



Strengthening pastoral women's land rights in northern Tanzania

A review of the impacts and achievements of the Women's Leadership Forums

A report for Maliasili Initiatives, Pastoral Women's Council and Ujamaa Community Resource Team

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Executive summary

This study was commissioned by Maliasili Initiatives, in collaboration with Pastoral Women's Council and Ujamaa Community Resource Team, to review and document the experiences and achievements of the Women's Leadership Forums (WLFs) as part of the project 'Advancing pastoral women's land rights in northern Tanzania'. The project works with Maasai communities in Ngorongoro, Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts and builds on earlier initiatives aimed at strengthening community capacity to protect their rights to land.

The aim of WLF is to strengthen the role of women in leadership and mobilise communities to address women's land rights. Pastoralist women face challenges in securing land rights at two levels –at the individual level their customary rights within the community are limited, and at the community level, pastoralist land is being encroached upon for different purposes and they are losing access and rights over their land. Pastoralist communities have resisted alienation with some success, but have done so without finding lasting solutions and without the broad participation of women. Threats of land alienation and encroachment are increasing concerns and communities are becoming desperate to find lasting solutions. Women recognize that they will be the first victims of dispossession and thus they want to be at the forefront of protecting their land.

In the past, the ability of women to influence public decision making in Maasai communities was limited, but now, in the areas where WLFs are active, women are speaking in public and have strategically increased their influence in their communities by obtaining seats in village government councils and by collaborating with the customary leadership. Through this engagement, women have been able to challenge leaders on issues of rights, and change how community matters are handled. Significantly WLFs have gained legitimacy in the community, giving WLFs the basis to develop and create a constituency within the community as a whole. This important achievement means that WLFs are creating space for a women's customary leadership institution, which is an important new development in these communities as customary leadership was traditionally only for men. Women are using their influence in both customary and local government leadership spheres, strengthening the capacity of these institutions to recognize and protect women's rights. In recognizing that strong leadership is needed to help protect community land, WLFs have succeeded in mobilizing communities to actively defend their land rights. Nurturing a popular movement to secure pastoralist land rights will be a future achievement for WLFs.

Livestock in a pastoralist setting are the main source of wealth for communities, however women are often denied rights to access this wealth. Currently the distribution of profits from the family herd is at the discretion of the male head of the herding unit. Being left out of decision making processes regarding herd management can result in women and their children – even in wealthy households – to be very poor and marginalized. Therefore, women are trying to ensure that their rights to property and inheritance are protected in practice, and the WLFs are engaging in a debate about how to reconcile the locally variable and different prevailing norms and practices with the concept of universal rights. However, in order for women's rights to actually be recognized and protected locally, they need to be embedded in a socially negotiated shift in cultural norms and practices. The constituency that the WLFs are developing, as a customary leadership institution, provides such an opportunity to review and revise 'cultural' norms and practice, driven by women's transformed awareness and desire for equality, and bringing the *status quo* more in line with current rights-based approaches to inheritance and property.

Across the three districts, women state that they are significantly more confident to engage in strengthening land rights for women, and they attribute this to the training on land rights provided through the WLFs and the opening up of space for women to engage in matters of

concern to the whole community. Women have demonstrated that increasing their awareness through these trainings can result in real action. For example, women mobilized communities to tackle land rights abuses on the contested lands in Loliondo, which borders Serengeti National Park, by rejecting the government's decision to allocate 1,500 km² of village land for a Game Controlled Area. Women are also struggling for land rights in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, setting up land patrols in Kiteto, and lobbying for customary deeds for plots for women in settlements. Competent and courageous leadership, particularly by women, has been demonstrated in creating and nurturing unity between the different elements of Maasai society (section, age-set, clan and family) and in mobilizing people to take action to protect and enhance their land rights. It is, however, recognized that considerable effort is still required to find effective ways to strengthen pastoralist land tenure.

Conclusions and recommendations on supporting the long-term capacity development of Women's Leadership Forums: The study found that an important factor in the emergence of WLFs is the increased marginalization of communities. Customary institutions have demonstrated their support to the WLF, and women are increasingly represented in the formal systems of government at village level. A social movement seems to be developing, born from the extreme urgency of threats, pressure and oppression that women and their communities face, especially in Loliondo and Ngorongoro, challenging current practice in gender relations and land governance. There are four main recommendations, all of which in their own ways support WLF to nurture the emerging social movement.

1. Enhance the emergence of a social movement for strengthened pastoralist land tenure and changed gender relations
2. Nurture women's leadership in customary institutions
3. Enhance women leadership to support adaptive management of rangelands
4. Improve women's economic empowerment

Conclusions and recommendations on agency support: With their well-informed commitment to community development in northern Tanzania, the Pastoral Women's Council and Ujamaa Community Resource Team are uniquely placed to provide sensitive and appropriate support to the emerging roles of women in leadership in these areas. Maliasili Initiatives, with its long-term experience and understanding of the challenges faced by both civil society and the local communities in the area is also well placed to continue to provide strategic support that will enhance the long-term capacity development of the two organizations. The following are recommendations to strengthen support for this project:

1. Strengthen the emergence of WLFs and build their capacity
2. Provide strategic focus on collaboration and solidarity
3. Strengthen capacity for facilitation
4. Work to find pastoralist land tenure solutions

List of abbreviations and acronyms

CCRO	Certificate of Customary Right of Occupancy
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DC	District Commissioner
Ereto-NPP	Ereto – Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project
GCA	Game Controlled Area
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ILC	International Land Coalition
IUCN	World Conservation Union
IWGIA	International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
MI	Maliasili Initiatives
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
NCA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area
NCAA	Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGONET	Ngorongoro NGO network
NP	National Park
NPWA	Ngorongoro Pastoralist Women’s Association
OBC	Ortello Business Corporation
PC	Pastoralist Council
PINGO	Pastoralist and Indigenous Peoples Organization
PM	Prime Minister
PWC	Pastoral Women’s Council
RC	Regional Commissioner
SENAPA	Serengeti National Park Authority
TALA	Tanzania Land Alliance
TCL	Tanzania Conservation Limited
TNRF	Tanzania Natural Resource Forum
UCL	University College of London
UCRT	Ujamaa Community Resource Team
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollars
WAG	Women’s Action Group
WLF	Women’s Leadership Forum
WRC	Women’s Rights Committee

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1. Introduction and background to the study

1.1 Introduction to the project on advancing the rights of pastoral women

Over the past three years the Pastoral Women's Council (PWC), Ujamaa Community Resource Team (UCRT) and Maliasili Initiatives have jointly implemented the project in Simanjiro, Ngorongoro and Kiteto Districts in northern Tanzania, entitled 'Advancing the Rights of Pastoral Women in Tanzania'. The project is informed by the understanding that women's land rights in Maasai communities in Tanzania are insecure as a result of pressures and threats from both external and internal forces. External forces tend to be investment initiatives or state sponsored land expropriation schemes that undermine community land rights, while internal forces are often customary norms that deny women rights to land and decision making, with women only being able to gain the right to land through the discretion of a male head of household.

The growing demand for land by foreign commercial interests and local political and economic elites gives rise to new or escalating conflicts. These land conflicts pit the interests of investors and their supporters against the customary rights of local communities, which are enshrined in law.

The project proposal states that: *'Land conflicts are thus inherently related to the ability of local communities to organize collectively to defend their rights and interests in land; a key component of this is ensuring that local governance is accountable and collective interests are adhered to in land management decisions locally and at higher levels of government. Ensuring the participation of women in such decision-making processes is a critical component of this wider issue of accountability and local collective action'*. To address the above challenges, the project has five objectives:

- 1) **Strengthen women's ability to secure individual land holdings in target communities in Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro District.** This area of work is carried out by PWC, and aims to issue Certificates of Customary Right of Occupancy (CCROs) to the most vulnerable women as selected by their communities.
- 2) **Strengthen women's participation and capacity for collective social action on land issues in target communities in Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts and in Loliondo Division.** Building on experience from earlier work, UCRT facilitates the establishment of *Women's Leadership Forums (WLF)*, strengthens existing WLFs and further develops WLF.
- 3) **Strengthen tenure security of communal village land and reduce threat of large-scale land alienation in target communities.** UCRT supports participatory land use planning and boundary demarcation, to ensure that villages obtain land certificates. This objective also supports objective 2, and involves facilitating dialogue at different levels, between different actors, between men and women customary leaders, within village councils, within households and between the village, district and regional administrative levels.
- 4) **Document ongoing land rights issues and experiences, including land tenure conflicts, and the impact of UCRT's and PWC's efforts to strengthen individual and collective rights.** This documentation will then be disseminated through national and international networks and will contribute towards an improved and better-grounded dialogue on pastoralist land rights.

- 5) **Enhance capacity of UCRT and PWC to support women's and overall collective rights issues at village, district and national scales.** There are three sub-components of this goal: 1) Strengthening capacity to engage in key national networks in Tanzania; 2) Establishing learning processes for critical review of organizational competences; and 3) Strengthening overall organizational management.

Box 1: Note about usage of 'WLF' in this report:

The lexicology of these terms may initially be somewhat confusing: the term 'WLF' (Women's Leadership Forum) refers to women's leadership institutions started under the UCRT-TNRF initiative, while 'WRC' (Women's Rights Committee) refers to the analogues started by PWC in different villages. However, both UCRT and PWC also refer to WLFs that are umbrella bodies that meet at ward and district levels, formed from representatives sent from each village WLF or WRC. In this report WLFs and WRCs are collectively referred to as WLFs.

Key to implementing the project is the support given to expanding the scope for women to develop solidarity amongst themselves and to take on leadership positions. This study has been commissioned specifically to document and analyze the achievements of the WLFs (objective 2 of the project) in order to understand how best to provide support in the future.

1.2 Background to the Women's Leadership Forums

According to PWC and UCRT reports, by mid 2013, PWC was working with 42 *Women's Rights Committees (WRCs)* in all 21 wards of Ngorongoro District. UCRT was working with a total of 17 WLFs (7 wards in Ngorongoro District, 6 villages in Simanjiro District, and 4 villages in Kiteto District). As stated in the proposal, *'These WLFs will be provided with technical training on land policy, law and administration and will be facilitated to develop and articulate agendas for women's social action around land issues at village, ward and division/district scale'*.

In its current form, a WLF (see Box 1) is a mechanism that empowers women by helping them to identify problems, find strategies to resolve problems, and coordinate and implement these strategies themselves. The approach is to facilitate women to identify female leaders who can advocate for women's rights on their behalf. Members of the WLF meet regularly with the women they represent and other women leaders; for example, they meet in the various economic development groups, the women's rights committees, the village and ward land rights committees, and in the joint leadership forums between women and customary men leaders. Recently all the members of WLFs from across northern Tanzania met at a two-day Women's Land Summit to exchange experiences and develop strategies for a way forward. From the evidence presented at the meeting, WLFs have succeeded in drawing attention to women's rights, especially to the rights of women to participate and engage in public dialogue and public processes, and the rights of women to own property and land. Women have also engaged in promoting women's rights to economic empowerment, protection from violence, and the rights to education. Women at the Land Summit were well informed about these rights and experienced in promoting them.

The WLFs have evolved to reach their current status from various other initiatives, building on more than a decade of engagement between PWC and UCRT and the communities they work with in northern Tanzania. One initiative directly linked to WLFs was a project called 'Community Forums', which was funded by the Ford Foundation. Community Forums were established in Longido, Ngorongoro, Simanjiro and Hanang Districts and it was a joint initiative between UCRT and Tanzania Natural Resource Forum (TNRF). Starting in 2006, the initiative was envisioned as a platform of informed customary leaders advocating on behalf of their communities, and designed to support existing structures and communications. As a first phase the initiative started working with men only. But having built up their trust and awareness, a second phase (2008-2011) was implemented that focused on working with women to support

them to develop their own leadership groups. It was anticipated that the new women's leadership institutions would then create the basis for women to relate to men's customary leadership institutions in a much more powerful way, and in 2009 the first WLFs were established.¹ The Community Forums project provided training on land, natural resources and local government laws, and this training added to the groundswell of information being provided to leaders (mostly men) on land rights.² In 2009, the WLFs had a strong role to play in mobilizing the communities to resist the Loliondo evictions, which further strengthened their legitimacy and usefulness within their communities. When funding ended in early 2011, the WLFs continued to meet whenever possible, and slowly established their constituency. At the same time, PWC's work with Women's Solidarity Bomas (from 1998) and Women's Rights Committees (from 2011) provided training to women on their rights, in particular women's and girls' rights to protection from violence and their rights to education, property and land. This work added value to WLF. In late 2011 a new project started, and this report documents the considerable achievements made since then, not least the achievement of the WLFs in becoming an established customary institution in a male dominated and patriarchal society.

1.3 The land rights context for the study

According to PWC, pastoralist women are particularly vulnerable to losing their land.

