



WOLTS Tanzania Research Summary and Recommendations Note

Mokoro's practical and action-oriented long-term strategic research project, the Women's Land Tenure Security Project (WOLTS), is piloting its methodology through a 'Study on the threats to women's land tenure security in Mongolia and Tanzania'. Working together with HakiMadini in Tanzania, we have been investigating the state of women's land tenure security in pastoral areas affected by mining investments, through both participatory qualitative and quantitative research to identify the main threats to the land rights of women and vulnerable groups. The WOLTS project's aim is to assess possible means to improve gender equity in land tenure governance and secure the land rights of vulnerable people within communities, as well as to support communities to withstand threats to their land and natural resources.

This Research Summary and Recommendations Note shares our findings from our fieldwork in Mundarara and Naisinyai villages in Tanzania between June 2016 and February 2017, including initial field visits, a baseline survey and a participatory fieldwork phase. The findings were validated during follow-up visits in July and August 2017. We are grateful for the overall support of both the Longido and Simanjiro district governments and the engagement and hospitality of the people of Mundarara and Naisinyai throughout. We particularly acknowledge and thank all those whom we have interviewed and shared discussions with – for their willingness to participate and their invaluable contributions to helping us learn about gender, land, pastoralism and mining in Tanzania today.

Baseline Methodology

Our baseline survey was conducted from August to October 2016 with 10% of households in each village. In Mundarara it included 71 households, of which 57 were randomly sampled and 14 were additional female-headed households. In Naisinyai it included 125 households, of which 103 were randomly sampled and 22 were additional female-headed households. Thus 80% of the total survey sample in Mundarara and 82% in Naisinyai was randomly sampled (including 50 male- and 7 female-headed households in Mundarara and 97 male- and 6 female-headed households in Naisinyai) while 20% in Mundarara and 18% in Naisinyai comprised deliberately targeted female-headed households. This method was used to boost the total number of female-headed households surveyed so as to help uncover critical gender issues for vulnerable groups. Data from the additional female-headed households were only included in comparative analysis of male- and female-headed households and male and female respondents, and not in all the general baseline analysis.

Participatory Fieldwork Methodology

Our participatory fieldwork phase took place in February 2017 and included 13 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 12 individual biographic interviews (BIs) in each village, involving over 92 people in Mundarara and over 104 people in Naisinyai. Different types of social groups and individuals were specifically sought out for these discussions and interviews, so as to reflect different characteristics and issues that we considered worth exploring further after analysing our baseline results (e.g. widows, miners, monogamously/polygamously married men and women, etc.). FGDs were structured around standard participatory exercises, including natural resource and migration mapping, seasonal labour analysis, and stakeholder analysis and institution mapping. BIs followed structured question guides that were tailored to the circumstances of the individual being interviewed in order to help us learn about people's lives and livelihoods and the ways both gender relations and access to different resources have changed since their childhoods. Our research also included interviews with local government officials and representatives of some of the mining companies and organisations in the two villages.

Background

Tanzania is home to numerous pastoralist peoples, some of whom continue to pursue nomadic and semi-nomadic lifestyles. A wide range of minerals are found throughout the country, with mining of gold and gemstones (including diamond and Tanzanite) the most established, at eight large-scale and various medium- and small-scale mines nationwide, and nickel, coal, uranium, iron ore, copper, graphite and natural gas projects also being developed in recent years. Gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution and women have equal land rights to men under formal law. However, longstanding customary land tenure practices that treat men and women differently persist in some places. Our two WOLTS pilot communities both lie in the Rift Valley of northern Tanzania and both are affected by mining activities but with differences in scale and extent. In both, the main ethnic group is the Wamaasai, there are relatively youthful populations and women who are on average less well educated than men, and traditional gender norms and customary practices are strong.

