more universal nature. These points to a greater diversity among domestic investors than has often been acknowledged in the literature. One analytical implication of this is the diversified impact the different types of investor may have on local livelihoods. This also has implications for the regulation of land markets and land transactions. Whereas a great deal of attention has been paid to limiting and governing large-scale investors, small and medium-size transactions have received less attention. Similarly, the ways in which state and religious organizations acquire land have received limited attention. However, given that the scale of the latter may far exceed that of land acquired by foreign actors, their impact on local livelihoods may be no less profound. More attention needs to be paid to the regulation of these different types of transaction.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 VILLAGES FOR SALE: TRANSACTIONS OF VILLAGE LANDS FOR TIMBER INVESTMENTS IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS OF TANZANIA

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Abstract

Agricultural transformation is taking place in Sub Sahara African countries. While large-scale foreign investments have received much attention, there is much less research on domestically driven land acquisitions and social differentiation. As a strategy of achieving the development vision 2025, the government of Tanzania has called for agricultural related investments in her idle village lands. Along other forms of investments, affinity for timber and forest resources paved the way for investors to acquire masses of village lands for tree planting. The international investors are not alone, as alongside are the emerging

domestic investors who acquire significant amount of land from smallholders. Since land transactions contravene legitimate procedures, this qualitative case study employs classical theory of primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession to show how transactions happen, drivers of land selling and the outcomes of tree planting surge to rural communities. I demonstrate several interlinked practices of land transfer, legal and illegal land transactions, and the role of middlemen as promoters of such land trades. I further describe the impacts associated with village land transactions including the reduced access to land among villagers. Land transactions are mediated by the existing land laws that are virtually ineffective, leading to rising rural capitalism, intensified rural difficulties, social insecurity, social differentiation, deprivation and social conflicts. I argue that the on-going tree planting activities and the rush for village land need to be controlled or rather stopped to manage the impending destitute conditions. The tree planting activities should be inclusive to revitalize equitable rural development and prosperity.

Key words: Village land, tree planting, land transactions, domestic investors, villagisation, *Mahame.*

3.1 Introduction

Agricultural transformation, which is taking place across Sub-Saharan African countries, manifests changes in both land-use and land-tenure arrangements (Franco and Borras, 2012). Major drivers of this transformation has been multinational investments in agricultural production for food, bio fuels, forests and landscapes conservation for biodiversity, and carbon sequestration (Franco and Borras, 2012). Tree planting for timber production has also been increasingly one of the frontiers in the current transformation, driven by increasing demand for timber, among other things.

Tanzania is one of the countries that have been registering a marked increase in investments in timber plantations. Rather than being driven by multinational capital or domestic integrated timber industries, much of this transformation is considered to be driven by private domestic investors (Jayne *et al.,* 2016; Lusasi *et al.,* 2020). Such investments are converting and formalizing customary held individual and communal lands into statutory recognized private lands while changing land-use from grazing and crop cultivation into forest plantations. While literature on land grabbing has often focused on large-scale processes with multinational investors (Locher and Sulle, 2013; Nolte *et al.,* 2016), the timber farming investments in Tanzania are over sighted because they are small-scale and dominated by under the radar domestic investors (Hilhorst *et al.,* 2011; Sitko and Jayne, 2014; Anseeuw *et al.,* 2016; Jayne *et al.,* 2016). There are three categories of public land in Tanzania: general land, reserved and village land (URT, 1999b). The general land is part of the public land that is not reserved or village land, and according to the Land Act (URT, 1999a), it includes unoccupied or unused village land. The management and hence acquisition of general land for investment if governed by the Land Act (URT, 1999a). Thus land acquisition by large-scale foreign investments follow formal channels and processes prescribed by the Land Act and other related legal provisions at the national level (Zoomers, 2010). The reserved land refers to areas set aside for conservation including but not limited to forests, national parks, conservation areas, marine parks also public recreation grounds and highways. The village land is land within the boundaries of a village as registered in accordance with the provisions of section 22 Local Government District Authorities Act Cap 287 (URT, 1999b). The management and hence acquisition of village land for investment is administered by the Village Land Act (URT, 1999b). Thus, domestically driven smaller-scale investments follow the processes provided in the Village Land Act, which among other things,

recognises the customary tenure and less formal land transactions that involve only local officials, if any at all.

Available literature is limited on information and knowledge concerning domestic investors; who they are, where do they come from, what are the drivers for land transactions, the scale, pace, process, and impacts of these investments. The analysis on land holdings by scholars (e.g. Anseeuw *et al.,* 2016; Jayne *et al.,* 2016) found that the majority of medium scale agricultural investors are urban-based investors hence they are classified as part time farmers with major investments in urban areas. It is unclear how these investments affect the targeted rural settings in terms of changing land tenure, land use, production, labour opportunities, and associated development processes. In this paper, I analyse the acquisition of village lands through conversion from customary tenure and communal ownership to private woodlots, drivers of land transactions, and the impacts thereof of these transaction on rural communities. Since the aim of these land acquisitions is mainly the establishment of tree plantations for commercial purposes, it is important therefore, to have an overview of tree planting in Tanzania.

3.1.1 Tree planting surge and alienation of village land

The current rush for land for tree planting is a result of not only economic liberalization policies of 1980s and market friendly land reforms of 1990s (Pedersen, 2016), but it is also a result of other reasons including high commodity price rise of 2007/08 (Deininger and Byerlee, 2011). This fuelled land demands to address some of the global challenges such as tree planting as moral economy (Olwig *et al.,* 2015), increasing social differentiation among Tanzanians with the observed growth of middle class urban society and shortage of timber supply at national and regional levels (Ngaga, 2011).

Large-scale foreign investors of tree planting include New Forest Company (NFC) with extensive operations in Kilolo District, Green Resources Ltd (GRL) operating in Mufindi District; Kilombero Valley Teak Company (KVTC) of Kilombero District and Tanzania Wattle Company (TANWAT) in Njombe (Ngaga, 2011). Others include, the UK based Forest Development Trust (FDT), the Finnish Private Forest Programme (PFP) from Finland, whose initiatives specifically promote the planting of pine and eucalyptus in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Unlike the large-scale investors, PFP does not invest in its own plantations, but like other large-scale investors, PFP employs extension officers for field visits and disseminate knowledge to tree growers, conducts land use plan and hence facilitate land acquisition for tree planting, provides training in tree planting requirements, and donates seedlings and equipment, which are necessary in sustaining forest plantations.

Foreign large-scale investors and support programs have been a game changer of tree planting surge from 2009 involving domestic investors of non-industrial tree planting in village lands of Southern Highlands Tanzania (Chachage and Baha, 2010). A report from PFP (2017) showed that, tree planting by domestic investors is significant and surpassed the planted area of both state and foreign large-scale plantations combined. Nevertheless, this report accounts only for the registered woodlots whose land acquisitions were sanctioned by the prevailing land laws, but in practice land acquisition for tree planting also occurs through informal processes, as shall be seen.

3.1.2 Theoretical framework

There is an extensive research describing large-scale land acquisition practices in the global south post commodity boom 2007/8 termed -land grabbing- as pioneered by investors from the global north (Zoomers, 2010; Deininger and Byerlee, 2011; Li, 2011;

de Schutter, 2011; Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012; Borras and Franco, 2012; Cotula, 2012; Locher and Sulle, 2013; Bluwstein *et al.*, 2018). The land grabbing also known as a 'new scramble' for African agricultural land (Moyo and Yeros, 2011) involves alienation of public and communal land for private use, resulting in restricted access for and displacement of local populations. Other words used to explain the processes include primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession, accumulation by displacement, dispossession by displacement, accumulation by encroachment, accumulation by denial, primitive accumulation by dispossession, dispossession by accumulation (Hall, 2013) also accumulation by rural dispossession (Bluwstein *et al.*, 2018). The associated impacts of these processes include the creation of enclosures, commoditization, privatization of land, and the creation of a capitalist social relation.

Although the study draws from specific experiences of Marx and Harvey, I acknowledge the events of accumulation and hence dispossessions in the Southern Highlands to be similar but not the same in the context of both time, space and nature of events to those of the global north (Levien, 2018). The Marx's primitive accumulation of the 19th Century involved the then growing industrial societies in Europe, usurping large lands from peasantry communities turning the landless into labourers. Similarly, Harvey's accumulation by dispossession focuses on privatization of different things including large-scale lands in the global north. The Tanzanian Southern Highlands case is a similar in a way that vast areas of land are appropriated and expropriated not as industrial conglomerates, but as multitudes of small parcels of individual investors, the aggregates of which amounts to a big land grab.

According to Harvey, accumulation by dispossession involves displacement of peasant populations, converting family land into agribusiness, and the formation of landless

people who succumb to giving up their lands to capitalists (Harvey, 2003). Harvey describes accumulation by dispossession as an outcome of the created crisis that “prey upon low income families,” taking away their assets and resources that would probably relieve their poverty conditions. Such appropriations involve loss of resources such as land and houses as in the flipping house markets of the US (Harvey, 2003). The system allows reinvestment of surplus capital; such investments are backed up by the state powers to enter the non-capitalist environment. As such, capital is invested using cheaper inputs such as labour, raw materials, and low cost land.

When analyzing the land grabbing phenomenon of 2007/8, Borras and Franco explained the process of land acquisition for food production, energy, and climate crises as accumulation by dispossession (Borras and Franco, 2012). The land grab was so coined due to the engagement of the global north to the global south. This involved multinational companies rather than individuals. The acquisition and hence access to land by domestic investors and expropriation by government agencies such as the Tanzania Forest Services for tree planting in the Southern Highlands (Lusasi *et al.,* 2020) is an epitome of both the primitive accumulation of the past (Moyo and Yeros, 2011). It is also an epitome of the accumulation by dispossession of the land grabbing era, with differences in the scale of operations (Bluwstein *et al.,* 2018). The land transactions that are dominated by domestic investors in terms of both individuals and institutions create enclosures leading to the dispossession of the locals.

Land grabbing has been a vehicle for differentiation, dispossession, and poverty escalation in the global capitalist system. The analysis by Li (2011) showed that, the investments in large-scale agriculture in Indonesia and Sub Saharan Africa did not lead to poverty alleviation neither did it reduce unemployment. Li showed that an individual working well

in his/her own farm had more yields in cash than an employee to a large scale agricultural investment, hence, the author recommended for the rejection of programs that dispossess land from among the local communities for the promised benefits such as employments (Li, 2011). Similarly, Moyo and Yeros (2011) asserted that the scramble for agricultural land and land tenure changes promoted by the neoliberal policies have significant negative impacts on livelihoods especially of women who in most cases play a leading role in the social reproduction of the households. Although the scholars' assessment was on large scale and at global level, the outcomes and impacts of numerous small scale land deals referred to as "amalgamation of smaller parcels" (Batterbury and Ndi, 2018) might be similar at a local level.

In Africa, most of the foreign land deals are regarded as the opportunity for ill-gotten wealth. Such deals require facilitation of local leaders, government authorities and local elites who seek to benefit from the deals (Woodhouse, 2012; Ahmed *et al.*, 2018). Thus, a wide range of drivers of land alienation takes the advantage of the hegemony's pace for investments geared development.

In the following section, I describe how land deals and land based investments called as a strategy of bringing economic development end up aggravating poverty among the rural communities. Substantial scholarly works are cited to undermine the strategy, proposing ownership of assets such as land as one of the best poverty reduction strategy.

3.1.3 Land deals and rural development

African economy is built in rural areas where many people live. It is from the rural areas where investors enter into many lands deals with expectations of transforming rural lives in one way or the other. Rural areas of Tanzania are also among the poor areas

accommodating 70 per cent of the population (Brockington *et al.,* 2018). The main economic activity is agriculture on land that is a "life line" asset (de Schutter, 2011), which is also important for identity.

Large scale land acquisitions are said to be a catalyst for poverty reduction through employments, contract farming, technology transfer and provision of infrastructure in rural areas (Ahmed *et al.,* 2019). However, there is scepticism in literatures hypothesizing that, large scale land deals are one of the reasons for accelerated poverty and dwindling of food production (Hilhorst *et al.,* 2011; Locher and Müller-Böker, 2014; Locher, 2016). In some cases, national frameworks, public policies, and legislations that direct public spending in farm inputs and farm outputs have been a fulcrum for the rising domestic investor groups. Such blunt frameworks benefit investors than they do to rural populations, which intensifies differentiation[6] (Sitko and Jayne, 2014).

Like other non-renewable resources, land is an endangered resource, which goes into extinction when mismanaged (URT, 1994). The Tanzania's Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 recognize both deemed and granted rights to land, they also allow for the conversion of land tenure from customary to granted right title, the later is protected by statutory laws. Unlike domestic investors (termed elsewhere as "urban big men") who purchase land from villagers, smallholders do not apply for granted right of occupancy alleged to involve cadastral costs, lack of consent of elders and other bureaucracies (Sitko and Jayne, 2014). Through their economic, political, and social environment (coupled by the intensified land demand for investments), the urban big men motivate villagers to cede their customary lands. Although most of the purchased land is aimed at opening new

[6] Formation of two social classes, the poor and non-poor, or high class and low class

investment fields, the dwindling of crop production in some areas of Africa explains the flaws of such inventions (Chapoto *et al.*, 2013).

3.1.4 History of lands management in Tanzania

In Tanzania, land management -use and control- is described in three distinct periods, pre colonial, colonial, and postcolonial/independence periods. The distinction is much obvious between pre colonial and the later duo periods due to some inherited tenure of the colonial period by the independent government.

