
Ereto -Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project

Report of the gender study

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Having said that, the usual disclaimer applies here. I am solely responsible for the content and opinions expressed herein.

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Executive Summary

The purpose of the study is to identify ways in which the Ereto project can improve the gender aspects. The study was contracted to MS-TCDC and conducted by two consultants. The fieldwork was two weeks and comprised of interviews and group discussions with various stakeholders with special emphasis on women and women's groups.

The project

Ereto project is a joint initiative of the governments of Tanzania and Denmark. The overall objective of the project is to improve livelihoods and self-management of the Pastoralist communities of the NCA. The word Ereto means, "helping one another", and is the philosophy of the project. **The main activity of the project is to restock poor people with a viable herd to enable them to lead normal pastoral lives and to support their families.**

Apart from the restocking the project also supplies restocked families with maize so they do not depend entirely on the livestock in the beginning. To support livestock production, the project has an animal health and a water management component. To meet the self-management objective, **Ereto has been training members of the community in leadership skills and community development. The project has also been involving Pastoralists in its management.**

Key findings

The project has been very effective in involving the community in the running of the project, and has done very well in involving women in many of its components. Whilst the community is quite traditional and an aggressive gender policy would be counter-productive, it is recognised that much more could be done by the project to sensitively introduce gender to the project.

Gender issues in the project

- a. The main achievement of the project is that **40% of the people who have been restocked are women**. The study was not able to establish exact figures for the nature of households of the women, but most users come from households where the man has proved himself to be an unreliable provider, the rest are female-headed households (widows and single mothers).
- b. Women who have been restocked do have a say over livestock (for restocked families, a man cannot just sell an animal without receiving permission from his wife) **but they cannot be said to have any control over the livestock**. Restocked animals get branded with the emblem of the head of the household, even if he is deceased, therefore de-facto belong to that clan and fall under the traditional rules and practises governing livestock.
- c. The act of restocking women has encouraged the community to view the questions of ownership differently, **and even though men still largely control**

ownership, at least issues are discussed openly and possibilities for dialogue exist.

- d. Another remarkable achievement of the project is that they have been able *to include women in the various project committees*. The livestock and water committees have a perfectly balanced gender balance. The Ewoloto committee has one woman from each ward represented. *A weakness of women's participation in the project is that women are not involved in all aspect and those who are elected or appointed into committees are not participating effectively*. Women were especially vocal about the fact that they are not involved in the livestock purchasing.
- e. According to the original project document, *the community development coordinator is the gender focal point*. At the time of the survey, the post had only been filled for six months, so it was difficult to assess how effectively the co-ordinator will manage the gender issues. *A general concern was that the community development coordinator is based at the central office and may not be able to reach the women groups effectively*.
- f. The project documents especially the phase II implementation plan have included gender aspects; *there is a detailed plan on how the project will work with women in this phase*. One weakness identified with the documents and with the project in general is that gender was very often equated with women and vice versa, which is not a sustainable approach to working with gender. *Although some of the data in the project is gender desegregated, this is neither systematic nor consistent*.

Gender relations in Maasai community

Gender relations in Maasai community are very similar to gender relations in most African communities, in that men own and control most of the property, and also dominate public decision making. *However the study found that women do have their own traditional systems of organising and have effectively organised a campaign to reinstate their rights to farm within the conservation area*. Women also have leadership skills and qualities very similar to those of men, but these are informal and not recognised.

- a. The fact that men have sole control over property and dominate decision making at home is a big bone of contention because it contributes to the general levels of poverty in the community. *Because women have no say over property, but have sole responsibility for providing for the family, it is quite common for families (mothers and children) to go hungry when the father owns large herds of cattle*.
- b. To cope with the extreme poverty of women, a lot of them have organised themselves into women groups for income generating. *The study found that the levels of organisation and experience differ significantly from ward to ward and*

- even within wards*. Some women have no idea what such groups can achieve, whilst other groups have experience with borrowing and investing a significant amount of money.
- c. In terms of income generating *a major constraint seems to be that these women do not have a lot of new and different ideas for businesses and income generating activities*. Once an activity seems to bring in a good income to a group, all the other groups get into the same business flooding the market and creating unnecessary competition. *In addition, the women's products do not seem to meet the quality or standards that tourists (a big market in Ngorongoro) would like.*

Women's participation in public debate and leadership

The effective participation of women in public debate in Ngorongoro district will be influenced by how much influence and power Pastoralists themselves have in the area. *The findings indicate that the PC which is the main Pastoralist specific institution does not have that strong a say in the decision making process of the NCA*, and of great concern is the fact that the PC does not enjoy that much credibility among Pastoralist community members, both men and women.

- a. *Women do not have a very big opportunity of participating in public debates*. Neither do they have a lot of opportunities for social and political representation. The Pastoralist Council. The PC has 41 members out of whom only six are women. The village councils each have only the 6 or 7 affirmative action members. *These women do not participate in most discussions, because they are outnumbered, but also because the culture does not really provide space for women to express themselves in a mixed group*. One impact of this is that women's issues and concerns are neglected in the main decision making bodies.
- b. *A major limitation of working with women in Ngorongoro and especially in trying to increase their participation in public policy and decision - making is that women do not have formal structures and are not adequately represented in the existing ones*. The terms of reference therefore asked us to explore the possibilities of women setting up an umbrella organisation to represent their interests. *Nothing from our experience indicates that women would have the capacity to manage an umbrella NGO, even one with very simple structures. However the training recommendations focus on preparing women for such an eventuality.*

Main Recommendations

Two types of recommendations have been made in this report. *The first are non-training recommendations, and the second are training recommendations*. The training recommendations will only be effective if some of the non-training recommendations are implemented as well.