Mundarara village lies in Longido district, Arusha region. The nearest small town is Longido, where the district headquarters are based, about 33 km east of Mundarara along a single-track dirt road and situated on the main tarmac road between the major town of Arusha and the Namanga border crossing to Kenya. No data were available on the total land area of Mundarara; however, the village's two main land uses are pastoralism and, to a much lesser extent, crop farming. There are wild animals visible throughout the village, part of which lies within a Wildlife Management Area (WMA). According to the Arusha Zonal Mining Office as at 11 October 2016, eight mining licences had been granted in Mundarara, all for ruby gemstones, but only one company was active during our fieldwork, the Mundarara Ruby Mining Company. Mundarara is a fairly typical, sparsely populated Maasai village containing five vitongoji (sub-villages). People in different areas generally live together within traditional boma (large compounds containing multiple households and livestock grazing areas, all enclosed by a fence of thick and thorny bushes), which can often contain up to 20 or more households. The total population of the village as at 12 October 2016 was 4,857 people living in 701 households.

Naisinyai village lies in Simanjiro district, Manyara region. The nearest medium-sized town is Mirerani, which borders Naisinyai immediately to the south; the Simanjiro district headquarters are based 145 km further south along a graded dirt road at the small town of Orkesemet. Naisinyai village centre is about 19 km along a new tarmac road from Kilimanjaro International Airport, which lies halfway between the towns of Moshi and Arusha. No precise data were available on the total land area of Naisinyai, although village leaders estimated it to be around 30 km². The village's three main land uses are pastoralism, crop farming and mining. Parts of Naisinyai are included within the borders of the Mirerani Controlled Area, a 7 km by 2 km strip of land that is the only known source of Tanzanite gemstones in the world. According to the Arusha Zonal Mining Office as at 1 June 2016, 732 Primary Mining Licences had been granted in the Mirerani Controlled Area for small-scale mining of Tanzanite, of which around 180-200 were then active, and one large- (Tanzanite One) and two medium-scale Tanzanite mining companies (Tanzanite Africa and Kilimanjaro Mining) were also present in the village. Naisinyai contained three vitongoji; the two nearest to Mirerani town were more densely populated while people in the third were much more spread out. This third kitongoji (Naepo) was in the process of changing its administrative status to become a village in its own right. Across Naisinyai, extended families commonly lived together in clusters of households, with several houses or huts built near one another, and many modern houses were visible. The total population of the village as at 9 August 2016 was 8,770 people living in 1,243 households.

Findings from Mundarara

Mundarara village has expanded considerably in the last three to four decades from its origins as a very low-density pastoralist settlement with only a few boma dotted around the main ruby mining site in what is now the village centre. Almost all households appeared to engage in traditional Maasai pastoralism as their main livelihood activity and top source of cash income but they also all seemed to have some form of involvement in mining, including mineral trading



and rubble sorting as well as mining itself. Mining has brought new opportunities for both sexes and some women and men also ran a diverse range of small businesses. We thus detected a general trend in pursuit of alternative livelihoods and away from traditional pastoralist lifestyles, with crop farming also taken up over the past 20 years in response to perceived pressures on grazing areas and the felt need to diversify livelihoods. However, very few people had succeeded with growing crops in the three to five years before our fieldwork due to the extended drought of recent years. This demonstrated the fragility of local livelihoods, with people becoming more dependent on earnings from mining-related activities while crop farming remained lapsed and while pastureland quality suffered both from the lack of rainfall and from human and livestock population pressures.

There are quite strict traditional norms around gender within Maasai households, with women considered as being in charge of all domestic activities both inside and outside the boma. Decision-making within the household, including about the day-to-day division of labour, was still largely the prerogative of men, and women in many households were extremely dependent on men to meet their day-to-day cash needs. Within herding, women were mainly in charge of milking and looking after old and sick animals and men were generally in charge of watering livestock, taking animals on migration, and livestock slaughtering and sales. However, women had gradually become more involved in herding and their overall workloads had substantially increased as boys were increasingly sent to school and men took up alternative livelihoods. On the other hand, changes seemed to be visible within at least some households. For example, although polygamy was still more common than monogamy, monogamous marriages appeared to be becoming more common and were characterised by more equity of household decision-making, for example about budgeting and expenditure. Even in polygamous households, it seemed that some women might

“When we get married, even when my wife comes to my house she will walk behind me, so how can she then have powers in my house? Men should always have the power.”

(Polygamously married man, Mundarara)

“Only maybe at family level can women discuss with men about changes. But to announce this publicly would be very difficult.”