'Internally, women are subject to discrimination and social marginalization due to the patriarchal nature of Maasai society, and customary practices that deny women rights to property and participation in social processes and decision-making. Externally, women share in the vulnerability of pastoralist communities throughout northern Tanzania to the growing range of pressures and threats linked to land grabbing, encroachment, and appropriation of communities' assets'.

Most of the land in the areas where the WLFs operate (Kiteto, Simanjiro, Loliondo and Longido Districts) has been occupied by pastoralist communities for generations. Today, pastoralists still manage the land for grazing their livestock in an extensive livestock production system, which adapts to the environmental and weather constraints making the best use of highly productive grasslands, prevailing markets and the availability of labor. At the same time, these areas are often top destinations for the tourism industry, as many of the best rangelands are also dry landscapes of exceptional scenic beauty, supporting large numbers of wildlife. Conservation interests in this area are strong, and there is a history of alienation³ of huge tracts of pastoralist land for national parks, namely: The Serengeti, Tarangire, Manyara and Mkomazi National Parks and Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). This outside interest in the land continues today, and in early 2013 the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) declared that 1,500km² of village land in Loliondo Division, Ngorongoro District would be expropriated for conservation as a 'wildlife corridor'. However, following strong resistance led by pastoralist women, in September 2013 during a visit to Loliondo Division, the Prime Minister (PM) declared to the communities that the contested land should remain village land under their control. However, to date the PM has not formally announced this decision in Parliament, and communities remain unsure of the final outcome.

In Kiteto and Simanjiro Districts it was reported that there is extensive agricultural encroachment onto rangelands, which is reducing availability of pasture and allegedly affecting livestock production. Longido remains primarily a pastoralist area. Land expropriation for tourism/conservation has historically occurred across Tanzania, most recently (again) in

¹ Mara Goldman, 2010, 'External Evaluation of the Community Forums Initiative; Phase 2, Women's Empowerment', A report for TNRF and UCRT.

² For example, Oxfam, Ereto-NPP, PINGOs and the government have all provided training on land and women's rights over the past decade, in a number of projects and initiatives.

³ Nearly all pastoral land is also under the Game Controlled Area (GCA) category.

Ngorongoro District⁴, although challenges for local communities are now emerging in Simanjiro and recurring in Longido regarding Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Hunting Blocks.

Pastoralist communities have resisted the expropriation of their land, and there have been several conflicts and legal cases. These efforts have usually succeeded in delaying eviction but they have not been able to resolve the conflicts or permanently secure the land for pastoralist communities and pastoralist land use. Although there have been some powerful female activists who have played a strong role in resisting land grabs, except increasingly in the last four years, generally women have not been involved at community level. It is against this background that WLF have worked to create space for women to learn about and engage in securing land rights.

1.4 Overview of the study

Maliasili Initiatives commissioned this study in July 2013 in order to document the achievements and challenges of WLF in advancing the land rights of pastoral women in Tanzania (for more detail, see the Terms of Reference, Annex 1). The assignment has three main objectives:

1. To work closely with the partners to document key achievements and challenges experienced by WLFs, especially in relation to securing land and property rights.
2. To explore with PWC and UCRT perspectives on women's empowerment and the development of WLFs so as to enable the provision of appropriate support in the future.
3. To coordinate with a parallel filming project documenting WLFs achievements.

The consultant spent two weeks in Tanzania in July 2013. Firstly she attended the two-day Women's Summit in Namanga, Longido District, which brought together representatives from all the WLFs across Northern Tanzania, and included Maasai and Barabaig pastoralists as well as Akie and Hadza hunter gatherers and Sonjo farmers from Ngorongoro. This provided considerable insight into the current status of women's rights and land rights as experienced by women in Northern Tanzania.

Following this the consultant conducted extensive fieldwork, together with PWC and UCRT staff, as well as the film team, and visited communities in Simanjiro and Ngorongoro Districts. The aim of the fieldwork was to listen to the perspectives and experiences of women on the achievements and challenges faced by the WLFs, and to seek their thoughts and ideas for the future development of WLFs. The opinion and experience of customary and village leaders, and of UCRT and PWC, were also sought, and a broad range of stakeholders were consulted within the time limits of the field review (see list of those consulted, Annex 2). The aim of the film is to further strengthen the development of the WLF initiative by disseminating the information gathered about the achievements of WLF to a wider audience. If possible, the film will also be shown to communities to feed into their strategies for the further development of WLF. With the team, the consultant developed interview methodologies for groups and individuals.

- a. Group interview: The team decided beforehand on the questions that would be asked (see generic question outline, Annex 3), and these were then presented in the local language, Maa, to the group being interviewed. Any clarifications were discussed with the group, and details of filming (where to sit, where to place the microphone, etc.) were agreed with the group. Once the group was comfortable, the main questions were presented again, and the interview and filming began. Further questions were asked if required.

⁴ The main alienations are for: the Ortello Business Corporation (OBC) seeking up to 1500km² of land in Loliondo for hunting and tourism, Thomson Safari enterprises seeking some 12,000 acres (Sukenya Farm) in Loliondo for tourism, NCAA seeking to expand the boundaries of the conservation area to cover village land in Engaresero to increase tourism into Lake Natron area.

- b. Individual interview: Sessions with individuals allowed for more searching discussion to provide in-depth information on life stories and people's attitudes toward women's empowerment and women's leadership. These sessions were not predetermined and allowed for more in-depth probing of the general presentations made by groups.

These methodologies took into consideration the fact that a film was being made, so there was need to maintain a flow, and not 'chop up' the interviews into question-answer type sessions. A positive outcome was that the groups and individuals being interviewed often 'took charge' of the interview once they understood the questions, and through this process a good dialogue was established between those interviewed and the team.

The first section of this report describes the general background and context of the study. Section two provides some detail of the achievements of WLFs, covering women's increased presence and influence in the public domain, women's strategies and achievements in leadership, in improving property rights and economic empowerment, and in strengthening land rights. The third section looks briefly at PWC and UCRT engagement with the WLFs, including presenting their ideas for future engagement with the WLFs. The fourth section provides a summary of key findings and conclusions and finally section five provides recommendations on strengthening the WLF initiative through a) supporting long term capacity development of WLF, and b) strengthening agency support to the process.

2. Women's achievements and empowerment

2.1 Women's increased presence and influence

Summary: Women's presence and influence has long been limited in Maasai pastoralist society as they are not customarily allowed to speak in public. Now women are speaking in public, and have strategically increased their influence in their communities by obtaining seats in village government councils and by collaborating with the men's customary leadership institutions (known as *Ilaigwanak*). Through this engagement, women have been able to challenge the way things are done, hold leaders to account on issues of rights, and change how community matters are handled. Significantly, the WLFs have gained legitimacy with the *Ilaigwanak*, giving WLFs the basis to develop and create a constituency within the community as a whole. This important achievement means that WLFs are creating the space for a women's customary leadership institution, which is something new to this society as prior to the work of the WLFs all customary leaders were men. Women are using their influence in both customary and local government leadership spheres, strengthening the capacity of these to recognize and protect women's rights.

Customarily women were not supposed to speak in public, and as a result women had limited opportunities to influence what happened to themselves, their families, or to their communities. Merwoyo Nepapai from Mokilal in NCA explained that if a woman wanted to speak at a public meeting, she could either stand with her back to the meeting and whisper to a man who would speak on her behalf, or she could kneel, take grasses in her hands and beg to be allowed to speak herself. Merwoyo tells that the first step to women's empowerment was to begin to speak in public, and she explained how gaining a voice has had far reaching impacts:

'Now women stand and speak directly to the meeting about matters that they think should be discussed, or make arguments for their views to be considered, or present issues that they have decided on. This effects a positive change, especially in regard to the community regaining control over the land and trying to own it. Women are particularly strong on this, stronger than men. The attitude of women to land has been noticed by the (male) customary leadership,

*who have admired their strength, determination and knowledge, and who have decided to join them in the struggle for land rights.*⁵

Another WLF strategy for increasing women's presence in their communities is to ensure that women are represented on village councils. According to interviews with women, village leadership and district leadership, women are much better represented on the village councils than they were before WLF started. In addition, women in Ngorongoro District have successfully lobbied to have eleven extra seats reserved for women on each village council. Through their increased presence on village councils, women were reported to be influencing decisions made at the village government level. In addition, they are reportedly holding village councils to account, and regularly challenging decisions made. Many examples were given, including challenging the way inheritance is handled; the rights of all children, including girls, to go to school; and the obligations of leaders to protect girls from early forced marriage and women from abuse.

In order to increase women's influence at community level and beyond the village boundaries, WLFs have collaborated with the male customary leadership, the *Ilaigwanak*, to resolve a number of issues and women are now represented at the *Ilaigwanak* meetings. Women also decided that *Ilaigwanak* should be represented on each WLF.

*'Following our decision to collaborate with men, we have seen changes; now no public meetings are held without women's attendance and now women themselves present their problems and ideas at these meetings.'*⁶

Collaborating with male leaders ensures that men also receive training on women's rights and women's land and property rights, which reportedly has far reaching impacts:

*'The critical problem has been for men to accept that women have rights to land and property. The training and approach are important, and we can clearly see that there is a difference between wards where WLF operate and where they have not yet been established, as where the WLFs do not operate, women are still struggling to be heard or to have their rights accepted and protected by men.'*⁷

Importantly this collaboration has given WLFs legitimacy in eyes of the *Ilaigwanak*, enabling the WLFs to develop and create a clear constituency within the community. This is a significant achievement as WLFs are now moving toward having the status of an accepted customary leadership institution, which is remarkable as there was no customary women's leadership prior to the establishment of the WLFs.

PWC and UCRT have been in a good position to support women's collaboration with the *Ilaigwanak*, because both organizations have a history of working with customary institutions to implement their own programs. This alliance is deepening as women collaborate more with the *Ilaigwanak* on various community matters. The alliance and leadership collaboration has also instilled legitimacy and to some degree acceptance of WLFs in this patriarchal and male dominated pastoralist society. In Simanjiro, Kiteto and Longido, the alliance between women and *Ilaigwanak* was mostly directed at strengthening women's rights to land and property. For example, women and *Ilaigwanak* in all districts have promoted women's rights to inherit property and have lobbied for women to have rights to own plots of land in town/village settlements (122 plots were allocated to women in Sakala, 110 plots in Engaresero, and a further 72 plots requested in Olorien/ Magaiduru). *Ilaigwanak* have also supported women in their struggles to engage in various economic activities. For example, in Simanjiro (Loiborsiret

⁵ Merwoyo Nepapai, Mokilal 27 July 2013

⁶ Nembaso Sayori, Oloipiri, 23-07-2013

⁷ Nembaso Sayori, Oloipiri, 23-07-2013

Village), women and *Ilaigwanak* worked together to persuade the village government to allow women to take over the management of the Loiborsiret cattle dip. The *Ilaigwanak* and WLF deal with many cases of dis-inheritance of women. This has been the case in Malambo Village where the WLF are working with *Ilaigwanak* to ensure that a divorced woman has access to the property she earned in her marriage.

Women are bridging the gap between customary and local government leadership institutions, giving women more opportunities to influence decisions. Bringing both institutions together to handle one case is more likely to have a positive outcome as more checks and balances will be applied to cases. For example, there are cases where by lobbying both *Ilaigwanak* and the village council, women successfully kept girls in schools (rather than entering unwanted arranged marriages) and they succeeded in ensuring that married women, even those without children, receive their fair share of their husband's property when he dies or if a marriage is dissolved. Despite these achievements, lot of work remains to be done to ensure that the rights of girls and women are recognized and protected – many men still refuse to pay school fees for girls and arranged marriages continue to be enforced against the will of the 'bride'.

2.2 Women's strategies and achievements in leadership

Summary: Through WLFs, women have taken on a number of leadership roles in a society where, until the emergence of WLFs, all institutions are male dominated. The result is that village governments reported that more women are increasingly active on village councils and committees, where they are promoting improved and effective leadership. In recognizing the need to develop and demonstrate strong leadership, WLFs are also solving problems and taking action directly. While WLFs are developing their status as a customary leadership institution, at the same time they strategically ally themselves with the male customary leadership and WLFs have taken the lead on many public actions aimed at protecting community land and women's rights. Through strong leadership in taking these actions, WLFs have succeeded in mobilizing the community to actively defend their land rights. Nurturing a popular movement to secure pastoralist land rights will be a future goal for WLFs.

Having the courage to break down some powerful barriers to women's rights has helped women to believe in their own capacity for leadership, as explained by a young woman from Malambo:

'I know I am a leader because it has been (and still is) considered ridiculous or unnatural for a woman to stand in front of men – it is considered wrong; but I am courageous and am now able to stand in front of men and say, 'you are the ones who are wrong – sit down!''⁸

From the community perspective, women's leadership is not just good for women but has empowered the community. For example, a representative of the *Ilaigwanak* from NCA explained how they are deeply concerned about what they consider to be a dysfunctional leadership in NCA. He noted that the impact of increased women's presence and participation in public life is fairly immediate:

'With women's leadership, the community is actually already better than it was – because now at meetings women can stand, carry a stick and talk.'