- a. At the project level, It is recommended that ***a women’s project extension worker be appointed either from the current PFOs or be recruited.*** Further, the project needs to initiate dialogue over the issues of property ownership. There is also a recommendation on that the project monitor ***the gender impact and present gender desegregated data.***
- b. ***On women groups,*** It is recommended that ***women be given additional financial support, or be linked with organisations that can give them such support.*** It is also recommended that ***a business survey be done to help identify new and viable businesses for women to initiate.*** It is also recommended that women groups’ organisation focus on the smaller groups of 5 based on the grameen model (where the group provides collateral and each member is responsible for starting her own business. These groups have a better success rate than those with large numbers of members all involved in the same business.

Broadly speaking, three types of training are being recommended.

- a. ***The gender sensitisation workshops are aimed at different community members, and the project staff.*** They will provide a forum where gender relations and gender issues among the Maasai can be discussed and where dialogue can begin on some of the more contentious issues.
- b. ***Women group training needs to be phased and as the levels are very different, it may be necessary to select different women for each phase depending on their level of knowledge and experience.*** It is also envisaged that the exact needs of the women will become clearer once they themselves are clearer on what they want to do.
- c. Leadership training is also divided into three parts. The first part is general gender awareness and women’s issues training. The second part is more skills based, focussing helping women develop effective advocacy strategies. The final part is practical and is aimed at helping the women develop training and facilitation skills
- d. Selection of women to attend course will be left to project extension staff. Obviously for the women group training, the main focus will be women who have already started their own groups, but there has been an influx of groups being started in the last year, in anticipation of support from Ereto, and selection may not be that easy.
- e. Selecting women for the leadership training will be determined by the qualities of the women, ***there was a very strong urge that such selection***

should not only focus on the women who are already in leadership positions or in the currently existing committees.

Conclusion

It is recommend that an organisation working with micro-enterprise development be in charge of the women group training. And a training institution takes care of the leadership and gender sensitisation training. Discussions have been initiated with the Training Centre for Development Cooperation (TCDC).

The training plan in the implementation plan will be followed closely for this training.

The study tries to achieve a balance between looking at the general gender issues in the project and the specific training needs emerging. The study has been generally successful in most of the aspects, although the specific needs of the income generating groups may change after a business survey has been done.

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1 Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

This is a gender study conducted of the Ereto project. The Ereto project was initiated as a bilateral activity between the governments of Tanzania and Denmark. The project covers five years, and is executed in two phases. The gender study was done during the second phase of the project, which started in January 2001 and ends in July 2003. The first phase of the project concentrated on the restocking programme; providing support to NGOs and the PC in the area and in providing veterinary services through their stocking programme. Phase 2 of the project focuses more on consolidating the activities initiated in the first phase and especially in building various capacities within the community to take responsibility for development. Women issues and activities are also an area of focus for this phase. The project document has this objective regarding women:

“ Continued organisation of women-groups around grain-milling and other activities such as small stock raising and butter-oil and cheese making in the rainy season when there is excess of milk. Women access to decision-making regarding project activities improved.”

The phase II implementation plan observes the constraints that women are facing in trying to earn an income within the NCA, among them, low education or outright illiteracy, the uncertain status of cultivation within the NCA, and the limited business opportunities. The implementation plan details the project’s work with women and provided the general framework for the study.

A detailed terms reference of the work conducted is provided at the end of this report, but in brief, our task was to assess three main issues:

- How well the project works with gender issues
- Opportunities for women to influence public debate and participate in decision making
- Opportunities for women to improve their livelihoods and income.

The focus of Ereto in the social programme is capacity building; therefore the aim of the fieldwork was to assess the capacity building needs of the women.

1.1.1 Methodology of the study

The terms of reference (TOR) specified a participatory approach, which would be consistent with the overall philosophy of involving Pastoralists in the running of the programme. The TOR also specifically required a feedback workshop to present all the preliminary findings before all presenting them here in this report. A minor methodological constraint was that a number of activities were going on at the same time,

as such it was difficult to get hold of the leaders and project staff as much as we needed to.

1.1.1.1 The field work

The first part of the study comprised of field interviews and group discussions with women group representatives, and women interested in starting groups. For this and all the other field interviews we visited all the wards except Oloirobi¹. We specified what women leaders we wanted (Ewoloto and PC members), but did not specify how many women group members or potential group members we wanted. In most cases we got between 10 and 20 women attending the focus group discussions, but in one case we had over 50 women show up.

The second group of people we interviewed were the men. We invited two committee members from both Ewoloto and PC committees and also traditional leaders. We were specifically interested in their views regarding women's roles in leadership both in traditional and modern societies.

The third interest group we interviewed was the project staff. The main focus was to examine their perception of how the project has worked with gender issues to date.

All the people interviewed (representatives from the women) were invited to attend the feedback workshop. The project field officer from Oloirobi Ward was also asked to invite the same interest groups to the workshop.

1.1.1.2 The workshop

We invited 6 people from each ward to attend the workshop and the project staff. The workshop was over two days and had two broad objectives:

- To sensitise the community on what gender was
- To present our findings and get feedback for the report

Like the fieldwork, the workshop was very participatory and some of the deliberations had to be cut short. The synergy on the first day was much better with the project staff and other leaders; they left to attend the PLA workshop on the second day. This report presents the findings of the field- work as approved by the workshop.

¹ The day that we planned to visit this ward, there was another activity planned which lasted until the end of the fieldwork.