(Polygamously married second wives, Mundarara)

have held more power than was openly acknowledged, and we were told that favoured wives were often more involved in decision-making and had more rights than other wives.

Many women and men went to the Mundarara Ruby Mining Company site daily to sort through the rubble left there by the company; they would take away all stones that appeared to have rubies in them and try to sell them to the predominantly male brokers in the village centre. While some jobs have also been created, the main beneficiaries from mining therefore appear to be traders and mineral brokers, some of whom have become relatively wealthy from selling rubies. Conversely, the benefits to women have been minimised due to their lack of knowledge about the value of the minerals they are collecting, as well as the gender-specific discrimination they face in accessing the rubble, which ranged from verbal abuse to direct violence in the accounts we heard during our fieldwork.

Even though mining and related activities have clearly contributed to the local economy in Mundarara, some negative issues were also raised. We found that many local people were unhappy about the limited engagement of mining companies with Mundarara people, and that improvements were needed around consultation, compensation and the provision of more benefits to the community. These issues have contributed to resentment building up, and to violence and protests.

A Village Land Use Plan (VLUP) was established in Mundarara in 2012, in part intended to help support prevention of conflict between pastoralists and wildlife. Before Villagisation, land in Mundarara had been abundant and was largely regulated through customary land tenure arrangements. However, as the local population had grown, and as land had been seen to have increased in value, it had become much more difficult to get access to unoccupied areas and procedures had become more complex. Farmland and

“I was very lucky to get some land. Nowadays, it is very difficult, because people see the value of land today...People see that land is sweet.”

(Polygamously married man, Mundarara)

land for settlements were now governed by statutory regulations, while pastureland was jointly governed by the village government and the Ilaigwanak, the traditional Maasai council, under customary regulation and practice within the designated grazing areas within the VLUP. Concerns were raised about the slowness of the land allocation process, the need for regular follow up, and the particular difficulties for poorer people to get land. The growth in the number of farms and settlements, as well as the presence of mining companies, has also increased the distance people have to walk to reach grazing areas.

The increasing formalisation of land tenure in theory has provided women in Mundarara with equal rights to access land and to have formal joint ownership of household land, thereby ensuring their tenure security. In practice, however, we were regularly told that men did not allow women to own any land and that the village government only granted land to widows with adult sons. Furthermore, most livestock belonged to men only. With these two important assets concentrated in men's hands, women had fewer opportunities to independently generate wealth or to contribute cash income to their household economy. Widows (and the very few separated women), especially those with children to look after, also often seemed to be left with few assets, limited access to resources and little male support. Although we encountered some very poor men, these women thus appeared to be among the most vulnerable people in Mundarara.

“How can we get access to land if we do not have any resources like livestock? If you do not own the resources, how can you own the land? I have never seen any woman own land.”
(Widow, Mundarara)

Overall, climate change and human population growth have both contributed to making pastoralist livelihoods in Mundarara less predictable than they used to be. The uptake of farming activities (despite the drought of the last few years) has coincided with land tenure becoming more formalised and land management more regulated. The establishment of a Land Use Plan has demarcated the areas set aside for pasture and thereby reduced the availability of land for the expansion of settlements and farming. At the same time, many people have started trying to diversify their livelihoods, and mining has provided one avenue for diversification – even though expansion of mining sites has also contributed to pressures on overall land availability in the village.

The increased involvement of local men in mining and the general trend towards livelihood diversification have led local women to take on more roles outside the household. While women were increasingly engaged in herding, and many also engaged in various cash income-earning activities, women still continued to be responsible for all domestic work and were often not allowed to keep any money they made themselves. We found that decision-making within the community remained largely male-dominated, despite the involvement of women in formal government institutions as required by law. We also felt that what people said they did and what they actually did were not always the same, and some men seemed open to changes that would support women's rights and benefit the whole household, while also respecting local culture and traditions.

Climate change, drought and mining have also led to conflicts over increasingly scarce pasture and water resources, both within the village and with neighbouring villages. These external threats were thus changing pastoralist livelihoods and gender roles and divisions of labour in Mundarara, while the internal threats many women faced within the community seemed at the same time very difficult to overcome.