However, while recognizing that having the WLF is a further step in empowerment, community leaders agree that challenging entrenched interests in the current power balance requires commitment from a wider range of actors:

⁸ Miriam Oleberika, Malambo, 21-07-2013

*'We still need to ensure that men understand that women can become leaders, and that we also need female customary leaders. This can be a difficult and long drawn out process but as customary leaders we are promoting this and really insisting that men understand that we need female leaders in all areas of society.'*⁹

Women recognize the challenge of providing effective leadership – a young woman leader explained:

*'This is important, because customarily men have their leadership institutions where they meet to make decisions – however women now also meet to discuss their issues, and they need strong leaders if they want to make a difference... If you are a natural leader, you have to abandon your own personal interests and fight for the rights and wellbeing of others; this is your obligation.'*¹⁰

Qualities of a customary leader are described as someone who is:

- A person who loves people;
- A fair person who does not favor or discriminate;
- A person who wants unity and who can unite people;
- A person prepared to defend the people;
- A person who is unselfish – someone with the interests of the community at heart, rather than their own interests; and
- A person of peace and courage.

WLFs are dealing with some cases in their own right as customary leaders, and successful outcomes of their leadership have been reported. One case in Malambo demonstrates effective leadership (see Box 2 below). This case also illustrates that the WLFs have the capacity to take appropriate and courageous action, and being able to make use of the local militia in this way also clearly demonstrates the status of WLFs in the community. In following up on the action taken in order to bring unity and peace within the community, strong leadership capacity is shown.

Box 2: Case of a young girl being protected from a forced marriage

A man was contracted to provide one of his young daughters as a bride to a man from the Laibon¹¹ family; however, the young girl refused. Miriam supported her and sent the militia to collect her from her family and bring her to Miriam's house so that she could be protected. Miriam looked after her and talked to her, finding out that the girl wanted to continue her education. Miriam secured funds for her education and she is now studying. However, Miriam does not see this as an isolated case of providing protection and funds; she has worked closely with the girl's family so that they can see the benefits of the arrangement, as well as understand the rights of the girl. The case has built a very strong relationship between the girl and her family, and Miriam reports that the girl's mother is now sending other girls to school.

The emergence of women leadership is seen to be adding value to the customary leadership and making it more effective:

*'Women leaders (Engwainak) and men leaders (Ilaigwanak)¹² work very well together as they have community wellbeing as their common objective.'*¹³

⁹ Metongoi ole Tawo, Olaigwanani, Alaililei, 19-07-2013

¹⁰ Miriam Oleberika, Malambo 21-07-2013

¹¹ Laiboni are Maasai ritual and spiritual leaders.

¹² Women leaders - Engaigwani sing. Engwainak pl. Men leaders - Olaigwanani sing. Ilaigwanak pl.

¹³ Ole Pose, Olaigwanani, Oloirobi 20-07-2013

In Loliondo the alliance between the WLFs and the *Ilaigwanak* has been significant in relation to protecting the community's grazing lands. The urgency required to resist the MNRT's decision to expropriate village land strengthened ties between women and the *Ilaigwanak*, and the role of women's leadership was firmly established in the community even before the Prime Minister rescinded the MNRT decision.

But women also work beyond alliances with village government or the *Ilaigwanak* institutions, and have taken full responsibility themselves, as leaders, to tackle land rights issues. For example, by mobilizing a movement across Ngorongoro District to tackle the encroachment of tourism investors and the expansion of national parks and NCA onto rangelands; establishing the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Women's Association in NCA to tackle land rights issues; setting up patrols in Kiteto to raise the alarm on the encroachment of immigrant small and large scale agriculture onto rangelands; and advocating for customary rights of occupancy for women on village land. A woman leader explained how she had the courage to tackle the vested interests in land, well knowing efforts would be made to intimidate and harass her:

*'When I think of the cost of losing the land, I feel confident. Even if I die, let my generation defend and keep the land; the cost of losing the land is greater than losing my life.'*¹⁴

According to information from fieldwork, women have taken on these courageous roles of leadership and have succeeded in mobilizing the whole community to actively defend their rights to their land under the slogan, "***We were born here, we live here, and we will die here***". Nurturing this movement will be a test of women leadership, but facilitating a popular movement to secure their land rights will also be a great achievement.

2.3 Women's strategies and achievements in strengthening property rights

Summary: There is controversy over the concept of property in a pastoralist society where livestock are managed as collective property and women have very weak customary rights of access to this property. To ensure women's and girls' rights to property and inheritance are protected in practice, the WLFs are engaging in a debate about how to reconcile the locally variable and different prevailing norms and practices with the concept of universal human rights. Without a more universal approach, many women are suffering from opportunistic property grabbing using the name of culture and cultural machination. However, in order for women's rights to be locally recognized and protected, they need to be embedded in a socially negotiated reframing of cultural norms and practices. The position that the WLFs are developing, as a customary leadership institution, provides such an opportunity to review and revise 'cultural' norms and practice, driven by women's transformed awareness and desire for equality, and bringing the *status quo* more in line with current rights based approaches to inheritance and property.

In Maasai societies, property is often livestock; livestock can be sold to buy other property, such as land; transport; business assets such as guesthouses; or other goods or services. While there are some wealthy female livestock owners, the majority of livestock managers are men, and although women can and do own livestock, these are usually under the control of men. As one Kisongo¹⁵ woman from NCA put it:

¹⁴ Nembaso Sayori, Chair of the Village Leadership Forum, Oloipiri 23-07-2013

¹⁵ The 'Kisongo' are one of sixteen sections of the Maasai that are independent groupings based on their original socio-territorial set-ups, but linked by language and economic/cultural affinities. Sections in Northern Tanzania are typically; Il-Kisongo, Il-Sale, Il-Purko, Il-Loita, Il-Seringit, Il-Laitayok. Each section has its own customary leadership, age sets and warriors, with section-specific cultural practices and norms of behaviour. Raiding was practiced between sections and some historical antagonism does remain. Wars in the 18th century and recent migration have 'mixed up' the sections, which often now live in close proximity to each other (e.g. in Oloipiri and NCA).

*'Customarily cattle are given as gifts to the bride when she gets married – but on marriage these cattle seem to 'disappear'! Women need to insist that they own their cows – they need to claim the rights they have within the pastoral system.'*¹⁶

While Kisongo women do own livestock and can make some demands on inheritance of property, in other Maasai sections the practices may be different. However, generally the control that men, and in particular the head of the cattle unit, exert over property gives them considerable power within the typical extended household and in the community. This power is challenged by the notion that women have a universal right to have control over their own property and a right to equitably benefit from family property.

Inheritance of property, including land and livestock, is another area of contention. According to some customs (again depending on the normative practice of different sections), on the death of her husband a woman should receive all her own property and a share of her deceased husband's property (depending on how many wives he has and how many children need to be supported). The widow can also decide where she wants to live – either on her own, with one of her sons or where she always has lived. However, it was reported that over recent years there has been a tendency for the deceased husband's family to grab the widow's property, using 'culture' as a way to protect their interests. Without her husband to protect her, the widow has difficulties claiming her rights. If the widow is childless or only has young children, it was reported that she will have even less of a chance to claim her property.

The *Ilaigwanak* insist that stripping women of their property is a comparatively recent phenomenon, and that they are opposing this practice as it is not customary. This may be correct because some women interviewed have received their fair share of property, and have been able to make choices about how they live after the death of their husband.¹⁷ However, other widows said they experienced having all their property (as well as their dead husband's property) taken by a brother of the deceased, leaving the widow with no resources to care for her children and no protection. If the widow refused to be 'inherited' by the brother, she would also be homeless. In another case, a young educated woman was able to keep all of her own and her husband's property because she took the case to court. So custom, personal connections and own capacity will determine how a widow is treated, which contravenes the concept of universal rights. Importantly, the *Ilaigwanak* and WLF have been able to address cases where widows are stripped of all their property, and by using the law have ensured that the women concerned have their entitled property returned to them. The success of these cases strengthens community trust in the capacity of women to address difficult and controversial issues.

Emerging from the above discussion, and in relation to the situations where Maasai women are discriminated against or subjected to violent behavior, the WLFs, *Ilaigwanak* and the communities are beginning to discuss and agree on how to ensure that their own customary systems are harmonized with and supported by the current legal systems in Tanzania. This approach is arguably the best way forward to strengthen the rights of women, which may otherwise be compromised by introducing ideas and concepts that are externally derived and are not supported by society and which may not be practical to implement. The *Ilaigwanak* say that they want their customary systems to be in line with and supporting national law, and they are keen for the required change to take place. The WLF is keen to see this happen and is pushing for a much stronger understanding of and adherence to universal human rights principles. It is important that PWC and UCRT continue to sensitively facilitate the required changes; it was noted several times that real change must come from within and that processes of normative change will take time. There is an important role for customary leadership

¹⁶ Merwoyo

¹⁷ Merwoyo

institutions (including the WLF) to mediate these changes, and the WLFs have firmly established their role in the process.

2.4 WLF strategies for the economic empowerment of women

Summary: For pastoralists, livestock are the main source of wealth, generating large amounts of income annually. Yet the norms in pastoralist society deny women rights to access this wealth, and currently the distribution of profits from the family herd is at the discretion of the head of the herding unit. This means that women do not engage in making decisions about herd management, and even in wealthy households, marginalized women and children can be very poor. The WLF seeks to push for the economic empowerment of women through mobilizing women's and men's leadership to strengthen women's rights to equitable access to and control over their own and family livestock (and/or other property) through harmonizing customary rights with legal rights in a way that strengthens the collective rights of the pastoralist system.

At the same time it is clear that women's economic empowerment needs to be underpinned by opportunities for girls to have sufficient access to education and for women to earn their own private income over which they have control. The WLFs are adding value to the many income-generating groups by providing a focal point for information sharing on financial management, as well as providing an opportunity to learn about women's rights. Women use their knowledge about women's rights to develop strategies for pressurizing councils to improve access to education for girls, and to promote new economic opportunities for women (e.g. in the tourism industry).

The United Nations states that, '*Investing in women's economic empowerment sets a direct path towards gender equality, poverty eradication and inclusive economic growth.*'¹⁸ In northern Tanzanian pastoralist areas, there have been a number of organizations supporting women's economic development in terms of helping women with micro-credit and savings initiatives, or providing them with training on entrepreneurial development. For example, PWC has supported Women Action Groups (WAG) across the area, some of which have up to 50 members. All these initiatives provide considerable scope for supporting women's economic development. However, the support has not always been consistent or long term, and in some cases women have found it difficult to continue without funding.

The WLF initiative is strengthening women's economic empowerment in a broader manner by mobilizing leadership to strengthen women's rights to land and property. This is because in a pastoralist setting livestock are wealth; yet, as clearly demonstrated in practice, the norms in a pastoralist society tend to deny women rights to livestock (and other property) and to also deny them rights to participate in decision making regarding the management of the herds and distribution of livestock and livestock products. In this situation, economic empowerment for pastoralist women needs to prioritize a focus on promoting women's access to and more equitable control over livestock.

Evidence from Loliondo shows that livestock generate approximately USD 2 million annually alone in the 1,500 km² contested area (or USD 1,330 per km²). This makes livestock production a competitive land use in the area.¹⁹ Pastoralist women's rights to property have to be understood in the context of the livestock production system's collective property rights: in order to strengthen these rights, women need to be fully involved in making decisions about how these assets are used. Currently, the distribution of profits and assets of a family's herd (including individual women's livestock) is at the discretion of the head of household and the main herd manager, both men. The result is that even in wealthy households, marginalized women and their children can be very poor. *Ilaigwanak* explain that they are often involved in trying to mediate in such cases, where exclusion and marginalization are not accepted under custom, and women do have customary rights to property. However, within the different

¹⁸ Website for the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, sourced 1/11/13

¹⁹ TNRF, September 2010, Resolving the Loliondo Conflict: Policy and Economic Options.

sections of the Maasai, different norms and practice apply and, in addition, in some families customary norms and rights may not be respected. The WLF initiative wants to apply a more universal approach to women's property rights, and the *Ilaigwanak* interviewed for this study agree that the customary rights need to be harmonized with national and universal legal norms. The WLF needs to work with communities and their leaders to find ways to strengthen the role of women in making decisions about how livestock assets are deployed and how benefits are distributed within the household. The debate and discussion is underway as evidenced in the Women's Summit held in Namanga in July 2013. At the summit women provided evidence about how women do not have access to livestock, how widows are dispossessed of the family assets, how childless women are denied access to family wealth, and how women are unable to access assets, even for education for children. The decision at the summit was to go back to the WLFs across the region and focus on strengthening women's rights to family assets.