In the pre-colonial era, land was communally owned, accessible by everyone; it was thus regarded as a necessary tool for earning a living. Thus, it was the clan leaders and chiefs who arranged for security and use of land, which was regarded an ad infinitum resource. When referring to the pre-colonial Africans' the perception on land, one of the founders of Tanzania said that, *'To us in Africa land was always recognized as belonging to the community. Each individual within our society had the right to the use of the land, because otherwise he could not earn a living and one cannot have the right to life without also having the right to some means of maintaining life'* (Nyerere, 1968, in Rwegasira, 2012). Thus, the colonial period changed people's perception on land and so was for its management.

The colonial period started with land management reforms that involved suppression of native law and customs governing land and established tenure systems that enabled them to occupy land; as put by Rwegasira, *'Colonial occupation could not be possible without land'* (Rwegasira, 2012). As such, land was put under the crown, which necessitated confiscation of land from chiefdom and communal ownership leaving the indigenous with little or no rights to land. The colonialists introduced tenure systems that controlled who

can access or own land, dictating who can use, what to produce, and how to use the land (Haulle, 2015). The colonial system introduced three types of land tenure, some of which are superior to the others: the granted right of occupancy also called leasehold was given to land users at a definite period and it is applicable to date. The second, is customary right, which is also called indigenous or the deemed right of occupancy; this is the indefinite period of land use but subject to revocation at any time as deemed fit by the authorities. The third is freehold tenure, which is indefinite until the death of the occupant (for life estate) or the death of the heirs (for free simple and free tail) when such tenure is reclaimed to the crown (Rwegasira, 2012). The freehold tenure was objected by Tanzania immediately after independence.

At independence, the government retained the colonial status that all land in Tanzania is public, vested under the President as a trustee. Although the independence was much on political sovereignty, the outcome went further to revoking some systems of natural resources management including land and forests. The government made efforts to discourage private ownership of land, reverting to communal ownership system of pre-colonial period. Several campaigns and political statements insisting on public ownership of land were conducted. The Kiswahili slogans ‘Ardhi ni mali’ which means land is wealth, and another ‘Ardhi ni mali ya Taifa’ meaning that, land is a national property, insisted that no individual citizen can own land. In practice, the independent government embarked on nationalization of land and land resources. In a way, the government retained the granted right of occupancy and customary tenure, with the former being protected by statutory laws while the later depicted as vulnerable (Shivji, 1996). In order to strengthen tenure systems, the Commission of Inquiry for Land Matters proposed to do away with radical titles on public land. instead the land was divided into two categories; village land vested to village assembly and national land vested under the Board of Land

Commissioner responsible for the National Land Commission (URT, 1994; Coldham, 1995), the proposals that were rejected hence retained the vulnerability of village lands.

According to the village land Act No. 5 of 1999, a village has three types of land; a communal land, which is occupied and used or available for occupation and use by the community and the public (URT, 1999b). The law prescribes that communal village land shall remain for use of the commons and shall not be available for individual uses or transferred to personal access through customary or granted right of occupancy[7]. Another type of village land is the land occupied or used by an individual, a family, or a group of people under customary law. This includes the land where the family uses for subsistence, and has the right of inheritance from one generation to another through the existing customary laws. The third type is land under the control of the village government; this is the land, which the village government can transfer to the needy.

Although the colonial purpose for centring land governance was purely political economy with the motives of state backed natural resources exploitation (Shivji, 1996), the Tanzanian government used this as a control strategy of deciding who and when one can be granted access. It is understandable beyond doubt that rural communities with high illiteracy and poverty can hardly object government proposals and political interests on village lands and this has been the practice (see the aftermath of Operation Vijiji in Shivji, 1996). The dominant land tenure systems; customary and granted right of occupancy, operate at spatial differences with the former being dominant in rural areas where land is plenty and the later in urban and peri-urban areas where land is limited. In this respect,

[7] This village land type does not exist as *Mahame* as described on the findings section below. It is constricted to government assets such as schools, public offices, health centers, markets, public gatherings such as pubs and other areas for similar social services. These areas are already limited from expansion as all contiguous lands are individualized and covered by woodlots.

rural communities were (and still are) entitled to the customary right of occupancy. Although recognized by the laws, the customary tenure is not protected, easily eroded, and revoked by the state or government bureaucrats. Thus, it was common for the government through her political leaders and party cadres to dispossess land from rural communities for reasons called 'public interest' (Haulle, 2015), the dispossession that include forced resettlement for Ujamaa villages of 1970s.

The formation of Ujamaa villages followed Arusha declaration of 1967 that envisioned Tanzanian peasants constituting 95 per cent of the population living in dispersed vicinities to come, live, and work together for the good of all (McHenry, 1981). This kind of family hood life involved making difficult decisions including foregoing one's own customary land, something which majority could not afford. Thus, the government employed forced eviction to implement the Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975 that resettled millions of peasants and agro pastoralists to newly established Ujamaa villages, the operation named *Operesheni Sogeza Vijiji* (Operation Villagization) (Shivji, 1996). Such a coercive operation, which somehow undermined the security of tenure, made people abandon their lucrative lands now referred to as '*Mahame*[8]', which were used to sustain their livelihood and created the state of economic development that prevailed. At that time, the population was small; households were afar, each owning hundreds of acres of potential land for cultivation, grazing, and inheritance to children, next of kin, and sojourners.

The *Mahame* were used in one way or another for shifting cultivation and grazing before the *Operesheni Sogeza Vijiji*, which unlawfully sent villagers away from their customary lands. To sustain the lives of the victimized, the government allocated a maximum of four

[8] *Mahame* is the land where ancestors of current village people lived before they were forced to abandon during the villagisation of 1970-76 on the so-called Operation Sogeza Vijiji.

acres of land to each household in the new villages; the plots popularly known as *bega kwa bega*, meaning shoulder by shoulder because the plots from different families were contiguous to each other and people were motivated to work together as one family[9]. After the evictions, some of the *Mahame* were expropriated by government parastatals to serve for the national interest, while vast areas of land were left idle.

Such evictions were not smooth. As a sign of dissatisfaction to the operation, some villagers rebound to *Mahame* for socioeconomic activities, while some resisted the expropriation, which led to land use conflicts between government parastatals and local communities. The most widely reported of such conflicts by then was the conflict between Barbaig agro pastoralist community of the Hanang District in Arusha versus the National Agriculture and Food Corporation NAFCO (Shivji, 1996).

Unlike the earlier expropriation and alienation of village lands for public interests that led to different forms of conflicts, the current land transactions although with similar impacts, are between willing sellers and willing buyers, smallholders and domestic investors respectively. Although the two groups are at such an economic imbalance, it was not known what drives or facilitates their business interactions, how land transactions for tree planting occur, and the impacts of the same to the local communities.

3.2 Methodology

This study was conducted in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, which is rich in volcanic soils with annual rainfall of between 900mm and 950mm and low temperatures

[9] In the Southern Highlands, such a spirit was named *'Mgowe'* where a family whose turn for community farming arrives, prepares food (normally *'Kande'*, which is maize grains cooked with beans) and local beer (normally *'Komoni'* made of fermented maize and sorghum common in dry season or bamboo juice, commonly *'Ulanzi'*).

of 14^0C-21^0C. These characteristics allow for the cultivation of coffee, tea, pyrethrum, also pine, and eucalyptus trees.

The information on tree planting, accessibility of land, land management, the source of seedlings, investor groups, and local communities' perception on tree planting is generally scant. Initial discussions with the District Forest Officers (DFOs) helped this study to determine villages of intense tree planting, land transactions, and possible impacts of the investments on the communities' welfare. As such, a case study design (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Kumar, 2011) was chosen to explore and derive holistic understanding of drivers, processes, and impacts of land transactions for tree planting. Although similarities outweigh differences between regions, the qualitative study concentrated at Isaula and Ifinga villages of Mufindi and Songea Districts of Iringa and Ruvuma regions respectively. The selection of Isaula and Ifinga was purposive due to rampant tree planting, land transactions and diversity of investor groups.

A qualitative approach was adopted as it allows an in depth and multifaceted exploration of unknown or complex situation like timber farming in village land, hence construct a description about land sellers themselves, history of land ownership, reasons for and impacts of land transactions as well as expectations from land sales and other life plans related to land businesses (Pessoa *et al.*, 2019). Since land transaction is a sensitive issue, it was not easy to embark directly on interviews without familiarizing with the villagers especially land sellers. Hence the early days of data collection (4 days) were spent in discussions with village leaders who assisted in orientating the villagers on the study; this helped to build some trust and confidence for villagers to participate in the study (Kumar, 2011).

To get knowledge of the village settings, village land, land transactions, land sellers, and activities on the sold and bought/leased land, I first visited village offices where the Village Council meets. The village Council is the lowest government authority that has the duty of administering village land. Their roles include witnessing land transactions between willing-sellers and willing-buyers; communicate the consent of village assembly to the District Council on transfers of large amounts of land. They also ensure that land transfers do not hamper access to land by marginalized groups and women (URT, 1999). Through Focus Group Discussions (FGD), the village leaders were able to estimate the scale and pace of land transactions in villages, but admitted on the existence of notable flaws including illegal land businesses as explained later in this study. Land sellers included villagers and village governments that had transferred their customary right of occupancy to other individuals or institutions through monetary exchange of willing-seller willing-buyer systems or land lease.

A purposive and snowballing method was used to identify land sellers. Few names on documented transactions were obtained from the village registry while others were identified through domestic investors and through intermediaries. Using these sampling methods, ten (10) individual land sellers were interviewed. For triangulation purposes, other five (5) Village leaders of Ifinga, Usokami, Kibengu, Mapanda, and Lugolofu villages were interviewed. Thus, much of the data were collected through in-depth interviews with Key Informants (KIIs), land sellers and middlemen who facilitate the land deals. Secondary data, which mostly involved records of land sells at the village registry were accessed and triangulated with verbal data from interview respondents.

I spent eight months for data collection, from October 2017 to May 2018 (with some short breaks). This enabled me to make observations of practices on land transactions. The

interview tool consisted of a checklist of guiding questions on land transactions while the actual interview was a normal conversation in Kiswahili language with the interviewees with probing questions that filled the information gaps that emerged. All interviews were audio recorded after seeking consent from the respective respondents. The recorded audio scripts were later transcribed verbatim.

3.2.1 Findings

In this section, I provide the empirics including the general practices of land transactions in Isaula village in the Southern Highlands. I describe both push and pull factors for land transactions followed by the outcomes or impacts of these transactions to local communities.

3.2.2 Transaction of customary land

Following the villagization of 1970s, the lands given by the government to each household in the nucleated villages were small and limited; hence, most of the families sustained their connection with *Mahame* for several reasons including agriculture, grazing, and settlements and for rituals such as burial ceremonies. This was possible because the evicted families did not abandon their customary lands, but kept some connections as indicated in this extract, *"After moving to a new village, we were allowed to go for farming in Mahame. But others had their Mahame far from the new homes, they could not go for farming and return to new homes on the same day, hence parents stayed in Mahame and children stayed in the new village"* (An elder during FGD at Isaula, 29th March, 2018). Most of these families kept cattle, which required vast land to graze throughout the year without getting into conflict with other land users; this is one of the reasons for some clans to claim ownership of hundreds of hectares of *Mahame* today. So

far, *Mahame* is the largest part of village land where individuals and Village Councils depend for welfare.

There are rampant land transactions for tree planting on long-standing *Mahame* land and croplands. Some of the transactions involve large tracts of land of more than 20 hectares a ceiling of amount an individual person can hold land in villages. These are transferred unrecorded in the village registry hence and without the consent of both, Village Council and Village Assembly. Although most of these transactions involve monetary exchange of assets, some involve transfer of rights through social arrangements between families, relatives, friends and acquaintances, and in some cases, some public and private institutions mediate the transactions.

3.3 Processes of Land Transactions: a case of Isaula Village

Isaula village with a size of 6787 hectares has most of her land under tree planting investments, which came into force in 2011 long before the village had established her land use plan that came in 2017. My arrival to the village in 2017 was a revelation to the village government on surreptitious land transactions between smallholders and domestic investors[10]. Up to May 2018, more than five hundred hectares of village land were transferred to 97 non-resident and 16 village residents investors[11] and the transactions were still going on. Although some of the transactions are documented at the village council level, most of the transactions are unrecorded and the motives for land transfer by smallholders concealed.

[10] Most of the transactions took place between sellers and buyers without witnesses from the village authorities, which made it difficult for the leaders to immediately tell the amount of village land under private investors of tree planting, until when they saw a list of land sellers and buyers as prepared by the researcher from interviews with land sellers.

[11] Out of 97 non-village investors, 61 reported to have acquired 576 hectares. 36 investors did not disclose the amount of land acquired. Similarly, out of 16 resident villagers, 9 disclosed while 7 did not disclose the amount of land acquired.

Land has become such a lucrative commodity that people disregard the law when arranging for its transaction. When asked where and how do domestic investors get land, the respondent said, *"All land is acquired from individuals. Some people (mentioning some few names) do not live here anymore; they migrated long ago, but now they come here silently to sell what they claim to be their customary land and go"* (KII Isaula village on 16th October, 2017). Although land laws direct the Village Council to administer and witness land transactions (URT, 1999), Isaula land committee complained of being disregarded by land sellers. When asked on how the village council mediate land deals, a leader gave a statement that *"Not all land businesses are known or reported. Some people transfer their land surreptitiously"* (Village leader Isaula, 16th October, 2017). In this respect, corruption and bribes have been reported to be playing a great role in facilitating unregistered land transactions, although the buyers get full benefits from the land. Other irregularities that lead to unreported land deals include land theft, where some family members sell family land without the consent of elders or other family members.