Findings from Naisinyai

Naisinyai village has changed rapidly in the last few decades. As the only place in the world where the Tanzanite gemstone has been found, the Mirerani area has seen mining expand dramatically since the Tanzanian mining economy took off in the late 1990s. As a result, dense vegetation and pasture have been cleared both for mining itself and for the expansion of settlements, farms and infrastructure to accommodate the related influx of people into the local area, including migrant labourers



from other parts of Tanzania. All these changes have taken place as Naisinyai itself has transitioned from being a purely pastoralist community to much more of an agro-pastoral community.

As in Mundarara, divisions of labour within households in Naisinyai appeared to follow traditional Maasai patterns. Even though many people seemed to think that traditional gender roles had changed in recent decades and that women were now more engaged in various cash income-generating activities, money still tended to be controlled by their husbands. Most women identified their general lack of any assets or monetary resources as their most significant problem. Other big challenges for gender relations were women's lack of education and a lack of substantive and meaningful female representation in local land and natural resource governance and decision-making bodies. However, several women's groups provide an avenue for women to get their voices heard and generate some cash income, and more changes like this can only help the people of Naisinyai and support the village's sustainable development.

As in Mundarara, almost all households appeared to engage in traditional Maasai pastoralism as their main livelihood activity. However, a general trend towards the diversification of household livelihoods away from pastoralism was also reported, as a result of what was perceived to be the effects of an increasing human population in the local area, increased frequency and duration of droughts and the take-over by mining companies of the majority of the village's pastureland. Various people therefore highlighted the growing importance of crop farming, mining and small businesses to local livelihoods. For example, 82% of the randomly sampled households in our baseline survey reported that they were growing crops, and many people were engaged in small-scale mining, mineral trading, and collecting and sorting left-over rubble, an activity which was mainly done by widows in Naisinyai. Mining was thus undoubtedly contributing to cash incomes in Naisinyai, both directly and through its indirect effects on local economic development, for example in the form of markets for local food and services, the presence of new shops and the very recent construction of the tarmac road to Kilimanjaro International Airport, but it had nonetheless brought with it numerous problems and appeared to be viewed with ambivalence.

Both women and men we spoke with seemed to feel that there had been only limited benefits for the local population from mining, and there was a perception that those benefits had disproportionately accrued to men. While women engaged in the collection of left-over rubble, this was a highly dangerous activity that ran the risk of verbal abuse, violence and rape. This is because they were competing over the rubble with unemployed men, who often stole the proceeds from them and raped them; we were told that some women and a young boy had even been killed. In contrast, mineral trading, which offered good cash income-earning opportunities appeared to be largely in male hands, and most of the (few) local jobs created by mining companies in the Mirerani Controlled Area also seemed to benefit men. However, some local infrastructure had been built by mining companies, including wells, water pipes and taps, and some buildings had been maintained; these kinds of indirect benefits from mining were felt by both women and men.

“Women are being raped when they go to collect the waste materials...They will keep on raping us, because we need to feed our families.”

(Widows, Naisinyai)

“Those who rape them run away, so you cannot take them to court...We would like you to share your report with the Ministry, the Zonal Officer and the RMO. They need to know what people feel, we feel a lot of pain.”

(Village elders, Naisinyai)

Although the social effects of mining were clearly felt more strongly and negatively by women in Naisinyai, environmental effects appeared to have been felt equally by everyone. Our fieldwork revealed many grievances with both large-scale and small-scale miners, including the take-over and degradation of pastureland (including through many unfilled holes in the ground) and the worsening quality of water resources, and there were fears that more land would be allocated to mining. It was widely perceived that the development of mining and consequent population increases had drastically decreased forest cover and available pastureland in the village. As a result, only a very small patch of pasture now seemed to be left within Naisinyai village and it was only used by very few people, mostly

women with young children who needed a regular milk supply so they had to keep their cattle close by. These women were allowed to pass between the mining sites to reach this grazing area, but it was a very dangerous undertaking because of the open pits and the high risk of being raped or abused in areas around the mines.