It was reiterated by communities that women's economic empowerment also needs to be underpinned by their access to education and opportunities for earning money, enabling them to more freely and effectively play an active part in community affairs. In particular, it was stated that women who are educated can better protect the rights of women to property and land and that a long term strategy presented by WLF members to improve women's property rights and economic status was to educate girls. Importantly, women explained that if women earn money they tend to invest this money primarily in educating their children, including especially ensuring that their girls were educated. There are also examples showing that once women have gained confidence through their own economic development, they can start working toward strengthening their rights (see box 3 below).

Box 3: Women's groups start an association to protect women's rights

In NCA, poor women are being assisted to earn an income through an economic development project (supported by PWC) that aims to help women maximize profits from their beadwork by selling their work to tourists in cultural *bomas*. Connected to the cultural *bomas*, is the 'revolving goat' project where poor women, who are selected by a community-nominated women's development committee, are given goats²⁰ on condition that the first kids are returned to the common pool, to then be given to other women in the *boma*. Women are proud of owning livestock as this confirms they are a part of pastoralist society and bestows them with the right to speak in public, giving them a stronger voice in their local society. At the same time, these women have also helped to establish the controversial²¹ Ngorongoro Pastoralist Women's Association, registered in June 2013²², which aims to strengthen women's rights and secure land rights for the residents of the Ngorongoro Conservation Area²³.

²⁰ Significantly, the local community joins PWC in providing the goats for the revolving fund, showing their commitment to supporting the project.

²¹ NPWA is controversial in that NCA and the Pastoralist Council have on several occasions blocked the initiative. NPWA is part of a movement of women in NCA that is challenging the authorities. In demonstration of their lack of confidence in the leadership in NCA, they plan to return all their ruling party voter cards. This strategy of has been very influential in Loliondo and has spread through women's networks.

²³ The Ngorongoro Conservation Area remains a contentious in that it was historically designated during the creation of the Serengeti National Park. The Maasai agreed to withdraw from Serengeti on accepting a government undertaking that guaranteed them the right in perpetuity to live in the Ngorongoro highlands and crater to the east. This latter undertaking has for many years increasingly and, sometimes violently, been reneged upon, both through successive amendments to the law increasingly extinguishing customary rights and also through extra-legal actions taken by the managing Ngorongoro Crater Conservation Authority. Today the Maasai living in the Ngorongoro highlands are subject to this parastatal authority, which in effect controls nearly all natural resource-based activities within the

Supporting economic development of women can be a challenge in pastoralist areas, as women have limited experience in trade or the labor market (such as it exists), and there is a limited market in the area for women to sell their products (usually fuel, milk, beadwork and consumables). The low literacy rates and low levels of education among women and girls limits their opportunities. Women are also limited in their abilities to leave home to earn an income, as men often prevent their wives or female dependents from leaving; women may be so busy with domestic workloads that they can't find the time to even attend meetings, and poor women are usually already busy trying to survive one day at a time (for example, by doing favors or begging) and do not have time to earn an income. However, the field review found that there are many women groups organized around income generating projects, especially small savings/loans schemes where money generated is used as capital for trading, typically sugar or other small household goods, or around making beadwork to sell to tourists. Most of these groups are active and are often key to supporting women's livelihoods and educating their children; yet other groups are defunct, unable to work without external support.²⁴ Women have opened bank accounts and are learning how to handle budgets and accounts, and women are learning about how to control finances. Participating in small enterprises is reported as being significantly important for widows and other single mothers.

The WLFs across the area have become a focal point for various women's groups engaged with income generating activities, and women are excited to have this opportunity to learn about women's rights to property and land. The WLF initiative has helped women to build solidarity, and to work together toward strengthening their human rights and entitlements (economic and social). For example, learning from the WLF initiative, women reportedly were able to obtain land plots for their businesses - in Loiborisirit, Helene Mbarnoti from Simanjiro sums up:

'The Women's Leadership Forums have really opened our eyes. Women groups of different kinds have become platforms for any woman, and now, and with the Women's Leadership Forums we can better help each other when in need or abused.'

declared Conservation Area. The parastatal has even gone so far as to attempt acquisition of land title for the Conservation Area, when title belongs to the Maasai as a right of customary occupancy.

²⁴ In NCA, most of the small income-generating groups were reportedly temporarily closed, as communities face hunger and starvation and households struggle to find enough food to feed their families, following the enforcement of a ban on agriculture in the NCA, and withdrawal of veterinary services and provision of maize.

2.5 Women's strategies and achievements in strengthening land rights

Summary: Across the three districts, women believe their confidence to engage with strengthening land rights for women has greatly increased, and they attribute this to the training on land rights provided through the WLF and the opening up of space for women to engage in matters of concern to the whole community. Women have demonstrated their capacity to use this information to take action, as has been clearly demonstrated in the way that women mobilized communities to tackle land rights abuses, for example, on the border conflict with Serengeti NP, with the land evictions by OBC and in Sukenya, through rejecting the decision by MNRT to alienate 1,500 km² of village land for a Game Controlled Area, in struggling for land rights in the NCA, by setting up land patrols in Kiteto, and in lobbying for CCRO plots for women in settlements. It is however recognized that considerable effort is still required to find effective ways to strengthen pastoralist land tenure for communal and adaptive land use. Competent and courageous leadership, particularly by women, has been demonstrated in creating and nurturing unity between the different elements of Maasai society (section, age-set, clan and family) and in mobilizing people to take action to protect and enhance their land rights.

Until the WLFs were established, women at community level had limited access to information and trainings about the country's land laws, land rights, administrative practices and policies provided by CSOs and government. This is symptomatic of the general marginalization of pastoralist women; it may also be because many pastoralist women are illiterate and speak only Maa, so providing information or trainings can present problems for non-Maa speakers. Whatever the reason, the result was that generally women had little or no knowledge of the laws governing land allocation or use. Women therefore had no basis to discuss strategies for protecting their land and no space for engaging in protecting their land rights. Yet currently, according to interviews conducted for this review, women now speak about land as a crucial matter for the survival of the whole community.

*'Without security of land tenure, we Maasai will disappear as water runs through sand. Realizing this, women have become very strong in the struggle to acquire land tenure security in this district.'*²⁵

It is clear that in the areas where the WLFs operate women are now taking on the struggle to secure land tenure, which is a significant positive change. Throughout the areas where this review was conducted, many women interviewed, including illiterate women, were able to discuss issues related to land rights and land tenure in an insightful, strategic and cogent manner. Women stated that knowledge of the law and legal processes has been key for them to argue their cases and they explained that PWC and UCRT have had a significant role to play in providing them with access to the required information. Women have also had opportunities to discuss the laws and legal processes between themselves and with others, and they have started analyzing how these can be applied to the communal forms of land-use that pastoralists have developed and utilize for grazing their herds. One significant achievement of the WLF initiative has been to establish ward land committees in each ward of Ngorongoro District. These committees will provide information and oversee all land allocations made in the villages across the district. Field research revealed that throughout the areas where WLFs operate women are able to argue that a multipronged approach to securing the communities' rights to land is required, as no single law or single strategy seems adequate to protect pastoralist's land tenure given their unique requirements for adaptive and communal land use. This is testimony of well-directed and appropriate training filling a strong need, and it is clear that information provided has led to action (see below).

Daniel Saiyori, Olaigwanani and village chair for Oloipiri, describes women's role in tackling land grabs:

²⁵ Susanna Koila, activist and women leader – 24-07-2013

'As a community our biggest challenge is land grabs, and we need to address this as a priority. Women are in the forefront in trying to secure our land through meetings with communities and with government. Our stand is that we will not give up a single meter of village land'.

Below is a summary of action taken by WLFs to address land conflicts in Ngorongoro District:

Up-rooting Serengeti National Park boundary beacons (Reported at the meeting with the Oloipiri WLF):

'We were informed that something strange was going on and we joined the people in Ololosokwan. There we saw three government cars setting up beacons on village land. After that we decided to remove the beacons and take them back to the Serengeti National Park.'

Saiyori, Olaigwanani/village chair for Oloipiri, explained that it was the women who arranged the action, and that men were so embarrassed at not taking such a strong stand that they decided to join them. He noted that working with these women had strengthened the position of the *Ilaigwanak* in the community, as the youth had previously tended to ignore them as outmoded institutions. The communities are still waiting to hear the reaction from SENAPA.²⁶ The meeting mentioned the on-going conflict with SENAPA, where the communities' livestock are often detained in Serengeti NP where they herd them if there is drought. However, Saiyori noted that this was yet another matter of corruption and misuse of authority as herders pay the rangers to be allowed to graze – although often the herders are then also arrested.

OBC/GCA land conflict: The longest running conflict in Loliondo is over a 1,500km² hunting block, on the lands of eight villages, and allocated to Ortello Business Corporation (OBC). This allocation has always been contested by the local communities, and in 2009 open conflict emerged when the government evicted pastoralists from their grazing lands to make way for OBC, burning down around 50 homesteads. Since 2009, women have played a major role in resisting efforts to evict the Maasai, and one main action was to return 2,000 voter registration cards with the message:

'Here are your cards. Your party and government have abused our rights and taken our land and we can no longer vote for you. If and when you return our land to us, we may come and ask for our cards back. Until then we will not vote for you'.

Pastoralists moved back to their lands, but in late 2012, the MNRT declared the area to be a Game Controlled Area (GCA). According to women interviewed, this would entail eviction of around 20,000 people from their village lands and have negatively impacts on the livestock-based livelihoods of the whole district. Women decided to send a delegation of 100 women to parliament, raising money to cover the costs.²⁷ When talking to women about these courageous acts, they say that having knowledge about the land laws gave them the confidence to speak with authority to high standing public figures. Through this action, the WLFs have established themselves as a force that mobilized a delegation of this size to speak with a united voice and to deliver a strong message to the country's Prime

²⁶ Serengeti National Park

²⁷ According to interviews for this field work, each woman in the district was required to pay 5,000 shillings and each man 20,000 shillings, and the *Ilaigwanak* were tasked to collect the money. It was not possible to verify if the full amount was collected, or how much was collected. In addition some of the organizations reportedly also contributed funds toward the transport of the delegation. However, clearly the perception is that the community managed this event and importantly the delegation actually did travel to Parliament and to Dar es Salaam, and did manage to engage in dialogue with the authorities as planned.

Minister (PM), Mizengo Pinda, and to the general public. In June 2013, the women talked to the PM and the national press, and in September the PM visited the area to confirm that the land would remain village land, and that the Minister's decision had been rescinded. However, women consider this to be a temporary respite in their struggle to defend their community's land, and say that longer-term strategies are needed.

Sukenya land conflict: Nembaso Sayori, chair of the Joint Village Leadership Forum, which is comprised of women leaders, customary leaders and village leaders from each of the three different sections (Laitayok, Purko and Loita) in Oloipiri, says:

*'The joint forum we have established has helped to unite the whole community, and has provided a platform for the community to present a united voice to local and central government on community concerns, for example, on land matters.'*²⁸

This is an important statement, as the village has experienced a great deal of conflict and enmity over the past decade, with one section playing out against another in a bitter conflict over land (Sukenya Farm) acquired by a tourism company, Tanzania Conservation Limited.²⁹ In this conflict, the section that did not stand to lose land made agreements with the tourism company, while the two sections whose main grazing lands would be taken, refused to enter into an agreement. Many accusations of abuse and corruption circulate, but women managed to firstly create solidarity among themselves and then to bring together the *Ilaigwanak* from the three different sections to resolve the internal conflicts within the community. The *Ilaigwanak* interviewed feel that as a consolidated leadership (of the three sections), they are better able to support the interests of their community.

NCA land issues: Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) is a special case, where the NCA Ordinance gives all authority over the area to the NCA Authority (NCAA). CSOs have been blocked by NCAA from working in the area, and only recently has PWC been allowed into the area to support women in cultural bomas,³⁰ as well as to work on educational issues in the area. The local residents explain that the NCAA has not fulfilled its mandate to uphold the rights of the resident pastoralists and to manage the area as a multiple land use area.³¹ According to the local people, NCA residents have become increasingly impoverished over time, and since the enforcement of the ban on cultivation in 2010,³² there are accounts from the Ngorongoro District Council, the *Ilaigwanak* and women leaders of hunger and death from starvation in the area.³³ While the leaders have many concerns over the abuse

²⁸ Nembaso Sayori, chairperson of Oloipiri Joint Village Leadership Forum, 23-07-2013

²⁹ Tanzania Conservation Limited is owned by Judi and Rick Thomson, who are also the owners of Thomson Safaris.