However, others respondents had a different opinion regarding land-selling deals. The findings from interview revealed that land is important than the money gotten from selling it. This reality has been a source of family feuds, as this respondent (27yrs) said, *"This family already experience land scarcity. My uncle and my father are not talking to each other because of land businesses."* (Interview at Isaula 18th October, 2017). Destitution forces people into selling their land.

The general observed trend was while fathers would usually push for land selling to domestic investors, while children and wives would be against the practice, condemning it as a source of future troubles to the family.

When asked for the opinion on the rampant land transactions, a young respondent said, *"This is not good practice. If our grandfathers were involved in land businesses like this, could we get a chance of seeing these mountains"?* (Interview at Isaula 18th October, 2017). According to this respondent, the fact that grandfathers did not sell land has made them better today, and that their fathers' selling of land today would have negative implications later in life especially for the young generations.

The factors compelling smallholders of Isaula to sell land can be grouped into internal survival strategies described as push factors and external pull factors that relate to promotional activities for tree planting.

3.3.1 Internal motivation (push factors)

The internal motivations also referred to as push factors are a collection of processes through which smallholders cede land parcels to domestic investors. Although some sales are predominantly for emergency reasons, other sales relate to other compounding reasons including rural elites playing a great role in exerting pressure to sellers to transfer land holdings. Vermin such as monkeys are also reported to compel smallholders into surrendering croplands to tree growers especially when such croplands are surrounded by tree plantations. The other notable push factor for land transfers though not covered in the current study is land and land use conflicts among individual villagers and between villagers and investors.

3.3.1.1 Rural elites and the transactions of the commons

Rich people of the village and local leaders are involved in acquiring land from poor smallholders in the exchange of a service or support they provided, including food, some

cash to pay necessary bills and similar courses. It is common for rural elites to rent land from smallholders for crop production and poor renters hired as casual labourers called "vibarua" (day workers in Kiswahili). Such renting for croplands is contiguous to village centres. The demand for timber encourage these rural elites to plant trees in rented lands, which eventually compel the landowners to sell. The successful trade of such croplands and *Mahame* engendered some of the smallholders landless. While explaining the challenges of land transactions for tree planting, one of the key informant said, *"For example, Mr. Ngonzi started selling his farms bit by bit, now he has sold all his farms and his house; he has moved his family to Makambako. He has no place in this village…"* (Interview at Isaula village, 16th October, 2017). This is similar with the observation from Usokami village where, upon been asked whether tree planting was the reason of landlessness of some people, the key informant had this to say, *"Yes. There are people who are landless today but they had enough land before the tree-planting surge. They sold all the land to tree growers who are now landed people. Those who sold land are the poorest now; they don't have any kind of capital"* (Interview at Usokami village, 19th March, 2019).

The less wealthy villagers may cede land to settle debts incurred at times of stress; this was reported by land seller whose family members fell sick at Isaula Village *"I borrowed some money from him (mentioned the name of investor) to go to hospital. When I could not pay back in time, I asked him if he could take land instead. So, I gave him twelve acres,"* (Interviewed on 18th October, 2018). The value of land involved in such exchange is unequal to the amount of money received, which forces the sellers to sell more land to raise enough money. When others sell land to meet social obligations, others cede land in exchange with food for feeding their families. When asked to comment on land sales on exchange with food, an investor said, *"Someone sees better to eat today. He doesn't*

remember tomorrow" (Interview at Isaula on 13th April, 2018). The investor commented further that, rampant land transfers in the village was a bad thing saying that, *"land is not expanding but our families are expanding. When land is finished here, where are they going to stay"*? Thus, among other interpretations, land transactions are perceived as an unfortunate development to smallholders. Land transactions have made domestic investors (including village leaders and other elites and immigrants) land rich while the natives (old men and their families who sell land) landless.

Another push factor is caused by development organizations that seek to promote tree planting. PFP for instance went into agreement with village governments to conduct Village Land Use Plan (VLUP) that would set aside land for tree planting; such investments are beneficial only to tree growers and PFP. Participating villages had to agree with ceding a minimum of five hundred (500) acres for tree planting by villagers who formed Tree Growers Associations (TGAs), which was recognized and supported by PFP. Interested villagers were supposed to contribute cadastral fees of up to TZS 20 000. With this amount, each individual could obtain a maximum of two (2) acres, to avoid too much land on few hands, and the surplus could form part of the village investments. It is through land distribution by Village Councils that led to the establishment of TGAs that are widely spread in the villages of the Southern Highlands. Since this type of transaction was strict for villagers, some non-villagers investors made deals with villagers who could not afford the cadastral money. These "foreigners" gave such villagers money for cadastral costs, acquiring some acres of land as theirs. Thus, they received seedlings from PFP, planted trees according to the guidelines of PFP and then surrendered the woodlot to the foreigner. Furthermore, since two acres from the village government had formalized boundaries and each individual villager is responsible for his/her woodlot, some villagers

turned the two acres into a good commodity for sell as young woodlots, creating a room for more domestic investors.

3.3.1.2 Distress selling

As captured in few previous examples, land sales are done to respond to immediate family needs, which become demanding due to income poverty. These include catering for health expenses, children's education, marriage ceremonies, constructions, and change of agricultural fields. Thus, the need for money to facilitate livelihood strategies that pushes the rampant land transfers.

Rural communities are faced with different situations that need financial support to overcome. When asked on the motivation of selling land, a poor old man (80 years) said, *"My son was very sick, I wanted to take him to hospital. There was no alternative to get money, so I sent people to tell (mentioning the name of the buyer[12]) that I am selling land"* (An interview with a land seller at Isaula 18th October, 2017). In another interview, the seller had the following to say,

> "*I got a problem, my son was sick. In the processes of looking for money to take him to hospital, I met someone from Kiyowela (next village) who told me that (mentioning the domestic investor) needs land for planting trees, so if I have a piece of land then I should follow him. That's how it was, I met the buyer and we agreed and he gave me the money*" (interview at Isaula Village on 20th October, 2017).

On another interview, land was sold to create income to improve livelihoods as explained by the seller when asked why he sold the 3rd plot. "*This was 2016 when I needed to*

[12] A businessman one of the big (in terms of financial capital) domestic investors of tree planting in Mufindi and Njombe Districts.

construct a house for my family. The house is not built yet, but under the process. I have already prepared 3000 burned bricks, I have also bought 2 cows, I have bought timber and 25 iron sheets for roofing" (Interview at Isaula village on 24th October, 2017). Education related matters too are a reason for selling land at Isaula village. The old man who sold all *Mahame* to investors of tree planting claimed school fees was a push factor saying that, *"I had orphans in secondary school. I was supposed to pay for their school fees. So I notified the village council of my intent to sell the land to cater for such fees"* (Interview at Isaula village on 24th October, 2017). As long as income poverty prevails and demand for timber sustains, land selling will be an immediate alternative until when it is finished.

Although selling of bare land is a common practice, some people sell land with young woodlots from 2 to 6 years old to tackle social problems. Although different from expectations, most of the woodlot sellers consider tree-planting investment as taking too long to realize benefits. Since it is difficult to get people who could buy only trees and give back the land after harvest, the sellers cede both the land with trees at prices similar to the price of a bare land[13]. Explaining why people sell young trees of 4 years instead of waiting for harvesting time, the seller said, *"My father want to pay bills for my young brothers who are in secondary school and one graduate who wants to join National service"* (Interview at Isaula 22nd March, 2019). Another seller exchanged his 6 acres of 4 years pine trees with a new motorbike worthy TZS 2 000 000. The motorbike was needed mainly to serve for self-transportation and for business popularly known as 'bodaboda'. The sum of investment costs for 6 acres of pine trees and the management costs incurred

[13] Previously, people used to sell standing trees, of which buyer would keep the land with trees to harvesting then returned the land to the owner. The practice proved risky because some land owners forced repossession of land by deliberately setting the woodlots into fire pretending to be accidental fires. Thus people no longer buy trees alone, but with its land.

for four years worthy more than TZS 2 000 000, which is the cost of a motorbike. Thus, the benefits are skewed to the domestic investor.

3.3.1.3 Vermin

Vermin such as monkeys are common in Southern Highlands and are a part of conflicts with peasants of maize, cereals, sorghum, and legumes as common crops. When grown near plantations forests, the crops are always at risk of being destroyed by monkeys, posing a significant loss of harvests. When asked about the challenges facing tree growers in the village of investment, a domestic investor (54 years) cited the clashes between smallholders and tree growers over monkeys as long standing and that the current situation is less tense than it was in the past. He said, *"I arrived here in 1993 and started planting trees in 1997. By then tree growers were few because villagers accused tree growers as being the agents of monkeys* (Interview with domestic investor, 24th November 2017). Villagers did whatever possible to drive away monkeys including hunting them to death or setting forests on fire to destroy monkeys' habitats. There was great enmity between smallholders and tree growers. *"Woodlots were consumed by fires that were set deliberately by smallholders to eradicate trees and monkeys. I am the victim of this. So, I stopped planting until recently when almost every piece of land in the village had trees although we still lose our trees to fires"* (Interview with domestic investor, 24th November, 2017).

Monkeys are considered as a source of conflict between contrasting agricultural practices in the neighbouring fields, that is, domestic investors against smallholders. Always the smallholders accuse the domestic investors for 'harbouring' monkeys.

3.3.2 External motivation (pull factors)

3.3.2.1 Donor funded initiatives PFP, FDT, GRL, NFC

The speed of tree planting by domestic investors and hence rampant land transactions became common practice on the wake of tree planting promotion carried out by International initiatives. These include, the Finnish PFP in Iringa and Njombe regions, the UK based NFC operating in Kilolo District, the Norwegian GRL operating in Mufindi District, and the UK supported FDT in Iringa and Njombe regions. Some of these initiatives donate seedlings of both pine and eucalyptus trees to local communities, thus encouraging land transactions boom for tree planting. Due to endurance of trees to maturity, and due to lack of alternative sources of household income for the rural poor, most of these donor-supported woodlots are sold with young trees to domestic investors. As such, the impact and net benefits of such investments are more by the investors than they do by the intended rural communities.

3.3.2.2 The role of middlemen also called 'dalali' in Kiswahili

The middlemen also called 'dalali' are influential people on land and tree planting business transactions. Their social network in and outside the village is significantly strong that most of non-resident domestic investors access land and village authorities through them. There are six (five resident and one non-resident) middlemen facilitating land deals in Isaula village. When asked about their role to tree planting investments, one of the middlemen said, *"I know the people who sell land and those who have vast land. So if someone wants to buy land, I link him to the seller."* When asked on the benefit he gets by doing that he said, *"My commission is 20 percent for each acre of land purchased…I take commission from both the seller and the buyer, but with special agreements with sellers"* (Interview with middlemen at Isaula village on 20th November, 2017). Their control of information on land availability, land prices, land sellers, and land buyers make them significant contributors of village land transactions and dispossession of villagers from their village land.

Some of the middlemen are domestic investors with large areas of village land with trees. Their knowledge bank on land prices, land sellers, and capital accumulation from other transactions mediations gives them an upper hand as rural elites who facilitate villagers' estrangement from their land and consolidating rural stratification. When asked how much land he owns, a middleman said, *"I have more than 100 acres of land in different villages, and until now I have planted 67 acres"* (Interview with middleman at Lugolofu village on 16th November, 2018). Middlemen mediate land transactions between strangers, that is, non-resident domestic investors and villagers.

3.4 Deprivation of Village Land

Alongside domestic investors is the large-scale foreign investor Mufindi Paper Mill (MPM) that through the support from the Central Government of Tanzania has expropriated 2900 hectares of village land for tree planting. It worth noting that, within 2900 hectares, there are seventy one (71) households that will remain homeless and losing their cattle, farms, bamboo trees, trees, cemetery and other settlement related properties. There will no longer be burial places on that land though villagers might visit their ritual places only after getting a permit from MPM. Thus, from 6787 hectares, the village and the grieving villagers have remained with less than 3000 hectares of land, which is small for more than 300 households. It was reported by the village council that, the village has no more reserves of common land, which means, there are no rooms for the village to accommodate new development opportunities that need land. In a long run, there would be less harmonious expansion of population and settlement; and the village is most likely to experience land use conflicts in the near future.

3.5 Outcomes of Village Land Transactions for Tree Planting

As an impact of tree planting surge, the precipitous appreciation of land values is observed through dynamic change in land prices and raised awareness of land ownership among villagers. In the case of Isaula village of Mufindi District, the price for an acre of land rose sixth times higher in six years from TZS 25 000 in 2011 to TZS 180 000 in 2017. The lands that were left idle for livestock keepers now have owners, reviving the histories of ancestors that were not told had it not been for selling to tree planting investors.

Many of the smallholders are worried of their future livelihood with respect to land scarcity. Many of the experienced land sellers are sceptical to sell more land and some regret for land deals made earlier when prices were lower than the amounts sold. When asked if he is willing to sell more land, a seller said, *"No. Although problems still exist, the remaining amount of land is small compared to the size of the family. We are many in the family and all depend on that land"* (Interview at Isaula Village on 20th November, 2017). The outcomes of rampant land businesses have had severe consequences not only to village governments, but also to individual land sellers and hence to village communities. We describe opportunities of tree planting investments in village lands and then the challenges brought forth by such land transactions.

3.5.1 Labour demand, supply and its implications

Processes for tree planting vary from one investor to another depending on the amount of capital available to invest, the amount of land, and time available in different seasons. Different seasons, summer, autumn, and rainy imply different types of services to the plantations. General processes include acquisition of suitable land, survey of the land by either satellite images or using Geographical Positioning System (GPS). The size of land determines the amount of efforts needed for activities such as bush cutting, pitting, and

quantity of seedlings, planting, application of fertilizers, weeding, making of fire lines, pruning, and harvesting. Tree planting investments have a wide range of job opportunities including operating machines; caterpillars, tractors, pit sawyers, mobile ding-dongs, stationary sawmills and drivers of transporting vehicles.