Table 1: overview of fieldwork

<i>Interest group</i>	<i>What information</i>	<i>Methods used</i>
Women group members	Groups (activities, constraints and hopes for the future) Problems of Maasai women	Semi-structured interviews (Individual and Group)
Laigwanaks and other male leaders (village chairpersons)	Women's role in leadership Men's perception on ownership	Semi-structured interviews
Project staff	The impact of gender in the project Potential for integrating gender better in the project	Individual interviews
Women leaders	Women's role in leadership Perceptions on starting an umbrella organisation	Focus group discussion

1.2 Background

A detailed background to this project can be found in the two documents the Danida project document (1997), and the phase two project implementation plan document (March 2001). What is contained here is background that is directly pertinent to the gender study.

Ereto project's main objective is poverty reduction among Maasai Pastoralists in Ngorongoro, by strengthening Pastoralist and clan based mutual support systems. The project main activity is restocking poor families in the area. Since the project started, the programme has restocked approximately 2000 families.

The project has also been working with the Pastoralist Council (PC) to provide support for capacity building and a number of training programmes have been conducted in this regard. The training has mainly focussed on community development and leadership.

The project implementation unit runs the project with support from the community thorough project committees. The main committee in the project is the Ewoloto committee. The Ewoloto committee is charged with managing the restocking part of the programme. They are responsible for identifying and selecting families for restocking,

for purchasing livestock and for ensuring that maize distribution is done. There are veterinary and water committees, that are responsible for those aspects of the programme.

2 Key Findings from the study

2.1 Gender issues in the project

Given the context in which this project works, the gender impact is quite impressive. The most significant achievement of the project has been the efforts made to restock women and women headed households. 40% of all households restocked are women. The three main categories of restocked women are those husbands are notorious drunks, this seemed to be the largest percentage, followed by widows and finally by single women heads of households. Restocking women has sent a message to the community that the project recognises women's role in livestock production. Although the project has not given any conditions on the sale of livestock, communities themselves have imposed a condition that no-one is allowed to sell the restocked animals for a certain period, and that women do have a say in such a sale should it take place. The fact that the livestock are branded with the male clan member's emblem means that men still retain control, however, the act of restocking women has in itself provoked an important discussion in the community regarding issues of ownership and control.

Nonetheless, there are serious concerns with questions of ownership and control of the livestock that has been given to widows and to single women. Anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that most women in these two categories are at risk of losing their usufruct rights to their male relatives who do not care as much for the welfare of the families of the widows.

2.1.1 Women's participation in the project

Both the consultants and the community were satisfied with the projects commitment to involving women in all aspects of the project. All project committees have women in them and women have had access to training equally with men. Some of the major constraints to women's participation have been discussed above. Various different stakeholders told us that as a result of involving women in the project, and recognising them as active in livestock production, the project has contributed to increasing women's self-confidence. Providing women with food aid has also made a big difference, since women now do not have to go through the humiliating process of begging for food.

Ewoloto

Women recommended that the project allow women to participate in the purchasing of livestock. There are some concerns about whether women are sufficiently skilled to manage a range of tasks involved in buying livestock. Some of the concerns that were expressed include:

- Ability to differentiate healthy and diseased animals

- The ability to withstand the arduous conditions while caring during the journey
- Managing large herds of cattle
- Being away from home for those days (estimated 7)

When this discussion took place during the feedback workshop, it was clear that the men were resistant to women participating in livestock purchasing, nonetheless the issue was openly discussed and a commitment to let the women go on a trial basis was reached, with women only attending as apprentices, and a final decision taken after seeing how it works in practice. With this as with many of the other gender issues emerging in this project, it is important that to seek ways in which men and women can cooperate and work together, rather than demand radical changes to the gender relations.

2.1.2 Capacity to deal with gender issues

The objective currently stated restricts the work to only organising women within groups, and also that all gender work will focus unduly on women. It is important to recognise that gender issues affect both men and women and that without involving men and especially those in positions of leadership in gender awareness and sensitisation, the position of women is unlikely to change.

The project document has identified the Community development coordinator as the gender focal point. At the time of our fieldwork, the position had only been occupied for six months and therefore it is too soon to assess how effectively gender issues will be handled. It is however clear that it will be difficult for the Community development coordinator to provide support/and monitor directly the activities and training being provided to women groups, as well as do all the other work.

In general the staff were aware and sensitive to gender issues. Although they have received no gender training, they have received PLA training that has integrated gender, and during this fieldwork, they were part of the gender workshops held in the community.

The project has only one female project field officer. Moreover the only other female project staff is the Danida adviser, while the reasons for this are valid, it is recognised that this limits the extent to which the project can work effectively with women.

2.1.3 Gender in project documents

Gender issues are fairly covered in the project documents. The project document itself has a chapter dedicated to women and women group organisation, makes recommendations on working with women and identifies a gender focal point for the project.

Phase II project implementation plan provides an activity plan for implementing training for women groups. The main gender weaknesses in these documents are its emphasis on women rather than on the relations between men and women in the community.

There is currently no gender specific or even gender differentiated monitoring taking place in the project, the introduction of PLA could address that.

2.2 Gender relations in Maasai Community

Gender relations in Maasai community are quite similar to other communities in Africa. Men have a larger say in matters related to property ownership and decision making, but women do have a say and play a role in leadership and decision making, except that this role is not recognised publicly. Leadership for one is male dominated. Leadership in Maasai community is through kinship and gender lines (the male). Only men can become Laigwananis (clan and age-set based leadership system). This traditional leadership system is evident even within modern structures like the village councils and the Pastoralist council, and tends to limit the extent to which women can participate in leadership and decision-making.

Women are responsible for the home. Maasai women are heads of households, whilst men are heads of families or “Bomas”. It is a woman’s job to provide for her family, and in these modern times, that includes health, education and food. Women work long hours to provide for their families. They are also expected to care for livestock and especially small stock and calves that are left in their care while the moranis herd the cattle. In terms of control and ownership, women own livestock products while men own livestock.