³⁰ As NCAA has not allowed CSOs to operate in NCA, local people have tried to organize themselves, and within the past year several small local organizations have registered themselves with the District.

³¹ Merwoyo Nepapai, Metungoi Tawo and Ole Pose

³² Cultivation is not allowed within the NCA according to the Ordinance, although the ban on cultivation has been lifted by special Presidential consent. However, in 2010, the current President required that the law be enforced, and that no cultivation should take place within the area. Since then there has been an acute shortage of food, and there have been reports of hunger and starvation throughout the area.

³³ In 2013, the district council conducted a fact-finding mission and local people and hospitals reported that scores of children and some adults had died of hunger (Tina Timan, Ngorongoro District Councillor). However the NCAA as well as the Regional Commissioner refused to accept that these deaths were caused by starvation. The NCAA have reportedly not fulfilled promises to provide emergency food for the communities, as while maize is provided by the Pastoralist Council (see footnote below) / NCAA, it is sold at the same price as maize sourced from elsewhere.

of women's rights in the NCA,³⁴ the vulnerability of local people to hunger tends to make food security the main concern of the communities.

According to a prominent woman leader, one strategy women used to tackle hunger in NCA was to form a secret movement, specifically excluding the Pastoralist Council (PC),³⁵ to go and see the President of Tanzania and explain how women would manage subsistence farming to support their livelihoods. However, the PC stopped the movement when they found out, and forced the women to go back home. The women responded as follows:

'Women have now decided to return all their voting cards, and have promised not to vote for anyone, not even the councilors or village leaders (all PC members) – they have decided that it is better to have no political leaders than the ones they have. This was all organized through women's meetings where it was decided to rephrase the agenda; the original agenda of the meetings was hunger. However there is much more to this than promoting subsistence farming to tackle hunger. The real agenda is for the communities to own and manage the land itself.'

Despite threats and harassment, women have recently succeeded in registering their own organization, the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Women's Association. Women are also working with the *Ilaigwanak* in NCA, one of whom explained:

*'Our strategies are to continue to convene meetings for the citizens of this area; we have one agenda and that is land. The people and the leaders insist on this.'*³⁶

Expansion of NCA – Women leaders in Malambo, Arash, Piyaya and Loliondo all talked about the proposed expansion of NCA into the Natron area. The idea of NCA expanding into these areas is strongly resisted, and the WLFs are engaging with village and district governments to follow progress.

The WLFs in Kiteto, Longido, Simanjiro and Ngorongoro have been successful in lobbying for land for CCRO plots for women. According to the reports, 122 plots in Sakala and 110 plots in Engaresero have been allocated to women, mostly widows, facilitated by PWC. Following community sensitization and training on land laws, women have been very active in acquiring plots and CCROs for land in village settlements in all districts where the WLF initiative is active. For example, PWC reports that recently in Olorien Magaiduru, women requested 72 plots from the council. Providing training and support for the acquisition of CCROs for individual plots seems to have been very successful, as reported by one women's group in Simanjiro:

*'We were given seminars on our rights and about land rights and this has really opened our eyes a lot, that is, to know that we do have rights. We learned that land belongs to everyone, not just a few. We learned that even in a polygamous family, each woman has rights to property. So now women are trying to get their own plots and are securing their own property.'*³⁷

This is helpful to women individually who want a home or business enterprise based in a village settlement. Previously all plots in settlements belonged to or were being allocated to men, who were usually not Maasai. This meant that women had nowhere in the settlements to go to sell milk, firewood or other products. Now in Malambo, women have opened a tearoom on a plot, and outside women sell milk and beadwork and they plan to build a kraal for their goats. Now

³⁴ It was reported (by Pose, Tawo and Merwoyo) that girls were being given as brides so that families could raise money to buy food for their starving children, effectively selling girls for food.

³⁵ The Pastoralist Council was set up to inform the NCAA on community development in the NCA. The PC is comprised of village chairpersons, district councillors and some selected *Ilaigwanak* and women.

³⁶ Ole Pose, Oelegwanani, Oloirobi July 2013

³⁷ Helene Mbaroti, Loiborsiret, 18 July 2013

women are starting their own 'revolving goat fund' to support the poorest women in the village. In Sakala women are able to sell their produce by accessing the plots owned by women. In Sukuro and Nainokanoka, women groups have acquired plots and built offices, which is useful for women to hold meetings but also gives more legitimacy to the group as an institution. With the help of the WLF initiative, one woman in Kiteto has managed to reclaim a plot that had been taken by other people. At the Women's Summit, the WLF representatives from Simanjiro and Kiteto explained that they had a strategy of setting up CCRO committees and taking turns going in groups of three or four to the village or district councils to lobby for plots for women. This strategy was apparently successful and women recommend this approach for other issues where it is necessary to pressurize local governments or the *Ilaigwanak*.

One important achievement of the WLFs is that they have been successful in bringing together all the different community interests (sections and age-sets, individuals, families and clans) to discuss and resolve conflicts at community level, and during fieldwork it was often acknowledged that women leaders 'have brought unity to the community'. Women have a strong role to play, as Maasai women do not have such close customary ties to the Sections they are born in as men do. Women can therefore bring together the *Ilaigwanak* of different Sections of the Maasai, and in this way stimulate dialogue for creating a united position on any matter, including on land conflicts. According to discussions in Oloipiri, the unity has meant that the whole community has been strengthened to take a united position on the Sukenya Farm case involving the Tanzania Conservation Limited. Women's important role of mediators and facilitators is acknowledged and appreciated, and a main strength of the WLFs.

While it is appreciated that women are benefitting from owning land plots in village settlement, the issue of securing tenure rights to the rangelands has not yet been adequately or effectively addressed.

*'We are grateful to the NGOs for giving us knowledge about the land laws; but we still need help to put pressure on the authorities to secure our grazing lands for the community!'*³⁸

Securing community rights to the rangelands was clearly the main concern of those interviewed. This was expressed by a woman leader who said:

*'If we don't own the land, we will have no land to graze or cultivate and no future here.'*³⁹

The work with securing CCROs for women in the settlements has stimulated discussions on land in these districts, and the alliances with the male customary leaders (who are according to custom responsible for land allocation) has brought the issue of the communities land tenure security into focus. In Kiteto and Simanjiro the rangelands are being encroached for agriculture, and land is being allocated by villages or the district to people from outside to cultivate the fertile soils - despite the likelihood of drought within seasons and between years. The WLFs and other leaders consider that the cultivation of rangelands has a negative impact on the environment, as trees are felled, topsoil is exposed to erosion and rivers run dry. But most importantly, they feel that their grazing lands are being reduced which limits their own land management options. One senior leader from Kiteto noted that help from government in resolving land conflicts was limited and encouraged women to take a stronger role in monitoring land transaction:

*'Government officials are very corrupt and they don't keep records properly - in this way your records disappear. So the people themselves have to be careful and keep own records, and they need to make their own arrangements to protect their land.'*⁴⁰

³⁸ Helene Mbarnoti, Loibosiret 18-07-2013

³⁹ Kijooli Kakeyu, Piyaya, 27-07-2013

In Kiteto the WLFs have taken action by setting up 'land patrols', to ensure that outsiders do not settle or cultivate without proper authorization. The WLFs follow up with the authorities to check the authenticity of the authorization, and also check that due process in land allocation is followed at village and district levels. Cases that infringe the laws are taken up with the relevant village or district authority. This important initiative shows strong leadership on the part of women, with good potential for replication in other areas vulnerable to agricultural encroachment into rangelands.

It was noted that to challenge the current vested and powerful interests in land requires considerable courage as well as a strategic vision. When asked how she had the courage to carry out her leadership role, one prominent woman leader illustrated her point by telling how she delivered the voting registration cards to the government representative on behalf of the community –

'I took the cards to these people because they are the ones denying us our rights. Government does not see us as humans and I was scared. Yet the pain we are suffering means that I do not worry about persecution. If children are dying in my hands, and others are dying too, how can I be scared? There is a saying, 'death does not say hodi.'⁴¹ If the government does take our land we will die – there is nothing else.'⁴²

Across the four districts where WLFs are supported, women are saying that they continue to require external support to build on previous work, and to continue to learn, develop and be effective in their efforts at enhancing land and women rights. They also note that in Simanjiro and Kiteto Districts there are very few WLFs and more are needed, all of which will require training and some initial support in their launching. In Loliondo the initiative still needs to be consolidated, as it is quite new in its present form. Women explained that to make effective use of PWC's and UCRT's efforts, they use their own time and resources so that support becomes more effective. For example, women reportedly hold meetings after a training is given, so that they can pass on the learning to other women and members of their communities. Women have also successfully raised funds to implement agreed activities at different levels, from support to women's income generation groups, to supporting individuals seeking redress, to engaging the whole of the community in the movement to secure the land in Loliondo and NCA.

3. PWC and UCRT engagement with women's leadership forums

Since 2011, PWC and UCRT, supported by Maliasili Initiatives, have participated in the joint project aimed at advancing pastoralist women's land rights in northern Tanzania. Fieldwork confirmed that these organizations have built up locally accepted, trusted and long-term partnerships with communities and the local leadership in the districts visited. The organizations are well informed about the main issues facing local pastoralist and other indigenous communities. UCRT has particular expertise on communal land use, common pool resources and the linkages of these practices to the national legal framework. PWC has particular expertise on the property and legal rights of women. Both organizations are in the process of strengthening their management (financial and project management) and organizational capacities. The organizations operate across a wide landscape with poor infrastructure and limited communications networks. However, each organization has strong linkages in the districts with other CSOs, CBOs and with local government, and they both work through partnerships with local actors at the locality level. Further, each organization is linked

⁴⁰ James Ole Milya, DC for Longido

⁴¹ Death doesn't knock before entering

⁴² Kijooli Kakeyu, Piyaya, 27-07-2013

nationally and internationally with other organizations working to secure women and local people their rights to land. Both organizations have a history of working together over many years (more than 15 years).

PWC and UCRT have the capacity to plan for the deployment of a range of expertise to provide locally appropriate training (covering land rights and laws, land use planning, women's rights, human rights, inheritance laws, local government and much more) because of their long-term engagement and linkages to other organizations and processes. The organizations also work on strengthening the capacities of the WLFs to develop strategies, mobilize communities, monitor progress, learn and redirect their efforts. The value of the work is highly appreciated at the local level, and in some ways the success of the work is bringing its own set of problems. This is because the popularity of the WLF concept at local level is creating demands for more WLFs to be established, and demands for more training for already established WLFs. However, when the extensive geographical areas covered, the diverse nature of the work and the very high levels of illiteracy among pastoralist women are coupled with the relatively few staff available to do the work along with the limited amount of funding, the result is that it is currently difficult for PWC and UCRT to further strengthen the WLFs.

PWC and UCRT have committed and hard-working staff, and most of those working in the pastoralist areas are pastoralists themselves and fluent in the local languages. The staff have built long term relationships with community members at the personal level, and this builds trust. However, the staff also need to keep a professional facilitative role, so as to ensure that the work is carried forward by well-informed local leaders, rather than implementing it themselves. Staff are well aware of this and have been successful in keeping a professional and facilitative approach. More training on participatory approaches to community empowerment (such as Participatory Learning and Action approaches) might provide the team with more tools to ensure strong local ownership of interventions.

Both organizations seem to be at a point of transitional change, having grown beyond their original small-scale grassroots advocacy set-ups, and arriving at a point where new systems, new approaches and new communications have to be developed – all of this while also trying to retain the close connections with the grassroots. Although such transition has problems and pitfalls, both organizations have taken preparatory steps to move forward, with support from their boards, for example, by developing strategic plans and strengthening organizational development. Currently funding seems to be a constraint for each organization, which is not surprising as they are growing, and the organizations are focusing some attention on fundraising as part of their organizational development strategies.

Despite the Prime Minister's pledge in September 2013 that 1,500km² of village land in Loliondo would no longer be alienated to create a GCA, there are and will continue to be other land grabs happening in the areas where UCRT and PWC work. Therefore UCRT and PWC need to continue to develop a systematic way to address the ongoing land grabs in their areas of operation, working closely with communities, building capacity to work through what the solutions are, and continuing to promote cross-learning about best options and practices. PWC and UCRT have demonstrated their capacity for sensitive engagement with processes of empowerment, supporting the WLFs to develop strategies that seem to be leading toward a genuine popular movement. It is important to ensure that these organizations have adequate capacity to continue to provide appropriate and well-directed support to the local processes of this emerging movement. In discussions with PWC and UCRT staff and management there were several suggestions for building organizational capacity, which included increasing organizational development support, carrying out training needs assessments and having more field staff to work directly with the communities in strengthening women's rights. It was also suggested that the organizations find ways to support paralegal development work so that trained paralegals would be on hand to advise WLFs on strengthening land tenure, land rights

and land management. Both organizations should review their own internal capacities and distinguish what skills they want to develop and strengthen internally as organizations, and what capacity or services they would like to outsource to other organizations or providers. For example, it might make sense to review the WRC and WLF concepts, and harmonize them so as to provide more effective support services.