Tree planting investments have created employment opportunities to rural communities. Young men and women work in plantations either as full time employees or as casual labourers in such a seasonal job industry. Large-scale companies; Sao Hill, GRL, NFC and MPM are involved in hiring labourers and interact with their workers through field supervisors and foremen. Similarly, individual domestic investors especially urban-based, hire local supervisors who work in all the processes from land acquisition, surveying, hiring labourers, and planting. Thus, when the season arrives, investors advertise job positions; prepare posters describing vacancies, location of the plantation, and sometimes the number of people required. Upon selection, the recruited are required to sign a written contract (a common approach for large-scale investors such as Sao hill, NFC, MPM, and GRL) or adhere to verbal agreement (for individual investors). The written document shows the date of starting work and the amount to be paid per day. There are no social protection arrangements for casual labourers. All the payments are done at the end of the month by counting the number of days one has worked.

As of 2018/2019, the amounts of payments for day field workers in plantation forests was as follows; Sao Hill paid TZS 10 000 (USD 4), GRL plantations paid TZS 6100 a day (USD 2.5), MPM paid TZS 5200 (USD 2), NFC paid TZS 6100 (USD 2.5), and individual domestic investors paid TZS 5000 or less. When probed about the nature of the contracts, salaries, and workers satisfaction, one of the employees working for MPM said, *"They are exploiting us. Am not satisfied at all. Look at the salaries of our fellows in STG (i.e. Sao*

Hill government estate); they are paid twice as much for the same amount of job we do here" (Interview with a worker on 22nd March, 2019).

The working environment in forestry plantation varies from one investor to another. With large-scale investors, the contracts span for one to three months but renewable. Sao Hill, NFC, and GRL provide working tools such as gumboots, raincoats, hoes, and cutters. MPM and most domestic investors do not, and hence workers have to manage their own equipment. Food is normally provided for workers who stay on the campsites but day workers have to manage their lunches making most of them go without food. Normally supervisors carry first aid kits for any emergence and have a motorbike that would be useful if a quick transport is needed. A work that counts a day for payment requires a worker to complete the assigned portion of work. For bush cutting, eight people have to cut a hectare of grassland while for planting, one is required to plant 400 seedlings for pitted area or 200 seedlings including pitting.

Most of domestic investors do not hire people from their respective villages of their investments to work in their plantations. Normally they bring people from distant, different villages, arguing that locals take longer time for the same amount of work, while imported employees would work faster and go back to their homes. When asked as to why local villagers are not involved as labourers, an investor said, *"First we don't know the people from the village, and if we hire them, they will take longer time than expected. They would work for two hours and leave for other village issues and making excuses such as attending funerals and so on. Villagers are not active"* (Interview with an investor, at Mafinga 09th April, 2018).

3.5.2 Dispossession of the commons

This refers to shrinkage or reduction of the land villagers have access to and it involves specifically the common land. It is from the commons where free or cheap land is acquired by the landless village youths, new comers including civil servants such as teachers, nurses, doctors, religious leaders, and other immigrants from other places. Isaula Village lacks this category of land, so are the other villages where tree planting is rampant. When asked on the status of common land, a chairman said, *"We don't have communal land anymore. Except for the school area, the rest of the land in the village is owned by individuals especially tree growers who bought it from the former government"* (A Key Informant at Isaula village on 16th October, 2017). Although the land laws restrict allocation of communal land to individuals, the tree-planting surge has compelled most villages into violation.

3.5.3 Unfulfilled non-binding promises

Most of the village councils whose land is under domestic investors of tree planting are complaining of unfulfilled promises by individual investors, companies, and institutions. Ifinga Village Council leased land to a government institute, Tanzania Forest Service (TFS), with an exchange of supplying gravity water to the village and that the provision of the service should precede tree-planting activities. Unfortunately and unexpectedly, TFS planted most of her acquired land before the completion of the project and the villagers are wondering if the project would ever be completed. Similarly, Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) agreed with the village to construct 20 latrine holes in the primary school and construct two dormitories for boarding students at the secondary school. Up to the moment we were embarking on this research in Ifinga village, SUA had already planted more than 200 of 10 000 hectares of the acquired village land but no single promise was fulfilled. Furthermore, one individual investor who acquired 2000 hectares

had already planted all the land but had not started the implementation of any of the projects as agreed. This compelled the Village Council to lodge complains to the District Council but in vain, as they were not able to get hold of the investor, the situations leading to the villagers' dispossession of their land.

At Isaula village, the scenario is the same for individual investors and for MPM. Since majority of the investors reside in the urban areas, it is hard to contact them physically especially after registering the land parcels and planting of trees. The main means of get them is through mobile calls and short messages or through the middlemen who manage woodlots. When asked if investors fulfil their promises, the chairman said, *"Only few support the village, like (mentioning one of the investor), he supports a lot. Others don't pick my calls and they don't reply to my messages."* When asked further on any plans to get hold of them, he said, *"there is no means but to wait until they show up"* (Interview with Key Informant, Isaula village on 16th October, 2017). Villages have grievances against investors who do not keep promises while harvesting benefits from the village lands.

3.6 Discussion

The establishment of woodlots in the village lands is considered as investments that would boost the economies of rural areas. Although different processes are involved, all are assessed in reference to land governance frameworks, Land Act and Village Land Act, both of 1999 and Village Land Regulations of 2001. The on-going land transactions, franking, and change of land use have found to be inconsistent with the existing land laws. Similarly, the economic prospects of tree planting are skewed. The following sections discuss limitations in the existing land laws, which facilitate the on-going land

transactions. I further present a discussion on the nature of labour opportunities in timber investment specifically in the tree planting.

3.7 Ineffective Land laws Facilitate Land Alienation

The agricultural transformation by domestic investors in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania has mainly led to the transfer of land rights from smallholders' original owners to domestic investors. Since the transfer of rights in both push and pull factors involves mostly the exchange of money, such transfers raised monetary value of land parcels as well as sense of ownership of lands, the ownership that determines who is eligible to sell the land. In this respect, tree planting surge has challenged some of the common ways of land acquisition in rural areas including inheritance (Kauzeni *et al.*, 1998; Martin *et al.*, 2013). Some means of land transfers not only play great role in the villagers' dispossession of their village land, but they also contravene the legitimate procedures with some actors bypassing the laws and regulations (URT, 1999b, 2001).

The duo Acts, Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999, have provisions that facilitate rural expropriation. Despite the establishing land ceiling for individuals of twenty hectares (URT, 2001), the Laws are silent on *Mahame*, where claimers occupy hundreds to thousands of hectares of lands even before the establishment of the governing laws. Silence of the laws regarding the control *of Mahame* makes it difficult for village governments to officiate land transfers. When was asked if it is possible to limit current land transactions one of the Key Informants had this to say,

> *"Actually it could be possible to limit them if family members of the land sellers could be stronger to control but not the village government. As of now we ask them to give reasons for land selling before approving the sale, but we receive many*

criticisms from villagers, that we are intervening family affairs, and that we should deal with issues in our own families" (KII, Usokami 19th March, 2019).

Coupled with ignorance of the laws, Village Councils and smallholders dispose the amounts that exceed the prescribed ceilings *of Mahame* lands to domestic investors. As a public property, all land in Tanzania is vested under the President as a trustee. and for the sake of development, the President can transfer any land[14] to general land hence become accessible for public interest (Shivji, 1996). However, the said general land is ambiguous land, which is ill defined by both Acts. According to the Village Land Act, a general land is any land that is not village land or reserve land (URT, 1999b). The Land Act on the other hand provides for a general land as all land that is not reserve or village land, including unused or unoccupied village land (URT, 1999a). The mismatch in the provision of general land and lack of definition of unused and unoccupied lands facilitate expropriation and eventually dispossession of *Mahame* from customary tenure holders as the case of MPM in Isaula village.

Despite the noted confusion, the laws provide for communal village land (Act 3, s12) that this part of village land *"shall not be made available for individual occupation and use by any person through a grand of communal or individual customary right of occupancy or a derivative right, or any other form of disposition"* (URT, 1999b). However, most of the visited villages do not have communal lands, as most of these are covered by woodlots owned by domestic investors. This raises a question as to why these Land Acts are not effective. Thus, the failure of implementing effectively the land laws is the failure of safeguarding the ownership rights and perpetuation of dispossession.

[14] Tanzania land is categorized into three; Village land, which makes about 70% of all lands, Reserve land, which covers land for conservations like National parks, roads and public infrastructures and General land, which is a residual of mentioned lands

What we witness in the Southern Highlands is the product of land reforms that appreciate individualization of land holdings, the situation that prevailed in the pre-independence period before 1961. Although it did not materialize, the colonialists proposed for freehold land tenure in the then Tanganyika. Such a proposal was strongly rebuked by native political leaders who foresaw it as a way of dispossessing the poor of their birthright. In remarkable words, Nyerere who was TANU leader had this to say,

> *'In a country such as this, where generally speaking the Africans are poor and the foreigners are rich, it is quite possible that within eighty or a hundred years, if the poor African were allowed to sell his land, all the land in Tanganyika would belong to wealthy immigrants and the local people would be tenants. But even if there were no rich foreigners in this country, there would emerge rich and clever Tanganyikans. If we allow land to be sold like a robe, within a short period there would only be a few Africans possessing land in Tanganyika and all the others would be tenants'* (Julius K. Nyerere 1966: 55, repeated from Chachage and Baha, 2010).

The 'rich and clever Tanganyikans' of old times cited here are compared to domestic investors who accumulate land from smallholders for tree planting and similar activities. Although they are acquired for tree planting, such lands are not limited to the production of timber. Some investors have abandoned the planting of exotic pine and eucalyptus trees and shifted to avocados and potatoes, which are currently lucrative businesses. With short harvesting turns as compared to timber trees, avocado and potatoes are said to be the right choice of investment for both investors and smallholders. Nevertheless, with sealed land deals, smallholders cannot reverse ownership of the sold lands, hence, in a long run; tree planting is a means of outcompeting and dispossessing rural farmers.

The processes of land transfers in the Southern Highlands epitomize different forms of primitive accumulation and land alienations (Peluso and Lund, 2011; Bluwstein *et al.*, 2018). This involve willing but distressful selling of land parcels, and transactions of land below the market prices, that is, prices which are lower than the value of the commodity. Another one is planting of trees in village lands: the crops that are not what most poor people need (i.e. non edible investment (Kröger, 2014b). Also, the money, which is made from the land transactions, is not solving the intended problems of poverty reduction hence making the livelihoods of land sellers before land selling similar to or worse than it was before selling of the land. There is also radical expropriation and appropriation of village lands for public other than villagers' interest, and through acquiring village land without fulfilling the promises agreed for land exchange.

Poverty as de facto African rural environment is the push factor for rampant land selling and so is the dispossession, as substantiated by one of the investors who defended land sellers that, *"Most of the rural people are there to solve problems, not to think for the future. The problem you are facing now cannot allow you to wait for future"* (Interview in Iringa 09th April, 2018). Land buyers do not regard the sustainability of smallholders' livelihoods and social impact of land deals, hence lack of informed consent, embedded with violation of human rights, the right to land (de Schutter, 2011), corruption and serious environmental impacts (Dell'Angelo *et al.*, 2017). These practices are what Derek Hall described as manifestation of accumulation by dispossession occurring through the creation, expansion, and reproduction of capitalist social relations through the diversification of economic means (Hall, 2013).

While smallholders in other communities invest in mechanized agriculture and make money for assets such as purchasing of plots of land, improved housing, live stocking,

education, health (Brockington *et al.*, 2018), the villagers of Southern Highlands forego an asset for the same. Families that are better off in the villages have more land than poor families, which signify the growing social and economic differentiation among villagers, manifesting accumulation by dispossession. Thus, rampant land transactions are neither in favour of the landless who need land most, nor the investors with effective investments as solutions to rural poverty (de Schutter, 2011).

3.8 The Domineering Working Conditions in Tree Planting Investments

Tree planting are labour intensive. With diverse investors in the Southern Highlands, the expectations of rural communities on number of jobs created, the amount of wages, and the actual practices of investors are not correlated. The employments are seasonal and salaries for the majority casual labourers are minimal. Thus, the enormous capital investments and profit margins do not trickle down to the rural poor. Such unattainable employment promises and deprivation of social security amounts to accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003).

Foreign agricultural investments provide rural labour opportunities. As argued by Woodhouse (2012), although such labour opportunities reduce labour force for households, it is an important source of income that synergy with farm inputs to stabilize household and rural economy. This argument does not work for domestic investments of tree planting especially in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, where trees are extensively planted in former croplands, hence reducing a place for alternative economic production.

The establishment and expansion of tree planting creates class relations between people (Kröger, 2014). In the current case, tree planting has created social and economic

dependence between actors of tree planting activities. In some instances, this has led to the creation of social relation of production and exploitation (Wright, 2005). It should be stressed clearly that most of these labourers are the primary owners of the current active land. Turning land into capital and people into labour creates new power relations (Bourdieu, 1991), which is not common among rural dwellers and was very difficult to accommodate. This is widely revealed by some incidences of such resistances including setting plantations into fires and frequent invasion of villagers to plantations. Such incidences (though out of scope of the current study) has created loss to many tree plantations (Refseth, 2010). Similar observation was made by Kröger (2014) in what was defined as 'No Tree planting land use', whereby local communities resisted the establishment of tree plantations in communal lands as it was leading to the appropriation.