Although men and women seem to live very separate lives and men seem to be in control of most decisions, there is recognition of the role that women play and the contributions they make to community decision making. There is a popular Maasai saying, which roughly translated means, “Let the bedroom decide” – there is a strong belief that men never ever take any major decision until they have consulted with their wives. No major decision is ever reached without proper consultation with women.

2.3 Property ownership and Decision making at household level

Men own livestock and make all decisions regarding livestock. Men usually inherit livestock from their parents but can also acquire more stock through various means. As most families are polygamous, a man will allocate livestock to a woman to enable her to care for her household. As already mentioned, all households are female lead, where each wife and her children form a separate household. At marriage, each wife receives her share of livestock to enable her to run her family. Previously, this allocation was sufficient to enable a woman to feed her family but with the depleting stocks and with men marrying more and more wives; the allocation to individual women is not sufficient. Furthermore, a man reserves the right to reallocate the livestock as need arises. Men will from time to time take livestock from Women to give to their less fortunate relatives or to another wife if she has lost the livestock to disease.

Women do not own and hardly ever have a say on the livestock. In rare cases men will consult their wives before selling an animal, but mostly the man will do what he wants.

The husband's male relatives control livestock belonging to widows. A lot of women have lost their rights to livestock because of male relatives deciding to squander them. In restocked families, women can be said to have some control over the livestock that a man cannot just decide to sell an animal without consulting his wife. According to the interviews with women, the only livestock that make a difference is that which is bought by women themselves. Given the general cultural attitude of man as the sole owner of livestock, it is possible that should a man want to, he could still take control of this last category as well.

Women have access to livestock products, but this access is not guaranteed. But with the depleting stock, and this is hardly enough to support families. So increasing women have found that they need to initiate small income generating activities to support their families. When women start earning money it seems that men will then decide that they do not need the same level of support, so will reduce the livestock allocated to them. This tends to compound the poverty problem.

The problem of property ownership was the single most mentioned gender problem for Maasai women. It is a complex problem, which will only be partially addressed by enabling women to earn an income. A more sustainable and long-term solution lies in addressing the gender inequalities in ownership. There will not be an easy solution to this; part of it lies in women gaining enough confidence to be able to make sure demands from the men. Dialogue between men and women will also contribute towards helping the men examine the issue from a different perspective.

2.4 Women's participation in Decision making at community level

We looked at women's participation in three broad areas:

- Women are elected in the village councils (although the project has very little influence over this, the women in the village councils are the main resource for the project.
- The project has ward project committees that are responsible for different aspects of the project. The main committee is the Ewoloto committee, which is responsible for distribution of livestock. There are also water and livestock committees respectively.
- The Pastoral committee (PC) The Pastoralist council is the main body that represents the indigenous pastoral community within the NCA. There are six out of 41 members of the PC. These six have been nominated to represent the six wards. This is the structure of the PC:
 - Six traditional elders
 - 16 village chairmen (representing all the villages)
 - 6 youth leaders
 - 6 women (one each from the wards)
 - Six councillors one each from the wards)

There are questions about how much influence this body has, and some people feel that the PC has been co-opted to within the NCA and rather than representatives of the Pastoralists. However, this body is the one currently recognised as representing pastoralists, so it is important to examine Women's role within it.

The project has been fairly successful in getting women elected in all the committees. One woman from each ward is represented in the Ewoloto and in the PC, further more all the other committees set up by the project have a fair gender balance. The livestock and water committees have a 50% gender balanced representation as far as we could determine.

Effective participation of women in any of the existing organs is far from being realised, like in most communities here in Tanzania, affirmative action has ensured that women are elected to village councils, but experience has shown that Affirmative action by itself does not guarantee effective participation.

2.4.1 Under-representation of Women in the committees/council

The number of women representatives is too low to create a critical mass and have a say in any of the issues discussed. In investigating why this was so, we found out that as traditional leadership is male dominated, this tends to permeate all the other institutions. We also learnt that women do not put themselves up for election. So the only way a body like the PC can have more women is by creating more positions for women. But the PC is not an elastic body, which can keep growing in membership. In the long run if women will be fully represented in this and other decision making bodies they will have to be prepared to run for community leadership positions. Unfortunately, given the current circumstances, this is a very remote possibility. So a number of mid-term measures could be adopted.

- ❑ One of this that is examined further elsewhere in this report is the possibility of women starting their own institution to represent their interests.
- ❑ Another possibility proposed at the workshops was to reduce the current number of positions for men and instead increase the number of women's position. An obvious possibility is the youth. Currently the youth have 6 positions, but by right 3 of these belong to the women, so the workshop participants proposed that the youth positions be shared evenly between men and women. Even if this were to be implemented, that would only give women three additional posts and would not entirely address the problem
- ❑ A third option was also discussed which was to change the structure of the PC completely. The main contention of the workshop participants is that too many positions within the PC are appointments and not democratically elected. This was said to be the reason that most of the PC has lost its credibility amongst community members. A PC where positions were

determined and earned more democratically would increase the possibilities of women participating, as well as generally offer better service to the community.

2.4.2 Women not participating effectively

Further discussions with the community identified a concern regarding how effectively Women were participating once they were in these committees. The general consensus was that currently women were not optimising their participation in public debate/discussion and decision-making: some reasons why this happens we found were:

- ❑ Women were generally not as well informed as their male counterparts. They do not have access to radios, and have fewer social networks than the men.
- ❑ Women lacked confidence and experience to speak in public (in a mixed group).
- ❑ When women did speak in meetings they felt that the men either did not take them seriously or did not acknowledge the contributions they had made.