Building on their comparative advantages of having a thorough knowledge of the area and people, PWC and UCRT could consider linking local level collaboration for strategic engagement/dialogue with national civil society partners (such as with PINGOS⁴³, TALA⁴⁴ and Policy Forum⁴⁵). Strategically linking the WLF initiative with national and global human rights protection processes and mechanisms (such as the Universal Periodic Review⁴⁶) could be important for strengthened dialogue, and may provide more protection to local activists. Linking the local land movement through the WLF initiative to global alliances, such as the International Land Coalition and the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, could be mutually beneficial and open up new areas for communication and technical support for the initiative. Ideas for strategic engagement would include providing opportunities for solidarity – meetings, events, discussions, and film. Also there may be strategic advantages in linking the local women’s movement through the WLF initiative to national women’s movements such as the Tanzania Gender Network.

4. Summary of main findings and conclusions

4.1 Findings on the achievements and challenges of WLF

The fieldwork’s main findings are that women empowerment through the WLF initiative is timely, welcome by women and accepted by the patriarchal and patrilineal Maasai communities, and that the supporting partners are providing important and well-grounded support to women’s empowerment. The WLF approach to empowerment of women is innovative and supports an emerging popular movement, driven by popular mobilization demanding social and institutional changes. Events in Loliondo and NCA⁴⁷ are at the center of the emergence of this movement, which is challenging both current land governance and gender relations, and finding the linkages between the two. A movement of this nature is tremendously powerful for effecting the kinds of social transformation that the WLF initiative wants to see happening and the WLF initiative should work to nurture, facilitate and enable the growth of the movement, helping it to evolve organically.

The WLFs have evolved over time from various other initiatives and are now beginning to provide much needed leadership for women in the community as they develop into a new customary institution for women. Members of the WLFs meet regularly with the women they represent and with other women leaders, and together women have succeeded in drawing attention to women’s rights, especially to the rights of women to participate and engage in public dialogue and public processes, and the rights of women to own property and land. Women have also engaged in promoting the rights of women to economic empowerment, the rights of women and girls to protection from violence and the rights of girls to education. It was clear from fieldwork that the women spoken with were informed about these rights and had experience with promoting and enforcing them. For example, women were taking in and protecting girls that were to be forced to marry a man of their father’s choice, and they are

⁴³ Pastoralists’ Indigenous Non-Government Organizations Forum

⁴⁴ The Tanzania Land Alliance

⁴⁵ A leading member-based national development policy advocacy NGO

⁴⁶ Universal Periodic Review examines the human rights performance of all 193 UN Member States.

⁴⁷ Especially the decision by the Minister for NRT to remove 1500 km² from Loliondo village land and the continued starvation of residents in NCA.

sheltering women who had been abused or had lost their property. Women noted that before they were aware of the laws protecting women's rights, they had difficulties taking action to protect these vulnerable people, but since being supported through their WLFs they know what rights women have and where to go to get these rights enforced.

Women have made progress in increasing their presence and influence in village and district government structures over the past two years since receiving support from PWC and UCRT. For example, women have successfully lobbied for special seats on village and district councils, women leaders now participate in *Ilaigwanak* councils, and women generally participate more in public meetings, breaking the taboo against women speaking in public. In general, it was found that the WLFs have increased the confidence of women in articulating issues of significance for women and for the community (such as girls education, inheritance, etc.). The result is that *Ilaigwanak* now back women to ensure that widows retain their rights to their own livestock on death of their husbands, and they are trying to put a stop to early, forced marriages of girls. Following efforts of women to lobby for land for women, village councils are allocating village settlement plots to women.

For pastoralists livestock are wealth, generating considerable income. Yet the male dominated pastoralist communities tend to deny women rights to equitably access the wealth generated by livestock production. In this situation, economic empowerment for pastoralist women needs to first and foremost focus on promoting women's access to and more equitable control over livestock. The WLF initiative provides two related strategies for the economic empowerment of women. Firstly, WLF provides a focal meeting point for all the many small credit and saving groups operating within their areas of operation, so that these groups can learn about and promote women's rights and entitlements to property, including livestock. Secondly, WLFs can mobilize women to lobby their communities and customary leadership for much greater control over and more equitable access to livestock. Already the *Ilaigwanak* are supporting women in this, and proposing that the laws on property be harmonized and sanctioned through customary arrangements. The WLF also recognize the importance of economic development for women, and can strengthen women's capacity to lobby for opportunities to start projects such as the livestock dip project in Simanjiro and the cultural bomas in NCA. There remains a challenge to sufficiently achieving women's participation in meetings, as some men still forbid their wives or other female dependents to participate in public events; this issue is being addressed by both the male and female leadership, but it is proving difficult to influence change at the household level.

In relation to securing land rights, WLFs have raised confidence, commitment and capacity to articulate the importance of securing the community's land for livelihoods, through training on Village Land Laws, Land Use Planning, Wildlife Management Areas, the Wildlife Conservation Act and the law concerning rangelands. The capacity of women to organize and lead on securing land rights has been demonstrated on several occasions. For example:

- The establishment of the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Women's Association in NCA against the wishes of the authority;
- The establishment of land patrols in Kiteto to prevent land grabs by individuals/corporations;
- Returning ruling party voter cards in Loliondo Division;
- The initiative to uproot the Serengeti NP boundary beacons allegedly laid on Ololosokwan community land by SENAPA;
- Contributing money to women to go to Parliament in Dodoma regarding the proposed annexation of village land to form a Game Controlled Area;
- Facilitating unity between Maasai Sections in the Sukenya Farm case.

All these women-led initiatives are testimony to the precedent of empowered women organizing and leading, requiring courage as well as good legal literacy, strategies, coordination,

contacts and capacity to mobilize their communities to take action and demand social and institutional changes to prevailing land administration practices, governance processes and gender relations.

Challenges remain however, as some men (and some women too) are resisting the changes advocated by the WLF initiative, and the grievance and decision making mechanisms in the communities and village governments are still male dominated. For example, there is resistance to women claiming their rights to property and resistance to girls receiving an education.

The government's systems are considered to be dysfunctional to some degree, while the customary systems are considered to be more reliable. There is an opportunity and a challenge to ensure that both systems function in tandem as a dual system, so that there are checks and balances in place to protect the rights of citizens and communities. Currently women are ensuring that they have leadership positions within both the formal (government) and informal (customary) systems, and they are primarily acting as watch dogs within both the systems, using their acquired knowledge of the law to ensure that due process is followed so that women's rights are recognized and protected as much as possible.

In order to change customary practices that infringe the rights of women and girls, women collaborate with the customary *Ilaigwanak* leaders. However the community's resistance to change is not unexpected, especially since the WLFs challenge established norms and practices for accumulating and distributing property and power. It is clear that WLFs and the customary *Ilaigwanak* leadership still face the challenge of building customary rights to include principles of equity, human rights and democracy, but both women leaders and powerful male customary leaders have stated their commitment to change this. A major challenge is that the WLFs all want and need more support and WLFs report that they have requested more training, but both UCRT and PWC don't have the resources to provide it. As has been acknowledged, most WLF members are illiterate or have low education levels and for many, especially in Simanjiro and Kiteto, the range of complex legal information they are being given is completely new and therefore takes time to fully absorb and understand.

4.2 Key conclusions

It is clear that the WLF initiative has succeeded in becoming an innovative initiative that responds to the articulated demand for more participation of pastoralist women in political processes. The initiative is innovative in both in its approach, which is facilitative rather than prescriptive, and in its conceptualization, which empowers women to take on direct dialogue between women leaders and male-dominated political processes (rather than NGOs advocating on behalf of women). The WLF has supported women to:

- Gain effective presence in local governance and advocacy processes by ensuring that women can speak at meetings and influence outcomes;
- Increase the experience of women in taking on and playing leadership roles;
- Support the strategies women are using for holding leaders to account; and
- Strengthen the capacity of women to provide for themselves and their families.

Over a comparatively short period of time women have been accepted to participate in the customary male leadership institutions, which have also increasingly recognized the right of women to have their own female customary leadership institution. This has conferred legitimacy on women leadership in the eyes of their communities. In addition, women have successfully increased their leadership and presence in formal village governments. This means that women are beginning to influence both the systems to protect the rights of women.

In addition, WLFs have succeeded in mobilizing the communities to take action and challenge practices in the governance of land and natural resource issues, as well as seeking to redress prevailing gender relations and women's marginalized rights in Maasai society. The threats,

pressure and oppression that women and their communities face, especially in Loliondo and NCA, has added urgency to the movement, and the successes that have been achieved recently in Loliondo⁴⁸ have encouraged the movement's further development. A key conclusion is that catalyzing this social movement stands to profoundly improve the rights and future of pastoralist women and to strengthen their communities' land and natural resource tenure upon which they all depend. However, this process is still at a formative stage, and needs significant support in any new phase of the initiative.

Another main conclusion is that women's empowerment needs to be underpinned by promoting a stronger role for women within the pastoralist economy. This is because livestock in a pastoralist setting are the main source of wealth for communities, generating large amounts of income annually, yet the norms of pastoralist society deny women rights to access this wealth and to determine how it should be used. The WLF initiative seeks to push for the economic empowerment of women through mobilizing leadership to strengthen women's rights to equitable access to and control over their own and family livestock (or other property) and through harmonizing customary rights with legal rights in a way that strengthens the collective rights of the pastoralist system.

5. Recommendations to strengthen pastoral women's land rights

5.1 Supporting the long term capacity development of WLF

The study found that the special positioning and close links of UCRT and PWC to the communities they work with and the increasing marginalization felt by these communities have been factors in the emergence of WLFs. In particular, the desperation of communities as they become more marginalized and less in control over their land and natural resources has provided incentives for them to accept and support the emergence of women leaders. Customary institutions in this patrilineal and patriarchal society have demonstrated their support to the WLFs, and women are also now much more strongly represented in the formal systems of government at local level. A social movement seems to be developing, born from the extreme urgency of threats, pressure and oppression that women and their communities face, especially in Loliondo and NCA, challenging current practices in gender relations and land governance. There are four main recommendations, all of which in their own ways support the WLF initiative to nurture the emerging social movement.

a) Enhancing the emergence of a social movement for strengthened pastoralist land tenure and changed gender relations

It was clear from fieldwork that the WLFs are in the process of giving rise to a rural social movement, driven by popular mobilization and demanding social and institutional changes. A movement of this nature is tremendously powerful for affecting the kinds of social transformation that the WLF initiative wants to see happening and the WLF initiative should work to nurture, facilitate, and help to evolve. The movement will likely take different forms in different places, as the driving forces will be different from one place to another; for example, in Kiteto most land alienation is for agriculture while in Loliondo land tends to be alienated for tourism/conservation.

⁴⁸ In September 2013, the Prime Minister of Tanzania overrode a decision by the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism to appropriate 1,500km² of registered village land to a GCA. The PM declared that as the area was registered village land, the government could not appropriate it.

This movement is also emerging in NCA, where it could usefully be manifested to transform the governance and management of the NCA and NCAA, bringing it back both under the control of the local communities and reversing the long-term historical erosion and loss of genuine community ownership, control and participation of what should be an asset generating substantial revenues and opportunities for the sustainable and equitable development of pastoral communities. UCRT and PWC are well aware of the challenges of engaging in NCA, and will need to review how they can secure the required organizational support for this engagement (see also 7.2c for further recommendations).

Recommendation: Continue to provide support that will further develop and enhance the capacity of WLFs to sustain the emerging social movement seeking to transform the governance of land and gender relations. Much of the support can be given to enhancing women's advocacy for improved human, property / inheritance, land and natural resource rights and entitlements – at household, community, district and national levels – achieved through women's voices being heard, women leaders taking action, and women working with men to modulate and change societal norms and practices – both in formal and customary spheres.

b) Nurturing women's leadership in customary institutions

Not only are women taking an increasingly active and influential role in customary institutions, but they are also challenging the concept that in pastoralist societies, only men can become customary leaders and in some places the role of women as customary leaders is gaining acceptance. The significance of this is that customary institutions are often best placed to respond to individual and community needs, including the needs of women, because customary institutions are embedded in local society, locally accountable, and widely understood by their constituencies. In addition, customary institutions are playing an increasingly utilitarian role in holding the formal system of local government to account, through interacting with local government institutions at village, ward and district levels. They are also playing an increasing role in the oversight of education at pre-school, primary and secondary levels, often being represented on school boards. Conversely, customary institutions have their own performance and function monitored at community level and can also be challenged by local government. This dual system of governance is promising, providing much needed checks and balances on the formal system whilst ensuring that the customary systems remain vital and relevant in a rapidly changing world, defending their constituents' interests.