The transfer of land rights from smallholders to domestic investors who then change land tenure from customary to granted rights while introducing new land uses from conventional crops to trees is an epitome of primitive accumulation of the past, which led to the growth of capitalist mode of production. The establishment of tree plantations creates room for jobs for the dispossessed smallholders, the proletarianisation which is one of the strategies of accumulation by dispossession.

3.9 Final Remarks

Although formulated to safeguard land rights, the prevailing customary tenure propagates village land transactions and associated impacts. The ambiguous *Mahame* lands are held so strong within clans and family ties rather than village land administrators. The Land laws prescribe village land and processes involved in the acquisition, transfer, and its management, but do not address the lacuna between idle lands and current villages, which gives indigenous managerial role through traditions and customary tenure rather than the

Village Council through statutory laws. Domestic investors overcome through registering and franking their parcels immediately after purchase. It is the financial capitals that facilitate domestic investors overcome and manage the cadastral costs for land formalization, a predicament for smallholders.

Furthermore, land transactions are not the solution to rural poverty but its exacerbation. When land is gone, then all possible opportunities that would be done on land to reduce poverty disappear. As observed, franking the purchased common land creates enclosures that separate people from the means of production, promoting proletarianisation of the dispossessed. It is through land where villages are defined, family/clan identities are established, and life perpetuated. Notwithstanding the scale of village land involved, the on-going transactions imply native's loss of access to some village lands, which in a long run implies displacement, dispossession leading to landless villagers, a caution that needs further study.

The benefits of tree investments are skewed to domestic investors while villagers whose land is involved bear the costs. Despite having a wide range of fieldwork operational jobs, the working environment discriminates gender with less paying jobs skewed to women and youths, while more paying jobs are for men, the claim that needs further study.

Land is a lifeline and a basic right for people especially African rural dwellers, therefore it should not be regarded a commodity. Although beyond the scope of this study, the current rampant land transactions are fatal as they lead to land and land use conflicts, hence it needs to be stopped. Since tree planting is regarded as a lucrative business, instead of selling land to tree growers, there should be contract tree planting, whereby villagers with surplus lands, contract their land for money earned monthly throughout the life span of the

woodlot. This would sustain both trees by increasing security to such potential income source and land ownership to rural dwellers. Further, unlike the current land formalization processes that give landholders the rights to sell lands, formalization that safeguard land itself from being commoditized should be put in place to override money making from land sales. Formalization of individual village lands would make villagers go away with permissive and weak customary tenure. Since the rampant land deals have signs of dispossession, I recommend a thorough study in the Southern Highlands to analyse and assess the conditions of land sellers.

Since the current land management and the designated land managers are weak, there is a need of establishing database of arable land and determine the standard land requirement for an individual or a household. This would limit excess land sales and handle the anticipated landlessness among rural households, and at the same time releases excess land to investors with enough capital to produce. As Oliver de Schutter recommeneded, and rightly so, giving land to investors is not a solution of alleviating poverty, but supporting locals to use the land effectively would work better for rural communities (de Schutter, 2011).

The advantages of tree planting business should be interpreted in the labour market. Both investors and local communities should consent on the standards salaries, social protections, working instruments, social services, and labour sustainability at work.

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 GENDER INEQUALITY AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN ACCESS TO FAMILY LAND IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS OF TANZANIA

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Abstract

Gender inequality is portrayed in variety of social and economic activities and women are deprived of access, control and management of natural resources including land. Tree-planting surge of Southern Highlands Tanzania has fuelled rampant transactions of family land, the transactions that are mostly supervised by men hence benefit men more than women. This has perpetuated gender inequality and discrimination against women. Although current land laws address gender inequity pertaining to women's access to, ownership and control over land, the impact of such reforms are minimal. In this study, we set out to unveil gender inequality with respect to women's access to family lands in

the tree planting surge in the selected villages of Southern Highlands, Tanzania. Specifically, the study describes land transaction processes at household level and how lack of women's involvement in such land transactions affects their access and control over family land. Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, we reveal that women suffer symbolic violence through traditional practices of inheritance. Societies in the studied villages have strong patriarchal system, which put men as dominant group and women subordinates. Land management is governed by customs and traditions where men are the main claimants of land, while women have only the rights to use it. Women are disadvantaged, as they cannot own land freely or co-own with their husbands or receive a share of money from land sales. This discrimination and associated violence have suppressed women voice and agency, leading to misrecognition of their potentials. We argue that violence and associated injustice undermine women contribution in natural resources management. Effective implementation of existing land laws and regulations that address gender inequality and associated violence is inevitable.

Keywords: Gender; inequality; access; land; symbolic violence; Southern Highlands; Tanzania

4.1 Introduction

Gender mainstreaming constitutes a fulcrum for development planning and an entry point for successful management of natural resources in developing countries (Fonjong, 2008). This is advocated by the United Nations assembly through its Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 5, which target to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls by 2030 (UNDP, 2015). Besides, gender equality is a pillar for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world, the pillar whose achievement, require efforts to start from small unit-villages and rural areas.

Notwithstanding the geographical disparities, most societies exhibit gender inequalities in access, control, and management of land and landed resources including forests, with women being victims of the situation (Follo *et al.,* 2017; Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017). In most areas of rural Tanzania, land ownership is guided by traditions, customs, and taboos that legitimize some groups of people as landowners while excluding others (Idris, 2018). Although some societies have criteria such as age, marital status, and wealth that segregate those that can have access to land (Pedersen, 2015), others use gender differences and traditional taboos as criteria of determining access to, use of, and control over the natural resource (Fonjong, 2008). In the book "Gender, Environment, and Development," Heleen van den Hombergh described the importance of gender concepts in environmental debates. Although Heleen admitted that men and women use natural resources differently and at different rates (Homberg, 1993), other scholars argue further that men and women neither do they have equal rights to resources nor do they benefit equally from them (Gurung *et al.,* 2000).

Gurung and colleagues studied the Hindu Kush society of Himalayas and described women as having access to and engaging in low value non-timber products including collecting and fetching of fire woods, fodder, medicinal herbs, which serve immediate social demands, while men go for labourious and heavy duties of felling trees and cutting branches (Gurung *et al.,* 2000). Similar observations were made by Follo and colleagues (Follo *et al.,* 2017) in their analysis of gender in forests ownership in Europe, they described private forest as a masculine system that is experiencing some dynamics as women are coming up appear as new forest owners. As observed by Van Aelst and Holvoet (2016), women are restricted from owning important resources as opposed to men, which is an obstacle for sustainable rural livelihoods. Despite such marginalization,

women through gender triple roles (reproduction, production, community) are observed to interact with nature more than men do, hence have broader knowledge of land productivity, potential natural tree species and on deleterious impacts of mismanagement of natural resources including land (Alliyu, 2016). Moreover, women endure violations of conscious choices in day-to-day practices because the violations are misrecognized hence normalized. This is a result of symbolic violence which, 'in order to be socially recognized, symbolic violence must get itself misrecognized' (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016).

For rural development to be realized, synergistic efforts involving both men and women to use effectively the existing natural resources land, water, biodiversity and the like are inevitable. Unfortunately, women do not enjoy full involvement in the management of natural resources because of traditions and taboos (Fonjong, 2008). When it comes to power position, most African women are subordinate to men, which in the long run influences social relations and hence management of natural resources, community development, and family livelihood (Kirk, 1995).

Several studies (Alemu, 2015; Pedersen, 2015; Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017; Fox *et al.*, 2018; Idris, 2018) have addressed women land access in Tanzania and Africa. However, there is a paucity of literature on women's access to land following the surge in tree planting in the Southern Highlands, which is the focus of the current study. Alongside, land transactions at family level although create benefits and consequences to the involved households, the risks are born differently by different groups, a point for symbolic violence in natural resources management (Panda and Agarwal, 2005). Drawing from Pierre Bourdieu's symbolic violence, which is insidious and invisible form of men domination over women, this study analyses gendered access, control and management of

family land in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania following the tree planting surge that demand land. More specifically, the study describes land transaction processes at household level and how lack of women's involvement in such land transactions affects their access and control over family land. The paper is organized as follows. The proceeding background section describes the availability of village land for tree planting and the rush for timber. This is followed by theoretical framework, which is presented alongside methodology, in which the study describes the study sites, methods of data collection and the analysis. Findings and discussions are presented next and later the conclusion is drawn at the end of the paper.

4.2 Background

A surge in tree planting activities in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania is the result of the dwindling of timber supply from Sao Hill state plantation in 2000s (Ngaga, 2011), which motivated private companies and individuals to fill the shortage. Early sales from private woodlots recorded enormous earnings, making timber trade a lucrative business. This has in turn, motivated different categories of domestic investors ranging from village residents to urbanites to have rushed to the villages and acquire village lands for planting trees (Lusasi *et al.*, 2020). The multitude tree growers fuelled formal and informal transactions of village lands between indigenous smallholders and tree growers, the practices that transformed potential croplands to woodlots (Olwig *et al.*, 2015; PFP, 2016). While urban-based investors see tree planting as lucrative business, smallholders have found their land as a profitable commodity, hence involved in land transactions to make money. These transactions are conducted and/or supervised by men hence benefit men more than women. Although socially recognized, the observed complementary domination of men over women amounts to symbolic violence (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016).

Tanzania's land reforms: Land Act and Village Land Act of 1999 have intended to eradicate gender inequalities in land ownership but the reforms are yet to be fully realized (Pedersen, 2015). These reforms have decentralized land administration system to the lower level state organs such as village councils (VCs) to administer, among other things, equality in land transfers and ownership between men and women. However, these reforms have not reached rural communities. Where they have done so, there have been significant barriers that limit their applicability. Since land is an indicator of economic wellbeing, the traditions and taboos that limit women from managing land, cement the marginalization and discrimination of women in the management of natural resources.

In the beginning of African land rush, Sam Moyo and Yeros asserted that the scramble for agricultural land and land tenure reforms which were promoted by the neoliberal policies have significant negative impacts on livelihood welfare especially among women who in most cases take a lead in social reproduction of households (Moyo and Yeros, 2011). Similarly, a scholarly work on land reforms in Africa by Pedersen (2015) showed that such scramble for lands go hand in hand with individualization of land parcels, the practice that strengthen men as opposed to women control over land. The on-going tree planting activities in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania have economic, religious, cultural, social, and environmental impacts regarding deprivation of medicinal herbs, natural food stuff, fuel wood, fodder, grazing lands, and ritual places as well as degradation of catchment areas, with eventual impacts skewed to women (Gurung *et al.*, 2000; Locher, 2016).

It is a traditional practice in some African societies that women cannot inherit land and landed properties but have access to land through their male relatives such as parents,

kins, and husbands (Fonjong, 2008; Pedersen, 2015; Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017). Although they form the largest proportion of adults in Tanzania and that agriculture is their main employer, women do not have the rights to immovable resources including land (Idris, 2018). Thus, their marginalisation is traditionally created and maintained by societies, which identify men as a dominant group and women as subordinates (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

When addressing natural resources management in the North West Province of Cameroon, Fonjong (2008) noted that women who are critical agents and victims of natural resources management were neglected and misrecognized in the management frameworks, which led to conspicuous failure of management plans.

The assumption that access to land is becoming less gendered, that is, it relies less on a woman's relations with her male relatives, is still subject to qualification (Pedersen, 2015). In most of the Sub Saharan African societies, land access is a masculine character hence women still access land through marriage or male relatives. Although the stigma situation affects women differently, their effects are no less profound (Aveling *et al.*, 2013). In the wave of land reforms in different states of Africa in 1990s, Tanzania enacted two laws: Land Act and Village Land Act both of 1999. While recognizing the existing customary rights, the laws decentralized land administration system to village councils, also prohibited the discriminatory practices of access to land by women (URT, 1999). Specifically, the Village Land Act in Section 3 (2) provides that, 'the right of every adult woman to acquire, hold, use, deal with and transmit land by or obtain land through the operations of a will, shall be to the same extent and subject to the same restrictions as the right of every adult man.' To safeguard women's rights to land, the frameworks command women participation in land administration organs. The Village Council must be

comprised of more than two women and similarly, the Village Adjudication Committee must be made of more than three women (Wily, 2003). The law insists that any rule of customary law that denies rights to land by women, children, and persons with disabilities shall be void and inoperative (URT, 1999).

Despite such interventions, practices of land access are skewed to men as opposed to women although the practices are better now than before (Pedersen, 2015). Although more men register land ownership than women do, land rights to all are highly recognized. But since the reforms are far from being fully implemented, the current land reforms which foster individualization of land parcels coupled with increased pace in tree planting, which increase pressure on land have disrupted the customary practices that ensured access to land by divorced women and widows. Thus in many traditional societies, women still suffer from discriminations (Fox *et al.*, 2018).

4.3 Theoretical and Methodological Approach

The current study is inspired by rampant transactions of village lands in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Specifically, this study was conducted in Mufindi, Wanging'ombe, Kilolo, and Njombe Districts (Fig. 1), where land transactions for tree planting are rampant. Land is transformed into a commodity, which is readily available for sale to domestic investors who use it to grow exotic trees of pine and eucalyptus species. As observed earlier, most land sellers are men who undertake the transactions even when women (wives or mothers) oppose it, which shows power imbalance between men and women, with women ranking low in both power and status relation (Aveling *et al.*, 2013; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The rush for timber and hence tree planting surge is not widely observed in other parts of Tanzanian as is the case in the Southern Highlands and especially in Njombe and Iringa regions, where planting of timber trees

was a state matter until when the supply of timber from state estates, Sao Hill, dwindled to its lowest levels (Ngaga, 2011).