Perhaps the points here highlight the importance of focusing on both men and women when working with gender issues, in this case there is a need to train women, but also to sensitise men who have been brought up in a culture that has not prepared them to participate with women in a decision- making forum.

2.4.3 Women's development priorities

The final problem identified, is perhaps more of a consequence. That is that gender and women issues are not a priority of the PC or any of the decision-making organs. This is partly because of the number of women in the organisation, but also because of the low level of gender awareness of the men in the organisations – although there were very few records available to us on the work of the PC, it seemed that women receive very little direct support from the PC. Two areas that were identified were women groups, where some groups have received money from the council for women group activities, but these programmes were generally a failure (see more on section on women groups). The PC is also supporting education of pastoralists by giving scholarships, but most of scholarships being given out are given at the tertiary level where there were very few women present. There are no significant projects that have been initiated for women in the NCA to date.

2.5 Traditional forms of organising

Women do not have a formal role in traditional leadership. But women have traditionally organised themselves around issues that affect them as women. This traditional system of organising is called “alamal”. Alamal is an informal but very effective system of organising. A woman takes the lead in calling for the meeting. Although there are no recognised women leaders, there are women whose leadership skills are recognised by everyone. When the message has gone out that women are having a meeting, then all women must attend. The best way that the women could describe it as by saying that it works like a funeral – whenever you hear that someone has died you show up.

The women then sent a delegation to the relevant target depending on the issue. The alamal can be organised to appease the gods, for example when there has been a drought, or to complain against a person's behaviour (for example, when incest was suspected). Although it is a dying system, the alamal has recently been organised which was very effective, and which may be a way of building women's lobby and advocacy opportunities in the project. The last alamal took place last October when the Government banned agriculture within the conservation area. Women were outraged because they depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. This informal lobby group was able to organise a delegation to the president and the order was revoked. Both men and women agree that when Maasai women have decided on an issue, it is almost impossible to stop them.

One interesting thing about women's leadership in Maasai community is that there are no systems for selecting women leaders, but in some somehow everyone knows whom is/isn't capable of leadership, and once a leader emerges albeit informally, their leadership role is recognised and respected. Men when asked about women's leadership qualities were able to list the same qualities for both men and women, although in men, clan and kinship play a more important role in leadership than skills.

2.6 Strategies for Reducing Poverty

When looking at ways in which women can survive and thrive, three main activities were of significance:

- Livestock production: Women have traditionally relied on livestock production to support their families, but as livestock numbers fall this source of livelihood is now tenuous to say the least.
- Farming: Unlike Pastoralist in other parts of Tanzania, women in Ngorongoro have farmed successfully, when not threatened by banning orders from the NCA.
- Petty trade. To be able to take advantage of petty trade women have organised themselves into groups. This is described in detail below.

Women have probably always engaged in small business trade in this area, certainly there was a lot of individual experience of trading. In recent years women have also organised into groups for the sake of conducting trade within groups. Some groups have evolved out of work from different NGOs in the past, but some have been started through initiatives from Ereto staff. The levels of organisation within the women groups defer significantly from ward to ward, and even within wards. On one end of the scale are groups who have barely organised themselves, and who have hardly any activities under their belt, on the other end of the scale are groups who have been organised for several years (more than 7 years in some cases). Some of the older organised groups have experienced some of the challenges of running women's groups.

Women groups are notorious difficult to run. To succeed, they need a lot of support, both financial and capacity building. And roughly one in 10 groups actually become sustainable in the long run. However, women groups do play an important role in enabling women to start off and gain experience in running businesses, and gain confidence to carry on individually.

Two examples

Case 1:

This group was loaned over 1 million Tzs. From the NCA and the Pastoralist council. The council advised them to make Maasai jewellery, which they would sell, to tourists. In addition the women also got a loan of 500.000 shillings from another donor. The women decided to invest some of the money on jewellery and other products, but by themselves they were not able to identify enough products. They also failed to sell most of the jewellery. Eventually one of the women offered to both sell the products and identify new products from Zanzibar. That was three years ago. The women lost all the money and the products they had made to this corrupt group member, who has since moved out of the area. They have to pay back the loan and are so demoralised as a group that they only ever meet to raise money to pay back the loan

Case 2

There is also an example of a women's group, who have been supported by an International NGO who have been given 22 camels by this NGO. Since the Maasai are not camel keepers, they have employed someone with experience in camel keeping to care for the camels. The camels are producing milk, which none except the camel keeper will drink, and the women have to contribute a goat per month to pay this person's fees. The women in this group are also very disillusioned by this project and are quite frankly puzzled by why they have these camels

Some of the other problems (more general) that we found with women groups in the area were:

- ❑ The high illiteracy levels could limit the extent to which women can initiate and run businesses as a group. This also tends to limit the number of business that women can start and how much they can grow.
- ❑ Women have unrealistic expectations of what Ereto can do for them as in groups. Whilst we were having these discussions, most women started off asking for either a posho mill or a shop, but during the workshop we tried to clarify the extent of Ereto support, still there is no clear realisation of or appreciation of self-organising and management for the women.
- ❑ As we could determine there has been no follow-up of the imitative of the women since they were advised to start women groups by Ereto project staff.

Moreover, we are not convinced that there is that capacity presently to monitor and support women's activities.