Sustaining women's leadership as a driving force for enhancing the overall role that customary institutions can play in:

- Safeguarding women's and community rights;
- Managing and resolving conflicts over land and natural resources;
- Holding local government accountable;
- Representing and defending community interests; and
- Being the keepers and arbiters of customary laws, cultural norms and practices, allowing these to be modified to serve the interests of the communities.

As described in the report, male customary leaders have voiced strong support for the inclusion and emerging women's leadership as a new way for enhancing the legitimacy and effectiveness of customary leadership institutions, providing new impetus where male leadership has previously failed. Women engage with the customary leadership through joining meetings as well as through consolidating women's own customary leadership institutions.

Recommendation: There is need to ensure that the emergent women's leadership institutions are self-sustaining and that they develop safeguards to prevent them from losing their entrepreneurial spirit and self-help nature, from being hijacked or politically compromised, and from becoming over-formalized and increasingly dependent on outside sources of funding. It

would be dangerous to assume that their early progress and promise will be necessarily sustained, and there is a considerable amount of capacity building and institutional development required to ensure that these newly emergent institutions become resilient and stay relevant and effective over time. It is also important that WLFs maintain their constituency as informal customary institutions, and are not tempted to formally register as organizations, as this would undermine their credibility and efficiency in the community. Taking the above into consideration, the WLF initiative should take the following measures to consolidate and strengthen their integrity:

- i. Confirm their constituencies and clarify their role and boundaries of action;
- ii. Strengthen their legitimacy in all arenas they interact with;
- iii. Maintain their independence as customary institutions;
- iv. Enhance their effectiveness;
- v. Consolidate their participation, coverage and cohesion;
- vi. Ensure their resilience and resourcefulness; and
- vii. Identify the type of leaders and leadership practices required in order to sustain the movement, and identify how these leaders can best be mentored and coached.

c) Enhancing women leadership to support adaptive management of rangelands

The most urgent concern of WLF and their local communities in northern Tanzania is to regain and secure their rights over their land. The process for securing the land tenure should continue to be driven by the WLFs allied with the male customary leadership institutions, and informed by customary grazing management practices. Underlying this process, community-based 'holistic' or 'bio-cultural' planning arrangements can be used as a means to enable local communities, including women, to envision and articulate their goals and needs as part of guiding how they decide their lands should be managed and used. This planning needs to be informed by a keen awareness of the different opportunities and threats to their lands and livelihoods, including a sure understanding of local government practice and of the various land laws, conservation laws and investment laws.

The strong leadership shown by WLFs in this process so far adds a new dimension to the old problem of finding ways to secure communally held pastoralist land; the clear inclusion of women in the processes of defining and agreeing on pastoralist land laws, and their participation in deciding on which available legal mechanisms may be most effective in safeguarding and securing pastoralist land use. In all other attempts of this kind, women have been at best 'included' as a requirement; this is the first time pastoralist women are driving the process.

Recommendation: Strengthen the capacity of WLFs to work with other leaders and communities to develop a holistic understanding of what each community's aspirations and vision for the future are, what the needs of different parts of the community are, and how these can be best provided for in the way a community's land and natural resource assets are managed, used and invested in, addressing how such decisions are made and implemented within communities. Women have an important part to play in this process, not least because it will directly impact their future. Women need to be able to play a central role, particularly in terms of identifying and advocating for development priorities achievable through appropriate land use planning, for safeguarding household welfare and resilience, and for securing their own economic empowerment particularly in relation to recurring drought cycles.

The visioning, planning and management needs to be anchored in government-sanctioned processes and aligned with its various protocols and procedures. It might also be useful to look

at the international mechanisms for protection of people's rights, including the work of the African Union on formalization of pastoralist land rights.

d) Improving women's economic empowerment

In a pastoralist setting, the extensive livestock production systems are the main source of wealth for communities, generating large amounts of income annually, providing for food security and sustaining the household-level economy. Yet the norms in pastoralist society deny women rights to access this wealth or determine how it should be used, nor do women have a say in how herds are managed or deployed. Pastoralist women's rights to property have to be understood in the context of the livestock production system's collective property rights and to strengthen these rights, women need to be fully involved in making decisions on how these assets are used. The WLFs, *Ilaigwanak* and the communities are beginning to discuss and agree on how to ensure that their own customary systems support women's empowerment. The *Ilaigwanak* say that they want their customary systems to be in line with and supporting the country's legally sanctioned systems, and they are keen for the required change to take place. WLFs are keen to see this happen and are pushing for a much stronger understanding of and adherence to universal human rights principles.

Recommendation: Facilitating more equitable access for women to the wealth of the community should be a priority area for WLF engagement. The WLFs should mobilize leadership to strengthen women's rights to equitable access to and control over their own and family livestock, at the same time ensuring that this harmonizes customary rights with legal rights in a way that strengthens the collective rights of the pastoralist system. It is important that PWC and UCRT continue to sensitively facilitate the required changes; it was noted several times that real change must come from within and that processes of normative change will take time. There is an important role for customary leadership institutions (including the WLFs) to mediate these changes, and the WLF initiative needs to firmly establish its role in the process in order to secure rights to property for women.

e) Improving women's income

Communities were clear that women's economic empowerment also needs to be underpinned by their access to education and opportunities for earning money, as improving women's economic and education status will enable them to more freely and effectively play an active part in their community affairs, direction and governance. WLFs should continue to be a focal meeting point for women involved in income generating and credit and savings schemes, so that these can share information, learn from each other and develop their strategies, as well as learn about and promote women's rights and entitlements to property. It is significantly important that WLF do NOT become income generating projects⁴⁹, but rather take on a role of promoting options for women to earn an income; for example by promoting rights of women to land plots in settlements, by lobbying institutions to train and employ women, and by lobbying village governments to insist on women employment agreements when negotiating land use terms for investors.

Recommendation: WLF provide focal meeting for women income groups and provide training for the groups on property rights. WLF, through village councils and other opportunities, lobby village and district councils for increased opportunities for women for targeted training and employment, as well as for support for income generation, such as providing women with plots.

5.2 Recommendations on agency support

As stated earlier, PWC and UCRT, with their well-informed commitment to community development in northern Tanzania are uniquely placed to provide sensitive and appropriate

⁴⁹ By directly facilitating micro credit etc, WLF will develop a conflict of interest within its own membership, and currently many members are members of income generating groups.

support to the emerging roles of women in leadership in these areas. Maliasili Initiatives, with its long term experience and understanding of the challenges faced by both civil society and the local communities in the area is well placed to continue to provide strategic support to enhance the long term capacity development of the two organizations.

a) *Strengthening the emergence of WLF and building their capacity:*

PWC works with 42 WRCs in Ngorongoro District; strengthening the capacity of the 42 WRCs is an undertaking that needs time and resources to ensure representation and sustainability. UCRT works with seventeen WLFs in the three districts, and with only ten WLFs in Simanjiro and Kiteto District, this leaves most women without access to or support from a WLF. Clearly there is need for resources and time to enable the development of new WLFs in the area. While the results of the work with the WLFs/WRCs is convincing, in helping to bring about positive change (as described in this report and annual reports from UCRT and PWC) it is clear that there is need for continued support to this important initiative – as Nembaso Sayori, member of the WLF in Oloipiri notes:

‘We can clearly see that there is a difference between wards where WLF operate and where they are not yet established, as where the WLF do not operate, women are still struggling to be heard or have their rights accepted by men and protected.’

Recommendations: PWC and UCRT should continue to support the development of WLFs and their emergence as a social movement, with special focus on strengthening women’s collaboration and solidarity around working with communities and their institutions to strengthen pastoralist land tenure and to gradually transform gender relations.

The development of the WLFs/WRCs will require different levels and kinds of support at different paces in different areas at different times, and it is recognized that both PWC and UCRT will need to set aside time and resources, and to develop clear strategies on how best to build capacities of the WLFs to lead these processes of change. It is important that UCRT and PWC are sensitive to the pace and kind of support required, so that the innovative approach, which is facilitative rather than prescriptive, and the simple yet powerful underpinning conceptualization, which empowers women for direct dialogue between women leaders and political processes, continues to be nurtured. What we are seeing coming from the WLFs is the emergence of a social movement, driven by genuine popular mobilization and demanding social and institutional changes in both land governance and gender relations. The way forward, is to nurture, facilitate and enable the movement and help it to evolve organically. Further ideas for supporting WLF in this important task are outlined below.

b) *Strategic focus on collaboration and solidarity*

Both PWC and UCT have demonstrated the importance of their role in strengthening solidarity and collaboration at the local level. There is an increasingly important role to play in strengthening collaboration between the various community level groups, and between these and local institutions; for example between the *Ilaigwanak*, the village councils and women groups, or between the WLFs and paralegal advisers. In addition, strengthening links to national and global alliances will provide new impetus as well as protection for the work being done on the ground. PWC and UCRT will need to strategically ensure that collaboration is well placed and does not, even unintentionally, lead to the emerging WLFs and the movement on land becoming overwhelmed by external interests. While the attention is needed, the strength of the movement being led from the local level must be respected.

Recommendation: PWC and UCRT should strengthen their strategic focus on promoting solidarity and collaboration. Suggestions are that PWC and URCT strengthens collaboration strategically by:

- Providing opportunities for solidarity – through meetings, events, discussions, films. These meetings could be for example attended by a) women groups and WLF at locality level, b) different groups and institutions within localities for information sharing, c) groups from different localities to share information and develop strategies and d) groups from locality and national level for information sharing and collaboration.
- Linking the local women’s movement through the WLF initiative to national women movements such as the Tanzania Gender Network Programme.
- Linking the local land movement, through the WLF initiative, to national alliances, such as Tanzania Land Alliance and Policy Forum.
- Linking the local land movement through the WLF initiative to global alliances, such as International Land Coalition, International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, the Universal Periodic Review and more. These linkages have proven to be crucial for protecting activists from reprisals, and for leveraging higher-level positive engagement.

Recommendation: PWC and UCRT should continually keep up to date on laws and processes. As organizations, PWC and UCRT will need to keep themselves updated on laws and legal / political processes by ensuring strong engagement in national/international learning and communications processes. These are for example the ILC, the LTLT, TALA, UPR and other national and international processes. In connection to this engagement, PWC and UCRT should ensure that at least once per year the WLFs or their supporting partners have an appointment with the monthly Breakfast Debate arranged by Policy Forum (where the debate goes to the national level), so that the issue of women’s rights and pastoral land rights are promoted at national level.

c) Strengthened capacity for facilitation

PWC and UCRT have demonstrated their capacity for sensitive engagement with processes of empowerment, supporting the WLF to develop strategies that seem to be leading toward a genuine popular movement to a) secure land rights and b) improve the situation of women in pastoralist society. It is important to ensure that PWC and UCRT have adequate capacity to continue to provide appropriate and well-directed support to the local processes of this nascent movement. The focus of the support should include developing the capacity of WLFs / WRCs. One clear area of facilitation is to continue to support the WLFs to identify the tangible outcomes they want to achieve, developing strategies toward achieving the outcomes and assisting them to monitor their progress. This will underpin the sense of purpose and achievement of WLFs and provide a clear strategic direction for PWC and UCRT to engage/support. It is expected that each forum will have its own specific outcomes it wants to achieve. PWC and UCRT can jointly monitor overall progress of WLFs / WRCs, and use lessons to share with the WLFs across the region at the next women’s summit. The women’s summit may want to develop some crosscutting outcomes that women wish to achieve across the whole region, and PWC and UCRT will have a role to play in helping the WLFs in monitoring progress in achieving these broader outcomes and drawing lessons from them. While the process of facilitation and support has been and is still underway, the very large areas covered and the spread of the work of relatively few staff means that there remains a lot of work to be done. This is not due to negligence on the part of PWC and UCRT, but rather to the nature of the work being done (covering training on specialized land rights, land use planning, women’s rights, human rights, inheritance laws, local government and much more) as well as more sensitive aspects of strengthening the capacities of WLFs to develop strategies, monitor progress, learn and redirect their efforts.

Recommendation: continued and stronger organizational learning and development. Organizational capacity development of PWC and UCRT is a process that is underway and should receive continued support, strengthening the credibility and legitimacy of the organizations, which is increasingly important as the organizations work in politically sensitive

areas of engagement. In this sense, both PWC and UCRT need to review their own internal capacities and distinguish what capacity they want to develop internally as organizations, and what capacity or services they would like to out-source to other organizations / providers. For example, both organizations reported the need for WLF to have continuous access to legal expertise, and proposed working closely with (or employing) community based paralegal assistants. During fieldwork, it was found that another organization (Legal and Human Rights Center) was considering training paralegals to work in Loliondo, and already, in partnership with LHRC, PWC has trained 20 paralegals in Mondorosi, Sukenya to support the land conflict there. The LHRC would be an obvious close ally for PWC and UCRT, providing a useful mutual partnership. It would also make sense to review the WRC and WLF concepts, so as to harmonize them even more; for example, PWC might find that it is more effective to continue to work with WRCs, but strategically merge them in groups to form fewer WLFs at ward (and district) level, with the aim of forming a 'leadership' whose task it is to support WRCs.