There is a long history of struggles against women discrimination as labelled using different phrases (Calas *et al.,* 2007). Several concepts, psychoanalytical feminism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, radical cultural feminism, as well as liberal political theory, advocate for all people as being equal in spite of their different sexes (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2001). However, societies in different parts of the globe have embraced practices that perpetuate power imbalance between men and women (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016).

Pierre Bourdieu describes the dominant practices that subjugate subordinates' agency and voice as symbolic violence, a non-physical violence manifested in the power asymmetry between social groups, 'exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition, recognition or even feeling' (Bourdieu, 2001). Symbolic violence exists in either recognized or misrecognized form, challenged and changed or unchanged (Ojha *et al.,* 2009). Thus, misrecognition is the highest level of symbolic violence, occurring in most natural settings and practices of the society with the highest level of unconsciousness on such practices (Panda and Agarwal, 2005).

James David unpacked the meaning of misrecognition as per Bourdieu's view as a process resulting from day to day social, cultural and economic practices where something is not recognised for what it real is because of previous cognition within the habitus of persons confronting it. Since that 'thing' or situation or act is attributed to another realm of meaning, then interests, inequalities, dominations and other effects continue as natural and concealed (James, 2015). Thus, misrecognition is a form of knowledge derived from

social practices that acts as a capital to a person, the capital that disposes power and prestige to the possessor. For instance, the androcentric practices of natural resources management among global societies are taken for granted (doxic) practical values without much questioning equally by both men as dominant group and women as dominated (Ojha *et al.,* 2009. Similarly, the traditional set up of most rural societies in the global south disposes powers to men as owners of immovable natural resources hence owners, decision makers, and right bearers of land (Panda and Agarwal, 2005; Snyder *et al.,* 2020).

Both concrete and symbolic violence are active mechanisms of social life tied to the order of domination and destruction (Colaguori, 2010). Though not visible, practices of symbolic violence are equally destructive as they create a dichotomy of freedom and constraint through misrecognition, condescension, consent, and complicity of one group over another (Bourdieu, 2001; Okali, 2012; Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016). It is through misrecognition when practices of symbolic violence are perceived differently from what they really are, hence accepted as natural way of life in the society (Durey, 2014). In practice, women's silence to men's dominant practices not only proliferate unequal power relations, but also implies acceptance and hence reproduction of their own subordination (Bunch, 2015). The social settings have accepted and internalized such social control and complementary domination over women as accepted by both men and women.

Symbolic violence surpasses the covert inequality and women domination perpetrated by men, as it extends to commodity market systems where economic conditions exclude, marginalize, disenfranchise, and promote gender inequalities (Colaguori, 2010). Thus, disparities in parental care given to daughters versus sons, restrictions on dos, don'ts, and marriage submissions groom the symbolic violence and societies perceive them as natural, given, and unchangeable (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016).

Violence in its different forms of physical and symbolic exists in different areas of human activities from laws, gender relations, and racial discrimination (Colaguori, 2010). Durey mentioned at least three areas where social practices manifest symbolic violence hence misrecognition, which undermine women potentials, unequal wages between men and women for the same type and amount of job, restrictions from furthering education and professional carrier for women, and full-time employed women bearing primary responsibilities in the household including children care (Durey, 2014). Although collective voices for women empowerment as well as approaches such as Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) fostering women recognition and empowerment are heard from different countries, they are far from being successful when measured at the global scale. However, practices of symbolic violence can be challenged and sometimes changed, once they are recognized (Bourdieu, 2001). Social competition is one of the strategies adopted by courageous but dissatisfied members of the subordinate group who call for changes by challenging the dominant group. This has led to changing of social identity, status, material disposal, and symbolic inequalities in some of the reported cases (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Panda and Agarwal, 2005; Pedersen, 2015; Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017).

Drawing from symbolic violence we seek to analyse access to land *viz a viz* gender inequality in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. In particular, the study assesses activities and processes of domination and subordination, which lead to different forms of violence in the selected study villages. The study involved 10 women respondents from seven villages (Fig. 4.1) with the following distribution: Isaula (3), Mhaji (2), and one each from Lupembe, Iyoka, Itunduma, Ndengisivili, and Ludihani villages respectively. Since the study aimed at understanding the nature of land transactions and women's attitude

towards such transactions, each woman respondent was involved in an semi-structured interview that focused on issues of land transactions. More specifically, the interview inquired their involvement in land transactions, their attitude towards land transactions and impacts of such transactions on their livelihoods. Although the small sample limits the generalization about symbolic violence in the Southern Highlands, it highlights and thus enables one to understand experiences of women exposed to symbolic violence through land transactions in the study villages.

Figure 4.1: Map of Tanzania showing the study districts and their respective villages (Source: Timber rush project)

Further, the analyses of this study are situational in nature with interviews conducted with specific targets -women- with respect to their experience as it relates to their access to land as impacted by rampant land transactions for tree planting. The study adopted a qualitative approach involving data collection through in depth interviews with women whom were purposively selected from households involved in land transactions. We observed the caveat provided by Follo (2017) that when data are collected from a family or head of a household as a unit of analysis, we get more from men than we do from women. Thus, husbands and wives were interviewed separately. This gave women a space to explain things in detail.

The interview tool consisted of a checklist of guiding questions on land ownership, transactions, and violent practices associated with land and acquisition of landed resource. More specifically, wives were interviewed on their involvement in land transactions and the manner in which these have had some influence on their welfare. This was found appropriate as both husbands and wives involved in the interviews gave consent to the approach. On average, it took about an hour to complete an interview with one respondent.

Thapar-Bjorkert and colleagues have described interviews as a source of knowledge that, though created by individual perspective, make social structures and collective processes through individual narratives that are never direct accounts but rather discursively constructed (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016). On the other hand, four Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with eight to nine women in a group were conducted in Isaula, Mhaji, and Itunduma and Ndengisivili villages.

Convenient sampling method was employed to get women for FGDs; hence, women of different ages, status, and education were involved. It took about one hour and a half to complete an FGD. Data collection processes through interviews and FGDs were open, critical, with dialogical interactions (Ojha *et al.,* 2009).

During some interviews with men, we sought for their opinion on women participation in land transactions as a family matter. Most men insisted that women 'know nothing' or that women cannot say something important because they are not supposed to be involved. This is the social practice of Othering, the testimonial epistemic violence of silencing (Bunch, 2015), where men tend to disapprove the knowledge and intellect of women disabling them to speak. To overcome the challenge, we avoided men in FGDs. This promoted the epistemic agency of women who eventually were comfortable and able to say it all. Before the interviews started, the respondents were told about the purpose of the study. Furthermore, their consent to participate in the study as well as to have their voices recorded was sought verbally and after agreeing to participate, they were assured that their identities would be kept anonymous and their responses confidential. In addition, they were informed about the fact that a respondent could withdraw anytime she/he felt appropriate to do so. All collected data were transcribed verbatim and analysed by a directed content analysis (Veuthey and Gerber 2010).

4.4 Results and Discussion

4.4.1 Patriarchal system, a point for gender inequality in land accessibility

Symbolic violence refers to a situation in which powerful actors continue to enjoy unchallenged privileges in accessing resources and power through which they dominate social interactions (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016). Different forms of domination and violence against women both physical (e.g. battering) and psychological, also called

symbolic violence are widely reported from across the globe (Panda and Agarwal, 2005; Ojha *et al.*, 2009; Colaguori, 2010; Durey, 2014; Aliyu, 2016; Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016), including communities in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. This study found social practices that maintain the status of men as a dominant social group whose plans and decisions regarding resource use and misuse are seldom challenged by women. In fact, marriage, which brings individuals to the couples, implicates itself in many social settings, raising children, making a family and a household, except in the management of economic assets such as land. In the study villages, the patriarchal system of human relations, which subjugate women in matters related to resource ownership, still prevails. When it comes to land and landed resources, men of all cadres are symbolically entitled to ownership through inheritance or allocation by elders of the clan or tribe while women are stigmatized. When asked on the reasons for unequal land distribution practices, a woman at Mhaji Village narrated what men regard land ownership to girls and women by saying:

> "*A girl is not given land because upon marriage, she will go away and lose a family identity and perpetuate her husband's identity. Therefore, she will get land where she gets married. Boys will remain in the family, hence given land to establish settlements and for crops to feed their families*" (Interview at Mhaji village on 9th November, 2019).

Thus, women, although involved in the management of family lands, are not entitled to own the resource but to use for the purposes that ameliorate the wellbeing of the household. A similar account was given in Isaula village by women in FGD who in one accord complained about the traditional social practices that limit women and daughters from owning immovable resources such as land and trees, claiming that women do not contribute to the development of the clan hence should not participate in the inheritance.

Although rural families exist and sustain the domination and subordination doxas[15], some married women problematize the social practices by demanding equal treatment and consideration; hence demand a share of benefits accrued from economic asset-land. In one of the interviews, an aggrieved woman shared bitter words that she received from her husband when she demanded a share of benefits from the land sold to tree growers,

> "*You want the share of money, but when we got married, did you come with the soil from your father*?" (Interview at Isaula village, 17th April, 2018)

This response apart from psychologically abusing the woman, it negates her agency and voice by pulling her down to nothing or nobody. This misrecognition of her potential position and her silence legitimizes the power of men over women, perpetuating symbolic violence, which is hard to recover as compared to physical violence (Durey, 2014; Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.,* 2016). Such an attempt by a woman to challenge the long-standing dominant practices was in vain. A woman could not demand further because no one could support her claim against her husband, which somewhat sounds true, hence making her demand unreasonable. This kind of male practices portray this social male dominance a natural phenomenon, and hence legalizing women subordination (Durey, 2014).

4.4.2 Land transactions for tree planting surge has perpetuated stigma in land ownership among women

According to land literature, land is referred to as an asset that can raise women's economic wellbeing and money or income through lease or sale (Wineman and Liverpool-Tasie, 2017; Meinzen-Dick *et al.,* 2019; Snyder *et al.,* 2020), and poverty reduction (Mi *et al.,* 2017). Some daughters and women in the study villages have realized the opportunities in land, hence claim their share of land from their fathers. Steps and efforts

[15] A society's taken for granted, unquestioned truths-after Bourdieu

made to show their agency and voices are in vain because of the misogynistic behaviour of their fathers. It is fascinating that mothers are not asked to intervene in resource control because they are victims of similar situations. An interview with a young married woman revealed that, after being side-lined by her husband on grounds that she is not a member of the clan, she and her young sister who is also married elsewhere resorted to claim land for ownership from their biological father. Expectedly, they were disappointed to hear from their father who denied them access to land because they were married. Instead, he advised them that their husbands should handle all the issues regarding land. After weighing the negative statements from her husband and her father, the elder sister blamed her father by saying:

> "*Why is my father treating me like this? I am her daughter like my brothers. I deserve a share of land even if it's a little plot*" (Interview in Isaula on 17th April, 2018).

Although cases of women marginalization persist, some of them at their old age acknowledge some changes have been made in the society as well as families that treat their children equally. When asked about her experience on land acquisition at Isaula village, a woman (61yrs) narrated:

> "*In the past, it was a system that land is given to boys only. Girls were told that they would get land from the families they get married to. Even for crops, there was strong monopoly that a woman had no rights to sell her farm produce and this practice still exists in some families here. We are thankful to people from PELUM*[16] *for helping a lot to change this*" (Interview on 17th April, 2018).

[16]PELUM is an acronym for Participatory Ecological Land Use Management. It is a USAID funded NGO that established the Isaula Village Land Use Plan, alongside surveying land parcels for individuals, hence sensitizing married women to co-own land plots with their husbands also women as sole owners of land parcels.

Women are subjected to social pressure that limits them from exposing their potentials including expression of their rights and interests. According to Idris, factors that limit women economic potentials include time poverty, ignorance, reproductive pressure, lack of assets, lack of financial services, lack of male support and labour and cultural norms (Idris, 2018). Due to symbolic violence which restrict women from furthering their education, rural women remain potentially less educated hence compelled to social pressure that deter them from claiming their rights and limits awareness of what to do when denied their rights (Mori, 2014). Although the Tanzania land laws (URT, 1999a, b) provide for access to land resources by marginalized groups including women, factors mentioned renders the provisions unproductive.

Some women accept limitations imposed by men simply to create harmony in the family, which contribute to their subjugation. In one case, a divorced woman started over her life in the house she built on land given by her father. Now that she married another man who moved in to her house, she complained of the domination she is experiencing in her own house. Although she is proud of having her own house as a rescue, she still faces similar marriage challenges. She recognizes the domination she is experiencing but her respect to the man has led her to indebtedness, dependency, and gratitude (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016). When asked about experience in her marriage she had this to say:

> "*Sometimes he overreacts to some issues as if am staying at his house. He intervenes some of my plans with trees that he found them there after marrying me. I do not like that*" (Interview at Mhaji, 09th November, 2019).

When asked as to why she does not stand firm on her plans, she said,

> "*A man needs a woman who is submissive, otherwise he will be stressed. So I just cool down and listen just to make him feel honoured*." (Interview at Mhaji, 09th November, 2019).

Although a woman is not in agreement with the husband's practices, she decided to accept the mistreatments simply not to prolong the disagreements, in a way accepting the wrong doings of the man hence complicit (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016). Thus, the consent to symbolic violence labels women as involuntary servitudes of the normalized men domination. However, contrary to this finding Panda and Agarwal proposed land ownership as a factor for reduced tolerance to violence when they say, 'Women owning immovable properties -land and a house- are found to face a significantly lower risk of marital violence than property less women' (Panda and Agarwal, 2005). These properties are considered as providing security that can support life to a woman when escaping a violent environment. Land and a house can provide minimum basic needs, shelter, food, and clothing. Ownership of such properties endows freedom from social deprivation, poverty, and poor economic opportunities, which according to Amartya Sen is by itself development (Sen, 1999; UNDP, 2015). This observation was substantiated by a woman of four children who was divorced after staying in the marriage for nine years. During her first marriage, she did not own a piece of land or a house and instead had to depend on her husband, who mistreated her in several ways including insults, slaps, battering, threats of abandonment and eventually she was divorced. Lack of assets such as land and house compelled her to seek refuge to men who showed interest in her, hence ended to be a second wife to a married man, which in her opinion, not a good thing to do but had to do it as a result of desperate situation. She said,

> "*If you don't own a house, you will be driven away like a dog and because of life hardships you will find yourself establishing relationship with married men, which is bad*" (Interview at Mhaji, 09th November, 2019).