Before Villagisation, land in Naisinyai was largely regulated through customary land tenure arrangements and passed down through inheritance within families and clans. However, as in Mundarara, statutory institutions had since gradually acquired more power. Anyone wanting land either for farming or for settlements now needed to apply for it to the village government or to acquire it through the market, although pastureland still seemed to be mainly regulated according to customary practices. Both the village government and the Ilaigwanak were male-dominated and women did not seem to participate in local land and natural resource management beyond their official (statutorily-prescribed quota) positions in the relevant government institutions.

At the time of our fieldwork, Naisinyai did not have a Village Land Use Plan to help regulate and manage the village's land. It seemed that land allocation processes and access to land had instead become very commoditised as a result of population growth and a shortage of available land. Everyone had either to buy or lease land or to apply for (a very limited amount of remaining available) land from the village government on payment of fees, making land access in general more difficult for poorer people. While most male participants in our FGDs and BIs either claimed that women already had equal land rights to men or said that women did not need to own land, most women were very much aware of the injustices in their daily lives and wished to see progress with regards to their land rights; however, many women were not aware of their statutory rights. Even where women were aware of the law, it seemed that social norms prevented them from claiming their rights.

Mining has clearly contributed positively to the economic and infrastructural development of the local area and some individuals have amassed large amounts of wealth due to mining. However, it has also changed the nature of local pastoralism, as herders now have to migrate much further to access

“How can we as a community benefit from all this mining?...These companies are all located in Naisinyai but they use the name from Mirerani! How can we get recognition that the minerals are actually in our village?”
(Village leaders, Naisinyai)

pasture and many people in Naisinyai have to keep their animals in other villages throughout the year. There have also been considerable negative social and environmental consequences of mining for people in Naisinyai, which in many instances have been borne disproportionately by women.

While gender roles appeared to be slowly changing, and women were nowadays increasingly engaged in herding and other cash income-generating activities, women were still generally not able to own land, livestock or other assets and, as in Mundarara, often had to give any money they earned to their husbands. At the same time, mining-related increases in violence, rape and abuse have predominantly affected women, turning their daily chores, such as collecting firewood and herding animals, into very dangerous activities. Also, the small benefits some women have derived from the collection of left-over rubble are more often than not offset by the dangers incurred. While the village government is aware of these problems, it has been largely powerless and many women seemed to feel that the male-dominated society in which they live needs to do more to adequately protect them.

Overall conclusions

While Mundarara felt a little more remote and 'traditional' than Naisinyai, both villages have undergone similar processes of change in the last decades. Climate change and population growth have contributed to changing pastoralist livelihoods and to increasing land scarcity and livelihood diversification in both villages. Mining activities in both villages started many decades ago but they have substantially increased in the last 10 to 20 years, which has contributed to a more rapid decrease in the availability of pastureland. This has been much more pronounced in Naisinyai, where most of the pasture area has been taken up by mining (at all scales) and the expansion of settlements and farms.

Mining in both villages had brought only few (usually low-paid and precarious) jobs for men, but had contributed to opportunities for general livelihood diversification through a number of mining-related income-generating activities. While the left-over rubble from both medium-scale and small-scale operations tended to be sorted through by both men and women in Mundarara and by women (often widows) and unemployed young men in Naisinyai, it was bought (at low prices) by the (mostly) men who were engaged in trading the minerals, some of whom had become very wealthy as a result. At the same time, in both villages, women engaged in sorting through the rubble faced violence and abuse, but this seemed to be much more extreme in Naisinyai.

Women nowadays were not only much more likely to be engaged in various income-generating activities, they were reportedly also much more engaged in herding than in the past in both villages. Yet it appeared that while women's responsibilities had increased, this change had not yet been accompanied by a major shift in their very low status. In both villages women's workload was high but it was very difficult for them to own any land or livestock or other assets or to keep any money they earned from their own work. Further, in both villages women did not feel that they had a voice or that their interests were being protected.

Gender stereotypes that inform men's and women's roles and responsibilities are difficult to change, but some slow changes were nevertheless visible in both villages. Monogamous marriages and "love marriages" seemed to be increasing and monogamously married couples were more likely to mention that decisions were taken jointly and that women also had their own sources of cash income. Likewise, government quotas for women in the statutory village government institutions had increased women's representation in decision-making in both villages. Even though it was often mentioned that these women did not have much influence in practice, many women still appreciated having female representatives and wished for more women to be included in decision-making positions. Furthermore, in Naisinyai some women seemed to have been able to at least partly overcome discrimination and engage in trading minerals and the various women's groups also appeared to provide a platform for women to discuss issues and organise themselves.