As part of the organizational development, an assessment needs to be made of the staffing needs as well as the possible training needs of current staff in order to carry out the facilitation of the WLF/WRC. It is important that both PWC and UCRT are in the position to support and facilitate the continued development of WLFs from a position of strength and capability – so a continued and stronger organizational learning and development component is recommended.

d) Working to find pastoralist land tenure solutions

Much has been achieved through the part of the initiative that seeks to secure land for women through CCROs, and clearly this has had benefits for the individual women who have plots of land, as well as for the women who are now able to access this land for their various income generating activities.

Recommendation: continued training to WLF to secure CCROs for women: PWC and UCRT should continue to build capacities of WLFs to engage effectively in securing plots for women in village and town settlements.

From the field work, it is clear that by strengthening the capacity of women and other leaders to secure these plots for pastoralist women, technical capacity to understand the way land administration works has been increased. Improved exposure to and knowledge of the land laws has also made it clear to the women spoken with, that CCROs will not solve more general pastoralist land tenure problems. Women were clear that another solution has to be found to secure communal tenure of land, so that the pastoralist systems of extensive production can be protected and enhanced to become sustainable, and so that communities can prosper over the long term. The matter of securing pastoralist land tenure has been the focus of many projects, programs and research over the years, but the solution has yet to be found. The strong leadership shown by WLFs may provide a unique and innovative opportunity to find ways of solving this old problem, as this is the first time pastoralist women are fully involved in the process.

Recommendation: supporting WLF and *Ilaigwanak* to collaborate to find ways of securing land tenure for sustainable pastoralist production: It is recommended that PWC and UCRT should build capacity of WLFs and *Ilaigwanak* (the recognized and customary arbiters and controllers of land use in Maasai pastoralist society) to engage in a joint endeavor in working through what the solutions to pastoralist land tenure security are – the need for an adaptive approach to enhancing and securing local adaptive land management. There will be requirements for a long term goal, supportive checks and balances with good monitoring, agreed measures for arbitration and problem solving etc. There will be need for action research to support the communities in finding sustainable solutions. The support will be in line with

recommendation 7.1 c) - 'Women's leadership enhancing and supporting adaptive management of community rangelands'.

Both organisations would need to ensure that the work being done on the ground aligns with and is supported by work being done by potential international partners to address the issues; for example the work coordinated by ILC to find ways of securing pastoralist land tenure; the work being proposed by University College London for collaboration on sustainable rangelands; and the on-going collaboration coordinated by IUCN on a program looking at landscape-wide approaches to ensuring food security in pastoralist lands. It would be important to collaborate with the International Institute on Environment and Development on developing approaches to securing land tenure for pastoralists in their current program in Longido, Ngorongoro and Monduli on landscape wide climate change planning. Identifying good practices and testing whether they are replicable would complement and strengthen the WLF initiative.

Annex 1 – Terms of Reference



Strengthening pastoral women’s land rights in northern Tanzania: Documenting the achievements of Women’s Leadership Forums

Background

Pastoralist Women’s Council (PWC), Ujamaa Community Resource Team (UCRT) and Maliasili Initiatives (MI) are jointly implementing the second year of a three-year project to strengthen pastoral women’s land rights in northern Tanzania. The major objective of the project is to secure land rights for women in pastoralist communities, laying the foundation for sustainable agro-pastoral livelihoods, and to contribute to the social and economic transformation of women’s status within pastoralist societies in northern Tanzania. A key component of this project is supporting the development of Women’s Leadership Forums (WLFs) as a mechanism for promoting collective action across multiple villages in order to promote solidarity and engagement of women on local and regional land conflicts and challenges, and to advance specific land rights agendas at the village, ward and district scales. This year the project is focusing on building engagement of these forums with local (district) government and also will convene a meeting of all the local women’s forums to build regional solidarity, share lessons and experiences, and link grassroots perspectives on land rights with ongoing civil society engagement with key policy processes such as the national constitutional review. All these activities build on extensive experience on the part of the project partners in working with communities across northern Tanzania on land use planning and land rights issues during the past year, and more broadly the past decade, and attempt to scale this work up to new areas where new threats exist or respond to new challenges resulting from increased competition over land between local and national/global actors.

It is expected that as a result of the project more women will own and utilize land individually, there will be less threat of land expropriation and land-grabbing, and reduced conflicts, including physical violence, over access to and ownership of land. The partners also expect to see women playing a greater leadership role within these pastoralist communities, with greater presence and influence in community decision making, greater ability to hold elected leaders to account, and with greater personal economic assets and ability to provide for themselves and their family. An additional long-term goal is to enhance the capacity of civil society organizations and networks to work towards more democratic, equitable and empowering land tenure policies and institutions, which in turn enable women and all Tanzanian citizens to have more control over their lives and livelihoods.

Objectives

This assignment will document the achievements of the Women’s Leadership Forums in Ngorongoro and Simanjiro Districts as well as to identify the weaknesses/gaps/challenges experienced thus far. In addition, the assignment will seek to understand how PWC and UCRT have facilitated these Forums, and provide

recommendations for their continued and strengthened development and facilitation, including the convening of a joint women's leadership forum as part of this year's project activities.

In this regard, MI is looking for an experienced service provider with a strong background in women's development, land rights and organizational development to carry out the following:

1. To collate and review all information as exists pertaining to the activities and development of WLFs in northern Tanzania as a prologue for:
2. Documenting key achievements and any challenges experienced of the WLF's to date, and particularly in the last two years in relation to securing land and property rights. As part of the assessment, the service provider will collect the personal stories / narratives of individual and groups of women, in order to underpin the general analysis. The service provider will work closely with PWC and UCRT in carrying out this inquiry and will liaise with MI in relation to its more detailed planning and execution.
3. Separately exploring and documenting with PWC and UCRT their perspectives on women's empowerment, and how they view WLFs as developing in the future: the aim of this part of the inquiry is to enable MI to understand how it can provide the requisite support in the future for enabling PWC and UCRT to facilitate the WLF's, in relation to the findings above.
4. Providing recommendations as may be needed on the objectives and methodology of the planned joint WLF (summit) meeting as part of ensuring that this meeting provides the necessary impetus for leading into a successful third and final year of the project.
5. Closely coordinating with a parallel filming project advising as to how best document WLF's achievements and activities so they are captured and portrayed in a way that closely complements the outputs set out below.

Outputs

The service provider will liaise closely with MI in developing the following outputs:

1. A report of no more than 25 pages summarizing the findings and recommendations of the service-provider in relation to the above ToR
2. Based on the report, a concise 4 page briefing paper on WLF's in northern Tanzania, framed in a way that captures and articulates the strengths, achievements and lessons learnt
3. At least six short contrasting stories of a maximum of two pages each with photographs about the transformative experiences of individual and groups of women participating in the WLFs
4. A 15-minute film that captures the findings, recommendations and stories collected throughout the research process. While the service provider is not responsible for the actual production of this film, they are responsible for providing input, coordination and content so that the film adequately reflects the objectives of this assignment.

Conditions

1. The service provider will meet with the WLF Summit coordinators (PWC and UCRT) and the filmmaker (Mr Kassim Mustafa) on the evening of 14th July (the evening before the WLF summit) to provide general support, and specifically to liaise and plan how best to film the land summit.
2. The service provider will meet with the WLF Summit coordinators and the filmmaker no later than immediately after the summit to plan (i) What field work to carry out, how best to do this, and when (ii) How to maximally use the limited time of the filmmaker in the field.
3. The service provider will communicate a clear plan of fieldwork and provide details on the outputs to be generated as set out in the preceding section to Maliasili Initiatives by COB 18th July 2013.

Costs and timeline

The service provider will be allocated up to 20 days of work at USD400 per day to carry out the assignment: the service provider should submit by August 12th 2013 a draft report, draft briefing paper and draft stories for review. The service provider will be responsible for arranging their own logistics (PWC and UCRT will provide such support as they can) and in this regard, the service provider will be provided with up to USD 2,500 for logistical costs, and shall be expected to minimize these costs as much as possible.

Contract management

The service provider will report to and liaise with Andrew Williams and Jessie Davie at Maliasili Initiatives. It should be noted that the service provider will be expected to work independently liaising closely with Ujamaa Community Resource Team (Cara Scott and Paine Makko) and Pastoral Women's Council (Maanda Ngoitiko and Jill Nicholson).

Annex 2 – List of people met

Date	Name	Place
15 & 16 July	40 women leaders (<i>Hadza, Datoga, Maasai, Mtemi and Akie</i>) from Kiteto, Hanang, Loliondo, Longido and Simanjiro	Namanga, Longido District
15 July	Ole Milya, DC for Longido	Namanga
15 July	Cara Scott, UCRT	Namanga
16 July	Young married woman from Longido	Longido
16 July	Village chairman (Longido)	Longido
16 July	District Councillor for Longido	Longido
16 July	Brother of woman	Longido
16 July	Olaigwanani (of the Korianga of the area – conflict resolution leader).	Longido
16 July	Jofa Kakanyi – Ngarenaibor, Councilor in Longido District Council	Longido
18 July	40 women from <i>Loiborsiret and one Oelegwanani</i>	Loiborisiret, Simanjiro
18 July	Helene Mbarnoti WLF	Loiborisiret, Simanjiro
18 July	Theresia Jakob, WLF member	Loiborisiret, Simanjiro
18 July	Pauline Loure,	Loiborisiret, Simanjiro
18 July	10 women and 1 <i>olaigwanani</i> , from Sukuro	Sukuro, Simanjiro
18 July	Magdalena Daniel	Sukuro, Simanjiro
18 July	Lea Orwangas (chair)	Sukuro, Simanjiro
18 July	Anna Kipara	Sukuro, Simanjiro
18 July	Ole Paaya (<i>Olaigwanai</i>)	Sukuro, Simanjiro
19 July	Matingoi Ole Tawo, Alaililai	Alaililai, NCA
19 July	<i>Womens rights groups, 35 women and 1 olaigwanani</i>	Nainokanoka, NCA
20 July	Merwoyo Nepapai	Mokilal, NCA
21 July	Sakita Ole Pose, <i>Olaigwanani</i> (Kisongo)	Malanja, NCA
21 July	12 women from <i>Loongoku cultural boma</i>	Meshili, NCA
22 July	8 women from <i>Malambo WLF</i>	Malambo, Ngorongoro
22 July	Miriam Oleberika	Malambo, Ngorongoro
22 July	Sarah Samson Saipi	Malambo, Ngorongoro
22 July	Naarmasin Olotapesi	Malambo, Ngorongoro
22 July	Naalamala Tikwa Lekitony	Sanfan, Malambo
23 July	Elias Wawalali, District Commissioner, 23 July, Loliondo	Loliondo, Ngorongoro
23 July	28 women and 1 <i>Olaigwanani</i> from <i>Oloipiri</i>	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Nembaso Sayori	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Nyamalo Sayori	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Noosikitok Sereny	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Noolaimer Parshuku	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Nasha Ngurmai	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Nooseuri Kioki	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Noongokwa Soine	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Noorpiyaya Embalala (Orkuyaeni)	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Mary ole Sekirau, Oloipiri 23 July	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Moipoi Kioki, Oloipiri, 23 July	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
23 July	Daniel Saiyori, <i>Olaigwanani</i> (Laitaiyok), subvillage chair Oloipiri	Oloipiri, Ngorongoro
24 July	Susanna Koillah, 24 July, Magaiduru	Magaiduru, Loliondo
24 July	Tina Timan, councillor, 25 th July	Loliondo
24 July	Maanda Ngoitiko – Director PWC	Loliondo, Ngorongoro

Date	Name	Place
25 th July	Matthew ole Nassei	Loliondo, Ngorongoro
25 July	Laurence Makko - UCRT	Loliondo, Ngorongoro
25 July	Mark - PWC	Loliondo, Ngorongoro
27 July	Kijooli Kakeyu (Piyaya)	Arusha
27 July	Edward Loure – Director UCRT	Arusha
27 July	Paine Ulaliama – UCRT	
27 July	Jill Nicholson - PWC	Arusha

PWC & UCRT STAFF

Laurence Makko – UCRT, Loliondo, 25th July 2013

Mark – UCRT, 25th July Loliondo 2013

Edward Loure – UCRT 27th July 2013

Paine Makko – UCRT, 27th July 2013

Cara Scott – UCRT, ?? 2013

Jill Nicholson – PWC, ?? 2013

Mark – PWC, ?? 2013

Maanda Ngoitiko – PWC, ?? 2013