Now that she owns these properties, she evaluates her past and current situation and says,

> "*Some men are not liberated by education. They severely oppress their wives and the wives cannot do anything. If you fight for your right they create situations that will eventually harm you so that you don't benefit from compensation and properties*" (Interview at Mhaji, 09th November, 2019).

Of recent, it is widely advocated that women should own assets such as land and exercise control over them. Since ownership of assets such as land and house is a security to a woman and a threat or moderation to men's violent practices (Panda and Agarwal, 2005) married women misrecognize the domination associated with it. Having a plot to farm does not guarantee freedom of utilization of the products or control over expenditure of the income generated from the harvests as long as the harvests land in the house built by a man or built in the man's land. Some men use asset ownership by a woman as a control mechanism. Men pretend to surrender control of some plots of land by transferring ownership to their wives, who eventually feel loved and secure by having mandate on production processes. As a result, women put much effort in tilling, planting, weeding, and the like to improve yield and thus increased harvests. However, normally such ownership and control fades at the beginning of the harvesting season when men assume dominance and control of farms and farm products. In one case, a woman from Mhaji Village who is married as a second wife realized a misrecognition when she was given a 1.5 acres of land as hers to produce for the good of her household. She put enough efforts in her farm hopping to earn substantial income at harvesting season, which did not materialize as the man controlled the produce and income generated from the harvests. Narrating her experience, she said:

> "*This house is like a government asset. When you are given a farm, you will go and cultivate it but the harvests belong to the government. You cannot plan for utilization of the harvests because though he told you the farm is under your control, he takes*

the harvests. When you sell some products, he takes the money. If you ask why this, he asks you back if that is your property. He says it is in his house" (Interview 9th November, 2019).

Generally, it has been argued that women's property ownership is emancipation from marital and other forms of symbolic violence (Panda and Agarwal, 2005). The amount of coercive power by the husband establishes consent/complicity to power relations between the dominator and subordinate, which eventually legitimize and internalize symbolic violence. Inequality and violent practices are spread across the resource rich and tree planting villages. Such irregularities are manifested as misrecognition of women potentials, rights and responsibilities, consent to socially defined and accepted power relations between men and women and through complicity to normalized symbolic powers. Consent and complicity of women to practices that amount to symbolic violence have perpetuated decision-making practices skewed in the interests of men, which have influenced resources sustainability. The men's desire for fiscal resources have fuelled transaction of land and landed resources, leaving most families with sparse productive lands. Women are threatened and/or maltreated when they voice concerns on resource control.

The long-standing patriarchal and misogynist system has set the skewed relationships between men and women. Apart from being deprived of the rights to resource ownership and control, women are regarded as homemakers while men as breadwinners (Alliyu, 2016). With symbolic power, a man decides what to do with the land and since women are not involved in decision-making, they are equally uninformed of the decisions made including plots of land sold to domestic investors, which lead to a loss of family lands. In this regards, a 53-year old woman explained one of her bad experiences of men

domination. In her case, her husband sold one of the favourite cropland without her consent or awareness. When asked how it happened she said:

> *"It was in a rainy season, so I went to prepare the farm for growing maize. Arriving at the farm, I was astonished that our farm was invaded by tree growers, which made me, come home quickly to ask him. He then told me that he sold it too"* (Interview at Isaula 13th April, 2018).

When asked what her reaction was, she simply said,

> *"I felt very bad but could not do anything. When a man decides, it is over. You cannot disagree."*

Silence is one of the options women take as complicity to a potentially coercive situation. Disapproving deeds of a man, which would be more appropriate, implies misbehaving. Misrecognizing their potentials, women comply with the exerted dominations to avoid more violence from their oppressive partners (Thapar-Bjorkert *et al.*, 2016). This is a practice whereby symbolic violence is recognized but not challenged and hence legitimizes its proliferation and influences to the subordinate (Bourdieu, 2001). If left unchallenged, a dominant person will do more of the same practices as a right practice.

Tree planting has led to the conversion of many croplands to woodlots. Such conversions are either done by families that diversify income sources for their households to include tree businesses, or sell croplands to domestic investors for tree planting. When asked about tree planting in her household, a woman from Isaula village confirmed that they have several plots of woodlots that her family established. However, since her husband does not participate in crop farming, he has expanded tree planting to family croplands. This is worrying her as she sees the dwindling of croplands, which will have adverse effects in the near future. Talking of her husband's practices, she said:

> "*He has planted trees to some of my maize farms. He does not know the risks we are going to face when we run out of food. He does not stay at home rather spends most of his extra time at the pub for bamboo juice*" (Interview 17th April, 2018).

The dwindling of croplands indicates the scarcity of lands that families will be facing in the near future. Women are worried about the impending hunger and poverty that might hit them when land and food are eventually gone. The planning by men and husbands, apart from being discriminatory, exacerbates poverty and hunger. This is contrary to global efforts stipulated in the SDGs 1 and 2, which advocate for poverty and zero hunger by 2030 (UNDP, 2015).

Drawing from Bourdieu's scholarly work "Distinction" of 2002, Angela Durey argues that, characteristics and practices of dominant groups can be changed or moderated by critical practices of conscious subordinate groups especially when such subordinates actively engage in activities that can influence changes (Durey, 2014). Similarly, Ojha stressed that the status of misrecognition are dynamic hence can be recognized, challenged, and changed. It is thus upon subordinate groups who are agents of change to recognize their potentials and opportunities for instigating the desired changes towards their interests (Ojha *et al.*, 2009).

4.5 Concluding Remarks

We set out to unveil gender inequality with respect to women's access to family lands in the context of tree planting surge in the selected villages of the Southern Highlands, Tanzania. Drawing from Bourdieu's the concept of symbolic violence we observe subjugation of women voice and agency in claiming resources hence their limited involvement in land transactions. This is despite the reforms of land administration system

in Tanzania (URT, 1999; URT, 2001) and specifically in the study area where land ownership, control, and utilization is still dominated by patriarchal system, which discriminates against women. Women suffer symbolic violence through traditional practices of inheritance, which limit them from having control over it. This happens because of their misrecognition of violence imparted on them. However, even in cases where there is recognition of symbolic violence, the affected women decide not to challenge it for fear of causing matrimonial disturbances. Moreover, although Colaguori (2010) denies violence as being a destructive practice *per-se* when he says *'Violence is therefore not only an active mechanism of social life, it establishes the political ontology of social life'*, he still acknowledges as we do that violence greatly affects women in terms of their access to both land and associated benefits.

Effective implementation of the existing land laws and regulation is inevitable. This calls for local government authorities at village and district levels, NGOs like PELUM, legislatures, and policy makers to promote gender equality in land management practices as well as empowering women against dominant and discriminatory traditions and customs. This entails among other things, capacity building on knowledge of the laws among village land administrators, that is, the Village Council, and best practice of the same among villagers. Legal frameworks, laws, and regulations can affirm their right to not only family lands, but also participation in decision-making process regarding family resources.

Finally, although the contestation regarding resource ownership and control between men and women is traditional, they provide room for debate and negotiation for a power balance. In the study of epistemic violence on Othering, Bunch (2015) commended for communities to actively develop 'non oppressive' practices in gender and social positions

among others, as a way to stop violence. Contrary to radical feminist perspective, which insists on women alone to deal with societal gender challenges, we promote dialectical communication between women and men, the integrations that can change the state of misrecognition. This will reveal and heal practices of symbolic violence and enhance gender inequality in land management and other resources in the selected villages of Southern Highlands of Tanzania.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Major Results and Conclusions

5.1.1 Typology of domestic private land-based investors and mechanisms of access to village lands

Basically, there are five categories of domestic investors of tree planting in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, categorised based on the mode of access to village land. Urban-based investors comprises rich people from urban centres, central government employees, businessmen, government employees at Districts Councils also private companies that invest in tree planting business. Most of these are strangers to villages of investment and their activities are facilitated by financial capital. The money facilitates purchasing of land parcels, farm inputs, seedlings, labour and farm management. When compared to other domestic investors, the farm size of urban-based are larger, which implicates to their higher financial muscles hence capital for investments.

Urban-based originating from villages, although do not live in villages, they resemble villagers in several ways hence treated as fellow villagers. Although some acquire land as share of inheritance from their ancestors, their social identity provides them with many opportunities of acquiring land parcels than their capital. Thus, due to their origin, some enjoy good relationships with village leaders, who may even facilitate access by dodging some legitimate steps of acquiring land. Social identity allows them to bypass laws and bureaucracy and reduce the price of land.

Resident villagers have very strong social ties within villages; hence their social identity is a major means of access than capital. Most of their lands are part of family lands acquired

through inheritance and parcels of lands purchased from fellow villagers, a major factor for social differentiation. Residency means that they access land for free or more cheaply than urban-based investors.

Government and religious organisations access vast lands mainly through authority as their mechanism of access. Village councils allocate common land for various public purposes, for instance local public schools, and villages and district councils themselves may also set aside or acquire land as their own investment. Public institutions acquire communal village land through allocation by the village council as a local and, at times, national public good, which makes capital less important for such organisations to acquire land. Similarly, religious institutions have much authority embedded in people's beliefs. As the most respected institution, churches have accumulated vast tracts of land. As authoritative organs, churches are rarely questioned or accused of misconduct and this allows them enjoyment of benefits from the land. Most of the land owned by these institutions is, consequently, acquired through allocations from village councils, gifted and as shares, or bought at low prices from villagers.

Like public and private institutions, local leaders both civic and religious use their authority and position to acquire tracts of land for tree planting. Local politicians and village leaders are authoritative individuals who may not use money to buy land from individual villagers but do have powers to influence land distribution and land transactions through which they get a share of land plots. Their position as authorities provides a mechanism to acquire land in many villages. Their knowledge about availability and prices on the land market is an additional advantage.

Middlemen are very important stakeholders of land transactions who mediate land businesses between villagers and urban-based domestic investors who are strange to each other. Middlemen are well informed about rural settings and are on good terms with landowners and village authorities. Thus, urban-based investors often ‘borrow’ and ‘pay for’ social identity from middlemen, who originate from the area or have strong local connections, who increasingly have come to mediate land transactions.

Although the theory of access provides eight mechanisms of access, I acknowledge the significance of all mechanisms in facilitating access, but my analysis has included only three as the most applicable in land acquisition for tree planting in the Southern Highlands.

5.1.2 Transactions of village lands for tree planting

Several factors are identified as pushing and pulling smallholders to sell land to domestic investors. The push factors are simple commodity exchange, which include income poverty, a reason for most distress selling. Rural elites are another push factor that exerts much pressure to land holders to transfer ownership either through direct exchange of land with money or land for a service or aid. Marauding vermin the monkeys are responsible for most of transactions of croplands near woodlots. Land theft through invasion to other people’s land is one of the mechanisms of land transactions. Similarly, the pull factors operate in the tree-planting surge in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. Donor funded initiatives; PFP, FDT and foreign large-scale investors GRL and NFC have been important pull factor for land transactions. Through provision of free seedlings, free training on plantation management and formation of Tree Growers Associations (TGAs), these initiatives have motivated land transactions for tree planting, propelling the transformation of vast lands to woodlots. Middlemen, popularly called *‘Dalali’* in Swahili language, are

another pull factor for land transactions as they mediate business between strangers. They look for customers for lands and motivate sellers to cede their land parcels. Their control of information on land availability, land prices, land sellers, and land buyers make them significant contributors of village land transactions and dispossession of villagers of their village land.

The tree-planting surge has led to crumbling of the commons and dwindling of croplands at high rates. The sustained customary tenure disturbs the hegemonic land administration. The Village Council has limited powers of control over the vast *Mahame* lands, the clan lands in the village whose right holding or ownership is ill defined in state land laws. The customary tenure is the stumbling block for proper implementation of land management provisions prescribed in the Land and Village Land Acts of 1999.

Although tree-planting activities are lucrative businesses, the commodification of land exacerbates poverty to smallholders. The willing seller-willing buyer scenario has skewed benefits with capitalists domestic investors accruing most of the benefits, the benefits whose multiplier effects are further to the urban centres than rural areas.

5.1.3 Gender inequality and violence associated with accessing family lands

In spite of efforts invested in promoting gender equality in natural resource management, land management and administration in the Southern Highlands are patrilineal guided by traditions and taboos. Men portray misogynistic and other dominance characteristics that subjugate women agencies and voices. The acts of mistreatment, violations and violence are misrecognised, taken by women and the society as natural, given, unchangeable hence normalized. Transactions of land for tree planting have raised the sense of land ownership, which revert the society back to traditions when women could not own immovable

resources including land. Tree planting has facilitated appropriation of land from women. Practices that amount to symbolic violence have fuelled uncontrolled transactions of family lands. Some families are experiencing land scarcity, hence worried of their future because men have taken control of lands and are selling excessively to domestic investors of tree planting. Women suffer symbolic violence through traditional practices of inheritance, which excludes them from having control over resources. This happens because of their misrecognition of symbolic violence. However, even in cases where there is recognition of symbolic violence, affected women decide not to challenge it for fear of causing matrimonial disturbances. Symbolic violence is never static as they can be healed through dialectical communication between men and women.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Domestic investors visited

Because of the diversity of domestic investors and hence transformation of village lands, an attention is called to be paid to the regulation that facilitate these different types of transaction. There is a need to conduct an assessment on village land tenure systems, land businesses, reasons for and impacts of the businesses as perceived by local authorities, local communities and other stakeholders like Participatory Ecological Land Use Management. Further, different domestic investors have different mechanism of land acquisition and hence different impact to local communities. Since the transactions of village lands are poorly coordinated, an analysis of scale of acquisition and impacts of each category is necessary for short and long term management of negative outcomes.