- The women may fall into the “WID trap”. Women organising themselves into small groups to generate income when the real problems are to do with the way that property is distributed and decisions are made.
- Our findings indicate that there are very few business options available to the women, and these are small petty trade type businesses. Men, who are not even indigenous people of this area, are running the more lucrative businesses. The women we spoke to were all thinking of exactly the same types of businesses. The types of business we found either in progress or in the pipeline are:
 - Sale of sugar and tea and other small items
 - Trading in maize (this business is rather stalled now that the project is providing maize as part of the restocking programme)
 - Sale of “Maasai” cloth and Khangas
 - Some of the other groups, whom we did not get a chance to visit, have experience with running posho mills.

Even though there is a lot of experience with failed projects, women are still very keen to start new projects. In many ways women believe that they have learnt from the past mistakes. At another level though, it seems that women do not really quite appreciate the organisational challenges of managing a women's groups. **If these women groups are going to be effective as a poverty reduction strategy for Maasai women, then they will need a lot of organisational support, but more importantly they will also need financial support either from Ereto or from another organisation.**

3 General recommendations

These recommendations are both training and non-training, although they are not separated as such.

3.1 Gender issues in the project

3.1.1 Ownership and control of property

We found that ownership and control of property was the issue that women prioritised as being the most important one on which they would like to see some change. Women recognise the links between control/decision making on property and poverty. On the other hand there is also recognition by both men and women that this is an issue that needs to be handled delicately to avoid conflict.

The project needs to initiate discussions within the community and especially among the leaders (perhaps in the information sharing workshops) about livestock ownership. This is especially pertinent for the livestock in the restocking programme, but the impact would go beyond just that and make a difference to issues of ownership and control in general.

3.1.2 Capacity to handle gender issues and women's participation in the project

As mentioned above this is an area that both the community and consultants were satisfied with the performance. A few suggestions and recommendations to improve the project's handling of gender issues:

We recommend that either the project hires a women project extension worker or changes the job description of one of the current project extension staff (to work with women groups/ monitor and follow-up training and help the women identify other agencies who can support them in the short-term until the capacity of the women is improved.

For both the project documents and for the monitoring of the Ewoloto, we recommend that the project desegregate the data, both by gender and by marital status. From the anecdotal evidence, it seems that women from female-headed households are having very different experiences from those who are married. Single Women for example have to deal with other male relatives who assume that they have a say over the women's livestock.

We also suggest that all PLA tools are gender-desegregated whether they are being used in monitoring or in making needs assessment. This is already happening to some extent in the training, the recommendation is to incorporate this into the project.

We suggest that women be allowed to purchase livestock together with the men, they could go initially as trainees with few responsibilities and then get more responsibility as they grow in confidence.

3.1.3 Women groups

Although most of the actions related to women's groups are training oriented or related, there are some non-training actions, which will have an impact on the groups, if taken.

- **We recommend that women groups receive support in accessing funds. This kind of support should be from Micro-enterprise development organisations that can themselves install and implement a small-scale enterprise programme with a lending component to it.**

- **We further recommend that a marketing survey be done to help the women identify viable business enterprises. This viability goes both to marketing possibilities within and outside of the Conservation area, but also to avoid unnecessary competition between women and women groups.**
- **With current trend in support to women and women groups, we see more potential for the smaller groups (5+) rather than the big (35+) groups. The smaller groups are actually a group of 5 women who each run their own business and who work only support each other with loans or provide collateral for each other.**

3.2 Leadership training for women

The leadership training for women aims at building the capacity of women to participate in/and influence public debates and also to develop effective lobby and advocacy strategies and strengthen the traditional “alamal” system of women organising. Ideally the women should really have an institution to represent their interests always. Examples or models would be the Pastoralist women’s council in Loliondo. However, there are serious questions about the capacity to run a women’s institution, there are also some serious questions about how effective a women’s organisation can be in an area where a lot of the civic liberties of the pastoral communities are violated on a regular basis. The NCA is a difficult area to work for an organisation looking at social/political issues.

The training should also address questions about organising women and the best form of organising to achieve the best results. The training should provide women with an opportunity to examine the pros and cons of starting an organisation, and the challenges therein. Should the final agreement be to start an umbrella women’s organisation, it should be as simple and as community based as possible to help enable more women to be involved in its day-to-day running. Although the ultimate aim of the training is to prepare the women to initiate a women’ umbrella organisation, if the objective does not materialise the women will still be able to use these skills in the existing organisations like the PC and others in the area.

Among the issues that were discussed during the feedback meeting, was the question of what type of women should receive leadership training. There was a strong feeling within the participants that the women receiving leadership training should not only be selected from current women leaders (those in the PC or the village councils). A general criteria was established:

- In the first instance at least 4 women should be trained from each Ward, a representative from each village (some wards have more than 4 villages)
- The women would be those with good communication skills, and especially those who can subsequently train others, although the training package proposed would have a training of trainers’ component.

- The women should also have good people skills and especially problem solving and conflict resolution abilities
- Not all the women should be literate, but approximately half of them should be able to read and write.

The leadership training should cover the following topics (areas) and preferably be done in phases to ensure that skills acquired can be applied in within the community. Further more the training should be as practical as possible and especially the lobby and advocacy topics should focus on a current issue that the women can actually work on.

Gender and the position of women in Maasai community:

This is an introductory training aimed at building the women’s confidence in their role as leaders in the community.

This part of the training will deal with awareness of gender issues. The training will cover issues like the role of culture, the impact of culture on gender relations and the way that cultures change. The session will also cover issues that were identified during the gender study, violence against women, male dominance, women’s rights issues and the importance of education for girls.

Organising, networking and advocacy skills training:

This is a skill-based training that will equip women with skills in organising and consolidate the already existing indigenous knowledge of lobby and advocacy. The topics to be covered here include, the role and function of an umbrella organisation, networking, advocacy skills, and simple needs assessment skills.