"If women stood up together they would have a better chance of being heard. It hasn't happened yet but I am hopeful!...Men are too powerful and women are not united to speak and be heard. There is a culture of shame among women if one of us speaks out."

(Widow, Naisinyai)

"There are a few women in leadership positions here, but there should be more. In future there will be more, I'm sure of it."

(Polygamously married man, Naisinyai)

Questions about how to support women more within the community came up strongly in both villages during our research. In Mundarara other big issues related to the collection of rubble in ruby mining, the general operations of mining companies and possibilities for engaging in small-scale mining under licence, and the protection of customary land use rights and issues around pastureland and migration. In Naisinyai other big issues likewise related to the activities of big mining companies, small-scale mining under licence, and the protection of customary land use rights.

Both our case studies highlight the need for mining companies to engage more proactively with affected communities and expand corporate social responsibility measures. They also highlight the need for different land user groups (especially pastoralists, crop farmers, mining companies and small-scale miners) to come together with local governments to find solutions for the increased difficulties that challenge pastoralist livelihoods and for the increased land scarcity and pastureland degradation

"I would like to see change but this will be difficult – men need educating too."

(Monogamously married man, Mundarara)

that affect the whole community. At the same time, we detected a need for women to be better represented in decision-making positions and to stand together in working with men in their communities to adapt long-standing

gendered norms so as to protect and support women and address the difficulties all vulnerable people are facing in these mining-affected communities today.

Key WOLTS Tanzania Research Findings

1. Educating women and men about land rights, providing leadership training to women, and assisting with group formation to help women gain access to land and livestock came up as possible solutions – but enormous time burdens faced by most women remain a key obstacle to overcome
2. There was a feeling that mining companies and individual miners needed to work together with the whole community to generate more opportunities for women and vulnerable people and to hold the perpetrators of violence against women to account.
3. Ensuring all people in both communities have a forum to meet and discuss key land and natural resource issues in a participatory way would help to address the various issues that came up in our research around land, gender, mining and pastoralism; men and women, young and old, rich and poor should be included, and there should be specific support to vulnerable groups to ensure their concerns can be heard, acknowledged and addressed.

Key recommendation

An integrated approach in both villages could address the many issues that have come up in our research, through all different stakeholders coming together for dialogue to reduce conflicts between different land users.

Regular village and vitongoji level meetings could create a space to enable different land users to discuss issues relating to local land tenure governance and land management and find solutions together in a very participatory way. They would need to:

- pay special attention to ensuring good participation by all people – men and women, rich and poor, young and old – and to bringing the most vulnerable people in the community into decision-making, including widows, poor people and wives in polygamous marriages who are not their husband's favourite wife;
- include local men and women, government officials, and mining companies and organisations.

This would provide an opportunity to share information, to raise awareness about laws and procedures, to discuss the rules for using different resources to see where changes might be needed, to develop the many detailed and constructive suggestions made by participants in our research, and to ensure participation of all people in the sustainable development of their village.

For example, one of the first activities that could be carried out in both villages is for the whole community (including the mining companies and mineral brokers and traders) to come up with improved rules and regulations around rubble collection in order to minimise conflicts and ensure fairer distribution of benefits, as well as, most urgently in Naisinyai, to find ways to protect women in the mining areas from being raped and abused.

HakiMadini is a rights based organisation working to support small-scale miners and communities living around Tanzania's mineral abundant areas since the late 1990s, with an established programme focused on gender and mining. Mokoro is a not-for-profit organisation based in the UK, which provides technical advice on all aspects of land and natural resource governance.

For more information about Mokoro and the WOLTS project, and to sign up to our mailing list to be kept informed about WOLTS events and publications, please visit our website www.mokoro.co.uk/wolts or email Dr. Elizabeth Daley, Principal Consultant and WOLTS Team Leader: edaley@mokoro.co.uk.

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