5.2.2 Address the legal pluralism in land management

The Land and Village Land Acts need to clearly address the management of village lands including the Mahame land. There is a need to nitty-gritty analyse the land transaction structure and unlock the gaps that leads to social differentiation. It is important to

understand the position of middlemen in land transactions, hence manage their practices and strengthen their responsibilities to village councils. The on going tree planting activities and the rush for village land be controlled or rather stopped to manage the impending destitute conditions. Tree planting activities are capital intensive and create huge benefits to investors. To balance the costs and benefits, these activities need to be inclusive to revitalize equitable rural development and prosperity.

5.2.3 Addressing gender equality for social development

Women have significant roles in the social development hence there is a need to elucidate the importance of collective performance of men and women in development agenda. The studied societies should abandon the patriarchal systems and practices that oppress women instead allow women potentials, values and interests be expressed in support of development agenda.

There is a need to juxtapose gender and socialization theories with tenure systems to merge the gap between social practices and tenure arrangements to exterminate violence against subordinate groups. As such, an effective implementation of the existing land laws and regulation is inevitable. This calls for local government authorities at village and district levels, legislatures and policy makers to promote gender equality in land management practices as well as empowering women against dominant and discriminatory traditions and customs.

5.3 Theoretical Implication of the Findings

5.3.1 Theory of Access

The results from this study are in line with what Ribot and Peluso postulated in their seminal Theory of Access (Ribot and Peluso, 2003). The means, processes and relations used by domestic investors of tree planting to acquire village lands are well described by

the theory as Mechanisms of access. Although the theory provides eight mechanisms of access: knowledge, capital, market, social identities, social relations, authority, labour and technology, the analysis from domestic investment of Southern highlands uses mostly three: capital, identities and authority to acquire land for investment. The three mechanisms chosen are most appropriate in explaining means, processes and relations through which land for tree planting is acquired. Although not directly mentioned in the theory, middlemen, most of whom are village residents play an important role in tree planting activities. Domestic investors who are strangers to villages and so have no connections with villagers use middlemen to facilitate acquisition of village land, purchasing of seedlings, searching for labour and management of tree plantations. Thus, middlemen act as a supplementary means of access that mediate transactions between strangers, an important mechanism of access not directly mentioned in the seminal Theory of Access.

The findings presented in this study confirm the theory of access and thus extend knowledge on access literatures (Blaikie, 1989; Ribot and Peluso, 2003; Pedersen, 2016). Access as ability to derive benefits from things is demonstrated by the three mechanisms: capital, social relations and authority. These have been employed to acquire land either legally by following processes sanctioned by the state and communities or even illicit gains (Ribot and Peluso, 2003). As presented, different people and institutions are positioned differently towards land as a resource for tree planting, hence use different mechanisms to access village lands. This gives a diversity of typology of domestic investors, the actors with bundle of powers –means, relations and processes that enable one to plant trees (derived benefit) on village land. Alongside the mechanisms of access, the theory of access describes other two important component of access, which are access control and maintenance. While access control is the ability to mediate access to others,

access maintenance is about '*expending resources and powers to keep a particular sort of resource access open'* (Ribot and Peluso, 2003 pp. 159). The village councils are access controllers who direct and guide actions of land acquisitions and through which domestic investors gain access to village land. In turn, in order to maintain access to land, domestic investors need to use resources and powers that benefit the resource controllers. This study extends the theory of access to include 'people' in mechanisms of access, in this case middlemen as observed in the role played in land transaction and tree planting in the Southern Highlands.

5.3.2 Primitive capital accumulation and accumulation by dispossession

The transactions of village lands between smallholders and domestic investors, though branded as willing seller willing buyer transactions epitomize land alienation through appropriation and expropriation of the Marx's era and a contemporary accumulation by dispossession of David Harvey despite of geographical disparities (Levien, 2018). The main features are similar that the end point is creating the class of landless people who eventually turn into labourers in plantations established in their former lands. According to David Harvey (Harvey, 2004) accumulation by dispossession turns family lands into agribusiness connoted *'prey upon low income families'* leaving the preyed families landless. This is in line with practices in the study area where domestic investors of tree planting do not regard the aftermath of smallholders after land businesses. Land and land use conflicts within and between families signify that land transactions though sanctioned in some ways, are not welcome. Thus, these findings confirm the theory of accumulation by dispossession and extend the application of the theory to developing countries of the global south.

Contrary to Marxism, capital injection is a necessity for rural transformation. At least in Tanzania, rural areas are the poorest so are the local communities. Most of the rural areas rely on agriculture most of which is subsistence and has hitherto failed to address the adamant poverty, as coined by Snyder *et al.* (2019) *"that smallholder farming is stagnant and cannot reduce poverty"*. The current society's especially rural areas of Southern Highlands of Tanzania need capital to invest in activities that will transform their agricultural practices hence address poverty.

In the current globalisation, one cannot dictate where capital should come from but it is possible to control on how the capital should be utilized. The findings of this study are in line with Marx's discourse of capital accumulation, which describes private ownership of means of production like land enriches the capitalists at the expense of labourers (Marx, 1867). Land sales is a simple commodity exchange, where individuals sell land as a commodity to make money that will enable them to buy other commodities for their basic needs and consumption *per se* rather than profit. Rural elites and urban-based domestic investors in the other hand are epitome to petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists who invest their money in the lucrative tree planting business for super profits. Others are similar to merchants capitalists who buy land for speculative reasons, to sell it when prices are higher, hence make a profit. Thus, the materials presented in this study extend the theory of primitive capital accumulation on investments whose investors vary in muscles of fiscal capital (Lusasi *et al.*, 2020). Thus, instead of alienating land from poor landholders, capital could be used to facilitate rural poor to invest in tree planting in their lands eventually sell trees and tree products including Carbon Credits to domestic investors and other actors.

5.3.3 Symbolic violence

Mistreatment, subjugation and practices that denote power asymmetry between men and women are reported in tree planting villages. All these amount to Symbolic Violence as provided by Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2001). As given in the theory, the women in studied villages endure misrecognition, consents and complicity, which when it comes to land control and ownership, pull them down to nothing. Since it involves land and other immovable resources like trees, the societies of the studied villages maintain the traditions and taboos that women cannot own land. The doxic practices "taken for granted values are being enacted automatically in practice without much questioning equally by those dominant and dominated" (Ojha *et al.*, 2009) experienced in the global north in domestic settings happen in a similar way in natural resources management in the global south. Practices of symbolic violence are destructive. They create a dichotomy of freedom and constraint through misrecognition, condescension, consent and complicity of one group over another. Thus, the findings from this study confirm the concepts of symbolic violence in natural resources management and extend to patriarchal system of human relations as practices that perpetuate symbolic violence.

5.4 Area for Further Research

Several areas are identified as important to research on regarding tree planting and transactions of village lands but were not a focus of this study:

i) An assessment of the scale and impact of each type of domestic investor. This will help moderate modes of land acquisition as different investors acquire land differently.

ii) The scale of village land transactions in the Southern Highlands Tanzania. This will give a clearer picture of smallholder's survival mechanisms after appropriation and dispossession of croplands.

iii) Tree planting value chain: cost-benefit analysis of transforming croplands to tree plantations. This will help to decide whether smallholders should continue selling lands or plant trees themselves in stead.

iv) The significance of women participation in management of village lands. This will tell directly what the society should take of women contrary to the current normalized women subjugations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: An interview guide for domestic investors

Processes of land acquisition for Tree planting in village land and their impacts to local communities

Region:_____District:_____Village:_____Respondent identity:_____Age of respondent:_____

INTRODUCTION

My name is Justin Lusasi. I am a PhD student at SUA, studying issues related to rural development. This research is conducted for the PhD study and is under the Timber Rush project implemented in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The main objective of the study is to investigate the processes followed by domestic investors to acquire village land for planting trees, and their associated impacts. The study has no affiliation or connection to any political party rather purely academics. Your information will be confidential, used only to complete the requirement of the study. Thus, I request you time and tolerance to answer the questions honestly to completion.

A. Who is acquiring land for afforestation in this village?

- How did you know about land availability in the village you are investing?
- How much did you buy land? How much land do you have for forestry?
- Is your forest registered in the village council?
- Do you expect to expand your plantation? How?
- What document do you have that supports your investment?
- What influenced or motivated the Village Council to give you this land?

B. How do domestic investors acquire village land for afforestation?

- How do you hold land in (name) village(s); bought, borrowed, leased?
- When did you buy land/trees first time? Who witnessed land buying processes? Who did you involve? Did you make document? Why did you go through this process? What is your source of income?
- What motivated you to invest in afforestation?

- Do you hold other land apart from this village? Which villages?
- What trees are you planting and what is the target for that type of trees? How old is your oldest farm?
- Can you tell anything about your (already or expected) first harvests?
- Do you know other people with trees in village land? How much land do they hold?
- Have you experienced any conflict with villagers? How did you feel about the conflict? How did you resolve it (step by step)? Why did you go through that process? Who wins in court on land cases? How do you regard the conflict settling institutions?
- If it were you, would you sell your land to tree growers?

D. What social relationships exist between domestic investors and local communities over time?

- What is local community's perception on afforestation in the village land?
- Do you get what you expected from local communities?
- What complaints come from local communities regarding forestry investments in village land?
- What do you offer to local communities to strengthen the social relationship?

Appendix 2: Interview guide to land sellers

Research Instruments: Processes of land acquisition for Tree planting in village land and their impacts to local communities

Region:_____District:_____Village:_____Date_____

Respondent identity:_____Age of respondent:_____

INTRODUCTION

My name is Justin Lusasi. I am a PhD student at SUA, studying issues related to rural development. This research is conducted for the PhD study and is under the Timber Rush project implemented in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The main objective of the study is to investigate the processes followed by domestic investors to acquire village land for planting trees, and their associated impacts. The study has no affiliation or connection to any political party rather purely academics. Your information will be confidential, used only to complete the requirement of the study. Thus, I request you time and tolerance to answer the questions honestly to completion.

C. Who is acquiring land for afforestation in this village?

- a) When did the current high demand of village land for afforestation started in this village?
  b) To whom did you sell land? Where are the buyers come from
  c) Are they all planting trees?
- a) What is the nature of tree growers?
  b) Are there investors among them?
  c) What differentiate them?
  d) Do they come within members of the village?
  e) Can you establish categories?
- How many investors have their land planted trees?
- Of all the investors, who owns the largest size of forest?
- What nature of the contracts exists between investors and land sellers?

D. How do domestic investors acquire village land for afforestation?

- a) Where/how did you get the land that you have sold?
  b) How do domestic investors acquire village land (step by step)?

c) How did you involve authorities when selling land?

d) Do you have any papers/documents describing your land business?

- a) How much land did you have?

b) How much have you sold?

c) How much is remaining?

d) What do you use it for?

- a) Who is selling land in the family?

b) Why did you sell land?

c) Couldn't you use the land yourself and your family instead of selling it?

d) Did you sell land several times?

e) Did you sell land with or without trees?

f) Are you going to sell more land?

D. What social relationships exist between domestic investors and local communities over time?

a) What factors constitute the social relationships between domestic investors and local communities?

b) Do you get what you expected from domestic investors?

c) What complaints come from domestic investors regarding forestry investments in village land?

d) What contribution do you get from domestic investors?

Appendix 3: Interview guide to women and female children

Research Instruments: Processes of land acquisition for Tree planting in village land and their impacts to local communities

Region:_____District:_____Village:_____Date_____

Respondent identity:_____Age of respondent:_____

INTRODUCTION

My name is Justin Lusasi. I am a PhD student at SUA, studying on issues related to rural development. This research is conducted for the PhD study and is under the Timber Rush project implemented in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The main objective of the study is to investigate the processes involved to acquire village land for planting trees, and their associated impacts. The study has no affiliation or connection to any political party rather purely academic. Your information will be confidential, used only to complete the requirement of the study. Thus, I request you time and tolerance to answer the questions honestly to completion.

E. Who is acquiring land for afforestation in this village?

- a) When did the current high demand of village land for afforestation started in this village?

  b) Is your family involved in selling land to tree growers?

  c) If yes, how do you participate in land transaction processes? Do you benefit from the transactions? How?

  d) What is your opinion regarding land businesses in general?
- a) Who claim land ownership in the family and why?

  f) How tree planting and land transactions affected women access to land?

  g) How the gendered access to land has affected the resource sustainability?

  h) What is your experience on land distribution to widows?

  i) What land rights do you have? Do you own land plots? What land do you call yours?
- a) Where/how did you get the land that you have sold?
- a) How much land did your family own?

  e) How much have you sold?

  f) How much is remaining?

- a) Who is selling land in the family?
  g) Why selling land?
  h) Couldn’t you use the land yourself?
- What have you done to control further selling of family lands?
- Do you feel unable to control the practices? How?
  a) How does your family regard you on land ownership?
  b) Do you accept comply with the treatment of your family members?
  c) What do you suggest as a mediation to the situation?
- What other families say about your situation? Are they treated the same?