Facilitation skills

This is the final phase of the training – it will be a practical training whose aim will be to equip women with TOT skills. This training will be in two parts one part will be in a workshop/classroom setting, and the other part will be field practical, The newly trained women will train others and a receive feedback and backup from the facilitator. For this and the women group training, a field trip or exchange visit to other similar organisations would greatly enhance the learning process

3.3 Gender sensitisation workshops for the community

Whilst discussing the concerns on women’s position within the Maasai community in Ngorongoro, one thing was clear that long-term meaningful change for women had to go hand in hand with similar changes in attitude from the men. A lot of the constraints toward women participating in the community activities originate from men’s attitude towards women participating in leadership and decision-making.

The culture and tradition of the Maasai is perceived to be inflexible and conservative, but a great strength of the Maasai community is their willingness to discuss issues in a frank and open manner. Discussions with both men and women community members during the feedback workshops indicated that they were willing to examine aspects of their

traditions and find ways of addressing some of the more glaring imbalances. It should be recognised that substantive changes for women will take a long time, and that addressing attitude and behaviour changes usually do.

To jump-start this process of discussing gender relations and issues within the community, we recommend a series of gender sensitisation workshops to take place in the year 2002. These workshops would target a cross-section of community members of both sexes.

3.3.1 Training for women groups:

To successfully manage their businesses women will need several types of training. This training will still be relevant even if the women do not subsequently organise themselves in groups. No doubt more specific training needs will emerge once the women are clearer on what businesses they are able to do.

This training proposal is presented in phases. I recognise that the women are at very different levels of knowledge and awareness of women group organisation and functioning so not all phases will be relevant for all the women.

Phase 1:

The first phase of the training should focus on basic information about groups; among the training needs identified here were:

- Knowledge and of how groups work
- Roles of different people in groups
- Advantages and disadvantages of women groups
- Common problems encountered by groups
- How groups work (how people work together in groups)

Phase 11

The second phase of the training should be business oriented. Ideally this training should come once the business survey has been done and to help the women choose and decide what businesses they should go into.

Phase 111

The third and final phase of the training should focus on bookkeeping, and accounts.

3.4 Gender sensitisation for project staff

The gender sensitisation of project staff has already started and is in fact having an impact. Gender is somewhat integrated in the PLA training, and the project staff have received some gender awareness training during the course of this study. There is however a need for the gender focal point (the person in the project responsible for gender issues, who is currently the community development coordinator) to receive additional gender training to enable him to provide back-up to the project extension staff

and with the community leadership, especially the traditional leaders who are instrumental in the community based aspects of the project.

The gender focal point would also ensure that gender is integrated into all training programmes so that there doesn't have to be special gender training for everyone, but part and parcel of all the work.

We therefore recommend that the gender focal point receives further gender training – this training does not have to be tailor-made for the project. In addition, should the project decide to employ a women's groups extension worker as recommended, we suggest that that person also receive gender training and participate in all the trainings recommended for the women groups.

3.5 Management of the training

In general three types of training programmes are recommended here:

- Gender sensitisation seminars for the community
- Leadership training for women
- Women groups training for women

The gender sensitisation training is the same workshop aimed at different participants each time. The workshops would be not longer than two days each time and would cover the same topics all the time. The content would not be very different from what was covered during the feedback meetings. Initially an institution that can provide the back up in the areas identified above can do the course. Discussions are underway with TCDC to initiate this process. Later on this training can be and taken over by the gender focal point and perhaps a local facilitator.

The training will follow the plans as laid out in the phase II implementation plan. The women group training should be linked with the business survey and be done by an organisation that is working with women groups in micro-enterprise development.

4 Conclusion

This study examines the gender relations within the Maasai community and makes recommendations on how best to improve the position of women within the Maasai community. The overall idea of gender analysis is to bring gender equity and to make that fit into specific cultural context, without negatively changing that culture. The study recognises that meaningful change will take a long time, and this is a step in that direction.

The enthusiasm that we found in the community while doing this study, and especially within the women is an indicator that the community is ready for change, and will they take responsibility for development. The women are ready to organise themselves for micro-enterprise development and that is a good entry point, the political organisation

will take longer to realise, but the training should be provide a good foundation in guiding the women's informal skills and abilities.

Finally, it is crucial that the men in the community see gender change as vital to their development as well. The link especially between gender inequalities and property ownership always needs to be emphasised even if it is a sensitive issue. Gender should not be seen as a power struggle between men and women but as an approach, which if implemented will improve the livelihoods families.

Annexes

5 Fieldwork timetable

Monday 3 rd	Women representatives of PC and Ewoloto committees
Tuesday 4 th	PFO – Endulen Laigwanaks -
Wednesday 5 th	Nayobi – women’s representatives of PC /Ewoloto committees Laigwanaks PFO
Thursday 6 th	Nainokanoka (women representatives of PC/Ewoloto Committees) Women interested in joining women groups
Friday 7 th	Ngorongoro PFO Women representatives in Olbarbar NCAA representative Woman member of Executive committee if she hasn’t gone to TCDC
Saturday 8 th	Out
Sunday 9 th	Out
Monday 10 th	Gender - PLA workshop
Tuesday 11 th	Meet PC Meet interested Women group members in Endulen
Wednesday 12 th	Gender workshop 1
Thursday 13 th	Gender Workshop 2
Friday 14 th	Focus group discussion with women (women in PC, Ewoloto and other key women in NCA
Saturday 15 th	Depart to Arusha

6 Workshop participants

Kata ya Endulen	
Nasha Oluru	
Veronica Mungaya	
Naalamala Matunda	
Nokenyai Olesiraa	
James Moringe	
Augustino Olonyoike	
Mbirias Olerinya	
Kata ya Kakesio	
Naalayok Suruj	
William Ole Njoye	
Nairowa Naingare	
Nadaala Moipo	
Noltetiain Kiroway	
Paulina Loikishan	
Juliana Mabengo	
Kata ya Oloirobi	
Kirambash Langlarwa	
Risamoi Kuye	
Mariamuyaa	
Sipapu Orkery	
Siloon Edward	
Leliani Matu	
Morindat Lameroi	
Parmitoro Kasiaro	
Kata ya Naiyobi	
Sambeke Loyotin	
Magilu Olturur	
Mepukori Ngolenya	
Nalagu Kura	
Esther Jackson	
Naboye Miliari	
Marine Kiroshi	
Kata ya Orbarbar	

7 Gender workshop outline

Gender Workshop – Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project:

12th and 13th December 2001:

Wednesday 12th December

Session 1:

Introductions

Explanations of purpose of workshop

Workshop objectives

Agreement on time/norms

Session 2:

Women and Men in Maasai Community

Admiring the opposite sex (three things I like, three things I dislike)

Discussion the relationship between men and women

Input on what gender is.

Session 3:

Findings

Gender in the project

The role of women in leadership and decision making in the community and the family: -

Session 4:

Group work

How can we use the alamal system more effectively today to represent women's issues?

How can we get men to accept and acknowledge women's leadership potential and abilities?

Thursday 13th December

Session 6:

Women's poverty:

A look at some of the causes of poverty among women

Session 7:

(Women groups)

Group work of women groups using the case study of "Engitok" women groups.

Terms of Reference:

Consultant for gender issues in development planning

Background

Ereto - Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project (Ereto-NPP) is a bilateral project involving the Governments of Tanzania and Denmark. The purpose of the initiative is to provide support to the pastoralists of Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) in Tanzania, stated in the Project Document (PD) as follows:

The projects purpose is, in a sustainable way, to assist the pastoralists of NCA to become independent and self managing within the overall framework of the principles of multiple land use and conservation laid down in the NCA Ordinance of 1959.

Ereto-NPP is directed by a Steering Committee whose members represent the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), DANIDA, Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA), the Pastoralist Council (PC), and the pastoralists of NCA. On a daily basis, the project is managed by the Project Implementation Unit (PIU), comprising of a Project Manager, Finance Officer, Community Development Co-ordinator and Adviser. DANIDA, NCAA and the pastoralists of NCA fund the project. The main partners of Ereto-NPP in executing the project are the PC/CBOs, NCAA and members of pastoralist society of NCA.

The main activities of the project are water resources development closely linked to good animal husbandry practice, including the sustainable management of pastures, a social program aimed at reducing poverty amongst the Maasai and increasing self-management, and support to private sector delivery of veterinary services.

The project strategy is uncomplicated but risky and depends on the greatest possible participation of the target group (PD p 21).

The Project Document goes on to state that the project will put particular emphasis on securing participation in decision making, planning, implementation and monitoring in a continuous process, and that no decisions will be forced through without respecting the traditional consensus systems in Maasai society. Yet, from appearances, men dominate the public debate in NCA, and there is no useful record of how Maasai women influence or take part in decision-making regarding public affairs. The project therefor decided to commission a study on how best to work with gender in NCA in order to secure a balanced and meaningful participation of the target group.

Objectives of the mission

The main objectives of the mission are to:

1. Describe how the project at present works with gender issues

2. Find ways in which the project can better include women in project planning, monitoring and implementation
3. Find ways in which women can help themselves to influence development in NCA
4. Clarify power relations in Maasai society, with reference to gender

Scope of work

Bearing in mind the purpose of the project, the work of the consultant will compromise, but not necessarily be limited to the following activities:

- Describe the present situation in the project, including project capacity, regarding involving women in the process of planning and monitoring project activities
- Assess the potential within the project to involve women more in the project process
- Identify the arrangements women in pastoralist Maasai society have for social and political representation
- Appraise the options that pastoralist Maasai women have for participating in public debate and development
- Appraise the options that pastoralist men have for participating in public debate and development
- Assess how women could better participate in decision making, planning, implementation and monitoring of project activities and processes
- Assess how women could better participate in decision making regarding their future in NCA
- Identify means by which women and men can improve their income and livelihood within the context of NCA

Output

The output of the consultancy will be a short report, describing

- 1) Strategies by which the project could better come to work with women in all aspects and processes of the project. This will include the development of gender sensitive PLA tools (see methodology PLA)
- 2) Ideas and options for how the project can support women and men to improve their income within the context of NCA
- 3) Ideas and options for how women can improve their capacity for representation and influence in matters related to their own lives, future and development

Methodology

The main methodology used will be fieldwork throughout NCA. The consultants will work in close collaboration with Ereto project staff, PC, NPA, NCAA and customary leaders of the Maasai, as well as the men and women who make up the pastoralist society of NCA. This will be through consultations and through meetings with various leading actors and organisations in different locations.

PLA. The consultants will link into on-going PLA training work, using one day as follows: together with trainee group design interviews which look at men's and women's

Ereto – Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project
Gender study

ideas of an aspect of local life. After practicals, bring together results analysing the key differences in perceptions. The PLA trainers will build the insights gained into their training of project staff.

A two-day workshop will be conducted by the consultants and facilitated by the project, to bounce back findings and receive input which the consultants will use in their report.

Consultant

The institution contracted for the study is MS-TCDC (Training Center for Development Cooperation), Usa River, Tanzania.

The consultants are:

Stella Maranga (team leader)

Maanda Ngoitiko

Timing

The consultants will work in Ngorongoro from 3rd December to 15th December.days will be used for report writing, and a draft report will be presented to the project by.....